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## NATIVE AMERICAN BOARDING SCHOOL BANDS AND THEIR BANDMASTERS. Project File 4: BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF IMPORTANT BANDMASTERS

Peter M. Lefferts

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**12/15/2022**

**NATIVE AMERICAN BOARDING SCHOOL BANDS  
AND THEIR BANDMASTERS**

**Project File 4: BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF IMPORTANT BANDMASTERS**

Peter M. Lefferts

This is the fourth of five on-line text files in which I assemble my research notes about boys' bands and their bandmasters at the US government's Native American off-reservation inter-tribal boarding schools. It is material that covers a span of about fifty years from the 1880s to the 1930s. I principally have put into some kind of order a mass of data that draws upon online digital newspapers and genealogy databases. What follows here is not a finished, polished document. Everything on offer is still work in progress, inconsistent in formatting and with missing data and the occasional typographical error. I invite queries, amplifications, and corrections, which may be directed to plefferts1@unl.edu. The present document is a first draft of December 2022.

Project File 1: GENERAL TOPICS

Project File 2: BANDS AT THE OMAHA INDIAN CONGRESSES, 1898 & 1899

Project File 3: THE PRINCIPAL SCHOOLS AND THEIR BANDS

Project File 4: BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF IMPORTANT BANDMASTERS

Project File 5: NATIVE AMERICANS ON THE CHAUTAUQUA CIRCUITS:

THE ROLE OF THURLOW LIEURANCE AND LINCOLN'S UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF MUSIC

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**PROJECT FILE 4**

**BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF IMPORTANT BANDMASTERS**

**INTRODUCTION**

This document presents brief biographical sketches of some of the most important European-American and Native-American bandmasters at the federal government's major Native American off-reservation inter-tribal boarding schools. They worked at the schools with the biggest and liveliest extra-curricular band programs. The time span here is from the origins of each school's program into the 1930s or 1940s. The concentration in every case is on the individual bandmaster's public career. Band histories for eight major schools are provided in a separate document (Project File 3), and some of the bandmasters who are not individually sketched here receive attention there. Repetition between band history and bandmaster biographies is inevitable, as the leading bandmasters mostly circulated between the leading schools; theirs are inextricably intertwined stories.

Exceptions are made here to add brief biographical surveys of Samuel McCowan, not a bandmaster but a major figure in band history who was the superintendent at Albuquerque, Phoenix, and Chillico; Harold A. Loring, not a bandmaster but the Supervisor of Native Music for the Office of Indian Affairs in 1905-1906 who pushed for the introduction of indigenous music into the boarding schools; William Winneshiek, a Carlisle-

trained musician who ran a professional band in the 1930s and whose career intersected with that of James Riley Wheelock; and Lem Wiley, who took over the St. Louis Exposition band.

Search this document for LASTNAME BIO to find each entry.

LIST:

Bent, George W.  
Blackhoop, Frank David  
Bruce, Robert (older)  
Bruce, Robert (younger)  
Carner, Harry L.  
Cato, Phil  
Chapman, Francis  
Coleman, Clara  
De Poe, Robert  
Ettinger, Joel  
Garvie, James  
Hill, David Russell  
Holy Eagle, James  
King, Thomas  
Lamar, Charles  
Loring, Harold A.  
McCowan, Sam  
Melovidoff, Alex  
Nelson, Nels Samuel  
Norman, Phil  
Devine, James  
Skenandore, Edwin  
Smith, Fred. E.  
Stauffer, Claude Maxwell  
Tyrrell, George F.  
Venne, Alfred  
Venne, Peter  
Walter, Paul  
Wheelock, Dennison  
Wheelock, James Riley  
Wiley, Lem  
Winneshiek, William

## GEORGE BENT BIO

George W. Bent (1876-1943) was a Native American (Cheyenne) disciplinarian, bandmaster and athletic coach at US government off-reservation inter-tribal boarding schools. In this context, he is associated as student and teacher with schools including Carlisle, Haskell, Tomah, Fort Totten, Chilocco, Flandreau, Genoa, and Chemawa.

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George W. Bent, jr., Cheyenne from Oklahoma, was from a distinguished family and the son of the very prominent George Bent, sr., so he is George Bent, jr on the Indian rolls; born about 1876 in Colorado; regularly on U.S. Indian Census Rolls and the Oklahoma and Indian Territory, Indian Census Rolls. Indian Rolls consistently give a birth year of 1876 or 1877 but other sources give 1881, 1882, 1884, 1887, etc. He is reported to have been born in either Colorado or Oklahoma, confusing the state where he happened to be born with where his tribe was located and where he principally grew up.

His Portland Oregonian obituary on page one of the sports section (Sunday, December 26, 1943, p. 35 [Section 4, p. 1] states:

“Ex-Indian Athlete Passes at Salem/ George W. Bent, 61, noted Indian athlete of Haskell Institute and Carlisle Indian school and athletic director at Chemawa Indian school from 1914 to 1918, died here Saturday. He had retired from the Indian service in 1935 and made his home in Salem. Bent was a member of a family prominent in the Cheyenne tribe.”

A photo caption in Kiowa County, Images of America Series (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, for the Eads High School Local History Project and the Kiowa County Historical Society, 2010), p. 17 calls him a music teacher at Native American schools in Genoa, Nebraska and Chemawa, Oregon.

He is said to have been educated first at a Quaker school in Wabash, Ind. This is undoubtedly White's Institution (Josiah White's Manual Labor Institute) of Wabash, IN. Gertrude Simmons (Zitkala-Sa), just one year younger, was educated here from 1884-1887.

## HASKELL

A Haskell student from 1884 to 1897 (Indian Leader, 20/4, September 29, 1916, p. 24) from a very young age, with one year away at Carlisle. He probably graduated in 1895, spent a year away, and then came back for advanced work. An article by Donald J. Berthrong for the Kansas State Historical Society says he was there from 1884 to 1899, in the commercial and teaching departments. This aligns with a first job at Tomah (see below).

## CARLISLE

Bent spends one year at Carlisle, 1895-1896, before returning to Haskell. His data card at Carlisle indicates that he had initially been expecting to stay for a full five-year period. Cornetist in the band under Dennison Wheelock in 1895.

See also [http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student\\_files/george-w-bent-jr-student-file](http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/george-w-bent-jr-student-file)

## HASKELL

Bent self-reports to Carlisle that he left that school in 1896 for Haskell, graduated from Haskell's Commercial Department in 1897, and then was a Haskell graduate of its Normal Department in 1899 (Carlisle student records; see also Lawrence (KS) Daily Journal, May 30, 1899; Indian Leader, 20/4, September 29, 1916, p. 24).

## TOMAH

1899: George Bent, born in Colorado in 1877, is a teacher at the Tomah Boarding School in Wisconsin in the US 1900 Census; also, he is there in ARCIA 1900, with his first appointment in September 1899. He evidently got this as his first job after earning his teaching degree from Haskell. Called teacher and bandmaster at Tomah in Lawrence (KS) Daily Journal, May 30, 1899. Not in ARCIA again at this school, so he may have left Tomah fairly quickly.

1901: George Bent married Jessie M. Peck of Pine Ridge, S.D., in Valentine Nebraska, on July 15, 1901.

