

“HOMECOMING”



All Indian Trails Lead to Lawrence, Kansas

October 27-30, 1926

“All Indian Trails Lead to Lawrence, October 27 to 30, 1926”

American Identity and the Dedication of Haskell Institute’s Football Stadium

by Kim Warren

The local newspapers in and around Lawrence, Kansas, predicted that five thousand to ten thousand Native Americans would gather at Haskell Institute for the October 1926 dedication of the boarding school’s new football stadium. Months before anyone arrived to pitch canvas tents and tepees on the forty-acre plot of land that the school had set aside for the gathering, journalists, students, and Haskell officials anticipated something more significant than the school’s first homecoming celebration. They believed that the events surrounding the dedication would represent the largest assembly of Indians in peacetime and the most diverse meeting of Native Americans in the twentieth century. Kansas newspapers issued headlines throughout the summer and early autumn declaring, “Primitive Tribe Coming,” “More Than 8,000 Redskins from All over U.S. Will Be Present at Dedication of New Haskell Institute Stadium,” and “Indians to Show Progress Made in Modern Arts: Greatest ‘Homecoming’ in History of Redmen

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The author would like to thank Estelle Freedman, Cecilia Tsu, Sherrie Tucker, and staff members at the Kansas State Historical Society, Haskell Cultural Center and Museum, and National Archives and Records Administration–Central Plains Region for their assistance with various stages of this project.

Slated at Dedication of Big New Haskell Stadium.”¹ Earlier in the spring Haskell’s own publication, *The Indian Leader*, had noted that alumni had commenced preparations for the autumn celebration, including forty former students who had a “midway pow-wow” in the Santo Domingo pueblo, north of Albuquerque, New Mexico. Those same students intended to caravan to Lawrence. For months preceding the stadium dedication, administrators used school publications to recruit students to help with the preparations and to encourage excitement among readers by listing names of former students who had already promised to attend. When mentioning the groups that planned to travel together, *The Indian Leader* predicted, “All Indian trails lead to Lawrence, October 27 to 30, 1926.”²

When the weekend finally arrived, all “Indian trails” did seem to lead to Lawrence as seventy tribal representatives gathered for the four-day celebration. The weekend’s festivities included the main event—the dedication of the football stadium—but also an intertribal powwow, contests, parades, and a football game. The theme of the weekend was indeed celebratory, but in addition, a great deal of coordination by Haskell and Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) officials took place to engineer the events as a platform to showcase “the real progress of the native American.” Haskell clearly wanted its students and alumni to “get a vision of [their] part in our great Nation” but also wanted to encourage white onlookers to “recognize and appreciate the sterling qualities of the Indian and his fitness for citizenship.”³

Letters, newspaper articles, and school publications noted heightened anticipation for the October celebration, but the importance of the dedication of the football stadium and the accompanying festivities took on different meanings for the various groups involved. For officials, students, and alumni of Haskell, the weekend provided a highly publicized opportunity to draw attention to the ways in which Haskellites represented the most modern version of Native American assimilability, cultural citizenship, or “being American.” In contrast to the thousands

of visitors, who were frequently referred to as the “most primitive in the United States” and who were accused of still adhering “to many old tribal customs of dress, dance and language,” Haskell students stood for the school’s success in creating of American identities, as demonstrated by their domination on the football field, ability to put on and take off traditional costumes, and use of vocational skills learned in class to earn gainful employment or erect a new football stadium.⁴ The visitors, some of whom were Haskell alumni but most of whom were members of tribes from Kansas, Oklahoma, and other nearby states, saw the event as a chance to display pan-Indian pride and unity. White observers—represented by Lawrence, Topeka, and Kansas City newspapers—recognized the contrasts between students and visitors that Haskell officials tried to display but ultimately portrayed both sets of Native Americans as exotic and frequently harkened back with some nostalgia to images of Indians in battle with whites.

Haskell Indian Institute opened in 1884 after Congress allocated \$150,000 for five industrial, off-reservation boarding schools for Native Americans. Between 1878 and 1902 the government would open twenty-five such boarding schools. Haskell’s curriculum resembled that of Carlisle Institute, the leading late-nineteenth-century model of Indian education, located in Pennsylvania. Both schools emphasized industrial training, Christian indoctrination, and a strict eschewing of Native American customs, languages, and traditions. With cropped hair and new uniforms, Indian children were to resemble white Americans as well as to emulate their behavior, language, work patterns, and religious beliefs. To emphasize Christian morality, weekly church services were required, as were morning chapel and Bible studies. Rather than returning home to reservations, Haskell students often spent their summer months working for white Protestant families through “outing programs.” The programs allowed students to earn money (although schools often kept a portion of their wages). School officials believed that placing Indian children in the homes of white families would reinforce the work and religious ethics taught during the school year. Government officials, teachers, and missionaries—or reformers—held firmly to the belief that such schools could teach Indian children how to assimilate into white society

1. *Topeka Daily Capital*, September 26, 1926; *Kansas City Journal-Post*, September 26, 1926; and *Topeka Daily Capital*, October 17, 1926.

2. *The Indian Leader* (Lawrence), March 12, 1926 and April 2, 1926; and April 30, 1926.

3. *The Indian Leader*, “Haskell Celebration,” October 29, November 5, 12, 19, 1926, 7, Haskell Cultural Center and Museum (HCCM). This issue of *The Indian Leader* was a special publication documenting the events of the celebration weekend and hereafter is cited as “Haskell Celebration.”

4. *Topeka Daily Capital*, September 26, 1926.

without a trace of their native attributes or behaviors, and that they could thus become socially acceptable citizens. By adopting habits of white, middle-class society and by ceasing to be as “savage,” “uncivilized,” or “incompetent” as members of the dominant society perceived them to be, Native Americans could virtually stop being Indians and start being Americans.⁵

Newspapers echoed reformers’ theories of civilization and evolution, supporting the notion that Native American youths could be transformed into productive American citizens if they were trained in socially controlled environments for a length of time. The *Topeka Daily Capital* boasted of the importance of boarding schools in severing students’ bonds with uncivilized practices: “A thorough training in one of these institutions cuts the cord which binds the Indian race to a Pagan life, and substitutes civilization in place of superstition, morality in place of vice, cleanliness in place of filth, industry in place of idleness, self-respect in place of servility—an elevated humanity instead of abject degradation.” Such editorials also disparaged the traditions of earlier generations and supported BIA policies that demanded students’ separation from their parents and reservation life in order for a complete transformation to take place. “Indian children can learn and absorb nothing from their ignorant parents but barbarism,” opined the *Topeka* editorialist; “hence the importance of detaching them

from their parents and placing them in such an institution as Haskell Institute to be trained up during the formation periods of their lives into civilized habits and industries.”⁶

