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AN AMERICAN SPECTACLE: COLLEGE MASCOTS
AND THE PERFORMANCE OF TRADITION

BY

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

“An American Spectacle: College Mascots and the Performance of Tradition” seeks to understand how college football and its attendant events (termed here “An American Spectacle”) became a vehicle for cultural production by individuals and institutions in specifically raced, gendered, and classed ways. It asks what was the role of this “American Spectacle” in the articulation of individual and group identities at sites across the United States and outlines the individual aspects of the spectacle: bands and musical performances, newspaper writers and narratives of athletics, artistic production and commercial athletic identity, student publications and University identity, and the rituals of performance. In each instance the fundamental exploration is guided by consideration of how individuals and institutions constituted, transformed, and transmitted ideas of Indian mascotry within the spectacle of college football. This dissertation then asks these central questions: How and why were Native Americans represented as sports mascots? What cultural work did these images perform? How did these written narratives, visual images, and live performances create a tradition of performance that branded college football as “an American spectacle?” In answering these questions, “An American Spectacle” vividly illustrates a uniquely American story of race, class, identity, and community that argues for the framing of a complex set of institutions that are uniquely shaped by industrialism, commercialism, capital acquisition and expression, mass democracy, and the nation-state. An innately political practice that, while recognizing multiple identities, privileged young, male, white, middle-class, and athletic as powerful and transmitted those ideas via various networks, this dissertation ultimately reveals a uniquely American spectacle.

In honor of my mother, Jan, who gave me her love of “old dead people” and my father, John, who puts up with listening to us talk about them.

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All errors within this work are, of course, my own and should not reflect on those acknowledged here.

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INTRODUCTION

The 38th Annual Rose Bowl game on January 1, 1952 dawned on a cool day in southern California. Three days of Pacific storms had cleared the air and left the grass crisp and the field slightly waterlogged. With a packed stadium of 96,825 supporters, football players from the Stanford University and the University of Illinois took to the field in the first nationally televised football game. Welcomed by nearly 10,000 including the Queen of the Rose Bowl at the Pasadena train depot days before the game, Ray Eliot's Illini squad faced a heavily favored Pacific Conference team. Stanford's "Cinderella" team, coached by Chuck Taylor, had won nine of ten games. Illinois, while Big Ten champions, had struggled against the University of Michigan and the University of California, Los Angeles, each of whom Stanford had handily defeated. Lining the streets of Pasadena, Illinois and Stanford fans watched heavily decorated floats roll by accompanied by the music of collegiate marching bands in the annual parade. The University of Illinois' famous "Chief Illiniwek" danced his "Indian" to the sounds of Illinois' specially chosen music. The Tournament of Roses court waved from their perches while the Stanford band played its spirit songs. The opening play of the game by each team set the tone of that days' efforts. Illinois returned the opening kickoff for a touchdown while, on their first drive of the game, Stanford charged up the field to secure a seven to six lead. Throughout the second quarter, the teams traded yardage with neither able to score. Illinois' "Chief Illiniwek" and Stanford's "Prince Lightfoot" each took to the field at halftime to perform with their University bands while fans in the stands sang loyalty songs and celebrated their potential victories. With only 53 yards rushing in the second half and just one first down in the last quarter, Stanford fans were ultimately disappointed. Illinois scored five touchdowns in twenty minutes. The 38th Annual Rose Bowl drew to a close as Illinois rolled over Stanford by a final score of 42 to seven.¹

¹ "Illinois Football Team Gets Rousing Welcome at Pasadena," *The New York Times*, December 19, 1951, 46; Bob Myers, "Bands, Cheering Crowds Greet Illini on 2d Visit to Coast," *The Washington Post*, December 19, 1951, B5; Wilfrid Smith, "It's Bowl Day! Illinois Meets Stanford," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, January 1, 1952, C1; Wilfrid Smith, "Illinois Routs Stanford, 40-7, in Rose Bowl," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, January 2, 1952, 1; Paul

The Rose Bowl with its parade, celebrations, and ninety-six thousand strong crowd is just one moment of exploration within this dissertation. Yet, it serves as a useful introduction to the issues being explored herein. At its broadest, this dissertation seeks to understand how individuals and institutions became so invested in collegiate football that over 400,000 people attended bowl games in 1952. It asks the questions: How did college football and its attendant events (termed here “An American Spectacle”) become a vehicle for cultural production by individuals and institutions in specifically raced, gendered, and classed ways? What was the role of this “American Spectacle” in the articulation of individual and group identities at sites across the United States? At its narrowest, this dissertation outlines the individual aspects of the spectacle: bands and musical performances, newspaper writers and narratives of athletics, artistic production and commercial athletic identity, student publications and University identity, and the rituals of performance. In each instance the fundamental exploration is guided by consideration of how individuals and institutions constituted, transformed, and transmitted ideas of Indian mascotry within the spectacle of college football. This dissertation then asks these central questions: How and why were Native Americans represented as sports mascots? What cultural work did these images perform? How did these written narratives, visual images, and live performances create a tradition of performance that branded college football as “an American spectacle?”

Where is “An American Spectacle?”

In setting football games and their attendant events as the sites of exploration, this dissertation provides the opportunity to include a variety of actors who were engaged in producing and consuming ideas about Indian bodies: athletes and coaches, band members and their leaders, spectators, newspaper writers, University presidents, alumni, and faculty, fraternity members, artists and writers, and community members. The 1952 Rose Bowl was not just about the game and its athletes and coaches. It was also about the bands and their halftime performances; fans who flooded the Arroyo Seco area surrounding the

Zimmerman, “Illinois Defeats Stanford, 40-7,” *The Los Angeles Times*, January 2, 1952, 1; Wilfrid Smith, “Late Deluge,” *The Los Angeles Times*, January 2, 1952, A2; *Oskee Wow Wow*, VHS, directed by Lawrence Miller (Champaign, Illinois: University of Illinois, 1990).

stadium; the newspaper writers whose articles filled the pages of *The Los Angeles Tribune*, *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, *The New York Times*, and the Associated Press; University presidents and their alumni constituency who used the game as a fundraising opportunity; and spectators who viewed the first ever nationally televised game. In considering not just the intersections of these groups at this event but the interactions of these interest groups at other institutions including the University of Illinois, Miami University, Stanford University, the University of North Dakota, and Florida State University between 1926 and 1952, this dissertation argues each of these constituencies were engaged in a network of cultural production that relied on negotiations of identity politics, collegiate football, and community growth and development. Significantly, then, this dissertation does not chart university governance structures nor the role of University presidents and Boards of Trustees in shaping college football and its environs. Instead, it is a historical discussion of the individuals and institutions engaged in the creation of this particular brand of American spectacle at various sites and moments in the early twentieth century. It embraces the lived experiences of the men (and few women) involved in creating, disseminating, and transforming college football from a game of marginal interest to colleges and spectators to a site of community building that capitalized on racialized and commoditized spectacle.

Interest in pursuing the questions of this dissertation first arose during a course entitled “Sport and Community” during my junior year at Miami University under the guidance of history professor Daniel A. Nathan, author of *Saying It's So: A Cultural History of the Black Sox Scandal*. The semester-long research project, “Athletics Versus Academics in the Miami University Community” explored the role of athletic in shaping contemporary community building efforts at Miami University from 1997 to 1999. My hypothesis that athletics and academics existed in tension with one another led to recognition that one of the ways in which that tension was expressed was through debates over community symbols. At Miami, that tension was most clearly elucidated by efforts in 1996 to repudiate the school’s “Redskins” mascot. Transitioning into graduate work at Miami, Dr. Nathan encouraged me to embrace a historical examination of community identity and the “Redskins” mascot. The resultant thesis, led initially by Dr. Nathan and then by Dr. Marguerite S. Shaffer, traced the historical development of both Miami

University and its athletic identity. Concentrating on the “Redskins” mascot, my thesis argued that the use of an Indian mascot as athletic and commercial symbol was a continuation of a nineteenth century process of cultural appropriation by Miami University. Completing my archival research revealed that while this argument remained mostly correct, the historical formation of Indian mascotry was part of a larger process of national appropriation that I had only begun to consider. Indian mascotry did not occur just at Miami University; It occurred at schools across the nation. Dartmouth College (New Hampshire), St. John’s University, Siena College, Syracuse University, and Colgate University (New York), Montclair State College (New Jersey), Juanita College (Pennsylvania), Miami University (Ohio), the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and Bradley University (Illinois), Saint Mary’s College (Minnesota), Marquette University and Mankato State College (Wisconsin), Eastern Michigan University (Michigan), Dickinson State University (North Dakota), Simpson College (Iowa), University of Oklahoma and Southern Nazarene University (Oklahoma), Arkansas State University (Arkansas), Alcorn State University (Mississippi), University of Tennessee-Chattanooga (Tennessee), Seattle University, Eastern Washington University, and Yakima Valley Community College (Washington), Southern Oregon State University (Oregon), as well as Stanford University and Southwestern College (California) all featured Indian mascots. In considering just a single site, my thesis revealed an essential weakness of the project’s conception and archival base. In considering only Miami University and limiting myself to a single institutions’ archive, I had failed to consider that there might have been transmission of ideas regarding college sport and Indian mascots in particular between schools. Further, in not bridging narratives of college football’s development with narrative of cultural production of sports mascots, I neglected to fully theorize the ways in which sports mascots were constituted as part of the creation of collegiate spectacle for commercial purposes. This dissertation is an effort to explore a multi-site, nationally framed project that considers college football and its attendant events as sites built upon ideas of raced, gendered, and classed bodies.

Five collegiate archives containing materials on collegiate football form the core archival base of this dissertation that allow considerations of the experiences of individuals and institutions engaged in the

formation of an “American Spectacle”: the Miami University (Ohio) “Redskins,” the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign’s “Chief Illiniwek,” the University of North Dakota’s “Fighting Sioux,” the Stanford University “Indians,” and the Florida State University “Seminoles. These five schools were selected as they provide regional variety² that allows for revelations of the extent of geographical engagement between institutions as well as claims about how regional demographics shaped individual and group identities. In choosing these five, each institution offered the opportunity to directly engage their University archives collections that contain institutional documentation including student publications (in the form of newspapers, yearbooks, handbooks, and other publications), student records (in the form of student government records, organizational records, and individual student files), administration records including records of the office of the president and the athletic department, records on University bands and the Department of music, as well as ephemeral and memorabilia collections. Each University archive also maintained collections related to their particular athletic identity, including their Indian mascot. Finally, with the exception of the University of North Dakota, these institutions operated with an urbanizing context that allowed for considerations of how these institutions positioned themselves as facets of a modern American ethos. Collectively, this body of archival material allows for an analysis of collegiate football and its attendant events (including mascot performances) focusing on both individual and institutional actors. In doing so, the archive provided the opportunity to historicize contemporary dialogues about collegiate football, spectacle, and Indian mascots in particular.

Obstacles to successfully carrying out a five-site assessment initially seemed daunting. In order to trace and document the intersections between these institutions regarding college football, spectacle, and Indian mascots, I had to first document individuals and their institutions, and then overlay their histories with one another in order to see the ways in which these sites functioned similarly and differently from one another. This challenge highlights two positive aspects of conducting this research as a scholar of cultural history with a focus on critical sport studies and ethnicity (white, Indian, and African-American).

² The regional variety is as follows: Northern Midwest (University of North Dakota), Midwest (University of Illinois and Miami University), West (Stanford University), and South (Florida State University)

First, narratives of raced bodies proliferate newspapers, periodicals, student publications, and organizations in the first half of the twentieth century. These sources allow for the tracing of the creation, policing, and performance of race. Secondly, using college football as a window into the production of a national spectacle of raced, classed, and gendered bodies allows for considerations of the role of sport, broadly conceived, in the lives of Americans. Conjoined these twin threads of narratives of raced bodies and college football illustrate the ways in which white Americans were invested in creating raced, classed, and gendered spectacles of belonging. It is, I believe, a narrative that vividly illustrates a uniquely American story of race, class, identity, and community. Significantly, in revealing that this is not just a narrative of Indian mascots or of college football, this dissertation ultimately makes a vital historical intervention in narratives of cultural history. By promoting a multi-site project, this dissertation suggests that there is a need to move fluidly between single individuals and institutions and larger networks and processes in order to reveal that identity and culture are being continually negotiated. As such, while this dissertation captures brief moments and episodes with the narrative of college life around the country, it does so with full recognition that the circumstances of these moments and episodes are always being contested, affirmed, negotiated, and constituted. Albeit commonsensical and possibly naïve, this dissertation recognizes that time is fleeting and historical inquiry is a constantly ongoing process that must continually be engaged with.

Literatures of Critical Sport Studies, Popular Culture, and Indian Mascotry

This dissertation's title, "An American Spectacle: Collegiate Mascots and the Performance of Tradition" has an intentional double meaning. On the one hand, it directly recognizes the role college plays in the United States and in the American cultural imagination. College served, in the early twentieth century, as a site where boys became young men, students could achieve academic, athletic, and personal accolades, and where America could invest its efforts to create hard-working, financially-responsible citizens. Attending college was, in the American mind, an opportunity to pull one's self up by your bootstraps and become a better man. On the other hand, the title alludes to the ways in which college

became a spectacle, a site of performances of race, identity, and class that were uniquely American. Not limited to a single institution or experience, American engagement with the collegiate experience suggested complicated ways of envisioning community that relied on historical tropes of raced, classed, and gendered bodies and narratives of conquest.

Three literatures provide historiographical guidance in the creation and analysis of the issues examined by this dissertation: critical sport studies, popular culture, and Indian mascotry. Critical sport studies, derived from the famous 1963 work of C.L.R. James' analysis of cricket, *Beyond a Boundary*³, and the British School of Cultural Studies was embraced in the United States in early 1990s. Read in opposition to sport studies which focused on event-based narratives within an objective, empirical framework in attempt to reclaim the past to more fully understand the present, critical sports studies owes much of its rise to the postmodern theoretical school. Postmodern theorists, including Martin Heidegger, Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Jean Frances Lyotard, and Jean Baudrillard, challenged the foundational concepts of historical inquiry: objective-subjective, meta-narrative, a singular "truth", and evidence.⁴ Postmodern scholarship situated the past as what occurred previously while history was the stories, narratives, and interpretations of what occurred. Recognizing this, postmodern theory created the opportunity to read sport not as simple events but as a text that could reveal the ways in which particular individuals, institutions, and societies constituted notions of race, identity, power, gender, and nation. Creating an interdisciplinary approach, critical sport studies finds itself in dialogue with fields including, but not limited to: women's and gender studies, media studies, history, communications and advertising, politics, legal studies, and ethnic and racial studies. What then is critical sport history? Critical sport history is, as Jeffrey Hill and John Bale have convincingly argued, the gathering, sifting, and analysis of evidence that is "assessed by attempting to understand the perspective of the author of the source."⁵

³ C.L.R. James, *Beyond a Boundary* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1993).

⁴ For a complete discussion of the evolution of the historical profession and its ties to various theoretical philosophies, see Peter Novick, *The Noble Dream: The 'Objectivity' Question and the American Historical Profession* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.)

⁵ Murray G. Phillips, ed. *Deconstructing Sport History: A Postmodern Analysis* (Albany: State University Press of New York, 2006), 16.

Evidence is “used inductively to provide the best possible explanation for events” or for the actions of individuals under specific conditions. The role of the historian is to assess the evidence in order to provide explanations, queries, and considerations of the meanings and motives of past events and its actors. Importantly, in committing to this exercise, critical sport historians recognize that there exist a multiplicity of meanings, interpretations, and perspectives and that it is their efforts to clearly delineate these multiplicities that mark their work as truly critical and not just a narrative of the past. Significantly, critical sport historians believe that evidence can reveal some measure of understanding of the past and is not just a text without theoretical, interpretative, and evidentiary moorings. Michael Oriard’s *Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle* explores the evolution of football from its early days at the elite institutions of Harvard University, Yale University, and Princeton University into a national phenomenon utilizing this theoretical approach. Relying primarily on weekly and daily newspapers and magazines like *Harper’s Weekly*, *Outing*, and the *Police Gazette*, Oriard argues/offers/contends??? that it is only with the “formal organization of the intercollegiate game of football, during the last third of the nineteenth century, and with its consequently coverage in the popular press,” that college football became a cultural force in the United States.⁶ In *King Football: Sport and Spectacle in the Golden Age of Radio & Newsreels, Movies & Magazines, the Weekly & the Daily Press*, Oriard expands his analysis beyond 1920 to consider how the popular press grew into a mass media network that included newspapers, periodicals, African-American and political press, radio, newsreels and film. He argues that the power of mass media between 1920 and 1950 resided in their ability to determine which stories were told, what meanings were expressed, and what overarching ideologies circulated about collegiate sport. Limited in its consideration of racialized bodies, particularly African-American and Native American bodies, Oriard’s work primarily tells stories of the white middle class and its efforts to embrace football. For the purposes of this dissertation, three conclusions reached by Oriard bear consideration: 1) “football was locally rooted [between 1920 and 1950] serving as a powerful source of community identity and pride”; 2) “that football defined not just an arena for male striving but an entire

⁶ Michael Oriard, *Reading Football* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 277.

social and domestic world, idealizing a certain model of American middle-class life”; 3) “that the mass media in ways specific to each medium were the most powerful forces in constructing a football culture on these several terms.”⁷ This dissertation reveals that, while football was certainly a source of community identity and pride, the individuals and institutions engaged in the game of college football were part of a transnational circuit of exchange. In form of the movement of coaches, band members, fans, and alumni, innovative ideas about bands, music, and mascotry, and Oriard’s sportswriters, this dissertation argues that it was the convergence of these various interest groups that created a particularly racialized brand of American spectacle centered around college football. In part, this conclusion and revision of Oriard’s central thesis is a result of considering not just the game of football but also its environs. This dissertation does not limit itself to the game clock and media coverage of the plays and images of the game. Instead, I argue that college football should be more broadly considered to include an analysis of those invested in the space of college football. Returning to the opening vignette of this introduction reminds us this broadly construed field of analysis and the variety of people engaged: athletes and coaches, band members and their leaders, spectators, newspaper writers, University presidents, alumni, and faculty, fraternity members, artists and writers, and community members. Refocusing the lens of spectacle to consider college football *and its environs* as a cultural production reveals that racialized performances of collegiate identity were continually being made and remade in the first half of the twentieth century.

Studying college football with an attention to Indian mascots enriches our understanding of cultural history and the ways in race, class, gender, and youth were enshrined within the expressions of American life, whether in the form of halftime spectacles, sporting identities, stadium campaigns, band performances, or newspapers. Attaching these instances to the larger milieu of minstrelsy, movies, literature, music, art, fraternal organizations, social clubs, and anthropological events like the World’s Fairs reveal a historically specific form of cultural cosmopolitanism where middle-class men were

⁷ Michael Oriard, *King Football: Sport and Spectacle in the Golden Age of Radio & Newsreels, Movies & Magazines, the Weekly & the Daily Press* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 18-19.

engaged in viewing and producing racialized spectacles.⁸ Mascotry and athletic identity were an integral way of mapping the meaning-making for these middle-class men in their roles as band leaders, coaches, alumni, athletes, fans, faculty, and newsmen. This type of mapping challenges bifurcated elucidation of culture into high brow versus low brow endeavors by demonstrating how the middle class engaged in college athletics drew from both elite and lower class practices of representation. An uneasy brand of cosmopolitanism marked by continual performances of belonging that were dependant on the continual reification of boundaries between “us” and “them”, this mapping built the quintessential “modern” man and “modern” institution simultaneously. In this framing of “modern” and “modernity”, I am arguing for the framing of a complex set of institutions that are uniquely shaped by industrialism, commercialism, capital acquisition and expression, mass democracy, and the nation-state. More specifically, I use “modern” here to refer to a particular kind of time consciousness which defines the present in its relation to the past, which must be continuously recreated.⁹ It was an innately political practice that, while recognizing multiple identities, privileged young, male, white, middle-class, and athletic as powerful and transmitted those ideas via various networks. It offered the promise of making boys into men that could take on the world, inherit the land from their fathers, and continue the narrative of American civilization.

Recentring the focus of college football on the performance of racialized bodies reveals a much broader historiographical thread that this dissertation is engaged with. Robert F. Berkhofer Jr.’s *The White Man’s Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* boldly documented an impressive array of stereotypes by Europeans and Americans from the fifteenth century onward. Arguing for continuity, Berkhofer asserted two primary self-serving narratives of the Native Americans: the “noble savage” or the “bloodthirsty redskin.” In the latter portrayal, the Indian was “often crazed, seeking

⁸ For an extensive discussion of the theories of cosmopolitanism see Gerard Delanty, “The Cosmopolitan Imagination: Critical Cosmopolitanism and Social Theory”, *British Journal of Sociology*, 57 (1): 25-47. Available from: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sociology/documents/bjs.pdf>. I argue for cultural cosmopolitanism as it specifically seeks to address the relations between individual and institutional identities within a specific historical expression.

⁹ Gerard Delanty, *Modernity and Postmodernity: Knowledge, Power, the Self* (London: Sage, 2000.) Significantly, Delanty points out that modernity is not a product of westernization but rather is present in societies and cultures as a series of processes and interactions.

vengeance or just malicious fun at the expense of innocent Whites, especially women.”¹⁰ In the first, the noble savage acted loyally and morally to aid white men. While Berkhofer’s analysis confidently suggested the theoretical framework within which Indians were portrayed by whites, the polarity of his conclusions (either savage or noble but never both at the same time) suggested a non-nuanced reading where white perceptions acted as a monolith. There was little consideration of the ways in which perceptions of Indians might have varied across geography, nor was there a concerted effort to investigate the tensions expressed by whites that upset the binary. Numerous scholars have appropriated Berkhofer’s framework for understanding how whites appropriated and produced Indians and Indian life in the early twentieth century. Leah Dilworth’s *Imagining Indians in the Southwest*, L.G. Moses’ *Wild West Shows and the Images of Native Americans, 1883-1993*, Paul Reddin’s *Wild West Shows*, Shari M. Hundorf’s *Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination*, and Jacquelyn Kirkpatrick’s *Celluloid Indians: Native Americans and Film* are all notable for their nuanced readings of particular forms of production of Indian bodies within the noble/savage framework.¹¹ Significantly, this dissertation embraces each of these as they offer the opportunity to intervene in Oriard’s readings of media by bringing critical race theory and theories of cultural production of racial bodies to the forefront.

Philip J. Deloria’s *Playing Indian* deserves particular consideration for his influence on the cultural studies of racialized bodies.¹² Where Berkhofer saw clearly delineated categories of representation with little ambiguity, Deloria recognized that it is the ability to move fluidly between particular identities that was the hallmark of Indian portrayals. Drawing examples from the American Revolution to the present, Deloria suggests that Indian identity offered the opportunity for whites to

¹⁰ Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., *The White Man’s Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 98.

¹¹ Leah Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 1997); L.G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of Native Americans, 1883-1993* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1999); Paul Reddin, *Wild West Shows* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999); Shari M. Hundorf, *Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001); Jacquelyn Kirkpatrick, *Celluloid Indians: Native Americans and Film* (Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 1999). African-American studies embraces a similar thread of documenting the cultural production of black bodies. Most notably, Eric Lott’s *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* has influenced not only understandings of nineteenth century appropriation of black music, dance, and humor by the working class but more broadly literatures on performance including Indian mascotry.

¹² Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.)

imbue it with political, social, and cultural meanings drawing on colonial tropes of Indian bodies well beyond the colonial period. In presenting specific examples of the ways in which whites appropriated, portrayed and negotiated Indianness, Deloria drew on innovative ideas of critical race theory. Playing Indian was simultaneously an affirmation of essentialist colonial stereotypes and a means of creating new interpretations. In doing so, it allowed for calling “fixed meanings-and sometimes meanings itself- into question.”¹³ Indian “play” was essentially an identity donned and doffed at the wearers’ discretion. In concentrating on the physical performance of Indianness, Deloria positions physical “play” as an organizing concept of his exploration. Despite that recognition of the physical body as a vital element in the performance of Indianness, he neglects to explore sport (and particularly college sport) as a venue of cultural production. His 2006 monograph, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, recognized athletics as a venue of cultural production through his ethnography of his grandfather’s experiences as an Indian athlete.¹⁴ In capturing Indian athletes “playing” Indian, Deloria challenged the notion that Indians could not appropriate various Indian identities for their own purposes. This dissertation, recognizing the importance of cultural production, bridges Deloria’s work by asking how whites appropriated Indianness within college football,, all the while interrogating towards what ends did they deploy Indian identities in collegiate institutions.

This intersection of cultural productions of Indianness and sport is not new. Since Deloria’s *Playing Indian*, a variety of scholars have analyzed dialogues about Indian mascotry. Carol Spindel’s *Dancing at Halftime* (1999) traces the author’s journey to understand her place within the University of Illinois community. Devoted to placing the first-person narrative in the forefront, Spindel argues that contemporary discussions of the sports mascots issue rely on historical tropes that marginalize Native American individuals. Spindel rightly reads these images as part of a larger focus within popular culture in the period from 1880 to 1920. The difficulty with *Dancing at Halftime* lies in its rendering of Native American images as unchanging and the motivations of the individuals who are constructing them as

¹³ Ibid., 184.

¹⁴ Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2004).

uncomplicated. The author glosses over the complexities of these representations, their continued post-1920s production, and their dissemination and largely fails to capture these images as part of a transnational dialogue on collegiate sport. C. Richard King and Charles Freuhling Springwood's compendium *Team Spirits* (2001) offers a contemporary positioning of Native American sports mascots as framed through the popular political context of late-20th century America. The collection as a whole reveals the importance of invented traditions, the construction of white identity in America, and modern activism within the Native American sports mascot experience. Yet, like Spindel's framework, the lack of comprehensive research that moves beyond the case study approach necessitates further interrogation of the historical contextualization and development of analyses of mascots attentive to but not dominated by present political concerns. Since Spindel's publication, sociologists, anthropologists and cultural studies scholars have embraced Indians mascotry as a site of investigation.¹⁵ Scholars have focused on individual institutions, the relationship between sport and higher education, identity politics within individual communities and between specific Native groups and the institution, and as commercial symbols. They have overwhelmingly focused on individually localized debates over power and authority, cultural borrowing and exploitation, the meaning of democratic higher education, and the psychological rationale behind community identification with only surface attention to the historical moments of appropriation, dissemination, and collaboration. In doing so, they have identified historical players within individual narratives but failed to adequately address the networks these individuals participated in and the ways in which these localized productions were part of a larger national circuit of performing Indianness at colleges and universities. This dissertation intervenes by clearly recognizing the circuits that individuals and institutions participated in the first half of the twentieth century that led to the creation of a particularly modern brand of college football spectacle that embraced commercialism and the production of raced, class, and gendered bodies.

¹⁵ For a complete listing of the historiography of Indian mascotry, please consult the bibliography.

Approaches to an Multi-Site Archive of Indian Mascotry

This dissertation focuses on historical representations of Indian identities and bodies by individual, organization, and institutional actors at five sites across the United States. In evaluating, sifting, and assessing the evidence within these archives, I privilege particular approaches to reading cultural records. Considering the cultural implications of networks of performance surrounding college football and Indian mascotry and exploring the ways in which individuals and organizations were essential to the initial deployment of a national model of football spectacle that was tied to racialized performance, my research challenges the notion that these narratives are separate and distinct. Individual sporting identities represented local manifestations of national consciousness about sport, race, and manhood. Football teams, bands, literary and fraternal societies were individual, but dependant expressions of the movement that worked to shape collegiate identity in the face of modern anxieties including the closing of the American west, competition between institutions of higher education, the meaning of higher education and the intent of sport, as well as major events like World War I, the Great Depression, and World War II. As Lawrence Grossberg has suggested the consumption and experience of these representations becomes a product that is continually reproduced by and for these networks. These products are coded with particular meanings for these networks that rely on authority of production and the authority of consumption. In this way, these networks accumulate, replicate, and disseminate power to their member constituents. Within the network of collegiate sport, this power was explicitly racial, gendered, classed, and aged. These individuals, functioning with and as agents of the network, construct a cult of belonging that suggests social and political identities that serve the purposes of the network. This is not to suggest that the meaning and articulations of these performances and their networks are homogenous. Instead, I suggest, following Derrida's idea of "hauntology," that the ability to transgress and transform representations and performances are heavily regulated. In the historical moment this dissertation explores, the recognition of the "hauntological" space (and the possible counter discourses and counter meanings) surrounding mascotry performances are very limited. Where possible, I highlight

the articulation of counter meanings but, in the end, this dissertation suggests that counter discourse within these networks are limited to expressions of anxiety of performance and representational meanings rather than true critical counter performances.

Daniel Boorstin has extended the notion of pleasure and economy of performance by positing that complicit performances are “pseudo-events”, fetishized moments of spectacle creation and dissemination where truths, realities, and meanings are complication with ambiguity to arouse and capture the public interest.¹⁶ As the game provided space for its performers and audiences (athletes and spectators), it muted their individual values, identities, and experiences in favor of the communal good. Thus, individuals who were not what the community needed became embroiled in supporting the desires of the community. The performance of mascots at halftime was just one expression of the needed ambiguity and pseudo-solution where the realities of life (especially Indian lives) were not needed. More specifically, it suggests that the very bodies of Natives were “reality, image, echo, appearance” rather than legitimate presences within the community.¹⁷ This was the essence of modern communal identity that affirmed belonging through circuits of knowledge about sport, education, and race.

How then did fans experience the “spectacle” of college football and its environs? Guy Debord posited in his 1994 work *The Society of the Spectacle* that spectacle “is not a collection of images; rather, it is a social relationship between people that is mediated by images.”¹⁸ A Marxist study of television as spectacle, DeBord’s theorization of spectacle has particular importance with the cosmopolitan world of mascot production. Higher education situated collegiate sport as a site of spectacle in order to convey what its’ constituent community needed to have: young, white, male athletic bodies engaged with its national projects. Richard Schechner offers a parallel, but more complex, understanding of space and spectacle. He argues that, “a theater is a place whose only or main use is to stage or enact performances.”

¹⁶ Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (New York: Atheneum Press, 1987.) Boorstin’s use of commodity fetishism is based on the work of Theodor Adorno, *Negative Dialectics*, translated by E.B. Ashton (New York and London: Routledge Press, 1973.)

¹⁷ Jean Baudrillard, *Simulations* (London: Semiotext(e) Press, 1983), 95. See also Stuart Hall, *Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage Publications, 1997) and Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulations*, Sheila Faria Glaser, trans. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995.)

¹⁸ Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle* (New York: AK Press, 2006), 12.

Fundamentally cultural, these spaces were transformed in places of gathering, performing, and dispersing that is particularly theatrical in nature. In underscoring both the demarcation of space into place through performance and the pattern of community activity, Schechner provides a useful construct for considering the layering of spectacle. Organizations including universities, the Boy Scouts of America, the American Bandmasters Association, and newspapers function as theaters of spectacle that continually invests in the creation of additional performances that affirm its original social relationships. One of the original goals of these institutions was to create an able-bodied educated citizenry that could operate as an agent of the nation. While each used varying definitions of what constituted “educated”, they all used the passing and accumulation of knowledge as its key social relationship. Each created identities of performance that continually affirmed the value of knowledge and of able-bodied constituents. Significantly, these moments of performance varied in scale, duration and intensity but were always predicated on broader notions of meaning and context. An extension of Jacques Derrida’s argument that the signified concept “is never present in and of itself,” this suggests that it is the relationship of difference (past versus presence, white versus non-white, athletic versus non-athletic, male versus female) that forms the very core of understanding the performance.¹⁹ This dissertation explores these variations while underscoring the fundamental articulation of sport as a place for appropriating, producing, and disseminating racial identities. As such, it suggests new ways to consider the demarcations of on-field and off, local and national, individual and communal within the historical context of the early twentieth century.

The following chapters are divided chronologically with each having a particular emphasis on a mode or vehicle of production. These vehicles are: Progressive organizations, University bands and musical innovations, literary and newspaper representations, anthropological and artistic displays, collegiate football and Indian athletics, Florida regional identity, and Indian bodies. Taken together, these vehicles create a framework that illustrates local manifestations of national consciousness about Indian bodies. Bringing them together allows for the study of parallels and differences in the implementation of

¹⁹ Jacques Derrida, *Différance* in Paul du Gay, Jessica Evans, and Peter Redman, eds. *Identity: A Reader* (London: Sage Publications, 2001), 89.

collegiate athletic identity and Indian mascotry. In structuring the chapters chronologically, I illustrate the dominance of a particular institution (the University of Illinois) in the creation of halftime spectacle that created a model of production of Indian bodies that influenced the adoption of embodied athletic mascots at other institutions. Additionally, in providing considerations of vehicles that are traditionally minimized when exploring mascotry, the chronological structure allows for the exploration of counter-narratives and moment of contestation with the production of narratives about Indian bodies.

Chapter one, “Leutwiler’s Indian” explores the performance of the first “Chief Illiniwek” and provides a revisionist history of the origins of the University of Illinois mascot tradition. This chapter provides a detailed exposition of the colonial encounters of the Illini Indians and explores colonial exchanges on the American frontier. “And the Band Played Narratives of Progress,” chapter two, examines the establishment of the University of Illinois band as a locus of a communications circuit that disseminated ideas about the theatrics of halftime performances and fandom. Giving particular consideration to the role of “spectacle”, this chapter relates the transition of University bands from secondary elements of athletics to the emotive voice of the action. As such, it explores the convergence of written, aural, and visual mediums on the athletic field.

Chapter three, “Red Bodies and Literary Representations” examines the role of newspapers and newspaper men in transmitting ideas of Indianness via metaphors of athletic prowess at Miami University. Delineating the use of skin color as a racial signifier, chapter three suggests a praxis of identification that allowed newspaper readers to “experience” the American West and Indian life without having to leave their homes. Chapter four, “Stanford Indian and the Expositions of Race” discusses how alumni and students at Stanford University participated in the circuit of national consciousness about Indian bodies. The uneasy nature of the circuit is revealed by exploring the ways in which the game of football was challenged in the opening decades of the twentieth century. Additionally, the chapter explores the involvement of A. Phimster Proctor, an American artist, in producing Indian-themed athletic identity and the role of World’s Fairs in creating an appetite for Indian bodies. Chapter five, “Fighting Sioux in the Land of the Dacotahs,” presents the University of North Dakota and its athletic identity as

part of a larger pattern to abrogate contemporary events within the Dakota territories. With an extensive discussion of both the Sioux Indians and the settlement of North Dakota, this chapter positions physical proximity and geography as a key feature in discussions of Indian bodies. Additionally, chapter five relates how Indian athletes were engaged in the production of athletic narratives.

Chapter six, “Seminoles and Southern Regional Identity” deconstructs the use of localized institutions to explore the relationship between the University of Florida and Florida State University and the articulation of athletic identity. Significantly, this chapter explores the role of Jim Crow era Southern identities on Florida State University. Highlighting a particularly Floridian brand of athletic identity, “Seminoles and Southern Regional Identity” also highlights the way in which gender was produced as part of racialized bodies. Chapter seven, “Contestations, Comedies, and Indian Bodies: “Princess Illiniwek” and “Prince Lightfoot”” explores how a female performer at the University of Illinois and an Indian performer at Stanford University created moments of negotiations for their communities. Importantly, in tracing these two events, this chapter demonstrates how the creation of a halftime spectacle at Stanford University was tied to an athletic competition with the University of Illinois in 1952. Additionally, this chapter explores the genre of comedic representation in order to elucidate how humorous depictions were used to communicate tropes of colonial encounters and Indian bodies.

Collectively, these chapters serve to provide a framework for considerations of identity politics, collegiate sport, and community identity. They illustrate that the production of Indian mascots was part of a long-held tradition of producing colonial encounters to affirm the project of American modernity.

CHAPTER 1: “LEUTWILER’S INDIAN”: CREATING “INDIAN” TRADITION

On a crisp cerulean Saturday afternoon in October of 1926, Lester Leutwiler introduced a new performance to the football field at the University of Illinois: that of “Chief Illiniwek.” Presented at halftime of the University of Pennsylvania- University of Illinois¹ football game, Leutwiler’s buckskin clad appearance delighted fans as “the chief ran from a hiding place north of the Illinois stands and led the band down the field with his frenzied war dance. The band stopped in the center and played “Hail Pennsylvania” while the Indian Chief saluted the Penn fans.”² At the completion of both band’s performances, he and George Adams, another Illinois student dressed as in a costume provided by UPenn, shared a catlinite pipe and left the field arm and arm.³ This chapter examines the performance of an “Indian” leading the band and explores the ways in which these performers were part of circuit of knowledge about Indians within the context of colonial encounters. Further, it suggests new ways of considering the meaning of the circuits by exploring athletics as an integral articulation of progressive values, individual identities, and racial frameworks. Drawing on archival materials from the University of Illinois, Urbana High School, and the personal papers of Carol Spindel, this chapter investigates the organizations that influenced Leutwiler’s Indian and positions his performance within a larger history of performing race.

These conjoined performances—the performance of an “Indian” leading the band and the use of the pipe exchange—signaled a contemporary conjunction of the colonial with the neo-colonial in the form of cultural borrowing: the catlinite pipe certainly served as a signifier of the

¹ Hereafter I will refer to the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Illinois as UPenn and Illinois, respectively.

² Carol Spindel, Personal Papers, in possession of author (hereafter cited as Spindel Papers).

³ Spindel, *Dancing at Halftime*, 81.

calumet ceremony that frequently occurred in political negotiations among differing Indian nations, and between Indians and European-Americans during colonial encounters. As historian Richard White has shown, the calumet ceremony “formed a part of a conscious framework for peace, alliance, exchange and free movement among peoples in the region [of the Great Lakes]. By arresting warriors, the calumet produced a truce during which negotiations took place; when negotiations were successful, the full calumet ceremony ratified the peace and created a fictive kinship relation between the person offering the pipe and the person specifically honored by the calumet. These people became responsible for maintaining that peace.”⁴ One seventeenth-century French priest, Louis Hennepin, remarked that the calumet was a “pass and safe conduct among the allies of the nation who has given it.”⁵ Leutwiler as the “Indian,” and “Penn,” who had been enemies in the first half of the football game ceased their conflict, affected kinship ties, and negotiated bonds of responsibility that suggested equal socio-political standing and safe passage for white Americans.⁶ The “Chief” and the UPenn mascot then left the stadium together, leaving behind an audience who effectively inherited and represented the success of the colonial encounter.

The interplay between Leutwiler and the Penn mascot can be read as a reenactment of American colonialism that elided actual consequences, namely violence, disorder, and disruption, in favor of a more neutral narrative of equitable relations and white succession.

⁴ Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 22. The phrase “catlinite pipe” refers to the marble material the pipe was constructed from. These pipes took a variety of shapes and were not necessarily associated with political or social rituals. The term “calumet” refers to the highly decorated stem that graced the pipe. For a thorough discussion of the variety of pipes and the nuances of the calumet ceremony see Ian W. Brown, “The Calumet Ceremony in the Southeast and its Archeological Manifestations,” *American Antiquity* 54:2 (April 1989), 311-331.

⁵ Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. *Father Louis Hennepin’s A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America* (facsimile ed., Toronto: Coles, 1974 reprint of 1903 ed.), 125 quoted in White, 21.

⁶ I adopt the convention of using quotation marks around a proper name when I am referring to the discursively produced figure utilized in mascotry. The lack of quotation marks signals that the individual or subject under discussion is not a fictive representation but a historical actor.

Reading against the calumet ceremony, the entire performance is underlain by different renderings of Indian-white relations. Tropes of Indians as warring peoples, spectacles of entertainment, and vanishing into the colonial frontier are all present in Leutwiler's performance. His dance was not just a demonstration of his understanding of Indian dance, dress, and political ceremonies; instead, it can be seen as a manifestation of a broader circuit of knowledge about Indians within the context of colonial encounters that was shared between the band, its members, and these competing institutions. In this manifestation, there is no place for the "Indian" to remain in the stadium. He appears only to contextualize white inheritance of the field, the stadium, the university, and much more broadly, America. This contextualization demonstrates the ways in which white men were reproducing race in suggestive ways. This cultural cosmopolitanism, a view of the interactions between individuals and institutions and their varied meanings, suggests that athletics was pivotal to the life of young, white, men in the early twentieth century.

While Leutwiler's initiative in taking to the field has been well-documented by scholars and the University of Illinois alike, the role of the UPenn figure, "Benjamin Franklin" or alternately in Illinois narratives "William Penn", has received little attention.⁷ Leutwiler's adoption of the "Chief Illiniwek" persona, which will be discussed in-depth later in this chapter, was not a response to inquiries by the UPenn band who hoped to utilize their articulated personae of "Benjamin Franklin" during a halftime skit as other scholars have suggested. Leutwiler adopted an untitled personae two years earlier that formed the basis for the "Chief" during

⁷ Spindel, *Dancing at Halftime*; King and Springwood, *Team Spirits*; C. Richard King and Charles Fruehling Springwood, eds. *Beyond the Cheers: Race as Spectacle in College Sport* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2001).

experiences as a Boy Scout and for performances at his alma mater, Urbana High School.⁸ I argue that while the University of Pennsylvania solicited the Illinois band and assistant director Raymond Dvorak in particular, to create its own figure to interact with “Benjamin Franklin” in a show of “good sportsmanship,” Lester Leutwiler was already performing as the “Chief” prior to its supposed 1926 inception.⁹

Importantly, then the UPenn invitation can be read as the opening of a new arena for performances of Indianness-the sports field- not as an inciting event in the creation of “Chief Illiniwek”. Focusing on “Chief Illiniwek” as a sports mascot has eroded the larger cultural context of performances of historical revision and memory that was being undertaken in local and national venues including Urbana High School. The mascot “Benjamin Franklin” was immediately replaced in Illinois narratives both contemporarily by Leutwiler and the student paper in favor of the mascot “William Penn”. Scholars have continued this misidentification and, in doing, so have missed the suggestive nature of the replacement of “Benjamin Franklin” with “William Penn.”

In order to fully recognize the nuances of colonial discourse operating in this inquiry and subsequent performance, it is important to read the historical memory of William Penn’s relationship with Indians over and against the performatively embodied and discursively enacted “Benjamin Franklin” of the nineteenth century. By 1900, William Penn was being used on university memorabilia and in campus promotional literatures at the University of Pennsylvania, yet at the same moment, “Benjamin Franklin” was appearing at sporting matches at the

⁸ Lester Leutwiler, “Chief Illiniwek Tradition,” in Spindel Papers (hereafter cited as Leutwiler, “Chief Illiniwek Tradition”).

⁹ Spindel Papers.

university mascot.¹⁰ The conjoined representations of William Penn, as the colonial founder, and Benjamin Franklin, as the University of Pennsylvania founder, suggest an elaborately constructed convergence where UPenn legitimated its existence through historical genealogies of founding and state formation. The first encounter between the “Chief” portrayed by Leutwiler and the UPenn mascot demonstrated an immediate act of revision, where “Benjamin Franklin” as the mascot was immediately read as “William Penn.” Why did Illinois band members including Leutwiler alter the embodied persona? Further did that alteration shift the meaning of the performance? I argue here that the substitution continued a long-term practice of eliding the historical consequences of colonial conquest.

At the core of Illinois’ use of the new discursively embodied mascot is the historical memory of the narrative of Pennsylvania’s formation articulated following William Penn’s death. Historian James Merrell has charted English and colonialists’ historical amnesia: “Beginning shortly after the Founder’s death in 1718, medals struck in England depicted Penn shaking hands with some Indian or, seated beneath a tree on a sunny day, passing the native a peace pipe across a cheerful fire...”¹¹ Benjamin West’s 1771 painting *William Penn’s Treaty with the Indians* visually articulated similar historical amnesia associated with Indian-white relations. “On an autumn day in 1682, the legend goes, William Penn met leaders of the Lenapes to settle a unique treaty of peace and amity. According to the story told and retold during the subsequent centuries, the Native people quickly lost their initial fear when they met Penn and his unarmed company in the diffuse morning light.”¹² Benjamin West believed that the “savages

¹⁰ Ivy League Calender, 1900, container 366, University Memorabilia Collection, 1787-2006, University of Pennsylvania University Archives and Records Center, Philadelphia.

¹¹ James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999), 29.

¹² James O’Neil Spady, “Colonialism and the Discursive Antecedents of *Penn’s Treaty with the Indians*,” in *Friends and Enemies in Penn’s Woods: Indians, Colonists, and the Racial Construction of Pennsylvania*, ed., William A.

[were] brought into harmony and peace by justice and benevolence” and “a conquest that was made over native peoples without sword or dagger.”¹³ His painting of Lenape Indians suggested strong classical European influences that elided the actual appearance and exchange between Lenape and William Penn’s treaty party. Historian James O’Neil Spady writes, “the story of Pennsylvania’s benevolent origins is an allegory of colonialism propagated by Penn and later colonists that has obscured the significance of both the severe disruption of Lenape [Indian] life that Pennsylvania created and the resistance of some Lenapes to that disruption.”¹⁴ In historical memory, the effects of colonialism virtually disappear under the weight of the myth of the founding of Pennsylvania as a site of religious freedom with Penn as the icon of the compassionate father. “These fundamental contradictions in American identity and history- the tension between the ideal of a free and democratic nation and the reality of racial hierarchies, the discrepancy between the myth of peaceful expansion and the history of bloody conquest- reemerge again and again in the cultural imagination. It is, perhaps, for this reason that European Americans have always been obsessed with stories of the nation’s origins, repeatedly retelling and reconfiguring their collective past in self-justifying ways.”¹⁵ It was these mythologized qualities of benevolence and goodwill for the purposes of self-justification that the University of Illinois undoubtedly was attempting to remember with its altered “Benjamin Franklin” mascot. The newly enacted “William Penn” passively greets the “Indian” after watching his war dance, accepts the “gesture of friendship”, and facilitates the exit of the Indian from the stadium.¹⁶ He does not suggest the complex, and often violent process of colonial encounters between the

Pencak and Daniel K. Richter (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), 19. See also Francis Jennings, “Thomas Penn’s Oath,” in *The American Journal of Legal History* 8:4 (October 1964), 303-313.

¹³ Spady, 18.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁵ Shari M. Huhndorf, *Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 11.

¹⁶ Leutwiler, “Chief Illiniwek Tradition”.

Lenape and Pennsylvanians. Nor does the narrative of encounter between colonists and Indians in the modern state of Illinois come to the fore. Instead, the scripted exchange suggests a benign interplay between Indians and colonists without nuance or elaboration. This is, as suggested in the introduction, the height of the erasure of Indian bodies. They are, in Baudrillard's terminology, "reality, image, echo, appearance."¹⁷ Indian bodies are only present on the field when in conversation with the band, the audience, and the field and, following Derrida, only accessible to the audience through their proximity to that which is different. This is essential to understanding the performance of mascots as a contemporary conjunction of the colonial with the neo-colonial. The appropriation and use of Indian signs (and physical representations) proves a consciousness of race and the colonial project.

Making Room for Mascots

The extension of such historical mythologies to the discursively performed "William Penn" on the sports field is hardly surprising given contact between the University of Pennsylvania and its east coast rivals of Yale University and Harvard University. Although Yale University claims itself as the first college in the United States to have a mascot for its athletic teams with the purchase of a bulldog in 1889 named Handsome Dan, the use of mascots by collegiate teams is much more complex.¹⁸ The University of Pennsylvania football team posed in 1895 with a live dog and other football teams quickly began to appropriate animals as mascots.¹⁹ While animal mascotry is significant, it is the convergence of mascotry with individual

¹⁷ Jean Baudrillard, *Simulations* (London: Semiotext(e) Press, 1983), 95. See also Stuart Hall, *Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage Publications, 1997) and Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulations*, Sheila Faria Glaser, trans. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995.)

¹⁸ Yale University Bulldog Tradition, Yale University, Athletic Department, http://www.yalebulldogs.com/information/mascot/handsome_dan/index. (hereafter cited as Bulldog Tradition).

¹⁹ Football Team, 1895 team, Group photograph with dog as mascot, University of Pennsylvania University Archives and Records Center, Philadelphia.

performances that provides an articulation of racial understanding. I argue here that by exploring various manifestations of people as mascots, it is possible to understand (and underscore) the hierarchy of race in late nineteenth and early twentieth century that was a vital portion of the cultural cosmopolitanism that these historical actors expressed.

Individual performances also quickly rose to prominence in the final decades of the twentieth century. A local community figure began appearing as “John Orangeman” at Harvard University football games.²⁰ “John Orangeman” was, in fact, John Lovett, an Irishman who immigrated from County Kerry, Ireland in 1855 and peddled fruit in Harvard Yard.²¹ Bequeathed with a cart by students, Lovett marketed his wares at Harvard football and baseball games where “the students decorated him with crimson streamers.”²² Harvard fans also sponsored John’s travels to Harvard sporting events. At an 1888 game in New York, John, “arrayed in crimson scarfs and flags”, and Harvard students “sat on the upper deck, singing songs and telling stories until nearly midnight; and naturally John was the central object of interest.”²³ One year later in Springfield, Massachusetts “his appearance on the field was announced by cheers, and cries of “John! John!” all along the line. To these he responded by waving a couple of crimson flags, and shouting, “Harvard! Harvard!” He was immediately seized and dragged to the grand stand, where a seat had been reserved for him.”²⁴ Lovett’s attendance, while generating enthusiasm and support for Harvard, was not a constructed

²⁰ Bulldog Tradition. Princeton University claims that “John Orangeman” was constructed as a representation of John Harvard, the founding father of Harvard University. It is unclear whether this assertion is true given the lack of evidence available.

²¹ Patricia H. Rodgers, Charles Sullivan, and the Cambridge Historical Commission. *A Photographic History of Cambridge*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984 quoted in *American Landscape and Architectural Design, 1850-1920*, Library of Congress, American Memory, <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/award97/mhsdhtml/harvardbldgs.html#hbft4>.

²² “John the Orangeman Dead,” *The New York Times*, August 13, 1906, 7.