## FORT TOTTEN

In a report to Carlisle, he does not mention Tomah, but says he was teacher and disciplinarian at Fort Totten, N.D. He also says he was promoted to Disciplinarian (no school given) in 1903, so he probably began at Tomah and then moved to Fort Totten with the promotion to disciplinarian or assistant disciplinarian. ARCIA 1904 names George W. Bent as Disciplinarian at Fort Totten Boarding School. A clipping from a print source in his Carlisle file says he is formerly disciplinarian at the Fort Totten school and is transferred to Chilocco as assistant disciplinarian.

## CHILOCCO

1904-1906: At Chilocco as assistant disciplinarian. He is identified with the band, too.

## FLANDREAU

1906-1908: Flandreau

It is reported that George William Bent, who had been Bandmaster and assistant disciplinarian at Chilocco for nearly two years, left to be disciplinarian at Flandreau (Carlisle record; see also The Indian School Journal, vol. 7, no. 8 (1906), p. 57). He is there coaching football in 1907, acc. The Indian School Journal.

## CHILOCCO

1908-1910: At Chilocco again. The Native American, vol. 9, January 25, 1908, p. 27, reporting on Changes in Indian Service in December 1907, says that Bent, the disciplinarian at Flandreau, earning \$720, is going to be a teacher at Chilocco for \$600. From The Indian School Journal, "he and his wife and child are again with us."

A clipping from a print source in his Carlisle file says the Chilocco Athletic Association gave him a reception in February 1910 in anticipation of his departure for his ranch in South Dakota (and it also says his stay at Chilocco was for about four years, which cannot be right). In a long letter from Flandreau, dated December 15, 1910, Bent says he just resigned from Chilocco last March, and went home to his ranch to make some improvements. He then accepted the job at Flandreau and re-entered Indian Service.

## FLANDREAU

1910: In the letter cited just above, he started at Flandreau in the Fall of 1910. Further, in a "Record of Graduates and Returned Students" form, that he sent to Carlisle which is in his Carlisle student file, dated November 29, 1910, he says he is Bandmaster and Athletic Director at Flandreau, and his present address is there, and he also has a house on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Later items in his Carlisle file suggest he was at Flandreau until 1914.

1910: George Bent is teaching at the Pine Ridge Indian reservation in the US 1910 Census (thus, probably while living on his ranch there in the summer), with wife Jessie and son Alonzo.

1911: A clipping from a print source in his Carlisle file, dated 1911 by hand in pencil, quoting the letter of December 1910, says he is now band-master and athletic director at Flandreau. This is surely from The Carlisle Arrow 7/22 (February 3, 1911), p. 1.

## PINE RIDGE

A card in Bent's Carlisle School file says that he was Bandmaster at Flandreau in 1910 but working at Pine Ridge as a Forest Guard in 1911 (at \$60 per month), and then at Genoa in 1912. He probably finished the spring term of 1911 at Flandreau, went back to Pine Ridge for the rest of the calendar year, and then moved to Genoa in the spring of 1912.

## GENOA (1912-1918)

Bent is at the Genoa School as disciplinarian for about six-and-a-half school years, from 1912 to 1918. The Carlisle Arrow 8/35, May 10, 1912, p. 1 reports Indian Service changes for December 1911 and January 1912, and George W. Bent is moving to be disciplinarian at Genoa. NB: He was primarily just the disciplinarian across that span, but in 1917-1918 he directed the band for one year, after the departure of Nelson.

1913: In a letter back to Carlisle that is in his student file that is dated February 27, 1913, he identifies himself as disciplinarian at Genoa, and probably this means he has held the post since the fall of 1912. further, a card in his Carlisle file also reports that he is at Genoa as disciplinarian in 1912 and 1915.

1913: A card in his Carlisle student files notes that he is listed in June 1913 for the position of disciplinarian at Genoa.

- 1915: Items in his Carlisle student files, dated January 25, 1915, and January 26, 1915, indicate that he is the disciplinarian at Genoa, and his present address is at Genoa.
- 1916: He is enrolled at a Summer Institute at Haskell (Native American, vol. 17, 1916, p. 227).
- 1917: In September 1917, Bent was disciplinarian of the Genoa school and was visiting old friends at Haskell (The Indian Leader, 21/2, September 14, 1917, p. 2).
- 1918: The Indian Leader 21/26 (March 1, 1918), p. 2, reports Bent's transfer from Genoa to Chemawa.

## CHEMAWA

- 1918: Leaving Genoa, Bent was from 1918 into the 1920s the disciplinarian and athletic director at Chemawa (Phoenix, The Native American, vol. 19, 1918, p. 245), and he was a resident of Salem, OR for the rest of his life. Deeply involved in the Boy Scouts of America. First chair cornet in the Salem Symphony Orchestra.
- 1918: The Native American 19 (1918), p. 245 reports that he is in an Officers Training Camp at the University of Oregon.
- 1919: In June 1919, he is the disciplinarian, and he is preparing about 100 students to perform a pageant (Portland Oregonian, June 4, 1919, p. 6).
- 1920: George W. Bent, 39 years old, born in Colorado, divorced, is disciplinarian at the Chemawa School in the US 1920 Census.
- 1923: George W. Bent marries Ora Scholder of Salem, Or. in Vancouver, Washington on February 8, 1923 (certificate says he is born in Oklahoma).
- 1924, April: He is one of the cornets in the school orchestra directed by Ruthvyn Turney in 1924, and plays a solo (Portland Oregonian, April 28, 1924, p. 9).
- 1924, September: Bent is explicitly directing the band (Portland Oregonian, September 25, 1924, p. 8), and directs it for one year. He will lead it, at last on specific occasions if not regularly, in later years.
- 1928: He is disciplinarian at Chemawa in the 1928 Salem City Directory, and in the 1930 US Census (born in Colorado).
- 1940: In the US 1940 Census he is in Salem, widowed, with birthplace in Oklahoma, and no occupation, so presumably retired.
- 1942: George William Bent fills out a 1942 WWII Draft Registration Card; he is 56, born in Darlington, Oklahoma on October 21, 1881, living in Salem, OR.
- 1943: He dies in 1943 and is buried in Salem.



## FRANK DAVID BLACKHOOP BIO

Frank David Blackhoop (1897-1970), "Hewetate", Native American bandmaster (Lakota Sioux) at US government off-reservation intertribal boarding schools. In this context, he is associated as student and teacher with Hampton, Chilocco, Tuba City, Phoenix, Sherman, and Fort Yates.

NAME: David Frank Blackhoop; F. Blackhoop and D. Blackhoop; he is in the Indian Rolls under both David and Frank. Also, the last name can be "Black Hoop."

Lakota Sioux, from Standing Rock Indian Reservation, Cannon Ball, North Dakota, about 40 miles south of Bismark, ND. Father and mother are Benedict and Agnes Blackhoop. Father was a native Congregational missionary (he gets mentions as a child in The American Missionary and Annual Report of the American Missionary Association). His 1918 WWI Draft Registration Card gives his address in Cannon Ball, ND.

DATES: For name Frank, Indian Rolls tend to give 1896, but one gives 27 June 1897. For David, they give 1897. Hampton enrollment sheets give June 27, 1897. He gives June 27, 1897 on his WWI Draft Registration Card.

In US 1930 Census, he bandmaster at the Phoenix Indian School, and he is 29 and wife Irene is 25. It says they married when he was 23 and she was 17, so about six years before (and they are six years apart in age).

Went to Cannonball Day School in Shields, N.D., for eight years and finished the eighth grade at his home agency, which would be 1902-1910, from ages 5 to 13.

Then attended Fort Yates Boarding School for 2 years, which would be 1910-1912, from ages 13 to 15.

