

**"Leutwiler's Indian": Creating the "Chief" Tradition at the University of Illinois**

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 Illinois<sup>1</sup> 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."<sup>2</sup> At the completion of both band's performances, he and George Adams, another Illinois student dressed as "Benjamin Franklin" in a costume provided by UPenn, shared a catlinite pipe and left the field arm and arm.<sup>3</sup>

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

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<sup>1</sup> I will refer to the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Illinois as UPenn and Illinois, respectively.

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

<sup>3</sup> Carol Spindel, *Dancing at Halftime: Sports and the Controversy over American Indian Mascots* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 81.

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.”<sup>4</sup> 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.”<sup>5</sup> 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 the safe passage of white Americans.<sup>6</sup> The “Indian” 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 UPenn 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. 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

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<sup>4</sup> 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 Formations,” *American Antiquity* 54:2 (April 1989), 311-331.

<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> 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.

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 was no place for the “Indian” and “William Penn” to remain in the stadium. They appeared only to contextualize white inheritance of the field, the stadium, the university, and much more broadly, America. I argue that Leutwiler’s “Indian” performance was not originated within the confines of the sporting arena as previously argued; that the cultural performance, when transferred to the sporting field, relied upon common tropes of racialized performance learned through mascotry, progressive social organizations like the Boy Scouts of America, and popular literature; and finally, that in reintroducing the script of “Benjamin Franklin”/ “William Penn” to considerations of the origins of “Chief Illiniwek” the spectacle is revealed as being part of a fashioning of historical memory that elides colonial conquest and violence in order to affirm the right of white society to prohibit the inclusion of Indians into everyday life. To this end, I will examine the first performance of Lester Leutwiler on the sporting field, the ways in which many men learned cultural pedagogies of race and mascotry, and finally suggest a rationale why the University of Illinois community has consistently chosen to affirm the memory of “Chief Illiniwek” as a singular performance divorced from that of the UPenn and “Leutwiler’s Indian.”

### Making Room for Mascots

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.<sup>7</sup> Leutwiler’s

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<sup>7</sup> Spindel, *Dancing at Halftime*. C. Richard King and Charles Fruehling Springwood, eds. *Team Spirits: The Native American Mascots Controversy* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001). C. Richard King and

adoption of the “Chief Illiniwek” persona, which will be discussed in-depth later, 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 the untitled personae that became the basis for the “Chief” two years earlier during experiences as a Boy Scout and for performances at his alma mater, Urbana High School.<sup>8</sup> 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 an “Indian” prior to the supposed 1926 inception.<sup>9</sup> In fact, his performance was so well known to his classmates at Urbana High School that the yearbook contained multiple references to Leutwiler’s penchant for dressing as his Indian persona at school events.<sup>10</sup> 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 Indianness that was being undertaken in local and national venues including Urbana High School.

In order to fully recognize the nuances of colonial discourse operating in this inquiry and subsequent performance, it is important to consider the simultaneous revisionism of the UPenn mascot: “Benjamin Franklin” was immediately replaced in Illinois narratives both contemporarily by Leutwiler and in the student paper in favor of the mascot “William

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Charles Fruehling Springwood, eds. *Beyond the Cheers: Race as Spectacle in College Sport* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2001).

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

<sup>9</sup> Spindel Papers.

<sup>10</sup> Urbana High School, *The 1925 Rosemary* (Urbana, IL: Urbana High School, 1925.)

Penn.”<sup>11</sup> Scholars have continued this misidentification and, in doing so, have missed the suggestive nature of the replacement of “Benjamin Franklin” with “William Penn.” Why was “William Penn” memorialized and not “Benjamin Franklin” in Illinois narratives? The answer lies in the competing narratives of historical memory of William Penn’s relationship with Indians and 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 university mascot.<sup>12</sup> 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 of the state (Penn) and educational innovation (Franklin).