²³ Henry Fielding, *The Story of John the Orange-man: Being a Short Sketch of the life of Harvard’s Popular Mascot* (Cambridge: John Wilson and Son-University Press, 1891), 33.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 34-35.

spectacle of racialized performance per se. Instead, it would be more appropriate to consider Lovett a preferred fan or cheerleader versus a mascot. Samuel Batchelder, a Harvard Law School student, wrote that John Orangeman and other local figures at Harvard made it "as full of characters as a novel by Dickens."²⁵ Setting aside the implications of Harvard as a Dickensian setting fraught with class implications, the students' performances with Lovett were enacted at a moment when the Irish were forging a strong political aggregate that allowed them to secure political and social status while simultaneously articulating anti-Black sentiments. As Noel Ignatiev and David Roediger have suggested, the Irish were situated in the early nineteenth century as non-white because of their religion, place within labor markets, and other cultural values, yet by the mid-to-late nineteenth century, the Irish were able to ascend into whiteness in a manner completely inaccessible to African-Americans.²⁶ Lovett's association with mascotry was because of his proximity to the sporting field as well as the approximation of his racial identity to the whiteness of John Harvard, the Harvard founding father. Lovett's whiteness was an entry to the stadium of an all-white sport and institution. The "Orangeman" who was integrated into the grand stand had to be white because to allow a non-white access to the enclave of the grand stand would be to denigrate the whiteness of Harvard University and its fans. This was a dramatic representation of the possibility of America: an individual being remade within the structure of social mobility. It acted as an affirmation of the racial and ethnic hierarchy along class lines.²⁷ Lovett's lower-class status, in the eyes of Harvard students and fans, could possibly be mediated

²⁵ Bruce A. Kimball, "The Langdell Problem: Historicizing the Century of Historiography, 1906-2000s," *Law and History Review* Summer 2004, <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/lhr/22.2/kimball.html>; Samuel Batchelder, "Wanted!—College Characters," in *Bits of Harvard History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924), 262, 296, 287–88.

²⁶ Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge Press, 1996); David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (New York: Verso Books, 1991).

²⁷ I would like to thank Adrian Burgos for his suggestions regarding the conceptualization of Lovett's status.

by his commercial acumen and work ethic that would likely have appealed to the largely Protestant population who saw value in the myth of ascendancy in America.²⁸

The veneration of founding figures like William Penn and John Harvard rests in uneasy conversation with the use of African-American men as mascots of athletic teams between 1865 and 1920. Adrian Burgos delineates the links between racial discourse, racial segregation, and African-American mascots when discussing major and minor league baseball teams in turn of the nineteenth century America.²⁹ “Diminutive, odd-looking, and often bearing some physical deformity, black mascots were the physical embodiment of black men as backward, brutes, or dandies. In sharp contrast to the attributes teams looked for in a batboy (i.e., a fresh-face, precocious youngster), white segregated teams sought out black men with physical deformities and exaggerated qualities. A black mascot’s physical appearance had to be “the reverse of beautiful.”³⁰ This is what the 1888 Toledo club in the American Association accomplished with its “diminutive” mascot that *The Sporting News* described as “black as the ace of spades.”³¹ Chicago’s White Sox baseball team employed Clarence Duval, a vaudeville performer, as mascot. “His grin is broad, his legs limbre and his face as black as the ace of spades,” wrote one Chicago newsman, “whenever anything goes wrong, it is only necessary to rub Clarence’s wooly head to save the situation, and one of his celebrated ‘double shuffles’ to dispel all traces of care, even on the gloomiest occasion.”³² Described here as superstitious totem slash performer,

²⁸ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Penguin Books, 2002.)

²⁹ Adrian Burgos, Jr. *Playing America’s Game: Baseball, Latinos, and the Color Line* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007), 59. Importantly, the division lines between collegiate sport and professional sport were extremely blurred during post-Civil War period. Many professional athletes participated simultaneously in collegiate sport and vice versa. Further, the coaches, teams, and traveling sport circuits often converged.

³⁰ *The Sporting News*, November 4, 1893 quoted in Burgos, 61.

³¹ *The Sporting News*, August 25, 1888 quoted in Burgos, 61.

³² Peter Levine, *A. G. Spalding and the Rise of Baseball: The Promise of American Sport* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 101-102. Duval was included on the tour in spite of protest by Anson. Jerry Malloy, “Out at Home” in *The National Pastime*, ed. by John Thorn (New York: Warner Books, 1987), 24.

Duval's role is clearly different from that of Jim Lovett, who did not "perform" in the vaudevillian racialized sense. Lovetts' decorations, while comical, were not embedded with racialized overtones of subservience. Duval's blackness was openly derided. Burgos and historian Peter Levine have explored the depth of European-American baseball players' derision for their black mascot and the sense of anti-humanity associated with mascot performance. During a stop in Cairo, Egypt, "Several ballplayers forced [Duval] to wear a catcher's mask and glove and then paraded [him] about the Cairo railway station, tethered by a rope, 'as if he was some strange animal let loose from a menagerie.'"³³ The historical record is obviously silent on Duval's feelings about the performance, yet it would be hard to imagine a lack of a sense of racial exploitation on his part. Locating "William Penn's" 1926 performance, "John Orangeman's" 1888 appearance, Clarence Duval's 1888 employment, and Handsome Dan's 1885 purchase within a representational framework of sporting mascotry then reveals syllogisms of race where whiteness equates to privilege and acceptability and blackness equals denigration, derision, and animalism. Exploring the narrative of Louis Francis Sockalexis' relation to the Cleveland Indians name in 1915 positions Indians within this hierarchy.

Louis Francis Sockalexis was a Penobscot Indian widely recognized as being the first American Indian to integrate baseball. A player for Major League Baseball's Cleveland Naps beginning in 1897, Sockalexis supposedly served as the inspiration for the moniker "Cleveland Indians" and its "Chief Wahoo" logo. Sociologist Ellen Staurowsky reveals the transition of the team name from the Cleveland Naps, after Napoleon Lajoie, an American of French-Canadian descent, to the Cleveland Indians.³⁴ Stimulated by the transfer of Lajoie to Philadelphia in 1915, the Cleveland name was chosen not through a contest in a local newspaper as most [including

³³ Levine, 104.

³⁴ Ellen Staurowsky, "An Act of Honor or Exploitation? The Cleveland Indians' Use of the Louis Francis Sockalexis Story," *Sociology of Sport Journal* 15 (1998), 305.

sportswriters, the Cleveland club, fans, and contemporary scholars] have alleged, but through the formation of the “nomenclature committee,” a group of professional writers brought together to select a new name by the Cleveland franchise president. In reporting the choice of the Indians’ name in the local paper, Sockalexis received no mention. The Cleveland baseball club and its fans decided later to suggest that Sockalexis was the inspiration in order to explain their use of the Indians name as well as to reenact a narrative of the past as racially inclusive. The reality of Sockalexis’ involvement with the Cleveland club demonstrates this revisionism. “Sockalexis was the object of intense racial fascination,” historian Jeffrey Powers-Beck writes, “which Cleveland management happily exploited in ticket sales, and also the object of intense racial bigotry. Though he could run, hit, and throw like few who had ever played the game, he was seldom simply described in the press as “Sockalexis, the great player” but, usually, instead, as “Chief Sockalexis,” “Sockalexis, the Big Medicine Man,” “the Redskin,” “the Indian,” or the “genuine descendent of Sitting Bull.”³⁵ Cleveland fans between 1897 and 1899, when he formally left the club, remarked caustically on his supposed alcoholism, laziness, and irresponsible behavior.³⁶ This trend continued through Sockalexis’ death in 1904. In Cleveland narratives, Sockalexis was not remembered for his baseball acumen; instead his personal flaws were the dominant popular conception. The revision of Sockalexis by Cleveland fans suggests parallel rehabilitations: 1) the personal redemption of Sockalexis where his alcoholism and athletic demise disappears and 2) the elision of the role of “professional” sportswriters from the naming process in favor of fans who were seemingly more egalitarian and were part of the growing commercial market of professional sports.

³⁵ Jeffrey Powers-Beck, “Chief,” *American Indian Quarterly* 25:4 (2001), 508.

³⁶ Staurowsky, 305.

Other American Indian baseball players, including “the legends like Sockalexis, Jim Thorpe, and Charles Albert Bender and the overlooked veterans of many Minor League seasons, like Frank Jude, Louis Leroy and Elijah Pinnance, were all submerged in the cauldron of racism, far different from the American myth of baseball’s supposed ‘melting pot.’ These players triumphed in enduring the integration experience of name-calling, race-baiting, mob mockery, and mistreatment by players, managers, and fans, all part of the pervasive racism of America’s “Progressive” era.”³⁷ Powers-Beck explores the ways Bender and John Tortes Meyers articulated different strategies of confronting anti-Indian sentiment: Bender “was a canny and intense performer, a World Series hero who faced whooping crowds, race baiting, and disparaging caricature. In the midst of it, he denied feeling any prejudice, but the suffering showed on his body and in his pitching, and he later admitted, “I couldn’t let it out.””³⁸ John Meyers, the “slow footed catcher,” tolerated the domination of his manager, who batted him eighth and seldom trusted him to call pitches, but he spoke his mind about being treated as “a foreigner,” a “stranger” who “didn’t belong” because he was an Indian.”³⁹ Verbal derision with racist overtones characterized Indian involvement in baseball. Returning to the mascotry framework, Indians, while not outrightly subjected to physical abuse like Duval and other black mascots, were obviously positioned as “other”. In this ranking of racial representation, the worldview of white men in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century becomes clear. Indians were neither white nor black and to understand where Indians fit in Jim Crow America most looked to popular press, literature, and social organizations to educate them about Indians.

³⁷ Jeffrey Powers-Beck, *The American Indian Integration of Baseball* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2004), 2.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 95.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

Learning the Indian “Race”

Indians paraded daily through the pages of American newspapers, in dime novels, and as subjects of educational lectures and exhibits as the nineteenth century gave way to the twentieth. From reports of the conditions of Indians from Carlisle Boarding School in 1890 through the death of Lucy Boston Johnson, the last of the Nipmuck Indians in 1900, men and women learned of Indians in the pages of the *New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the *Washington Post*.⁴⁰ James Carey, a prominent communications theorist has explored the role of newspapers as performance. He argues that newspapers are not “information acquisition, though such acquisition occurs, but of dramatic action in which the reader joins a world of contending forces as an observer at play.”⁴¹ I consider the production and consumption of newspaper, as Carey does, a performance of identity and frameworks of meaning. These written texts conjoin with performances of “actual” Indians at Chicago’s Columbian Exhibition and visited touring shows like Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show to relive the experience of American victory over Plains Indians.

By the 1920s, the vast majority of adolescent men and women learned of Indians through social organizations founded by progressive reformers. Lester Leutwiler learned about Indians from one such organization, the Boy Scouts of America: “I had learned the Sioux Indian war dance when I attended the 1924 Boy Scout Jamboree in Copenhagen, Denmark from our scoutmaster, Ralph Hubbard...My costume which was used at this first performance [of “Chief Illiniwek” in 1926] was made in 1925 when I attended Camp Ten-Sleep, operated by Ralph

⁴⁰ “Indian Students Not Dying,” *The New York Times*, January 5, 1890, 3. “Suicide was 105 Years Old,” *The New York Times*, January 8, 1900, 5.

⁴¹ James Carey, *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society* (Boston: Unwin Hyman Publishing, 1988), 20-21.

Hubbard, in Elbert, Colorado.”⁴² The Boy Scouts of America (BSA) “embodied the diffuse idealism of the Progressive Era...They relied upon recreational programs to nurture and discipline capacities which they summed up as character.”⁴³ By focusing on the “normal, morally wholesome, and socially respectable” young man, the BSA established itself as the premier organization to educate young men of their role in the growing nation. Not surprisingly, the Boy Scouts of America began in the United States in 1910 under the auspices of leaders in the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA), who worked to further imperial projects at home and abroad.⁴⁴ Conjoined, the YMCA and the BSA joined narratives of economic production, namely labor and markets, with governance, or the need for citizens in order to position the United States alongside older European nations. As a result, the perceived barbarianism of foreigners at home and abroad reinforced the virtuous “civilized” white American.⁴⁵

The YMCA with its Progressive tendencies defined civilization as a spectrum with elite white male Protestants at the apex. Masculinity was tied to citizenship in order to inculcate social, political, and economic responsibility. In turn of the century Philadelphia, the YMCA utilized evangelical Protestant rhetoric to “turn manhood into a tool for preserving class distinctions and cementing their own place among the country's educated elite.”⁴⁶ YMCA secretaries attempted to quell working-class radicalism by inculcating the values of hard work,

⁴² Leutwiler, “Chief Illiniwek Tradition”.

⁴³ David I. MacLeod, *Building Character in the American Boy* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 3-4.

⁴⁴ David I. MacLeod, “Act Your Age: Boyhood, Adolescence, and the Rise of the Boy Scouts of America,” *Journal of Social History* 16:2 (Winter 1982), 3-20.

⁴⁵ Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: the United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000).

⁴⁶ Emily Mieras, “Tales from the Other Side of the Bridge: YMCA manhood, Social Class, and Social Reform in Turn-of-the-Century Philadelphia,” *Gender & History* 17:2, 409-440.

loyalty to employers, and Christian fellowship.⁴⁷ The domestic program believed social reform would create the conditions for a healthy and prosperous American public. Young white men were supposed to lead America into the future. This theme of a young, male, prosperous America forms an integral feature of the cultural cosmopolitanism under analysis here. In this safer, cleaner world, Indians would become assimilated and would gradually “vanish” giving way to the growing white middle class.

Charles Eastman, the famous Santee Sioux product of Carlisle Indian School, Dartmouth, and Boston College, who was a founding member of the Society of American Indians was himself a de-facto missionary for the YMCA among the Sioux.⁴⁸ He was noted for his own performance of Indian identity. Historian Drew Lopenzina considers the tension of Eastman’s articulation: “he might appear in old Dartmouth photographs as the gentleman scholar, hair slicked and combed, staring forcefully into that hallowed distance dignitaries often attempt to pierce with their visionary gazes. And yet he would just as happily parade about in full Sioux regalia for class reunions, in overly elaborate beads and headdresses, playing the role of Indian Chief that was apparently expected of him.”⁴⁹ Importantly, Eastman too targeted young men as vital sites of inculcation. Speaking of an “Indian boy’s training,” Eastman writes that a “conception of his own future career becomes a vivid and irresistible force. Whatever there is for him to learn must be learned; whatever qualifications are necessary to a truly great man he must seek at any expense of danger and hardship.”⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Thomas Winter, *Making Men, Making Class: the YMCA and Workingmen, 1877-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

⁴⁸ Drew Lopenzina, “Good Indian”: Charles Eastman and the Warrior as Civil Servant,” *American Indian Quarterly* 27:3/4 (Summer/Fall 2003): 727-757.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 728-729.

⁵⁰ Charles A. Eastman, *Indian Boyhood* (New York: Dover Publications, 1971 ed.), 43 quoted in Lopenzina, 735.

Striking similarities exist between Eastman's articulation of an Indian boy's training as a "career" and the Baden-Powell/British model of the Boy Scouts as a training ground for a young men's career in the military. The British Boy Scouting model "was a unique program for boys," wrote Baden-Powell biographer Russell Freedman, "based on Baden-Powell's army adventures and on his own boyhood experiences."⁵¹ This linkage between youth and subsequent military service cannot be understated. In 1899, Baden-Powell authored a manual for individuals interested in military scouting while still commanding scouts in Africa. Distributed to British troops engaged in the preservation of its colonial empire, *Aids to Scouting* contained stories of Baden-Powell's exploits during his thirty years of military service including during the Boer War as well as a series of games and contests designed to develop a scouts' powers of observation, reasoning, and memory.⁵² Showing a scout how to "find his way across unfamiliar country, draw maps, and sketches, follow tracks, keep himself hidden, and live off the land," in 1900, editors of the popular magazine *Boys of the Empire* serialized portions for their young male readers under the title, "The Boy Scouts."⁵³

Initially Baden-Powell was uninterested in formulating his own organization. Instead, he tapped into the Boy's Brigade, a Scottish organization formed to combat gang activity in Glasgow in 1883 by William A. Smith. The Boy's Brigade paired military discipline with religious education. By 1904, it served over fifty thousand members across the British Isles who each agreed to observe the "promotion of habits of Obedience, Reverence, Discipline, Self-Respect, and all that tends towards a true Christian manliness."⁵⁴ Baden-Powell observed the annual Drill and Review and agreed, at the behest of Smith, to write a book for boys that

⁵¹ Russell Freedman, *Scouting With Baden-Powell* (New York: Holiday House, Inc., 1967), 9.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 148.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 149.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 150.

broadened his previous *Aids to Scouting*. Winston Churchill, who met Baden-Powell during his military service in India, wrote of the transformative nature of the Boy Scouts on British life:

Almost immediately we saw at holiday times on the roads of Britain little troops and patrols of Boy Scouts, big and small, staff in hand, trudging forward hopefully, pushing their little handcart with their kit and camping gear towards the woodlands and parklands which their exemplary conduct speedily threw open to them. Forthwith there twinkled the camp fires of a vast new army whose ranks will never be empty, and whose march will never be ended while red blood courses in the veins of youth. It is difficult to exaggerate the moral and mental health which our nation has derived from this profound and simple conception. In whose bygone days the motto "Be Prepared" had a special meaning for our country. Those who looked to the coming of a great war welcomed the awakening of British boyhood. But no one, even the most resolute pacifist, could be offended; for the movement was not militaristic in character, and even the sourest, crabbiest critic saw in it a way of letting off youthful steam.⁵⁵

Scouting for Boys, the 1908 manual commissioned by Smith, was inscribed with the phrase "A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship."⁵⁶ Sold for ten cents, the original manual included "camp fire yarns" which detailed the historical exploits of British soldiers, a condensed version of *Kim*, the imperialist Rudyard Kipling's story of a boy's adventures in India, and various prescriptions for the sort of things Boy Scouts should learn. Baden-Powell believed that his organization could be a training ground for boys in order to indoctrinate the notion of peaceful citizenship: "Our training is non-military. Military drill tends to destroy individuality, whereas we want, in the Scouts, to develop individual character...Our aim is to make young backwoodsmen of [the boys], not imitation soldiers."⁵⁷

Baden-Powell imagined a historical fiction: that his organization was not militaristic. This tension inherent in the fictive construction of the movement appears even more prominent when you consider that Baden-Powell told an aid to the Governor General of Canada, "all boys [should] become Boy Scouts from 11 to 14 and then to become proper Cadets from 14 to 18. If

⁵⁵ Winston Churchill, *Great Contemporaries* (1938; repr., New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1991.)

⁵⁶ Freedman, 150.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 174.

this is done...in all colonies, we shall establish a standard and bond throughout the cadets of the coming Imperial army.”⁵⁸ The success of Baden-Powell’s progressive program of militaristic schooling, Churchill himself notes in considering the Boy Scout’s role in the Great War (World War I):

The Great War swept across the world. Boy Scouts played their part. Their keen eyes were added to the watchers along the coasts; and in the air raids we saw the spectacle of children of twelve and fourteen performing with perfect coolness and composure the useful functions assigned to them in the streets and public offices. Many venerable, famous institutions and systems long honored by men perished in the storm; but the Boy Scout Movement survived. It survived not only the War, but the numbing reactions of the aftermath. While so many elements in the life and spirit of the victorious nations seemed to be lost in stupor, it flourished and grew increasingly. Its motto gathers new national significance as the years unfold upon our island. It speaks to every heart its message of duty and honor: "Be Prepared" to stand up faithfully for Right and Truth, however the winds may blow.⁵⁹

By 1909, over 100,000 boys had registered as British members in the rapidly growing organization.

While the British movement, despite Baden-Powell’s efforts to suggest otherwise, was engaged in the preservation of the British Empire, the American version imbued its construction of “peaceful citizenship” with narrative threads distinctive to the United States cultural milieu. Chicago publisher William Bryce recruited Edgar Robinson, Senior Secretary of the YMCA Committee on Boys’ Work, Ernest Thompson Seaton, founder of the Woodcraft Indians, and Dan Beard, founder to the Sons of Daniel Boone, to oversee the formation of the first American chapter.⁶⁰ Boyce sought a Congressional charter which would have clearly spelled out the ties of American citizenship to social educational programs for boys. While Boyce ultimately failed to secure the charter, he was able to recognize the usefulness of YMCA organizers and resources

⁵⁸ Robert Baden-Powell quoted in MacLeod, *Building Character in the American Boy*, 139.

⁵⁹ Churchill, *Great Contemporaries* (1938; repr., New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1991), 283.

⁶⁰ Freedman, 177.

for the nascent organization.⁶¹ BSA organizers occupied YMCA offices in New York City and sought out progressive men interested in child welfare. Prominent individuals including Luther Gulick, the noted expert on physical education who spent the first fifteen years of his life in Hawaii as part of the American Board of Commissioners Foreign Missionaries and Jacob Riis, the master photographer of urban life in New York, as well as men affiliated with the Red Cross, Big Brothers, *Outlook* magazine, and public schools consulted for the organization.⁶² The involvement of progressive reformers, who were deeply invested in issues of race, citizenship, and nationhood, significantly shaped the Boys Scouts of America. Baden-Powell who had consulted with Seaton and Beard during his founding of the British Boy Scouts movement called the American organization, a great “combine.”⁶³ This convergence of interests in race, citizenship, and nationhood mirrors the articulation of mascotry in early twentieth century America.

No matter Baden-Powell’s perception, the Boy Scouts of America worked quickly to make itself distinctly American. James E. West, former YMCA man and government lawyer, assumed leadership of the BSA almost immediately after its founding. West “altered the Boy Scout badge by superimposing an eagle on the fleur-de-lys...secured Jeremiah Jenks, a leading proponent of immigration restriction, to chair the committee which overhauled the oaths and laws...and de-emphasized imperial rivalries.”⁶⁴ In West’s revision, the Boy Scout oath not only covered a boy’s duty to God, country, and fellow man, but also a willingness to “keep myself physically strong, mentally awake, and morally straight.”⁶⁵ Additionally, new Scout laws mandated a boy be brave, clean, and reverent. These concerns about morality, physical strength

⁶¹ MacLeod, *Building Character in the American Boy*, 146.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 147.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 147.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 148.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 149.

and cleanliness, and mental fortitude echoed Progressive reformers concerns regarding the increasing immigrant population in urban centers. Similarly, as will be explored in later chapters, progressive attitudes regarding sport echoed these concerns over physical abilities and the morality of the game.

Incorporated into the new organization were Seton's Indians, founded by Ernest Thompson Seton in 1900 and made widely available to the public in 1903's *How to Play Injun*, a collection of six articles by Seton. Importantly, Seton held his first camp at his Connecticut home for the local boys who had been caught trespassing and vandalizing his land.⁶⁶ "The promotion of interest in out-of-door life and woodcraft, the preservation of wildlife and landscape and the promotion of good fellowship among its members," wrote Seton in 1906's *The Birch Bark Roll of Woodcraft Indians*. "The plan aims to give the young people something to do, something to think about, something to enjoy in the woods, with the view always to character building, for manhood not scholarship is the aim of education. . . . My foundation thought was to discover, preserve, develop and diffuse the culture of the Redman."⁶⁷

Just as Baden-Powell's movement was an effort to strengthen the British Empire through military service and youth citizenship, Seton's Indians was a response to increasing urbanization and a nostalgic longing for a rural romantic past. It was "concerned not merely to preserve resources for man's use, the reigning form of conservation, but also to defend the ecological balances of nature in the wild."⁶⁸ The American writer John Burroughs visited one of the camps four years later and wrote President Teddy Roosevelt, "Seton has got hold of a big thing with his boys' Indian Camp...All the boy's wild energy and love of devilry are turned into new channels,

⁶⁶ Ibid., 130.

⁶⁷ Brian Morris, "Ernest Thompson Seton and the Origins of the Woodcraft Movement," *Journal of Contemporary History* 5:2 (1970), 187.

⁶⁸ MacLeod, *Building Character in the American Boy*, 131.

and he is taught woodcraft and natural history and Indian-lore in a most fascinating way. I really think it is worthy of your attention and encouragement.”⁶⁹ The “new channels” Burroughs spoke of were a plan for camping education with Indian games, ceremonies, and awards. “Instead of pursuing vocational training [as the YMCA was encouraging] or the usual hobbies, boys could earn awards, called “coups”, for single feats of campcraft, nature study, or track and field. Whoever won twenty-five became a “sachem,” and fifty made one a “sagamore.” Boys assumed positions of social power based on their athletic and educational prowess. “In the evenings, Seton led in songs, Indian dances, and storytelling around the council fire and solemnly gave each boy an Indian name.”⁷⁰ The demonstrations of personal achievement culminated in a naming ritual that suggested that an individual remaking a new masculine identity by becoming an honorary member of a fictive Indian nation. In effect, each boy could become Indian through name and demonstrative behaviors.

Coupling the militaristic scouting program with its regimented appearance with Seton’s Indian lore created the standardized program of the Boy Scouts of America. Integrated into this was the technological emphasis promulgated by the Sons of Daniel Boone (SDB) and its founder (and later advisor to the nascent Boy Scouts), Daniel Carter Beard. Like Seton, Beard was an illustrator and free lance writer who began the Sons of Daniel Boone as a “circulation-building device for *Recreation* magazine.”⁷¹ Historian David MacLeod writes of Beard, “for his grander aims, Beard fell back on nativism and hypermasculinity. Against Seton’s Indians he set up the ideal pioneer, boasting the Sons of Daniel Boone’s “soul” was “essentially American.” Beard wrote, “we play American games and learn to emulate our great American forebears in lofty

⁶⁹ Morris, 185.

⁷⁰ MacLeod, *Building Character in the American Boy*, 131.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, 132.

aims and iron characters...We want no Molly Coddles.”⁷² Baden-Powell’s militarism, the YMCA’s organizational structure and resources, Seton’s Indian lore and games, and Beard’s technologies came together to function as Boys Scouts of America, an organization devoted to masculinizing America’s white youth. Thus, it is not surprising that many college-age white men in the period were already familiar with Indian tropes.

An Illinois Indian: Becoming Chief Illiniwek

Targeting middle-class heterosexual Protestant adolescents between the ages of twelve and eighteen by 1920, the Boy Scouts of America became a vibrant part of young male middle class American life. In 1925, as Lester Leutwiler was participating in Boy Scout events at home and abroad, sociologist E.S. Martin wrote, “scouts are volunteers, every one of them, from the slim boy proudly conscious of his khaki uniform to the alert scoutmaster at the head of his troop. And that troop itself could never exist unless some institution, some community, some group of citizens want it and agree to cooperate with the Boy Scout Movement in making the program available to their boys.”⁷³ Leutwiler had earned the title of Eagle Scout just prior to his departure for the Second International Jamboree in Denmark. Ann Leutwiler-Brandenberg, Lester’s daughter wrote of his international travel, “the experience overseas had a powerful impact on the young man who had recently been elected president of his senior high class.”⁷⁴ Amid a sea of boys from thirty-three nations all camped in “true scouting fashion, cooking their own meals, and living out of doors” was Ralph Hubbard, who taught Indian dance at his

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ E.S. Martin, “A Double-Barrelled Social Agency: the Boy Scouts of America,” *Social Forces* 4:1 (Sept. 1925), 94-97.

⁷⁴ Ann Leutwiler-Brandenberg, communication with Carol Spindel, n.d., in Spindel Papers.

Colorado camp and participated in a U.S. based circuit of educators who taught Indian dance to Boy Scouts.

Hubbard's personal history provides an interesting nuance to the story of his involvement with Lester Leutwiler, the first "Chief Illiniwek." Ralph Hubbard was the son of Elbert Green Hubbard, a Bloomington, Illinois native who worked as a farmhand for local farmers in his adolescent years. After intensive schooling with his mother, Bertha, who held a bachelor's of arts degree and was fluent in French, German, and Latin, Elbert Hubbard enrolled in Harvard University in 1894 just the time sporting events and campus functions featured its mascot John Orangeman. Like any other Harvard student, Elbert Hubbard almost certainly was aware of Lovett and his role as a cheerleader.

Following his brief tenure at Harvard, Elbert began to publish a series of books including *The Philistine* and embarked on establishing Roycroft, the family furniture and woodcraft business. *The Philistine, a Periodical of Protest* appeared in 1895 and featured the writings of prominent men including Steven Crane, Eugene Field, Bernard Shaw, and Rudyard Kipling.⁷⁵ With heavy ties to the Thoreau, Emerson, and the American Romantics, *The Philistine* articulated longings for the distant past with implicit beliefs in American expansion. The Roycroft business became a defacto artists' colony that allowed Elbert and his children to engage in a transnational circuit of poets, artists, and writers many of whom were undoubtedly exploring classism, racism, progressivism, and Romantic naturalism. The Hubbards extended their interactions by visiting notables Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Charlotte Bronte and traveling through England, Italy, and Switzerland.⁷⁶ They explored European history during many of these trips and met with names now prominent in romantic literature. The list of luminaries who dined

⁷⁵ Nellie Snyder Yost, *A Man As Big as the West* (Bolder: Pruitt Publishing Company, 1979), 19.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 25.

with the Hubbard family reads as a who's who of American intellectual life: suffragist Susan B. Anthony, writer Carrie Jacobs Bond, Mrs. William Jennings Bryan, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* author Harriet Beecher Stowe, Joel Chandler Harris, the author of *Uncle Remus* stories, American Red Cross founder Clara Barton, George Washington Carver, Booker T. Washington, Ida Tarbell, Mark Twain, Eugene Debs, Margaret Sanger, Clarence Darrow, and Gutzon Borglum, the American sculptor who carved Mount Rushmore.⁷⁷ Among the visitors to Roycroft was John Burroughs, who recommended to Roosevelt that he support Seton's Indians. "We revered the great old naturalist," wrote Hubbard. "How could we help it? Although we never knew Thoreau in person, his life and works were thoroughly familiar to us, and we had learned that the "seed which Thoreau planted, Burrough's watered and tended"; and that, as a writer, Burroughs' works were just as virile and original as Thoreau's."⁷⁸ The individuals listed above undoubtedly spurred Hubbard's interest in the romantic, intellectual, and humanistic inquiries of the day.

Ralph spent his formative years participating in these ventures which lauded the success of European culture and life while simultaneously living in close proximity to the Seneca Indian Reservation in upstate New York. Hubbard writes of his childhood experiences with the Seneca, "since we lived in close association with these people, and since Grandfather Hubbard, and Grandmother too, knew so much about them and their customs, even back to pioneer times, Sandy [his sister] and I absorbed all of this as we went along. We grew up with it, and it all seemed right and natural, a part of our lives..."⁷⁹ Yet it was Ralph's grandfather, the Illinois farmer, who told him, "Ralph, if you really want to learn about Indians, go west until you can smell the sagebrush."⁸⁰ This encountering Indians and experiencing their "lives" (albeit in

⁷⁷ Ibid., 59-60.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 44.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 35.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 61.

mediated voyeuristic form) was an essential component of the ways in which the men involved in creating Indian mascots narrated their understandings of Indian bodies.

Hubbard's introduction to the American west reads as a cautionary tale. During their first night at the boarding house, Hubbard was awakened by the landlady who called them to the window to see a shooting at the saloon across the street. He was "wildly excited by it all."⁸¹ Ralph Hubbard's high school years in Colorado continued his travels from his youth. Most notably, he spent the summer between his junior and senior years living among the Crow and visiting the site of Custer's last stand at Little Big Horn. Trained by his Aunt Myrtilla, who held a doctorate and was the head of the museum at Cornell in 1905, Hubbard was a botanist and taxidermist. He parlayed these skills during his education at Oberlin College in Ohio, Cornell University, and at the University of Colorado at Boulder.⁸²

Hubbard was brought into the Boy Scout movement by Boulder locals who knew that he was experienced in Indian dance and lore. His old family friend Ernest Thompson Seton was the Chief Scout of America and welcomed Hubbard's involvement. "I was only hip high to a dustpan when I learned the basic steps of Indian dancing," Hubbard writes, "I loved to watch them dance, and then I'd go home and practice the steps until I had them memorized. Almost as far back as I can remember, I could watch a dance and then dance it. When I went West, I could watch any new kind of dance, performed by any of the different tribes I met out there, and then dance it myself. For all the basic steps are similar, but each dancer can use his own gestures, showing how he feels about it."⁸³ Hubbard's emotional affinity for Indian dance suggested a level of life-long dedication that was undoubtedly genuine. Yet, Hubbard fails to understand the nuance and contextualization associated with these dances. In altering the gestures, the meaning

⁸¹ Ibid., 66.

⁸² Ibid, 71.

⁸³ Ibid., 35.

of the performance changes. Many dances are highly ritualized and to shift the sequence of the performance or the slightest gesture can suggest an entirely different series of meanings.

Hubbard's role in the Boy Scouts was delayed by the sinking of the *Lusitania*, in which his father perished, and the entrance of the United States into World War I. By the time Hubbard returned from France where he served on the front lines, the BSA had become a nationwide movement that was planning its first World Jamboree.⁸⁴ Hubbard was appointed to incorporate a display of Indian dancing and crafts. He gathered teepees and other materials from his Colorado ranch as well as costumes for ninety boys and set off for London. The first Jamboree was highly successful. Performing before an audience of 10,000 including the British Royal family, the American display featured a 325 foot long scene of a pass in the Rocky Mountains. "To the roll of the drums the youth of the world marched over the pass and down its slope to take their places on the great stage. First came the American Scout Orchestra from Denver, followed by a group of American Indians in magnificent war bonnets, and then Scouts from all the rest of the world."⁸⁵ From England, Hubbard and his scouts traveled to the 1920 Olympic Games where they performed for sports fans. This moment of convergence between the Boy Scouts pageantry and the Olympic Games suggests an increasing level of spectacle associated with sport. Predating Leutwiler's performance by a scant six years, it provided a model of appropriation available to each of these scouts. Hubbard wrote of the scouts chosen to attend the international Jamborees, "all of them had to be progressive, hardworking, ambitious lads."⁸⁶ Leutwiler was just such a lad.

The ways in which Leutwiler, Hubbard, and others participated in international travel and/or the consumption of international commodities (including news stories, novels, and

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 106.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 107.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 109.

travelogues) contributed to the cultural cosmopolitanism under consideration here. As Kristin Hoganson has explored in her study of domesticity in the same period, American fascination with the global shaped local expressions of identity.⁸⁷ The purchase of exotic goods from Asia, of couture from Paris, the purchasing and display of global commodities allowed men and women to illustrate a particular brand of cultural knowledge that allowed the exotic to affirm class and race. In the same way, having young boys familiarize themselves with the global, through travel and knowledge consumption, allowed for the affirmation of American ascendancy where white men and women were both the product of and driving force behind the nation.

In the years between the first Jamboree and the 1924 Denmark event attended by Lester Leutwiler, Hubbard returned to Colorado and his working ranch and overhauled its structure. In its final form, the property held a summer teaching resort and boys' camp with teepees scattered over the property as well as working cattle ranch. By early 1924, Hubbard was traveling around the United States holding "City Jamborees." Hubbard stopped in every major Northern and Western city including New York City, Chicago, St. Louis, Seattle, and Phoenix and brought the Indian department to urban and rural scouts alike. With courses lasting four weeks, Hubbard taught boys camp craft, canoeing, teepee, cooking, wilderness survival, and Indian lore and dancing.⁸⁸ Importantly, the City Jamborees while controlled exclusively by Hubbard featured invited guests. Artists, painters, musicians, members of the forestry service, and Indians themselves contributed to program that would dominate many young white boys understanding of what being an Indian meant. Relegated to the margins of Boy Scout history are the men like Santa Clara Pueblo Indian Ben Naranjo and Navajo Richard Long.⁸⁹ Employed first on

⁸⁷ Kristin Hoganson, *Consumers' Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.)

⁸⁸ Yost, 114.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 116-117.

Hubbard's Colorado ranch as an assistant, Naranjo became instrumental to the touring productions offered at the City Jamborees. A craftsman, singer, and drummer, Naranjo guided many young men in learning the Indian dancing and drumming while Long drove the Scout truck and participated in the Jamboree programs. Visits by famous Indian athletes including Jim Thorpe and Ben American Horse "helped us acquaint our boys with the ability and worth of Indians and their culture and greatly furthered our projects."⁹⁰ Hubbard's Jamboree also offered the opportunity for young male Indians to participate in the Boy Scout movement. Remembering their involvement, Hubbard writes, "scouting was mostly for white boys in those days, but for Indians, too, whenever we had the opportunity to include them. The reason for the government's reluctance to let us have any Indians was that the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indian educational departments refused to recognize that Scouting had no military connections."⁹¹ The actions and programs these Indian boys experienced remain unexplored. Were they willing participants or merely curiosities? Importantly, in some cities, Boy Scouts could attend Buffalo Bill's Wild West show and receive behind the scenes tours of the Indians and the spectacle of American expansion.⁹²

Hubbards' goal at these camps, which targeted older teen boys, was to educate them and prepare them to go out to teach other boys. Each boy who journeyed to a Jamboree was able to return to their home troop and disseminate information to those who were unable to attend. "Schools across the nation were soon cooperating," wrote Hubbard, "following the high standards set by the Scouts in recreation, reading, and other cultural aspects."⁹³ Lester Leutwiler likely attended one of the camps available to him in Chicago or St. Louis and, without a doubt,

⁹⁰ Ibid., 119.

⁹¹ Ibid., 118.

⁹² Ibid., 119.

⁹³ Ibid., 115-116.

enacted an educational program for his classmates at Urbana High School.⁹⁴ In turning to the past to highlight the progress of the present, these schools were articulating a brand of communal identity that continually demarcated the boundaries among its students and outsiders. Appropriate lines of class, race, and ethnicity were carefully outlined through tales of the past where Indians fell to white progress, black men and women were slaves, and immigrants were the “other.”

It was this highly nuanced theoretical production of “otherness” and the past that Leutwiler was invested in during his tenure with the Boy Scouts of America. Hubbard’s romanticism, intellectualism, and engagement in the production of a national narrative of playing Indian by the Boy Scouts must be recognized. Understated as well in narrative of the performance of “Chief Illiniwek” is the role of Ray Dvorak, the assistant band director, in choosing Leutwiler. Dvorak and Leutwiler first met at Urbana High School where Leutwiler was a senior and Dvorak was teaching as part of his master’s work.⁹⁵ Leutwiler donned his handmade costume at the behest of classmates who thought he should demonstrate all he had learned from scouting and the touring group of Boy Scouts and Indians. Importantly, Leutwiler’s performance was not an original performance based on a mythical “Chief Illiniwek.” It was part of a national fabrication of Indian performance spearheaded by the Boy Scouts and Ralph Hubbard.

Returning to the exchange between “William Penn” and the “Chief” then reveals that the origins of the “Chief” performance, while having local roots in both Hubbard’s and Leutwiler’s lives, are, in fact, national stories constructed by social organizations like Seton’s Indians and the Boy Scouts and educational institutions including the University of Pennsylvania and the

⁹⁴ Lester Leutwiler’s penchant for educating his classmates about the Boy Scouts was so strong that his classmates devoted an entire verse of the 1925 Class memorial poem to Leutwiler’s antics as a Boy Scout. Urbana High School, *The 1925 Rosemary* (Urbana, IL: Urbana High School, 1925.)

⁹⁵ Ann Leutwiler-Brandenberg.

University of Illinois. Individuals within these organizations and the organizations themselves were connected to international circuits of creation and dissemination of knowledge about Indians. This cultural cosmopolitanism that recognized Indians but continued to affirm their absence and eventual demise illustrated narratives of neo-colonialism that continued the project of American colonial progress.

CHAPTER 2: AND THE BAND PLAYED NARRATIVES OF PROGRESS

As Lester Leutwiler danced his “frenzied war dance” of toe heel movements, low ground kicks, half moon, and full moon steps down the Illinois football field, he was accompanied by the sounds of the University of Illinois band. Leutwiler’s dark beaded shirt with bone and porcupine weave breast plate, spotted eagle feathered headdress with dual tails, feathered bustle and dark rope wig presented a dramatic counterpoint to the nattily attired men dressed in their formal band uniforms of white pants and military-styled jackets. While the previous chapter examined the origins of Leutwiler’s performance and the centrality of the Boy Scouts of America and Ralph Hubbard to the formation of a national network of learning about Indians, this chapter interrogates the University of Illinois band of the early 1900s as the locus of a communications circuit that disseminated ideas about the theatrics of half-time performance. The University of Illinois band, I argue, fundamentally altered the relationship between athletics and half-time performance by creating a national model of fandom that included the spectacle of mascotry. This spectacle, moreover, constituted a transformative moment that altered the dynamics between athletics and fans to encompass social rituals of belonging beyond the discrete boundaries of the game of football. Drawing primarily on the Sousa Archive and Center for American Music, this chapter positions university bands and band music as central to the growth of college football as a spectacle.

The University of Illinois band transformed modern marching music and, in doing so, established a national identity for the University of Illinois built around its musical performance and halftime spectacle. Coming to the forefront at moment when commercial identity was merging with higher education, the University of Illinois band became the musical harbinger of

the growing influence of higher education in many American lives. The band introduced Illinois youth through its music education programs to the University of Illinois, created a base of state-wide communities interested in the welfare of the University of Illinois, and memorialized the notion of the University of Illinois as a community through its adoption of loyalty songs. The University of Illinois band formed the underpinnings of a multi-generational state and national communications network that would combine its efforts to present quality music to the public and influence the next generation of musicians and band leaders with its more spectacular halftime shows. Another form of cultural cosmopolitanism where men were using musical competency as a lever to inculcate ideas of race, privilege, and nation to young men, this circuit of communication that tied music to athletic competitions became a site for the disseminating of the model of theatrical performances that occurred at halftime.¹

The initial membership of the collegiate band was marked by Glenn Hobbs, an 1891 Illinois graduate and band leader, as “composed of poorly trained players, most of whom came to campus with the usual country town band experience. During the five years I played, we never had more than 25 members.”² These twenty-five men played primarily at chapel with formal concert music, for military parades as part of the regimental band, and at local Philomathean and Adelpic literary society gatherings. These structured orchestral events were intended to serve as the focus of the band. Yet, the late nineteenth-century University of Illinois band developed a broader role on the Urbana campus. The period from 1867 to 1908, musical historian and current

¹ The tension between the educational aspects of the University of Illinois band and its theatrical performances at halftime performance created a peculiar notion of ownership by band members of the Chief Illiniwek persona. It is important to note here that there seems to be shift in the perceived role of the band by the broader university community in the mid-twentieth century from an educational organization to an entertainment purveyor.

² Cary Clive Burford, “We’re Loyal to You, Illinois” (Danville, IL: The Interstate, 1952), 93. For an in-depth examination of the early University of Illinois bands, see Peter James Griffin, *A History of the Illinois Industrial University/University of Illinois Band, 1867-1908* (Ph.D. diss, University of Illinois, 2004).

University of Illinois Band leader Peter James Griffin argues, was marked by informality.³ Band members spontaneously performed across the campus and subtly altered the role of the band itself. By the close of the century, these formal engagements had been supplemented by popular band performances that were unsanctioned by University authorities. Band members created their own events and generated their own musical program, including modified versions of popular tunes of the day. Their desire to integrate music into the social climate of the university beyond the stilted formal performances set the precedent for the band's ability to determine its role within the community. Band members did not limit themselves to pre-arranged and University-approved selections with sanctioned audiences. Instead, they took the initiative to create their own audiences and determine their own audience-community. Importantly, their audience-community blended with the community generated by sporting events.

The University band carved out an informal space within athletics at the University of Illinois by the turn-of-the-century. Pick-up bands frequently accompanied sporting events and leisure activities.⁴ Importantly, although we now associate football with the University band it was baseball that “was the King of Sports on the Illinois campus” by 1902.⁵ Baseball games were “preceded by the extravaganza of the pickup Baseball band riding the open street cars and pepping it up for an impending game on Illinois field, provided the highwater athletic event of the year. Stirring marches and popular songs were played to further arouse the already white [hot] interest in baseball, with the result that mammoth crowds swarmed to Illinois field” as the band paraded through from the city of Champaign through campus and into downtown Urbana.⁶

³ Griffin, 160.

⁴ Calvin Earl Weber, *The Contribution of Albert Austin Harding and His Influence on the Development of School and College Bands* (Ph.D. diss, University of Illinois, 1963), 96-97.

⁵ Burford, 100.

⁶ *Ibid.* Champaign and Urbana, Illinois abut one another separated only briefly by the University of Illinois campus. Originally founded as two separate entities, the growth of the cities as well as the campus of the University has led to them to be referred to as Urbana-Champaign.

Seated in the bleachers, the baseball band provided entertainment prior to and following games as well as between innings. Informal band performances like those at the baseball game, gymnastic events, the Maypole Dance grew in importance and popularity at the University. The baseball game and these other campus events were presented as a time of frivolity where the dominant music was popular musical selections. It is quite easy to imagine a rag-tag bunch of young men garbed in orange or blue, the formal university colors, gathered in the stands at the baseball game playing rousing songs.

Football bands, which often contained the same players as the regimental and baseball bands, and their performances were a stark contrast to the meandering parades associated with baseball bands. “Basically parade bands with drills based on their strong military heritage,” football bands’ formality lent an air of gravitas to the performances. “These bands were generally all-male; garbed in military style university; led by vocal, whistle, or baton signals from a drill-master or primitive drum-major type; and trained in the rudiments of direction-change, open-order, and close-order marching.”⁷ Militaristic marches and revues were the standard program presented by the football band.⁸ Why, if both bands shared members, did football band performances differ from baseball bands? It would be tantalizing to say that the mode of the sports themselves may suggest some of the division: football as a rigid, formulaic undertaking with disciplined athletes marking yardage down the field versus baseball with its exciting plays and dramatic home runs. Yet, it is more likely, that baseball was more familiar to fans. Football was still a relatively young sport and was not imbued with the same social rituals

⁷ Jerry Thomas Haynie, *The Changing Role of the Band in American Colleges and Universities, 1900-1968* (Ph.D. diss, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1971), 232.

⁸ The role of the “March King” John Philip Sousa, a mentor and personal friend of Albert Austin Harding and the University of Illinois Band, and his influence on University bands has been chronicled in depth by the University of Illinois which maintains the Sousa Archives: A Center for American Music which contains exhaustive primary and secondary materials on Sousa and his career. Most recently, Paul Edmund Bierley’s *The Incredible Band of John Philip Sousa* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006) captures eloquently the dimensions of Sousa’s musical and personal life through oral history, archival research, and compositional analysis.

as baseball with its barnstorming leagues, which created carnival-like atmospheres where residents could gather to watch touring teams and local players. Football was just beginning to transform itself from its rural-Ohio factory team beginnings into a dominant national sport at a moment when baseball was solidifying its importance in the national ethos.⁹ Importantly, while football would follow the developmental pattern of baseball, at the turn of the twentieth century baseball dominated as the “national pastime.” As a result, when considering the articulations of race outlined throughout this dissertation, it is important to consider baseball and football as conjoined sites of representation. Baseball and football teams often shared the same field and the same athletes well into the twentieth century.

Baseball and later football were community events that transformed the local public into audiences for both the sport itself and the musicians who performed during these events. Importantly, the division between athlete and musician was not steadfast. George Huff, the University football and baseball coach, performed with the band and took to the football field as an athlete. A University of Illinois alumnus, he played on the first organized football team in 1890 and served as a member of the University band during his tenure as a student.¹⁰ Lucien Dyrenforth, another University of Illinois alumnus who will be discussed in chapter six, also moved between his roles of athlete and musician. He carried this tradition to the University of Florida where he was instrumental in establishing the school band as a replication of the University of Illinois model. Huff and Dyrenforth were not the only links between the band and

⁹ College and University teams in the East and Midwest, primarily the Ivys and land-grant colleges, were essential to the growth of football into an American fascination.

¹⁰ George Huff’s role in the development of University of Illinois athletics cannot be understated. Huff served as the first athletic director and was central to the hiring of subsequent baseball and football coaches. He arranged for the University of Illinois to compete against top tier baseball and football programs in the East including Yale University, Princeton University, University of Pennsylvania, and West Point.

athletics. Formerly a captain of his local town team, the Paris High School Football Team¹¹, Albert Austin Harding enrolled as a freshmen at the University of Illinois in 1902 and quickly rose to take over leadership of the University band by 1904. Harding's involvement and rapid rise to a position of leadership was hardly surprising given his extensive experience with formal band organizations. Between 1897 and 1905, Harding served as a musician in the Boy's Brigade, the Paris High School Cadets, the Paris Beacon Drum and Bugle Corps, the Paris Concert Band, and Goodman's Band, the official band of the Fourth Regiment of the Illinois National Guard.¹² In many of these, he served as the band leader as well as a musician. Coupled with his hiring out as a substitute musician to bands across the United States from Denver, Colorado east to New York City, Harding crafted a network of musical contacts from local young men to "The March King," John Philip Sousa, who would provide an overwhelming number of march compositions for the Illinois band.

"Operatic overtures, excerpts and medleys, marches, descriptive pieces, instrumental and vocal solos, novelties, popular tunes of the day," as well as formal orchestral pieces formed the majority of the repertoire of these commercial organizations.¹³ Seen as an opportunity to educate the public about high culture as well as a form of entertainment, financing commercial bands suggested the importance of the business or organization sponsoring the group. As Harding's career illustrates, the lines between commercial bands and university bands at the turn of the century were often blurred. Harding himself performed with the Modern Woodman Band, the Knights of Pythias Band, the Urbana Commercial Band, and the Associated Musicians Band during his early days as an Illinois bandsman. In addition, many of his band colleagues played in

¹¹ The Paris High School Football Team was not affiliated with the Paris, Illinois High School. Instead, the designation "High School" connotes that the athletes are older adolescents and young men from the local area.

¹² Burford, 66-77.

¹³ Haynie, 110.

multiple organizations.¹⁴ This fluid movement of band members between local bands and their university band created a solid musical foundation built upon the repertoire of commercial organizations that legitimized university bands. One of Harding's first tasks when appointed Assistant Band Director was to adapt orchestral and commercial compositions familiar to their audiences to that of the cadence and styling of the marching band. University bands quickly came to supplant commercial organizations which often depended on the largess of towns and their businesses. It is vital to underscore the nature of commercialism within the cosmopolitan framework being explored here. This was a moment where capitalism and commodification were continuing their efforts to make significant inroads into cultural production. From the purchasing of minstrel music by Warner Brothers, one of the major movie purveyors of the time, to the explosion of University bands who traveled around the country advertising for their school, the idea of creating culture to profit the institution was coming to the fore.