Unified in their belief that Native American children would be better served in off-reservation schools than by living with their families, and having the support of the white American public, boarding school recruiters went to reservations in Indian Territory (Oklahoma), Nebraska, South Dakota, and Iowa to take children to Haskell. Native American parents were sometimes wary of sending their children to boarding schools, partly because of the agenda that such schools had for their children but mainly because of the locations far from reservations. When recruiters revealed that students would have to commit to staying at the school for a minimum of three years, some parents balked at such a long separation. Parents who refused to send their children to school found that their resistance was no match for the weight of BIA orders that agents carried with them to reservations. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Francis Leupp instructed recruiters in the presence of a distrustful parent to explain “plainly to him that his children must go to school long enough to learn the simple things, whether he likes it or not.” If a parent continued to refuse, “we send the policeman or the soldier to show him that we mean business.”⁷ Speaking at the Indian Educational Convention in 1891, G. I. Harvey likened a boarding school superintendent to a “good rustler.” A superintendent should possess multiple abilities, including being “able to arrange a school program, kill a hog, help at the singing, brand the calves, set window-glass, settle a boy, put a nail here, a screw there and a post somewhere else.” If a superintendent could achieve all of those skills, then “he can get children from the camps, and if he can *get* them, he will have the ingenuity to *keep* them.” Compulsory attendance laws, such as the one passed in 1898 at the urging of Commissioner William Jones, reinforced the power of representatives of the U.S. government to force tribal children from their homes and place them in schools. Over a forty-year period, agents of the BIA took tens of thousands of children from their res-

5. Alan Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880–1930* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), 45. On Native American boarding school history and removal of Indian children from their homes, see David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995); Brenda Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900–1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Amanda Cobb, *Listening to Our Grandmothers’ Stories: The Bloomfield Academy for Chickasaw Females, 1852–1949* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000); Clyde Ellis, *To Change Them Forever: Indian Education at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893–1920* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996); Marilyn Irvin Holt, *Indian Orphanages* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001); Frederick E. Hoxie, “The Curious Story of Reformers and the American Indians,” in *Indians in American History*, ed. Frederick E. Hoxie (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 1988), 205–230; K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994); Devon Mihesuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851–1909* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993); Robert A. Trennert, “Educating Indian Girls and Women at Nonreservation Boarding Schools, 1878–1920,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 13 (July 1982): 271–290; Robert Trennert, *The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891–1935* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988); Myriam Vuckovic, “‘Onward Ever, Backward Never’: Student Life and Students’ Lives at Haskell Institute, 1884–1920s” (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 2001); and Kim Warren, “Education for Citizenship: African Americans and Native Americans in Kansas, 1865–1935” (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 2004).

6. *Topeka Daily Capital*, March 16, 1890.

7. Quoted in Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 74.



ENTRANCE, HASKELL STADIUM

OCTOBER 27 TO 30, 1926

Those are the Red Letter days in the history of Haskell Institute. Practically every newspaper in the United States and many foreign countries carried a "story" concerning the Indian celebration that was being sponsored by this foremost of Indian schools.

For the previous two years Haskell had been accepting donations from Indians to build a modern and well-equipped stadium. For many years the Indians had been playing the better schools of the country in foreign fields, but because of our own facilities it was impossible to bring teams of distinction and note here, because of lack of a suitable playing field. As funds for the stadium kept coming in and its completion was assured by October 30, plans were formulated to have in conjunction with this dedication one of the greatest Indian gatherings ever attempted.

Suggestions were gathered and it was the desired aim of those in charge that this celebration should include events that would be appreciated and enjoyed by the Indians present. The original announcement carried with it the information that while at Haskell the visiting Indians were to be guests. Everything upon the entire program offered was to be free with one exception of the football game. An admission fee was charged by necessity because of our contract with Bucknell.

To accommodate thousands of Indians is no small feat as the committee in charge at Haskell soon learned. Our visitors were urged to come prepared to camp and a modern Indian village was erected on one of the large pastures connected with the farm. A new road was constructed leading from the school to this village and at its entrance a large arch was built, welcoming the Indians to this village. Streets were laid out, a commissary tent was erected, and all Indians present were furnished flour, sugar, salt, lard, coffee and baking powder. In addition to these, approximately twenty beeves were butchered to furnish meat for those campers out at the village. In addition to those Indians who took advantage of the village there were thousands of others who were quartered in buildings at Haskell.

ervation homes. Some went voluntarily, but many were removed by force.⁸

Removing children from reservations and designing a rigid curriculum that blended industrial training with Christian indoctrination provided the foundation of a plan to transform Indian students from members of a marginalized minority into productive members of society who would exhibit the behaviors and values of the dominant white society. In essence, schools such as Haskell intended to transform their students from Indians into Americans, a process historian Alan Trachtenberg has called “the making of Americans by the unmaking of Indians.” The common belief among white reformers was that with the breaking down of tribal allegiances and practices, a complete transformation would take place. Commissioner Leupp likened Native Americans to tadpoles, which are born in the water with a tail but without legs. “When the tadpole develops legs,” he explained, “and is able to hop about on the land as a frog, its tail drops off of itself.” Extending the amphibian metaphor, Leupp continued, “So the Indian will voluntarily drop his racial oddities as he becomes more and more of our common body politic, and learns to breathe the atmosphere of our civilization as his own.”⁹

During its first four decades, Haskell adhered to these curricular philosophies and built its reputation as a leader in Indian education. Located approximately forty miles west of the state line separating Missouri and Kansas, Haskell stood in the middle of the country and by the 1920s claimed to be both the symbolic and geographic center of Native American education. In fact, by the 1890s Haskell had become the most intertribal of boarding schools and was thought of as the most select. By 1915, three years before the pioneering Carlisle Institute closed its doors, Haskell had eclipsed Carlisle as the largest Native American boarding school to emerge from the era of late-nineteenth-century federal institutions. At that time, Haskell claimed 833 students, forty more than the next-most-populated school. At the beginning of the 1920s Haskell’s sixty-seven faculty members and employees provided instruction in twenty-two trades, had instructed ten thousand students, and had

8. G. I. Harvey, *Proceedings of the Indian Educational Convention, for the Fourth Supervisors’ District, Held at Arkansas City, Kansas, December 28–30, 1891* (Independence, Kans.: Tribune Steam Printing House, 1891), Wilcox Collection, Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas; Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 56.