At the core of Illinois’ alteration of the discursively embodied mascot is the vibrant nature of the historical memory 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...”<sup>13</sup> 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

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<sup>11</sup> Nancy R. Miller, University of Pennsylvania Archivist, email message to author, May 4, 2007. Miller also noted this is conflation of “William Penn” and “Benjamin Franklin” became, and remains commonplace when discussing the University of Pennsylvania mascot tradition.

<sup>12</sup> Ivy League Calender, 1900, container 366, University Memorabilia Collection, 1787-2006, University of Pennsylvania University Archives and Records Center, Philadelphia.

<sup>13</sup> James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999), 29.

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.”<sup>14</sup> Benjamin West believed that the “savages [were] brought into harmony and peace by justice and benevolence” and “a conquest that was made over native peoples without sword or dagger.”<sup>15</sup> 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.”<sup>16</sup> 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.”<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> 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. 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.

<sup>15</sup> Spady, 18.

<sup>16</sup> Spady, 19.

<sup>17</sup> Shari M. Huhndorf, *Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 11.

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.<sup>18</sup> He does not suggest the complex, and often violent process of colonial encounters between the Lenape and Pennsylvanians. Nor does the narrative of encounter between colonists and Indians in the state of Illinois come to the fore. Instead, the scripted exchange suggests a benign interplay between Indians and colonists without nuance or elaboration. A secondary motivation to the re-naming may underlie the revisionism enacted by the University of Illinois community: Franklin had chastised white Pennsylvanians who, in 1764, massacred Indians indiscriminately because of their race and contested the right of white Americans to forcibly remove Indians. Franklin argued that Pennsylvanians had violated Penn’s original peaceable intentions to form the settlement.<sup>19</sup> In contesting the right of whites to undertake any measures deemed necessary to secure their place in colonial Pennsylvania, Franklin positioned himself contrary to the interests of many Pennsylvanians and to whites who continued the colonial project by moving westward. As such, “William Penn” provided a more pristine representation of white conquest than Franklin for whites anxious about their place in a rapidly changing world.

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

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<sup>18</sup> Leutwiler, “Chief Illiniwek Tradition”.

<sup>19</sup> Benjamin Franklin, “A Narrative of the Late Massacres” in *Franklin: Writings*, edited by J.A. Leo LeMay (New York: Viking Press, 1987), 540-546.

athletic teams with the purchase of a bulldog in 1889 named Handsome Dan, the use of mascots by athletic teams is much more complex.<sup>20</sup> The University of Pennsylvania football team posed in 1895 with a live dog and other football teams quickly began to appropriate animals as mascots.<sup>21</sup> Animals, who were often cherished members of the teams and communities, were primarily good luck charms. Athletes often rubbed their heads prior to games or paraded them alongside the athletic field. Often caricatured in local papers, these animal mascots became symbolic of team and university names and were pitted in cartoon battles with one another to advertise athletic contests.<sup>22</sup>

Individual performances at athletic contests 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.<sup>23</sup> “John Orangeman” was, in fact, John Lovett, an Irishman who immigrated from County Kerry, Ireland in 1855 and peddled fruit in Harvard Yard.<sup>24</sup> Bequeathed with a cart by students, Lovett marketed his wares at Harvard football and baseball games where “the students decorated him with crimson streamers.”<sup>25</sup> Lovett’s attendance, while generating enthusiasm and support for Harvard, was not a constructed spectacle of racialized performance per se. Instead, it would be more appropriate to consider Lovett a preferred fan-entrepreneur versus a mascot. Lovett’s association with mascotry was because of his proximity to the sporting field as well as the approximation of

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<sup>20</sup> Yale University Bulldog Tradition, <http://yalebulldogs.cstv.com/trads/dani.html>, <1 April 2007> (hereafter cited as Bulldog Tradition).

<sup>21</sup> Football Team, 1895 Group Portrait, University of Pennsylvania University Archives and Records Center, Philadelphia.

<sup>22</sup> Jennifer Guiliano, “And the Band Went Marching” (working paper, unpublished, 2008.)