Singing Illinois Loyalty

The Illinois Band changed dramatically under the forty-four years of Harding's leadership. Bands initially provided musical accompaniment to the moments before and after the game as well as during halftime. They were a background performance to the sport itself: there to give fans something to consider while they waited for the athletes to begin, resume, or adjourn from their competition. "At first, it was sufficient for a marching band to simply march down the field playing a standard march at a modest temp, countermarch, and then march back again."¹⁵

With an emphasis on straightness, precision, and the execution of turns, University bands

¹⁴ Burford, 200.

¹⁵ Charles Righter, "Something New in Marching Bands?" *The Instrumentalist*, November 1956, 24 in Haynie. There are obvious links between the original marching style associated with collegiate bands and military training. The facilitation of orderly rows and choreographed movements was a necessity to military campaigns which often required concerted shifts in field position and troop's use of weaponry.

mimicked regimental martial order. The initial process outlined here that began with military or regimental bands and then slowly incorporated commercial music before taking form as a modern marching band was mimicked at colleges and universities across the country. Miami University, Stanford University, and the University of North Dakota, each sites explored later in this dissertation, were following the same path from formal, militaristic music to the hybrid commercial model produced by Illinois.

Harding and his colleagues within the University and Collegiate band network transformed the band from a secondary element of the game to the emotive voice of the action itself. The University of Illinois band provided audio signposts for fans to mark the progress of the game and, with the introduction of loyalty music, created a structure of community feeling that existed beyond the sporting field. University bands did not begin to break ranks until 1907 when Purdue introduced the first on-field formation, the letter “P”.¹⁶ Tribute lettering, the process of forming a letter or series of letters as a tribute to their own school or their opponent’s, allowed the band to move from its strictly regimented drill lines for the first time.¹⁷ This integration directly suggests the limited meaning of football competition in the opening decade of the twentieth century: football was an opportunity for honorable competition between matched foes. Honoring the opposition with tribute lettering alleviated the tense nature of the competition itself. It was a guise for the combat action itself and provided a needed measure of gentlemanly reconciliation between the institutions. Again, this is a familiar articulation within the cultural cosmopolitanism being explored here. By “honoring” the opponent just as they were attempting to honor the past, the anxiety of conflict and competition were being alleviated. Purdue’s

¹⁶ Haynie, 232.

¹⁷Ibid. The Purdue Band was reported to have formed the letter “P” in 1907 while the University of Illinois is able to formally document the formation of the letter “I” in November of 1909 without the use of pistol shots, whistles, or any other signal from the drum major.

innovation spread quickly. The University of Illinois band by November of 1909 featured the block “I” during its half-time performance in honor of its own university. Band members segued from the “I” into a performance of the first bleacher song in America, “Illinois Loyalty.”¹⁸ Significantly, the use of an aural performance by the audience can be read as a way of muting private, individual understandings of the experience in favor of expressions of community. By participating in “Illinois Loyalty” a community member could signal their assent to the desire of the performance: to create community within a controlled environment.

“Illinois Loyalty” premiered at the Spring Concert of 1906 and quickly became a staple performance for all University bands, including the orchestra and the Marching Band, the formal organization that grew out of the baseball and football bands. Composed by Rhode Island-born Thatcher Howland Guild, a newly appointed English professor, “Illinois Loyalty” drew from “We’re Loyal to You, Brown,” a casual phrase Guild originated while attending Brown University. Guild formed an immediate friendship with Harding upon his arrival at Illinois and frequently sat-in on band rehearsals as a cornet player.¹⁹ With a common interest in music, Guild consulted Harding on his evolving piano composition. “Guild played and I listened and made suggestions,” Harding remembered. “My contribution was encouragement and advisory counsel. I may have provided that gentle pat on the back, that little forward push, but the song remains the conception, the ideal of a college song, of Thatcher Howland Guild.”²⁰ Although Harding downplayed his involvement in the creation of “Illinois Loyalty,” he transcribed Guild’s piano score and turned it into a full-fledge band composition. An “all occasion” college song,

¹⁸ “Illinois Loyalty” Illinois Songs and Music, 1903-1958. Box 2, University of Illinois, University of Illinois Archives. Burford, 122.

¹⁹ “Illinois Loyalty”; Burford, 126.

²⁰ Burford, 127.

Harding quickly published, copyrighted the band arrangements, and distributed it to bands across the United States.²¹ Thousands heard:

We're loyal to you, Illinois
We're Orange and Blue, Illinois
We'll back you to stand
'Gainst the best in the land,
For we know you have sand,
Illinois,
Rah, Rah.
So crack out that ball,
Illinois.
We're backing you all,
Illinois.
Our Team is our fame defender,
On boys, for we expect a victory
From you, Illinois,
Che-he, Che-ha, Che-ha-ha-ha
Che-he, Che-he, Che-ha-ha-ha
Illinois, Illinois, Illinois
Fling out that dear old flag of Orange and Blue,
Lead on your sons and daughters, fighting for you.
Like men of old, on giants,
Placing reliance,
Shouting defiance,
Oskey wow-wow.
Amid the broad green fields that nourish our land
For honest Labor and for Learning we stand,
And unto thee we pledge our heart and hand,
Dear Alma Mater, Illinois.²²

The lyrics included the dominant form of identification by college athletics teams at the turn of the century-the school colors- as well as the formal appellation- Illinois. Importantly, the bleachers song suggests Guild and Harding's conceptions of early twentieth century gender roles. The Marching Band and its football performances featured only male musicians and "Illinois Loyalty" suggests that the "boys" were supposed to secure athletic victory. Women were fans not athletes themselves in their understanding, despite an increasing number of women

²¹ Ibid., 128.

²² "Illinois Loyalty"; Thatcher Howland Guild, *We're Loyal to You, Illinois*, Melrose Music Corporation (New York: 1906) in Burford, 179.

enrolling in the University supporting informal and formal sporting teams in basketball, tennis, and gymnastics. More broadly, “Illinois Loyalty” echoed the prevailing sentiments of hard work and “honest Labor” as well as the commitment to education that all students were supposed to have. Student enthusiasm was the cornerstone of the “Illinois Loyalty” performance with the phrase “Oskey wow-wow” being yelled by those on the field as well as in the bleachers. By yelling out, audience members signaled their participation in the community. “Oskey wow-wow”²³ was entirely a creation of Thatcher Howland Guild that likely mimicked Indian sounds made in popular songs.²⁴

The immediate popularity of Guild and Harding’s composition was not surprising given Harding’s growing reputation as the premiere collegiate marching band composer. Yet, his immediate licensing of the march composition suggests an understanding of the demands of the marching band market for new music as well as the profitability of these compositions in an increasingly commercial world of music. Harding was not just sharing his composition with his band colleagues across the United States in an informal manner. He created a profitable enterprise that was based on the market for band music.

“Illinois Loyalty” was not the only collegiate song that premiered at the Spring Concert of 1906. “Lights Out” by Earl McCoy, an Illinois student, was first performed at the concert and was later adopted by the University of California as the basis of its loyalty song.²⁵ These two performances of “Illinois Loyalty” and “Lights Out,” as well as their diffusion to other schools,

²³ “Oskey wow-wow” is the phrase used in “Illinois Loyalty” while “Oskee-wow-wow” refers to the song created in 1908 by Howard R. Green and Howard Hill as part of a university wide contest. While many scholars have used the later spelling to refer to the previous, it is important to recognize the difference between the two compositions. Burford, 171.

²⁴ Spindel, 72.

²⁵ Burford, 130. “Lights Out” is alternately referred to as the “Lights Out March.” “Fight for California,” a traditional song for the University of California at Berkeley is simply the trio and break strain of the “Lights Out March,” with an added introduction written by Charles Cushing.”
<http://www.calband.berkeley.edu/calband/media/calsongs/lightsout.html>

suggest that Illinois was not only the site of innovative musical compositions, but also was integral to the creation of the ritualistic performance of music as sign of belonging and collectivity. Students and alumnae at these institutions were able to participate in the ritual of belonging by singing their bleacher song at football games as well as at other university events. When combined with Harding's innovations in instrumentation, marching style and theatrics, the "Illinois model" would be exported to high schools, collegiate bands, and athletic scenes across the nation.²⁶ So successful was this expansion, it led one Washburn College, Kansas alumna to later accuse Frank Lescher, a University of Illinois graduate student and band member, of stealing the song.²⁷ The "Illinois model" of musical performance and collectivity created new possibilities for participation by men who were unable to compete on the athletic field itself.

Why was athletic ability important? Athletics functioned to indoctrinate young men with the values deemed necessary to success in combat. Physical conditioning, responsibility, leadership, and attentiveness to rules were all important qualities needed in a soldier. Youth athletics began the process of group socialization, yet the number of athletic positions available at the collegiate level was markedly lower than those afforded in high school athletics. A result of increased competition as well as the required athleticism, the University band became an alternative for collective male rituals. The band provided an opportunity for musically trained men to participate in the ritual of belonging that was being created on the athletic field. It closed the division created by the masculinist rhetoric of the football field by suggesting an alternative method of male indoctrination and participation: as a band musician. This was vital in the early twentieth century as men struggled with anxieties wrought by the shifting constructions of

²⁶ The "Illinois model" is discussed here in a very limited capacity, namely that of fan performance and the creation of the half-time spectacle. It should be noted that the "Illinois model" at its broadest refers to a particular type of band instrumentation, repertoire, pageantry, and training.

²⁷ Burford, 128.

masculinity and manliness.²⁸ Further, it created a more inclusive cosmopolitanism that allowed additional white men access to the community.

The integration of ideas of Illinois students and faculty with the Marching Band program continued with a 1908 competition to write a musical comedy. While students Howard Green and Harold Hill never completed their musical comedy and thus could not compete with rival Purdue, they did enter a university wide post-exam Jubilee contest. “Oskee-wow-wow,” “Hail to the Orange,” “Cheer Illini,” and the Sigma Alpha Epsilon classic “Violets,” were all composed for the Green-Hill entry. “Oskee-wow-wow” reflected the growing rivalry between the Illinois athletic teams and its opponents:

Old Princeton yells her Tiger,
Wisconsin, her Varsity
And they give the same old Rah, Rah, Rah,
At each University,
But the yell that always thrills me
And fills my heart with joy,
Is the good old Oskee-Wow-Wow,
That they yell at Illinois.
Os-kee-Wow-Wow,
Illinois
Our eyes are all on you.
Oskee-Wow-Wow,
Illinois,
Wave your Orange and your Blue,
Rah, Rah,
When the team trots our before you,
Every man stand up and yell,
Back the team to victory,
Os-kee-Wow-Wow.
Illinois.²⁹

²⁸ Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Mark C. Carnes, “Middle-class Men and the Solace of Fraternal Ritual,” in *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.)

²⁹ “Oskee-Wow-Wow” Illinois Songs and Music, 1903-1958. Box 2, University of Illinois, University of Illinois Archives. Burford, 171, 181.

Green and Hill copied “Rah, Rah”, “Oskey-wow-wow”, and “Orange and Blue.” They transferred the sentiments of men’s loyalty for their team that was included in “Illinois Loyalty” to their own compositions. While “Illinois Loyalty” suggested the importance of young men’s character and their role as protectors of the land, “Oskee-Wow-Wow” concentrated entirely on athletic rivalries with Princeton and Wisconsin, and their deployment of their athletic monikers. “Oskee-Wow-Wow” suggests how Green and Hill, two students, imagined Illinois athletics: not as a site for the inculcation of socio-cultural norms but instead as a site of athletic competition. Just as Harding licensed his composition for use by other bands, Green and Hill sought out the co-owner of the Illinois Supply Store, Charlie Graham, to sell the rights to “Oskee-wow-wow.” Choosing one hundred dollars over one half the gross receipts of the sale of the song to local organizations, Green and Hill sold the rights to Graham and the Supply Store for a twenty-eight year period.

While Charlie Graham purchased the rights to “Oskee-Wow-Wow,” he passed on “Hail to the Orange,” the composition of Green and Hill’s that would become the school anthem. Fraternity brothers and glee club members sang:

Hail to the Orange,
Hail to the Blue.
Hail Alma Mater,
Ever So True.
We love no other,
So let our motto be.
Victory, Illinois
Varsity.³⁰

By the time Green and Hill returned to campus in the fall of 1910 for the first ever collegiate homecoming, “Hail to the Orange” was being sold in local stores and sung by university students on a regular basis with the University Band accompanying them. Although originally donated to,

³⁰ “Hail to the Orange” Illinois Songs and Music, 1903-1958. Box 2, University of Illinois, University of Illinois Archives.

licensed by, and included in the fraternity songbook of Sigma Alpha Epsilon, “Hail to the Orange” was largely divorced from its fraternity roots because of its use by the entire Illinois community. All three compositions- “Illinois Loyalty,” “Oskee-Wow-Wow,” and “Hail to the Orange”- were part and parcel of the musical repertoire of Harding’s band by 1910 and were familiar to athletes and fans alike.³¹ The sounds of the Illinois band were becoming localized to the specific University of Illinois fan community.

The personalized nature of the halftime performance began as an opposition to the performance of Purdue’s tribute lettering and continued with its alteration of the loyalty music. Opposition is, as explored thus far, an essential element of expressing identity. It is only in contexts of difference that identity can be performed. At halftime of the 1921 football game at the University of Iowa, the Illinois Band began to sing “Hail to the Orange” a’capella. Previously, “Hail to the Orange” was always performed with a full complement of musicians while fans in the stands contributed the vocal component. It created a swelling sound of band and vocal music that aurally defined the athletic scene as a University of Illinois community with twin pillars: the band and the audience. This community moment signaled to its rivals the fans’ commitment to their university through band members’ musicianship. Opponents were unable to participate in the musical ritual and thus were excluded from the social collective. In effect, knowing the words gave one automatic entrée into the social world created by the music and the collective effort. Again, this was the height of Derrida’ theorization of contextualization. It is only through participations of opposition that identity can be explored. Harding’s shift of “Hail to the Orange” from a musical accompaniment to a choral performance can be read as an innovation in band performance as a band had never sung during a half time performance before. Harding’s alteration of the social ritual was not an effort to alter the meaning of the experience as

³¹ “Oskee-Wow-Wow”.

experienced by band members and fans. It is vital to recognize the alteration occurred during an away event where the number of fans in the stadium would have dramatically declined. Harding's innovation was less a concerted effort to shift the musicality of the band away from instrumental and towards choral than it was an effort to communicate more effectively the exclusion of a crowd that was likely unable to participate in the ritual of the performance. The a cappella performance allowed band members to take the place of the missing University of Illinois fans. Actual individuals in the stands were no longer needed to bridge the on-field musical performance with the vocal performance. In effect, the band became the entirety of the University of Illinois community and signaled to their University of Iowa opponents their status as non-members in the Illinois community. The meaning of the a cappella "Hail to the Orange" was further transformed by its reestablishment at home University of Illinois football games. Where previously the demarcation between on-field musicians and vocal fans was definite, the integration of the a cappella "Hail to the Orange" suggests a democratization of the performance that allowed band members and fans to join as a single entity undivided by musical abilities. The separation between the band and the fans disappeared to create a simplified community ritual of inclusion that would become a hallmark of the halftime ritual promoted at the University of Illinois.

The "Three-In-One"

Leutwiler's original Indian performance with the University of Illinois Band in 1926 was a singular event. Harding agreed to let Leutwiler perform on a case by case basis, yet the audience reaction was so overwhelming Harding could not avoid a repeat performance of Lester

Leutwiler.³² He danced that October day to the music of “Illinois Loyalty,” “Oskee-Wow-Wow,” and “Hail to the Orange,” which had been recorded in 1925 by the Victor Talking Machine Company following a performance at the University of Pennsylvania. Moderate in tempo, these three compositions formed the original accompaniment to Leutwiler’s performance. Leutwiler had not, in all likelihood, ever performed to this particular combination. Leutwiler’s performances at Urbana High School and with his Boy Scout Troop were more likely accompanied by troop members on the drum playing popular compositions. Who selected the music for Leutwiler’s first University of Illinois performance? Was it Raymond Dvorak, the assistant band director who taught Leutwiler at Urbana High School? Was it the band leader, Harding, who controlled the band’s musical repertoire? Or was it Leutwiler himself? While the historical record remains silent, it is quite possible to conclude that each or all of the three could have been involved in the selection of the three pieces. No matter, the selections themselves tell us of the underlying motivation of the performance itself: all three were familiar to band members and fans alike and were designed as participatory songs. In playing them, Harding and Dvorak were establishing the half-time event as a site for University of Illinois fans to collectively gather to cheer on the University and its sporting teams in particular. In joining these compositions to the half-time performance of Leutwiler, the University Band established a broader more explicit meaning of “Illinois Loyalty,” “Oskee-Wow-Wow,” and “Hail to the Orange” to include a visual rendering of the University of Illinois’ supposed relationship to Indians. Importantly, though, this conceptualization of the conjoined music and performance was fluid and was altered in the early years of Leutwiler’s performance.

³² Leutwiler-Brandenberg.

Lester Leutwiler again took to the field in 1928, now under the formal guise of “Chief Illiniwek” the name given to Leutwiler by football coach Robert C. Zuppke at a 1926 pep rally.³³ Karl L. King, the director of the Fort Dodge Municipal Band and owner of the K.L. King Music Publishing House, and Harry Alford, the ragtime composer and vaudevillian musician, were commissioned by the University of Illinois to produce music for the “Chief Illiniwek” halftime performance.³⁴ “They were asked to keep in mind the driving beat of the drums which were used at Native American pow wows,” Lester Leutwiler remembered. “They were also told that the music would have to live up to the power of the performance.”³⁵ Leutwiler’s recognition of particular musical tropes of Indianness having expressive power highlights another facet of the cultural cosmopolitanism explored here. It is the convergence of forms (written, visual, and aural) that gave this particular performance its’ level of authority. Without all three formats, the performance would still be meaningful, but in Leutwiler’s argument, not as powerful.

King sent Harding his newest march, the “Pride of the Illini” as a tribute to Harding and the University of Illinois band.³⁶ An Ohio native, King was noted for his career with professional circus bands throughout the Midwest and was, surprisingly, a charter member of the American Bandmaster’s Association. Beginning with his involvement in Robinson’s Famous Circus in 1910 and culminating with his appointment in 1917 as the director of Barnum and Bailey’s Circus Band, King toured the United States and produced “circus marches” for entertainment purposes.³⁷ Music filled an important role for circus performances:

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ The historical record regarding the commission of the two performances is conflicted. Leutwiler believed that both King and Alford were commissioned while the University of Illinois notes that only Alford was commissioned. Ibid.; Louis A Garippo, A Report to the Board of Trustees: The Chief Illiniwek Dialogue Report, “History of the Chief,” Section IV. Available from: http://www.uillinois.edu/trustees/dialogue/report_files/IV.html

³⁵ Leutwiler-Brandenberg, 5.

³⁶ “Pride of the Illini,” in A. Austin Harding Collection, box 99, folder 7 undated.

³⁷ Thomas Hatton, *Karl L. King: An American Bandmaster* (Evanston: The Instrumentalist Company, 1975), 29-56.

It set the mood for various acts, covered transitions between acts, caught the audience's attention for entrances, encouraged applause for exits, and built and resolved suspense...A march begins with a great fanfare of blaring trumpets and trombones loud enough to stop the audience from talking and martial enough to warn them that something exciting was about to happen. Then the march itself would follow in a tempo slow enough to walk to but fast enough to continue the excitement...³⁸

King easily grasped the dynamic nature of the circus march and applied it to the specific acts that would be performing.

Composing what Philip Deloria has called “sounds of ethnicity³⁹,” King’s tenure with the newly merged Sells Floto- Buffalo Bill Wild West Show demonstrated the use of music laden with racial sentiment and stimulated the formation of a mobile community of attendees engaged in performative racialized rituals of belonging. “On the Warpath,” the “Passing of the Redman,” and “Wyoming Days” each were composed to reflect the story of the American West and the cowboys and Indians who remained a vital part of the circus in 1914.⁴⁰ “The show used visual, auditory, olfactory, and even tactical channels to get its message across to the audiences,” wrote historian Sarah Blackstone. “For instance, during “The Attack on Deadwood Stage” an audience member saw gunsmoke, smelled gunpowder, heard gunfire, was aware of the spectators nearest to him, as well as those across the arena from him, and a few audience members even experienced the tactile sensation of even riding the stage.”⁴¹ General manager John Burke described the progression of events that would accompany the band leader’s music:

Life as it is witnessed on the plains: the Indian encampment; the cowboys and vaqueros; the herds of buffalo and elk; the lassoing of animals; the manner of robbing mail coaches;

³⁸ Ibid., 35-36.

³⁹ Philip Deloria, “The Hills are Alive...With the Sound of Indian,” in *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004.)

⁴⁰ Jess L. Gerardi, *Karl L. King: His Life and Music* (Ph.D. diss., University of Colorado, 1973), 29.

⁴¹ Sarah Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets, and Business: A History of Buffalo Bill's Wild West* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 104 quoted in Michael Lee Masterson, *Sounds of the Frontier: Music in Buffalo Bill's Wild West* (Ph.D. diss, University of New Mexico, 1990), 4. Masterson’s dissertation offers a tremendous analysis of the musical relationship between European-Western, Native American, African-American, and American music that resulted in the “popular song”.

feats of agility, horsemanship, archery, and the kindred scenes and events that are characteristic of the border...⁴²

“Beginning about 1903, popular music publishers in Midwestern as well as Eastern cities began to increase their titles of “Indian songs.” With a corresponding interest in Chinese and Japanese songs as well as music from other far flung lands made immediate through exhibits like those staged at Chicago’s Columbian Exposition and the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis in 1904, Indian-sounding music was a firmly established genre by the time King and Alford began composing. Importantly, even the “March King” John Philip Sousa composed sounds of ethnicity.⁴³

Participation in the Wild West show, even as audience members allowed for a collective expression of the success of American progress. Each show led to the physical, psychological, and emotional defeat of the American west and its inhabitants. King repeatedly led the soundtrack to American expansion and “contributed to (maybe began) the rhythmic cliché, often heard later in music, signaling the approach of “wild” Indians into a “civilized” scene or reenactment: **one & two &, one & two &.**”⁴⁴ The “Indian music formula” can be summarized for the non-specialist as the use of “rhythms in straight eighth notes hitting accents on one and two in the bass and snare drum parts” with a concentration on the “white notes scale” of the piano from A to A, known as the sixth position of the major scale.⁴⁵ It was likely that attendees heard King direct “a melancholy, vaguely threatening, minor-key melody and a repetitive pounding drum beat, accented in a “tom-tom” fashion: “DUM dum dum dum DUM dum dum dum” as

⁴² John Burke, 1885 quoted in Masterson, 54.

⁴³ James Anderson, “From Loony Coons to Tacos and Tequila: The Aesthetics of Race in Middle Class America (lecture, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Spurlock Museum, March 31, 2009); Patrick Robert Warfield, “Salesman of Americanism, globetrotter, and musician”: The nineteenth-century John Philip Sousa, 1854--1893. Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 2003.

⁴⁴ Masterson, 138.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 179.

scenes of American expansion were reenacted before them.⁴⁶ Importantly, the Sells Floto-Buffalo Bill Wild West Show audience was, in all likelihood, engaged with racialized depictions of Indians in multiple mediums.

The dramatic success of the nascent days of the original Buffalo Bill Wild West Show was due in part to its ability to create a visual performance of historical and literary accounts of encounters between and among Indians and Euro-Americans.⁴⁷ Borrowing from fiction with its popular dime novel format, newspaper accounts, photography, art, ethnographic and museum exhibitions, as well as theatre and musical performances, Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show constructed a dazzling array that delighted the senses and affirmed familiar narratives of American success. The Wild West Show that King would join in its declining days presented just one opportunity for individuals interested in racialized depictions. "Late nineteenth and early twentieth-century American popular cultural entertainments catered to an enormous public appetite for images of the culturally exotic, and this taste was met by a diverse range of early moving pictures that featured indigenous dances, historical reenactments, colonial pageants, and fictional narratives."⁴⁸ The exchange between the Wild West Show and onto early motion pictures has been explored by theorist Allison Griffiths:

An example of this intertextuality [of narrative, character, and iconographic tropes] can be seen in two 1894 kinoscope films of Native Americans by Thomas Edison cameraman W.K.L. Dixon, *Indian War Council* and *Sioux Ghost Dance*, both shot at Edison's Black Maria film studio in New Jersey. The Sioux performers' reconstructions of ritual dances were already popular attractions in Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West Show...⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, 183.

⁴⁷ The next chapter will consider the literary tradition along with newspapers role in creating the depictions of racialized spectacle that formed the core of public understanding about Native Americans.

⁴⁸ Allison Griffiths, "Science and Spectacle: Native American Representations in Early Cinema," in *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture*. Eds. S. Elizabeth Bird (Boulder: Westview Press), 79.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 80-81.

Just four years later, Buffalo Bill's show was memorialized in the *Parade of Buffalo Bill's Wild West*.⁵⁰ Between 1894 and the end of the silent film era, over one hundred films depicted Indian themes or events. D.W. Griffith, who would pioneer the first feature length film with 1915's *Birth of a Nation*, and his career illustrated the circulation and interest in Indian life: *A Pueblo Legend* (1912) explores the "love story" of a young Hopi girl and the religious mysticism associated with Indian religion; *Massacre* (1912), which depicted Custer and his infamous last stand; And *The Battle at Elderbrush Gulch* (1914), which thrilled audience with violence among Indians.⁵¹ By the early 1920s, "the early persona of the celluloid Indian was developed visually with camera angle and body language and aurally with nondiegetic sound (off the screen) produced by theater pianists."⁵² The utilization of a dual medium- the image with a separate sound- primed the University of Illinois sporting audience who would experience the halftime spectacle as a linked performance between the Chief persona and the University band which would provide the soundtrack to the spectacle. The commoditized product, here in the form of the vanquished Indian, had no voice in the minds of this cosmopolitan community. Just as Indians of the silent film era did not speak from the screen neither did Leutwiler's Indian from the field. Instead, the music itself was supposed to signal and portend the action on the screen/field.

King's "Indian" music with now familiar rhythm was notably absent from his "Pride of the Illini" composition. It did not reproduce the stereotypical sound of the tom-tom drum nor did it utilize melodies made popular in the Wild West Show and in the scores from early motion pictures. Instead, the rat-a-tat-tat of the drum drew attention to the martial nature of the

⁵⁰ Jacquelyn Kilpatrick, *Celluloid Indians: Native Americans and Film* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 17.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 33.

composition and King's conceptualization that the legacy of Harding and the University of Illinois band was in its formal marching compositions. Dvorak's lyric followed neatly behind "Illinois Loyalty" and "Hail to the Orange":

We are marching for dear old Illini,
We are marching for dear old Illini,
For the men who are fighting for you,
Here's a cheer for our dear old Alma Mater,
May our love for ever be true,
When we're marching along life's pathway,
May the spirit of Old Illinois, Keep us
Marching and Singing with true Illini Spirit
For our dear old Illinois.⁵³

Importantly, the commissioning of the march from King suggests that Harding and Dvorak conceptualized the halftime performance as a spectacle, an entertainment, and an opportunity to affirm the standards of the marching band. King, though, produced a standard military-style march composition which was not part of his "Indian" music tradition. The music itself was a traditional march and Dvorak's lyrics could be seen as neutral when divorced from Leutwiler's performance.

Harry L. Alford sent Harding the "March of the Illini."⁵⁴ He, as well as King, demonstrated the mobility of composers, bandleaders, musicians, and arrangers between popular music and the more conventional orchestral pieces. Alford worked as a "roving free-lance arranger" for companies including Rossiters of Chicago and Hearst Music of New York.⁵⁵ With arranging credits for prolific writer-publishers Charles L. Johnson, Paul Biese, and F. Henri Klickman, as well as Bessie Smith, Alford was involved in the ethnic music craze of period from 1900 to 1915. A survey of scores arranged include: "Down in Hindu Town," "China Baby,"

⁵³ Burford, 182.

⁵⁴ "March of the Illini" in A. Austin Harding Collection, Series 1, Box 127, Folder 2, University of Illinois, University of Illinois Archives.

⁵⁵ William J. Schafer, "Ragtime Arranging for Fun and Profit: The Cases of Harry L. Alford and J. Bodewalt Lampe," *Journal of Jazz Studies* 3:1 (Fall 1975), 106.

“Ghost Dance,” “Hawaiian Blues” “Minstrel Show Parade,” and “That Indian Rag” as well as western themed “Gold Dust” and “Hacienda.”

Originally composed years earlier under the title “Battle of Tippecanoe,” the “March of the Illini” seamlessly merged “Indian” music with Alford’s other interest, band arranging. The rapid tom-tom beat of the drum that King and motion pictures had made popular was extended by Alford to include brass, wind, and percussion instruments. An “Indian-flavored march melody,” the “March of the Illini” explicitly linked Indianness to the University band identity without using vocals. This continued the pattern of the silent Indian produced in motion pictures and confirmed the firmly established stereotypes of Indians as separate from social exchange. The music itself legitimated Leutwiler’s performance for the audience by presenting familiar themes and tones. By 1928, the standard Leutwiler performance no longer enacted the greeting and peace pipe ritual that was present at the initial performance. It relied entirely on the score adopted by the band to communicate an extended meaning of Leutwiler’s ritual. In effect, the band fulfilled the role that William Penn initially expressed: that of the civilizing mission. Highlighting the shift from Penn to the University of Illinois band suggests the uneasiness of the cultural cosmopolitanism outlined here. These were not ritualized performances that did not respond to internal and external forces (like changing opponents), rather these performances could substitute elements for one another so long as they shared the same meaning within the framework of cultural cosmopolitanism that affirmed particular values: young, male, athletic, citizen etc.

“Pride of the Illini” was the first overture in communicating the narrative of expansion. Band members in their martial uniforms took their place along the north end-zone lines and performed “Pride of the Illini.” The standardized march of the band suggests a call to attention

and for collective action in favor of the University: “**We** are marching...**Our** love...” etc. Giving way to the “March of the Illini” with its Indian sounding beat and dramatic visual rendering implicitly suggested that the “true Illini spirit” could be that of an Indian past. The music called forth the “Indian” and signaled a shift in the ritual performance by creating an aural demarcation of the space of Leutwiler’s Indian. He existed during a very specific moment in a limited space. Having the band accompaniment suggested a dominance and control over Leutwiler’s performance and Indians more generally. In effect, “March of the Illini” can be read a duel between “civilization” in the guise of the band and the “primitive” in the form of Leutwiler’s Indian. As Leutwiler’s dance accelerated so too would the tempo of the music. Yet the tempo was ultimately controlled by Harding, the band leader. He signaled the rise and fall of “Chief Illiniwek” by beginning and drawing the song to a close. Leutwiler, in his Indian guise, could only enter the field to the signal offered by his “community” of band members and sports audience and had to accede to progress by ceasing his performance when the music stopped. The final overture and metaphorical demise of “Chief Illiniwek” was to cease movement completely at mid-field and salute the crowd as “Hail to the Orange” was sung by band members and fans alike. “Chief Illiniwek” would then lead the Marching Band from the field leaving behind the fans as the inheritors of the metaphorical land, the football stadium.

The football field itself plays a vital role in the theatrics of racialized spectacle explored here. The University of Illinois football team originally played in an open-venue field with bleachers lining the field. The first major capital campaign on the part of the University was to raise funds for a “modern” football stadium, which was completed in 1924. Leutwiler’s performance with the University band mimicked an already popular narrative of the University community as the inheritors of the land. The “Story of the Stadium,” a 1920/21 pamphlet details

the University of Illinois' attempt to claim an Indian past. The cover image depicted a campfire circle of Indian men with a lone Indian figure standing dressed in what appears to be a Sioux headdress, loin cloth, and boots. The Indian male holds a peace pipe with one hand raised before a full moon. Underneath the caption reads, "We have a heritage from the Illini Indian- the Great Heart, the fighting spirit."⁵⁶ The "Story" continues by characterizing the Illini as "a hunter," a "fighter," an "individualist," "brave and self-denying." The publication continues:

No temples have these ancient Indians left us, and no books. But we have a heritage from them, direct through the pioneers who fought them and learned to know them. It is the Great Heart, the fighting spirit, the spirit of individualism, of teaching our children to be free but brave and to have a God- for these are the laws of our tribe.⁵⁷

It is important to recognize the replication of the narrative of the "vanishing" Indian who embodied perceived nobility embraced by the Stadium Drive committee. Illini Indians had to be understood through the experience of the pioneer and the spiritual inheritance of a narrative of colonialism where the violence of Indian-white encounters entirely disappeared. More significantly, the Story directly asserts a generational claim between the Indian past, the University community of the present, and the next generation of University pioneers- their children. The chronological progression asserted was tied into "living vitally in [their] heritage." This heritage was freedom, braveness, religion, and athletics. "Watch us play football," the organizers wrote, "see us on the cinder track, on the baseball diamond. We are different, somehow, we of the middle west- not particularly better but different. We are uniquely ourselves." This juxtaposition of past for the purposes of the present demonstrated the accuracy of cultural meaning being constituted. The past could be fraught with a mediated violence that was mentioned briefly and then quickly obscured in order to suggest to audience members (and

⁵⁶ "The Story of the Stadium," Stadium Drive Publications, University of Illinois, University of Illinois Archives.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

performers) that the past was a necessity to the success of the present moment. More simply, the past became an agent of the “modern” nation; there to be pointed to but quickly moved away from in celebration of the present.

Samson Raphaelson, the author of the “Story of the Stadium” and campaign director of the stadium drive, further represents the mobility of individuals involved in University of Illinois athletics and their understanding of the importance of spectacle. Raphaelson, a former University of Illinois student and current faculty member, orchestrated a mass meeting of students in April 1921 to generate support for the stadium project. Raphaelson arranged seating in the overflowing gym annex in order to concentrate wealthy foreign students and their parents.⁵⁸ Following a call for thousand dollar pledges by football coach Zuppke, these students rose one-by-one to make pledges which incited local students to make matching donations. In pre-arranging donations by foreign students, Raphaelson displayed his understanding of both the intent of the stadium and the local community itself. Again, this illustrated the interplay between the local, national, and global that was being articulated by this cultural network. Having international students prod locals suggested an awareness of the hierarchy of the United States over its competitors, even in something as simplistic as a stadium fundraising campaign. Generally, this also suggests an expression of conflict between local students and international students that Raphaelson and the University used to their benefit. The stadium was being constructed in memory of the young men who lost their lives battling foreign forces and having international students offer to fund the stadium would, in all likelihood, prod locals to out-do these donations. Raphaelson recognized the fervor of the fund-raising rally and its ability to transcend students’ sense of financial responsibility. Just as audience members were encouraged to mute their desires in favor of the

⁵⁸ Robert S. Sampson, “Red Illini: Dorothy Day, Samson Raphaelson, and Rayna Simons at the University of Illinois, 1914-1916,” in *Journal of Illinois History*, Autumn 2002 5:3, 189.

community good in their participation of sport and the halftime performances, they too were asked to mute their own desires (and save their dollars) in favor of the community desire for a new stadium. Raphaelson's role here becomes all the more intriguing given that he had just returned from a hiatus where he had composed "The Day of Atonement" a short-story of the relationship between a Jewish cantor and his son, inspired by Al Jolson, whom Raphaelson had seen perform.⁵⁹ "The Day of Atonement" was transformed into a Broadway play and then the screenplay for the 1927 film *The Jazz Singer*.

Clarence Welsh's 1921 brochure *University of Illinois Memorial Stadium* explicates the underlying motivation behind the capital campaign and its perceived role in the community.⁶⁰ Intended as a memorial to soldiers of World War I, Welsh delineated three characteristics of the stadium and unique Illinois man and woman who supported its building: "culture, sportsmanship, and loyalty." The physical site of the stadium and implicitly the football game itself became an opportunity for community meaning: "the Stadium will become the symbol of a new, united, fighting, aspiring tribe of Illini, who know how to honor their living heroes and venerate their dead."⁶¹ Importantly, the united Illinois community was not just concerned with honoring its veterans by embodying the qualities of culture, sportsmanship and loyalty. At least one member of the Stadium drive committee, football coach Robert C. Zuppke, was interested in establishing the University of Illinois stadium as a replication of a larger transnational athletic world: that of the Olympics. The stadium should be built on an "Olympic plan" which embodied the values of the new "tribe of Illini." "Illini is part of the word, Illiniwek, which means the complete man,"

⁵⁹ Ibid., 188.

⁶⁰ Clarence Welsh, "University of Illinois Memorial Stadium," Stadium Drive Publications, University of Illinois, University of Illinois Archives.

⁶¹ Ibid.

Zuppke remarked. “And we want a stadium which will represent the complete man.”⁶² Considering the stadium along with Zuppke’s definitions of the Illinois community revealingly suggests that a progression where football and its Olympic stadium create a space where athletes can become the “complete man.” Substituting its supposed ordinary term “Illini” for the “complete man” reveals that the stadium represents the Illini. When conjoined to its alternate term “Illiniwek,” Zuppke seems to be suggesting that football with its specified space of the stadium created an opportunity for athletes to become the complete man “Illiniwek. Importantly, then it was not just the building itself that surrounded the athletic field but was also the transformation of the physical space by the men who would take the field through the game of football. Fred Lowenthal, a 1901 alumnus, encapsulates this process of ordering through the space itself: “What good member of the tribe can see in the Stadium anything but a visible sign of and a sacred shrine to an invisible thing- the spirit of the Illini.”⁶³

Spectators then were not just inheriting the land in the absence of the game during halftime through the ritual of Leutwiler’s Illiniwek but were immediately, just by entering the space of Memorial Stadium, positioning themselves as the inheritors of the land and the history of Illinois Indians. Memorial Stadium was alternately a “monument,” a “shrine,” and a “symbol.” It created a defined space where community members could join together in a formulaic performance of attendance which followed a preset pattern. No matter the outcome of the football game, no matter a loss or a victory, fans were always able to establish a sense of order to their world. Memorial Stadium created a public space where fans always knew their place even if the University of Illinois was unsuccessful in its athletic endeavors. The values of the space-place relationship exuded by the community experience of Memorial Stadium’s

⁶² “Stadium Mass Meet Explains Expected Duties,” *The Daily Illini* April 1, 1921, 1

⁶³ “Story of the Stadium”

football games were tied to the narratives of progress, competition, and vigor associated with the game of football and the theatrics of the bands halftime performance. In creating a specific space for gathering, performing, and dispersing these ideas, the University established an actual physical structure that was constructed and written upon with the dominant meanings of this circuit: young, male, athletic, and citizen. The recognition of public space was a distinct feature of the modern middle class being explored here.

Disseminating the Message

In leading the ritual of belonging through music and the “Chief performance,” Harding was affirming the continued existence of the University through simulated progress. Just as Memorial Stadium was constructed as a simultaneous remembrance of the past and projection of the future, Harding’s University Band offered a dual veneration of the compositions of the past within the innovative framework of the Marching Band. Harding was convinced “that all possibilities for college bands had not yet been exploited; that they should reflect the quality and dignity of the institutions they represented...”⁶⁴ The University Band quickly attracted highly skilled musicians and directors from across the United States who hoped to learn from Harding. During the “High School Teachers Conference” held annually on the campus of the University, high school teachers interested in band sought out Harding and his staff. Meeting individually and in groups with these gentlemen, by 1930, Harding had established a formal conference to train public school band instructors in the methods and technologies of the modern Illinois band.⁶⁵ Prominent individuals who directed commercial and town bands including Dr. Edwin Franko Goldman, Herbert Clarke, Frank Simon, Henry Fillmore, W.H. Bicket, Victor J. Gabel,

⁶⁴ Harold B. Bachman, *The Biggest Boom in Dixie: The Story of Band Music at the University of Florida* (Gainesville: Paramount Press, 1968), 8.

⁶⁵ Burford, 532-533.

and Harold Bachman, then director of Bachman's Million Dollar Band of Chicago and later conductor of the University of Florida Band, attended Harding's conferences.⁶⁶ Its formal educational program to train students as professional performers and as public school and college teachers capable of teaching instrumental music, band, and orchestral performances anticipated the tremendous need for leaders and musicians for regimental and ROTC bands that would occur during the first World War and the considerable growth of the collegiate band system following.

Harding paralleled his effort to locally train collegiate band directors and musicians with an expanded touring program to promote the Illinois model of professionalism, innovation, and performance. The University of Illinois Band had toured since the turn-of-the-century within the state of Illinois and by the late 1920s the University band had traveled across the country to exhibitions and performances that were arranged to highlight their musicianship and innovative techniques.⁶⁷ By including well-known conductors and band leaders in his annual meetings, training up-and-coming music teachers, and publishing compositions for use by bands across the country, Harding cemented a network that postulated a standardized model of performance which joined the interest of elites in classical composition with the growing number of individuals interested in commercial music. This blending of the musical market as it was conjoined to collegiate athletics allowed Harding and his marching band to foment a theatrical style of performance which alleviated the tension generated by the hierarchy of musical interests. The halftime performance created the potential for a mass appeal to both elites and the rising middle class in order to suggest the underlying meaning of the Illinois community that was located within Memorial Stadium. It was a community that while concentrated on standards and professionalism understood the importance of entertainment and spectacle within the ritual of

⁶⁶ Ibid., 539.

⁶⁷ Albert Austin Harding, A. Austin Harding, 1895-1958, University of Illinois, University of Illinois Archives.

belonging. The marching band provided an aural soundtrack to the community gathering and signaled the appropriate moments within the ritual to venerate the university and community. Veneration of the athlete, the music, the university, and the community were producing and were produced by the individuals engaged in the circuit of communication.

Harding's concern with the professionalization of marching high school and collegiate bands was echoed by Dr. Goldman's concern over the popular conception of concert bands as inferior to orchestras because of their outdoor concert venues, the limited repertoire, and the lack of standardized educations for band directors. By summer of 1928, Goldman met with Victor Grabel, the conductor of the Chicago Concert Band, and Captain William Stannard, the conductor of the U.S. Army Band to discuss the creation of a formal association to address these deficiencies. Stannard wrote to Harding in August of 1928, "We conceived the idea of creating an ABA [American Bandmasters Association] for the purpose of furthering the interests of outstanding American Band Masters, and of interesting composers, arrangers, and music publishers in Wind Band music. . . . It would be the aim of the ABA to unite in a concerted effort to influence the best composers to write for the Wind Band."⁶⁸ Although the first formal meeting would not take place until July 1929, by October 25, 1928, Harding, Goldman, Stannard, and Grabel along with John Philip Sousa, the premier American bandmaster, had agreed to participate. Importantly, Harding was the only charter member who directed a collegiate band. The United States Navy Band, His Majesty's Grenadier Guards Band of Montreal, Canada, and the Royal 22nd Regimental Band of Quebec, Canada were represented as were the major names in commercial concert bands, that of the Chicago Concert Band, the ARMCO Band of

⁶⁸ Captain William Stannard to Albert Austin Harding, August 1928, quoted in "The American Bandmasters Association History," American Bandmasters Association. Available from: <http://americanbandmasters.org/history/>

Middletown, Ohio, and Arthur Pryor's Band of New York.⁶⁹ A combined social and professional network, the ABA read as a who's who of American bands. With its emphasis on education and professionalism, the ABA strengthened the national circuit of musicianship that aided the diffusion of Harding's Illinois model with its musical trio of "Pride of the Illini," "March of the Illini," and "Hail to the Orange," accompanying Lester Leutwiler's "Chief Illiniwek." The mobility of band directors, including alumni of Harding's Marching Band and personal friends, created a diffusionary network that would transform the role of the marching band through the Midwest and beyond. Importantly, the individuals involved not only transported the musicianship and practical abilities inculcated and promoted by Harding but also the understanding of the marching band as an integral cog in the performance of the collegiate sporting world.

In the six years after Leutwiler's original Indian performance with the band, Harding's assistant directors firmly established themselves at colleges across the United States and were embracing composers Harding and the ABA favored. Glenn Cliffe Bainum served as the band director at Southern Illinois University and later Northwestern University, where Karl L. King composed "The Purple Pageant" for use by Bainum's Marching Band in 1933.⁷⁰ Bainum was the first full-time band director at Northwestern and enervated the faltering band that originated in 1911 to "add a little pep and ginger during the football games." In just one year, Bainum increased the size of the band from 17 members to 80 and began the 1927 season by spelling out "HELLO" to welcome fans to the football game.⁷¹ King composed "Wisconsin's Pride" in 1937

⁶⁹ "The American Bandmasters Association History," American Bandmasters Association. Available from: <http://americanbandmasters.org/history/>. The ABA organization was the birthplace of a tremendous number of professional organizations for bands and their directors. At least five major professional organizations including the National Band Association were begun by ABA members.

⁷⁰ Hatton, 157.

⁷¹ "Adding a Little Pep and Ginger," Northwestern University Archives. Available from: http://www.northwestern.edu/about/historic_moments/athletics/the_marching_band.html

for Ray Dvorak, who left Illinois to lead the University of Wisconsin. The University of Wisconsin band under Dvorak's leadership earned a national reputation for its excellence and attempted to claim its own series of firsts: "the singing band, mass singing, formations without signals, and animated formations."⁷² These competing claims of ownership for band innovations suggests a culture of competition between these Midwestern schools and signals the growing prominence associated with not just having a marching band but also having an innovative band with its own specialized rituals of performance. Between 1937 and 1939, King completed an additional series of collegiate marches that proved integral to the individual's ritual of the football marching band: "Michigan on Parade" for William Revelli at the University of Michigan, and "Hawkeye Glory" for Charles B. Righter at the University of Iowa, "Mighty Minnesota" for Gerald Prescott and the University of Minnesota, and, much later, "Black and Gold" for the Purdue University Band.⁷³ The success of the "Big Ten" marches led to additional commissioning at the University of North Dakota, South Dakota State College, Wayne State University, Phillips University, Louisiana State University, the University of Chicago, the University of Idaho, and the University of Arizona. The spread of King's compositions and the theatrics of the marching band had far-reaching implications in facilitating the changing conception of halftime and the meaning of the game itself.

By the late 1930s, Harding and the ABA, including charter member Karl L. King, had embraced the growth of collegiate bands and the importance of standardized performance to the half-time performance. The regimental band and the informal pick-up bands of the close of the nineteenth century had, by 1929 when A. Webber Borchers donned the "Chief Illiniwek" regalia, given way to the spectacle of the choreographed halftime show. Colleges across the nation, many

⁷² The University of Wisconsin Marching Band History: Dvorak Era. Available from: <http://www.badgerband.com/history/dvorak.php>

⁷³ Hatton, 157.

led by individuals trained in the “Illinois model” were transforming the sporting arena into an entertainment spectacle. At the University of Illinois, Leutwiler’s Indian and the music of the halftime show had become the centerpiece of an explicitly racialized articulation of community belonging that took place within the confines of Memorial Stadium. Importantly, though, while the ritual of community was defined by the game of football and its halftime spectacle, it was not restricted by the limitations of band performances and temporally-limited games.

Leutwiler’s Indian performed, by 1928, in a highly structured display in a performance regulated and determined by Harding and the University of Illinois band. The success of the halftime ritual and the control exerted upon it by the University band and Harding in particular can be seen in its transmission to schools across the Midwest and beyond. The circuit of communication about the theatrics of halftime would expand in the 1930s and other institutions would initiate their own version of Leutwiler’s Indian.

CHAPTER 3: RED BODIES AND LITERARY REPRESENTATIONS

On an unusually warm Saturday evening in January, five “Baehr-cats”¹ stepped onto dimly lit hardwood floors in Herron Gymnasium in Oxford, Ohio. There to take on the Miami University “Big Reds”, the basketball game was a metaphor for a decades’ long struggle between the city of Cincinnati and Miami University that began in the founding of the institutions. In 1810, Cincinnati residents protested the decision to establish Miami University in Oxford. Cincinnati, in its boomtown glory, did not have a major institution of higher education and the choice to place such an institution in rural Oxford and not urban Cincinnati was met with censure. Struggling to become incorporated, Cincinnatians felt the establishment of a college within city limits would boost their claim that they were a leading city. Refusal by Miami administrators to yield before an 1822 petition by Cincinnati politicians to the General Assembly to force the movement of the newly established Miami University to Cincinnati so that the school could join with the University of Cincinnati, the annual athletic rivalries between the schools became an expression of the continual frustration between the two schools. Kicked off in 1888 with the annual football game, by the 1928 basketball game, the stakes were clear: winning was to be secured by any means necessary. With their “strong offense and defense” the Bearcats were liable to “get going early in the game.”² The Miami men were told that everything must be “done to keep them from doing that.” Fans, having driven over an hour from Cincinnati, gathered with county residents to line the upper deck that surrounded the court. Cheering on the “hot

¹ The University of Cincinnati adopted the athletic identity of “Baehr-cats” in honor of fullback Leonard K. “Teddy” Baehr on October 31, 1914. Competing against rival University of Kentucky and their “wildcats”, cheerleader Norman “Pat” Lyon chanted “They may be Wildcats, but we have a Baehr-cat on our side.” “Baehr-cat” was changed to “Bearcat” by a cartoonist in the November 3, 1914 edition of the student paper. Available from: <http://www.uc.edu/about/History.html>

² *The Miami Student*, “Bearcats Come to Oxford Saturday Seeking Hides of Big Red-Skinned Warriors,” January 11, 1928.

contest”, these communities saw a match dominated by Cincinnati’s high scoring guards. While Herron gym could not fit the 60,000 that were journeying to Memorial Stadium on Saturdays, the flood of fans who lined the court and read papers eagerly to learn the results demonstrated that the meaning of athletics for the Miami community was the same as at Illinois.