9. Quoted in Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 74; and Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha*, 30.

graduated approximately 1,200.¹⁰ Although in the 1890s the BIA had encouraged Indian agents to shift toward pushing students into public schools, in 1926 four-fifths of Indian students still attended federally supported schools. In the 1920s Haskell became the “New Carlisle of the West,” academically and athletically. *The Indian Leader* boasted that it was “the largest Indian school in the world.”¹¹

By the 1920s Haskell had expanded its offerings to students, including high school and post-high school courses and professional tracks in business and teaching. Although assimilation maintained its position at the center of the curriculum, in the early twentieth century, administrators would lessen their prohibition on Indian culture in schools and encourage students to document tribal stories and songs that were quickly disappearing with aging generations.¹² By no means did Haskell officials encourage any embracing of Indian cultural traits over adoption of the habits, clothing, and behavior of the dominant culture. However, in supervised and controlled circumstances, such as theatrical performances and school projects, students could dress as Indians or recite stories. It was within this context that Haskell students, alumni, and Indian visitors at the weekend celebration could express a sense of pan-Indianism. The dedication program proclaimed that three words—“Progress, Unity, Fraternity”—seemed so palpable that they could have been emblazoned on the stadium to mark the occasion.¹³

The 1920s, indeed, marked a critical decade for Native American legal, cultural, educational, and professional citizenship. Most significantly, after a series of land laws, including the 1887 Dawes Act, broke up reservations and allotted land to individuals, the 1924 Citizenship Act established once and for all that Native Americans could

10. Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 7; *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, July 24, 1915; and *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 21, 1920.

11. “The New Stadium,” October 27–30, 1926, 21, photocopy, Stadium Dedication file, HCCM; John Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do: Sports at Native American Boarding Schools* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 3; Keith A. Sculle, “The New Carlisle of the West: Haskell Institute and Big-Time Sports, 1920–1932,” *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 17 (Autumn 1994): 192–208; and Katherine Jensen, “Civilization and Assimilation in the Colonized Schooling of Native Americans,” *Education and the Colonial Experience*, ed. Philip G. Altbach and Gail P. Kelly, 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, 1984), 171.

12. David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 308.

13. “Haskell Celebration,” 12.

be granted legal citizenship regardless of landownership. However, debates continued about the true nature of Indian citizenship, and Indian schools persisted with citizenship training, stressing obedience, promptness, self-discipline, hard work, and similar virtues. By the 1920s the era of federal boarding schools had reached its peak, and federal and public support started to wane. The 1928 Meriam Report exposed the horrors of a half century of kidnapping by Indian agents: children engaged in forced labor; students subjected to physical abuse as discipline; and lack of adequate health care, in addition to the physical and curricular deterioration of boarding schools. In the 1930s federal monies for boarding schools declined. However, as late as 1925, the federal government still provided a substantial \$7,264,145 for the 77,577 Native Americans who attended boarding, day, mission, and public schools. Those numbers represented a 250 percent increase in funding and a 360 percent increase in the number of students enrolled since 1900.¹⁴ In spite of these changes, Haskell continued to receive federal support and expanded its offerings in professional and college-preparatory training for older students through the 1930s.

During the weekend celebration, Haskell officials directly engaged in the debate about the nature of Indian citizenship and pointed specifically to Indian students' participation in World War I, their memorialization of that war, and their more visible presence in athletic arenas as evidence of the school's ability to produce American citizens. When recruiters enlisted Native Americans for service in World War I, military and BIA officials believed that service would provide a final push to move Indians from a world of primitivism to a modern one. War Department staff supported this philosophy and combined it with their belief that Native Americans had exceptional cultural skills in scouting, reconnaissance, and sharpshooting to conclude that Indian soldiers should serve alongside white ones. In 1918 Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato

14. The Meriam Report's official title is *The Problem of Indian Administration; Report of a Survey Made at the Request of Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, and Submitted to Him, February 21, 1928* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1928). See also H. B. Peairs, "Indians Trained to Compete on Even Terms with Other Races," *School Life* 11 (April 1926): 145; and Wilbert H. Ahern, "An Experiment Aborted: Returned Indian Students in the Indian School Service, 1881-1908," *Ethnohistory* 44 (Spring 1997): 268. By the 1990s, the school had transformed itself into Haskell Indian Nations University, a four-year university.

Sells enthusiastically supported integrated troops, as this approach would help Indians complete their transition of disappearing into the mainstream of white society. Military officials thought of Indian boarding school graduates as prime candidates for service because they had presumably made cultural adjustments to living and working among whites and had received some military training while in school.¹⁵

The stadium and memorial arch provided tangible representations of Haskell student and alumni patriotism. The stadium structure proved to be an impressive accomplishment, standing as the first lighted stadium in the Midwest and the third-largest stadium in the state. Haskell officials claimed that the arch was one of the first memorials to honor World War I veterans. It would have been more accurate to say that the building of the memorial arch represented part of a larger trend of outpouring of patriotism throughout the nation during the interwar years. There were, in fact, several other memorials erected before Haskell's. Most notably, approximately fifty miles east of Haskell in Kansas City, Missouri, the Liberty Memorial had its building site dedicated in 1921 and was completed in 1926. In total, more than fifty World War I memorials, including statues, obelisks, and arches, have been built in Kansas. In addition, several high schools, American Legion halls, and college student unions have been named in honor of World War I veterans.¹⁶ Still, in 1926 Haskell officials declared the stadium as the "first and only Indian Stadium in America," and when Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work acknowledged the tremendous effort that it had taken to build the new stadium, he credited not only the graduates but also other schools like Haskell that encouraged such progress.¹⁷

The football match, during which the Haskell Fighting Indians beat the Bucknell College Bisons in a 36-0 blow-

15. Bonnie Lynn-Sherow and Susannah Ural Bruce, "'How Cola' from Camp Funston: American Indians and the Great War," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 24 (Spring 2001): 86-87; and Michael L. Tate, "From Scout to Doughboy: The National Debate over Integrating American Indians into the Military, 1891-1918," *Western Historical Quarterly* 17 (October 1986): 420.

16. "Haskell Celebration," 12; R. Eli Paul, "'In Honor of Those Who Served': Introduction," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 29 (Autumn 2006): 144; and Steven Trout, "Forgotten Reminders: Kansas World War I Memorials," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 29 (Autumn 2006): 202, 210. Trout overlooked Haskell's Memorial Arch in his list of World War I memorials. The Liberty Memorial in Kansas City went through a rededication in 2004 and is now called the National World War I Museum.