<sup>23</sup> 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 declaration is true given the lack of evidence available.

<sup>24</sup> Patricia H. Rodgers, Charles Sullivan, and the Cambridge Historical Commission. *A Photographic History of Cambridge*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984 cited in:

<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/award97/mhsdhtml/harvardbldgs.html#hbft4>

<sup>25</sup> “John the Orangeman Dead,” *The New York Times*, August 13, 1906, 7.

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. Lovett's lower-class status, in the eyes of Harvard students and fans, could possibly be mediated 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.<sup>26</sup>

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.<sup>27</sup> "Diminutive, odd-looking, and often bearing some physical deformity, black mascots were the physical embodiment of black men as backward, brutes, or dandies."<sup>28</sup> 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

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<sup>26</sup> Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Penguin Books, 2002.)

<sup>27</sup> Adrian Burgos, Jr. *Playing America's Game: Baseball, Latinos, and the Color Line* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007), 91. 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.

<sup>28</sup> *The Sporting News*, August 25, 1888 quoted in Burgos, 92.

celebrated ‘double shuffles’ to dispel all traces of care, even on the gloomiest occasion.”<sup>29</sup> Described here as superstitious totem slash performer, Duval’s role is clearly different from that of Jim Lovett, who did not “perform” in the vaudevillian racialized sense. Lovett’s decorations, while comical at moments, were not embedded with racialized overtones of subservience. Duval’s blackness was openly derided. 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.’”<sup>30</sup> The historical record is 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 1880s 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 and his relationship to the Cleveland Indians name positions Indians within the hierarchy of racial understanding.

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.<sup>31</sup> Stimulated by the transfer of Lajoie to

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<sup>29</sup> 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. Malloy, “Out at Home,” p. 24.

<sup>30</sup> Levine, 104.

<sup>31</sup> 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. 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 and positions the name-change as squarely relating to Louis Frances Sockalexis.

Philadelphia in 1915, the Cleveland name was chosen not through a contest in a local newspaper as most [including sportswriters, the Cleveland club, fans, and contemporary scholars]<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup> 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.”<sup>34</sup> Cleveland fans between 1897 and 1899, when he formally left the club, remarked caustically on his supposed alcoholism, laziness, and irresponsible behavior.<sup>35</sup> 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

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<sup>32</sup> Jeffrey Powers-Beck, “Chief,” *American Indian Quarterly* 25:4 (2001), 525.

<sup>33</sup> *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, January 17, 1914.

<sup>34</sup> Powers-Beck, “Chief,” 508.

<sup>35</sup> Staurowsky, 305.

“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. Returning to the mascotry framework, Indians, while not outrightly subjected to physical abuse like Duval and other black mascots, were obviously positioned as “other.” They 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.

### Cultural Pedagogies of Learning: the Indian “Race”

Jim Crow America was a place fascinated with race and the implications of race. For Natives, who had garnered citizenship in 1924, Jim Crow America continued to offer familiar challenges: housing, jobs, a continual quest support for oneself and one’s family, struggles for education, and political recognition. It is imperative to consider that the Illinois-UPenn spectacle did not occur in an historical vacuum separate from these struggles. In cities like Chicago, with its large Native American community, the struggle for economic freedom and personal satisfaction was shaped by everyday experiences of race and racism. The period was ripe with cultural artifacts and popular representations of Indians. 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*.<sup>36</sup> They saw “actual” Indians at Chicago’s Columbian Exhibition, passed them (often without

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<sup>36</sup> “Indian Students Not Dying,” *New York Times*, January 5, 1890, 3. “Suicide was 105 Years Old,” *New York Times*, January 8, 1900, 5.

recognition) on the streets, and visited touring shows like Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show to relive the experience of American victory over Plains Indians.<sup>37</sup>