Then attended Santee Normal Training School for three years (essentially, for high school), which would be 1912-1915, from ages 15 to 18.

?? He's a (visiting) flutist playing a solo at Carlisle in 1913-1914 ??

## HAMPTON

Frankhoop was at Hampton for six years, 1915-1921, from age 18 to 24, graduating with the Class of 1921; he played a clarinet solo at Hampton and studied under Nathaniel Dett. Haskell Indian Leader, 20/17 (December 29, 1916), p. 27 (repr. Carlisle Arrow, February 16, 1917, p. 5) says he has taken his work year at Hampton in steam-fitting and expects next year to enter the day school; he is quite a good musician and plays five instruments and hopes to become a music teacher. Hampton alumni database says Nov. 4, 1915 - Sept. 25, 1918 and Nov. 21, 1918 - June 26, 1921. Archuleta, et al. print his official student record there (p. 64-65). He is at Hampton in the US 1920 Census.

Early in his time at Hampton, he participated in productions of "Indian interpretations," where he impersonated Old Chief Two Moons and other Indian heroes, and where he is said to have a grandmother who was a niece of Sitting Bull; he was part of a troupe that went out from Hampton on tour to raise money for the school (Boston Herald, July 30, 1916, p. 35; Boston Herald, August 3, 1916, p. 11).

At his graduation from Hampton he was featured on the commencement program playing a clarinet solo (Dallas Express, June 11, 1921, p. 2).

1921-1922

After Hampton, he returns to his roots and is working for the school of the Santee Agency in 1921-1922 in the Santee Normal Training School, doing classroom teaching and leading the band (The American Missionary 75 (1921), p. 276; NY Age, July 21, 1923, p. 6). In March, he lost all his possessions, including his clarinet and his diploma, in a fire in Perkins Hall, where he had been rooming (The Southern Workman, 1922, p. 199).

1922-1923

Then he attended the Conservatory at Ithaca NY, 1922-23, in the military band school, [in another source he says he enters the Eastern Conservatory of Music] with a transfer to the American Conservatory in Chicago.

he is the new leader of the Mandan (ND) Municipal Band in August 1923.

1923-1924

CHILOCCO

Then bandmaster at Chilocco for fall 1923 (Southern Workman, vol. 53, 1924, p. 90 [Google hit]). He appears to have been at Chilocco for only three months (see Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States: Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate: U.S. 70th Congress, 2nd session, 1929. Senate. to 78th Congress, 1st Session, 1943. Senate., p. 9081 (April 1931)). He played two clarinet solos at a concert at school in the fall.

He and his wife are married in Winfield, KS in December 1923. His wife is **Irene Anna Zahn**, born on 15/16 July 1903. (California Death Index and Social Security Death Index give her dates as July 16, 1903 to March 4, 1983.) In 1924 Indian Census Roll for Standing Rock, Frank and Irene are married. He is born in 1896 and she is born in 1903, so here they would seem to be about seven years apart. If her birthday is in fact July 18, 1903 and his is actually June 27, 1897, then his birthday falls just before hers, so they are just about exactly six years apart. They married on December 8, 1923, in Winfield, Kansas. Irene is in Indian Census Rolls under her maiden name through 1924, but also under her married name in 1924. David is single in Indian Census Rolls for 1923 and married in 1924. She was 20 years old at the time of marriage, and he was 26.

In US 1930 Census, he is 29 and wife Irene is 25. It says they married when he was 23 and she was 17, so about six years before (and they are six years apart in age).

TUBA CITY

1924-1925, 1925-1926

Then bandmaster for two years at Tuba City, AZ; he was on a three-year contract, but was called to Phoenix after two years. Daughter Fern D. Blackhoop is five in US 1930 Census, and by that given age she could have been born in Arizona in later 1924 or earlier 1925. Indian Census rolls give her date of birth as April 18, 1926, however. In US 1940 Census, he is 39, Irene is 36, Fern is 14, so born in later 1925 or early 1926, which fits with April 1926, presumably in Tuba City, AZ; and son Louis is 9, so born in later 1930 or early 1931, presumably in Phoenix.

## PHOENIX

1926-27, 1927-18, 1928-29, 1929-30

Then bandmaster at Phoenix for four years. He registered to vote in Maricopa, AZ on May 12, 1930. In the US 1930 Census he is identified as the Bandmaster at the Indian School.

Unfairly fired in a messy national brouhaha in 1930, and at that point is supposedly banned from any further Indian Service relationship. Lengthy history and documentation of the dispute in Washington hearings in Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States: Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate: U.S. 70th Congress, 2nd session, 1929. Senate. to 78th Congress, 1st Session, 1943. Senate., pp. 3015-3116 (April 1930). Documents include the letter sent to him with accusations of sexual improprieties, two letters by him of rebuttal, affidavits from a number of supporters including one from his wife rebutting some accusations, etc. The immediate result was that Blackhoop was one of three employees dismissed "not . . . for the offences claimed to have been committed by them, but for revealing conditions at the school" (Boston Herald, May 24, 1930, p. 3).

## OUT OF INDIAN SERVICE

1930-1931, 1931-1932, 1932-1933

Blackhoop is out of Indian Service for four years. Living in Winslow, AZ, he worked for the Santa Fe RR as a laborer and ran a band in 1930-1931. Son Louis is born in AZ in 1931. Living in Venice, Cal. 1932-1933. In Santa Monica city directory in 1933.

## SHERMAN

1933-34, 1934-35

Then back into Indian Service as bandmaster at Sherman for two years, 1933-1935, coming from Venice, Cal. (Riverside Daily Press, September 1, 1933, p. 4).

1933, in October: His initial appearance will be at an October 15 concert, and he has written and arranged a new march, "The United States Indian Band" (Riverside Daily Press, October 13, 1933, p. 3). A Blackhoop child carrying his father's name is born and dies and was buried at Sherman in 1933.

1935: Resigns in the fall. A letter of his back to Hampton of December 9, 1935 (Archuleta et al, pp. 64-65) mentions his resignation.

## RIVERSIDE

Blackhoop and his family are definitely still in Riverside for a few more years, anyway. He's on the radio, etc. He's composing and doing lecture-recitals, e.g., San Diego Union, October 11, 1935, p. 8: "The American Indian and His Music" over KGB and the Columbia network.

There is a 1936 hit on his wife in Riverside, and daughter Fern is in school at least for 1935-36.

1939: March 13, 1939 copyrights on three unpublished songs that F. David Frankenhoop of Redlands, Calif. composed or edited, to words translated by Vernon Leftwich:

Sioux ceremonial dance  
Sioux medicine man song  
Sioux war dance

## FORT YATES

In the US 1940 Census he and the family are back home at Fort Yates, ND. He is working for the state in "Recreation."

Family is in Minnesota in 1948 (with a city directory ref. for wife Irene but not for him ca. 1950).

F. David Blackhoop is chairman of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribal Council (i.e., tribal chairperson), in 1951-1953 and 1953-55, and later was a tribal judge. He testified in the 1950s at congressional hearings on aspects of North Dakota Indians' living conditions (Hearings Before the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency of the Committee of the Judiciary, United States Senate, December 16, 1954), and protested the use of Mexican extras in a film about Sitting Bull (F. David Blackhoop, Chair, Fort Yates Tribal Council, letter to William Langer of Twentieth Century Fox, February 24, 1954). He is described as chairman of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribal Council in 1955 (Aberdeen (S.D.) Daily News, April 3, 1955, p. 23)

1970: Died in September 1970, acc. Social Security Death Index. His last residence is in Cannon Ball, N.D.