By 1926 when Lester Leutwiler took to the field for the first time, over sixty thousand fans were crowding into Memorial Stadium to watch their favorite team and athletic heroes play the game. From high school games and interstate rivalries to collegiate and professional teams, Americans were fascinated with athleticism and football in particular. While the previous chapters examined the role of Lester Leutwiler and the University of Illinois Band in creating a model of half-time fandom and spectacle, this chapter examines the ways existing communication circuits were leveraged to transmit ideas of Indianness via metaphors of athletic prowess. Drawing on the Miami University archives of student publications and the department of athletics as well as the national press positions this chapter as an interrogation of how ideas of race were leveraged within early twentieth century media. Using Native American analogies and symbology allowed coaches, fans, journalists, and athletes to layer this identity with concepts of racial hierarchy that privileged white male existence. “Civilized” athleticism and manliness allowed access to, and the replication of, a “primitive masculinity” reliant upon stereotypes of native peoples that capitalized on the construction of authority based on the physical body. It is this racialization of the body, via the athlete and athletic endeavors, which created a circuit of consumption that colleges and universities utilized to promote their institutions in the increasingly competitive world of higher education. I argue that three major threads united institutions that adopted Indian monikers and positioned them as part of a particular brand of cultural cosmopolitanism: athletics as essential to the formalization of ritualized behavior,

university students/fraternity members contributing to the ritualized University identity, and the attempt to capitalize on Indian identity for commercial purposes. Importantly, I suggest that while originators at Miami University were drawing from popular perceptions of Indian identity, it was their roles within the local community that ultimately determined how and why they created rituals of consumption that benefited their university.

“Red” Bodies in the Ohio Valley

“Bearcats Come to Oxford Saturday Seeking Hides of Big Red-Skinned Warriors” opined the January 1928 issue of the Miami University student newspaper, *The Miami Student*.³ “The Big Reds are out to add one more scalp to their collection, and it must be done.” Describing the interstate basketball rivalry of the University of Cincinnati and Miami University discussed in the opening of this chapter, the *Miami Student* headline contributed to an elaborate “historico-racial schema” where white men had been constructing their images of Indians from “a thousand details, anecdotes, stories.”⁴ Miami University was a physical manifestation of the complex process of creating and preserving the historico-racial schema of colonization of the Ohio Valley.

Founded in 1809 as part of the Northwest Ordinance and the Symmes Purchase, the schema enacted by Miami University founders effectively sanitized conflict between Native Americans and settlers while neutralizing concern over frontier life. French traders and missionaries, early Ohio settlers, Native peoples encountered the Miami under a variety of monikers. The Atchatchakangouen, a band of the Illinois division of the Algonquin-speaking

³ Ibid.

⁴ Thomas C. Holt, “Marking: Race, Race-Making, and the Writing of History,” *The American Historical Review* 100: 1 (Feb. 1995), 2. While Holt is speaking specifically of the construction of race and writing of history in relation to African-Americans, his use of the “historico-racial schema” has significant ties to how white Americans constructed all racialized others including African-Americans and Indians. I use Holt intentionally so that I can interrogate the ways in which sport disrupts his analysis of race and the everyday where leisure is “unexceptional.”

Miami tribe, referred to themselves as “Twa-h-twa-h,” an imitation of the alarm cry of the sand hill crane.⁵ Early French traders like Jean Nicolet in 1634 called these individuals the “Crane People” while the Chippewa tribe referred to them as “Oumamik” or peninsula dwellers.⁶ These contradictory titles were influenced by the transitory nature of the Miami tribe. Father Gabriel Dreuillettes, traveling in 1658, mentioned a band of Indians, likely Miami, living at the tip of Green Bay. Jesuit agent Jules Tailhan and New France royal agent Bacqueville de La Potherie refuted this, claiming that the Miami lived on a portage sixty miles north of Wisconsin Bay and near the mouth of the Fox River, respectively.⁷ The large amount of territory covered by the seasonally moving tribe dictated these sightings. The Miami probably occupied the peninsula areas west, south, and east of the lower Lake Michigan as well as southward from the Wabash Valley to the three rivers area of what is currently known as the Miami Valley.⁸ Father Claude Allouez, a Jesuit missionary, began recording these encounters and history in 1669.⁹ By 1673 Jesuit missionary Father Jacques Marquette, during a trip with two Miami warriors, had altered the Oumamik name to its French pronunciation “me-aw`me.”¹⁰ Through common usage and recording over time, the French spelling fell to the English “mi-am`-e” or Miami. This name replaced “Twa-h-twa-h” and remains the formal name to this day.¹¹

From its founding, Miami University began to position and authenticate itself as a civic institution engaged in the process of civilizing the frontier. The University consciously chose to

⁵ Miami University, *The Miami Connection*, brochure, 15 June 1991. “Twa-h-twa-h” is alternatively spelled “ta-way” and will be used here synonymously.

⁶ Bert Anson, *The Miami Indians* (Norman, Ok: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 3. Karen Alexander, “Miami Tribe of Oklahoma: Past, Present, Future,” Miami Tribe, Miami University Nickname and Mascot Papers, Miami University Archives, 1 HST Box 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁸ Harvey Lewis Carter, *The Life and Times of Little Turtle*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 20.

⁹ Anson, 5.

¹⁰ Anson, 5; Alexander, “Miami Tribe of Oklahoma: Past, Present, Future”.

¹¹ Philip R. Shriver, *Miami University: A Personal History*, ed. William Pratt (Oxford, OH: Miami University Press, 1988), 32.

legitimate its existence on Miami tribal land by appropriating the Miami name. This intentional choice to connect to the past created a vibrant tradition that provided the institution with stability. In effect, it positioned the institution as descended from both the physical land itself and the accumulated history of the Miami Indians. This was echoed by choices made at the University of Illinois and the University of North Dakota, where their names were drawn from Indian words.

The process of settlement, defeat, and naming illustrates the common process of colonial domination over Native Americans. Settlement of the frontier relied on colonizing previously inhabited territory. Settlers, like Thomas Worthington, ignored Native American claims to territory by convincing themselves that Native Americans and the frontier needed to be “civilized.” Miami University’s original charter recognized this primacy of white culture. The university intended to “promot[e] good education, virtue, religion and morality,” echoing the cumulative effects of the Northwest Ordinance, in an effort to create a legitimate present. The identity of Miami University and the Ohio Valley was, by 1809, decidedly romanticized based on this corruption of historical events. Lying hidden within the rhetoric of the charter and the institution itself was the moral ambiguity of the sanitized past. Article III of the Northwest Ordinance and the Miami University Charter had validated a white Christian society that marginalized Miami Tribe identity by ignoring the multiplicity of Miami experiences in the Ohio Valley. In other words, because the Miami lacked a valid history in the settler’s eyes, the University and the state of Ohio was able to co-opt historical memory. The conflict between these “civilized” Christian communities and the Miami tribe relied on the categorization of dominant and submissive groups in white memory.¹² By labeling and categorizing the Miami tribe as an identity submissive to white experience, Ohio colonists, like Manasseh Cutler justified territorial expansion and conquest in the American frontier.

¹² Michael Banton, *Ethnic and Racial Consciousness*, (New York: Addison Wesley Longman Ltd., 1988), 7.

Miami University reinforced notions of possession and ownership over the land and the tribe Miami by negating conflict and legacies of violent occupation. President George Washington had declared war against the Confederacy of Miami, Shawnees, Potawamis, Ottawas, Kickapoos, Wyandots, Delaware, and Huron Indians in 1790 using Article III of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787.¹³ The Northwest Territories were largely marked by small skirmishes that had challenged the authority of the government and threatened the safety of white American settlers. Securing land allowed Washington to safeguard settlements, control trade and wealth, and push Indians further into the interior. From 1790 to 1794, the war between the Miami tribe and the government roiled across the territory. In the worst defeat of the American army by Native Americans, the Miami Confederacy decimated Governor Arthur St. Clair at the Battle of Wabash in 1794. Even with this victory, the Confederacy was defeated and signed the Treaty of Greenville, surrendering much of the present State of Ohio in 1795.¹⁴

The romantic images of a peaceful Miami past that welcomed settlement used by the state of Ohio and Miami University contradicted everyday experience on the Ohio frontier. In 1824, as the Miami Indians were forcibly settled on land “northward of the river Ohio, eastward of the Mississippi, and westward and southward of the Great Lakes” as dictated by the Treaty of Greenville, Miami University welcomed its inaugural class.¹⁵ The university and the surrounding town hoped to provide an education to young men in the Miami Valley of Ohio based on strong religious and moral principles derived from a classical curriculum.¹⁶ From 1824 to 1873,

¹³ U.S. Congress, “An Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States North West of the Ohio River,” July 13, 1787, Article III.

¹⁴ Shriver, *Miami University: A Personal History*, 31.

¹⁵ U.S. Department of State, “Treaty of Greenville,” August 3, 1795, Article 4.

¹⁶ Philip R. Shriver, “Founding Miami,” Miami University, September 9, 1998.

educational pursuits occupied all of the student's day.¹⁷ These years saw the creation of literary societies, fraternities, and McGuffey readers, and virulent debates about slavery in America.

The physical presence of the Miami tribe disappeared from the Ohio Valley while vestiges of their perceived identity and past remained firmly entrenched at Miami University. The tribal legacy and history was imagined through the lens of white settlers and university officials in a way that belied the complex economic interactions between settlers and the Miami tribe prior to 1783 and discounted the rich cultural history. The university and the Ohio settlers denied the actual existence of the Miami tribe in favor of a romanticized past that allowed them to determine the landscape and experience of Ohio settlers. The appropriation of the Miami name combined with the educational rhetoric of religion, morality, and virtue positioned Miami University identity as a legitimate presence in the Ohio Valley.

Appropriating the name Miami allowed settlers to reaffirm their domination over the defeated Miami. Miami University and the Ohio settlers were able to emotionally disconnect from recent defeat to create a positive history for the new institution. Miami University then sanitized both the physical land itself by altering the topographical structure and the legacy of territorial conflict by assuming the very identity the settlers worked to destroy. An Indian mound “about three feet high by one hundred feet in circumference”¹⁸ was removed southeast of one of the first buildings, Harrison Hall as well as Stoddard Hall.¹⁹

From its inception as an unnamed school in 1787 to 1824, the university worked to distance itself from the physical reality of the Miami existence relying instead on a romantic past that offered a sense of far-off danger. The university removed all vestiges of the Miami presence

¹⁷ Shriver, *Miami University: A Personal History*, 70.

¹⁸ James H. Rodabaugh, *A History of Miami University from Its Origin to 1845*. Thesis (M.A.)--Miami University, (Dept. of History), 1933, draft Chapter 2, 1.

¹⁹ Walter Havighurst, *The Miami Years* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1958), 11-24.

on the land by destroying mounds and other Indian markers on the land while at the same time supporting the growing physical conflict between the government and the Miami tribe in the nascent state of Ohio. The Miami tribe, virulent in its defense of the land it had inhabited for over two hundred years, was continually being turned westward as white society expressed concern over the “savage” Indians. By the end of the nineteenth century, Miami University actively sustained an institutional identity that capitalized on the demise of the Miami Tribe. As an institution devoted to the settlement of the Ohio Valley and the education of its citizens, Miami University appropriated the name of the Miami Tribe as well as its land and historical legacy. This process resulted in the formation of an institution actively engaged in civilizing the Ohio frontier. This performance of the institution as a “civilized” place was an important articulation given the lingering belief that Ohio (and more broadly everything west of the Smoky Mountains) were frontier lands and “uncivilized” in their behaviors. Importantly, by the early twentieth century, Miami University was actively deploying the safely-sanitized history of Miami Indians for its purposes.

In using the phrase “red-skinned warriors”, the *Miami Student* author utilizes one popular convention: skin. As Nancy Shoemaker argues in *A Strange Likeliness: Becoming Red and White in Eighteenth Century America*, skin and skin color was the primary index of difference between Indians and Europeans.²⁰ “At the start of the eighteenth century, Indians and Europeans rarely mentioned the color of each other’s skins. By midcentury, remarks about skin color and the categorization of peoples by simple color-coded labels (red, white, black) had become commonplace.”²¹ Importantly, it is the addition of “red” as a simple label to the already existent framework of black or “negro” and white which had been constructed within the framework of

²⁰ Nancy Shoemaker, *A Strange Likeliness: Becoming Red and White in Eighteenth Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 127.

²¹Ibid., 129.

slavery and slave trading that marks the mid-eighteenth century as an important line of demarcation for Americans and their perceptions of race. Linneaus' 1740 *Systema Naturae* popularized red as the physical descriptor for Indians' bodies and the use of the phrase "red men," "red people", and "red-skinned" appear prominently in discussions of Indian life from the mid-eighteenth century onward. One Taensas headmen in 1725 identified his tribe to the French as "red men" while both Creeks and Cherokees one year later used red to differentiate themselves from Europeans they encountered and to designate themselves as members of the same community, "red people".²² In Creek society, the color white represented peace, harmony, and friendship while red signaled blood, violence, and warfare.²³ The color-coding produced a physical manifestation: leaders of Creek warriors would paint their bodies red in preparation for warfare. The Mesquakies or "red earths" tell of their origins as people "made out of clay as red as the reddest blood."²⁴ As council speeches among the Iroquois (1687), at the Treaty of Augusta (1763), and at Shamokin, Pennsylvania (1769) illustrate, skin color was the critical divide between Europeans and Indians.²⁵ In leveraging skin color as the marker of identity, Indians and Europeans were able to demarcate biologies of belonging. In eighteenth century parlance, one must be "red" to be Indian and "white" to be European.

In "adding one more scalp" to its collection, the *Miami Student* was playing upon a prominent historical trope: that of the warrior counting coup and scalping its opponent to celebrate a successful conquest. The use of Native bodies (here in the form of skin color) echoed other facets of the cultural cosmopolitanism at work within the circuit of collegiate athletics that

²² Ibid., 131.

²³ Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

²⁴ Shoemaker, 132. William Jones, "Episodes in the Culture-Hero Myth of the Sauks and Foxes," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 14 (1901), 225-239.

²⁵ Shoemaker, 135.

leveraged Indianness as a marker of difference. This difference, as Derrida suggests, was essential to contextualizing and elucidating the meaning of the performances that the audience was experiencing. With this audience being both citizens of the state of Ohio as well as perspective settlers, the image of Indianness was carefully controlled. “Red bodies” were coded as exotic and “other” and through that coding the establishment of a hierarchy where white was privileged was solidified.

It is hardly surprising, then, that the author chooses to invoke scalping as a ritual of the “red-skinned warrior.” In overlaying basketball with metaphors of Indian society, the game was transmuted into a war between enemies, the athletes of Miami “red-skinned warriors” who were battling “bearcats”, with the defeat of their enemy, a cause for celebration with its attendant ritual of scalping. In drawing these parallels, the author leverages a historical tradition from pre-colonial America in order to affirm the superiority of the Miami squad. Scalping and the display of Indian heads were documented as early as 1535 by French explorer Jacques Cartier who were shown “the skins of five men’s heads, stretched on hoops, like parment” during his second voyage up the St. Lawrence among the Stadaconans.²⁶ Hernando de Soto’s men encountered scalp displays in west Florida among the Apalachee in 1540 and Creeks displayed scalps on a pole in the town center in 1560. It would be easy to perceive the collecting and display of scalps by victors as a particularly vicious form of warfare and taunting through the lens of contemporary life. Yet, the collecting and display of scalps were highly ritualized among many tribes. Samuel de Champlain witnessed a victory ritual among the Montagnais in 1603:

Approaching the shore each took a stick, on the end of which they hung the scalps (*testes*) of their slain enemies with some beads, singing...all together. And when they were all ready, the women stripped themselves quite naked, and jumped into the water, swimming to the canoes to receive the scalps of their enemies which were at the end of

²⁶ James Axtell and William C. Sturtevant, “The Unkindest Cut, or Who Invented Scalping,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 37:3 (July 1980), 456.

long sticks in the bow of their canoes, in order to later hang them round their necks, as if they had been precious chains. And then they sang and danced. Some days afterwards they made me a present of one of these scalps as if it been some very valuable thing, and of a pair of shields belonging to their enemies, for me to keep to show to the king. And to please them I promised to do so.²⁷

Lawyer Marc Lescarbot witnessed a similar ritual of collection, singing, and dancing among the Micmac at Port Royal while missionary Gabriel Sagard noted that Hurons not only collected the scalps but placed them on a long pole and displayed them publicly during times of war.²⁸ It is difficult to assess the motivation of these tribes in collecting scalps. Used as part of a cultural ritual, the scalps could likely have had historical significance that allowed tribal members to both remember the event itself and to ritualistically celebrate the success of their endeavor. The case of the Hurons suggests that scalp collecting could likely have been used to signal to enemies their physical prowess and to hopefully dissuade would be attackers from waging war.²⁹ European colonists encouraged the practice as it was in the interests of European governments to reduce the Indian population in the new world. The earliest bounties paid by Europeans to Indians required the presentation of the vanquished' head not just the scalp.³⁰ The English, French and Dutch all presented Indians with monetary and material rewards for seeking out their enemies. "In 1688 the governor of Canada offered ten beaver skins to the Indians of northern New England for every enemy scalp, Christian or Indian. Not to be outdone, the English regained the palm in 1696 when the New York Council "*resolved for the future*, that Six pounds

²⁷ H. P. Biggar, ed., *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, vol. 1 (Toronto: Publications of the Champlain Society, 1922-1936), 102-103, 108 in James Axtell and William C. Sturtevant, "The Unkindest Cut, or Who Invented Scalping," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 37:3 (July 1980), 459.

²⁸ Father Gabriel Sagard, *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons*, George M. Wrong, ed. Trans. H.H. Langton (Toronto: Publication of the Champlain Society, 1939), 152 in Axtell and Sturtevant, 460.

²⁹ Depictions of the rituals of scalp collection and display include Theodore de Bry's engraving of Jacques le Moyne's "Treatment of the Enemy Dead by Outina's Forces" (1591) and Alexandre De Batz' 1732 and 1735 Choctow paintings. These painting provide visual cues derived from original testimonials regarding scalping practices and rituals.

³⁰ Axtell and Sturtevant, 470.

shall be given to each Christian or Indian as a Reward who shall kill a french man or indian Enemy.” By the close of the century, a hierarchy of monetary value had been established where scalps of men capable of waging war were worth one-hundred-pounds, ten times that of women and children older than ten. Serving the purposes of colonists who were intent on expansion, the valuation of men higher than women relied on preconceived notions of the role of men in warfare by the Europeans. Europeans believed that only men waged warfare and as such did not value the role of women, who served as defenders of the village and provided supplies and goods to men to enable them to fight.³¹ In creating a structured valuation of Indian bodies that relied on perceived gender hierarchies, colonists were previewing the nineteenth and twentieth century obsession with biological categorization made popular by ethnology and anthropology as well as the physical sciences. By 1928 when the *Miami Student* was celebrating its “red-skinned warriors”, these disciplines had firmly popular perceptions of Indianness that capitalized on colonial tropes and displays of the exotic. Again, Indians themselves were not needed to participate in these circuits; it was only an echo of their lives that were essential to the performance. Actual Indians could destabilize the meaning and understandings that Miami University was relying on to communicate its desire for young, white, male citizens who could become students.

Primitive Masculinity and University Identity

In adopting the name “Miami” and by advertising its athletic teams as “red-skinned warriors,” the University was actively promoting itself as an inheritor of a safely sanitized history. Unlike the University of Illinois which was actively seeking to construct a spectacle for

³¹ Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.)

its sixty thousand fans, Miami University was producing a tailored identity that was customized for its main consumers: Ohio residents. The success of this effort to increase student enrollment can be measured quantitatively. In 1913, Miami University enrolled just 587 students.³² By 1923, 1474 students had joined the ranks of Miami undergraduates.³³ By the early 1930s, roughly twenty-two hundred students were matriculating, two and a half times as many students as ten years earlier.³⁴

Miami University's growth relied on economic changes within the United States. The growth of railroads and communication networks mapped the country with an easily traveled transportation system. Combined with technological advancements in factory production and line management, material goods became standardized and were produced at a higher rate than ever before. The mechanization of rural America advanced farming and created a wealth of raw materials for urban industry, staffed by lower class men, women, and immigrants. Competition between companies and products then created a fledgling consumer culture that relied on product loyalty.³⁵ Simultaneously, education was commodified as a means of achieving the American dream. Higher education prior to the 20th century was regarded with suspicion for a perceived role in creating an aristocracy.³⁶ As free public education backed by democratic ideals grew, lower and middle class Americans saw education as a means to financial security. The demand for education spurred on fledgling state-controlled free universities into financially solvent entities that relied on advertising to defeat competing institutions. The business ethic and bureaucracy of America in the early 1920s positioned education as a commodity to be bought

³² "Enrollment Largest Ever," *The Miami Student* 38 (1): September 18, 1913, 1.

³³ Walter Havighurst, *The Miami Years* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1958), 188.

³⁴ "Figures Show 2200 Enrolled for 1930-1931," *The Miami Student* 55 (5): October 7, 1930, 1.

³⁵ King and Springwood, 91.

³⁶ John S. Brubaker and Willis Rudy, eds. *Higher Education in Transition*, 4th ed. (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1997), 155.

and sold.³⁷ One 1898 editorial in the *Miami Student* seeking additional subscribers summarized the ways in which cultural productions and events could be leveraged for university purposes, “Next, after good clean athletics a good college paper does more to make a college known, and favorably known, than any other organ of college life.”³⁸ I pause here to underscore the relationship of consumption to the circuit of cultural expression being explored here. It was only because of competition that these institutions needed to articulate an institutional desire for young, white, male, athletic bodies. Consumption of meanings and images of this institutional desire created a community that could leverage the individual for its own uses. It “muted” the individual in favor of the “citizen,” “athlete,” “modern man.”

For many students including those at Miami University and the University of Illinois, college offered the opportunity for social development and socialization that would increase social status. A May 1927 editorial in the *Daily Illini*, the Illinois student newspaper, illustrated students’ interest in the university: “it must be admitted at the outset that most of the personnel of the institution is here because “going to college” is admittedly the modish, fashionable, accepted thing to do...”³⁹ The author continues on to claim that those truly interested in the “academic life” are few, “although increasing year to year, wouldn’t fill one section of the stadium...The attraction of successful athletic teams cannot be overestimated in this consideration...They have probably heard of that “Illinois spirit,” which has been so generally advertised largely as a result of athletics here.” Tellingly, that “Illinois spirit” that the author speaks of as being a selling point for new students is decidedly masculine. Women “go to mark time until they can “get” married with the prospects meanwhile of making a “good” sorority and “rating” five dates a week.” In gendering women’s attendance at Illinois as part of a scheme to

³⁷ Christopher J. Lucas, *American Higher Education: A History* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1994), 191.

³⁸ “Editorial,” *The Miami Student* 18:2 (November 1898), 37.

³⁹ “9,796 Students- Why Are They Here?” *The Daily Illini*, 11 May 1927.

achieve social norms (getting married), the author illustrates the growing tension within higher education. As more families are able to afford to send their young men and women to college, the composition of the student body itself shifted. Children of middle-class parents were able to take advantage of post-war prosperity and used college as an opportunity to increase their social standing and economic prospects long term. As Fred H. Turner, University of Illinois dean remarked in his 1926 missive “Like Father, Unlike Son” most male students did not major in their father’s occupation. They used the opportunity to explore new vocations including commerce and engineering.⁴⁰ This unease, the distance between young men and their fathers, showed the slippage of the cosmopolitan world that middle class white men inhabited. Young men were out to “make their own way” while fathers were worried about having sons who could follow in their footsteps and support their families. For students who were thrust into a rapidly growing student body, extracurricular activities became an avenue to create community and to achieve social recognition that their fathers could be proud of. Given Miami University’s rapid expansion over the course of the decade, “membership in the varsity football team represents the peak of undergraduate attainment,” one 1929 *New York Herald* editorial opined. “And from that the scales of values grades down through the lesser sports, through the glee and mandolin clubs, the dramatic society and comic weekly to the bottom of the scholastic excellence.”⁴¹

Importantly, football and its attendant characteristics of violence, rules, and order came to serve as the apex of social achievement. This is a key component of the world of collegiate sport and the modern man that is being explored in this dissertation. The notion of achievement for the betterment of family, community, and society was the driving force behind this brand of

⁴⁰ David O. Levine, *American College and the Culture of Aspiration, 1915-1940* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 117. It is significant to note that although there is a rise in collegiate enrollment there is also a parallel shift in the case of the University of Illinois away from students from farming backgrounds. “The proportion of children of businessmen, scientific professionals, government workers, and skilled laborers increased.” See also Levine, 131.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 120.

cosmopolitanism. It did not allow young men to ask what they wanted but instead told them what they should desire: being the “modern” man of strong body, good looks, and elite social status. Above all they should be seeking to be good citizens and to be a good citizen was to be white in this moment.

Although sports had existed on the Miami campus since 1824, the university maintained only one affiliation with respect to its athletic teams. Varsity athletic winners were members of the “M” men, an athletic club. The “M” was in reference to the university name which, in itself, was already complicated by over a hundred years of colonial domination over Native Americans. The only logo was a red “M” each man received.⁴² In assigning a physical marker of achievement to athletes, athletic administrators were demarcating social boundaries of have and have-nots. In wearing your “M” young men were able to promote themselves as physically superior to their classmates and to create a culture of belonging. Importantly, women were able to participate in this culture of athletic superiority albeit in a modified version. From 1908 onwards, female athletes were awarded an “M” by the Girls’ Athletic Association, later the Women’s Athletics Association for sports as varied as volleyball, soccer, tennis, field hockey, baseball and basketball.⁴³ I draw attention to this distinction as it underscores the vibrant masculinity deployed as part of men’s athletics identity and as part of the larger articulation of cultural cosmopolitanism. While female athletes could be “M” women and enjoy athletic success, they were not described as “red-skinned warriors” intent on scalping their opponents. While the origins of the “M” are clearly established the origins of the use of “red-skinned” are more complicated. The initial origin tied “red-skinned” to basketball yet beyond the singular mention

⁴² Miami University, *Recensio*, 1915, Miami University Archives.

⁴³ Women’s athletics were not formally part of the Division of Intercollegiate Athletics until 1975. Initially organized by class level, women’s sports more accurately embodied intramural associations rather than formal university sponsored divisions. Miami University History of Women’s Intercollegiate Athletics, Miami University, 1999. Available from: <http://www.lib.muohio.edu/epub/wsports/hist.html>.

in the student paper, there was not a wholesale adoption of “red-skin” to refer to the athletic teams. Instead, it is the role of the football team in regards to the formalization of the use of “red-skin” that receives the most attention.

Following the 1929 football win against Transylvania University, halfback Frank S. Games attended his fraternity mixer. A member of the Delta Kappa Epsilon fraternity, Games began a conversation with University President Alfred H. Upham, also a fraternity member:

President Upham: “The name Big Red is no longer appropriate for Miami teams. The papers refer to you as the Pony Backfield and surely there must be a better name than Big Red!”

Games: “Well, this is Indian country and they have been part of the folklore. The Indian tribe and the rivers are all named Miami. Why not use the words Redskins as the designation for Miami athletic teams?”

Upham: “I like your suggestion and at the right time I will place it before the Board of Trustees.”⁴⁴

There is no record of Upham ever approaching the Board of Trustees to formalize Games’ supposed suggestion. Coach Charles Pittser, Miami University football coach, also claimed to originate the formal appellation “Redskins.” He purportedly called his athletes “Redskins” in 1931.⁴⁵ Importantly, both Pittser and Games’ speculation were recollections justified, legitimized, and authenticated over thirty years after production. There is no currently available archival evidence to support Coach Charles Pittser’s claim nor is their corroborating evidence for Frank Games. No university or student publication used the name “Redskins” until 1933, two years following Games’ graduation and Pittser’s alleged designation. Further, the 1930 Alumni newsletter does not specifically name “Redskins” as the athletic name. The only documented use of the term “Redskin” prior to 1933 was a 1922 poem in the student paper about William Whitecloud, former half-back for the Carlisle Indians, written by associate editor William

⁴⁴ The Origin of the Designated Name for the Miami University Athletic Teams, Walter Havighurst Collection, Miami University, Box 10, October 9, 1981, Miami University Archives.

⁴⁵ Miami University, Office of the Student Body, “Miami University and the “Redskins”: An Analysis,” March 11, 1993, Miami University Archives. Hereafter cited as “Redskins”: An Analysis.

Mason.⁴⁶ In all likelihood, influenced by the athletic coverage, students probably altered “Big Reds” and “red-skinned warriors” to “Redskins” during conversation about their sport teams.

In formalizing its Indian identity, Miami University students adopted additional conventions. The freshman handbook, or “M book”, featured the Indian head silhouette alongside the “Scalp Song” in 1932. The “Scalp Song” reads in part, “The tribes go forth to war/their scalp-songs ring afar/bright the blood-red camp-fires gleaming/ mad with thirst the war-hawks screaming...”⁴⁷ An invocation of the ritual written about in 1928, the “Scalp Song” demonstrated the way in which newspaper coverage become institutionalized. The Miami University yearbook, the *Recensio*, acknowledged this status: “Miami University-Athletic teams are known as Redskins, honoring the fierce Tribe Miami Indians of early Ohio history.”⁴⁸ Football players received tomahawk stickers to affix to their helmets to recognize superior athletic achievements.⁴⁹

While designating the basketball team “red-skinned warriors” and the football team “Redskins” may have served as a descriptive phrase, it was the adoption of the insignia that deserves specific attention as it solidified the University’s Indian identity by constructing a visual identity and a moniker “Redskin” for use by the University. According to the 1930 *Alumni Newsletter*, “members of the athletic department went into a huddle not long ago and decided that Miami teams had a moniker [Big Red] and a symbol [M]. As the very name Miami is taken from an Indian tribe and the term ‘Big Reds’ smacks of Redskins and the warpath, an Indian brave in war lock and feathers was thought a suitable insignia.”⁵⁰ The original Miami depiction of the insignia was accurate in its depiction of the Miami Indian. Men of the Miami tribe were

⁴⁶ “Fame”, *The Miami Student* 45 (6): October 27, 1922, 4.

⁴⁷ Miami University, “M Book”, 1933, Miami University Archives.

⁴⁸ Miami University, *Recensio*, 1933, Miami University Archives.

⁴⁹ “Redskins”: An Analysis, 9.

⁵⁰ Miami University, *Alumni Newsletter*, 1930, Miami University Archives.

heavily tattooed across the face, chest, arms, and legs. They wore animal skin shirts, leggings, and moccasins during the winter and a breechclout during the summer.⁵¹ Miami men wore their hair short with sections loose in front of and behind their ears.⁵² The first depiction used a silhouette image reminiscent of Mi-A-Qu-A, a Miami Chief.

While the University played upon the sensational in constructing this insignia and moniker, it did not reflect the growing trend toward spectacle. The insignia was not a mass spectacle like that being produced by Lester Leutwiler, Albert Austin Harding and the University of Illinois band. Instead, it replicated the high-brow tradition of formal portraiture and relied upon a very muted visual presentation. Significantly, this illustrates the use of high brow culture in expressions of this brand of cultural cosmopolitanism. It did not encourage fan participation. It did not lead trainloads of spectators through the streets of Oxford and perform on campus. Instead, the meaning of the insignia was one-dimensional. It could be printed and reproduced in newspapers and on material goods but was not a dynamic rallying point for the community. It is difficult to assess why Miami University relied upon a high brow articulation only. Perhaps it was a result of the lack of a large marching band. In differentiating the University of Illinois and Chief Illiniwek from Miami University and its Redskin, I underscore both the innovation of Illinois and its uniqueness. Miami University did not have a community member with a tradition of donning Indian garb, an innovative University band, nor sixty thousand fans crowding the stadium. It had the same brand of cultural cosmopolitanism, but was expressing it in a limited way. Miami University was much more modest in size and scope and its insignia and moniker reflect those limitations.

⁵¹ Anson, 19.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 21.

Assuming that the 1898 editor of the *Miami Student* was correct in believing that the student paper and college athletics served as the two best advertisements for a university, then the message being produced is overwhelmingly clear: Miami University welcomes men as members of its community. When layered with the explicitly racialized narrative being tied to athletics, the coverage of “red-skinned warriors” replicates process similar to that of Illinois. Miami University and its students were intentionally producing a narrative of violence that existed within the confines of men’s athletics (primarily football) documented by the newspaper for the purposes of affirming both their presence and their superiority. For the football team, this was a justification of their physical superiority and their use of football as a way to indoctrinate young men into violence both to train them as citizens capable of waging war and to establish social superiority among those unable to fulfill their duties. For student newspapermen, these metaphors of violence and aggression replayed long-documented interest in Indian life, colonial violence, and fulfilled their needs to induce readers to purchase the paper. For athletic department officials including Charles Pittser, the University football coach, analogies of their athletes as physical aggressors intent on participating in ritualized violence served as a psychological motivator. It established close-knit community boundaries within an easily described framework of us versus them, Indians versus the other. Importantly, though, it was the ability of all three producers to discard these identities by leaving the field, closing the paper, or ending the season that solidified the ritualization of Indian bodies.

This pattern of ritualization: the introduction of the Indian, the battle between the Indian and their opponent(s), the heroic departure of the Indian, and the return to normalcy was the hallmark of 1920s adoption of Indian identity. For Illinois, fans were introduced to the Indian at their halftime spectacle, listened and watched the contest between the Indian and its opponent in

the form of the university band, and celebrated his departure by reaffirming their right of inheritance and returning to the game. In the case of Miami University, fans were introduced to the Indian via University newspapers and advertisements, enjoyed the contest between the Indian in the guise of the football game (both in person and in print), and celebrated the victory of the University by watching the athlete revel in his Indianness only to discard it at the end of the game. It is ability to repeatedly adopt and discard their Indianess that marks these rituals as similar. Despite Chief Illiniwek's departure from the stadium, fans and athletes still metaphorically inherited the field and the university. Repeating the ritual throughout the season, Illinois fans continually affirmed their community's existence. Despite the ending of the game and the closing of the newspaper, students, alumni, athletes and fans were still able to inherit the university by joining the community. In this repetition of attending games, reading about them, and seeking or supporting athletic victory that continually affirmed communal status and belonging. In arguing for a recognition of the scaling of this form of cultural cosmopolitanism, I highlight the slippage between schools in their use of the framework of meaning about athletic identity and mascotry. At one site, Illinois, it is the spectacle that comes to the fore while at another, Miami, it is the written performance that expressed itself most readily.

CHAPTER 4: A STANFORD INDIAN AND EXPOSITIONS OF RACE

While the University of Illinois was creating halftime spectacle and transforming the modern band and as Miami University was solidifying its use of the term “redskins” to describe its football “warriors,” over two thousand miles away the Stanford University community was undertaking their own efforts to transform their athletic identity. Unlike the University of Illinois or Miami University who saw the rapid adoption of Indian identity as part of their athletic monikers, Stanford University demonstrates the ways in which the shift towards Indian themed monikers for athletic teams relied upon both alumni and student involvement and agreement.¹ Drawing on the record of Stanford University, this chapter illustrates how in attempting to create an Indian tradition at Stanford, alumni failed to convince students of their need to join the community. In positioning alumni as central to the narrative of college athletics, this chapter introduces an additional group of stakeholders into discourse on college football that often concentrates on administrative figures and coaches. With an almost seven year lag between initial introduction and the formal adoption, Stanford University reveals fractures between administrators and alumni and the students themselves. In this fracturing, the uneasy nature of the cultural cosmopolitanism at play is revealed. As stakeholders’ and participants within the circuit of cosmopolitanism being explored in this dissertation, the resistance by students to the creation of an athletic identity illustrates the ways in which students questioned the meaning of their community. The acceptance or rejection of students to the role of sport and their Indian

¹ Stanford University opened October 1, 1891 as a tribute to Leland Stanford Junior, the deceased son of founder Leland Stanford and his wife, Jane. Unlike the University of Illinois or Miami University which relied on state and government involvement in their origins, Stanford University was founded on the dream of former California Governor Leland Stanford who, the night following his fifteen year old son’s death, dreamt that his son appeared and spoke to him. When he awakened Stanford reportedly declared, “the children of California shall be our children. Edith R. Mirrielees, *Stanford: the Story of a University* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1959), 20.

monikers in their daily lives were pivotal and provided a clear demarcation of students as simultaneous consumers and producers of Indian narratives.

The historical origins of the Stanford Indian are, at first glance, relatively straightforward. The Associated Student Government of Stanford University voted in the fall of 1930 to adopt the “Stanford Indian” as its athletic symbol. Their allegiance to the Indian symbol grew out of both the repetitive use of Indian warfare metaphors when discussing Stanford football by local sports writers and an earlier 1923 effort by Dr Thomas M. Williams, an 1897 alumnus and founding member of the Board of Athletic Control, to utilize the Indian symbol. Thomas Williams was born July 16, 1871 in Duo, West Virginia. Initially homeschooled on his parent’s rural farm, Williams was a student at Greenbriar Male Academy (Lewisburg, W.V.) and later the University of West Virginia.² Upon his arrival at Stanford, Williams met resistance from his classmates who viewed his rural eastern upbringing and lack of previous involvement in football as problematic.³ The reaction of his contemporaries, members of the Stanford chapter of the fraternity Williams had been a brother of in West Virginia, underscores the role football played both at the university itself and within the male fraternal community: those uninterested in football were not fully accepted. In joining the football team in 1896 and 1897 as a center, Williams was likely attempting to climb the social hierarchy. The use of athletics for social ascendancy was a fundamental aspect of the circuit of cosmopolitanism being explored here. Young, white, male, middle-class, and athletic were the apex of the efforts to shape the communities’ identity. In the intervening years between his 1897 graduation and his return to Palo Alto in 1904, Williams attended Columbia University (where he lettered in football) in

² “Sandstone and Tile: Dr. Tom Williams,” *Stanford Historical Society* 11:4 (Summer 1987), 3. Hereafter referred to as “Sandstone.”

³ *Ibid.*, 4.

pursuit of his medical degree, subsequently interning at the New York Post-Graduate Hospital.⁴ Williams was an active alumnus upon his return to Stanford, including serving as an honorary pallbearer at the funeral of Jane Stanford, president of the Alumni Association in 1909-1910, and first chair of the Board of the Athletic Control beginning in 1917. During his tenure as chair, Williams worked with the University to modernize Stanford athletics. Stanford constructed a 3,000 seat basketball pavilion, a 60,000 seat football stadium, a baseball stadium, gymnasium, and new tennis courts.⁵ Mirroring construction campaigns across America, including those at Miami University and Illinois, Williams' effort to create a commercial athletic program was highly successful. "In all, \$2 million in Athletic Department Revenues during this period were used for permanent University improvements."⁶ How did Stanford athletics reach the point where they generated two million dollars in revenue for use by the University? It was an convergence of adaptations to the game of football itself and the rise of popular coaches and athletes that became local and national stars.

Growing the Game

Between 1876 when the first "common rules" of football were established by the Intercollegiate Football Association and 1923 when Tom Williams suggested the use of the Stanford Indian, football changed dramatically. One-sided possession of the ball, the formulation of five yard increments and downs to move the ball, set plays, the creation of assigned positions including the quarterback, tackling and the line of scrimmage were just a few of the innovations

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., 6-7.

⁶Ibid., 7.

of American football and its *de facto* leader, Walter Camp.⁷ In part these innovations were a response to growing concerns over the brutality of the sport. “Having begun as a version of rugby, American football developed in the 1880s and 1890s along the lines of infantry warfare, as the first generation of coaches devised various strategies for massing the offensive attack on a vulnerable point on the defensive line.”⁸ Scholar Michael Oriard has labeled this period from the beginning of World War I to the beginning of the 1920s, “football’s second maturity.”⁹ The innovations promoted by Walter Camp coupled with the adoption of football as one of the primary sports promoted during military service allowed for the rapid growth of football among young men. One 1919 *New York Times* editorial exclaimed, “football owes more to the war in the way of the spread of the spirit of the game than it does to the ten or twenty years of development in the period before the war.”¹⁰ The “preparedness crisis” of the Great War had placed an emphasis on the need for physically fit young men to participate in the country’s defense and Americans had turned overwhelmingly to football as its training ground.¹¹

Illustrating the changing ways schools viewed football because of these innovations and the emphasis placed on the game by the military are both the University of California and Stanford University. In 1908, Stanford University President David Starr Jordan (formerly President of the University of Indiana) lamented the low numbers of students actively participating in athletics or recreation: “Considerably less than a quarter of the men take part, and of this fraction, hardly half are active throughout the year.”¹² What likely precipitated the decline in athletic endeavors? Stanford University had, in 1906, abandoned football in favor of its

⁷ John Pettigrew, *Brutes in Suits: Male Sensibility in America, 1890-1920* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 135-136.

⁸ Michael Oriard, *King Football: Sport and Spectacle in the Golden Age of Radio & Newsreels, Movies & Magazines, the Weekly & the Daily Press* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 2.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 3; “War Football,” *The New York Times*, 23 November 1919.

¹¹ Oriard, *King Football*, 3.

¹² Mirrieles, 146.

progenitor, rugby. Rugby was believed to be less violent than football. Frank Angell, faculty athletic committee chairman, clearly delineated in his reports to Dr. Jordan the concern over football:

1. The closed formations favored by the present rules make possible unfair and brutal playing which cannot be detected.
2. The game...has become a business rather than a sport.
3. The methods of play almost wholly exclude men of medium weight. This means that a large majority of students are shut out of the game altogether.
4. The game is in no sense a college sport; students do not form volunteer teams and play football for sport as they play baseball.¹³

The attempt to reform college athletics by replacing football with rugby was met with staunch resistance. The football team initially threatened to go on strike, alumnae protested and even local newspapers took up the call, “football...has lots of good features. We know some students whose only period of right living during their college career was while they were under football training rules.”¹⁴ By challenging the university, Stanford football players were elucidating their belief in football as important social and cultural force. The replacement of football with rugby fundamentally challenged the ways in which alumni, students, and newspapermen viewed their community. By attempting to replace football, which had been laden with gendered meaning of athleticism, masculinity, and citizenship with rugby (a foreign sport) Stanford University administrators were challenging the cultural cosmopolitanism that relied on football as a main force in communicating the desire for young, male, white, middle-class citizen-athletes. Within this framework, competition was key to the contextualization and growth of these images. At Stanford, that competitive force was expressed in relation to their interstate rivals, the University of California, in much the same way Miami University tussled with the University of Cincinnati. Football players withdrew their strike in order to participate in the annual game against

¹³ Ibid., 147.

¹⁴ Ibid., 148.

California, who had also dropped football in favor of rugby. Sports historian John Sayle Watterson documents the struggle between football and rugby: “the presidents and faculties of [Stanford and California] insisted that football spectacles sent the wrong signals to students, overshadowing the academic business of the universities. Taking advantage of the injury hysteria, they made an effort to end the intrusion of big-time athletics into the tranquil academic life of the university.”¹⁵ Stanford president David Starr Jordan went so far as to call collegiate football, “unethical, unchristian, and unsportsmanlike” in addressing students at Occidental College.¹⁶ Be it concern over injury or football spectacles, the substitution of rugby for football by California and Stanford contributed to the growth of rugby and the perception that rugby was displacing football and its commercial aspects. Concern was sufficient enough to incite the American Football Association in 1909, at its meeting in San Francisco, to agree on a plan to “import a coach from....the east to teach the high schools of the State the revised American game of football.”¹⁷ In this exchange between the presidents of Stanford University and the University of California versus the American Football Association, it is apparent the need to preserve the foundations of the cosmopolitan world of athletics that was being used to inculcate young men with ideas of social and racial superiority. The fear of the Association that rugby could weaken the circuit by shifting community attention to rugby and away from the hyper-masculine game of football and its highly successful commercial enterprise demonstrated the need by stakeholders to preserve the boundaries of the circuit. By attempting to limit the growth of rugby, the American Football Association demonstrated its deep-seated fear of displacement.

¹⁵ John Sayle Watterson, *College Football* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 95.

¹⁶ “‘Dr. Jordan Flays American Football: Unethical, Unchristian, and Unsportsmanlike,’ He Declares. Brute Strength Has Call; Walter Camp and Others Trying to Corrupt English Style of Play to Get Control of the Game.” *The New York Times*, December 22, 1907, S1.

¹⁷ “To Offset English Football in West,” *The New York Times*, March 11, 1909.

The episodes that questioned the role of football suggested ongoing efforts by community members to negotiate and challenge the dominant modes of communication.

While rugby became the centerpiece of reform in the west, in the Midwest, Wisconsin graduate David Jordan scathingly critiqued the University of Illinois, Northwestern, and the University of Chicago in *Collier's Magazine* (November 11, 1905) for its “unsavory recruiting” led by alumni who exhibited a “win-at-any-cost” mentality.¹⁸ The complete series of articles, “Buying Football Victories,” lambasted the universities for providing financial support to athletes, arranging for football players to attend specially designated courses that would provide passing grades, and for supporting irresponsible fiscal practices including going into debt just to secure football victories. Jordan’s critique was so vociferous that Wisconsin faculty member Frederick Jackson Turner, the architect of the “closing of the American frontier” thesis, joined the growing numbers of faculty protesting the lack of oversight being exercised over collegiate football.¹⁹ With Turner as one of the most outspoken members of the Wisconsin committee on reform, representatives from the Big Nine²⁰ met in February and March of 1906 to discuss the supposed abuses at its member institutions. Reports from the Conferences charged that Big Nine football was not just threatened by physical brutality and possible injury to athletes but also by the “moral evils attendant upon the gradual raising of the game into a thing of absorbing and sometimes hysterical public and collegiate interest.”²¹ In characterizing football spectacle as a “moral evil” Frederick Jackson Turner and his colleagues from the Big Nine were underscoring the accepted interpretation of football’s role in colleges and universities: as a site of inculcation

¹⁸ Watterson, *College Football*, 84.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 86.

²⁰ The Big Nine refers to the following schools in 1906: The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Indiana University, University of Iowa, University of Michigan, University of Minnesota, Northwestern University, Purdue University, University of Wisconsin, and the University of Chicago.

²¹ Watterson, *College Football*, 88; Minutes of the First Chicago Conference, January 19, 1906, Michigan Historical Collections, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

for creating young men of worth and value who could participate fully as members of their local communities.

The increasing vociferousness of critics of college sport as a site of “hysterical” interest illuminate the important transition that was taking place in the early 1900s that was mandatory within the cultural cosmopolitanism explored here. It was the convergence of football with commercialism that allowed for creation of a nationwide circuit of communications that inculcated the community with the desire for young, white, male, middle-class, athletic citizens. Football was rapidly becoming predominant on college campuses and the number of schools participating was growing. Post World War I prosperity allowed larger numbers of students to enroll in college and the rise in veteran enrollment produced a strong uptick in the athleticism of teams across America.²² At Stanford, student enrollment had increased from 2,949 in 1919 to 4,210 by 1926.²³ The National Federation of State High School Athletic Associations, the National Football League, and the American Football League all formed between 1922 and 1926 to manage the growing number of teams across America. At a moment when college attendance for men 18-21 years old was growing from 8 percent (1920) to 12 percent (1930), attendance at college football games increased 119 percent. By 1930, over ten million Americans attended college football games.²⁴ Over 60 percent of attendees were at one of forty institutions that included Illinois.²⁵ This mirrored the explosion of student enrollment at schools including Illinois, Miami University, and Stanford University. This expansion, which provided more bodies to be performers of and producers of the cosmopolitanism explored here, created a co-dependent framework. More bodies to play the game led to more games being played which

²² Watterson, *College Football*, 143.

²³ Mirrielees, *Stanford*, 217.

²⁴ *Historical Statistics of the United States*, 210 in Oriard, *King Football*, 6.

²⁵ Jesse Frederick Steiner, *Americans at Play* (1933; repr., New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1970), 88-90. Oriard, *King Football*, 7.

generated additional fans and audiences. Additional audiences and fans demanded more games which relied on additional bodies being brought into the institution to take part in the game. As a result, this illustrates clearly the interlocking ways in which this brand of cultural cosmopolitanism operated. It relied on the continual reintroduction of new bodies, athletes, fans, audiences, and schools to remain dominant.

King Football

Sportswriter John Tunis wrote in 1927 of what he called “The Great American Sports Myth.” For Tunis, the myth was that competitive sports built character and facilitated a bond between nations and individuals.²⁶ A former Harvard athlete and author of over 20 articles for *Harper’s Magazine*, Tunis lambasted the ways the public revered football:

Football is more to the sports follower of this country than merely a game- sometimes it seems to be almost our national religion. With fervor and reverence the college man and the non-college man, the athlete and the observer approach its shrines; dutifully and faithfully they make their annual pilgrimage to the football Mecca, be it Atlanta or Urbana, Cambridge or Los Angeles, Princeton or Ann Arbor.²⁷

Quoting Willard Sperry, Dean of the Harvard Theological School, Tunis continued, “the only true religious spirit to be discerned among large bodies of undergraduates to-day is in the football stadium.”²⁸ At the core of this new “religion” of football is the “doctrine that only through ‘college spirit’ can a man be saved.”²⁹ Tunis’ sharply worded criticism of football as an American religion compared athletes, coaches, managers, athletic administration, university presidents, and fans to a religious pantheon and noted the importance of ritualization to the successful deployment of any football event. “Certainly nowhere has the love of the average man

²⁶ S.W. Pope, *Patriotic Games: Sporting Traditions in the American Imagination, 1876-1926* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 157.

²⁷ John Tunis, “The Great God Football,” *Harper’s Magazine* 157 (1928), 741.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 742.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 744.

for ritual been more completely and more fully satisfied than by the rich and intricate ceremony of modern intercollegiate football.”³⁰ Speaking of high priests and acolytes, preaching and devotion, Tunis vividly recounts the streaming “swarms” of undergraduates who, worked up to a fever pitch by pep rallies, harass those who dare to question football’s importance before continuing onto game day and participating in the cheers and “demonstrations of ingeniously organized pageantry.”³¹ Tunis underscores the conscious way in which football was an integral part of the performance of white, middle-class, young, athletic identity in “modern” America. For those involved in performing and being constructed by this cosmopolitan worldview, football was an essential element in communicating these beliefs.