17. "Haskell Celebration," 4, 14.

out, provided the climax of the weekend. The game also furnished an opportunity for Haskell officials to reinforce the image of their students as modern, dutiful, and desirable citizens. Athletics, specifically football, had grown in importance at Indian schools in the 1920s. In addition to becoming a vehicle for males to demonstrate their strength and prowess, football allowed athletes to prove their assimilability and readiness for citizenship. Writing for another Indian school publication in 1924, Henry Lewis Smith observed, "The real glory of the game is not measured in gate-receipts but consists in the joy of battle, the overcoming of obstacles, the fair and final winning of a hard-fought goal. These constitute the *Lessons* of the GAME." Football also represented athletes' abilities to engage with the rapid and complex changes of the modern world. "Modern football is too rapid and complex for the ignorant and untrained, however strong and zealous they may be," Smith wrote.¹⁸ Football served as a reminder to fans and onlookers that Indian athletes could handle the intricacies and organization of both athletics and society. Athletes reminded white onlookers that discipline and training on the field could be transferred to the world of business or society. At the same time that football teams represented what it meant to be modern in America, Indian football teams allowed white spectators to wax nostalgic for a past time when Indians and whites battled each other and think of the game as a modern version of war.¹⁹

Haskell officials used an additional strategy of contrasting their students with visitors to prove to onlookers how successful the school had been in training its students for life and work in the twentieth century. To achieve this end, the school framed Haskell students and alumni as well-educated and prepared for a desirable future, unlike the presumably unschooled Native American visitors, who represented a static and unwanted past. Even though hundreds of the Indians who ventured to Haskell during the stadium dedication weekend had attended boarding schools themselves, and many were financial donors to the building of the stadium, contrasts rather than similarities were the focus of Haskell administrators, and consequently, the press reported them. "Civilization then made its debut before

savagery," reported the *Kansas City Times* on seventy-five Haskell female students marching in black bloomers and white blouses to demonstrate their knowledge of gymnastics. Such students were portrayed as distinct from visitors, who were often photographed in traditional dress or wrapped in blankets, unmistakable symbols of Indians of the past.²⁰ *The Indian Leader* noted that onlookers could easily distinguish Haskellites from visitors because the student body wore uniforms "so significant of dignity and honor," and the nearly three hundred alumni in attendance represented "the real progress of the race" by wearing "the latest conservative modes." Visitors provided a visual contrast as many wore "their characteristic colorful holiday dress."²¹ The presence of such visitors confirmed Haskell officials' narrative in which older Indians represented a vanishing race, whereas their students represented potential for survival and progress. By attending the powwow and dedication, visitors could observe a younger, modern generation but not necessarily merge with it.²² During the weekend, Haskell officials organized activities for Indian visitors, including dance performances and contests, a barbecue, and a baby contest. They carefully orchestrated separate student activities in order to reinforce the contrast between the past and the future.

Just as the newspaper headlines had predicted, thousands of Native Americans from states as far west as California and Washington journeyed to Lawrence to participate in Haskell's weekend gathering in October 1926. Although some traveled by foot or horse, most Native American guests, newspapers noted with a tinge of disappointment, arrived in motorcars and station wagons. Minnie Prophet, an alumna, planned to arrive in Lawrence by railroad and mentioned to George Shawnee, the head of the Alumni Association, "It has been a long time since I visited old H. I. I want to come back once more to the old Stomping Grounds." Shawnee's assurance that he had secured discounted rates into Lawrence on the Santa Fe Railroad no doubt encouraged Prophet.²³ Haskell officials wel-

18. Henry Louis Smith, "Six Lessons from the Gridiron," *The Indian Outlook* 1, no. 5 (April 1924): 1. The emphasis is in the original.

19. Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 112; and Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do*, 44.

20. *Kansas City Times*, October 30, 1926; and *Topeka Daily Capital*, October 17, 1926.

21. "Haskell Celebration," 12.

22. Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do*, 46.

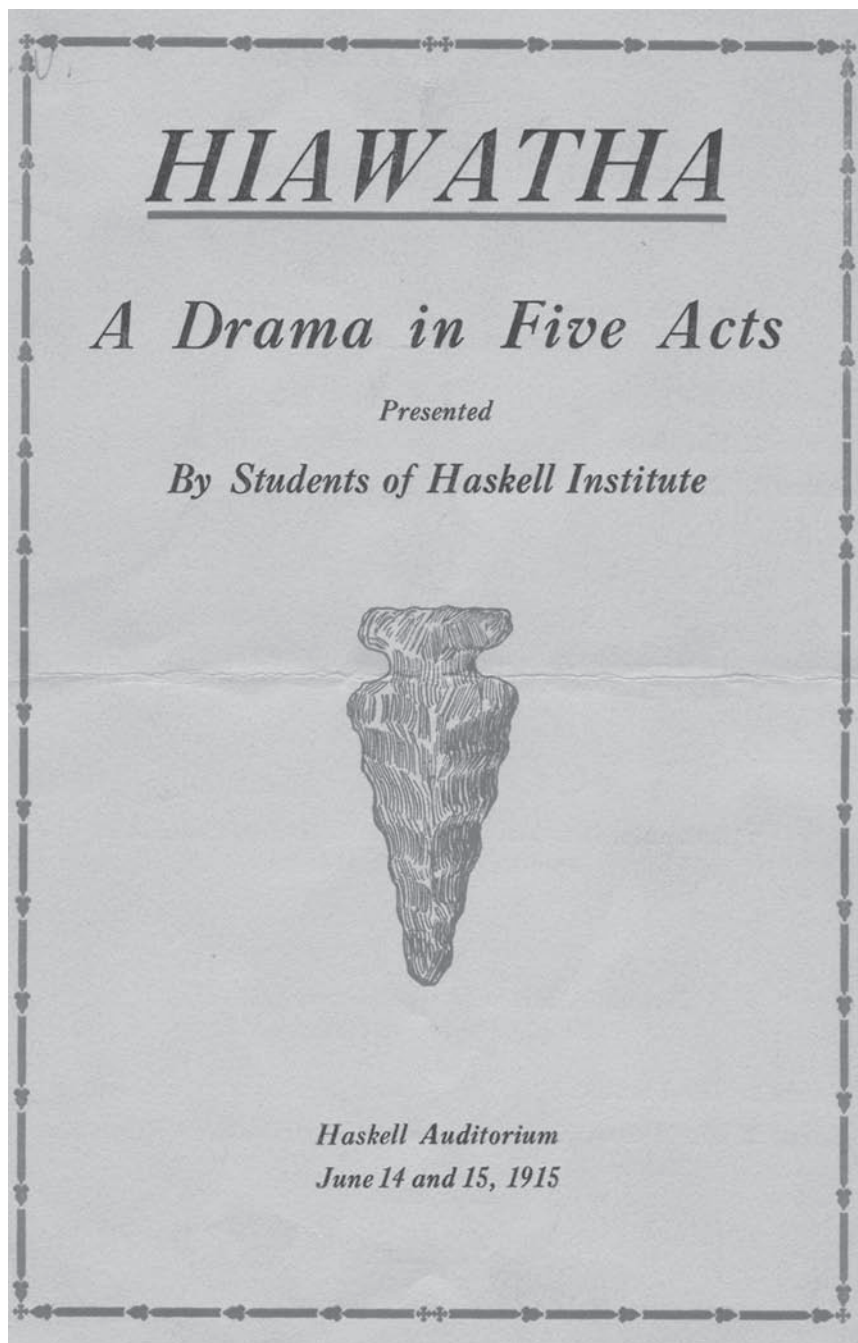
23. Minnie Prophet to George Shawnee, July 9, 1926, box 181, file P, RG 75, National Archives and Records Administration—Central Plains Region (NARA); and George Shawnee to Minnie Prophet, July 14, 1926, box 181, file P, RG 75, NARA.