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Archuleta, Margaret L., Brenda J. Child, and K. Tsianina Lomawaima, eds. Away from Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences, 1879-2000. Phoenix: Heard Museum, 2000.

[www.twofrog.com/hamptonmale1.txt](http://www.twofrog.com/hamptonmale1.txt)

## ROBERT E. BRUCE BIO

Robert E. Bruce (1887/1893-1968) is a Native American (Chippewa/Ojibwa) musician and bandmaster at US government off-reservation intertribal boarding schools. In this context, he is associated as student and teacher with Fort Totten, Carlisle, and Haskell.

NB: There are two Native American performers named Robert Bruce to contend with in the history of music and musicians in the US government off-reservation intertribal boarding school tradition. This entry concerns the younger of the two, the cornettist. The elder Robert Bruce (1880-1921) is Yankton Sioux, and a tuba/euphonium player. Both went to Carlisle, but their school careers did not overlap.

Robert Emil (Bob) Bruce (1887/1893 - November 1968), Chippewa, cornet player, born in Belcourt, ND on the Turtle Mountain Ojibwa reservation. He is said to be 19 in a Carlisle record of September 1910, which would put his birth year as 1890 or 1891. Another document in the Carlisle files puts his date of birth in 1892, and yet another says he is 20 in 1912. His 1917 Draft Registration says he was born on 15 September 1893, and this is the date on his Veteran's gravestone. An article in 1927 states his year of birth to be 1895.

There are two musical brothers in the family, Robert and Frederick. The Bruce brothers are a cornettist/clarinetist pair, like the Vennes and the Wheellocks. Both of the boys were students at Fort Totten School in 1900. They were band boys under Alfred Venne there, and played alongside the younger Venne brother, Peter Venne. Both then went on to Haskell, as did Peter Venne.

Robert E. Bruce (cornettist; 1887/1893-1968) and Frederick Bruce (clarinetist; 1889/1891 - 0000) are the sons of Joseph Bruce (1849 - 0000) and Rosalie Bruce (Chippewa; 1860 - 0000). They are Chippewa/Ojibwa of Belcourt, Rolette County, of the Turtle Mountain Band on the Turtle Mountain Indian Reservation in North Dakota; their home is later as Minnewaukan near Devil's Lake and Fort Totten, ND, and later, Minot, ND.

Parents and boys are in the US 1900 Census on the Turtle Mountain Indian Reservation in Rolette, ND. (Rolette, ND and the Turtle Mountain Reservation are just NW of Devil's Lake and NE of Minot.)

Carlisle records give Medicine Lake, Sheridan County, MT, as his home address in 1910.

The family is in Sheridan, MT in the 1920 US Census; they have farms there. In 1919 Army Transport passenger lists, his home is Medicine Lake, MT.

## FORT TOTTEN

Bruce is a student at Fort Totten School from 1900-1904, acc. a Carlisle record, and acc. the US 1900 Census. In one newspaper interview he says he went there when he was six, but this does not square with the facts. In a 1927 article it says he was born in 1895 and went to Fort Totten when he was seven, pointing to 1902.

## HASKELL

Next, he attended Haskell, acc. many reports (see, e.g., Omaha, NE, Daily Bee, March 22, 1925, p. 28); this is from 1906-1909, acc. a Carlisle record. (This leaves a schooling gap from 1904 to 1906 to be filled.)

#### TURLE MOUNTAIN

1909-1910: He came to Carlisle in 1910 from the Turtle Mountain Indian School in Belcourt, ND (acc. a document in the Carlisle files), where he may have been employed in 1909-1910.

#### CARLISLE

Bruce attended Carlisle from 1910-1913, arriving in November 1910 at age 18. His trade was tailor. Acc. one article, he is supposed to have played right guard on Jim Thorpe's team, winning Walter Camp's selection as an All-American in 1912 (while another article says he narrowly missed being an All-American).

See also [http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student\\_files/robert-bruce-student-file-0](http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/robert-bruce-student-file-0)

Played music with fellow student Fred Cardin, etc., in the Claude Maxwell Stauffer years. He was a cornet pupil of virtuoso W. Paris Chambers (1854-1913), who lived in Newville just west of Carlisle.

He is one of the "boys in demand" whose outing assignment in summer 1912 allowed them to play in a local band. He and Fred played with the Bethlehem Steel Band in the summer of 1912, and he went on a tour with them through Pennsylvania later in the fall.

An active student and musician while at Carlisle, he was president of the Holy Name Society in 1912-1913 and was succeeded in that role by Fred Cardin. In September 1913, his picture was said to hang on the wall in the band room and he is called last year's cornet soloist. Apparently, he never graduated; a Carlisle record card says he "failed to return" after the 1913 school year, and another document in the Carlisle file indicates that he left a significant unpaid bill.

[http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student\\_files/robert-bruce-student-file-0](http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/robert-bruce-student-file-0)

1914: A brief notice in The Carlisle Arrow, 11/8, October 23, 1914, p. 2 says "We understand that Robert Bruce, cornet soloist, will be with us again by Christmas."

#### IMMEDIATELY AFTER CARLISLE

1916: The 1927 article says he served for about a year as an aide at the Indian school for boys in Pierre, SD, so it is probably he who is disciplinarian at the Pierre, SD, Indian School in 1916 (Native American 17, 1916, p. 85).

He was leading the band in Leeds, ND, a small town between Belcourt and Devil's Lake, at the outbreak of WWI.

#### BACHMANN'S BAND

1917-1919, 1919-1921

Stint in Second Infantry North Dakota National Guard band, 1917-1919 in US and Europe under the baton of Harold Bachman; federalized, it became the 116th Corps of Engineers band, the "Million Dollar Band of the A. E. F."  
Left US from Hoboken on 26 November 1917; returned from Brest to US, arriving 23 February 1919.

In the military, he earned the second highest rank in the outfit, Master Engineer, Junior Grade, one of two at that rank just under Bachman, who is Master Engineer, Senior Grade, and he went on this band's big post-war tour as its prominently featured cornet soloist and stayed with the band into the early 1920s. Gridley says "For five years he was connected with Bachmann's "Million Dollar Band"," so that is likely 1917-1922 [or perhaps 1919-1924, but I think that the references and images in Bachman's book do not justify a date as late as 1924]. Mostly in 1919-1921 right after the war.

Then he claims to have been with Sousa (but he is not recorded in Sousa scholar Bierley's roster.)

1920: IN the US 1920 Census, he is entered with his parents at their home in Sheridan County, MT, but is identified as a musician on the road.

1921-1930-ish

Roster in Bachman's 1962 book says he "became a demonstrator for a large manufacturer of band instruments"; acc. Gridley, he was a representative for Conn for four years and then a representative for the Martin Band Instrument Company for four years (could this be 1922-1930?). Both firms were in Elkhart, Ind., and Martin was a branch-off from Conn by former Conn employees. Bruce lived in Elkhart and was "the pride of Elkhart (Elkhart Truth, October 31, 1922, p. 2). For Bruce on tour to promote Martin Band Instruments, see, e.g., Omaha, NE, Daily Bee, March 22, 1925, p. 28, and as a virtuoso cornet soloist with a Shrine Band, see Memphis, TN, The Commercial Appeal, February 8, 1926, p. 8.