Tunis romanticizes the early days when football was supposedly simple and did not involve fundraising, boosters, and complicated pageantry. Calling football a “first-class octopus” that smothered the university before it was aware of its existence, Tunis overlooks the complicit nature of the university in originating modern football in exponentially expanding teams, adopting bands and cheerleaders, and paying coaches to establish first-class programs all prior to the “modern era” of football. The simple game that Tunis desired to celebrate lasted only briefly after 1876. More significantly, Tunis’ octopus which he thought had devoured the educational mission of the university was already fully grown by World War I. Even former President Woodrow Wilson noted prior to World War I, “the side shows are so numerous, so diverting, so important if you will- that they have swallowed up the circus, and those who perform in the main tent must often whistle for their audience, discouraged and humiliated.”³² For Tunis, the well-organized pro-football factions were not discouraged and humiliated. In fact, these communities of believers were all members of a “vast state educational factory” that relied

³⁰ Ibid., 741-742.

³¹ Ibid., 745.

³² Ibid., 746.

on the publicity brought to their university by their football team to both build the size of the community and maintain its fiscal stability. In comparing the football “past” to the commercialized football “present”, Tunis was emulating the ways in which others were shaping their identities within this cosmopolitan framework. By turning to the romantic past to lambast the present in favor of a new and better future, Tunis was relying on the same methods that were being used to compare athletes to non-athletes, whites to non-whites, young to old, citizen to non-citizen.

Illinois is prominently featured in Tunis’ attack on the god Football. Using publicity materials associated with Harold E. “Red” Grange as an example, Tunis writes, “so long as the colleges persist in maintaining publicity bureaus and press directors to keep the nation informed of the doings and sayings of their heroes in sport, they can hardly accuse the public of having spoiled football.”³³ “Each sport had a number of outstanding individuals, really stars. And they were publicized to death,” Grange, the famous Illinois alumnus during a 1974 interview. “The First World War was just over; they had been trying times for everyone...Everyone seemed to let their hair down after World War I.”³⁴ Grange’s highly publicized football achievements hardly mark his assessment surprising. His 1924 twelve-minute long four-touchdown effort against the University of Michigan at Illinois’ Memorial Stadium dedication game became an American sensation, captured in print and on radio. A paid attendance of 67, 205 with an additional 11,000 in temporary bleachers and over 600 other camped in the University Armory were eclipsed by the estimated hundred thousand football fans listening on the Chicago *Tribune*’s WGN radio station.³⁵ Significantly, it was not just the consumption of Illinois sports that were present within the circuit of communication about sport and racial identity. Baseball teams, including the

³³ Ibid., 746.

³⁴ John M. Carroll, *Red Grange and the Rise of Modern Football* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 43.

³⁵ Ibid., 4.

Atlanta Crackers who will be explored in chapter 6, and other football teams were using radio and large scale audiences to generate interest in their community.

For Reed Harris, former editor of the Columbia University student newspaper, *King Football* was a swirling mass of “commercialism, anti-intellectualism, distorted priorities, fraud,” and “hypocrisy” that undercut the educational efforts of the university and mocked efforts to create the next generation of high-brow thinkers.³⁶ Harris lamented the “big business” of higher education and its “sordid business behind the gigantic spectacles that are college football games.”³⁷ Believing that football “staged as a super-extra sideshow by academic moguls is as depressing as it is ridiculous,” Harris decried the opening of universities to the masses post-war, the ways in which athletes were permitted to avoid the academic responsibilities of the regular student, the use of a separate financial model to fund athletics that relied on ticket sales and promotions, and leveraged complicity by students, faculty, administrators, sportswriters, fraternities, and the public in promoting King Football. The sense of alienation and disillusionment expressed by Harris along with other supposed verbal and written “attacks” on Columbia University’s administration led to his expulsion and an intervention by the American Civil Liberties Union to get him reinstated. While Harris’ removal from the university is one extreme case, hundreds of other Americans were questioning the role that football played at colleges and universities across America. In questioning football, Harris and others illustrated the uneasy nature of cultural cosmopolitanism. It had to be continually affirmed and the fractures hidden. Without that mediation and negotiation, dissonance within the community would come to the fore.

³⁶ Oriard, *King Football*, 1; Reed Harris, *King Football, the Vulgarization of the American College* (New York: The Vanguard Press, 1932.)

³⁷ Harris, 17.

At the core of the debate over the expansion of football was the perceived disconnect between the educational mission of the university and King Football. The role of professionals, both coaches and athletes, in football was at the center of the debates of the 1920s. Professional coaches were no longer part-time university employees who supplemented their regular jobs with low-paying athletic appointments. By the early 1920s, coaches like Knute Rockne of Notre Dame and Robert Zuppke of Illinois were full-time employees who received salaries commensurate to most faculty.³⁸ Rockne's success as Notre Dame's coach was so prolific that Rockne received a salary larger than all other Notre Dame faculty, endorsed a line of football equipment for Wilson Sporting Goods, was a motivational speaker for Studebaker Motors (at a salary larger than the company's president), and published books and articles on coaching football.³⁹ While Rockne is an extreme example of the ways in which college coaches could profit from America's fascination with football, coaches across America were struggling to embrace the financial benefits of professionalization while maintaining the rhetoric of football as an "amateur" game.

The amateur game was being attacked not just by the nascent professional football leagues but also by town-based teams across the U.S. The recruitment of college players to play as substitute players was so strong that even two small towns in rural Illinois were waging a fierce battle for bragging rights.⁴⁰ In November of 1921, bankers and businessmen along with the Carlinville football team rigged a game against local rival, Taylorville, by recruiting eight Notre Dame football players from Knute Rockne's team to substitute for eight of their eleven players. With each player receiving two-hundred dollars, Carlinville bet on their football victory

³⁸ Watterson, *College Football*, 146.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ "Two Towns Bet \$100,000 Upon "Ringer" Game: Rivals Sought Aid of College Stars." *The Chicago Daily Tribune* (1872-1963), January 29, 1922; "Citizens Stack Results with College Players," *The Daily Illini*, January 29, 1922.

to the tune of fifty-thousand dollars in the hopes of shoring up the town's flagging economy. Taylorville, not to be outdone, recruited nine of Robert Zuppke's University of Illinois players, while professional bettors raised the stakes of the friendly rivalry to one-hundred-thousand dollars.⁴¹ With ten thousand people in attendance, the original Taylorville eleven showed admirably in the first half securing a 6-0 lead before turning the field over to their Illinois ringers who increased the lead by another ten points before the end of the game.⁴² The subsequent scandal months later demonstrated the stakes of football as big business: the seventeen college players were suspended from playing for their university teams and the Carlinville-Taylorville game became a preeminent scandal for both Notre Dame and the University of Illinois.⁴³

In part, the Carlinville-Taylorville scandal represented the worst of organized athletics: gambling and professionalism run amok. While having a highly trained coach who could coax the best game from the young men on the field was important, it was just as critical that the young men on the field retained the amateur sheen. Athletes from Notre Dame and Illinois caught in the scandal were not upholding the amateur credo by selling their services to local towns. They were simultaneously the physical representation of J.C. Leyendecker's football-themed cover art for *Century*, *Popular Magazine*, *Collier's*, and *the Post*: "the broad-shouldered, supremely confident male with shining skin, chiseled features, and steely eyes" who could secure the town's reputation, and the antithesis: the corrupt youth profiteering from their physical skills.⁴⁴ Just as Leyendecker's image was so popular that his models received as many as 17,000 letters in a single month by the early 1920s⁴⁵, the majority of the American public believed in the importance of football as a space to train young men to become fully-fledged adults, not a place

⁴¹ "How the Players Arrived." *The Chicago Daily Tribune* (1872-1963), January 29, 1922.

⁴² Watterson, *College Football*, 152.

⁴³ "Taylorville Backer Airs Big Ten Charges." *The Chicago Daily Tribune* (1872-1963), February 2, 1922

⁴⁴ Harris, 139.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

for athletes to become able-bodied profiteers. That football was a place of amateur athleticism acting to aid young men was an obvious, yet powerful illusion. Illusion of community was essential to the continuing success of these institutions. By maintaining the echoes of Indian bodies, amateur athletes, and supposed inclusiveness, these individuals and institutions were able to patrol the boundaries of belonging.

On December 27th 1921, forty-one coaches gathered at the Hotel Astor in New York City to discuss the formation of a national coaches association. Formally titled the American Football Coaches Association (AFCA) just a few weeks later, the AFCA included representatives Major Charles Daly, the first president of the organization, and representative from the U.S. Military Academy, John Heisman of Pennsylvania (later of Washington & Jefferson and Rice University), Amos Alanzo Stagg of Chicago, J.W. Wilce of Ohio State University, Robert Fisher of Harvard University, and Fielding Yost of Michigan University. Early trustees of the organization included Robert Zuppke of Illinois, William Cowell of New Hampshire, Gil Dobie of Cornell University, E.C. Henderson of the University of Southern California, Knute Rockne, William Roper of Princeton, and Glenn “Pop” Warner of Stanford.⁴⁶ Importantly, the AFCA believed that football should be preserved as an amateur’s game and that off the record payment to players and coaches were ruining the game of football.⁴⁷ While not a direct response to the Carlinville-Taylorville game, which would not become widely known until news coverage in January of the following year, AFCA coaches were meeting not to attack King Football or its promoters. Instead, Daly and others were attempting to preserve the sanctity of the college game by prohibiting players from moving between schools or from acting as substitutes for other teams, including the National Football League. By wielding amateurism as a rationale, Zuppke,

⁴⁶ “All Time Trustee List,” American Football Coaches Association. Available from: http://www.afca.com/ViewArticle.dbml?DB_OEM_ID=9300&KEY=&ATCLID=639366

⁴⁷ Watterson, *College Football*, 146.

Warner, Yost and others were able to prohibit successful athletes from marketing themselves to the highest bidder. This allowed coaches (and by extension the colleges they worked for) to retain control over workers who were both highly profitable via their athletic success and highly important to the underlying ethos of community. In large part, the AFCA organization and others like it, allowed football to be revised and contained by imposing greater rules and order that concentrated power for these decisions not in the hands of athletes themselves who could profit from the free-market system but in the hands of coaches and college presidents who were reliant upon the success of the game for self and community-promotion.

The decade of the 1920s read as a continuing struggle over who owned collegiate sport. Was it the young men playing the game? Faculty educating the youth of America? Coaches who promoted athletic excellence? University's who profited from big-time collegiate football? Or was it, as *Time* asserted in 1930, "the public, taking possession of a game which was once the private property of the colleges ... [who] changed it almost unrecognizably."⁴⁸ Importantly, *Time* began its celebration of "Football's Public," which was featured on the cover, by drawing an elegant, yet ominous picture for readers:

If a stadium were built big enough to hold all the U. S. football public at one time, it would be big enough to hold the entire population of Chicago, Paris, or of Rome, Hamburg and Glasgow put together. Its breath rising in a vast faint mist, its shout like the roar of an earthquake, its tiered ranks veiled with the smoke of innumerable cigarettes, its tremendous stare as heavy as sunlight, this crowd in its fabulous coliseum has no equal in the world.⁴⁹

In depicting the stadium as a "veiled" giant replete with actual fire (from cigarette lighters), *Time* was graphically illuminating the changed nature of the game.

Once the crowd was one-quarter its present size. It was composed of undergraduates, parents, alumni, their wives, sweethearts, cousins. For years it has been growing until it

⁴⁸ Harris, 164; "Football: Mid-Season," *Time*, November 17, 1930.

⁴⁹ "Football: Mid-Season," *Time*, November 17, 1930.

has come to include every element in the country. Last year 450 college teams played games, 15,000 players participated, 1,400 games were played, 3,000,000 tickets were sold, the gate receipts were approximately \$10,000,000. This year the figures may be even bigger.⁵⁰

Importantly, it was not just the size of the stadium and scope of the games that alarmed *Time*. It was that football had become the purview of “every element” in the country. College boys and their alumni, *Time* continued, might have to pay scalpers for the privilege of attending their alma mater while “sitting next to people who have never been to any college...”⁵¹ The preservation of both college and the game of football as an upper-class domain reads clearly within the language of “Football: Mid-Season”. With upwardly mobile students entering the university and the public congregating weekly to join the university community in celebrating football victory, the very meaning of college football changed dramatically during the decade of the 1920s. Policing members of the community by convincing them that the desires of the community were more important than their individual needs was at the forefront of the cultural cosmopolitanism being explored here. College football teams like those at Stanford, Illinois, Miami University and others needed to create rituals and traditions that while specific to each school were familiar enough to everyone to be embraced unilaterally. It is that pivot away from small student bodies gathered around a football field playing to celebrate the game to large scale stadiums that transformed rural communities like Palo Alto, Champaign-Urbana, and Oxford, Ohio every Saturday with tens of thousands of fans that underscore how Stanford University students were able to initially exert pressure to deny the addition of an Indian mascot.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

Alumni Guidance

Against the backdrop of the on-going challenges to college football and struggles over the spectacle, violence, and profiteering of the sport by athletes, coaches, and universities lay the origins of the Stanford Indian. With T.M. Williams at the helm of the athletic board, Stanford had, like many colleges including Illinois and Miami, utilized school colors as the primary markers of athletic belonging. The “cardinal red” color of Stanford University had been utilized in player’s uniforms but Stanford University had no iconography associated with its teams except designation of the level of athletic involvement, football being a major sport awarding an “S” whereas polo was a minor sport awarding a “s”.⁵² In demarcating between major and minor sports, the University was clearly demonstrating its investment and perception of the value of the game itself. Football was perceived as a superior athletic event to polo. Athletes from “major” sports became “Block S” men and were able to jockey for social position because of these awards. It was this system, which recognized athletic success while simultaneously providing young men with social rewards that T.M. Williams participated in as an athlete. His investment in the athletic community as an alumnus upon his return to Palo Alto was clear. By becoming part of the administrative structure of Stanford athletics, Williams was able to position himself as an insider, not just a member of the community, but someone able to express their social status via access to popular athletes and the legend Glenn “Pop” Warner.

The initial use of the Indian name did not grow out of either student desire or their growing exposure to civic organizations like the Boy Scouts of America that utilized Indian metaphors and histories nor was it a direct derivation of newspaper reporting. Instead, the adoption was proposed by someone of a previous generation who utilized his position within the

⁵² Anonymous, “Athletic Department Albums,” Special Collections and University Archives, Green Library, Stanford University, 1924

institution's athletic booster network to provide material support to Stanford football players. As head of the athletic board at Stanford, Williams was tasked with matching the rising spectacles being generated out east. More significantly, he needed to solidify the local community's interest in Stanford football in order to fill the newly constructed stadium. In large part, Williams and other athletic boosters relied on football rivalries to generate interest. Founded in 1915 in Portland, Oregon, the Pacific Conference had four initial charter members, the University of California, Berkeley, the University of Washington, the University of Oregon, and Oregon State. Washington State and Stanford University joined in 1918 with the University of Southern California (1922), Idaho (1922), Montana (1924) and the University of California, Los Angeles (1928) joining over the course of the next ten years. With opponents from across the U.S., the Pacific Conference was actively engaged in building a local fan base while simultaneously challenging eastern notions of sporting dominance.

T.M. Williams commissioned A. Phimister Proctor, the sculptor who had dazzled many at Chicago's 1893 Columbian Exposition, to design a concrete Indian statue to be utilized as the university athletic symbol and placed at the open end of the University Stadium in 1923.⁵³ Self-dubbed the "sculptor in buckskin," Proctor's role in the Stanford Indian ascent has been largely ignored. A contemporary of Frederic Remington and friend to Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and other important expansionist figures, the majority of Proctor's work was sculpted to reflect his life-long interest in nature and Indian life.⁵⁴ Originally commissioned to produce six bronzes to grace the bridges over the lagoon, Proctor had, by January 1, 1893, rendered two polar bears, two jaguars, two elk, and two moose. "Artist and historian Lorado Taft wrote that "few

⁵³ Don E. Liebendorfer, *The Color of Life is Red* (Palo Alto: National Press, 1972), 314.

⁵⁴ Vivian A. Paladin, "A. Phimister Proctor: Master Sculptor of Horses," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 14 (Winter 1964). Most recognizable to today's audiences are *The Bucking Bronco* and *On the Warpath* which reside in Denver, Colorado and depict the century old roles of cowboy and Indian.

things in the entire exposition were more interesting or impressive than those great motionless creatures, the native American animals as sculpted by Proctor...”⁵⁵ So powerful were Proctor’s contributions that Frank D. Millet, head of the decorations division of the grounds committee of the Exposition, requested Proctor complete two future statues, the cowboy and the Indian. Using a cowboy and two Indians, Kills-Him-Twice and Jack, son for Sioux Chief Red Cloud, from Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show camped just outside the gates as models, Proctor completed *Equestrian Indian* and *Cowboy* just in time for the fair’s opening on May 1, 1893. While completing the *Cowboy* established Proctor as the first American artist to create a sculptural work of a cowboy, the *Indian* was not the first of its kind nor the only Indian-themed sculpture at the fair.⁵⁶ Cyrus Dallin’s *Signal of Peace* appeared in the Fine Arts Pavilion and was feted by critic William Coffin as “one of the best things shown by the Americans.”⁵⁷ Proctor’s *Indian*, which was “derived from an uncredited illustration in the Wild West Show program,” visually depicted the dominant theme projected by Bill’s show: that of the vanishing Indian gazing off into the distance. Surrounded by other artists of the fair including Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Olin Warner, J. Alden Weir, thirty-two year old Proctor established himself as one of the most popular artists in America. “His meteoric success was described by his early mentor, the painter J. Harrison Mills, in 1916:

A sculptor, now of national fame as among the foremost of his guild, graduated from the chrysalis bed of the mining regions, where the cocoon of romance was spun about the vanishing life of the last frontier and came to the full metamorphosis of the acclaimed Academician in a time so brief that comprehension is staggered. No more phenomenal success, based on real achievement, is to be found in the annals of American Art since the days of Benjamin West; perhaps I should say- none to compare with it.”⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Peter H. Hassrick, *Wildlife and Western Heroes: Alexander Phimster Proctor, Sculptor* (Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum, 2003), 36.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁵⁸ J. Harrison Mills, “Concerning Early Art in Colorado,” Western History Collection, Denver Public Library, Denver, 1916, Hassrick, 21.

It is interesting that Mills draws a parallel between Proctor and Benjamin West. West's 1771 painting *William Penn's Treaty with the Indians* depicted the very ritual which the University of Illinois would reenact with the University of Pennsylvania in establishing Leutwiler's Indian. Proctor's statuary would play a similar role within the origin of the Stanford Indian.

Following the success of the Exposition, Proctor became the first recipient of the Peabody Institute of Baltimore's Rinehart Scholarship and, with the support of his mentor and collaborator Saint-Gaudens, constructed his second Indian-themed statue.⁵⁹ *Indian Warrior* depicted a Blackfoot that Proctor had met when hunting on the Blackfoot reservation in early 1896. In traveling the American west to gather inspiration and participate in hunts, Proctor was not alone. Ralph Hubbard, Leutwiler's Boy Scout mentor, lived in and traveled the American west. For Proctor, his experiences varied. He traveled with George Pratt to gather specimens for the Smithsonian Institution, lived among the Nez Percé, and was adopted by the Cheyenne Chief Little Wolf all prior to his move to Palo Alto, California.

Williams and Proctor likely forged their relationship that positioned the famous sculptor to design a Stanford Indian statue via an introduction made by Proctor's brother William, a professor of Education at Stanford in 1917 or 1918. Proctor needed a studio for the winter as his New York studio was being sublet by sculptor Frederick MacMonnies and his brother helped him secure a barn in Los Alto, a few miles from Palo Alto.⁶⁰ Given Proctor's production during his tenure in Los Alto, it is hardly surprising that Stanford President Ray Wilbur offered him space in the engineering building at Stanford. Proctor received commissions for some of his most notable sculptures, namely *Pioneer*, *Broncho Buster*, *On the War Trail*, *Mohawk Indian*, *The Rough Rider*, and *Circuit Rider*, just prior to and during his tenure in Palo Alto. Surprisingly,

⁵⁹ Hassrick, 44.

⁶⁰ Alexander Phimster Proctor, *Alexander Phimster Proctor: Sculptor in Buckskin* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), 177.

though, almost nothing is written in his autobiography or in biographies about his involvement in the Stanford University and Palo Alto communities beyond his lease of space at the University.⁶¹ Significantly, the lack of attention to Proctor's role in the formation of the Indian mascot also suggests the elision of high culture in this cosmopolitan world. That one of the most well known artists of the period was involved in the creation of a popular symbol with almost no mention demonstrates the ways in which the links between high brow and low brow production have been overlooked within the circuit of college athletics and sports mascotry.

Proctor was given a template to begin his statue: an Indian head symbol that Mrs. Williams sewed onto the blankets given to each player. The origins of the Indian head symbol used on the blanket remain vague. Beyond a brief mention in Don Liebendorfer's *Stanford History A Color is Red*, there is little to trace the origins of the use of the Indian head to. The earliest references to the use of Indian monikers in relation to Stanford arise from their opponents: a 1901 games against the Perris Indians. Until 1923, Stanford was overwhelmingly referred to by their team color, cardinal with the male athletes themselves being referred to as "cards."⁶² Contrary to popularly publicized narratives⁶³, the use of Indian terminology to refer to Stanford teams did not begin until after William's attempted introduction of the Indian symbol and the hiring of Glenn "Pop" Warner, the famous former coach of the University of Pittsburgh and Carlisle Indian Industrial School, in 1924. Utilized for only a single season, the Stanford student body was not interested in the efforts of the Williams family and Proctor to adopt an Indian name and symbol. Students withheld their vote of support for the adoption of the Indian name and one of the foremost American sculptors left Palo Alto without ever having completed the Stanford Indian statue.

⁶¹ Proctor; Hassrick; Paladin.

⁶² "Varsity Coaches Drill Cardinals for Olympic Game," *The Daily Palo Alto*, October 2, 1922.

⁶³ Margo Davis and Roxanne Nilan, *The Stanford Album* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1989), 223.

Proctor is vital to new understandings of the origin of the Stanford Indian precisely because he failed to complete the statue. The power of the student body to determine its own name and symbolic representation contrary to the desires of an important university figure suggests that *students*, not the larger community or former university officials, could determine its identity. A site of resistance to the desires of the community being promoted via this circuit of athletics and sport mascotry, this suggests an intervention in the idea of top-down dominance where individuals could not exert resistance against institutional or community meanings. This was part of a larger trend of students engaging with the construction of athletic community. The rally committee, composed of students selected via a nomination process overseen by the university administrator, were working to improve “the spirit of university life in this country” by leading rallies and school stunts.⁶⁴ Students, alumni, and the Stanford community were criticizing the athletic board for its “commercialism” that diverted funds from athletic contests for other purposes (most notably, building the Stanford stadium and a dorm for football players.)⁶⁵ Taken together, students were providing the leverage and articulation of their identities against the interests of an alumnus who was trying to solidify his own grasp on athletics and the culture of athleticism being articulated at Stanford. This is the struggle of cosmopolitanism over who had authority to produce the performance and what the stakes of the production were.

The failure to adopt an alternate athletic name or symbol suggests that Stanford students did not conceptualize its athletic endeavors as social identifiers separate from the university itself and the Stanford Red name commonly utilized by students. Importantly, this suggests that the student population and the larger university must have shifted its conceptualization of athletics

⁶⁴ “Alumnus Gives Hint to Improve Stanford Spirit,” *The Daily Palo Alto*, March 14, 1923.

⁶⁵ “More about Commercialism,” *The Daily Palo Alto*, April 26, 1923.

and their role in the university between the 1923 moment and the 1930 adoption. This shift undoubtedly was a result of the contentious nature of football spectacle and the efforts by members of the community, including students, to affirm their commitment to their alma mater.

Proctor's direct participation in the colonial moment of the Columbian Exposition and travels on anthropological trips to reservations across the United States, including at least one foray with George Pratt to British Columbia, allowed him to leverage a career that paralleled the growing disciplinary interests in the categorization of nature and the preservation of Native cultures by anthropologists at the Smithsonian Institution and other educational institutions.⁶⁶ Williams turned to Proctor not just because of his artistic excellence but also his perceived status as "educated" in the ways of Indian life.⁶⁷ Collectively, then, while Williams is vital to the local narratives within their individual institutions it is his participation and understanding of the more broadly conceived national movements embodied by Proctor that allow for the development of a national narrative of Indian mascot development. More simply, it was not necessarily the person "playing Indian" that revealed the nuanced motives spearheading developments in Indian mascotry, but instead the people who educated and who created the space for that person were those that revealed the most.

The importance of a national narrative uniting these educational institutions cannot be overstated. The development of these institutional sporting identities did not occur just on a local level. It was the exchange between the local and national that explains the similarities among Indian mascots both historically and in the contemporary moment. These similarities have

⁶⁶ Ira Jacknic, "The Ethnographic Object and the Object of Ethnology in the Early Career of Franz Boas," in George W. Stocking, Jr., ed. *Volkgeist as Method and Ethic* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), 215-256; George W. Stocking, Jr. *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); Clara Sue Kidwell, "Every Last Dishcloth: The Prodigious Collecting of George Gustav Heye," in Shepard Krech III and Barbara A. Hail, eds. *Collecting Native America, 1870-1960* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999), 232-258.

⁶⁷ C. A. Petty, "Stanford Goes Indian," *Stanford Illustrated Review*, January 1931.

largely been written out of contemporary discourse on Indian mascots in favor of narratives about the local discourses surrounding particular Indian mascots. The archive demonstrates that Indian mascots are local manifestations of national consciousness about Indians. Concentration on case studies wherein each school maintains separate relationships to Native peoples is a direct effect of the nature of debates in the last thirty years over the authenticity of such images. In an effort by sports teams and educational institutions to attempt to claim the legitimacy of their images through the derivation of a direct Native tribe or community, the commonality between these images has been written out of the discourse.⁶⁸

Yet look what happened to Proctor: his role in the development of the Stanford Indian appears to have disappeared following its *single* mention in the *Review*. As a result of this evidentiary erasure, the Stanford University community becomes detached from larger developments in the history of anthropology, ethnology, and the growth of artistic movements to record and preserve Native American cultures. These outcomes are made all the more apparent when positioned over and against two *alternative* theories of the origin of the Stanford Indian name and symbol. The first, the student body as originating body, masks the earlier effort by Williams and Proctor to develop a separate Stanford University identity that was distinctly Indian-based. The second demonstrates a more troubling archival issue when investigating the history of Indian mascots. Often, conclusions about the origins of these symbols rest on public narratives that are difficult to substantiate in the historical record. In the case of Stanford, the historical record is exactly one sentence long: "The General Manager reported that the Associated Students had adopted the Indian as the official Stanford symbol."⁶⁹ Dated 15

⁶⁸ For example, The University of Illinois claims direct descent from the Illinois Indians. Stanford University claims direct descent from a California Indian, usually the Klamath River-Yurok Indian Tribe.

⁶⁹ Board of Athletic Control, "Resolution on the Indian as Symbol," in *Minutes of the Board of Athletic Control* (Burlingame: Stanford University, 1930), Stanford University Archives.

November 1930, there is no discussion of the origin or adoption and the University newspaper offers no further information.

Despite the lack of evidence almost exactly forty-five years later, the New Founders League of Stanford, an organization dedicated to the preservation and revival of the Stanford mascot who had recently been retired, recorded a vastly different origin for the Stanford Indian. Noting a painting by Otto Schroeder dated October 6, 1906 that hung in the Faculty Club, the New Founders League wrote in the legend of the “Original American”:

Although we tried to obtain information about the Indian, no one we contacted seems to know where, exactly, he came from or how he got there. So, with a bit of imagination, we let this be the Legend of the Stanford Indian. The Original American, the last of his tribe, wandered across the great Prairies on his horse. His people were all gone; some had just left, many had died from strange illness. He was only a survivor, and now he was looking for a new home. The buffalo were all gone from the Great Prairies, and so he pointed his horse toward the West.⁷⁰

Setting aside the admittedly fictionalized nature of the account and the illusion that the Original American was, in all likelihood not from a California tribe but probably a Sioux Indian, the direct recapitulation of the colonial narrative of the “close call” of Indian extinction demonstrates a willingness to discard the “actual” origins of the Stanford Indian in favor of one that positions Stanford University and subsequently the New Founders League as preservationists of Indian life and customs. A common thread in the origin of Indian stereotype, this mimics early anthropologists who endeavored to “preserve” Indian customs and, in so doing, *positioned their understanding of Native life over that of Indians themselves*. Again, Native bodies were image and echo, rather than reality. Further, it reifies Sioux culture and imagery as the model for “appropriate” Indianness as understood by white popular culture. And further still, by divorcing

⁷⁰ New Founders League of Stanford, “Stanford’s Direction,” in *Indian, Stanford* (Palo Alto, California: 1975), Stanford University Archives.

the relationship between the choice for an Indian mascot versus an animal mascot from the narrative, the fictional origin story again positions Indians themselves along a much longer historical narrative that argued Indians were animalistic and savage (i.e., the Indian was the “original lord and conqueror” of the animals and through their positioning along the biological hierarchy could ensure athletic superiority). Importantly, though, the racial hierarchy inherent within the equating of Indians to animals goes unexplored in most every text on mascotry.⁷¹

The second narrative of the origin of the Stanford Indian fall back on athletic competitiveness. A 1931 *Stanford Illustrated Review* article “Stanford Goes Indian” explains the choice:

There were unlimited possibilities for its development. For look you, all the other Western universities has their official symbols the names of various animals, such as Cougars, Bears, and the like (never mind the Trojans). The Indian was their original lord and conqueror. His superiority was unquestioned. Then, too, the colorful qualities of the Indian's costumes and customs would go well in rallies. Our Stanford Red might rightly be identified with the Indian red. And the war-dances that could be held around the bonfire! Truly, it was an inspiration.⁷²

In positioning the Indian as “lord and conqueror” of the natural world, Stanford students were articulating their own sense of worth. They could beat their opponents on the sports field and relish a sense of physical (and often times moral superiority). Given the rivalry among the four Californian schools who came to constitute the Pacific Conference and the particularly vociferous rivalry between the University of California and Stanford for the treasured “Golden Axe” the utilization of the Indian is hardly surprising. In formally turning away from the Indian mascot in 1923, students were expressing their lack of interest in an imposed sense of community. In turning towards the Indian in 1930, students were following the trend of other schools who saw mascotry as a way to generate community and express rivalry (friendly or

⁷¹ Spindel; King and Springwood.

⁷² Petty.

unfriendly.) The need for community authority and cohesion was closely tied to the rivalry between schools and competition among the universities for new students.

The conjoined trends of football spectacle and the growing competitiveness between schools who were seeking out new community members marks the Stanford narrative as a site of resistance to the dominant narrative. In failing to legitimize Williams' vision of athletic belonging, Stanford students controlled their own sense of community identity and belonging. While ultimately assenting to the formal adoption of the Indian in 1930, it is this moment of contestation that proves remarkable. Students were not eagerly accepting of outside influences on their athletic identity. Instead, they demanded their own authority in determining who they would be represented by.

CHAPTER 5: “FIGHTING SIOUX” IN THE “LAND OF THE DACOTAHS”

“A long-sustained undercurrent of agitation for the change of the University’s pep name has, apparently, culminated in a strong desire on the part of students to have the school’s representation designated as “Sioux”. And a more fitting and colorful name would be hard to find. That students are thinking about changing such terms, as “Flickertails” and “Nodaks” to the tribal name of North Dakota’s first famous, inhabitants first became apparent Monday when two public opinion articles advocating the shift were received by the “Student.”¹

The editorial page of the September 23, 1930 edition of the University of North Dakota (UND) *Dakota Student* opened with the above missive from the editorial staff. Continuing Alvin Austin and his colleagues wrote:

They point out that a “Flickertail” must always be held somewhat in awe of the larger, more impressive Bison of the A.C., and that it cannot wage a very successful mental battle against Bears, Huskies, Hurricanes, Tigers and the like. Similarly, the name “Nodaks”, is quite colorless and symbolizes nothing. “Polar Bears”, suggested once, is a bit far fetched.²

By the printing of this 1930 statement, the students at UND were already following a national pattern of constructing “pep” names for use by student and university communities. Alternately the “Nodaks” or “Flickertails” in university publications prior to 1930, the shift to embrace the “Sioux” mascot at UND marks an important shift within the national trend. While other universities including Stanford University and Miami University were embracing a generalized Indian identity (“Indian” and “Redskin”), the students at the University of North Dakota appropriated a specific tribal identity as an expression of the circuit of cultural cosmopolitanism explored here. Importantly, in choosing “Sioux” over “Indians” or “Redskins”, UND students were continuing a twenty-eight year history of utilizing Sioux identity for the purposes of community building. Drawing these conclusions from the wealth of student publications including newspapers and yearbooks at the University of North Dakota, this chapter argues that

¹ “A Colorful Name for “Nodaks” Found”, *The Dakota Student*, September 23, 1930, 2.

² Ibid.

the University of North Dakota affirmed willingness to embrace a young, male, middle-class, athletic citizenry. In introducing North Dakota to the narrative of American spectacle under consideration here, I highlight the nuanced differences between rural and urbanizing schools. In doing so, I provide an important intervention into the cultural history of college football which generally fails to distinguish between rural and urban environments and their meanings. Michael Oriard's *Reading Football* and *King Football* present the broadest articulation of a spatial analysis of college football. Oriard considers the locale of college football to not just encompass the football field and its attendant university. He challenges the notion that the game of college football and the meanings it communicates exist only within the physical boundaries of the field. Yet, even as Oriard extends the boundaries of the game's reach to encompass radio, newspapers, television, and movies, he neglects to explore how physical locales (i.e. geographic situationality and coordinates) support, challenge, or alter the narratives being produced. Oriard focuses on the similarities within the narratives being produced while this dissertation also recognizes the importance of the nuanced differences. While rural athletics programs were also focusing on valuing young, male, athletic citizens as their urban counterparts, rural programs were developing more slowly athletically and academically. The University of North Dakota did not construct a massive stadium until well into the mid-twentieth century, did not embrace a rapid flood of students until after 1941, and generally was much slower to adopt new curriculum instead focusing on traditional educations of farming, teaching, and the mechanical sciences. I argue that by bringing the University of North Dakota into the spectacle being considered here we are able to consider the efficacy of the national consciousness about athletics and sport. The University of North Dakota reveals how and why institutions without large fiscal resources or student populations bought into the American spectacle being explored here. In doing so, I

demonstrate how the concerns of rural America (Indian wars, poverty and starvation, and physical safety) vied with the rapidly modernizing world of the early twentieth century and that of the game of college football which was dominated by urban schools.

Athletics on the Northern Plains

In the fall of 1892, University President Homer B. Sprague, a Yale alumnus and former Cornell University professor, encouraged the first organized football team at UND led by biology professor William Patten, himself a Harvard alumnus.³ With just a few students interested in the game, the games of 1892 and 1893 more closely resembled inter-squad training than a full-fledged college game. It was not until November 3, 1894 that UND played its first intercollegiate athletic contest. Fittingly, their opponents were the team from the Agricultural College. Losing to the Agricultural College on the 3rd and again on the 12th by scores of 12-4 and 24-4, respectively, the spectators at the YMCA field in Grand Forks barely outnumbered the players.⁴ Enthusiasm for organized football games continued to remain muted throughout 1895 and 1896, with only one game being played in the 1896 season. Despite the limited number of opponents, University professors and administrators were intent on positioning football as the premier site for male student participation and an advertisement of the University's growth. In 1897, the University of North Dakota and its Nodak [North Dakota] football players boarded the train for the University of Minnesota and the Agricultural College in Fargo. Losing 15-0 to Minnesota and winning handily 39-5 against the Agricultural College, the returning football team was honored with a special dinner fete that evening by faculty and students. Considered a

³ Louis G. Geiger, *University of the Northern Plains: A History of the University of North Dakota, 1883-1958* (Grand Forks: University of North Dakota Press, 1958), 125.

⁴ Ibid.

moral victory over the 3,000 student-body of Minnesota and a stunning triumph over their interstate rivals, the football players received a special commemorative engraving to celebrate their success on the athletic field.⁵ In commemorating athletic success and the individual players, university administrators were signaling their sense of the importance of athletics to their community. Just as at the University of Illinois where Red Grange was celebrated by the university and the broader community for his athletic excellence and his stature as a “modern” man, so too were these University of North Dakota athletes considered representative of the success of the university project of creating young, male, athletic citizens at work on behalf of the nation.

Despite the weak and sporadic beginnings of organized football, at the outset, University of North Dakota faculty and administrators were intent on creating athletics as a community activity. Having not even completed its first intercollegiate game, in the spring of 1892 new University President Merrifield, who had succeeded Sprague, appointed a student committee to compose a college yell. Led by football player Goldwin Sprague, the committee composed:

Odz-Dzo-Dzi!
Ri!-Ri!-Ri!
Hi-y-ah! Hi-y-ah!
North Dakota
(Sioux War Cry)⁶

In promoting the story of its origin, the committee argued that the first line of the yell was a translation of the Greek verb “to cry out” that, in English, meant “go howl.” The third was a “universal Indian chant,” with the close the “war cry of the former Indians of this region.” In debuting the yell for Professor Macnie, students were informed in “no uncertain manner that our yell was utterly barbarous and savage, without beauty or reason to recommend it.” Students

⁵ Ibid., 127.

⁶ Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota, Vol. 13, 379.

unanimously adopted the yell as their “united efforts had been to produce just that effect.” “The sound of the Sioux war cry is like the whistling of the wind thru a forest and this part, being rather hard to give and not so effective as the rest, is often omitted.”⁷ The historical revisionism associated with the yell’s components is quite familiar. It ties Ancient Greece and Rome to Indians for the purposes of white communal identity. In leveraging perceived markers of Indian identity (in this case the war cry) the identification encapsulated by the verbalization is transformed. It is unlikely that the Sioux War cry was a “whistling of the wind thru a forest.” Instead, it was more likely a rallying cry that preceded violence. Further, by positioning the Sioux as “former” inhabitants of the region, students were overlooking the events that had been, and continued to take place in the southern part of the state.⁸ Another expression of the key interchange between past and present with the cosmopolitan circuit under exploration here, this use of the Sioux illustrated an understanding of the use of racialized performance for the purposes of white community-building. University faculty and administrators expanded its efforts to create a student community culminating in the opening of its first athletic field in 1899. The University Alumni Association aided the efforts of UND by employing former Minnesota athlete, Harry Loomis, to train its football team.

Measured growth in athletics marked the first decade of the twentieth century. The first full-time coach was hired in 1903. Following the national debate over amateurism, the university moved to standardize rules regarding who could participate on the team in 1903, 1905, and again in 1907-1908. 1904 marked university sponsorship of varsity letter caps, blue ball caps with a pink and green N.D. while students themselves continued to wear uniforms featuring an uppercase “N” surrounding by an uppercase “D”. Discussions over the brutality of the game

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ This will be discussed in more depth in the section entitled “The Dacotah-Dakota Relationship”

concerned administrators as more young men played the game to seek the varsity letter designation leading into the 1910-1911 season. Replicating the unease over violence in football at Stanford University and the University of California that led to the abolishment of football and establishment of rugby, this episode suggested a systemic unease over violence in sport as tied to athletic bodies. More simply, these counter-discourses questioned whether football was an appropriate sport for young men or whether it was ungentlemanly in its modern form. Illustrating this was the annual football games against the Agricultural College which was dropped for five years as UND administrators were concerned over the physicality and brutality of the Agricultural College players. What marked the period of 1899 to 1912 was the unevenness of its athletic successes. In 1911-1912, the football team won one game against an alumni squad while tying a local high school team; the baseball team won only a single game while the basketball team won only slightly more than half.⁹ Why were athletic losses significant to the establishment of a mascotry framework?

These losses are important because, in 1912, the University adopted its first formal athletic appellation, “flickertail.” In adopting “flickertail” as a communal identity, the University was attempting to demonstrate not just the need for athletic bodies but the desire to create a community that believed in young, male, athletic bodies as the future of the nation. “Flickertail,” a species of ground squirrel common to North Dakota, was primarily used in newspaper accounts, student publications, and university-written publicity materials. The intent was, in all likelihood, to enervate interest in the failing athletic squads and to generate community interest in attending athletic events so that the university could profit from its newly opened athletic field completed in 1911. “Flickertails” though did not displace “Nodaks” and most articles continued

⁹ Geiger, 241.

to use both appellations for UND athletic teams. How then did students imagine their own identity?

A School in the “Land of the Dacotahs”

Students, faculty, and administrators at the University of North Dakota were, in the early decades of the twentieth century, beginning to position themselves as the inheritors of the land known as the “Dakotas”. Unlike the University of Illinois, Miami University, or Stanford University where the process of settlement, defeat, and naming was distanced from a past fraught with violence between settlers and native inhabitants, the University of North Dakota remained in proximity to those it had vanquished. Sioux reservations were not thousands of miles away; one was just three hundred miles away. In spite of this proximity, the University of North Dakota quickly began to leverage Indian identity for its own purposes.

In 1904, the University of North Dakota published its first student yearbook, the *Dacotah*. Just past its twenty-fifth birthday, the University of North Dakota was struggling in the increasingly competitive world of higher education. The North Dakota Agricultural College (NDAC, now North Dakota State University) had been founded on March 8, 1890, seven years after it was initially proposed. The University of North Dakota presented a wide variety of curricula including teacher education, arts and letters, as well as the more esoteric fields of Scandinavian and linguistics.¹⁰ The Agricultural College, on the other hand, concentrated on vocational training including short courses on farming and mechanics.¹¹ Separated by roughly 80 miles, UND was concerned about its relationship to the state and its people. The Agricultural College was well known. “By 1909, it was a rare farmer- and hence a rare North Dakotan- who

¹⁰ Ibid., 180.

¹¹ Ibid.

was not grateful for the Agricultural College's work in eradicating the Russian thistle, finding new seeds and improving old strains, solving the problem of "flax sickness..."¹² Utilizing newspapers across North Dakota, faculty launched a publicity campaign to combat the influence of its rival by planting feature articles on the school and its efforts. Not content to just utilize the press, faculty leveraged UND students to participate by sending the first student annual, the *Dacotah*, to every high school in North Dakota in order to illustrate the virtues of attending UND. The naming of the annual the *Dacotah* was hardly surprising given that the University of North Dakota student paper was already being published under the banner, the *Dakota Student*.

The *Dakota Student* had been founded in 1888 as the University of North Dakota and Grand Forks were undergoing another cycle of expansion. Founded on October 2, 1883, one of the "brightest, crispest, freshest, most palpably wholesome days of the most glorious autumn that even Dakota ever saw", one mile west of Grand Forks, the University of North Dakota was welcomed by music, prayer, and speeches that rang out over the windy, chilly prairie.¹³ The seventh territorial governor Nehemiah Ordway, former surveyor-general of the Dakota territories and current superintendent of public instruction General William Henry Harrison Beadle and other luminaries gathered with a small group of citizens to witness the laying of the cornerstone of the University of North Dakota. Passed by the Territorial Assembly of the Dakota territories on February 27, 1883, the University of North Dakota "shall be to provide the means of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the various branches of learning connected with scientific, industrial and professional pursuits...and also instruction in the fundamental laws of the United States, and of this Territory, in what regards the rights and duties of citizens..."¹⁴ Following the

¹² Ibid.

¹³ *Grand Forks Herald* in Geiger, 3-7.

¹⁴ "An Act Establishing a Territorial University at Grand Forks, Dakota," University of North Dakota History, University of North Dakota. Available from: <http://www.und.nodak.edu/history/>

national pattern of utilizing educational institutions as a means of inculcating young men, the University of North Dakota was, at its core, a response to the dramatic change being felt within the Dakota territories. On the eve of the Civil War, the United State Census recognized only 4,837 persons within the Dakota territories which included the current states of North and South Dakota, Wyoming and Montana, nearly half of those demarcated as Indian.¹⁵ Significantly, almost a quarter of the population (1,774) were foreign born with their country of origin listed as British America (Canadian). Farming, hunting, and laboring constituted the main occupations for Dakota territory inhabitants. By 1870, the Dakota territories (North and South Dakota only) included 14,999 inhabitants, an increase of over three hundred percent.¹⁶ Only 1,200 surveyed were listed as Indian within the 1870 census rolls.¹⁷ By 1880, 135,177 persons were listed as living in the Dakota Territory,,the overwhelming number of which (133,127) were male.¹⁸ The Indian population increased just slightly to 1,391 persons. Facilitating territorial settlement was the construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad, which reached Grand Forks in 1880, as well as the sale of fertile agricultural land. “In the year ending June 30, 1883, claims were filed upon 7,500,000 acres in Dakota Territory, or about two-fifths of the total acreage claimed in the whole United States that year. Half of Dakota- 42,000,000 acres- was claimed in the decade 1879-1889.”¹⁹ With a population of roughly 3,000, Grand Forks served as a hub of commerce and trading for the northern Red River Valley. Grand Forks boasted a Hudson’s Bay Company store, a station on the Red River steamboat line, a stop on the stage line, a courthouse, Masonic lodge,

¹⁵ 2,576 white versus 2,261 Indian. Of the total 4,837 inhabitants, 1,774 were foreign-born. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Census, 1860. Available from: <http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/1860a-14.pdf>.

¹⁶ U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Decennial Census, 1870. Available from: <http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/1870a-03.pdf>

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Census, 1880. Available from: http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/1880a_v1-07.pdf

¹⁹ Geiger, 8.

two flour mills, four hotels, two daily newspapers as well as a Norwegian weekly, brewery, brickyards, twenty saloons, and six churches.²⁰ The *Dakota Student* was less a student newspaper that documented the lives of its students and the town of Grand Forks than it was a publicity piece that promoted the civilizing mission of education. Initial articles including “training for citizenship,” “Shakespeariana,” and “A College Education as a Training Place for Business” sought to reassure high school students, principals, and their parents of the value of the education being offered by UND.²¹ Less attention was paid to student events including the first football game between UND and its rival, the Agricultural College, in 1904.²²

Like Miami University which drew its name from seventeenth-century French pronunciation of “me-aw`me”²³, the use of Dakota was drawn from colonial encounters with Indian peoples in the area that became the Dakota territory in 1861. “In the seventeenth century, when the French first came into Sioux country, they referred to them by an Ottawa term that the French wrote as ‘Nadouessioux.’ Eventually, this was shortened to “Sioux.”²⁴ As historian Jeffrey Ostler notes, “the Sioux formally referred to themselves as *Oceti Sakowin* (Seven Council Fires) and, depending on dialect, as *Dakota* or *Lakota*, a word signifying friendship or “allied’.”²⁵ Moving into the area stretching from western Minnesota through North and South Dakota to Montana and Wyoming in the eighteenth century, Sioux peoples spoke three distinct

²⁰ Geiger, 9-10.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 78.

²² “1904,” University of North Dakota. Available from: http://125.und.edu/this_year.html

²³ Anson, 5; Alexander.

²⁴ Jeffrey Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 21.

²⁵ *Ibid.* Raymond J. DeMallie, “Kinship and Biology in Sioux Culture,” in *North American Indian Anthropology: Essays on Society and Culture* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 130. See also Raymond J. DeMallie, “Sioux Until 1850” in the *Handbook of North American Indians: Plains*, vol. 13 pt. 2, 718 and 749-750.

dialects [Lakota, Nakota, and Dakota] and were organized into politically autonomous groups that were often in flux.²⁶

Dakota generally referred to a group of native peoples recognized as the “Santee” or eastern band of Sioux speakers.²⁷ The “Santee” or Dakota recognized four bands within the larger unit, Mdewakantonwan, Wahpeton, Sissetonwan and Wahpekute. The Santee lived in semi-permanent villages ranging from Minnesota to the northern Rocky Mountains in Montana and south through the northwestern part of Nebraska. By the turn of the nineteenth century, Lakota referred to the “Teton” (western) Sioux which included the Ogala, Brule, Hunkpapa, Minneconjou, Sans Arc, Black Kettle, and Teton bands. The Nakota included the Yankton and Yanktonai (central) Sioux. While UND students may have been identifying their community as “allied” the use of Dakota as a marker of communal identity was laden with implicit tensions. Settlers had been actively grappling with its Indian populace and the process of colonization had been fraught with violent confrontation and broken promises.

The Dakota Santee had exchanged most of the tribal lands in Minnesota for two reservations as part of the Treaty of Fort Laramie (1851). The Upper Reservation (Upper Agency) followed the Yellow Medicine River south from the border of South Dakota and was occupied by the Wahpeton and Sisseton bands; The Lower Reservation (Lower Agency) reached through the Minnesota River Valley and was settled by the Mdewakanton and Wahpekute bands. The Santee Dakota Rebellion (Great Sioux Uprising) began August 17, 1862 when four Wahpeton warriors attacked and killed five settlers as part of an escalating series of dares that began with stealing the family’s eggs.²⁸ Seeking refuge among their families, the following

²⁶ DeMallie, 125.

²⁷ Loretta Fowler, *Columbia Guide to American Indians of the Great Plains* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 13.

²⁸ Ostler, 63-84.

morning a war party of Lower Agency Santees, led by Little Crow, attacked and killed the traders, their clerks, government employees and their families. Mobilized by survivors of the attack, twenty-four soldiers from Fort Ridgley were killed during an ambush at the ferry crossing on their way to put down the rebellion. Spreading quickly in the following days, the trading post at the Upper Agency, New Ulm, and Fort Ridgley all faced bands of marauding Santee warriors. By mid-September, the violence had spread to include Forest City, Hutchinson, and Fort Abercrombie on the Dakota border. Colonel Henry Sibley finally put down the rebellion on September 23, 1862 resulting in the arrest of 2,000 Santees, 303 of whom were sentenced to death. On December 26, 1862, thirty-nine of the convicted Santee were hung in the largest mass execution in public history.²⁹ The surviving members of the Upper and Lower Agency were dispatched to new reservations in Nebraska as well as the Dakotas.