By the 1920s, the vast majority of adolescent men and women were also learning of Indians through social organizations founded by progressive reformers. Lester Leutwiler was educated 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 Hubbard, in Elbert, Colorado."<sup>38</sup> By focusing on the "normal, morally wholesome, and socially respectable" young man like Leutwiler, the BSA established itself as the premier organization to educate young men of their role in the growing nation. They "embodied the diffuse idealism of the Progressive Era...They relied upon recreational programs to nurture and discipline capacities which they summed up as character."<sup>39</sup>

Indians were not external to organizations like the Boy Scouts of America, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), and Seton's Indians, which often shared both board

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<sup>37</sup> It is important to note here that the dominance of the myth of Indians as "reservation" peoples with long-braided hair and feathered and beaded clothes has overshadowed the large number of urban Indian communities who crafted multi-tribal socio-cultural organizations that defied economic and racial restrictions of the Jim Crow era.

<sup>38</sup> Leutwiler, "Chief Illiniwek Tradition". John L. Strohm, *Daily Illini*, August 10, 1934. A contradictory narrative of the origins of the Leutwiler and William Penn costumes were posed by John L. Strohm, a *Daily Illini* reporter, upon Raymond Dvorak's retirement from the University of Illinois in 1934. Strohm claimed that Dvorak had rented both an Indian costume for Leutwiler's use and a "William Penn Quaker" costume for the initial exchange. Given that Leutwiler had been utilizing his own costume for community performances and Boy Scout events, it is more likely that Strohm mistakenly ascribed the costume to Dvorak because of Dvorak's role in securing Leutwiler's performance.

<sup>39</sup> David I. MacLeod, *Building Character in the American Boy* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 3-4.

members and youth members.<sup>40</sup> In fact, many Indians participated actively in the success of these programs. 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.<sup>41</sup> 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."<sup>42</sup>

Although speaking of an "Indian boy's training" we get a sense of Eastman's feelings about the necessities of Native life: 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."<sup>43</sup>

The involvement of progressive reformers, including Natives like Eastman, who were deeply invested in issues of race, citizenship, and nationhood, significantly shaped social organizations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Importantly, many of these programs featured a response to increasing urbanization and a nostalgic longing for a rural romantic

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<sup>40</sup> Chicago publisher William Bryce recruited Edgar Robinson, Senior Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association (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. 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.

<sup>41</sup> Drew Lopenzina, "Good Indian": Charles Eastman and the Warrior as Civil Servant," *American Indian Quarterly* 27:3/4 (Summer/Fall 2003): 727-757.

<sup>42</sup> Lopenzina, 728-729.

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

past in the form of rural camping grounds and Indian programming. Incorporated into the new BSA organization were Seton's Indians, founded by Ernest Thompson Seaton in 1900 and made widely available to the public in 1903's *How to Play Injun*, a collection of six articles by Seaton. "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 Seaton 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."<sup>44</sup>

Targeting middle-class heterosexual Protestant adolescents between the ages of twelve and eighteen by 1920, the Boy Scouts of America had become 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."<sup>45</sup> Leutwiler served as a volunteer in the Champaign-Urbana community and often presented his "Indian" dance at community events for the education of those around him. Leutwiler had earned the title of Eagle Scout just prior to his departure for the Second International Jamboree in Denmark. Ann Leutwiler-

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<sup>44</sup> Brian Morris, "Ernest Thompson Seaton and the Origins of the Woodcraft Movement," *Journal of Contemporary History* 5:2 (1970), 187.

<sup>45</sup> E.S. Martin, "A Double-Barrelled Social Agency: the Boy Scouts of America," *Social Forces* 4:1 (Sept. 1925), 94-97.

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."<sup>46</sup> 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 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 of Bloomington, Illinois, 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 at 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 fan. His son Ralph, who became Leutwiler's mentor, spent his formative years participating in his father's ventures, including the family furniture business, Roycroft which was a center for intellectual life with visits by prominent intellectuals of the day.<sup>47</sup> Simultaneously, Ralph surveyed contemporary Indian life while 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

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<sup>46</sup> Ann Leutwiler-Brandenberg, communication with Carol Spindel, n.d., in Spindel Papers.