1921: He is Dennison Wheelock's soloist in an early 1920s summer gig (in Oshkosh in August 1921).

ELKHART

Very active as soloist and brand representative with home base in Elkhart, ca. 1921-1926.

1921: In November 1921, he appears during Elkhart's Music Week, playing as soloist with a local organization, James F. Boyer and His Music City Band (Elkhart Truth, November 22, 1921, p. 1).

In The Music Trade Review, April 11, 1925, p. 37, it says: "Robert M. Bruce, cornetist, with the Martin Handcraft band and orchestra instruments, appeared on the radio broadcasting programs of the Sweeney Automobile School and the Kansas City Star, during which time he was unofficially pronounced, "The Galli-Curci of the cornet," a title he, himself, denies."

1925, in May: He visits Chilocco, plays for the students, and speaks to them about the value of an education; he is living in Indiana and is a cornet demonstrator for the Martin Band Instrument Company of Elkhart (Chilocco, The Indian School Journal (May 1925, p. 27).

In September/October 1925, Bruce is in Rockford Ill. for the Music Merchants' convention, and he plays for the weekly noon luncheon of the Lions' Club, and he makes two appearances at student assemblies at Rockford's Theodore Roosevelt Junior High School (Rockford Morning Star, September 25, 1925, p. 20; Rockford Morning Star, October 2, 1925, p. 10. At the end of the same school year, Bruce is again in Rockford and plays again at a Roosevelt Junior High School assembly (Rockford Morning Star, June 13, 1926, p. 23).

1926: Still representing the Martin Band Instrument Company. On tour in Atlanta and Galveston in 1926.

1926: He plays as cornet soloist with James Riley Wheelock's Wheelock Band at the Philadelphia Sesquicentennial.

#### BACK TO MONTANA AND NORTH DAKOTA

1927: Lives in Medicine Lake, MT where he and his parents own farms, in 1927. Leads Scobey, MT band of 40- pieces from spring 1927, about sixty miles north-west of Medicine Lake, and is organizing a women's saxophone band of 30 pieces there (Wilmington, Del.,The Delmarvia Star, June 5, 1927, p. 28).

1930: the US 1930 Census has him in Minot, ND as a musician and band instructor. He was in the band department of a school in Minot. He is a soloist in Minot in 1931.

Marries Dorothy in 1931. Son Robert T. Bruce born on 13 April 1932 (enrolled Ojibwe at Turtle Mountain Reservation); died 14 December 1973.

1932: A publication: Bruce, Robert, ed. Pawnee naming ceremonial, near Pawnee, Oklahoma, Armistice Day, November 11, 1932: The naming of Wyo-La Shar. [Compiled, edited, and arranged by Robert Bruce]. New York: Publisher: [s. n.], 1933. 36 pp.  
Includes narrative by Harry W. Coons and others of the elaborate celebration. Robert S. Ellison is given the honorary name Wyo-La Shar, or Wyoming's Protector, by the Pawnee tribe for his services to them.

#### HASKELL

For at least two years, from 1934-1936, Bruce led the Haskell School band. Very possibly, he led it for as many as five years, 1932-1937, if he took over when Mr. Nelson retired in January 1932, and served until Phil Cato took over, which could have been in February 1937.

1934-35: He is at Haskell conducting as bandmaster in 1934 (Lawrence Journal-World, October 10, 1934, p. 1) and at the 50th Annual Commencement in 1935 (Lawrence Journal-World, May 14, 1935, p. 1); on October 21 the thirty-five member band



under Bruce will play at the Kansas City American Royal parade and at the American Royal livestock show and will be guests of the Kansas City Chamber of Commerce at a noon luncheon (Lawrence Journal-World, October 17, 1935, p. 2);

1935-36: also a ref. in 1936 (Lawrence Journal-World, May 12, 1936, p. 3). In Gridley, Indians of Today (1936 edn.), p. 26 it says in the present tense that he is "Director of Band and Orchestra at Haskell Institute."

#### AFTER HASKELL

In 1938 and 1939 he is mentioned as a travelling soloist making appearances at high schools.

1942: On his 1942 Draft Registration he reports that he is living in Rapid City, SD and working at the Rapid City Crystal Ice. Co. However, he also enters "Martin Band Instrument Co., Elkhart, Ind." under "Person Who Will Always Know Your Address."

1962: Bachman (1962) gives his address as Band Director at Notre Dame Academy, Willow City, ND. That is very near Rolette to the west.

1968: Social Security Death index gives November 1968, and his last residence as in Fall River, South Dakota. Veteran's gravesite information says born 15 September 1893, died 25 November 1968, last address in Sturgis SD, and buried in the Black Hills National Cemetery.

Robert Bruce's brother Frederick:

Frederick (Fred) Bruce (October 17, 1889/1891-1964), Native American (Chippewa/Ojibwa) clarinetist. Goes by "Fred." His 1942 Draft Registration gives his date of birth as 27 October 1891. North Dakota Military Men, 1917-1918 gives his date of birth as 27 October 1890. Arizona Death Records gives his date of birth as 23 August 1892.

The Bruce brothers are a cornettist/clarinetist pair, like the Vennes and the Wheelocks. Robert's older brother, Fred, has a performing career and association with boarding schools which parallels that of his younger brother. Apparently never a bandmaster in Indian Service, though.

Education: Like his brother, he is also at the Fort Totten School in 1900 (possibly 1899-1904). Then a gap in the record, when he is apparently at Haskell. The account of Bachmann's Million Dollar Band says he's a Haskell graduate.

Possibly, he is in Indian Service as a laborer at Flandreau in 1911. Robert and Fred play together in the Bethlehem Steel Band during the summer of 1912. Then Fred visits Robert at Carlisle in September 1912, and evidently stays on for a few months as assistant engineer, i.e., assistant plumber. He then goes to Chilocco in early 1913 in the same position. [Fred Bruce, who had lived in the athletic dorms at Carlisle, writes a letter about the Thorpe/Friedman/Warner problem in November 1913.] A year later, in early 1914, he goes to the Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency School in Darlington, OK to assume the position of engineer. A year and a half later, in later 1915, he takes charge of the commissary at Fort Totten, ND as an assistant clerk; he resigns in April or earliest May 1917. If it is the same man, then in his June 1917 WWI draft registration, he identifies himself as a single, self-employed farmer in Sheridan Co., MT (which works with family address in 1920 US Census) and gives his date of birth as August 14, 1889.

#### BACHMAN'S BAND

Fred Bruce served a stint in US National Guard Band, 1917-1919 in US and Europe, and earned the rank of Sergeant First Class. With his brother, he went on the post-war tour, as the band's clarinet soloist (e.g., Bismark (ND) Tribune, April 17, 1919, p. 8).

US 1920 Census has him working as a farm laborer on his parents' family farm, age 30, so born c. 1890.

A clarinetist Fred Bruce is playing in an orchestra in Reno in the early 1930s (Reno Gazette-Journal, September 18, 1931, p. 2; Reno Gazette-Journal, March 8, 1932, p. 2; Reno Gazette-Journal, March 15, 1933, p. 10). Union Pacific Magazine (November 1931), p. 20, names a Fred Bruce, Clarinet, in the Union Pacific Lincoln county band of Caliente, Nevada.

He appears in Indian Census Schedules right through the 1930s. A roster in Bachman's 1962 book gives an address for Fred Bruce in Washington, DC.