Haskell's annual production of *Hiawatha* was part of the dedication weekend's festivities. Depicted on the facing page are students during the 1922 performance.

comed such guests to "Indian Village," located on the south side of Haskell's campus, where staff had routed electrical wiring and running water from the main part of campus for the guests. The school supplied tents for the first two hundred arrivals but prepared for three thousand inhabitants overall.²⁴ The school set up Indian Village to reflect what it thought a typical Native American camp would look like, complete with canvas tepees. The program for the weekend activities described Indian Village as a place where Indian women would busy themselves with "keeping fires burning, jerking meat, making squaw bread and looking after little papooses." Even though many inhabitants of Indian Village had graduated from Haskell, whites nostalgically described Indian Village as a place for "real Indians." The stadium dedication program highlighted a group of Blackfeet who wore ceremonial costume and sometimes relied on an interpreter to communicate. The granddaughter of Chief Two Gun White Calf, the model for the Indian head of the buffalo nickel, was only four years old, but the Haskell publication also noted her attendance.²⁵

The weekend's activities for visitors included a Friday-evening program of student band concerts and drills, but most attention turned to a presentation of traditional Native American dances, including competitions in war dancing, old-man's dancing (limited to men fifty years and older), and fancy dancing. Chiefs of visiting tribes judged the second contest, and audience applause levels determined the win-

24. *Kansas City Times*, October 27 1926; and "Haskell Celebration," 7.
25. "Haskell Celebration," 7.



ner of the last dance. Dancers wore costumes, headdresses, and paint, and drummers accompanied their performances of the snake, eagle, rainbow, and sun dances. Framing the dancers as remnants of the past, the press called the dances "primal" and "aboriginal" and claimed that some of the costumes were "cloak blankets such as were worn



by their ancestors for a thousand years," some replete with "bead-work of a hundred years ago."²⁶ The press ignored the opportunity to comment on the way in which similar dances, such as the sun dance and the ghost dance, and some traditional societies and rituals had been revitalized by Native American veterans after World War I. Whereas the public might have seen veterans' participation in traditional dances as patriotic, the press saw Haskell celebration dances only as primitive.²⁷

A barbecue, during which men slaughtered a buffalo and women prepared and cooked it along with the meat of thirteen to twenty cattle, provided a large community feast and another opportunity for the press to note the tra-

ditional nature of the visiting Indians. The *Kansas City Times* emphasized the primitive nature of the food preparations by describing the scene as a group of "squaws [who] sat on their legs, skinned the beeves, dissected them, distributed the quarters and sliced the quarters into ragged steaks, many of which were hung on poles to dry in the wind and sun."²⁸ The buffalo were "hand selected" from the Wichita Mountain Game Reserve near Cache, Oklahoma, in the Kiowa and Comanche Indian Country "by a committee of old Indians who had their pick of a large herd." In its advertis-

26. *Topeka Daily Capital*, October 29, 1926; *Topeka State Journal*, November 19, 1926; and "Haskell Celebration," 6.

27. Lynn-Sherow and Bruce, "How Cola' from Camp Funston," 96.

28. The *Kansas City Times*, October 27, 1926, reported that the four buffaloes were brought from Cache, Oklahoma, at a cost of \$1,500. The *Topeka Daily Capital's* account, October 27, 1926, reported that four buffalo were "sacrificed" for the barbecue. *The Indian Leader*, "Haskell Celebration," 6, reported that only four beeves were used in the barbecue. A year later, the Haskell yearbook, *The Haskell Annual, 1927*, HCCM, listed the number of beeves as twenty. See also Frank W. McDonald, *John Levi of Haskell* (Lawrence, Kans.: The World Company, 1972), 46.

ing section, the *Haskell Stadium Dedication Program* included a photograph of a live buffalo with the witty caption: "This former resident of Oklahoma furnishes part of the meat for the Barbecue Saturday morning."²⁹ Although in May of that year there had been a report that Charles Wright, a former Haskell student and manager of the Homecoming picnic, had promised to provide a Canadian bear, which would have been killed at the picnic, evidence suggests that bear meat did not become part of the main menu. Louis Bighorse, an Osage, chaired the barbecue committee, and his job included choosing "other Indians from the various tribes to assist him in putting on a real old time, old fashioned Buffalo Barbecue." Bighorse had arrived ten days before the celebration to organize the barbecue. "His tent was the first to be pitched [in Indian Village]," noted *The Indian Leader*. Although the publication acknowledged that Bighorse's children attended Haskell, Bighorse himself was not supposed to represent a modern generation.³⁰ The feast was free to visitors, and the printed menu proudly listed barbecued buffalo and squaw bread as the main meal, and for dessert "more barbecued buffalo and squaw bread." Although the school reported that "the meat was prepared in the old Indian style," the *Kansas City Times* confessed the irony that some guests had actually eaten buffalo meat for the first time at the school's barbecue.³¹

A baby contest provided another venue for Haskell to distinguish its students from visitors. Although such competitions, sometimes known as "better baby contests," often took place during the 1920s at country fairs and agricultural exposition, the Homecoming baby contest had added symbolic meaning. Like the generation of students enrolled at Haskell, the young contestants were to represent ideal citizens of the future. Newspapers noted that all eleven young contestants were "products of modern clinical care" and that they were not strapped to traditional flat boards. Instead they were "little butterflies out of the cocoon of the papoose case." With the exception of three-month-old Sioux contestant Frederick McDaniels, who was dressed in deer-skin, the *Kansas City Times* noted that parents had dressed their children in modern baby clothes. Both the mothers, many of whom were Haskell alumnae, and their babies emblemized the latest advances in medicine, health care,

and parenting—not to mention baby fashion. It is not surprising, then, that the winner of the baby contest was the child of a Haskell alumna, class of 1918. The mother of the second-place baby, although not an alumna of Haskell, also represented modernity because she held a job as a stenographer in Kansas City, Missouri, the type of position that Haskell educators desired for their students.³²

While visitors actively engaged in dancing competitions, the barbecue, and the baby contest, students enrolled at Haskell had their own series of events for the weekend. A parade, the school's annual production of *Hiawatha*, and the football game between Haskell and Bucknell engaged students during the weekend. The parade, comprising twenty floats, that traveled from Haskell through downtown Lawrence most deliberately and visually contrasted Haskell students to the Native American visitors. Floats exhibited the unique educational training that students received in Haskell's various departments, including advanced instruction in normal, manual, and senior high courses. To dramatize the contrasts, Haskell students dressed as pilgrims, Catholic priests, and Native Americans in headdresses and other traditional wear stood on a float titled "Indians of the Past." A float titled "Indians of the Present" followed closely and held students in nursing, soldier, and sailor uniforms. Students dressed as office workers sat at typewriters and held ballot boxes, and others held signs for the Sacred Heart Society labeled "Electrician," "Steamfitter," "Engineering," or "Blacksmith." Haskell students on the commercial department's float held signs reading "Trained Accountant," and those on the business department float held signs touting "Hundreds of Successful Graduates." So as to point directly to Haskell and not Indian education in general, one student held a sign advertising *The Indian Leader*, for a subscription rate of fifty cents per year. Troop C, the student military cavalry troop, and Company D, its machine-gun company, marched in the

29. "The New Stadium," 11, 17.