<sup>47</sup> The list of luminaries who dined 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. Yost, 59-60.

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...”<sup>48</sup> [close proximity---anthropological spectacle not personal contact] 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.”<sup>49</sup>

After traveling west to experience life among the Crow and to educate himself at the University of Colorado, 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, a frequent visitor at Roycroft, was the Chief Boy 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.”<sup>50</sup> Hubbard’s emotional affinity for Indian dance suggested a level of life-long dedication that was undoubtedly genuine.<sup>51</sup> Yet, Hubbard failed to understand the nuance and contextualization associated with these dances. In altering the gestures, the meaning of the performance likely changed. Many dances are highly ritualized and to shift the sequence of the performance or the slightest gesture would suggest an entirely different

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<sup>48</sup> Yost, 35.

<sup>49</sup> Yost, 61.

<sup>50</sup> Yost, 35.

<sup>51</sup> Hubbard 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 University in Ohio, Cornell, and at the University of Colorado at Boulder. Yost, 71.

series of meanings. Further, some dances were proscribed for certain community members. To participate without being authorized by the community would have violated cultural norms.

Hubbard was appointed by the Boy Scouts to create a display of Indian dancing and crafts for the first World Jamboree.<sup>52</sup> He gathered teepees and other materials from his Colorado ranch as well as costumes for ninety boys and set off for London. 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.”<sup>53</sup> The first Jamboree was considered dramatic and highly successful. 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.”<sup>54</sup> Leutwiler was just such a lad.

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

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<sup>52</sup> Yost, 106.

<sup>53</sup> Yost, 107.

<sup>54</sup> Yost, 109.

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.<sup>55</sup> 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.<sup>56</sup> The City Jamborees, while controlled exclusively by Hubbard, also featured invited guests. Artists, painters, musicians, members of the forestry service, and Indians themselves contributed to programs that would dominate many young white boys’ understanding of what being an Indian meant. Even as they contributed, the lives of men like Santa Clara Pueblo Indian Ben Naranjo and Navajo Richard Long have been largely relegated to the margins of history.<sup>57</sup> Employed first on 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.”<sup>58</sup> Hubbard’s Jamboree also offered the opportunity for select young 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

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<sup>55</sup> Yost, 114.

<sup>56</sup> Yost, 119.

<sup>57</sup> Yost, 116-117.

<sup>58</sup> Yost, 119.

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."<sup>59</sup> The actions and feelings of these Indian boys remain unexplored. Were they willing participants or merely curiosities?

The Boy Scout Jamborees and Hubbard's camp served as loci for the dissemination of ideas about Indians to far-flung areas. Each boy who journeyed to a Jamboree was able to return to his 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."<sup>60</sup> Lester Leutwiler likely attended one of the camps available to him in Chicago or St. Louis and, without a doubt, enacted an educational program for his classmates at Urbana High School. An entire verse of the 1925 Class Memorial Poem was devoted to Leutwiler's Indian antics as a Boy Scout.<sup>61</sup> It was this highly nuanced theoretical production that Leutwiler was invested in during the formation of his "Indian" performance.

### Becoming Chief Illiniwek

We must not forget that Leutwiler was not alone as he was dancing his "frenzied war dance" of toe heel movements, low ground kicks, half moon, and full moon steps down the Illinois football field expressing his understanding of Indian life and performance--he was accompanied by the sounds of the University of Illinois band.<sup>62</sup> In fact, I argue that it was the

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<sup>59</sup> Yost, 118.

<sup>60</sup> Yost, 115-116.

<sup>61</sup> Urbana High School, *The 1925 Rosemary* (Urbana, IL: Urbana High School, 1925.)

<sup>62</sup> 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.

University of Illinois band that 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 broadened the dynamics between athletics and fans to encompass social rituals of belonging beyond the discrete boundaries of the game of football.