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Bachman, Harold. The Million Dollar Band: the story of the band of the 116th Regiment of Engineers, 41st (Sunset) Division, American Expeditionary Forces. The original Million Dollar Band in World War I and the professional concert band which succeeded it under the title of Bachman's Million Dollar Band. Chicago, 1962.

## HARRY L. CARNER BIO

Harry Lee Carner (1889-1942) is a European-American bandmaster at the Chilocco and Sherman Schools.

He is the son of Orson G. (O. G.) Carner (1863 - ) and Claudia Munn Carner (1867 - ), who married in 1888; his father, a carpenter, made a career in Indian Service, and was head of the carpenter shop at Chilocco, and then went out to Sherman. Orson Carner had sixteen years with the Indian Service: at Otoe Agency, 2 years (1897-1899); Grand Junction, 5 years (1899-1904); Chilocco, 6 years (1904-1910); and then at Sherman for three years.

The Chilocco Weekly Journal, vol. 2 (1905-06): Mr. Carner [dad] is in charge of the Carpentry Department.

The Chilocco Weekly Journal, 2/12 (December 14, 1905), p. 1 reports Harry Carner, the great cornet virtuoso, participating in a concert. This could already be O.G. Carner's son, Harry.

The Chilocco Weekly Journal, 2/14 (January 4, 1906), p. 2 reports that Harry is the official reporter at Chilocco for the The Arkansas City Traveler.

Harry becomes a musician, marries a local girl, and works at Chilocco for a year before going out with (or following) his parents to Sherman.

## CHILOCCO

Apparently had charge of the Chilocco Band in 1908-1909. When Harry Lee Carner is brand new at Riverside, the paper says he had run the band for about a year at Chilocco (Riverside Daily Press, December 22, 1910, p. 7). He is visited by a Chilocco friend at Sherman (Riverside Daily Press, June 28, 1912, p. 6); a friend, Mrs. Thomas Smith, visits at Sherman, and she had known Mr. and Mrs. O. G. Carner and H. L. Carner while at Chilocco (Riverside Daily Press, March 13, 1913, p. 7); Mrs. H. L. Carner's parents live near Chilocco (Riverside Daily Press, May 22, 1914, p. 3).

In May 1910 they are living in Wichita (The Indian School Journal, June 1910). In August 1910 they are on their way to Riverside (The Indian School Journal, August 1910).

## SHERMAN

At Sherman for three years, 1910-11, 1911-12, 1912-13. His father resigns from Sherman at the end of the 1912-1913 year, the same year Harry leaves the band.

## LATER CAREER

Harry becomes a chiropractor. He is in LA in 1940. Second wife is Ruth M. Carner.

## PHIL CATO BIO

Phil Cato (1895-1970) was a Native American (Tewa/Taywa) bandmaster at US government off-reservation intertribal boarding schools. In this context, he is associated as student and teacher with boarding schools including Albuquerque, Genoa, Haskell, and Sherman, and public high school.

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Phil (Philip, Phillip, Felipe) Cato (5/21/1895-8/22/1970) is a Pueblo Indian (Tewa) from San Juan Pueblo, New Mexico. He is identified as Felipe Cato in the US 1900 Census. His wife is Ida Ross Cato (1904-1988), and his son, Phil, jr., who was in the Class of 1943 at Lawrence High School, are both enrolled Comanche, so his wife must have been from the Lawton/Fort Sills area of Oklahoma, where he worked for 12 years (see below). His son Phil, jr. (1924-2015) was born on 24 December 1924 (Indian Census Roll of 1925); the US 1930 Census and US 1940 Census say he was born in Oklahoma, and his obituary says that he was born in Lawton.

Phil Cato apparently led the Genoa band in 1920-21. He then ran the Kaw City Band, and then for twelve years the Lawton (OK) High School band and orchestra, from 1926-1937; he was then at Haskell for nine years, from 1937 to 1946, and then at Sherman from 1946 to 1952 or later.

## EARLY YEARS

Santa Fe Indian School  
Albuquerque Indian School  
Working  
High school in California (1918 graduate)

1918-1919: in US Army, in a concert band, reaching rank of sergeant (presumably band sergeant). He is in the 159<sup>th</sup> Depot brigade band, popularly known as the New Mexico band even though only 13 of its 50 members are New Mexicans, since it was originally the First New Mexico National Guard band; Cato is identified as from San Juan Pueblo (Albuquerque Morning Journal, July 10, 1918, p. 3).

1919, in March: Long article in Sunday paper about Sergeant Cato and his presentations on Indian dance and lore, with extensive biography (Denver Post, March 9, 1919, p. 69).

1919, in May: In May 1919, out of the army, Cato is advertising for work in a Denver Sunday newspaper (Denver Rocky Mountain News, May 10, 1919, p. 15; Denver Rocky Mountain News, May 11, 1919, p. 44; Denver Rocky Mountain News, May 13, 1919, p. 12).

## GENOA

1920-1921

For just a year, apparently, the band at the Genoa School is led by Cato. He is identified as the band leader at the Grant Institute Indian School at Genoa in a news items that

got carried in small town papers in August 1921 (e.g., Stonewall, OK, Stonewall Weekly News, August 11, 1921, p. 7; Coalgate, OK, Coalgate Courier, August 11, 1921, p. 2; Lexington, OK, Leader, Friday, August 12, 1921, p. 2; Chetopa, KS, Chetopa Clipper, August 17, 1921, p. 2) as if he is already established (thus in 1920-21); in that summer, he was going to direct the band at Kaw City, OK until his return to duties at Genoa on September 15. This sounds quite definitive, but it appears to be the only clue to an association of Cato with Genoa. Obit says nothing about Genoa.

#### AFTER GENOA

1921, in September: he is leading the Kaw City, OK, band (Arkansas City, KS, Arkansas City Daily Traveler, September 27, 1921, p. 4).

1922, in September: Cato sang a baritone solo in Indian costume as part of a concert of the First Field Artillery Band of Fort Sill, who were on a recruiting tour in Ardmore (Ardmore, OK, Daily Ardmoreite, September 26, 1922, p. 3).

1924: Married Ida Ross on January 12, 1924 in Grady, Oklahoma (obit says it was in Chickasha). She graduated from Lawton Nigh School in the class of 1924.

1924: Cato's son, Phil Jr., was born December 24, 1924, at Kiowa Indian Hospital in Lawton. Was Phil sr. already teaching in Lawton in 1924-25, or did his wife go back to be with family at the time of the birth? All sources say he started a couple of years later in Lawton.

#### LAWTON, OK

1926-1937

Cato ran the Lawton (OK) High School band and orchestra for twelve years, from 1926-1937 (from obit in Lawton Constitution and Morning Press, August 24, 1970, p. 4), or from 1927 (Lawton, OK, Lawton Constitution, January 5, 1975, p. 2 D) or from 1925 to 1936 (Lawton, OK, Lawton Constitution, July 26, 1964, p. 4).

1931: Phil Cato is playing in the orchestra of the Southwestern Band Conservatory during a six-week summer residency on the S.M.U. campus in Dallas (Dallas Morning News, July 31, 1931, p. 2).

#### HASKELL

1937-1946

Cato is then at Haskell for nine years, from 1937 to 1946 (he is already in Lawrence in February 1937, according to the Lawrence Journal-World, February 1, 1937, p. 1).

1940, in April: The Haskell band will play a concert in Lawrence on the first day of the annual musical festival at the University of Kansas (Kansas City Star, April 28, 1940, p. 70).