30. *The Indian Leader*, May 21, 1926; and "Haskell Celebration," 5.

31. McDonald, *John Levi of Haskell*, 46; and *Kansas City Times*, October, 27, 1926.

32. "Haskell Celebration"; and *Kansas City Times*, October 29, 1926. Photos of the winning mother and baby covered the local Kansas papers. For another analysis of a Native American baby contest, see Lisa Emmerich, "Save the Babies! American Indian Women, Assimilation Policy, and Scientific Motherhood, 1912–1918," in *Writing the Range: Race, Class, and Culture in the Women's West*, ed. Elizabeth Jameson and Susan Armitage (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 393–409. See also Marilyn Irvin Holt, "Children's Health and the Campaign for Better Babies," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 28 (Autumn 2005): 174–187.



A twenty-float parade, which traveled from Haskell through downtown Lawrence, deliberately and visually contrasted Haskell students with their Native American visitors. Floats exhibited the unique training received by students and in this example depicted education as the difference between the "primitive" and the "modern" Indian. Illustration from *The Indian Leader*, special celebration issue, courtesy of Haskell Cultural Center and Museum, Lawrence, Kansas.

parade, as did the Haskell band, which the press, perhaps overzealously, called the "largest band in the world."³³

The parade proceeded down Massachusetts, Lawrence's main street, where streetcars had paused their operation but automobiles remained parked. Haskell officials sadly noted that the city had not cleared cars from Massachusetts Street in advance, and "much of the beauty of the parade was unappreciated." Still, a year later, the *Haskell Annual* called it the "greatest parade ever attempted in Lawrence," and the press covered the parade with fascination.³⁴ The *Lawrence Journal-World* claimed difficulty in determining which float was the best in the parade but suggested that the normal department had shown most accurately the "service to the Indian people that Haskell gives" because it displayed "Indians of early times, without education to-

day, and the Haskell student of to-day, with classrooms, books, and instructors to aid him on the other."³⁵ There was little subtlety about the priority that Haskell officials placed on assimilation and modernity, as they publicly positioned students dressed in suits and dresses under a sign that read "Modern" next to those costumed in traditional Native American attire under a sign that read "Primitive" for the parade. Photographs suggest that students eagerly participated in such activities as they demonstrated their pride in their school and their own achievements.³⁶

In addition to dressing up in different costumes for the parade, Haskell students donned headdresses and war paint to perform the play *Hiawatha*. The school had been producing the play in the spring on a biennial basis for years to raise money, but in 1926 Haskell officials deliberately

33. *Topeka Daily Capital*, October 17, 1926; and "Haskell Celebration," 8-9.

34. "Haskell Celebration," 8; and *The Haskell Annual*, 1927.

35. *Lawrence Journal-World* quoted in "Haskell Celebration," 8.

36. Photographs, Stadium Dedication file, 1926, HCCM.

scheduled the production to coincide with the powwow and to entertain both white and Native American audiences. Productions of *Hiawatha* had been widely successful in Lawrence and throughout the region in the first decade of the century. In 1909 the performance had gained so much popularity that Superintendent Hervey B. Peairs estimated having turned away one thousand spectators because the theater could not accommodate them.³⁷ Across the nation, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's 1855 poem, *The Song of Hiawatha*, had quickly gained worldwide fame as a stage production. Native Americans performed pageants, stage spectacles, songs, dances, and dramas throughout the nation, and "by the early twentieth century, the poem had been translated into virtually all the world's languages, including Latin, Hebrew, Ojibway, and Yiddish," thus becoming almost universally known. Like Indian students who had performed *Scenes from Hiawatha* at Carnegie Hall in New York and throughout New England for about thirty years beginning in 1881, Haskell students



Major donors to the Haskell Stadium fund included Esther Bighorse Jefferson, a member of the Sac and Fox tribe of Oklahoma and an alumna of Haskell, who had become rich from oil lands. According to *The Indian Leader*, April 2, 1926, where this photograph of her with her husband, William H. "Mose" Jefferson, and their two daughters was first published, she attended the Lawrence institute from 1905 to 1913, and "of all the donations solicited there has been no one any more willing or felt more indebted to Haskell."

37. In 1909 the Commercial Club of Chapman, Kansas, asked the superintendent of Haskell to arrange a performance of *Hiawatha*. Originally the school would have charged \$1,000 for the performance, but through a series of negotiations, Superintendent Hervey B. Peairs agreed to a \$500 charge with a smaller cast of twenty to twenty-eight students rather than the forty-three who had performed previously, as long as the club paid for the proper stage, scenery, lighting, and local expenses. E. F. Halbert to Dear Sir [Hervey B. Peairs], July 20, 1909; Superintendent [Hervey B. Peairs] to Mr. E. H. Halbert, July 21, 1909; E. F. Halbert to Dear Sir [Hervey B. Peairs], July 22, 1909; Superintendent [Hervey B. Peairs] to Mr. E. H. Halbert, July 23, 1909; Superintendent [Hervey B. Peairs] to My dear Sir [YMCA Secretary], June 2, 1909; Subject Correspondence, box 12, file "Hiawatha," 1909 and 1920, RG 75, NARA. For the regular June 1909 performance, Superintendent Peairs suggested a cast of forty students for the rate of \$1,500.

performed the play in 1926 in their newly built stadium—a tradition that continued for many more years.³⁸

Although the parade and play allowed students the rare opportunity to wear Native American costumes and traditional attire at school, the act of dressing in Indian costumes did not necessarily allow them to reclaim Native American cultural identities. In fact, most of the costumes had to be rented.³⁹ Rather, the act of dressing up reinforced Haskell's project of transforming its Indian students into Americans. Performance, dressing up in costume, or adopting one identity over another was to signal a certain level of assimilation

38. Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha*, 52, 89.

39. Superintendent [Hervey B. Peairs] to Miss Genevive [Genevieve] Hurley, April 4 [1910]; and Superintendent [Hervey B. Peairs] to Mr. E. F. Halbert, July 23, 1909, Subject Correspondence, box 12, file "Hiawatha," 1909 and 1920, RG 75, NARA.