In June of 1874, General George Armstrong Custer led a party of over one hundred troops, geologists, and mining experts onto Lakota lands. Ostensibly a scientific expedition, Custer wanted to establish a post in the Black Hills (Paha Sapa) to serve as both a military post to control errant Lakota as well as a centerpoint of explorations for gold. The 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie had recognized agency lands between the Missouri River and the Black Hills as well as unceded lands to the west of the Hills from the Yellowstone Valley to the Platte River and into northwestern Nebraska as the territory of the Lakota. Custer's expedition opened the floodgates of gold miners who sought their fortune on Lakota lands. By December 1875, the relationship between federal officials and the Lakota had deteriorated in the face of Lakota refusal to sell the Black Hills and federal refusal to enforce the boundaries of Lakota lands in the face of illegal settlers. Ordered to their report at the federal agency by January 31, 1876 in violation of the 1868 Treaty, the army launched an initial campaign to force the Lakotas,

²⁹ President Abraham Lincoln commuted or pardoned all but 39.

Cheyennes, and Arapahos into compliance from June 1876 to May 6, 1877. The death of Custer and his 215 men on June 25, 1876 in the Battle of Little Big Horn at the hands of Crazy Horse, an Ogala Sioux, and hundreds of Lakota and Cheyenne warriors enthralled and frightened the American public.³⁰ The July 6 edition of the *Bismarck Tribune Extra* headlined the “first account of the Custer massacre” with sub-titles including “squaws mutilate and rob the dead” and “victims captured alive tortured in most fiendish manner.”³¹ So great was the impact of the Custer’s defeat and the Great Sioux Uprising that the first “great spectacle” staged by Cody’s Wild West Show ten years later was a re-enactment of Custer’s last stand.

In the aftermath of Custer’s defeat and the eventual surrender of Crazy Horse, Congress moved to secure the Black Hills lands that they had attempted to purchase multiple times. Forcing the cession of all lands west of the 103rd meridian as well as the dissolution of the Great Sioux Reserve which had been created by the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, by 1889 the Sioux were faced with strident American calls for expansion. As North Dakota was being admitted for statehood, the US government was able to garner signatures from select tribal leaders for the sale of nine million acres of land in exchange for three million dollars.

The allotment era, which saw the establishment of reservations and the continuing refusal of the US government to honor promises of tribal support via food and farming assistance, was a fragile coexistence. The Ghost Dance movement, led by the visionary prophet Wovoka, looked to balance the relationship between whites and natives by performing a dance that would enable natives to commune with their dead ancestors in a more peaceful world- without sickness, death,

³⁰ For an in-depth examination of Custer and the battle of Little Big Horn, see Ostler and Robert Utley, *Cavalier in Buckskin: George Armstrong Custer and the Western Military Front* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001.) For an in depth examination of the mythology of Custer, see Brian W. Dippie, *Custer’s Last Stand: the Anatomy of an American Myth* (University of Nebraska, 1994) and Richard Slotkin, *Fatal Environment: the Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800-1900* (New York: Atheneum, 1985.)

³¹ “First Account of the Custer Massacre,” *Bismarck Tribune Extra*, July 6, 1876. Digital edition available from: <http://history.nd.gov/archives/06July1876TribuneExtra.pdf>

or white settlers.³² Faced with a starvation during the winter of 1890, residents of the Pine Ridge, Rosebud, Cheyenne River, and Standing Rock agencies joined Wovoka's movement in hopes of alleviating the suffering they were experiencing. For reservation agents including Standing Rock agent James McLaughlin, the gathering numbers of Indians participating in the Ghost Dance was eerily reminiscent of the gatherings that had preceded both the Santee Rebellion and the Great Sioux Uprising. With Sioux warrior Sitting Bull, a hero of Custer's defeat and vocal critic of reservation "chiefs" who supported allotment and compromise with U.S. officials, living at Standing Rock, McLaughlin used the opportunity to arrest Sitting Bull.³³ Agency police along with a detachment of army troops sought out Sitting Bull on December 15, 1890. Refusing to capitulate the agency police, Sitting Bull was shot and killed. The death of the revered warrior sparked fear in Sioux leaders who were afraid that they too would be targeted by agency police. Minneconjou leader Big Foot fled Cheyenne River to seek refuge in the Pine Ridge badlands with other Ghost Dancers. Captured by the Seventh Cavalry and led to Wounded Knee creek, Big Foot and 350 other men, women, and children were separated into two encampments, surrounded by 500 troops, and repeatedly searched for weapons. Warriors protesting the seizure of their rifles, the encounter quickly deteriorated following the firing of a rifle. With Sioux warriors firing at the Cavalry and the Cavalry shooting Sioux, the council fire area and the camp were instantly transformed into chaos. Targeting both warriors and Sioux women and children, over 150 members of Big Foot's band were killed with an additional 50 wounded.³⁴ The Seventh

³² Edmunds, 339.

³³ Ostler, 313-337.

³⁴ Estimates of the number of dead and wounded at Wounded Knee vary greatly. Ostler lists 270 to 300 of Big Foot's group dead or fatally wounded with 170-200 of these noted as being women and children. Sioux and military sources both confirm that victims littered the grounds up to three miles from the site of the initial encounter. This confirms survivors' accounts which depict women and children being chased by soldiers across the badlands.

Calvary sustained losses of 25 dead and 39 wounded.³⁵ “After Wounded Knee, stories circulated that the battlefield was filled with cries of “Remember Custer’.”³⁶

Laden with violence, these few events of the Dakota territory and the states formed out of it illustrate an ongoing conflict between Sioux, the U.S. government, and white settlers. In the process of naming and sanitizing historical conflict that has been illustrated previously by the University of Illinois and Miami University, the process of identity formation was reliant upon the physical distance from Indians themselves. Violence by Illini and Miami Indians were historically past not physically present. There was not the possibility of physical encounter as there was in the case of the students who were being drawn to the University of North Dakota. For many Dakotans, the Sioux were an imminent threat and confining them to reservations was not enough. This was, in part, a result of the concentration of reservations in South Dakota and across the western part of the former territory. The nearest reservation to Grand Forks was Standing Rock, over three hundred miles away, yet concern over Sioux behavior enthralled Americans. Newspaperman L. Frank Baum (later author of *The Wizard of Oz*) responded to the death of Sitting Bull:

Sitting Bull, most renowned Sioux of modern history, is dead...The proud spirit of the original owners of these vast prairies inherited through centuries of fierce and bloody wars for their possession, lingered last in the bosom of Sitting Bull. With his fall the nobility of the Redskin is extinguished, and what few are left a pack of whining curs who lick the hand that smites them. The Whites, by law of conquest, by justice of civilization, are masters of the American continent, and the best safety of the frontier settlements will be secured by the total annihilation of the few remaining Indians. Why not annihilation? Their glory has fled, their spirit broken, their manhood effaced; better that they die than live the miserable wretches that they are. History would forget these latter despicable beings, and speak, in later ages of the glory of these grand Kinds of the forest and plain that Cooper loved to heroism. We cannot honestly regret their extermination, by we at least do justice to the manly characteristics possessed, according to their lights and education, by the early Redskins of America.³⁷

³⁵ Edmunds, 339; Ostler, 338-360.

³⁶ Ostler, 351.

³⁷ L. Frank Baum, “Editorial,” *Saturday Pioneer* (Aberdeen, S.D.), December 20, 1890.

Interestingly, Baum simultaneously ascribes to Sitting Bull a “proud spirit” that embodied a “nobility of the Redskin” and describes the rest of the Sioux peoples as “whining curs.” This differentiation between “early Redskins” who put up a valiant and manly effort but ultimately capitulated to the rightful expansion of white civilization and those who were fighting for their survival in 1890 is quite striking. On January 3, 1891 in his editorial on Wounded Knee, Baum underscores his belief that the only good Indian was a dead Indian:

Having wronged them for centuries we had better, in order to protect our civilization, follow it up by one more wrong and wipe these untamed and untamable creatures from the face of the earth. In this lies future safety for our settlers and the soldiers who are under incompetent commands. Otherwise we may expect future years to be as full of trouble with the redskins as those have been in the past.³⁸

Baum’s editorial recognized the problems between Indians and the U.S. government but discarded them in favor of ensuring the safety of white settlers.

Returning then to the *Dacotah* and the use of the yearbook and student newspaper as publicity materials for the new university reveals a more nuanced reading. In choosing *Dacotah* as the community identifier, students and University officials who used the materials as publicity were actively abrogating contemporary events in the southern portion of North Dakota and across the rest of the former territory. Students at UND adopted the moniker *Dacotah* because the northern plains were largely exempt from violent conflict. In sanitizing the conflicts between white settlers and Sioux Indians, this process of using *Dacotah* suggested another way of envisioning the appropriation of racial bodies within the framework of cultural cosmopolitanism being explored here. While the University of Illinois relied on a physical body and Stanford University relied on artistic representations of the body, Miami University and the University of

³⁸ L. Frank Baum, “Editorial,” *Saturday Pioneer* (Aberdeen, S.D.), January 3, 1891.

North Dakota were producing literary representations that affirmed their neo-colonial cosmopolitan worldview.

The distance from the conflicts of the Great Sioux Uprising and Wounded Knee is most ably demonstrated by the role of military involvement in the northern plains. Military training by UND students had been required under the Act to create the University, but prior to 1888, very few students had actively participated. Numbers were so few that when the North Dakota Regents requested a military detail in 1885 they were informed that only detail available to the northern plains region was stationed at the University of Nebraska.³⁹ Despite this, male students at UND were concerned with their military proficiency. Beginning in 1888, a student led company was organized and by 1890, an officer from Fort Pembina was detailed to the University to teach military tactics and drills. The first graduating class of UND was, in 1889, eight students strong. With three men and five women receiving degrees, the demographics of the class were hardly surprising: three of the graduates hailed from Grand Forks, none farther than Hillsboro, and not one had been born in North Dakota. The success of the campaign by the University to attract new students can be measured by enrollment and expansion. Between 1898 and 1908, enrollment at UND increased from just over 100 students to 422.⁴⁰ Seven new buildings were constructed with an additional three being slated for construction. The University of North Dakota began to draw students from across the state and these students were encouraged to develop extracurricular interests. The 1890s marked the development of a variety of student organizations: two literary societies, debate, military coronet club, glee club, mandolin

³⁹ Geiger, 75.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 137.

and guitar club, and Cadet Band.⁴¹ Of notable interest was a campus-wide minstrel show, that featured in 1897, a program entitled “White Coons.”⁴²

When joining the *Dacotah* with the *Dacotah Student* and its athletic identities of “Nodak” and “Flickertail” what is readily apparent is that university administrators, faculty, and alumni were deeply invested in constructing a student identity that could be used to generate publicity for the university and to simultaneously provide students with opportunities for self-advancement. Whether through football, the student newspaper, or through cultural clubs like the literary society, students were encouraged to become active participants in securing the educational and athletic success of UND. This commercialism conjoined with community consumption was key to their particular brand of cultural cosmopolitanism. The year 1912 also marks a change in the imagery associated with the *Dacotah*. Prior to 1912, the *Dacotah* was published sporadically and rarely used Indian imagery or motifs. Only the cover of the 1906 *Dacotah* featured an Indian motif: a frontal portrait of an Indian from the shoulders up surrounded by a circle.⁴³ With no accompanying text either on the cover or throughout the yearbook itself, the graphic signals a recognition of the use of the term *Dacotah* as Indian in origin but significantly differs from what is presented in later editions. The lack of elaborately detailed historical narrative of the relationship between the Dakota Indians and the University of North Dakota suggests that students were just beginning to be actively invested in constructing narratives of racial hierarchy and white inheritance that privileged the existence of UND and its students. A convergence of the relative youth of the university as well as the lack of distance from the violent conflict undertaken by Sioux Indians in the former Dakota territories, the 1906 edition could not have depicted Indians as part of the historical past with UND as the inheritors

⁴¹ Ibid., 124.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ *The Dacotah*, 1906. University of North Dakota, University of North Dakota Archives.

of the land. In effect, this was a less developed use of narratives of conquest, the past and the future, within the rhetoric of community-building. The University of North Dakota and Dakotans in general were still engaged in the process of settlement and defeat. Naming was just beginning. In part we see this through the minute changes between the 1906 and the 1912 *Dacotah*. Just six years apart, the 1912 edition presented a more elaborate Indian portrayal. The interior cover entitled “Dacotah 1912 A Chapter in the History of the University of North Dakota” includes four Indian-themed elements. Filling almost the entire top half of the page is a black and white ink drawing of Indian standing on a precipice next to a lake pointing off into the distance. Bracketed by a buffalo skull and his horse, the Indian features a two long tails of hair on either side of his face, three feathers atop his head, and what appears to be a blanket wrapped around his mid chest and lower body. Below the composition along the left side of the page is a modified Indian headdress with a tomahawk; along the bottom, an Indian spear point; to the right, a pipe and arrow. Collectively, some of these elements could suggest encounters: the pipe a signal of friendship, the Indian posed on the precipice pointing into the distance a sign of guidance. Other elements signal violence: the tomahawk and arrows. As a “chapter in history” these dual messages resonate strongly. There is recognition of violence yet that violence is mitigated by the central tableau: the Indian standing alone with the buffalo skull at his feet with his horse at his back. The Indian is pointing towards the future while he rides into the past. This convergence of an Indian past with a UND present continues in the 1914 and 1921 editions. The 1914 edition features a black and white line drawing of a slim-bodied Indian with braids on either side of his head and three feathers with his hands lifted above his head framing the word *Dacotah* on the cover page. The 1921 version presents a very different image of Indianness. Where the 1912 and 1914 yearbooks presented rough drawings or sketches, the 1921 edition

presents a highly stylized Indian with a hyper-masculine body. Chiseled pectoral muscles frame two braids leading upwards into a thick neck, broad shoulders, and sharp facial features. Capping the Indian's head is a full Sioux headdress, the first use of this item in UND imagery. A trim waist leads the viewers' eye downwards to the sharply edged lines of a breech-cloth and the word "Dacotah." Interestingly, art Deco styled rendering features the Indian in color: an orange-red. Clearly an allusion to "redskin" which has been discussed previously, the use of color to highlight the hyper-masculine body is quite telling. The Indian of 1912 was toned but thin; the 1914 version thin, almost willowy. The Indian by 1921 presented a masculine ideal of the physical body: strong, sharp, and stoic.

With the *Dacotah*, communal identity formation was for the purposes of educational competition, a key feature of the cosmopolitan representation under exploration here; with the Indian depictions of the early twentieth century, university identity was to stabilize the rapidly growing community and provide a clear message of educational success to parents. But by 1926, the University of North Dakota began to converge its efforts to create local community with its need to provide a clear message of its position within the increasingly competitive world of higher education. In doing so, it presented a clear statement about the existence of Indians in North Dakota.

The 1926 edition of the *Dacotah* reveals this more nuanced portrayal where Indians were no longer of concern to North Dakotans:

Foreward

Fighting Nodaks; lofty hours spent in halls of learning; evenings on the coulee; gayeties and complexities of campus life; men who have come, gone, and made good, make up the pages of this book.

We have gone for tradition and counsel to the Dacotah Indians whose trail, marked by the embers of smouldering campfires, is blazed across the pages of our history. We have attempted to depict, as applicable to college life, the many-sided

colorful existence of the Indian. The calm of meditation, exhilaration of play, work, love and laughter- this was his life and is ours.

In honoring the Indian, we have tried to give you a Dacotah full of things remembrances are made of; a book that will live with you, and hold you fast to your Alma Mater- to the school "in the land of the Dacotahs."⁴⁴

The violence of the Santee Rebellion, the Great Sioux Uprising, and Wounded Knee are written out of the history of the Indian's life, according to student editors. There is meditation, play, work, love, and laughter. There is no violence, conquest, starvation, or warfare. The "colorful existence" is depicted within the yearbook: 1) a full-page depiction of an Indian in a breech cloth astride his horse with his head thrown back and silhouetted by the sun; 2) the facing title page shows two Indians perched upon a rocky outcropping. Each carries a quiver of arrows and faces towards the sun; 3) an Indian shooting arrows lies underneath the forward; 4) The same Indian in full Sioux headdress and buckskin pants is superimposed over the facing title page image. He holds the seal of the University of North Dakota; 5) One of the Indians perched on the outcropping appears as an Indian runner. With his hair in braids, brief shorts, and moccasins, he is seen running across a landscape dotted with teepees; 6) the final images shows the initial Indian in full Sioux headdress garbed in buckskin pants and moccasins with a knife clutched in one hand and a tomahawk in the other while dancing. Taken separately, each image presents a clear depiction of an aspect of an Indian man's life with the exception of depiction four where the Indian is crouched down holding the seal of the University of North Dakota. An aberration from the other images, it is the most telling. In portraying themselves as having gone for "tradition and counsel" to the Dakota Indians and then presenting a supposed Dakota Indian as guarding the seal of the University, student editors and the artist were communicating a version of University history where the Dakota ceded to inhabitants of the Dakotas and provided their support for the university. In presenting themselves as having Dakota approval, we begin to see

⁴⁴ *The Dacotah*, 1926, foreward, University of North Dakota, University of North Dakota Archives.

an effort by students to provide authenticity to their use of Indian identity by claiming approval by namesake tribes. For UND students, even fictional approval was needed by the Dakota tribes.⁴⁵

Given the presence of Indian imagery in the 1926 *Dacotah*, it is hardly surprising that UND students turned to an Indian-themed mascot in 1930. At this moment, we see the maturity of the cosmopolitan process in the tying of athletics to university identity through racial identifiers. The editorial that this chapter opened with reveals the ways in which student identity came to converge with Indian-themed motifs:

But the name “Sioux” is about ideal. It would lend itself to many colorful variations, is historically correct, and most important of all, immediately brings to mind the pioneer conqueror of the bison, bears, and the elements...the change would be a drastic one, but the Student does not hesitate to endorse it and to recommend it to athletic and stadium officials.⁴⁶

The adoption of “Sioux” as the athletic name was, like the *Dacotah*, driven by the need for a clear message with a framework of competition. “A. Student” wrote:

With the emergence of the University from comparative athletic obscurity into some measure of fame, it seems to me that this year presents a great opportunity to change a name which served its purpose only during the years when nobody but the alumni and the students of the University knew that we had football teams here. With the agitation which has progressed for the past few years toward a change in colors, there has also been agitation for the changing of the name and symbol of the school. Nodak means nothing but what your imagination may derive from it, and Flickertail foists upon us the antics of an obscure and timid little animal. For years we have been pursued by a massive Bison, in all Aggie publicity, and now that the Flicker has grown up and will play the Army, it wouldn't be a bad idea to turn the tables and stage a buffalo hunt in the good old Indian manner. By the way, how's that for a name, the “Sioux?” Something Indian, or most anything that can come out on top in bisonic struggle, as we have been doing for the past forty years. Think of all the symbolism that one could gain from an Indian name and figure. Let's have a little action.

⁴⁵ This is markedly similar to efforts undertaken by Lester Leutwiler and the University of Illinois that will be repeated by Florida State University in chapter 6.

⁴⁶ “A Colorful Name for “Nodaks” Found”, *The Dakota Student*, September 23, 1930, 2.

In capturing the struggle between Bison of the Agricultural College and the “Flickertail” or “Nodak” of North Dakota, the writer echoes the origins of the original student student yearbook. Yet, in mentioning Army, the writer underscores an important expansion being undertaken at UND. Prior to 1930 the University of North Dakota was mainly a regional team that rarely traveled outside of North Dakota nor played teams outside of their region. (Minnesota was the traditional opponent.) In 1930, the University of North Dakota began to open its athletic schedule to high profile teams including Army. In effect, their circuit of knowledge about athletics expanded. Alumni Secretary Frank Webb was quoted one week after the first series of editorials saying, “the name of “Flickertails” hampers publicity, especially in a young school trying to establish itself with larger institutions of the country.”⁴⁷ Telling student reporters that popular university Dean V.P. Squires, while dying on his sick bed, said that “the institution to which he had devoted his life should no longer be represented by a tiny animal on which a pest bounty had been placed,” Webb illustrated his willingness to leverage local community figures for his own purposes.⁴⁸ Bandmaster John Howard offered his support by arguing that the success of the football team placed them on par with larger institutions within the country and that competitiveness necessitated a name worthy of a massive publicity campaign. Geology instructor Ewalt C. Pietsch denied his support by arguing that while the “Sioux” was “something big and powerful. The Big Ten is represented by the name of animals; such as the “Gophers” and “Badgers.”⁴⁹

The *Dakota Student* newspaper served as an organizing force for efforts to change the school name and symbol. Of the editorials and articles published in the September 23rd and 30th editions, only a few lines present negative views on the possible change. Each of these lines is

⁴⁷ “Eleven U Faculty Members Favor Change in Pep Name”, *The Dakota Student*, September 30, 1930, 1.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

buried with articles offering support for the change. Tellingly, Alvin Austin the *Student* editor, later said, “I personally wrote those letters to the editor as well as the laudatory editorials. Power of the Press?”⁵⁰ A stinging critique written in private correspondence suggests the likely veracity of Austin’s claim. Fred Traynor, president of the UND Alumni Association wrote to Frank Webb, “it seems to me there is already too much of a notion abroad, especially in the East, that we are still Indian territory, and that there isn’t much else in this state except Indian wigwams and we all go around with paint on our faces and feathers in our hair.”⁵¹ Traynor’s concern over Eastern perceptions of North Dakota speaks to the powerful legacy of the violence of the nineteenth century. Only a little over thirty years had passed from Custer’s defeat and for many Americans, the image of Indian violence remained fresh. Further, Traynor aligns himself with the white populace of North Dakota who were disquieted by the perception of North Dakota as an uncivilized or backwards place. Railroads, public schools, and progressive zeal to civilize the land and its native people were the images North Dakota wanted to promote to Easterners who possible looked to move west; not a North Dakota as a lawless place where citizens could, in any possible way, become Indian. Traynor’s concern, while significant, were not dominant in the minds of UND students:

There is another reason for changing the name of the school to “Sioux.” Most of the students who aren’t freshmen know what the Haskell Indians did to us last year, and with the Davis-Elkins team including some Indians, about the only way of combating them is to turn Indian and cook up a little “bad medicine” for them. Imagine the embarrassment of a buck all turned up to wham a flickertail, and then finding himself suddenly opposed to an all-wool, yard-wide Indian.⁵²

In pointing to Indian opponents as yet another rationale for changing flickertail to Sioux, students were recognizing the history of athletic dominance espoused by athletic teams from

⁵⁰ “Fighting: the Fighting Sioux Tradition,” UND Fighting Sioux file, University of North Dakota Archives.

⁵¹ Brenda Ling and Michelle Midstokke, “UND Fighting Sioux: Building Understanding and Respect or Showing Disrespect and Insensitivity?” University of North Dakota *Alumni Review*, March/April 2000.

⁵² “The Bystander,” *The Dakota Student*, September 30, 1930, 2.

Indian boarding schools. Significantly, in turning to Indian-themed athletic identity, the students at the University of North Dakota were following the pattern established by the University of Illinois.

Boarding School Athletics

Opened in September of 1884 in Lawrence, Kansas, two years after being funded by the United States Congress, the United States Indian Industrial Training School reached national prominence as an educational destination for Indians from nearby reservations in Kansas and Oklahoma to become “assimilated.” Following a model made popular by the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, the Training School initiated a gender-divided program where young boys were taught farming and tradework used in agricultural communities while girls were taught housekeeping, cooking, sewing, and domestic arts. All students were educated in English, arithmetic, and history. Like other institutions of higher education, the Training School quickly expanded from just 22 student in its first semester to over 220 in its second. By 1906, 921 students from 60 tribes were enrolled in the non-reservation boarding school. Just as Americans believed education could improve its white citizenry, this assimilationist program promoted the notion that Indians could become productive, albeit subservient, members of society via educational opportunities. Male Haskell students were well versed in automobile mechanics, plumbing, electricity and other blue-collar service jobs while young women were educated in clerical and service-related occupations. With roughly half of their time focused on academic learning, it was considered vital that a program of physical education was used to keep students healthy and occupied. This program of physical education was initially encouraged at Haskell by Superintendent H. B. Piers who hoped to use success at track, football, baseball, and later

basketball as an advertisement for the success of the Indian school, much as Carlisle Indian School had achieved with its teams in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Piers' desire for publicity began at Haskell in 1920 with the drubbing of Oklahoma A&M by the football team with a score of 33-7.⁵³ Dubbed the "New Carlisle of the West," Haskell football and baseball teams quickly came to dominate their opponents.

Haskell's use of the Carlisle model of training, competition, and publicity is hardly surprising given its success for Richard Pratt, the founder of Carlisle. Pratt's willingness to support Carlisle athletic teams relied on athletes being a "record for your race. If the other fellows slug and you do not return it, very soon you will be the most famous football team in the country."⁵⁴ Further, Pratt wanted assurances from the athletes that they could defeat the best teams in the nation. American fascination with the Carlisle teams was explicitly laden with racial tones and themes of conquest. The *World* reported the reaction by New York fans in 1895 when Carlisle played the local YMCA team at Manhattan Field before a crowd of 1,500:

When the Indians made their appearance upon the gridiron they quite disappointed the spectators. It is hardly possible that the crowd expected the red men to break forth clad in a few strips of war-paint, waving tomahawks and knives, and screeching for the scalps of the Y.M.C.A. victims, but there was certainly a murmur of disapprobation when the Carlisle School players tumbled out in regular football costumes, with the civilizing adjuncts of nose-masks, ear-protectors and head-harness. The people seemed to have a strong feeling that in some manner or other they had been swindled.⁵⁵

One fan remarked, "Oh, dear me, are those Indians? Why, they don't look any different from our boys."⁵⁶ New York fans expected explicit difference in costuming and behavior. Without those cultural markers, fans struggled to comprehend what role Indian men were supposed to be

⁵³ Oxendine, *American Indian Sports Heritage*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), 198.

⁵⁴ Oriard, *Reading Football*, 234.

⁵⁵ *World*, November 29, 1895, 9 in Oriard, *Reading Football*, 236.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

enacting. Thus, the reporter from *World* continued on to lament that the Indians were not aggressive enough to be great; they played “too fair.”

Coverage of the 1896 game between Carlisle and Brown before a crowd of 17,000 predated Traynor’s concerns over how the West was perceived:

In that pit, among the rocky heights of Harlem, known as Manhattan Field, there was fought yesterday the bloodiest, the most savage contest between brawn and brain that modern athletic days have seen. The contestants were eleven young football players from Brown University, at Providence, R.I., representing the highest type of New England culture, and eleven young Indians from the Government school at Carlisle, Pa., drawn from the uncivilized sections of the far West and trained into the ways of the white man.⁵⁷

Enraptured with the narrative of American conquest, football contests between Carlisle and its opponents were read within a framework of colonial conquest. The 1897 contest between Carlisle and Yale was depicted by the *Evening World* as a “new and modernized phase of the Indian question.” In spite of arguing for its newness, the writer fell back on older tropes of “wily, wiry redskins” that were “on the warpath.”⁵⁸ Alternately noble or savage, few accounts went as far as William Randolph Hurst’s *New York Journal* which printed Stephen Crane’s (author of the *Red Badge of Courage*) coverage of the 1897 Harvard- Carlisle game alongside a five illustrations of Carlisle players: three in loincloths with two others completely nude.⁵⁹ Scholar Michael Oriard has argued that these images “are graphic testimony to the gender anxiety and shifting ideas about masculinity at the turn of the century.”⁶⁰ In presenting five athletes as physical specimens, Hearst’s *Journal* was playing into popular conceptions of Indian bodies as objects of racialized study made popular by the growing disciplines of anthropology and ethnology. Using language familiar from anthropological displays and museums, popular

⁵⁷ *World*, November 27, 1896, 8 in Oriard, *Reading Football*, 237.

⁵⁸ *Evening World*, October 23, 1897, 1 in Oriard, *Reading Football*, 238.

⁵⁹ Crane, “Red Men Put up a Gallant Fight, *New York Journal*, October 25, 1896, 4.

⁶⁰ Oriard, *Reading Football*, 239.

magazines like *Harper's Weekly* included articles by Caspar Whitney and Walter Camp focusing on the notion of Indians as natural, instinctual athletes guided by professional coaches for their own betterment.⁶¹ Importantly, both Whitney and Camp failed to understand the history of Indian involvement in sport and neglected to grasp their use of biological and cultural rationale for Carlisle wins and losses. In disenfranchising Indian bodies and voices from these articles, Whitney and Camp were replicating the “echo” where Indians themselves were not needed; only white perspectives on Indians.

Unsatisfied with the modest wins of the early 1890s under a series of ex-Yale star coaches, including a win against the University of Wisconsin at the Chicago Coliseum in December 1896 and defeats of the University of Cincinnati, Brown, and Penn State, Pratt hired Glenn S. “Pop” Warner to coach football, basketball, and track in 1899. Warner, recommended by Walter Camp, had experience with the Carlisle team. In 1898, his Cornell University Redmen (a reference to uniform color not an allusion to Indian identity) had barely won a game against Carlisle. In the 23-6 victory, where two Carlisle touchdowns were called back, Warner told reporters, “we outscored ‘em but we didn’t defeat ‘em if you follow me.”⁶² Warner’s philosophy of athletic success relied on extensive physical training along with a rigorous mental program to develop young men into solid football players. The 1899-1900 season was so successful under this new training regime that the Carlisle team was invited to play the University of California in San Francisco.⁶³ Satisfied with their defeat of California, the Carlisle team stopped in Lawrence to visit the young program at Haskell. On January 12, 1900, accompanied by Warner and University of Illinois alumnus and Carlisle physician Dr. Carlos Montezuma, Carlisle players

⁶¹ Ibid., 244.

⁶² Bill Crawford, *All American: The Rise and Fall of Jim Thorpe* (Hoboken, N.J.: John Wiley & Sons, 2005), 35.

⁶³ Ibid., 38.

dressed in blue military-style uniforms and yellow-lined military caps toured the campus.⁶⁴ Haskell Institute as well as other Indian schools became a feeder system for Warner's Carlisle team.

Opponents from the Ivy League, Big Ten, and the Western Conference offered between \$10,000 and \$15,000 for the opportunity to play the Indian team. By 1907, Warner's Indian squad included future all-American Jim Thorpe, who regularly sat the bench during games. Of Irish-Sac and Fox descent on his paternal line and French- Potawatomi on his mother's, Thorpe was raised among the Sac and Fox Indians of Oklahoma on a prosperous 1200 acre farm. Noted in the 1887 report by the Sac and Fox agent that the Thorpe family was among the 15 percent that wore "civilized clothes", Thorpe and his siblings, including his twin brother Charlie were educated at the Sac and Fox Agency boarding school initially.⁶⁵ Moved the Haskell Institute in 1898 and Garden Grove School by 1903, Jim Thorpe's interest in the assimilationist programs echoed many young men of the period: a lack of interest coupled with a tendency to "run away" to rejoin family. The high degree of regimentation from the marching formations to rules on appearance and behavior marked Haskell, Garden Grove, and later Carlisle as oppressive environments. Pratt's "Kill the Indian: Save the Man" philosophy meant that Carlisle students in particular felt the weight of the oppression.⁶⁶ Athletic boys, chosen by Warner to participate in his track, football, and basketball teams, were often exempted from the rigorous military-style rules and could entertain a certain measure of freedom on a campus where freedom was rare. Coupled with the opportunities for travel (Carlisle did not have a home football field), athletics became an escape route for young men like Thorpe. They were excused from the practice of

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 13.

⁶⁶ For a broader discussion of Jim Thorpe, his involvement in Carlisle, and boarding school athletics in general see Crawford, John Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), and Joseph B Oxendine, *American Indian Sport Heritage* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988);

“outing” where Carlisle students were sent to work as apprentices for the summer in middle-class families with half their pay going to Carlisle and the other half into a savings account bearing their name for future use. Athletes lived in a separate dormitory, received special meals, and were provided with leisure opportunities that were not part of the regular Carlisle experience. Joining Hopi runner Lewis Tewanima, Thorpe quickly excelled at track and field, setting a new school record for the high jump. Football, though, offered the opportunity for extensive travel. Series against opponents that included Penn State, Syracuse, Bucknell, the University of Pennsylvania, Princeton, and Harvard were opportunities to leave the confines of the Indian school campus for weeks at a time. So great was the interest in watching Warner’s team that the University of Pennsylvania game on October 26, 1907 boasted an audience of over twenty thousand fans.⁶⁷ Harvard’s defeat on November 9, 1907 in front of thirty thousand was recorded by eastern newspapers as a “scalping” of the Harvard team at the hands of the Indian.⁶⁸

Examined from an economical standpoint the success of the Carlisle team is undoubted: in 1907 alone, the Carlisle football team generated total earnings of over \$50,000. Significantly, their game against the unbeaten Big Ten champions the University of Chicago generated over \$17,000 of that revenue. Warner maintained control of those funds directly via the Carlisle Industrial Indian School Athletic Association.⁶⁹ Thorpe’s role in the Carlisle team would only grow as the training regime enacted by Warner began to pay off. During summers, he stayed in shape and earned money by traveling to participate in professional baseball leagues including the Eastern Carolina League. He received national attention in 1911 when he scored all of his teams points (four field goals and a touchdown) in the 18-15 defeat of Harvard University and again in 1912, when he scored a 97 yard touchdown twice after the first having been nullified by a

⁶⁷ Crawford, 79.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 85.

penalty. Awarded All-American football honors in 1911 and 1912, Thorpe's fame was cemented via the 1912 Summer Olympics where he competed in the decathlon, pentathlon, long jump, high jump, and javelin. By the closing ceremony, Thorpe had placed in the top four in all ten events including a gold medal in pentathlon.⁷⁰ Thorpe would go on to maintain this interest in multiple athletic events. He played professional baseball for the New York Giants, the Milwaukee Brewers, the Cincinnati Reds, the Boston Braves and professional football for the Canton Bulldogs, the Cleveland Indians, the Oorang Indians, the New York Giants, and other minor league football teams. Thorpe's athleticism aside, his value in drawing a crowd was undisputed. So great was his publicity value that he was elected the president of the American Professional Football Association (APFA) by promoters interested in increasing box office revenue for the 1920 season.⁷¹

It is hardly surprising then that Haskell Institute mimicked the "Warner" system of athletics from the outset. In seeking publicity and financial gain by using athletic success and the athletes themselves, Haskell was following a highly successful model. Given its proximity to the Oklahoma reservation communities, Haskell Institute attempted to fill the gap when Carlisle closed in 1918. Warner's dominance of the network of boarding schools teams and ability to recruit players from Indian schools across the nation (including Haskell) was responsible. With athletes like Thorpe and the ability to draw tremendous crowds, Ivy League, Big Ten, and Western Conference schools tended to push for competition with Carlisle. During that time, Haskell was successful was in small league and regional competitions. Yet, after the decline of Carlisle and its closure in 1918, Haskell was able to fill the gap by providing football teams that fulfilled the same role that Carlisle had previously. A new, 10,500 seat stadium on Haskell's

⁷⁰ Thorpe also competed in two exhibition baseball matches staged during the 1912 Olympics.

⁷¹ The APFA was the forerunner of the modern National Football League.

campus was inaugurated in the fall of 1926. Costing more than \$180,000, seventy tribes joined in dedication ceremonies during homecoming weekend to join in a pan-Indian celebration. The three-day long event included a game against Bucknell, pow-wow, native dances, and displays of native dress.⁷² Through Haskell, there is possibility to explore Indian resistance and counter-narratives to the cosmopolitan world view that privileged athletics as the sphere of young, white, middle-class Americans. Additional study is needed to explore the games between Haskell and their opponents and the ways in which these exhibitions challenged the dominant worldview.

Turning Indian

In arguing for the adoption of the “Fighting Sioux” in 1930 and pointing towards previous defeat at the hands of Haskell Indians, one student revealed their belief that “turning Indian” and giving “bad medicine” was the only way to secure athletic success. The trope of turning Indian echoed the anxieties of easterners who feared that the newly opened Dakota territories could be tantamount to a flood of citizens who were not worthy of being members of the nation. It also recognized the physical superiority of the Haskell team but alleviated the possible upset of racial hierarchy by arguing that “bad medicine” was needed to defeat the Haskell teams. Within the comparative educational and athletic experiences being undertaken by UND students, the “Sioux” was needed to defeat not just the Bison of Agricultural College and the Badgers of Minnesota but also the Indians of Haskell. In waging a campaign to move away from the Flickertail and towards the “Sioux,” students, faculty, and administrators were turning towards an identity that had already proven commercially viable. *Dacotah* had helped the University gain stability by generating interest in the young school. Carlisle and Haskell had

⁷² For a complete discussion of the 1926 Haskell ceremony and historical interpretations surrounding it, see John Bloom, *To Show What an Indian can Do* (Milwaukee: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 37-50.

proven the interest in Indian athletics while America's cultural fascination with Indians were written across the pages of newspapers. By choosing "Sioux," UND was able to converge these interests providing community via an easily understood and possibly highly profitable symbol. This was the critically needed convergence of "modern" America being sought by institutions of higher education: athletics, fandom, commercialism, and young, white, male bodies in service to the community. In turning to these meanings, UND administrators and the broader community were signaling their assent to the racial and class-based hierarchies being promoted as essential in "modern" America. Embracing these identities signaled the University of North Dakota's interest in urbanizing and combating the stereotype of North Dakota as a rural, unsafe place.

CHAPTER 6: “SEMINOLES” AND SOUTHERN REGIONAL IDENTITY

“The gridiron team you'll see rushing out on Centennial field daubed with war paint and clad in garnet and gold uniforms,” declared the *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, “when Florida State University has its next home football game, November 22, will be called the Seminoles.”

The writer continued on:

In commemoration of the tribe of Indians whose descendants still live in the Florida Everglades, the name was chosen by the FSU student body in final elections Thursday and Friday. Only about 30 percent of the students voted on the six names selected to be run off in the election, and 381 of these cast the deciding vote for Seminoles. Statesmen was runner-up with 271 votes. Other names in the contest were Rebels, 107 votes; Tarpons, 107 votes; Fighting Warriors, 68 votes; and Crackers, 54 votes...¹

Published November 9, 1947, the local Tallahassee paper revealed the disinterested nature of most Florida State University students in determining an athletic identity. Those that were interested presented a complex rendering of gender and race that reveal a re-imagining of Florida State as a masculine co-educational space that drew from traditions of the Old South. In this way, students and administrators at Florida State University were producing and participating in a circuit of cultural cosmopolitanism where middle-class men were engaged in viewing and producing racialized spectacles that were uniquely Southern. This chapter derives its evidence from the University of Florida and Florida State University archives. Focusing on student publications, local newspapers, historical recollections, and athletic department records, this chapter presents a unique intervention in the history of college football. In positing that the histories of the Florida schools are so tightly interwoven, this chapter challenges any reading of early twentieth century athletic history in Florida that does not consider the interrelationship between institutions. I argue that, rather than focus on an institution by institution, game by game

¹ “FSU Team’s Now Seminoles,” *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, November 9, 1947.

consideration of spectacle as others have done, that the University of Florida and Florida State University demonstrate the interdependent nature of the American spectacle under consideration here and that was branded in a particularly Southern way at these specific Florida-based institutions. I have argued that the University of Illinois was interested in being the “modern” institution via its band and football strategies and that Stanford University, Miami University, and the University of North Dakota were attempting to build their state reputations and capitalize on regional rivalries. Florida State University, on the other hand, built its American spectacle as an articulation of sporting identity that was concerned not just with use of the past to build a young, white, male athletic citizenry as the other schools had but also with celebrating Southern identity. In 1947, students at the Florida State University organized an election for the athletic identity of the newly formed school. “Senators,” “Statesmen,” “Indians,” “Seminoles,” “Fighting Warriors,” “Rebels,” “Crackers,” and “Tarpon” graced the final ballot illustrating that Florida State students were actively engaged in imaging their world as tied to politics of race and representation that were particularly Southern. This chapter explores these identities and argues that in considering the political appellations of “Senators” and “Statesmen”, the cultural identities of “Rebel” and “Tarpon”, and the racial identifiers of “Indians”, “Fighting Warriors,” and “Seminoles”, students illustrated their concerns over the survival of the South as a bastion of white, male citizenry that affirmed the legacy of nineteenth century conquest of red and black bodies.

Organizing Education in Florida

Like Miami University, the University of North Dakota, and the University of Illinois, the origins of Florida State University are drawn from territorial legislatures desire to provide

centers of higher learning for their citizens. Admitted as the 27th state in 1845, the Florida territorial legislature held two townships in reserve to serve as educational sites for “seminaries of learning.”² Designating that one be located east of the Suwanee River at Ocala and another west of the River, the purpose of the institutions was “the instruction of persons, both male and female, in the art of teaching all the various branches that pertain to a good common school education; and next to give instruction in the mechanic arts, in husbandry, in agricultural chemistry, in the fundamental laws, and in what regards the rights and duties of citizens.”³ By 1854, Frances Eppes, grandson of President Thomas Jefferson, had offered the land and buildings of the Florida Institute, a school for boys located in Tallahassee as the western site. Initially passed over, the offer was again made in 1856 and the Florida Legislature accepted. Signed into law on January 1, 1857, the Seminary West of Suwannee opened its doors in a town known for “its railway connections, its "salubrious climate," and its "intelligent, refined, and moral community.”⁴ Not coincidentally, Eppes served as the first President of the Seminary’s Board of Education. Initially only enrolling male students, the Seminary West of Suwannee quickly moved to enroll female students by combining with the Tallahassee Female Academy, an all-female school begun in 1843 as the “Misses Bates School.” Importantly, segregation of the student body continued with female students remaining on the Academy campus and male students at the Seminary campus.⁵ By the close of 1858, the institution was named the “West Florida Seminary” and enrolled both male and female students. From its relatively simple beginnings, the “West Florida Seminary” was an institution in flux. In 1863, at the outbreak of

² “An Act to Provide for the Location of the Two Seminaries of Learning to be Established in this State,” *Acts and Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly of Florida* (Tallahassee: Charles E. Dyke, 1853), 87-88.

³ *Florida Senate Journal*, 1850-1851, 209-212.

⁴ “About Florida State,” Florida State University. Available from: <http://www.fsu.edu/about/history.html>. Hereafter cited as “About Florida State.”

⁵ Robin J. Sellars, *Femina Perfecta: The Genesis of Florida State University* (Tallahassee: Florida State University Foundation, 1995), 6.

the Civil War, it was renamed the Florida Military and Collegiate Institute (FMCI) and included a new military section to train cadets. In 1891, FMCI moved away from advanced high school education and into post-secondary work. By 1897, FCMI was offering the first liberal arts degree in the state of Florida. Again, re-named and re-organized in 1901, FCMI was recast as the Florida State College and offered a four-year education in one of four areas: the liberal arts based College, a Teachers' School, a School of Music, and the College Academy.⁶ By 1902, two hundred fifty-two men and women were receiving degrees in classical, literary and scientific studies.⁷

The continual shifting identities of the Seminary West of Suwannee River was being mirrored at its sister institution, the Seminary East of the River. The East Florida Seminary began in 1853 on the site of the Kingsbury Academy in Ocala.⁸ Moved north to Gainesville in 1866 and merged with the Gainesville Academy, the East Florida Seminary functioned along military lines with strictly regimented formations, school uniforms, and martial discipline just like its western counterpoint.⁹ The East Florida Seminary competed with the Florida Agricultural College (FAC), formed in 1870 under benefits received as part of the federal Morrill Land Grant Act. FAC was chartered in 1888 in Eau Gallie, south of Ocala along the eastern seaboard, the site of a thousand acre donation by Henry Gleason.¹⁰ FAC never opened in Eau Gallie as legislators and the Governor were upset that the school was located “at a remote...and inaccessible part of the state.”¹¹ Moved to Lake City after a competition between Lake City, Gainesville, Live Oak, Tallahassee, and Ocala over who could provide the most cash and

⁶ Ibid., 9.

⁷ “About Florida State.”

⁸ “About UF,” University of Florida. Available from: <http://www.ufl.edu/aboutUF/>

⁹ Julian M. Pleasants, *Gator Tales: An Oral History of the University of Florida* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2006), 7.

¹⁰ Ibid., 8.

¹¹ Ibid.

dedicated land, FAC served as the site for the first intercollegiate football game in the state of Florida. Over two thousand fans saw, on November 22, 1901, FAC defeated by rival Stetson University of Deland, Florida six points to nil.¹² With only two football seasons under its belt, FAC was renamed the University of Florida in 1903 to better reflect the changing curriculum which downplayed agricultural education and encouraged business and liberal arts pursuits. Across the peninsula in Tallahassee, the Florida State College was fielding a football team for men and a basketball team for women sporting purple and gold uniforms. Football jerseys included a block “F” while women played basketball in a full skirted dress with long sleeves.

Just two years later, the University of Florida President with support of the school trustees moved the University of Florida to Gainesville where it could better compete for resources and students. Recognizing the need for teachers to educate the growing population of students in high schools had facilitated the creation of two normal schools by the state legislature in 1887. One school welcomed white students in Defuniak Springs with another welcoming African-American students in Tallahassee. All of these schools sought state funding to house and educate their growing student bodies.

“During the 1904 legislative session, the eight state-supported schools nearly tripled their budget requests for the impending two-year funding period. The Florida House of Representatives immediately initiated an investigation. The schools quickly revised their proposals and submitted lower figures, but unfortunately it was too late.”¹³ Concerned over the increasing financial hardship being borne by the state government as well as the inefficiency of the multiplicity of schools, Florida Governor Napoleon Bonaparte Broward positioned the reform and reorganization of higher education as the centerpiece of his 1905 legislative

¹² Ibid.

¹³ “Buckman Bill,” Florida State University. Available from: http://www.fsu.edu/~fsu150/history/history_02_1851e.html

agenda.¹⁴ In its full form, the Buckman Act, proposed by Henry Holland Buckman of Duval County, established a state-wide board of educational control and abolished the University of Florida at Lake City, Florida State College at Tallahassee (a.k.a. the West Florida Seminary), the all-white Normal School at Defuniak Springs, the East Florida Seminary at Gainesville, the South Florida College at Bartow, and the Florida Agricultural Institute in Osceola County. “The legislators recognized the problems tied to supporting eight separate institutions: duplication of work and expenditure, inefficiency, and competition by schools for students and money.”¹⁵

In their place, the reorganized system offered a single school for white males in the form of the University of the State of Florida in Gainesville, a single school for white females at the Florida Female College¹⁶ in Tallahassee, a co-educational African-American institution in Tallahassee at the colored Normal School (renamed the Florida State Normal and Industrial College for Colored Students)¹⁷, and a School for the “Deaf and Blind.”¹⁸ A five person Board of Control would be appointed to work in conjunction with the Florida Board of Education to supervise the new schools and aid in the selection of locations and University presidents. In choosing to reorganize and consolidate, state legislators were emphasizing gender and race-based segregation. Citizens of the state of Florida challenged the reorganization in case *State ex rel Moodie v Bryan*, not as a result of the segregated status, but because they felt that limiting the number of schools would lead to an increase in the standards of enrollment thereby making higher education inaccessible to the average man.¹⁹

¹⁴ “Progressive Era Court Perspectives,” *The Supreme Court of Florida and Its Predecessor Courts, 1821-1917* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), 362. Hereafter cited as “Progressive Era Court Perspectives.”

¹⁵ Pleasants, 10.

¹⁶ The instability of naming of these institutions presents the opportunity for confusion. For my purposes, I use the name that was historically relevant at that given moment.

¹⁷ The Florida State Normal and Industrial College was renamed the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College in 1909 and the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University in 1953.

¹⁸ “Progressive Era Court Perspectives,” 362.

¹⁹ *State ex rel. Moodie v. Bryan*, Supreme Court of Florida, 50 Fla. 293; 39 So. 929; 1905 Fla. LEXIS 231

Serenaded by a “fine band” during the grand opening and dedication ceremony on September 27, 1906, the University of Florida in Gainesville welcomed 102 students to campus with its two completed campus buildings draped in orange and blue bunting; Orange from the orange and black of the East Florida Seminary and blue from the blue and gold of the University of Florida at Lake City. These students were not entirely new to higher education. Many had been enrolled previously at the University of Florida at Lake City, the West Florida Seminary, and the East Florida Seminary.

Identity Politics and Community Identity

The origins of the University of Florida athletic name, the Gators, may at first glance seem tangential to the selection of “Seminoles” as the athletic identity of Florida State University and the complicated founding of the Florida State University. I argue here, that given the movement of students and faculty between the University of Florida and the Florida Female College/Florida State College for Women (FFC-FSCW) that the mascots of the University of Florida and FFC-FSCW should be treated as related identities. When the Florida Female College was established in 1905, the male students who had been enrolled were shipped to the University of Florida campus and female students to the Female College. This exchange of student bodies, albeit segregated, created a flexible exchange that integrally linked the athletic traditions of the two schools together. Similar to the movement of band members trained by Albert Austin Harding at the University of Illinois and the diffusion of Proctors’ art from Stanford University, movement of ideas about racialized bodies and athletics and individuals with those ideas were a signature facet of the framework under exploration here. Female students from the Florida State College for Women were induced to travel to the University of Florida for school events,

particularly dances where unisex schooling made securing opposite-sex company prohibitive. In 1925, the state legislature extended the relationship between the institutions by permitted women from the Women's college to attend the University of Florida when academic programs were unavailable at their home institution. Because of the structuring the two schools as complementary, both in academics and in social realms, it is vital to consider their identities as interrelated. Like the University of North Dakota which was leveraging its Dakota and Fighting Sioux to brand itself in competition with surrounding institutions, the University of Florida and Florida State College for Women were using their athletic identities to brand Florida institutions as superior to their competitors in the Southeast. As such, to understand the selection of the "Seminole" in 1947, it is vital to understand the earlier selection of the University of Florida Gator and the Florida State College for Women Tarpon athletic identities.

In 1910, students at the University of Florida issued the first edition of their student yearbook, *The Seminole*.²⁰ Unlike the University of Illinois or Miami University which articulated a vision of Indians as firmly in the American past, the *Seminole* yearbook acknowledged Seminole Indians as contemporary peoples:

Among the hammocks and prairies of the Florida Everglades, in a land unknown to the white man, lives a remnant of the once large and powerful tribe of the Seminole Indians. Driven Southward, fighting desperately and contesting every foot of ground, they found at last in the mysterious fastnesses of the 'Glades at once a fortress and a home. Here they have remained unconquered, the only people living on American soil who do not claim allegiance to the Stars and Stripes.²¹

In positioning the Seminoles as "the only people living on American soil who do not claim allegiance to the Stars and Stripes", author Ralph D. Rader ignored the continuing history of Indian resistance to American rule. Creek and Cherokee Indians rallied to challenge the citizenship law of 1901 that mandated that all Indians in Indian territory would become U.S.