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 tempo, countermarch, and then march back again.”<sup>63</sup> With an emphasis on straightness, precision, and the execution of turns, University bands mimicked regimental martial order. Albert Austin Harding, the band director at Illinois, 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. 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.<sup>64</sup>

The sounds of the Illinois band were becoming localized to the specific University of Illinois

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<sup>63</sup> Charles Righter, “Something New in Marching Bands?” *The Instrumentalist*, November 1956, 24 in 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). 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.

<sup>64</sup> “Oskee-Wow-Wow” in A. Austin Harding Collection, Box 98, folder 7.

fan community. Thousands heard when singing Thatcher Howland Guild's "Illinois Loyalty":

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.<sup>65</sup>

They recognized, along with student composers Harold Hill and Harold Green, the growing intercollegiate rivalry between colleges, in "Oskee-wow-wow":

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.

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<sup>65</sup> "Illinois Loyalty" University of Illinois Archives, Illinois Songs and Music, 1903-1958. Box 2. Thatcher Howland Guild, *We're Loyal to You, Illinois*, Melrose Music Corporation (New York: 1906) in Burford, 179.

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.<sup>66</sup>

The University of Illinois had been using pseudo-Indian words and language since the 1890s. It served to differentiate Illinois, and its Midwestern location, from the erudite east coast schools of Harvard, Princeton, and Yale. Illinois celebrated their unique “Alma Mater” with Hill and Green:

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.<sup>67</sup>

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 “Leutwiler’s Indian.”<sup>68</sup> Moderate in tempo, he danced that October day to the music of “Illinois Loyalty,” “Oskee-Wow-Wow,” and “Hail to the Orange.” Leutwiler had not, in all likelihood, ever performed to this particular combination. Leutwiler’s performances at

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<sup>66</sup> “Oskee-Wow-Wow” University of Illinois Archives, Illinois Songs and Music, 1903-1958. Box 2. Burford, 171. Burford, 181.

<sup>67</sup> “Hail to the Orange” University of Illinois Archives, Illinois Songs and Music, 1903-1958. Box 2

<sup>68</sup> Ann Leutwiler-Brandenberg, communication with Carol Spindel, n.d., in Spindel Papers.

Urbana High School and with his Boy Scout Troop were more likely accompanied by schoolmates and 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. The performance of "Leutwiler's Indian" was fluid prior to its transition to the sporting field. Leutwiler had no set script, music, or arena. It was not until "Leutwiler's Indian" converged with the music of "Illinois Loyalty," "Hail to the Orange" and "Oskee-Wow-Wow" that the performance script of the "Chief" became solidified.

The conditions of emergence that authorized the halftime spectacle of music and dance remained generally consistent following the adoption of the moniker "Chief."<sup>69</sup> "Leutwiler's Indian" was quickly renamed "Chief Illiniwek" by football coach Robert C.

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<sup>69</sup> Judith Butler, *Giving An Account of Oneself* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2005.)

Zuppke at a University pep rally in 1926.<sup>70</sup> This re-naming served as a clear demarcation by community members of the meaning of the Indian performance. It was no longer “Leutwiler’s Indian” but instead the more general “Chief Illiniwek,” a leader of the supposedly-extinct Illinois Indians. The script was further written by Band Director Harding and University administrators who commissioned 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, to produce music for the “Chief Illiniwek” halftime performance.<sup>71</sup> “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.”<sup>72</sup>

The music itself, “Pride of the Illini” and “March of the Illini” written by King and Alford respectively, legitimated Leutwiler’s performance for the audience by presenting familiar themes and tones of pseudo-Indian life. 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.<sup>73</sup>

“Pride of the Illini” was the first overture in communicating the narrative of civilization and expansion. Band members in their martial uniforms took their place along the

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<sup>70</sup> Leutwiler-Brandenberg

<sup>71</sup> 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. Ann Leutwiler-Brandenberg, communication with Carol Spindel, n.d., in Spindel Papers. 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](http://www.uillinois.edu/trustees/dialogue/report_files/IV.html)

<sup>72</sup> Leutwiler-Brandenberg, 5.