"The entrance arch to the Haskell Stadium was made possible by the gifts of these two former students of Haskell Institute," Agnes Quapaw-Hoffman and Alice Beaver Hallam, reported the official program. "Both are members of the Quapaw Indian tribe and reside at Miami, Oklahoma. Through their holdings of mineral land they have become immensely wealthy and both were extremely glad to have been able to play such a prominent part in the construction of the Haskell Stadium."

to white onlookers. The *Kansas City Journal-Post* realized this in 1926, when Albert Kohe, a "fullblooded Chippewa," traveled to Finland to lead the U.S. delegation to the international Young Men's Christian Association Congress, and the press noted his headdress as a "costume." The paper referred to him as "the big chief of the American delegation," but the caption of his photograph declared: "A real American."⁴⁰ According to white audiences, Haskell students,

along with Kohe, could claim parts of traditional dance or costume for entertainment usages as long as they did not absorb the culture and make it a part of their own identity. In the context of the Homecoming celebrations and football game, Haskell officials wanted Native American identities and cultural practices read as a sign of acceptance into an increasingly diverse yet coherent national identity that favored their curriculum of assimilation.⁴¹

The ways in which Haskell officials allowed students to

40. *Kansas City Journal-Post*, July 2, 1926; and Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha*, 33–34, 213. See also Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998).

41. Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do*, 39.

engage in Native American culture as performance also reflected a kind of pragmatism that permeated Native American education in the early twentieth century. Although boarding schools still required Native American students to eschew their tribal customs and alliances in favor of assimilating into the dominant culture, an early-twentieth-century shift in perception about Native Americans created a utilitarian function for Indian culture. As white Americans no longer perceived Indians as a threat to their society or settlements, they came to long for symbols of the past. Therefore, schools took advantage of a kind of “imperialist nostalgia” that had saturated white culture by using Indian cultural traits in their performances and in production of goods to increase their value to white customers.⁴²

As early as 1901, BIA officials encouraged boarding-school staff to allow students to incorporate aspects of their culture into the work they did to support the school. Estelle Reel, superintendent of Indian affairs, believed that Native American students should integrate traditional Indian methods into making items such as baskets for sale, if for no other reason than because the authenticity would bring a higher price. Reel encouraged: “Give attention to the other industries of the old Indians, and compare them with those the Indian of the rising generation will have at his command. Endeavor to imbue the youthful minds with an appreciation of their advantages and with the purpose of making use of them to give them a comfortable home and a state of contented independence.” Reel did not encourage fully embracing all aspects of Indian culture. Instead, she wanted students to be discerning and “distinguish between those arts of the old Indians that are useful and those that are not, and encourage them to preserve and carry on the latter.” For example, girls who could learn basket making, beadwork, and pottery from their elders would be able to sell their goods and “make nice sums of money in this way.” Students who used traditional symbols and native dyes in their work could place their baskets on display in the schoolroom for aesthetic value but also to “foster a rivalry among the children as to who can make the best baskets.” In addition to rivalry, the goal was to show students “how the practice of these arts may be made very profitable.” In an era when



Harry Crawfish, a Quapaw and resident of the Baxter Springs area, never attended Haskell, but he had visited often, and during the campaign to raise money for the school, he was the greatest single contributor. Indians of the Quapaw tribe made contributions totaling \$56,195 in 1925, which were matched by their enthusiasm for the Homecoming weekend. Crawfish was one of about two hundred Quapaws who participated in the dedication.

white Americans searched for what they believed were authentic artifacts from Native American culture, Reel knew that the more “Indian” the baskets seemed, the higher price the sellers could charge. In the 1920s, Indian arts and crafts were readily purchased by white consumers—especially the products such buyers believed were high quality, traditional, or authentic.⁴³

42. Renato Rosaldo, “Imperialist Nostalgia,” *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 107–122.

43. Office of Superintendent of Indian Schools, *Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the United States, Industrial and Literary* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 144–146. See also, especially, the

In addition to the pragmatic use of Native American culture to make baskets seem more authentic, and thus more valuable, educators encouraged students to learn the histories and methods of “old Indians” in order to improve their methods of cattle raising, farming, and dairying and to determine “how it will figure in the lives of the Indians of the future.” Again, this strategy was not intended to encourage Native American students to celebrate their own cultures. Instead, students were to determine the best methods to use, combining modern equipment with older techniques, in order to increase profitability and sales for the school. As with their performances, students were to learn how to use elements of Native American culture to increase their appeal in the eyes of white audiences and consumers.⁴⁴

It was in the spirit of profiting from Native American pride that Haskell officials encouraged alumni to raise the entire endowment for the stadium with Native American contributions. Put simply, donations from white contributors would be refused. Through small subscriptions, and an occasional larger donation of \$4,000 to \$15,000, the graduates collected enough money for the materials and part of the construction costs of the \$166,000 to \$250,000 stadium.⁴⁵ Haskell students, along with former students and other friends of Haskell, provided much of the manual labor needed to build the new twenty thousand-seat stadium. The new stadium would accommodate large crowds and promised to bring athletic teams “of national reputation here to meet the Indians.”⁴⁶

Small donations provided seed money for the stadium. Even enrolled Haskell students made financial contributions in small but creative ways. For example, upon learning about the fund-raiser, eight male students volunteered

to walk from Haskell to their homes in Oklahoma in 1924 so they could donate their transportation money to the building fund. Frank McDonald, the athletic director, who was ultimately in charge of raising funds, admitted that it was the “recently oil- and mineral-rich Osage and Quapaw Indians of Northeast Oklahoma” who “unquestionably built the stadium.”⁴⁷ The Quapaw tribe made a contribution in 1925 totaling \$56,195. Its large financial contributions were matched by its members’ enthusiasm for the Homecoming weekend. The largest delegations in attendance came from the Quapaw and Osage tribes, numbering over two hundred in each group.⁴⁸ Another major donor was Esther Big-horse Jefferson, a member of the Sac and Fox tribe of Oklahoma and an alumna of Haskell, who had become rich from oil lands. Two Quapaw women, Agnes Quapaw-Hoffman and Alice Beaver Hallam from Miami, Oklahoma, whose fortunes came from lead and zinc, paid for the memorial arch. Harry Crawfish, a Quapaw and resident of Baxter Springs, Kansas, never attended Haskell, but he had visited often, and during the campaign to raise money for the school, he was the greatest single contributor.⁴⁹

Although McDonald was instrumental in securing needed funds for the stadium, he later admitted that taking Haskell student and football player John Levi, an Arapaho, to talk to members of the Osage nation was one his most effective strategies in convincing Indian donors to give their money to the stadium fund. For many years Levi had been admired by students and teachers alike, and in 1923 an anonymous poet described his football achievements by writing:

But no proud chieftain ever has left
A mark so well revealed,
As the print of big John Levi’s cleats
In the turf of the football field.⁵⁰

A legendary figure, Levi weighed 280 pounds and wore a size 22 shoe. The *Kansas City Star* described him as a “superb football player, one who could pass the ball accurately

chapter “Women and the Indian Arts and Crafts Movement,” in Margaret D. Jacobs, *Engendered Encounters: Feminism and Pueblo Cultures, 1879–1934* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 149–179.