²⁰ *The Seminole*, University of Florida, 1910.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 49.

citizens, thereby dissolving their Indian nations. Lone Wolf of the Kiowas refused to cooperate with federal authorities going so far as to file suit in federal courts to enjoin the Secretary of the Interior from selling surplus Indian lands under the Jerome Agreement. Sioux under the leadership of Chief Red Cloud used lobbyists and legal appeals to challenge US authority to determine the value of the Black Hills. In part, Rader's failure to recognize non-violent resistance to American rule was part of the continuing construction of colonial practices of subjugation that was an innate production of this circuit of cultural cosmopolitanism. More simply, Indian survival into the twentieth century was portrayed as people lingering in a far-off "mysterious" lands where they "so often deceived and mistreated by the white man" and were "very suspicious, many of them never venturing near the towns."²² By turning to an anthropological description of the Seminole (their hunting and gardening practices, clothing and appearance, and religious rituals), Rader presents Seminoles as an exotic remnants of the nineteenth century. They were "echos" of themselves rather than actual bodies. He emphasizes the unusual nature of Seminoles by recounting the story of "Coacoochee" or "Wild Cat" during the Seminole War. Supposedly told to young Seminoles by their elders "so that the present generation is as suspicious of the white man as their ancestors were", Rader compares the attempts to catch Wild Cat and his men by American soldiers as possible as attempts to capture the "Spirit Torch" or "Will-o-Wisp," the "ghostly" light that hovers over swamps at night. In drawing this parallel between Wild Cat and the elusive swamp lights, Rader was implicitly comparing the Seminole peoples to preternatural events.

Even as Rader recognized the role of white colonizers in the decline and defeat of the Seminoles: "the white man came to rob the Indian of his land, and turn his hunting grounds into farms and cities," the parallel of the Seminole as mysteriously powerful beings that could evade

²² Ibid.

capture by soldiers evoked a familiar trope of Indians as supernatural beings marked by their ties to the land.²³ He celebrates the Everglades as “an Indian’s paradise” with “oasis-like hammocks” and “profuse” flora where “birds of brilliant plumage abound and game is plentiful” and seemingly suggests that Seminoles drew power from the wilderness of the Florida swamps. “His wants are few and the genial climate makes very little in the way of shelter and clothing necessary.” In cautioning that the “the tribe is gradually dying out” and that efforts to cling to old traditions and customs as well as propositions to drain the Everglades will lead to their eventual demise, Rader emphasizes the holistic, “natural” connection of Indian peoples to their lands. “Never a thought is given the Indian who domain it is by right of conquest and exploration. Cannot at least a part of it be set apart for him? Surely this much is due to the people who at one time owned all of Florida and Georgia- the only people who ever engaged in war with the Unites States and remained unconquered.” In pleading for a portion of the Everglades to be set aside, Rader recognized the importance of land and land use policies for Indian peoples. Yet, in overlooking the possible repatriation of lands in northern Florida and Georgia to Seminoles in favor of the Everglades, Rader neglects to recognize the larger claim that could be made about Seminole Indians: their demise was not a result of clinging to old traditions and customs but instead was a direct result of colonial violence between warring nations: Creek, Seminole, American, Spanish, and English. Rader likely avoids this position as it would necessitate recognizing that Seminoles were, in fact, not unconquered peoples but instead a confederation of peoples deeply influenced by the systematic disenfranchisement at the hands of Spanish, English, and American colonizers.

Seminole Origins

²³ Ibid.

The origins of Seminole Indians lie in the colonial encounters of the Deep South. The decimation of the Florida tribes of Apalachees, Calusas, Timucuan, and other smaller groups due to slave raiding, forced migration by Spanish colonizers, disease and war had opened up Florida for Creek settlement by the late seventeenth century.²⁴ Settlement occurred in three general phases: 1) 1702-1740: Creek raids against the Spanish and their Apalachee allies; 2) 1740-1812: six initial settlements in northern Florida that allowed roving parties of hunters to search for deer, bear, and other big game; 3) 1812-1820: widespread settlements due to fractures within Creek society.²⁵ Warfare and the need for deerskin created a generational split among the Creek peoples, Muskogee-speaking Indians who inhabited Alabama and Georgia. Young warriors, resisting the “traditional” storytelling of the older generation who used such historical recounting as a means of social control coupled with the weakening of ties between the generations due to epidemic disease, facilitated their establishment of permanent Creek settlements in the Alachua prairie of north central Florida.²⁶ Begun as early 1680, these Creeks were being characterized as “*cimarrones*” by Spanish colonizers. Alternately “free people” or “runaways”,²⁷ the *cimarrones* who Spanish and English encountered were “not subject to the town governments” of the Creek peoples and were considered allies to the English who provided them with gifts.²⁸ Co-opted into the word Seminole, these settlements included Muskogee (Creek) speakers as well as Mikasuki (Hitchiti) speakers. By 1763, the newly appointed governor to Florida recognized that peace negotiated with the Lower Creeks would not extend to the

²⁴ James W. Covington, *The Seminoles of Florida* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1993), 3.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

²⁶ Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 33-34. Importantly, these permanent settlements sit squarely within Gainesville, Florida.

²⁷ The term *cimarrones* is defined as “free people” by the Seminole Tribe of Florida while scholars, including Claudio Saunt, equate the term to the word “runaway.” Saunt also provides an explanation of the term “Seminole” as a translation of the Muskogee words *ishti semoli*, meaning “wild men.” Saunt, 35.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 35.

Seminole settlements at Sante Fe, La Chua, and Satile.²⁹ Over the next forty years, as Florida moved from a Spanish colonial possession to a British possession, back to a Spanish possession, Seminoles continued to exert pressure on colonizers via raiding and resistance to land boundaries. Influenced by the Yamasee War of 1715 and the Red Stick War of 1813-1814 as well as the growing population of English colonizers in Georgia and South Carolina, roughly 3,000 Indians lived in Florida, independent of the Creek Confederacy, by the early nineteenth century.³⁰ The Seminoles, recognized as separate from the Upper and Lower Creeks, offered an alternatively community to Indians fleeing the encroaching Indian and Euro-American populations as well as escaped slaves.

Encounters between Americans and Seminoles were continually complicated by the growing population and perception of Southerners that Seminole lands were havens for escaped slaves and ne'er-do-well Indians. Slave catchers and bounty hunters repeatedly violated the territorial borders of Spanish Florida and the Seminole settlements. Tensions between Americans and the Seminole grew in November 1817 with a military attack on a Seminole village in southwest Georgia accused of harboring escaped slaves. Following a retaliation by Seminoles in Northern Florida, Andrew Jackson led a military invasion into Florida where he seized a Spanish fort, demolished Seminole and African-American settlements, captured Pensacola, and executed two British traders accused of conspiring with the Seminole against the US. Victorious, Jackson returned to Georgia having demonstrated to Spain the difficulty of defending the colonial territory of Florida. The first Seminole War, ended in June 1818, was celebrated with the signing of the 1919 Adams-Onis Treaty which ceded Florida to the United States. Adams-Onis did not, however, adequately deal with Seminoles who continued to resist colonial influences. The

²⁹ Ibid., 36.

³⁰ Covington, 26.

continuing encroachment of white Americans onto Seminole territory forced some to move southward while leaders chose, in 1823, to sign the Treaty of Moultrie Creek. Opening the Atlantic and Gulf coasts to American settlement, the Treaty of Moultrie Creek assigned central Florida to the Seminole. In part, the Treaty of Moultrie Creek was driven by the belief of American Governor William P. DuVal that “the area between the Suwanee River and the Alachua, where most of the Seminoles lived, was one of the richest and most valuable in the territory and should belong to whites.”³¹ Almost 24 million acres of land were provided to the U.S. (for re-sale to American settlers at \$1.25/acre) in exchange for moving expenses, a \$5,000 a year annuity for a 25 year long period, food for a year, payments for improvements made to the north Florida lands, and provisions for farming, schooling, livestock, and government agents.³² Seminoles also agreed to move onto formal reservations either in the Apalachicola River valley or farther south between the Peace and Withlacoochee Rivers, just north of Ocala, Florida.

By 1824, roughly twenty-three hundred men, women, and children were moving towards reservation settlements. Similar to experiences of the Sioux in the Dakotas, reservation life between 1824 and 1832 was fraught with food shortages, starvation, and disagreements with government agents over daily life and the enforced boundaries of the reservation.³³ By 1832, James Gadsden was appointed lead negotiator to convince the Seminoles to follow other Indians under President Andrew Jackson’s Indian Removal Policy to territories out west. At Payne’s Landing, leaders of the Seminole people agreed to move out west within three years provided a delegation of Seminoles could select and approve of the new reservation site in Oklahoma. Almost from its signing, the Payne’s Landing agreement was fraught with problems. Seminole leaders thought their ability to approve of the reservation also gave them the right to refuse

³¹ Ibid., 51.

³² Ibid., 53.

³³ Ibid., 58-59.

removal should the land out west not be to their liking. They also believed they had twenty years to complete the removal process rather than the three. Further, during the selection visit to Oklahoma, the Seminole selection party was forced to sign the Treaty of Fort Gibson before they would be allowed to depart Indian territory. The treaty affirmed that the region selected for them by government agents was sufficient for the new reservation and that the Seminole would move post-haste. Accusations of bribery of the interpreters in the initial agreement coupled with what, in effect, amounted to Seminoles being taken hostage in Oklahoma led Seminoles to refuse to honor the removal agreement.

Seminole refusal to abide by the Adams-Onis Treaty and the Treaty of Fort Gibson, exacerbated by Senate ratification in 1834, led to the Second Seminole War. Anti-removal Chiefs, led by the young warrior Osceola,³⁴ were imprisoned in June 1835 by General Wiley Thompson of the Georgia militia who was charged with securing Seminole agreement to removal. Released only after agreeing to move to Oklahoma territory by January of 1836, Osceola and other Seminoles stockpiled arms, attacked supply trains and troop patrols, and even executed a pro-removal chief. Tensions were exacerbated by a December 28th attack on the Indian Agency at Fort King, which resulted in the death of General Thompson. Throughout 1836, troops led by a revolving door of commanders were unsuccessful in apprehending the Seminoles who used the swamps of the Everglades as staging grounds for attacks on white settlements. Over 8,000 troops pursued Osceola and the anti-removal Seminoles with little success; yet the on-going warfare weakened the ability of the tribe to provide for its members. In March 1837, Micanopy, Jumper, Alligator, and Osceola met with Commander Jesup to negotiate a preliminary armistice. Agreeing to assemble in Tampa for deportation to Oklahoma, the initial surrender was broken when white slave-owners attempted to seize African-Americans who were

³⁴ Osceola plays a significant part in the articulation of Florida State University athletic identity beginning in 1978.

in cahoots with the Seminoles to increase their own slave populations. A second negotiation was broken in October of 1837 when Jesup seized Osceola, 75 warriors, and 6 Seminole women and imprisoned them at Fort Marion in St. Augustine, Florida, when they arrived under a flag of truce for a treaty negotiation. Osceola's capture and subsequent death of malaria at Fort Moultrie, South Carolina, spelled the beginnings of decline of Seminole resistance. Over six hundred Seminoles were captured by Zachary Taylor near Lake Okeechobee, Micanopy was captured under a flag of truce, and the Second Seminole War drew to a close in 1842 when President John Tyler offered Seminoles the choice of an Oklahoma reservation or an isolated reservation west of Lake Okeechobee. Of the roughly 1,300 Seminole and African-American warriors engaged in the Second Seminole War, six hundred chose to remain in Florida.

The banishment of Seminoles to the isolated reservation west of Lake Okeechobee that Ralph Rader would refer to over sixty years later as an "Indian paradise" was not without continued struggles with American troops. Between 1855 and 1858, Seminoles repeatedly skirmished with American troops in the Third Seminole War. Targeting unfriendly Seminoles who resisted infringement on their rights by the American government and their troops, the Third Seminole War created an opportunity for the government to remove Billy Bowlegs and other Seminole leaders to Oklahoma where they could be considered less of a problem for white Americans. Collectively, the Seminole Wars led to the removal of 4,400 Seminoles to Oklahoma's Indian territory and the death of many of the tribes most active leaders including Osceola. Those that remained in Florida were cloistered in isolated Everglades settlements that relied on their distance from continually encroaching white societies.

In this moment of appropriation in 1910, the University of Florida was mimicking a process that took place throughout the United States in the early twentieth century including at

the University of North Dakota. Students at the University of Florida were, in the early decades of the twentieth century, positioning themselves as the inheritors the land occupied by the “Seminoles”. Like the University of Illinois, Miami University, or Stanford University where the process of settlement, defeat, and naming was distanced from a past fraught with violence between settlers and native inhabitants and unlike the University of North Dakota where Sioux Indians remained in close proximity and were a constant concern, students at the University of Florida were positioning themselves as survivors of the educational turmoil being foisted upon them by the reorganization that had taken place in 1904. Seminoles were, in Rader’s depiction, survivors of colonial encounters who created their own communities of people who desired freedom from their communities, be they traditional Creek society, slave life, or European settlement.

The University of Florida *Seminole* was documentation of the survival of the students at the University of Florida. In considerations of the competition for a new athletic name, the specificity that “Seminole” offered in memorializing this narrative is proven by the low-scoring “Fighting Warriors.” “Fighting Warriors” could be any college, while “Seminole” could only be a Florida identity. In their opening greeting, students affirmed this position:

In presenting to the students, faculty, and friends of the University, this, our first volume of the *Seminole*, we trust you will keep in mind that as your our Institution is quite young (a four-year-old); that as yet we are living in the early morn of what promises to be a bright and prosperous day; that as yet we are few in numbers and consequently not free from financial embarrassment. Nevertheless, in this as in all undertakings, success is our goal and to this end we have worked. If we have failed, it is our misfortune and not our faculty and the satisfaction of the undertaking still remains. But if, when you look through these pages either now or in later years, you derive some pleasure or benefit therefrom, then we will feel that our efforts have not been spent in vain.³⁵

Vital to the survival of the institution was its athletic identity. Four origin narratives frame the athletic identity of the University of Florida “Gators”. The August 19, 1948 *Florida*

³⁵ *The Seminole*, University of Florida, 1910, 2.

Times-Union recounts the remembrances of Austin Miller, a University of Virginia student whose father owned a Gainesville soda fountain and stationary store. On a trip to the Charlottesville to visit his son, Phillip Miller visited the Michie Company, which manufactured pennants and banners for athletic powerhouses, Yale and Princeton University. Austin Miller chose the name “Alligators” as the alligator was both native to Florida and had not been adopted by any other school. “I had no idea it would stick, or even be popular with the student body,” Miller said. “We wanted to get the Michie firm started on the pennants as quickly as possible, though, so they would be available in time for the opening of the 1908 school term.”³⁶ Michie’s supplied Millers’ store blue banners measuring six by three feet depicting various positions of the alligator including one with the now familiar alligator head.

A 1928 letter to the *Gainesville Sun* contradicted Miller’s recounting. The first captain of the Florida football team, Ray Corbett charged that the “Gators” nickname was derived from the substitute center Neal “Bo-Gator” Storter. Storter, a “Florida Legend” according to 1912 Senior Class President Thomas Bryant, was the grandson of an Alabama migrant who operated a trading post visited by Seminole Indians in Everglade (later Everglade City, south of Naples, Florida) and served as a local shipping merchant. Arriving in Gainesville in 1907 at the age of 16, Storter received a nickname from the campus newspaper, *The Florida Pennant*, just as the majority of UF students did. Alternately “Brother Gator” or “Bo Gator,” Storter was a humorous fixture in the campus paper’s local sections: “Wanted: A body guard to protect Bro. Gator from the ladies.”³⁷ *The Florida Pennant* recognized the creation of the “Bo Gator Club” which celebrated the exaggerated aspects of Bo Gator’s life: “Motto: ‘I seed you;’ colors: pea-green and shrimp pink.”

³⁶ *Florida Times-Union*, August 2, 1948.

³⁷ Carl Van Ness, “UF’s First Gators,” *UF Today* (University of Florida Alumni Association, September 2000), 35-39.

Chronicled throughout the *Pennant* and the *Seminole*, the Bo Gator Club represented a high-spirited challenge to the formal authority of the University. In a parody of the *Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (1900), L. Frank Baum's highly popular children's novel reputed to be a parable of 1890s' populism, the 1910 *Seminole* includes an article by Bernard "Beauty" Langston where the 18 Bo Gator members are brought before the college faculty and charged with offenses including "having brains," being a "near sport," and overwhelming beauty. Neal Storter's popularity can be further represented in a short listing of the offices he held during his tenure at the University of Florida: "Chief" Bo Gator, First Lieutenant in the student battalion, member of student political groups, president of the Kelvin Engineering Club and the F-Club, manager of the baseball team, and student representative on the Athletic Association Committee. In refuting his role in originating the name, Storter suggested multiple alternatives: 1) University alumnus Bob Swanson's story that during a game at Mercer University in Macon, Georgia copious rain turned the field into mud. "Every time you would hit the dirt you would slide ten feet and you were covered with mud," Swanson said. "The water was standing on the field in puddles, and we looked like gators. So somebody dubbed the team the Fighting Florida Gators."³⁸ 2) After an interview with Coach George Pyle in 1909 at the Mercer game, the sports pages of the local paper headlined that "Macon was being invaded by a bunch of Florida alligators";³⁹ 3) trips to South Carolina to battle Clemson and the University of South Carolina led to newspapers assigning the "Gator" name.

"It was on the South Carolina trip that the Florida team was dubbed the 'Alligators,' and the battle that took place...between the Clemson Tigers and the Florida Alligators is one long to

³⁸ Pleasants, 27.

³⁹ Harold R. Bachman, *The Biggest Boom in Dixie* (Jacksonville: Paramount Press Inc, 1968), 27.

be remembered.”⁴⁰ *The State*, one of South Carolina’s newspapers headlined “Gamecocks clash with Alligators,” while the *Florida Times-Union* reported that “this is probably the ‘biggest trip’ ever taken by an 11 from any of the Florida colleges and thousands of people throughout the state will await the result of the games with the greatest interest. May the ‘Gators’ win ‘em both.” The Associated Press declared in its first ever coverage of the University of Florida that “the Florida team’s brilliant showing is creating considerable talk in local college circles and it is figured that the ‘Alligators’ must be reckoned with in future years.”⁴¹ In the Miller narrative and *The State* headlines, there are clear articulations of schools attempting to follow the lead of Princeton in designing a communal athletic identity. This recognition of other schools engaged in expressing communal desires via athletic identity demonstrates the circulation of the primarily ideas integral to this brand of cultural cosmopolitanism that venerated young, male, middle-class, citizen-athletes as the future of society. Phillip Miller and Walter Riggs, Clemson head coach, were attempting to position their institutions squarely within an elitist athletic tradition. Clemson University adopted its “Tiger” mascot in 1896 as a tribute to Princeton University and its fierce athletic tradition while Miller was hoping to capitalize off the sale of University pennants in his Gainesville store.⁴² In considering the four narratives, there is little corroborating evidence that remains beyond the student newspapers, yearbooks, and editions of *The State*. What can be definitively said is that the University of Florida athletes were consciously engaged in community building activities around “Bro Gator” and that it was likely that Austin Miller and his father knew of the “Bo Gator Club.” Additionally, it is certain that no matter who made the

⁴⁰ Van Ness, 35-39.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁴² I pause here to also draw attention to the hidden narrative within the selection of the “Fighting Gamecock” in 1900 by the University of South Carolina. The “gamecock” is a type of rooster popularized in 19th century cock-fighting rings that permeated southern elite culture. It was chosen not just for its’ reputation as being a fierce fighter but also as a direct reference to Virginia Militiamen and later Revolutionary War hero General Thomas Sumter who campaigned against the Cherokees prior to serving as their interpreter before King George III in 1763. The “gamecock” selection illustrates the process of turning to the past to create communal identity within the present.

selection of “Gator” whether it was Austin Miller or news writers for *The State* that the intent was to create a commercially viable identity for the University of Florida. Gators battled Gamecocks and Tigers in the headlines of the papers like the battles being waged in the papers of northern schools. Commercialism and consumption were key to the competitions between schools and were essential within the circuit of knowledge about collegiate sport. By 1911, the University of Florida “Gator” was shown in university publications with its jaws clenched around a Citadel “bulldog” and a Clemson “tiger” among others.

Following a similar pattern to band development (albeit roughly ten to twelve years behind the innovations elsewhere) the University of Florida initially fielded a military department band that included a bugler and military-styled uniforms. The first edition of the *Seminole* in 1910 recognized these military musicians but noted that “Glee Club represented the musical side of University life.”⁴³ In part the dominance of the glee club was a result of the fact that the University did not enroll enough students with musical backgrounds to field a properly outfitted college band. When the first UF band began to play in 1913, its motto suggested its both its lackadaisical approach to musical education (“we play anything, anywhere, at any time”) and its military roots (“a couple of buglers were not enough to satisfy the dignity of a Land Grant University.”)⁴⁴ It is important to highlight here the parallels between football development and the rise of the college band. The increasing enrollment of men allowed football to solidify its standing against opponents like Clemson and the University of South Carolina while the band could use these students to fill out its ranks and transition from military functions and dress parades. A former University of Illinois bandmember, Lucien Young “Dearie” Dyrenforth, aided this transition.

⁴³ Bachman, 11.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

Leaving the University of Illinois after just one year under Harding's tutelage, Lucien Dyrenforth moved to the University of Florida in 1913 to complete a chemistry degree. Originally of Oak Park, Illinois, Dyrenforth served as principal musician from 1913 to 1916. Literary editor of the *Seminole*, he also was president of the German Club, a dance society (1916), Secretary-Treasurer of the Flint Chemical Society (1916), Glee Club and Orchestra member, and varsity football player. He toured Florida and specifically Florida Agricultural College and the Florida State College for Women in Tallahassee with his band as well as competed across the US with the University of Florida football team. Upon his graduation, Dyrenforth enrolled in graduate school and served as director of the University band in the 1916-1917 season. Featured in the band's repertoire was "Dixie", a special performance held over from its days as the East Florida Seminary over five decades earlier. At the annual graduation in July of 1861, Robert P. Bryce, Principal of the Seminary, requested a special version sung to the tune of "I Wish I was in Dixie's Land." Consisting of five verses and a chorus, the chorus suggested the militancy felt by southerners:

*Then strike a blow for Dixie! Hurrah! Hurrah!
For Dixie's land we'll take our stand
And live or die for Dixie.
To Arms! To Arms!
And take good care of Dixie.
To Arms! To Arms!
And take good care of Dixie.*⁴⁵

Although the use of Bryce's lyrics ended with the cessation of hostilities, the University of Florida continued to use Daniel Decatur Emmett's original version which Southerners had appropriated as a de-facto anthem of the Confederacy.⁴⁶ In performing Dixie, the University of

⁴⁵ Ibid., 3.

⁴⁶ For a complete discussion of Emmett and the origins of "Dixie", see Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995) and Howard L. Sacks and

Florida was aurally illustrating its racial understandings of a Southern time and place where white was privileged and black was pejorative; it invoked the past into the present.

Returning to my original claim of the core exchange between Florida State University and the University of Florida that has been highlighted by the movements of students and Dyrenforth, one final narrative on the selection of the Gator mascot illustrates why the 1947 selection of the “Seminole” must be considered within the context of a greater Florida athletic identity. “According to a football player of [the Florida State College, which was dissolved in 1905 under the Buckman Act], Florida State called itself the Gators before it became the State College for Women in 1905. Florida State’s last coach [prior to the reorganization] was Jack “Pee Wee” Forsythe, who became Florida’s first coach in 1906.”⁴⁷ Given the movement of Forsythe and the continually shifting identity of the football team in the early days of the 1900s, it is possible that Florida State College’s use of the Gator has been subverted by the efforts to construct an a female athletic identity for the Florida Female College and the Florida State College for Women.

Tarpon: Female Athletic Identity in Florida

While the University of Florida was consciously promoting its football successes and using its Gator identity within the pages of the *Seminole* yearbook and *The Florida Pennant* (renamed the *Florida Alligator*), the Florida Female College was becoming one of the preeminent schools for women in the South.

Albert Alexander Murphree was appointed president to oversee the roughly one hundred women who enrolled in 1905. English Professor Samuel Tucker attempted to welcome the

Judith Rose Sacks, *Way Up North in Dixie: A Black Family’s Claim to the Confederate Anthem* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003.) I will return to the use of Dixie in my discussion of the selection of “Crackers” as one of the FSU identities.

⁴⁷ “The Gator Nickname,” University of Florida, University of Florida Archives.

students to the newly established college by altering the West Florida Seminary Song, set to the “Battle Hymn of the Republic”, from “may thy loving sons and daughters still revere thy noble name” to “may thy loving daughters still revere thy noble name.”⁴⁸ Larger than the University of Florida in both student enrollment and campus buildings, the women of Florida Female College were actively engaged in promoting both intellectual and physical pursuits. Just three weeks into the semester, female students organized an athletic association. In 1906, the school presented a best-of-three basketball competition between the “Cockleburs and Prickly Pears.”⁴⁹ Athletics were such large part of campus life that College administrators were concerned about the spectacle associated with young women playing sports before non-family members. With the 1909 prohibition that only males who were faculty or family members being allowed to attend games, the Florida Female College athletic teams lost the majority of their competitors and were forced to create two campus-based teams, the stars and the crescents.⁵⁰ In legislating the gaze of men on female bodies, the University was reinforcing gender-based norms that relied on beliefs of the female body in motion as sexually alluring. Physical educators were actively constructing a hierarchy of approved athletic activity where sports like golf, tennis, and gymnastics were considered more appropriate for young women. Young ladies were encouraged to be active, but only within carefully patrolled spaces that rewarded athleticism but not excessive exertion. Similar concerns at Miami University led to women’s intercollegiate basketball being abolished 1912.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Sellars, 38.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁵⁰ “1905-1909,” Florida State University. Available from: http://www.fsu.edu/~fsu150/history/history_03_1905a.html

⁵¹ “Miami University History of Women’s Athletics,” 25 Years of Women’s Athletics at Miami University, Miami University. Available from: <http://www.lib.muohio.edu/epub/wsports/hist.html>

Sporting garnet and gold school colors and renamed the Florida State College for Women (FSCW), the College lost its president to the University of Florida that same year. Inter-class rivalries dominated the athletic landscape of the FSCW during the decade of the 1910s. Seniors joined with Sophomores and sub-Freshmen (Academy students) as the “Odds” team while Juniors and Freshmen formed the “Evens” team. With colors of red, white and purple, the “Garnet” Odds battled the green and gold “Evens” each fall.⁵² Athletes who won the intra-class contests, placed during Field Day competitions, or won tennis awards were eligible to become members of the “F” Club.⁵³ In recognizing female athletic success, administrators were communicating an inverse of its communal desire for young, white, athletic men. The institutions and communities that participated in this circuit of cosmopolitanism needed strong female bodies to bear the next generation. By rewarding female athleticism in carefully controlled ways, they were communicating the idea that through athletic success, young women could achieve higher social status and possibly become the wife of one of these “modern” young men.

By 1920 Florida had a population of 968,470, a figure that would double during that decade. The fears in 1905 that the limited number of schools would place pressure on admissions and access to education seemed eminent as schools struggled to keep up with the increasing number of students. By 1928 at FFC-FSCW over 1,642 students walked the halls necessitating a dramatic growth in residential housing, sorority houses, and approved off-campus housing.⁵⁴ FFC-FSCW was the third largest women's college in the nation just seven years later. Athletics and social events including plays, sing-alongs, dances, and weekend outings proved essential to student life. The University, recognizing the spatial limitations of the campus flooded by so

⁵² Sellars, 92-93.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 94.

⁵⁴ “1920-1930”, Florida State University. Available from: http://www.fsu.edu/~fsu150/history/history_03_1905c.html

many students, chose to improve property that the college already owned to create more space. Camp Flastacowo [**Florida State College for Women**], a University property located lakeside, allowed FFC-FSCW students to participate in water games, lounge around lakeside, and compete in water-based athletics including rowing and swimming.⁵⁵ The use of the camp as a training ground for female athletes can be seen in the success of the synchronized swimming team, named the “Tarpon” in 1936.⁵⁶ Sponsored by the Life Saving Club, who oversaw water recreation at the school gymnasium and Camp Flastacowo, the Tarpons achieved nationwide fame for their elaborately choreographed water ballets. Fox Movietone attempted to capture a Tarpon performance for a national newsreel in 1937 and Grantland Rice Movie Sportlights filmed 25 swimmers for a movie short in 1939.⁵⁷ In selecting Tarpon, student athletes were memorializing a large herring-like fish found in the Gulf of Mexico that could grow up to eight feet in length. Prized not for their taste but for their antics in fighting against anglers, the choice of the Tarpon by student athletes undoubtedly was meant to signify their desired agility in the water. Tarpon served as the only continuously recognized athletic identity at FFC-FSCW. As America became embroiled in overseas controversies, at home in Jacksonville, the women of FCC-FSCW were focused on athletic successes, academic achievements, and social lives.

Thirty-seven years after the University of Florida began its *Seminole* yearbook and adopted its Gator mascot, on May 15, 1947, Florida Governor Millard Caldwell signed into a law a legislative act to return the Florida State College for Women (FSCW) to coeducational status. Dropping “College for Women”, the newly designated Florida State University celebrated its founding on June 9th by granting four hundred thirty-two women and twelve men diplomas

⁵⁵ “1930-1940”, Florida State University. Available from: http://www.fsu.edu/~fsu150/history/history_03_1905d.html

⁵⁶ Sellars, 245; *Florida Flambeau*, October 2, 1936.

⁵⁷ Sellars, 245; *Florida Flambeau*, March 17, 1939; *Jacksonville Journal*, May 12, 1939.

bearing the phrase “The Florida State College for Women issued by the Florida State University.”⁵⁸ Service to their country in World War II was precisely what these Florida State University students were attempting to memorialize with the selection of “statesmen” as one of their athletic identities. In 1905, Miami University students opened their *Recensio* yearbook to find a poetic “Ode to the University” that claimed that Miami was “mother of statesmen.”⁵⁹ For young men just returned from war to their colleges, the adoption of a term that signified their prominence in public affairs and the shaping of their communities, be they on the local or national scale, suggested a highly political understanding of self and communal belonging. Narratives of athletes as leaders were explicitly laden with notions of citizenship in the form of military service. Inscribed on the walls of Memorial Stadium at Illinois and in the campaigns of stadium-builders across America in the 1920s, the tenor of young men as physically fit bodies in the service of their country increased as a result of World War II. Just as Nordsiek claimed that “these men” would return to normalcy by partaking in campus activities, the articulation by FSU men that their identity was as wise elders versed in worldly affairs (the training and killing of enemies of state) suggested a reification of their place within the social hierarchy. Gendered male, the inclusion of statesmen with the competition for an FSU athletic suggested the exclusion of young women (including those who served in auxiliary units) and unfit men.

Rebels and Crackers: Southern Identity in Consideration

Two final selections illustrate the ways in which Florida State students were articulating their community and identity through a southern lens. The choice of “Rebels” for inclusion in the 1947 contest was unsurprising given that the University of Mississippi had adopted “Rebels” as

⁵⁸ “1947-1959”, Florida State University. Available from: http://www.fsu.edu/~fsu150/history/history_04_1947a.html

⁵⁹ “Ode to the University,” *Recensio*, 1905, Miami University Archives.

its nickname eleven years earlier. Selected by southern newswriters from over 200 suggestions, the choice was facilitated as part of a promotion by the student newspaper of “Ole Miss,” *The Mississippian*.⁶⁰ Suggested by Judge Ben Guider of Vicksburg, Mississippi, 18 of the 21 newswriters selected “Rebels” as their choice over “Ole Massas,” referring to the white masters of black slaves.⁶¹ Students celebrated the selection by stating it was “suggestive of a spirit native to the Old South and particularly to Mississippi.”⁶² Just two years later, the student yearbook promoted its first mascot, “Colonel Reb,” who appeared throughout the publication. The “Rebels” and the “Colonel Reb” were directly derivative of Southern elite plantation imagery. Initially depicted with “flowing white hair, bushy mustache, wearing a long coat nipped at the waist, light pants, dark shoes, and a big broad-brimmed hat” Colonel Reb was a seemingly elitist version of “Johnny Reb.”⁶³ “Johnny Reb” was a familiar fixture in literature of the war celebrating the everyman, yeoman soldier who was valiantly battling the oppressive Northern government. Outfitted in Confederate uniform, “Johnny Reb” as symbolic of the South’s battle was tied not just to the anti-federal, pro-slavery articulations that consumed nineteenth-century America during the war but also to the post-war Jim Crow “New South.” Southerners continually imagined a uniquely Southern narrative where artifacts of defeat (including soldiers themselves) were repeatedly celebrated.⁶⁴ The University of Mississippi’s decision to promote an upper-class

⁶⁰ Old Miss Traditions, available from:

http://www.olemisssports.com/ViewArticle.dbml?DB_OEM_ID=2600&ATCLID=541582

⁶¹ Joshua I. Newman, “The Colonel’s Secret Recipe?: Reconsidering the Cultural and Corporate Logics of the South’s Sporting Symbolic,” in possession of author.

⁶² “University Adopts New Nickname- Rebels,” *The Mississippian*, 1936 in Newman, “The Colonel’s Secret Recipe?”

⁶³ The origins of “Colonel Reb” are disputed. In one popular narrative “Colonel Reb” is modeled after African-American vendor Blind Jim Ivy. See Newman, “Army of Whiteness? Colonel Reb and the Sporting South’s Cultural and Corporate Symbolic,” *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 31(4): November 2007, 315-339; Nadine Cohodas, *The Band Played Dixie: Race and the Liberal Conscience at Ole Miss* (New York: The Free Press, 1997);

⁶⁴ For a complete discussion of Civil War remembrances, see Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 101-131; David Blight, *Race and Reunion: the Civil War in American Memory* (New York: Belknap Press, 2001); Tony Horwitz, *Confederates in the Attic: Dispatches from the Unfinished Civil War* (New York: Random House, 1998)

version of the “Rebel” in the form of the plantation master, most of whom could purchase their way out of confederate service, was quickly subsumed by the common image of “Johnny Rebel” and racially-explicit imagery. Performances of “Dixie” by the University band were sung before a waving Confederate battle flag in the late 1940s. While the historical record is silent as to the motivations of the students who nominated “Rebels” as one of Florida State’s athletic identities, it is quite likely that they were aware of the University of Mississippi “Rebels” and its neo-racial expressions in Oxford, Mississippi. In selecting its inclusion, students were likely attempting to continue their own cross-institutional traditions of white privilege: Students at the University of Florida had long been involved in campus minstrel shows where blackface performances were commonplace.

Selection of racialized identities for Florida State by its students continued with the consideration of “Crackers.” “Cracker,” first documented in 1509 in *Palmer’s Folk Etymology* as a “braggert or liar,” functioned as a cultural signifier that demarcated specific class and race-based identities. Four main theories suggest a variety of signifiers for “cracker”: 1) it referred to poor migrants from Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina who drove livestock to Florida in the nineteenth century using whips; 2) an allusion to the use of dry corn as a dietary staple by poor southern who had to “crack” the corn before using it; 3) an abstraction of the Spanish word *cuáquero*, meaning Quaker, in reference to a Quaker settlement in Spanish Florida; 4) a slur for poor Scotch-Irish migrants to Florida who replicated class boundaries of yeomanry against aristocrats.⁶⁵ Referred to as “hooligans” who plagued civilized society throughout the

⁶⁵ Dana Ste.Claire, *Cracker: The Cracker Culture in Florida History* (Daytona Beach: Museum of Arts and Sciences, 1998), 24-34. See also: Grady McWhiney, *Cracker Culture: Celtic Ways in the Old South* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1988) and Frank L. Owsley, *Plain Folk in the Old South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 1949.)

eighteenth century, Crackers were portrayed as lawless, hard-drinking, poor whites who flaunted colonial authority:

As skilled as the Indians in hunting, willing to dare immense rivers with fragile rafts or to track man and animal through dense forests, these (Crackers) erect Indian-style huts in the first unpopulated space fit to grow corn that they stumble upon in order to give shelter to their wives and children. Once done, they move again, always keeping themselves beyond the reach of all civilized law...The desire...to escape all legal authority is so strong that they prefer to live in Indian or better still, Spanish territory rather than live under the gentle yoke of civilized society...⁶⁶

Florida's transition to American hands in 1821 facilitated an even larger flood of poor whites, particularly Irish whites, into these lands. They encroached upon Indian lands and frequently challenged colonial rule that required deeds for land use. So influential were these men that Lt. Howard observed during the Third Seminole War that Cracker volunteers were a detriment to military order, "as a general thing they are a very corrupt set of men. They drink, gamble, and swear and do all manner of discreditable things, and are not withal very good soldiers."⁶⁷ Military aptitude aside, by the end of the nineteenth century Crackers firmly were established as non-slaveholding whites on the lowest rung of the socio-economic class who held isolation as a key cultural feature.⁶⁸ Alternately portrayed as strong, independent yeoman working to provide for their families (poor Southerners) or as unkempt, shiftless vagabonds preying on civilization ("Crackers"), these men and women were fixture in travelogues which provided colorful narratives of their lives for the entertainment of the reader, "the genuine, unadulterated 'cracker' - the clay-eating, gaunt, pale, tallow, leather-skinned sort- stupid, stolid, staring eyes, dead and lusterless...Stupid and shiftless, yet sly and vindictive, they are a block in the pathway of

⁶⁶ Ste.Claire, 48.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 50.

⁶⁸ It is important to differentiate between all poor white southerners and those with "Cracker" culture. Not all poor southerners lived in isolated, self-sufficient nomadic lives nor did all "Crackers" live a non-prosperous life.

civilization, settlement, and enterprise wherever they exist.”⁶⁹ Frederic Remington, who shaped perceptions of the American west through his art, was just one visitor who saw Florida’s crackers as rogue independents who plagued society.⁷⁰

“Cracker” identity was imbued not just with class-based politics but also racial constructions. Throughout the eighteenth century, poor whites were positioned, and positioned themselves, against free and enslaved blacks. Of particular concern for poor Irish whites, as David Roediger has revealed, the ability to sexualize, exoticize, and penalize African Americans allowed lower class and working class Irishmen to prove their worth to elitist whites. They could “become” white through racial and economic justifications. Within the Southern context, the transition of enslaved blacks to freedmen (albeit only politically) created confusion for elite whites, like those who were engaged in building the University of Florida and the Florida Female College, who continued to hold the equation of black to subservient. For poor Southerners, the continued subjugation of African-Americans was needed to preserve their own economic positioning. “Crackers,” a sub-segment of poor whites, undoubtedly expressed their own feelings regarding race yet the historical record remains largely silent as to the interplay between African-Americans and Crackers.

“Cracker” became a fondly used term that connoted a community of self-sufficient men and women who took pride in their family heritage and backwoods knowledge in the waning days of Jim Crow. So powerful was this rehabilitation that in 1914, the local Deland, Florida baseball team referred to itself as the “Deland Crackers.” Further uses of “Crackers” within the realm of sport abound. Class AA Southern minor league team the “Atlanta Crackers,” founded in

⁶⁹ Ibid., 55.

⁷⁰ Julian M. Pleasants, “Frederic Remington in Florida,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 61(1): July 1977, 1-2.

1901 drew an audience of 40,000 the following year with well over 221,000 by 1920.⁷¹ The selection of “Crackers” as the team name has alternately been posited as a reference to poor, white southerners as outlined above or as a shortening of the nineteenth century baseball team name “Firecrackers” who were headquartered in 1892 in Atlanta.⁷² In either manifestation, by 1946, “Cracker” firmly represented a social ideal of a highly successful athletic young men who articulated an identity of personal independence and subsistence. In considering these conjoined representations, there is a convergence of identity politics for Florida State students: young, male, athletic, independent, and self-sufficient.

Stuffing the Ballot Box

Students at Florida State considered a variety of names before voting. Many of these selections were similar in construct. “Senators” was considered alongside “Statesmen” with “Indians” being considered along with “Seminoles” and “Fighting Warriors”. The more salacious “Gold Diggers,” “Tallywhackers,” and “Pinheads” competed with “Golden Falcons,” “Sandpipers,” “Fleas,” before being cast aside in favor of “Tarpons.”⁷³ Identities familiar to students balloted the strongest: “Seminoles” (used at the University of Florida) and its’ generic representation “Fighting Warriors”, “Rebels” (from the University of Mississippi), “Crackers” (from both the Atlanta Crackers and the “Cracker” culture), and Tarpon (from its antecedent

⁷¹ Steven A. Reiss, *Touching Base: Professional Baseball and American Culture in the Progressive Era* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980), 15. See also: Tim Darnell, *The Crackers: Early Days of Atlanta Baseball* (Athens: Hill Street Press, 2003.)

⁷² Sharing Ponce de Leon Park with the “Atlanta Crackers,” a semi-pro team named the “Cubs” was reorganized as a result of the inclusion of black serviceman in a 1918 Atlanta Crackers game. Renamed by Birmingham fans, in 1919, the Negro League professional team from Atlanta adopted the name “Atlanta Black Crackers” directly from the white team who shared their field. A fixture in the *Atlanta Daily World*, the “Black Crackers” baseball team ushered in the integration of athletic space in segregated Atlanta. In one notable March 1944 encounter, the *World* headlined: the “Georgia Indians will make Bow to Baseball Fans this Season.” Considerations of the “Black Crackers” are vital to understanding how African-Americans leveraged co-option of southern identity for their own purposes, yet it not vital for understanding how Florida State students were constituting their identity.

⁷³ Bill McGrotha, *Seminoles! The First Forty Years* (Tallahassee: Tallahassee Democrat, 1987), 44.

Florida Female College-Florida State College for Women.) From the explicitly racial “Seminole” and “Cracker” to the confederate “Rebel,” Florida State students were actively engaged in imaging their world as one beholden to nineteenth century expressions of Southern agency: white, male, self-sufficient, athletic citizens.

The inclusion of “Tarpon” by students (likely women) suggests an ongoing negotiation between the female students who had made FFC-FSCW athletic identity their own and the male students who flooded the campus and resisted being included into a feminine community identity. Jim Crabtree, a student from Pensacola, remembered “Tarpons” as the chief challenger, and suggests it took a whole lot of vigorous campaigning to keep that name from winning:

The women's swim team was named “Tarpons.” That name was submitted, and it just about overwhelmed some of us. Only other thing that seemed strong in the running was the name 'Seminoles.' A bunch of us got together and decided it would be a whole lot better to have an Indian name than a fish. We got a group of girls to go around knocking on doors. And that thing was turned around, just enough for 'Seminoles' to make it. To me the name could not have worked out better.⁷⁴

Other students remembered the choice as a little controversial at the time. “I think the name caught on primarily because of the things that go with it,” one student said. “There were so many things- fancy dress, the war dances.” In signaling the costuming and dance aspects associated with the “Seminoles” identity, this student was recognizing the need for a performative identity that could be used to create drama and entertain the community. Given the fetishization of Indians in westerns and as part of the Boy Scouting movement, it is hardly surprising that “Seminoles” was seen as being an appropriate identity for community performances. As Crabtree alluded to, choosing an identity for Florida State that had been so closely tied to FFC-FSCW would impugn their masculinity. Florida State University men could not allow their athletic identity to be a herring-like fish that was synonymous with women’s athletics. The lengths these

⁷⁴ Ibid.

men would go to in order to shape the balloting illustrate their intense need to have an explicitly masculine identity selected. Bill Bentz, a member of the first Florida State University football team, recounted at a 1986 reunion:

I watched every damn ballot that went through, and a whole lot of 'em that didn't have 'Seminole' on them, I threw away. I was a bigmouth in those days- still am. At the time, doctoring those ballots seemed the thing to do. When you played football there, you were actually bigger than you were, you know, and you could get by with a lot.⁷⁵

Were voting irregularities present in the selection of “Seminole”? Bentz’s claim remains unverified. However, given Crabtree’s account of efforts to rally voters against “Tarpons”, it is quite possible that male students intentionally attempted to skew the selection to avoid the perception that Florida State University was going to continue to be dominated by women and their athletic identity. The *Florida Flambeau* illustrated the community’s decision to embrace the election results:

The selection certainly gives FSU a distinct title. There are no college teams that bear the name.... New nicknames...are apt to appear ill-fitting, but they take on polish with constant usage- and are mellowed, aged and honored with time. The name Seminoles will be just as good a name as Florida State University makes it in the years to come.... Okay, Seminoles, take over from here!⁷⁶

By July of 1948, Florida State University was actively engaged in creating its “Seminole” identity. A formal University seal which featured an Indian in profile flanked by the words “Florida State University Seminoles” was created.⁷⁷ The seal was quickly adopted for use in University publications including the yearbook and the student handbook. The football players who may have had an instrumental role in the shaping of balloting embraced “Seminoles” as their identity: en-route to the Cumberland game in the fall of 1948, player Don Grant lettered the

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Marseille Dell Donne, Florida State University Seal, Florida State University Handbook, 1948.

outside of their bus “Florida State Seminoles” using lipstick.⁷⁸ In claiming the space of the bus and the University itself through their ballot campaigning (and possible fraud), Florida State University football players were sending a very clear message about their desired identity. “Seminoles” were young, athletic men who would shape their everyday worlds. This was precisely the message being communicated by the cultural cosmopolitan world view tied to athletics, collegiate identity, and racialized identity.

“Seminoles” were familiar identities for the young men of Florida State University who were making Tallahassee their home in 1947. Drawn from the University of Florida, these students were balloting a complex rendering of Southern identity where racial identities were used to reify their own positions as young, white, male Southerners. In the end, it is this reification and appropriation across schools and institutions including the University of Florida, University of Mississippi, and the Atlanta Crackers that marks Florida State University as an identity in dialogue rather than a locally created narrative. In recognizing this interdependency, this chapter illustrates the unique brand of American spectacle being illustrated in the South. Just as the University of Illinois was concerned with innovating new band performances and football strategies, the University of North Dakota was concerned with combating its rural image, and Stanford University and Miami University were interested in competing locally, so too was Florida State University interested in leveraging spectacle for its own purpose. However, unlike the University of Illinois, Stanford University, and Miami University who focused on generic “Indianness” or the University of North Dakota who was attempting to rehabilitate its local Indian identity, Florida State University students were using Seminole identity in order to signal Florida State’s privileging not just of male students but of rebellious male students who persevered in the face of opposition- be it a demonized North of the mid-nineteenth century,

⁷⁸ McGrotha, 44.

expansionist settlers of the eighteenth, or the ladies of the Florida State College for Women who were considered a challenge to the dominance of the newly arrived male students. In considering this particularly “Southern” brand of spectacle, we see then a nuance of the national articulation of college football but not a significant divergence. Each of these institutions inculcated its spectacle with differing representations, yet at the core, all of these schools embraced the same narrative that privileged white, male, athletic bodies.

CHAPTER 7: CONTESTATIONS AND “INDIAN” BODIES

By early 1948, the University of Illinois, Miami University, the University of North Dakota, Stanford University, and Florida State University had all created athletic identities for their communities that utilized racial identifiers. With a desire to produce young, athletic, middle-class, male bodies in service to their nation, football and sports mascots acted as the vehicle that convinced the community of their need for commercial performances of race. Having illustrated the spread of this cultural cosmopolitanism and ways in which the network facilitated local manifestations of a national consciousness about Indians, this chapter explores the ways in which gendered bodies were captured in the 1940s and 1950s. In privileging a gendered narrative, this chapter reveals the explicit role of nationalism as the culmination of the process of portraying, learning, and interacting with this American spectacle. I argue that female portrayals of Indian bodies, comedic representations of Indianness, and gender stereotypes that are explored within this chapter represent the fractures of the middle-class, white interest groups that shaped college football. As women entered the University in greater numbers and the University became central to the project of building an American fighting force during World War II and the Cold War, the production of explicitly female narratives of raced bodies unsettled the relatively homogeneity of college football and its environs. This chapter traces the responses of these schools to these developments and illustrates that, while these institutions at time embraced slight changes in the meaning of their spectacle, the core articulations and meanings that privileged white, male, athletic citizenry remained whole in the face of these minor fractures. In considering this, importantly, this chapter signals an important aspect of the American

spectacle: it is not hegemonic and unchanging. It must constantly be maintained, policed, and reproduced in order to articulate its various meanings.

Gender Anxieties and “Princess Illiniwek”

December 7, 1941 changed the daily lives of men and women at colleges and universities across America. On the campus of the University of Illinois, where football had faltered due to the retirement of Zuppke, three navy training schools quickly opened while women’s residence halls were turned over to officers. Illinois Field, the former home of Illinois football and baseball, became the training ground for over 200 enlisted men.¹

World War II created the opportunity for women at the University of Illinois to assume prominent positions on campus. Both the student newspaper, *The Daily Illini*, and the yearbook, the *Illio*, has their first female editors and more women were included in the concert band. So stark was the drain of men from Illinois athletics that the 1943 football team was known as the “Disappearing Illini” after over 100 eligible athletes were called into service. As a result of the war, the University of Illinois fundamentally, but temporarily, shifted its portrayal of Chief Illiniwek. In 1943, Idell Stith (later Idell Stith Brooks) of Fairfax, Oklahoma donned the Chief Illiniwek headdress and top to portray “Princess” Illiniwek.² The petite Stith was dwarfed by the fifty pound headdress that had become part of the authorized costume purchased in 1930 by the second Chief Illiniwek, Webber Borchers. Having only performed at home games in his homemade costume similar to Leutwilers prior to 1930, Borchers began to travel with the football team to away games in the newly made garments:

¹ Carl Stephens, *Illini Years: A Picture History of the University of Illinois* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1950),100.