<sup>73</sup> Jennifer Guiliano, “Leutwiler’s Indian: Creating “Indian” Tradition, Dissertation in Progress.

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 that erased colonial violence, conquest, and the lingering anxiety of modern life.<sup>74</sup> The music called forth the “Indian” and signaled a shift in the ritual performance by creating an aural demarcation of the space of “Chief Illiniwek.” “Chief Illiniwek” existed during a very specific moment within the space of the stadium as a solitary figure. 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 as a duel between “civilization” in the guise of the band and the “primitive” in the form of “Chief Illiniwek.” 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 the 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

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<sup>74</sup> Originally composed years earlier under the title “Battle of Tippecanoe,” the “March of the Illini” seamlessly merged “Indian” music with band arranging. The rapid tom-tom beat of the drum that King, in his role as composer for the Sells Floto- Buffalo Bill Wild West Show, 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.

the field leaving behind the fans as the inheritors of the metaphorical land, the football stadium.

### The Inheritors Conclude

The University of Illinois was created for white men, by white men, for the benefit of white men to educate white men in the practice of being white men in America. The training of athletes in faux-military combat, band members in military drill and precision, and the fans in rituals of community all suggested that the role of white men was as controlled, contributing members of local society. By extension the re-scripted halftime performance of “Chief Illiniwek” that marginalized Indian subjects was simply an extension of the mission of the University, stated or unstated: to train young men (and a growing number of women) how to be citizens invested in preserving the legacies of colonial conquest.

“Leutwiler’s Indian” became “Chief Illiniwek” through an elaborated constructed half time spectacle. For University of Illinois fans and community members, including Leutwiler, the production of Indianness at halftime allowed them to transform the lived textualities of their everyday performance of self into an authorized condition of community that allowed for a collective social lexicon and dialogue. The conditions of surveillance, in the form of the newly constructed Memorial Stadium and the activity of going to a game transcended perceived social, racial, gendered and educational differences that were inherent to the growing community. The Champaign-Urbana community which enclosed the University of Illinois was not homogenous. It included, but was not limited to: international students, rural farmers, laborers and service workers, east coast intellectuals, and students from a variety of racial and socio-economic backgrounds. As such, the practice of

community had to be continually made and remade in order to shore up the perception of the University as a place for white elites (particularly men) that was constantly being contested by intellectual development, the inclusion of women, and the constantly shifting nature of the composition of the student body. The university was constantly in flux as a community and had to be preserved through acts of socialization and surveillance like the ritual of the football game and its halftime performance. Thus, as the community moved farther away from the historical interactions with Indians themselves and “Chief Illiniwek” performed again and again, the significance remained the same. It was not about the understanding of the particular condition of Illinois Indians and the pipe exchange enacted by “William Penn” and “Leutwiler’s Indian” but instead about the generic “Chief Illiniwek” and the relationship between community members who observed this spectacular ritual. “Chief Illiniwek” became a bridge between the University community and the surrounding Champaign-Urbana world. The “Chief” appeared at community functions, would perform for local youth and social organization, and generally served as an ambassador of the University to the growing community that may or may not have been actively enrolled in the University. “Chief Illiniwek” would come to serve not just as a University performance but as a cultural performance of community allegiance that would supersede many of the fissions associated with the expanding Champaign-Urbana world, be they economic, racial, or gendered.

In re-scripting the halftime spectacle, renaming the performer, and deemphasizing the role of “William Penn,” the University of Illinois was able to affirm an entire community of meaning: fans became “Illini,” the football field and stadium became the “war,” and no matter the outcome of the football game, no matter a loss or a victory, the University of Illinois and its community was always able to establish a sense of order to their world by

participating in the halftime spectacle. By the 1930s, schools across the United States had adopted their own manifestations of the halftime spectacle and were actively engaged in affirming that they, individually, communally, and as institutions, were able to determine their own identity.