44. Office of Superintendent of Indian Schools, *Course of Study for the Indian Schools*, 144–146.

45. The *Topeka Daily Capital*, October 17, 1926, reported that the stadium, “a monument of masonry costing about \$250,000,” was started in April 1924 by Senator Charles Curtis, a member of the Kaw tribe. “Many contributions by white men were refused,” the newspaper added. Child, *Boarding School Season*, 4, recorded that the money raised totaled \$185,000. See also McDonald, *John Levi of Haskell*, 53; “A Walking Tour of Haskell,” HCCM; and *Lawrence Journal-World*, February 19, 1925.

46. “The New Stadium,” 42; and *Kansas City Journal-Post*, September 26, 1926. The *Kansas City Times*, October 29, 1926, reported that the Haskell stadium was bought and paid for with “wampum”: “Not a cent of white money went into the beautiful structure.” Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do*, 37, noted that the stadium had only 10,500 seats when built.

47. McDonald, *John Levi of Haskell*, 43.

48. *Lawrence Journal-World*, February 19, 1925; and “Haskell Celebration,” 5.

49. “The New Stadium,” 12, 14; and Esther Burnett Horne and Sally McBeth, *Essie’s Story: The Life and Legacy of a Shoshone Teacher* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 37.

50. “John Levi,” photocopy, unidentified periodical, Stadium Dedication, 1926—Contributors file, HCCM.



When the weekend of October 27–30, 1926, finally arrived, all “Indian trails” did seem to lead to Lawrence as seventy tribal representatives gathered for the four-day celebration. The festivities included the main event—the dedication of the football stadium—but also an intertribal powwow, contests, parades, and a football game.

almost the length of the field.” On fund-raising trips, Levi received numerous invitations to powwows and into people’s homes to talk about the stadium project. McDonald called Levi’s athletic ability the “best ‘calling card’ a salesman ever had.”⁵¹

The weekend of October 27–30, 1926, turned all local and some national attention to Haskell Institute, as school officials had predicted and desired. Although local newspapers recorded little evidence of it, there was some initial opposition to the powwow and other demonstrations of traditional Native American customs. For example, the superintendent of the Standing Rock Agency in Fort Yates, North Dakota, disputed

plans for Indian Village and the barbecue because they would encourage “reactionary” elements among tribes to resist the “progressive” work that had already been accomplished by schools.⁵² Others feared that onlookers would allow traditional elements brought by guests to overshadow the progressive nature of Haskell students. In the end, the opinion of Hervey Peairs, general superintendent of Indian affairs, who had spent most of his career as an educator and administrator of Haskell between the 1880s and 1920s, trumped such criticism. Peairs argued that when Haskell students engaged in the celebration with Indian guests, they created an ideal opportunity for the public to see the contrasts between the present and past. The very presence of the thousands of visitors would make Haskell’s success even more obvious, he thought. Peairs stated that there was

51. *Kansas City Star*, October 10, 1926; and McDonald, *John Levi of Haskell*, 49.

52. E. D. Mossman quoted in Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do*, 40.

“no more effective method of teaching a lesson on any subject than by means of making comparisons and contrasts.” The weekend program provided “an opportunity to put on several contests” that would “very positively show progress of Indians through education” and cast traditional Indian culture as something that could be performed in the present but otherwise was relegated to the past.⁵³

At the dedication, Peairs admitted to the crowds of listeners that when he had started his work at Haskell almost forty years before, his impression had been that “Indians were an inferior race . . . they would not take on civilization; that the best Indian was a dead one.” He had later changed his mind, however, when he could report that “the students of Haskell are scattered all over this Nation, holding positions of responsibility, maintaining standards of right living, developing homes which are safe units for American citizenship.” While accepting the stadium on behalf of the Haskell students, William Jacobs, a Sioux, confirmed Peairs’s hopes by stating that the building of the stadium had prompted white Americans to acknowledge contributors as fellow Americans, “the greatest and perhaps the last milestone that we shall have to pass on our way from incompetence to unrestricted citizenship.” Jacobs’s remarks were followed by the singing of the unmistakably patriotic “The Star-Spangled Banner.”⁵⁴

Alumni had already articulated Peairs’s and Jacobs’s hope that Native Americans would be acknowledged as full citizens. When asking for funds to support the building of the stadium, Frank Jones, class of 1898, asked his fellow alumni not to “forget the lessons of service and loyalty, exemplified in the lives and work of [those] who gave up so much that we might be equipped by Haskell training, to go out into the world to fight our way into good citizenship and to compete in business, agriculture, the professions and in every walk of life.” He echoed the opinions of school officials when he reminded his classmates that a Haskell education had placed them in a category distinct from that of the visitors who would attend the festivities. Alumni should not only donate to the building fund but also attend the dedication because “they need your help.

The full-blood members are like children. They need your counsel, your inspiration and if you are sincere, honest, and clean in your own personal life, they will have confidence in you and will follow your example.”⁵⁵

Despite the rhetoric of citizenship and pride that school officials, students, and alumni expressed, many newspapers included descriptions of celebratory festivities as exotic and strange and therefore disruptive of the progressive narrative that Peairs and Haskell officials wanted to present to the public. The press sometimes grouped alumni with other visitors, and several articles likened Indians to animals. One claimed that there was madness infusing the dancing and drumming. The *Kansas City Times* reported, “Knees bend grotesquely; moccasined feet descend toe downward; arms rise and fall. Beribboned weapons are twirled and swung menacingly. But the dance is stopped before the ecstasy comes. Enough is enough.”⁵⁶ Author John Bloom argued that such descriptions of the dances made white readers see them as dangerous, exotic, and sexually charged—“far more a reflection of cultural tensions within the dominant society than of anything inherently sexual or exotic in the dances themselves.”⁵⁷ However, it is important to keep in mind the efforts of school officials to distinguish between their modern students and alumni and the other celebration visitors. If the distinction held, readers would understand that the visitors were the ones with exotic and unassimilable characteristics, while students and alumni represented a desirable future. The irony is that the money donated by the thousands of visitors who descended on Haskell’s campus in October 1926 provided the essential funding for the stadium. The stadium would stand as a symbol of pan-Indian pride, but the weekend celebration, when all Indian trails led to Lawrence, would expose the competing visions of Indian citizenship and the position of boarding schools in fashioning roles for the next generation of Native Americans. [KH]

53. Quoted in Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do*, 41–2.

54. “Haskell Celebration,” 12–15.

55. Frank O. Jones to Fellow Members of the Haskell Alumni Association, May 25, 1926, box 181, files I–J, RG 75, NARA.

56. *Kansas City Times*, October 30, 1926.

57. Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do*, 47–48.