#### SHERMAN

1946-1952 or later

Cato finished his career at Sherman, teaching from 1946 to 1952 or later.

(Lawrence Journal-World, May 22, 1946, p. 1; Lawrence Journal-World, September 5, 1946, p. 2; p. 1 Lawrence Journal-World, September 7, 1946, p. 2; Riverside City Directory 1952). Obituary says he had resided there since 1947.

1952, in December: Cato is advertising that he offers private music lessons on woodwind, brass, and percussion instruments (e.g., Riverside Independent Enterprise, December 17, 1952, p. 25).

1953, 1954: Playing in the Elks Band in Riverside.

1958: An article says that he completed 33 years as a classroom instructor in music (Lawton, OK, Lawton Constitution, June 5, 1958, p. 30). That would go back to 1925, or if he is already retired in 1952, then back to 1919. An article from 1964 says he has been retired for 16 years, so since 1948 (Lawton, OK, Lawton Constitution, July 26, 1964, p. 4), pushing 33 years ago back to 1915!

1959: Cato, formerly at Sherman, is a trumpeter in the new Riverside Symphony Orchestra; he has been playing in major orchestras for 35 years and was a member of the U.S. Army Presidential Concert Band (Riverside Daily Press, April 4, 1959, p. 3).

1970: Cato died in Riverside in 1970. He is buried in Lawton, OK.

OBITUARY: Lawton, OK, Lawton Constitution and Morning Press, August 24, 1970, p. 4 (seen through ancestry.com).

## FRANCIS CHAPMAN BIO

Francis Chapman (1883/ 1884/ 1887/ 1888 - 1944) is a Native American (Cherokee) bandmaster and clarinetist associated as student and teacher with the Chilocco, Pine Ridge, Phoenix, and Genoa schools.

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Francis Chapman is born in 1887/1888/1889 in Oklahoma by varying US Census hits; age 13 and thus born ca. 1887 is living in Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory, in US 1900 Census; this must be our musician; Cherokee in caption of portrait of 1903 printers' class; Cherokee, acc. Troutman; Cherokee in The Indian School Journal (May 1925). wife is Elizabeth Perry Chapman (1887-1950) and a child is Florine J. Chapman (1915-1981). Whatever the birth year, he gives August 12 as his birthday.

## CHILOCCO

A Chilocco student, he was a member of the Chilocco class in printing for 1903-04 (American Printer and Lithographer, vol. 37, p. 472), and the caption calls him Cherokee; he may be "Class of '04" but he finishes up several years later; a clarinetist, he was around at the time of the All-Star Band in summer 1904, but his name is not in the official brochure of band members; he may have continued to play while working at Chilocco for about another three years, so he could have toured with Wiley in the summers. Troutman, Indian Blues, p. 141, cites a source that says he actually did not return to school to finish up, but in fact whether or not he formally graduated on time, he was around for three more years.

1905: Chapman has been made an assistant printer at Chilocco (Chilocco Weekly Journal 2/3 (October 12, 1905), p. 2)

1906: Chapman graduates from Chilocco's Academic Department in May 1906 (Dallas Morning News, May 27, 1906, p. 5).

1907: Chilocco's The Indian School Journal 7/5 (March 1907), p. 67 says he "learned the pressman's trade in our printing department, [and] left this month to accept a good position with the Moore Printing Co., Wichita." Also, it says that while at Chilocco he became a first-class clarinetist. Further, The Indian School Journal (October 1907), p. 48 says he graduated from the Chilocco printing department as pressman in 1907.

## WICHITA

It must have been while working in Wichita as a printer in 1907-1908 that he studied at Friends' University there; see The Native American 19 (1918), p. 245.

## PINE RIDGE



1908: Chapman moves into Indian Service at Pine Ridge (the Oglala boarding school) as printer and bandmaster. When he leaves Pine Ridge in 1913, the report is that he had been there five years, which would be 1908-1913. He is identified as the new printer and responsible for a much-improved January 1908 number of the The Oglala Light (The Carlisle Arrow, 4/25 (February 21/1908), p. 4). He is both printer and bandmaster there (Ralph H. Ross, The Pine Ridge Reservation: a pictorial description [1909]). The Native American (October 23, 1909, p. 347) names him a printer and bandmaster on an employee roster for Pine Ridge. He is called the printer at Pine Ridge in The Carlisle Arrow, 6/8 (October 29, 1909), p. 4. When he leaves Pine Ridge in 1913, his replacement as printer and band leader is James W. Mumblehead.

1910: He is at Pine Ridge in US 1910 Census as a printer, age 22 and single, born ca. 1888.

1912: He marries Edith Stover at the Episcopal Mission, Pine Ridge Agency.

1913: The Indian's Friend (March 1913, p. 4), says he has had the immediate management of The Oglala Light, published at Pine Ridge, for the last five years, and is now moving to Chilocco.

#### CHILOCCO

1913: Back to Chilocco. Chilocco's The Indian School Journal (April 1913), p. 227, names him as instructor of printing at the school. Same issue, p. 391 says he is a new appointee as the school's printer and came to Chilocco from Pine Ridge.

1913, in September: After six months as head of the print shop, Chapman has to resign and return to South Dakota on urgent business (The Indian School Journal (September 1913), p. 30). He had only been there since late March or early April. His wife is identified as baker at Pine Ridge (Native American 1914), and he may have gone back to be with her (or indeed, to return to a position at Pine Ridge [see below]).

#### PHOENIX

1914: On to Phoenix, apparently briefly, if he accepted the appointment at all. Chilocco's The Indian School Journal 14/5 (January, 1914), p. 227 says he was a graduate of the printing department at Chilocco, later printer at Pine Ridge, then at Chilocco, and now is appointed printer at the Phoenix Indian School.

#### PINE RIDGE

1914: he is disciplinarian at the Oglala Boarding School (The Native American 15/39 (October 1914), p. 528; formerly printer and bandmaster at the Oglala School, he returns there as disciplinarian (The Indian Leader (1914), p. 24).

1914: Mrs. Francis Chapman is temporary boys' matron at Pine Ridge (The Native American 17 (1914), p. 153).

1917: Chapman's June 5, 1917 Draft Registration Card for WWI says he is the disciplinarian at Pine Ridge, and he was born August 12, 1887 at Muldrow, Okla. He has two children under twelve.

## GENOA

1918-1919

Chapman transfers to Genoa as disciplinarian (Indian News, as quoted in the Native American 19 (1918), p. 245, which says he was printer and bandmaster at Pine Ridge for four years, which would be 1914-1918); he might have been the interim band leader this year. See also Carson Indian School, The Indian Enterprise 4/1 (Nov-Dec 1918), p. 12, quoting from "The Indian News."

1919-1920

1920: Chapman is at Genoa, NE in US 1920 Census as clerk at the Indian School, together with wife and four children. James Wheelock is in the Census as music director there.

## CHILOCCO

1920-after 1942

1920: Chapman, a printer, returns to Chilocco once more as printer in Fall 1920 (Tulsa World, September 28, 1920, p. 3). Also, Chilocco's The Indian School Journal 24/11 (December 4, 1924), p. 1 makes clear that he is back at the school once more. He stays at Chilocco to the end of his career in the early 1940s.

1930: He is in the US 1930 Census at Chilocco as the printer, i.e., the Instructor of Printing, and so his name is on the masthead of The Indian School Journal right under that of the Manager and Editor.