² “Princess Illiniwek, Idelle Sith,” October 26, 1943, University of Illinois Archives, Box ATH 1-2, Folder ATH 1-2 Chief Illiniwek Stith, Idelle, 1943 Negative Number: 9869, Record Series 39/2/22. Digital image available from: <http://www.library.illinois.edu/archives/archon/?p=digitallibrary/digitalcontent&id=462>

In the summer of 1930 I went, at my own expense, to the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. I hitch-hiked out, called on an Indian agent and explained my mission. He and an Indian trader called in an older Sioux Indian woman. She and two younger women made the suit. I stayed there nearly a month. The suit was not ready when it became necessary for me to return home for the fall term. The regalia was not ready for the first few games, but was ready in time for me to wear in the Army-Illinois game in Yankee Stadium, New York, November 8, 1930.³

“Illiniwek was all decked out in his new eagle feather outfit,” wrote the *Alumni News*, “and later obliged with a whooping war dance up and down the field.” Borchers’ sense of drama, whether in the form of his costume which he said was created by a Sioux woman who supposedly was involved in mutilating the dead at the Battle of Little Bighorn or in the presentation itself, tested the ritualized nature of the Illiniwek performance. Borchers, a member of the University ROTC program, once rode bareback on a pinto pony to begin his performance. Stopping on the beat of a drum, he would slide off the pony to begin his dance. His attempt to change the ritual lasted only two games when the pony damaged the football field due to rain.⁴ I draw attention to Borchers’ reinvention of and resistance to the Leutwiler ritual to highlight the ongoing need to negotiate these performances and the uneasy nature of the cultural cosmopolitanism explored here. The halftime performance was only so useful in the eyes of Coach Zuppke, who forbade the pony entrance to any future games. Zuppke illustrated the limits of halftimes’ space: the performance still took place on a working football field and damaging the field and possibly injuring the teams’ ability to win was non-negotiable. More broadly, Borchers’ desire to add a new, even more dramatic element in the form of the animal suggests a consciousness that the Chief Illiniwek performance might have been becoming banal. By changing costumes and adding the thrill of an interaction between rider and horse (who could possibly misbehave in face of 60,000 fans), Borchers seemingly recognized that the performance needed to remain fresh and

³ Spindel, 117.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 118-119.

stimulating for the audience/community. Altering the opening sequence of the performance acted as a form of resistance where Borchers, in his role as the authorized performer, suggested an alternative relationship of Chief Illiniwek to the space itself vis a vis the pony. Through his introduction of the pony, Borchers was attempting to directly replicate the opening sequence of Wild West Shows and movie Westerns and to imbue the performance with additional action. Significantly, it was not the audience that challenged the change to the ritual; it was Zuppke. Zuppke's refusal to allow the pony entrance to the field can be read as a way of underscoring that racial performances like "Chief Illiniwek" were in service to the community desire: young, white, male, athletes stimulating community interest in the commercial education institution. More simply, the contestation illustrated the on-going need to monitor counter-narratives and performance boundaries within the circuit.

For Idell Stith, like Leutwiler, her first Indian performance began before her selection as "Princess Illiniwek:" on November 2, 1942, Stith performed an "Indian dance reminiscent of Chief Illiniwek" for a University club, Club Commons.⁵ Selected by her sorority sister Pi Phi Nancy Kollman, Stith donned the Chief's headdress and top almost exactly a year later.⁶ Student author Milcy Sloboda headlined an article, "Idelle Stith Dons Chief's Moccasins to Keep Another Tradition Alive." Sloboda continued:

Not unacquainted with Indian customs and rituals, Miss Stith has lived on a reservation of Osage Indians all her life. Her neighbors in Fairfax, Okla. are Indians- Beartrack and Red Eagle. She was made an honorary Indian princess of the Osage tribe, and has witnessed many rites, powwows, and ceremonies which usually are verboten to the White Man. Miss Stith's abilities as a dancer are not unknown on the campus for she was a frequent performer Club Commons floor shows. Often her partner was Glenn Holhous, formerly Chief Illiniwek.⁷

⁵ "Campus Night Club Returns with New, Entertaining Show," *The Daily Illini*, November 28, 1942.

⁶ The Party Line, *The Daily Illini*, October 31, 1943.

⁷ Milcy Sloboda, "Idelle Stith Dons Chief's Moccasins to Keep Another Tradition Alive," *The Daily Illini*, October 27, 1943.

Stith's "honorary status" as an Osage is a key feature of the few articles produced during her one-year long performance. She is referred to as the "Indian maiden," a "witness" to the forbidden rituals of the Osage. This portrayal of Stith as a white witness to exotic, secretive Indian life is highly suggestive. In presenting Stith as not just an observer of Indian life nor a frequent participant but an "honorary" member, student writers and Stith herself were creating a mantle of authenticity to her performance. Illinois students including Sloboda were presenting the community with an easily understood rationale for Chief Illiniwek was transformed into "Princess Illiniwek" and accounted for variations in appearance and performance. Stith, because of her femininity, could not be narrated as an integral part of the Illini nation. Her involvement in the halftime ritual was seen as a last resort, the only way to continue a tradition that was in danger of being lost. It is significant that the University turned to a female student to keep the ritual alive and not a newly chosen male student. In turning to Stith, the University was underscoring the importance of the Chief performance as being simultaneously highly masculine and highly patriotic. Male students who remained on campus and who could have donned the Chief's headdress were likely to have been either designated with a 4-F classification, unfit for military service, or were actively enrolled servicemen stationed at the University for training purposes. The 4-F designation, no matter the underlying cause, had significant ramifications and to choose such a student to perform would damage the social hierarchy where popular, athletic male students were positioned at the top of the social ladder. By continually repeating Stith's honorary status among the Osage (however accurate or inaccurate that might have been), the University was attempting to mediate the loss of their authorized performer and the significant change to their ritual. Coupled with the loss of significant numbers of band musicians who had been drafted meant that the halftime performance itself was dramatically reduced. Although the

3-in-1 continued to be performed and Stith replicated the Chief's dance, the 1944 *Daily Illini* remarked that, "football fans will be happy Saturday afternoon to see an Illini marching band, made up of V-12 trainees [men receiving medical and dental education so that they could provide medical care in the Navy]....come onto the gridiron at the half to make the traditional Illinois formations so missed at last year's games."⁸ Playing the Navy March, "Hail Purdue" and "Anchors Aweigh!," the band completed its performance by welcoming back "Chief Illiniwek." Kenneth O. Hanks, a Navy trainee and former football player, donned the Chief's headdress to perform.

Stith's tenure as "Princess Illiniwek" lasted just a single year and her involvement in the "Chief's" performance is perhaps best memorialized by the resistance of the "Chief Illiniwek" performers after her to include her in their private memorializations. Beginning in 1930, each "Chief Illiniwek" performer would inscribe the "Chief" headdress with their name. In the years following Stith's tenure as "Princess Illiniwek", her name was removed from the headdress by "Chief" performers who viewed her inclusion as inauthentic.

In part, Stith's "Princess Illiniwek" performance was not just about her gender but also about the fact that she was not educated in the same manner as "Chief Illiniwek" performers. The Boys Scouts of America and their program of "Indian" education were a usual, but not mandatory, qualification of the first six "Chief" Illiniwek performers: Leutwiler, Borchers, William A. Newton (1931-1934), Edward C. Kalb (1935-1938), John Grable (1939-1940), and Glenn Holthaus (1941-1942.)⁹ "A 100 percent, American style dancer- *real* American style- is wanted at the University," one 1941 *Daily Illini* article began. "The moccasins and war bonnet of Illiniwek are empty. He is the Indian chief who dances before the band at football games and

⁸ "V-12 Marching Band to Play Today," *The Daily Illini*, October 7, 1944, 7.

⁹ "Holthaus is Named Chief Illiniwek by Mark Hindsley," *The Daily Illini*, October 9, 1941, 1; "Sixth Chief Illiniwek to Perform Today," *The Daily Illini*, October 10, 1942.

other events and is a living symbol of the University's Indian tradition."¹⁰ Continuing on the article relayed that while not a requirement, the chance of "Chief Illiniwek" being a young man with Boy Scout training was almost certain. All six "Chief Illiniwek" performers before Stith credited their Boy Scout training with their success as "Chief Illiniwek." Echoing Lester Leutwiler, it was not just Grable's Boy Scout experience but also his time training with Ralph Hubbard that qualified him to perform as "Chief Illiniwek." "Grable met Hubbard at the 1933 Boy Scout circus in St. Louis...As a result of the circus contact, which was Grable's first public attempt at Indian dancing, he spent three summers at Hubbard's Colorado ranch for boys learning and teaching Indian lore and working as a horse wrangler."¹¹ As a woman, Stith had no access to the Boy Scout nor to Hubbard. In coverage of Stith's "Princess Illiniwek," it is her gender and not her training that are most commonly remarked upon, however.

In highlighting the contrast between Stith and the six previous "Chief" performers, I also want to challenge the notion that it might have been Stith's honorary status as an Osage Indian that was met with resistance by other "Chief" performers. John Grable was noted in almost every article on his performances as "Chief Illiniwek" for his ability to "trace [his] line to Choctaw Tribe." Supposedly one-sixteenth Choctaw, Grable's Indian heritage passes by with little discussion. The lack of elaboration coupled with the elaborate narratives of Grable's training with Hubbard suggest that for community members, Grable's status as a Boy Scout was more important than his tribal affiliation. Placing emphasis on his participation in Boy Scouts, which had similar meanings and emphasis on young, white, athletic bodies in service to a nation-building project, mediated any possible questions regarding Grable's racial status. He could

¹⁰ "Illinois Seeks Man to Fill Illiniwek's War Regalia," *The Daily Illini*, September 17, 1941, 1. I have italicized *real* to underscore the language of authenticity being used by the University.

¹¹ "New Illiniwek is 'Real McCoy'," undated, Albert Austin Harding Collection, series 2, box 139, folder 10, University of Illinois Archives. "Yourself and Others," *The Daily Illini*, October 18, 1939, 2.

“trace [his] line” to the Choctaw, but there was no discussion of his knowledge of Choctaw dance or ceremony. Instead, it was the more generic Sioux-Boy Scouting dance tradition that was emphasized. In obscuring Grable’s ethnic heritage and highlighting Stith’s “honorary” status as an Osage, this can be read as a continuing effort to mediate the boundaries of who could participate in the community. Community members could be knowledgeable about Indians, have Indian-themed experiences, and even been affiliated with Indians in the long-distant past, but Indian bodies themselves were not welcome within the cosmopolitan world of collegiate sport except in specifically defined situations (i.e. as members of an Indian team like Haskell or Carlisle).

Cartoon Stereotypes and Indian Bodies

Illinois was not the only school grappling with the war, its aftereffects, and authenticity. At Miami University, President Upham declared: “College is not an escape from the responsibilities of patriotic citizens ... College is not an alternative to service; it is actually a preparation for better service.”” In 1946, as thousands of young men and women returned from war, the “Redskin” athletic identity was transformed into artistic expression. The *Miami Tomahawk*, the student magazine of “campus life” published its first edition in February with sections including “The Chief Says” and “Smoke Signals.”¹² “The CHIEF says: HOW! This is the story of a shoestring. This is the story of faith. It is the story of success...Wrapped up are the many hours of fun, hopes, realizations of ideas, and just plain hard work...UGH!” In using the guttural “ugh!” and the stereotypical “how!”, students at *The Miami Tomahawk* were continuing a practice of misappropriation where tropes of Indians speaking were deployed in racialized terms and tones. Just as the “sounds of ethnicity” that were being produced by the University of

¹² Miami University, *Miami Tomahawk* 1, no. 1 (February 1946), 2.

Illinois band and others within this cosmopolitan network, the attribution of pseudo-Indian speak for the purposes of advertising a college humor magazine affirmed the use of racialized identities for creating communal identity. A cartoon depiction of large-nosed, buck-toothed, big-eared young man wearing a headdress accompanied the “Chief says” and “Smoke Signals” columns. In this artistic rendering, the exaggerated features of the nose, teeth, and ears suggested a slightly befuddled man. Although wearing a headdress, the cartoon depiction presents a dubious ethnic picture. Drawn in black ink, the features of the face contain no shading or crosshatching to suggest darker skin. When positioned against the second artistic rendering within this edition of the *Miami Tomahawk* it becomes apparent that the “Chief says” cartoon represented a young, white student. In effect, this “Chief” was wearing signifiers of communal belonging through the wearing of the headdress but failed to completely become Indian as his skin remained white.

The *Tomahawk* acknowledged extended the use of racial signifiers and created an alternative artistic rendering through a tribute to the men returning from war. Franklin McKensie Shanos, class of 1945, published a drawing of three men representing the U.S. Navy, the Army, and the Air Force. A sweater-clad male is situated prominently in the rendering with his “M” letter sweater. An imposing figure positioned slightly behind and above the men rides horse. The figure, a three-dimensional version of the logo, wears only a loincloth. Underneath the image is a four-verse poem by Muriel Nordsiek that recognizes the emotional events of World War II and their effects on Miami men:

They have returned, these men, and proudly wear
The emblematic discharge pin, and stand,
Who all too recent battle skies have scanned,
Full in the moonlight of a peaceful year.
Who knows what echoes of war they hear,
These ribboned heroes who so late have manned
A fleet, and stalked a red Pacific sand,
Or with hot tracer flame have seared the air?

Who knows what silent voice still may ring
Within their memories, what screams of dead
And dying rise now from the past to sing
A melancholy dirge about their heads;
What violent recollections may be stirred
By some small happening, one spoken word?

But they are back, and echoes of war
Fade fast among the happy campus throngs.
Back home at last, they know Here they belong;
Here the road led, through they had traveled far.
Leaders in other days, they lead once more
The campus life that lagged while they were gone;
They laugh the same, and sing the same old songs,
And know perhaps, this was worth fighting for.

These are our men, who stroll Slant Walk secure
That they have won the right of all free men;
Join what they want to join, sit in the Pure,
Talking of "good old days," remembering when --.
We waited long: through Tarawa, and Rome,
To greet our men, and tell them "Welcome home!"¹³

It is unsurprising that the image of both the mascot and the surrounding figures are highly masculine given the arc of the poem. Nordsiek opens with "these men" as distant beings involved in collective violence facing screams of dead and dying. She suggests, in their return to campus life, that the memories of the dirge will fade and through participating in campus life and rituals, including walking the Slant Walk between campus and Oxford, that these distant affected men will become part of the community again. "We waited long," she writes, "to greet *our men*." In this transition from these to our, the hyper-masculine which promotes the control and development of the nation as a growing force undergoes a shift. Within the image, the square jaws and fierce countenances of the soldiers suggest competence that masks the violence of war. The oversexualized image of the Indian brave further renders the gendered nature of the image even more prominent. The chiseled chest and abdominals coupled with the clenched muscles of

¹³ Ibid., 6.

the thigh of the warrior-brave are intensely athletic and sculpted. While this could be read as a suggestion of superior masculinity, the image is softened by the warrior's flowing windblown hair. Indexed against the military and prep lengths of the Miami athlete and soldiers, the Indian is no longer acceptably masculine but uncomfortably defiant of the masculine ideal. More simply, he is no longer gendered male but is gendered anomalous. Shanos' image was less about the mascot and the racialization of Native Americans in that contemporary moment of 1946, than it was about the historical memory of nation-building. The mascot although depicted centrally was in fact an almost memorial figure (similar in many ways to the images of God looking down from the heaven so popular in painting.) The warrior-brave was the psychic overseer of the Miami effort to aid in the project of preserving the nation from tyranny. Importantly, this historical obfuscation of white Americans role in oppressing Native American nations is rendered invisible. Instead, the canonized moment is of strong individuals preserving the nation from any aggressor, at home or abroad. Taken together, the "Chief says" cartoon and the Shanos depiction illustrate a flexibility of representation where markers of Indianness could be scaled based on interest. More simply, the community could emulate an Indianness that was depicted as racially other and one that was not.

By March, comedic representations of Indianness were the dominant mode of communication within the *Miami Tomahawk*. While it would be tempting to pass of the humor magazine as subsidiary to the community's imagining of itself, the importance of the *Tomahawk* cannot be understated. It shared offices, resources, and personnel with the staff of the *Recensio*, the Miami University yearbook and wrote openly in its first issue that its goal was to generate subscriptions and advertise for the University. The role of the comic Indian here deserves note. As digital artist and theorist Michael A. Sheyahshe has noted in *Native Americans in Comic*

Books, visual depictions of Native peoples were tied to the genre of the Western.¹⁴ From line drawings in “penny” novels to full-fledged multi-scene illustrations in newspapers, the use of Native Americans in cartoons were intimately tied to colonization and stereotypes of the American West, including that of the “noble savage.” American fascination with Indian bodies extended to comic strips. In 1936, the first full-length Indian depiction for comics was created by Publisher’s Syndicate. Initially based on film star W.C. Fields, leading character J. Mortimer Gusto sold Ka-Zowie Kure-All to naïve men and women looking for a quick medicinal cure. Accompanied by “Big Chief Wahoo,” his Indian sidekick, Gusto toured America seeking quick money. Gusto’s tenure as leading character was brief when publishers realized that “Big Chief Wahoo” was the more entertaining of the characters. Receiving his feature cartoon appropriately titled “Big Chief Wahoo” created the first full-length cartoon with an Indian as the main character. Supposedly free to roam America using wampum from the sale of oil discovered on his land, “Big Chief Wahoo” in its entirety suggested the trope of the wise Indian who could outwit dubious people through his Indian sense but was out of touch with “modern” America. Portrayed as good-humored throughout, “Big Chief Wahoo” offered many of the same conventions later used in the *Miami Tomahawk*: he “spoke” Indian with many “ughs!” and had a large hook-shaped nose.¹⁵ Published throughout the 1940s, students at the *Miami Tomahawk* had likely viewed at least one comic strip featuring “Big Chief Wahoo.”

Just as other schools had positioned their athletic identity within international contexts, so too did Miami University in March of 1946. “Off the Reservation,” a regular feature that sported a white man clad in a tuxedo and a Sioux bonnet, began its first column with a commentary on

¹⁴ Michael A. Sheyahshe, *Native Americans in Comic Books* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc. Publishers, 2008.)

¹⁵ Kevin Breen, “Native American Heroes in the Comics,” Blue Corn Comics. Available from: <http://www.bluecorncomics.com/kbreen.htm>

the case for Filipino independence.¹⁶ Telling of an ex-Air Force lieutenant and his squadron stationed in the Philippines and their “lively interest in the native sport of cockfighting”, “Wings without Victory” continued on:

For months the white hope was fed and exercised. At last the great day arrived. The feathered gladiator and its trainer were bundled off to Manila. Most of the smart money of the squadron rode along, for by this time the American contender was in great shape, weighing in at a cool twenty pounds. After the bets had been judicially placed with the gullible Filipinos, the warrior was prepared for combat...¹⁷

Continuing on, the authors recounted the loss of their money and the killing of their cock after the bird fled the fighting arena in the face of the national challenger, a scrawny bird with bloodshot eyes:

In the camp next day, there was little of the usual easy banter, and less of the smart money. Feeling ran high against the Filipino who had sold them the craven bird, and they all tended to suspect that the incident was typical of the native mind. To this day no member of that squadron feels that we could gain anything by continuing an association with such a race. A shifty lot, our friend assures us, and the sooner we wash our hands of them, the better.¹⁸

With nationalistic language at the fore, the battle between the “white hope” and the “scrawny bird” functioned as a metaphor for the on-going battle between Americans and their Filipino neighbors. Leveraging ideas of race within the column to affirm white identity, the authors also expressed anxiety regarding the growing “atomic age” in the same column. Taken together, “Off the Reservation” and its contents illustrated an intersection of neo-colonial representations of Indianness with rhetoric of foreign involvement and global politics. Another iteration of this phenomena within the brand of cultural cosmopolitanism under exploration here, the significance of the pairing of Indian mascots with narratives of mid-century war and cold war anxiety cannot

¹⁶ Miami University, *Miami Tomahawk* 1, no. 2 (March 1946), 3.

¹⁷ “Off the Reservation: Wings without Victory,” *The Miami Tomahawk* 1(2): March 1946, 3.

¹⁸ Ibid.

be understated. Anxieties about the nation and the need for young, male, athletic citizens were integral to the expressions of cultural meaning surrounding college athletics and mascots.

The magazine, in its December issue, initiated a quest for a artistic version of the school's athletic identity. The name, "Hiawabop" was contributed by senior John McDowell, a member of the Sigma Chi fraternity, who "said the reason why he slapped this collection of letters on [Hiawabop] was because he once knew an Indian whose name was Hiawatha."¹⁹ The cartoon featured a short man with a protruding belly and a loincloth with a block "M" on it. "Hiawabop" sported glasses as well as a large hooked nose continuing the image made familiar in both earlier issues of the *Miami Tomahawk* and through comics like "Big Chief Wahoo." The comedic nature of "Hiawabop" intersected with athletics on the October 1948 cover celebrating football victory. "Hiawabop" carried a football and wore a round ribbon proclaiming, "Sun Bowl Champs."²⁰ He was surrounded by the mascots of the Midwestern Athletic Conference: the University of Dayton (an aviator in a plane), Western Michigan (a bronco), [Case] Western Reserve University²¹ (red cats), Marshall University²² ("Thundering Herd" bison), Ohio University (bobcat), University of Cincinnati (bearcat), Xavier University (musketeers), and Virginia (cavalier). This graphic representation of athletic identity illustrated the competitive element of colleges and universities in "modern" America. A central expression of the cultural cosmopolitanism being explored here, the cover demonstrated the continuing dehumanization of

¹⁹ Miami University, *Miami Tomahawk*, 1, no. 11 (December 1946), 6.

²⁰ Miami University, *Miami Tomahawk*, 3, no. 9 (October 1948), cover.

²¹ Western Reserve University, now Case Western Reserve University, ran a University-wide contest to choose their athletic mascot in 1921-1922. Nominated named included: Tornadoes, Northern Blizzards, Catamounts, Thunderbolts, Greyhounds, Lynx, Wild Cats, Marathons, Warriors, Wampuns, and Martians. "Pioneers" were selected and was used until 1928 when the "Red Cat" was selected after Marietta (OH) College challenged their use of "Pioneers." "Team Colors, Mascots, Names," Case Western Reserve University. Available from: <http://www.case.edu/its/archives/Sports/teams.htm>

²² "Indians" was the first Marshall athletic identity used before 1910. After 1910, Marshall was referred to as the "Big Green" after their school colors until the selection of the "Thundering Herd" and its "Bison" in the late 1920s. "Marshall University Traditions," Marshall University Athletics. Available from: <http://herdzone.cstv.com/trads/mars-trads.html>

Indian mascots by placing them in context with animal representation. It is important to highlight here that the inclusion of comedic representations is not constituted as a site of resistance to mascots themselves. The comedic is seen here as a way of reinforcing belonging with the community by alleviating anxieties. In this case, the anxiety of post world war II America and the massive upheavals felt by young men and women across America and the sense of chaos stimulated by the returning flood of students to campus.

Formal University publications at other schools embraced the use of cartoon representations for their athletic identities. In 1947, the Stanford student handbook featured a section entitled “worktime and playtime.” Students opening their handbook saw a bare-chested Indian seated at a desk writing a letter. In a thought bubble over his head is a striking young woman with her hair in braids and a braided headband across her forehead. This rendition is striking in that the Indian figure is drawn with dark skin (signified by cross-hatching) while the young woman is not. In delineating an artistic demarcation of skin color, the rendering suggests that the young woman is an object of desire by the “red” Indian. The fear of Indian men stealing white women was a common trope in colonial literatures and throughout both western film and comics. At the hands of an Indian, a white woman could be physically assaulted and, most horrifically, become the mother of a “half-breed” child. In effect, it was not just the lust but the control over white women’s bodies that were at the core of these anti-Indian depictions. That an Indian could possibly debauch (and by extension pervert) a white woman would destabilize white male control over female bodies and the perception of them as defenders of the household. Given that the Indian cartoon portrayed the youth at work, the suggestion that white women are part of “playtime” activities is troubling. In part, this positioning of white women as objects of desire was part of a much longer trend of the sexualization of female bodies to idealize and

reinforce gender norms within the constraints of white, male, heterosexist conventions. As historians John D’Emilio and Estelle Freedman revealed, to paraphrase, mid-twentieth century America witnessed the collapse of social norms regarding sexuality as public portrayals became more commonplace with the collapse of legal prohibitions.²³ For a magazine such as the *Miami Tomahawk*, which featured “Teepee Tintypes” (photographs of young female coeds) and the Stanford University handbook, the portrayal of comely young coeds whether in photographs or through cartoons suggested a further repetition of the hyper-masculinity that was an essential expression of higher education’s desires to create young, male, athletic bodies in service to the community and the nation. By emphasizing female bodies, students at these universities were alternately expressing desire (for marriage, sex, and family through female bodies) and repressing possible criticism associated with the hyper-masculinity being expressed as part of the University’s identity. J.C. Leyendecker’s football-themed cover art for *Century*, *Popular Magazine*, *Collier’s*, and *the Post* with the “the broad-shouldered, supremely confident male with shining skin, chiseled features, and steely eyes” continued to be presented throughout the 1940s and 1950s in photographic form.²⁴ Athletes in their articulated representation of successful masculinity were used to advertising college and university programs throughout America. The production of these images offered the possibility of transgressive behavior regarding male athletic bodies. They could be objects of desire not just of the women of the community but of men as well. By portraying female bodies in conjunction with athletic identities like “Hiawabop” and the “Stanford Indian”, students were policing the boundaries of acceptable behavior by drawing a clear line between heterosexual and homosexual behaviors.

²³ John D’Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1988), 277.

²⁴ Harris, 139.

The 1951-1952 student handbook represents the policed boundaries at Stanford University. Featuring introductory pages to each section with cartoon representations of students with Indian markers, the handbook communicated the community mores regarding male-female student behavior. “What Every Freshmen Should Know” depicted a trio of students, two male and one female. Farthest right was a figure, startlingly similar to Miami University’s “Hiawabop” rendition with the exception of the bulbous nose, portrayed as a freshmen (demarcated with a block “F” on his loincloth) staring at the female student. In a three-quarter-length dress with deep décolletage, the female student with an excessively curvy body sported a single feather in her parted hair. With hands outstretched, she is facing the third student. Standing almost twice as tall as the freshmen student and wearing a letter sweater with an “S” to denote senior status, the male student hold a book in one hand with his other drawn into an upwards position showing off his bicep. The message of the illustration is clear. When students arrive at Stanford University they are transformed throughout the years into specimens of masculine perfection that are attractive to female students. By including the letter sweater on the senior student, the role athletics as a training ground for manhood becomes apparent. Further, the inclusion of the female student suggests that conquest of the female body could transform the lowly freshman into a strapping young man.

At Miami University, the policing of social behaviors and gender boundaries through athletic identities continued through the establishment of their temporary student center. During World War II, a temporary building was constructed to be used as a gathering space for students on campus to receive information relating to the ongoing war effort. The building, named “The Redskin Reservation” by these students, functioned a community space that included eating

establishments and study rooms.²⁵ Built as a lean-to against Herron Gymnasium, the “Res” demarcated a physical space for the community that relied on racial and gendered tropes to express means of belonging. A squaw, or female Indian, was drawn in cartoon for the ladies restroom door with a brave painted on the men’s.²⁶

The “Fighting Sioux” of the University of North Dakota was also being presented in both masculine and comedic ways. The 1942 *Dacotah* yearbook included the first comic representation of the “Sioux”: “Here we introduce to you a senior escapist, Sammy Sioux.”²⁷ Sammy, wearing a headband with two feather and his hair in braids tied with a bow, stands suggestively with one finger touching his lower lip with his eyes closed. His left hand trails along the edge of cloth holding it aside from his fringed pants. Photographs of campus events captured decorations that presented images and tropes strikingly similar to those in the 1930 yearbook. Welcoming visitors to campus in 1935 was a banner framing the campus gates that read, “Welcome to the land to the land of the Civilized Sioux.”²⁸ Three Indian women characters garbed in fringed dresses held up a display entitled “Sioux in Education” that featured two male Indians garbed in breech-cloths and full headdresses supplicating before books.²⁹ A similar composite of Indian men framed by books featuring an Indian dancing atop a glowing world was noted as the winning house decoration in 1937.³⁰ Titled, “Sioux tops the World” the display was part of the 1936 homecoming competition. The images produced by Gamma Phi Beta fit within the carefully constructed images that were being produced at the University of North Dakota.

²⁵ Shriver, *A Personal History*, 202.

²⁶ Miami University, *Recensio*, 1954, 231; Shriver, *A Personal History*, 202. With the end of the war and the increased enrollment due to the G.I. Bill, a permanent student center was erected and named, the “University Center.” For the students on campus, that building was a new “Res” and maintained many of the same symbols including cartoon depiction of Native Americans.

²⁷ W. Losh, *Dacotah*, University of North Dakota, 1942.

²⁸ N. Christianson, ed. *Dacotah*, University of North Dakota, 1935.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ M. Sarles and F. Hass, *Dacotah*, University of North Dakota, 1937.

Indianness was a means of expressing community identity and belonging. UND replicated many of the same images that the University of Illinois was using. While Illinois' image captured a full-frontal view of "Chief Illiniwek", the University of North Dakota "Sioux" was framed in profile. The images themselves are strikingly similar: each includes a Sioux headdress and a starkly carved male face with a stoic expression.³¹

Interaction marked the University of North Dakota as uniquely different from the University of Illinois, Miami University, and Stanford University. The University of North Dakota did not create a half-time performance from its own community. It turned to neighboring Indians to provide the performance. Documenting homecoming festivities of 1937, the *Dacotah* yearbook reveals a single instance of Indians performing at halftime at the University of North Dakota. A group of six Fort Yates Indians appear in multiple photographs throughout the yearbook.³² Entertaining the audience during halftime festivities, the inclusion of Indians on the field who were not carefully constituted by the University itself suggests two fundamental understandings: 1) that "real" Sioux were needed to accurately demonstrate the history of the University of North Dakota, a fundamental narrative of all homecoming festivities; 2) that it was the space of halftime and the musical narrative provided by the band that created the opportunity for Indians to enter into the space of the University. The fact that the Sioux performers were brought to campus at all suggests a recognition of the ways in which Indianness had been leveraged to create community for the University. Having these performers only appear at halftime with band accompaniment suggested a replication of the ritual that the University of Illinois had constructed in 1928. Finally, the choice of Fort Yates deserves particular notice. Fort Yates, founded by the US Army to oversee Blackfeet, Hunkpapa, and Upper Yanktonai Indians,

³¹ Christianson.

³² R.S. Kunkel, ed. *Dacotah*, University of North Dakota, 1938.

was renamed in honor of Captain George Yates who was killed at the Battle of Little Big Horn in 1876. Headquarters of the Standing Rock Agency and over 300 miles from Grand Forks, Fort Yates Indians led by Sitting Bull were instrumental in the Sioux uprisings that challenged Dakota settlers. In contrast, the Spirit Lake Indian Reservation of the Sisseton Wahpeton Sioux bands were less than 100 miles away. The historical record remains silent on the decision to include Fort Yates Indians and not Spirit Lake. Perhaps Spirit Lake Indians were invited and declined.

The final choice to include the particular tribe who were involved in some of the most notorious uprisings leading into the founding of the state of North Dakota and the University is suggestive of a desire on the part of the University to demonstrate the full extent of the civilizing mission. It was not just about Indians performing but about Indians descended from warriors demonstrating the temporality of their culture. More simply, they appeared as an exotic at halftime, demonstrated their dancing prowess to the delight of the audience, and returned to the sidelines to watch the University continue to celebrate its successful colonization of the land. Demonstrated in the creation of the cartoon “Sammy Sioux”, the University of North Dakota was continually negotiating performances that relied on fictive considerations of racialized bodies.³³ At the height of the negotiation was the patriotic young white man who rallied their communities and served their country. Collectively, between Miami University, Stanford University, and the University of North Dakota, we see the expansion of the circuit of knowledge about Indianness at a critical moment where national issues about gender increased the emphasis placed on the communal desire for white, male bodies in service to their communities. Significantly, with greater emphasis on male bodies being performers and actors within the network, the muting of female and homosexual desires continued.

³³ In 1942 as Sammy came to life, students at the “Band Blare” dressed in blackface for the campus audience.

This chapter has delineated opportunities for contestation at the University of Illinois, Miami University, and the University of North Dakota. In drawing parallels between the gendered performance of “Princess Illiniwek” and the cartooned Indians of “Hiawabop” and “Sammy Sioux”, I highlight the ways in which the boundaries of community identity were negotiated as part of an on-going expression of the anxiety of World War II and the Cold War. Expressing unease with gender and nationalism, this chapter reveals that at the close of any performance of athletic identity, the collegiate community reaffirmed its desire for white, male, athletic bodies in service to the nation.

CONCLUSION: “WHITE” MEN AND “RED” MEN PLAYING INDIAN

Returning to the opening vignette of this dissertation illustrates the extent to which college football and its attendant events became a site of constituting raced, gendered, and classed, bodies for the purposes of building a white, middle-class, community. Performing at halftime before the Pasadena audience, “Chief Illiniwek” was presented for the first time to a national audience simultaneously in the first ever commercial televising of the Rose Bowl game. No longer tied to radio where athletic feats had to be described verbally nor to news films that were only shown in theatres, the ability of racial performances and athletic feats to increase their communities exploded. Yet, “Chief Illiniwek” was not alone on the field. Another “Indian” performer would take to the field and, in doing so, evince the strength of the circuit of cultural production that has been explored here. Stanford’s “Prince Lightfoot” appeared at halftime with the Stanford University “Dollies”, four female cheerleaders in calf-length skirts, three-quarter-length sleeved sweaters and faux-pearl necklaces. Dancing to the sounds of the University band, “Prince Lightfoot” was garbed in the “familiar headdress of the Sioux” with a “feathered cape of the Southwest Indians’ “Eagle Dance.”

Who was “Prince Lightfoot”? H.D. “Timm” Williams was a longtime supporter of college athletics in California. A resident of San Jose, Williams began attending Stanford University football games at the invitation of the Stanford Rally Committee.¹ In exchange for tickets to the annual “Big Game” between Stanford University and California in 1951, Williams donned his costume. The first “Prince Lightfoot” performance was initiated, not from the field, but instead from a student committee who was seeking halftime entertainment. In subsequent performances, Williams would stand and cheer along the sidelines of the field in addition to

¹ Herbert D. Seiter, *Prince Lightfoot: Indian from the California Redwoods* (California: Troubador Press, 1959), 12.

dancing during the halftime performances of the University band. In writing of these first dances, Williams' performances are alternately spoken of as "a barely recognizable version of a Plains eagle dance" that he would use to "cast a 'hex' or 'spell' on the opponent" or as "traditional Yurok dances in traditional Yurok regalia."²

Why the association with the "Yurok Indians"? Yurok Indians, Algonquian-speaking Indians who migrated to California between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, were inhabitants of a reservation in the Klamath River Valley in Northern California. First encountered by the Spanish in 1775 when a ship anchored at the coastal village Curey, the Yurok had sporadic contact with Spanish and English colonizers prior to the mid-nineteenth century. In part because of the concentration of English colonial authority along the eastern seaboard, Yurok Indians were relatively untouched by colonial Euro-American encounters prior to the 1849 California gold rush. Forceably relocated to the Klamath River Reservation in 1855, one historian wrote in 1881 of the colonial encounter with the Yurok:

A few years to come will see the last of these Indians, who once roamed the forests and mountains of Del Norte [County] in large numbers, and who could truly boast that they were "monarchs of all they surveyed." Flying before the march of civilization like chaff before the wind, they have rapidly been reduced in numbers, until at the present time [1881], a mere remnant of the earlier tribes are left to go down with the setting sun of their declining strength.³

The common trope of the disappearing Indian was echoed by anthropologist A.L. Kroeber, who wrote of the Yuroks as having disappeared in the face of colonial encounters. In reality, Yurok Indians, while dramatically affected by disease and the decline associated with colonialism,

² Charles Fruehling Springwood, "Playing Indian and Fighting (for) Mascots: Reading the Complications of Native American and Euro-American Alliances," *Team Spirits: The Native American Mascot Controversy*, C. Richard King and Charles Fruehling Springwood, eds. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 305. Chris Eddy, "In Praise of Prince Lightfoot," *Stanford Magazine* (Palo Alto: Stanford Alumni Organization) May/June 2001. Digital edition available from: <http://www.stanfordalumni.org/news/magazine/2001/mayjun/upfront/lettoed.html>

³ A.J. Bledsoe, "1881 History: Del Norte County, California," *Humbolt Times* (Eureka, California: Humbolt Press, 1971) in Thomas Buckley, "Yurok Realities in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1982), 16.

continued to fish, harvest, and work as loggers into the twentieth century. A subject of Edward Curtis, who also documented the Sioux and the Miami Indians, the Yurok Indians were presented in a variety of regalia. Dancers part of the White Deerskin Dance wore deer hide coverings, dentalia necklaces, and wolf-fur headbands while Jump Dance performers were costumed in headdresses of woodpecker scalps, feathers, and deerskin robes. More commonly attired for the Curtis photos, Yuroks were usually dressed in loose fitting pants and shirts with a beaded skullcap or headband.

Significantly, Williams was of Yurok ancestry. Initially having performed along the sidelines, but rarely on the field, Williams' first authorized performance as "Prince Lightfoot" was at the Stanford University- Illinois Rose Bowl game. Dancing at halftime, Williams appeared in a Plains war bonnet, a half-star painted along his cheeks and chin, a fringed shirt with a loin-cloth, and fringed boots. In this moment of Yurok appropriation of Sioux Indian identity, we see culmination of the efforts by white, middle-class men to create an American spectacle of college football that has been explored throughout this dissertation. In Williams' choosing to portray himself as Sioux, the hierarchy of race that had positioned Indians as "echos" of American racial attitudes and neo-colonial fears was inverted. The Illinois community had mentioned John Grable's supposed Choctaw heritage but quickly obscured it in favor of recounting his Boy Scout training. At Stanford University, Williams, an active member of the non-federally recognized Yurok tribe, consciously created an Indian performance that was not Yurok in appearance but rather Sioux. In adopting the persona of "Prince Lightfoot", Williams' consciously subverted his own Indian identity in favor of the more commonly recognized Sioux trope.

In concluding with this last instance of mascotry, where an Indian played Indian, I want to illustrate the simultaneous possibility for a counter-narrative of Indian performance and the success of the cultural production explored throughout this dissertation. Just as “Princess Illiniwek” and “Hiawabop” offered opportunities for counter-narrative articulations, so too did “Prince Lightfoot”. Williams’ performance could be read as a redemptive act where one Indians’ body was “reality” not just an echo of colonial encounters and a romantic past. Williams was an active and vocal member of the Yurok community who spoke frequently, through his role as “Prince Lightfoot” about Indian culture, history, and issues. “To me, however,” Williams wrote in his 1959 autobiography, “there is a satisfaction that stands out even above [the good times and friends made at Stanford]. I realize now that I have achieved recognition and self-respect, not through passing for something I am not, but for being what I am- an Indian.”⁴ Believing he had his worth through his performance of “Prince Lightfoot”, a hodgepodge of Indian representations in the form of a Yurok body, Sioux headdress, beading, and dancing, and a Southwestern Indian cape, Williams proves the tension explored throughout this dissertation. That a Yurok Indian would consciously embrace Sioux and other identities to construct his performance of Indianness suggests the extent of the diffusion of ideas about racialized bodies that were communicated through college football. By not dancing traditional Yurok dances and instead favoring the familiar quasi-Sioux performance that was long a part of cultural productions of Indianness, Williams demonstrated the limitations of his own Indianness.

In drawing attention to the limits of Williams’ performance, I do not mean to suggest that Williams should have had a more developed sense of consciousness of Indian stereotypes nor do I assign responsibility to Williams himself in leveraging the Sioux stereotype for his own use. Instead, I argue here that in creating a “Sioux” version of himself, Williams was affirming the

⁴ Seiter, 14.

dominant trope that tied Sioux Indian identity via the University of Illinois to the circuit of consumption and competition on the part of colleges and universities. In effect, Williams' was the apotheosis of the "modern" Indian man; he was so "Indian" that he himself cast aside his Yurok identity in favor of a Sioux performance during halftime festivities. Significantly, Williams and others have overlooked that, at Stanford University, without "Lightfoot" Williams would never have had access to the Stanford University football field nor the Stanford community.

This spectacle of two Indians (one a "white" man and one "red") on the field in Pasadena in 1952 closes the circuit that began here with an analysis of Lester Leutwiler's Indian performance. Presenting a multi-sited analysis of the various cultural forces at work within the circuit, this dissertation analyzed a thirty-year history of the exchanges between colleges and universities within the confines of their athletic identities. Highlighting both individuals and institutions at work within the circuit, this dissertation suggest a new way of considering the history of "modern" America and the rise of college athletics as a site of performances and spectacles about race, gender, and the nation state.

Exploring the ways in which representation of Indian bodies were leveraged, I began by establishing the ways in which the University of Illinois functioned as a node of dissimulation regarding ideas about football, University bands, and racial spectacles. Opening outward, I have followed ideas, individuals, and entire teams around the country to demonstrate that Native American mascots were local manifestations of national consciousness about Indian bodies. In doing so, I have thoroughly examined the colonial tropes that circulated as part of the national project and a provided a new framework for the study of athletics and mascotry.

Enriching our understanding of cultural history and the ways in race, class, gender, and youth were enshrined within the expressions of American middle-class life, whether in the form of halftime spectacles, sporting identities, stadium campaigns, band performances, or newspapers, this dissertation demonstrated the historical underpinnings of a consciousness that would come under fire in the second half of the twentieth century. Colleges and universities could patrol the uneasy boundaries of their cosmopolitan articulations so long as the majority of the community ascribed to the underlying meaning: that white, young, heterosexual athletic male bodies were needed for the future of the country.

Yuh! Yuh! Yuh! Yuh!
.....to the word “war!”
The tribes go forth to war,
Their scalp-songs ring afar;
Bright the blood-red camp-fires gleaming,
With mad thirst the war-hawks screaming,
Signal smoke soars high,
Beckons in the sky,
Old men shake their calabashes⁵,
Warriors dance amid the ashes,
Maidens sobbing, war-drums throbbing, War!
Sweet the vict’ry and the conquest,
Calm the rest among the slain;
Sons of centuries of heroes
Seek the fruit, despise the pain.
Watch Miami, now,
See the foeman bow,
Far and wide their host is scattered,
Spears are broken, shields are battered;
Miami! Yuh! Yuh! Yuh! Yuh! Miami!
Race them, chase them, pound them, hound them, Wow!

As these words to the “Miami Scalp Song” rang out across the field during halftime of the October 1953 homecoming football game at Miami University, a 105 piece band and an “Indian” dancer performed in honor of the Ohio Sesquicentennial. The *Miami Student* noted the

⁵ Calabashes are gourds that make a rattling noise when shaken.

event as a “band spectacle”, a pageant depicting the transition from “pioneer days to the present.”⁶ “Included in the show will be Indian dancer Glenn Lewis, 2 Ed⁷, who will begin the show as he is featured in the ‘Miami Scalp Song.’ The band will provide the background as they form the dates ‘1953’ and ‘1803’.”⁸

In his book, *American Historical Pageantry*, scholar David Glassberg relates public rituals such as this pageant to belief in future progress. “Its [historical pageantry’s] combination of elite, popular, and ethnic cultural forms depicting images of a “common” past would break down social and cultural barriers between local residents, triggering the release of their underlying emotions and the revitalization of their overarching civic commitments.”⁹ Captured in the pages of the 1954 *Recensio* with the moniker the “Redskin Indian,” Glenn Lewis appears wearing a war bonnet (not a full-scale headdress that flows from the head towards the knees as “Chief Illiniwek’s” did).¹⁰ Clothed in a long-sleeved top and bands with 8 strings of beads representing a chest plate across his chest, Lewis’ “Redskin Indian” marched and danced across the field. In presenting Lewis as the “Redskin Indian”, students were suggesting a generic Indianness that would serve as a stand-in for a Miami tribe based representation. Neither Indian logo or “Hiawabop” Indian, in this moment, the success of the diffusion of the Illinois halftime show and the climax of college football and its environs as spectacle is reached. Miami University band directors created a performance of Indianness that was not based on Miami identity but instead a generic Indianness that could be easily understood by audience members at a football game. Delineating the difference between this 1954 performance and the appearance of Glee

⁶ “Band Spectacle to Honor Ohio between Halves,” *The Miami Student* 78 (12): October 23, 1953, 1.

⁷ 2 Ed signifies that Lewis was a Sophomore in the College of Education.

⁸ “Band Spectacle to Honor Ohio between Halves,” *The Miami Student* 78 (12): October 23, 1953, 1.

⁹ David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 284.

¹⁰ Miami University, *Recensio*, 1954, 172.

Club members garbed as Indians at the 1921 homecoming festivities is of particular importance. In 1921, members of the Glee Club performed as part of homecoming festivities by singing the Miami pep song. The 1921 appearance was part of a slate of vaudeville performances and carnival-type events that included a greased pig chase, a “fat lady”, bronco busting, bull throwing, and other “roundup” activities.¹¹ As such, while “western-themed” the performance did not include dance nor was it consciously constructed by the University as an authorized performance. Lewis’ 1954 performance was authorized and memorialized by students as the “Redskin Indian” while the 1921 appearance by the Glee Club merits only a line in a 1963 edition of the *Miami Student*.¹²

This striking vignette of Miami sophomore Glenn Lewis performing with the Miami University band at an event in honor of Ohio’s successful colonization to illuminate a central claim proven in this dissertation: that the spectacle of college football was more than a game; it included bands and musical performances, newspaper writers and narratives of athletics, artistic productions and commercial athletic identities, and carefully constructed portrayals of historical narratives that capitalized on raced, classed, and gendered bodies.

Yet, by the close of the 1950s, the narrowly defined communities at the University of Illinois, Miami University, and Stanford University were shifting. African-Americans, Native American, and other minorities began to enroll in these institutions in larger and larger numbers. In doing so, they brought with them new considerations of race, gender, and community identity. Black Power, the American Indian Movement, and the Feminist movement all began to converge and threaten the meaning-making that was being undertaken by the white middle-class men who

¹¹ “Most Successful Homecoming in Miami’s History Predicted,” *The Miami Student* 44(4): October 14: 1921, 1.

¹² “Weekend Events Recall Homecoming Traditions,” *The Miami Student* 87 (10): October 25, 1963, 3.

Interestingly, the 1963 recapitulation of the festivities implicitly leads the reader to believe the Glee performance was tied to the Indian athletic identity and not to a slate of western-themed and vaudevillian events.

were consciously constructing these athletic performances of racial identity. Throughout the 1960s, the fractures within the hegemonic displays of athletic identity were split farther and farther open through the inclusion of minority bodies in these communities.

In 1972, an ad hoc committee of the Dartmouth Alumni Council working in conjunction with administrators at Dartmouth College suggested that the “Indian” be used less prominently in favor of the “Big Green” moniker. Across the country at Stanford University, administrators were also considering the effects of their “Indian” mascot on Native students.

“I used to say that when I died and they opened me up they would find Stanford Indian written across my heart the way Queen Mary Tudor said they would find Calais the last English holding on the continent of Europe that she lost written across her heart,” remarked former Stanford University President Richard Lyman in a 2005 video interview for “The Stanford Presidency.”

Nothing afflicted me more than the decision to abolish the Indian mascot. It happened by stages. We began to take in Indian students. We began to have a program to recruit Native American students in about 1972. They were unanimous that the Indian mascot was a no-no and should go. Prince Lightfoot, the Yurok Indian who danced at football games, offended them because his dances included religious motifs from various tribes and mixed them all up together. And they thought it was sacrilegious to have that going on at halftime at a football game. The whole idea of the Indian savage noble on horseback was bad because it gave people a romanticized and misleading view of what American Indians were all about.

By the close of the 1974 school year, Dartmouth University and Stanford University had abolished their “Indian” mascots and all associated imagery.

In this first moment of contestation, the conflict of the past and present, of white men and red men, of racial identities in service to athletic teams and their institutions appears starkly. By exploring the historical processes at work within framework of cultural productions and the world of college football, scholars can more clearly understand the stakes of the contestations in

the latter half of the twentieth century. These historical processes revealed communities producing, reproducing, and negotiating their performances of race and communal desires while continually affirming the core of their beliefs: that white men would lead America into a prosperous future with help from white women. Cloaked in language of citizenship, war, and belonging, these individuals, institutions, and organizations constructed thoroughly modern “game” with enormous stakes for all involved.

We must understand the stakes of the “game” for, as I have revealed here, the “game” was a vehicle for ideas of race, nation, and community that were circulating as part of a national consciousness about Indianness and colonialism as well as a vision of the place of men and women within modern America. Studies that focus on a single institution or event provide needed minute details, but often fail to capture that ways in which individuals and institutions were intimately tied together in their creation and articulation of sports mascots. It is this exchange and interchange within the network that reveals the systemic ways in which Indian bodies were constructed.

This analysis of the University of Illinois, Miami University, the University of North Dakota, Florida State University, and Stanford University has only begun to explore the ways in which Indian bodies were constituted in service to institutions of higher education. St. John’s University, Siena College, Syracuse University, and Colgate University (New York), Montclair State College (New Jersey), Juanita College (Pennsylvania), Bradley University (Illinois), Saint Mary’s College (Minnesota), Marquette University and Mankato State College (Wisconsin), Eastern Michigan University (Michigan), Dickinson State University (North Dakota), Simpson College (Iowa), University of Oklahoma and Southern Nazarene University (Oklahoma), Arkansas State University (Arkansas), Alcorn State University (Mississippi), University of

Tennessee-Chattanooga (Tennessee), Seattle University, Eastern Washington University, and Yakima Valley Community College (Washington), Southern Oregon State University (Oregon), and Southwestern College (California) all created Indian identities for their institutions in the early twentieth century and leveraged them as a way of expressing their own identities through Indian bodies. Highly political in nature, the appropriation, dissemination, and production of Indian-themed athletic spectacle remains a subject of further study.

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President's Office.
Stanford Alumni Association.
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Stanford Band.
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Stanford University Publications.
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Chief Illiniwek.
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