The 1931 annual Chilocco student yearbook, The Chiloccoan, was dedicated to him by the senior class, as "Printer and Philosopher, our Staunch and Loyal Friend." In the 1931, 1933, 1938, and 1942 Chiloccoan he is still named as printer in a roster of employees. He's the printing instructor at Chilocco in the US 1940 Census.

1932: He oversees the monthly publication of The Oklahoma Indian School Magazine at the school. Volume 1, no. 5 came out in October 1932. He is Director, but there is also a student editor.

Troutman, Indian Blues, p. 142, say he was Chilocco bandmaster by 1934.

1935: Oklahoma Census at Chilocco

As bandmaster, see the Chiloccoan (yearbook) for 1935, etc.

1940: US 1940 Census at Chilocco as printing instructor, age 51, so born ca. 1889.

1941: He is still the Instructor of Printing.

1942: his WWII Draft Registration Card has him still in Indian Service at Chilocco. No middle name. Born August 12, 1888 in Rogers County near Claremore, Ok., which is Cherokee Nation.

A Francis Chapman, 1883-1944, is buried in Newkirk Cemetery, Newkirk, Kay County, Oklahoma. This is at Chilocco. Our printer-musician? Likely.

## CLARA COLEMAN BIO

Clara Coleman (1862-1933), European American bandmaster at Carlisle. A precocious and able musician and Carlisle, Penn. community member, she was the first band leader of the Carlisle School Band, in 1880-1881.

Coleman came from a family that was active on the New York variety stage and on tour. Her parents are Joseph A. Coleman (b.c. 1838) and Eveline [Evaline] Catharine Coleman (b.c. 1844); Joseph was himself an actor. Their children were three girls born about two years apart---Alice A. Coleman Petit (married to Charles Petit) (b.c. 1859), Louise V. Coleman (b.c. 1861), Clara M. Coleman Curtin, married to James H. Curtin (b. 1862)---and then a younger sister Anna M. (Millie E.) Coleman Wetzels (b. 1870 - ), married to Samuel Wetzels (1873-1899).

Joseph and Eveline, Milly and Samuel, Alice and Charles, and Louise and Clara are all buried in Carlisle's Ashland Cemetery. James H. Curtin is apparently not buried there.

One reference book seems to identify a brother Walter (?). He does not turn up in US Census hits and is not buried in the Cemetery.

## ON STAGE

Clara was born in Pennsylvania, so the family roots were evidently there. Clara appeared on stage with her siblings Louise and Alice from a young age, in the early to mid 1870s.

"Alice and Clara Coleman performed banjo and cornet duets, imitated the ringing of chimes, and finished with a complicated clog act" (Franceschina book on Braham, p. 84).

And, concerning "Miss Louis and Miss Clara Coleman, two remarkably precocious and accomplished and versatile young ladies . . . The play ["Driven From Home"] was written expressly for the Misses Coleman, and it affords them abundant opportunities of exhibiting their talent as vocalists, banjoists, and clog-dancers. In the second and fourth acts the elder girl executed a solo on the cornet à piston with a precision, and a force and clearness of tone worthy of a much older and more experienced performer." (NY Times, June 10, 1873, p. 4) They had brought "Driven From Home" on the road to Reading, Pa. in February 1873, and a surviving playbill spoke of the three sisters, "Whose Remarkable and Brilliant Dramatic Abilities and Rare Musical Genius have astonished and delighted the most critical audiences in the largest Cities, while the Press has been lavish in its praise, bestowing the most complimentary Criticism and Notices upon their Performances." They were wonderful "Character Actresses" and also, "Young, Beautiful, and Accomplished" and the "most Exquisite Comediennes, Vocalists, Jig and Clog Dancers, Cornet Flute and Banjo Players in the World" (Reading Eagle, Sunday, May 25, 1924, p. 16).

In the 1870 Census the family is living in Ohio but surviving *carte de visite* images from the 1860s of the three child actresses were made in the C. T. Cornwell photographic studio in Coldwater, Michigan. She and her siblings disappear from newspapers after the mid 1870s and appear again in the mid 1880s. Her mother is possibly enrolling in a church in Pennsylvania in 1876.

## EARLY YEARS OF MARRIAGE IN CARLISLE

In the 1880 US Census the family is living in Carlisle, PA (and Alice, Age 21, is listed as single). By then, Clara is a young married actress whose husband is James H. Curtin (1854/1858 - 0000), identified as a tinner from Louisiana of Irish descent. They married in Rushville, Ind. in 1879. In Who's Who in New York City and State (1911), James says he was a sheriff in Harris Co, TX, then disciplinarian at the Carlisle School, and then a theatrical manager. A year or so later, Clara and her husband quit the school to travel again (or possibly to have a baby), and they have a daughter, Louise (Louise Coleman Curtin, August 20, 1881 - born in TX, in Family Search database; Louise V. Curtin, 1883-0000, born in PA, in 1900 Census; probably named for Clara's sister, of course). Theatrical success came quickly, and they lived in NYC.

#### CARLISLE BAND

It is not clear how long Clara Coleman was actually around at Carlisle, but best evidence is a couple of years in the town of Carlisle, but only at the Indian School for the one year, 1880-1881. She probably quit to have her baby in August 1881.

#### LATER CAREER

Clara's career as a musician and stage actress extends at least into the early 1900s; she is on stage, performs at Actor's Benefits, etc. In the US 1900 Census she and James were living with daughter Louise on West 84th Street in Manhattan. James H. Curtin had a significant career as the manager of important New York theaters at least through the 1910s, and he was very active in freemasonry in New York. He also worked as a booking manager for the Empire Burlesque Circuit under M. B. Leavitt. By 1910 they are divorced, and James has remarried.

Clara, divorced, was in the US 1930 Census in Tulsa, OK. She died in Tulsa, OK in 1933 and was buried in Carlisle, PA.

## ROBERT REGINALD DEPOE BIO

R. R. De Poe (1876-1938) was a Native American (Siletz) bandmaster at US government off-reservation intertribal boarding schools. In this context, he is associated as student and teacher with schools including Carlisle, Haskell, Chemawa, and Siletz.

Robert Reginald DePoe (1875/1876/1877 - May 20, 1938). Census Rolls give 1875 as birth year, but Oregon Death info. gives 1876; he gives April 1, 1877 on his WWI Draft Registration. Carlisle data record card says he entered in August 1893 at age 17, so birthdate in 1876 sounds good. When he dies in May 1938, the Salem Statesman Journal, May 22, 1938, p. 5 says he is 62. He is the son of Siletz Chief Charles DePoe. His wife is Mary Hauser.

He played baritone horn and violin.

## CHEMAWA

He went to school at Chemawa to c.1893, age 17, and was then at Carlisle.

## CARLISLE

At Carlisle, DePoe arrived in August 1893 at age 17, for a five-year term. He was in the 1896-1897 band under Dennisopn Wheelock, and after just four years, he graduated in 1897. He came back to Carlisle for the spring term of 1900 to be in the All-Star Band led by Wheelock.

Documents in on-line Carlisle student file materials:

See [http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student\\_files/robert-depoe-student-information-card](http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/robert-depoe-student-information-card)

and

[http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student\\_files/robert-reginald-depoe-student-file](http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/robert-reginald-depoe-student-file)

## SILETZ (1897-1899)

ARCIA 1901 has him at Salem, and his date of original appointment is May 25, 1897, so he probably returned home immediately after graduation and began to teach in 1897-1898 and was also in 1898-1899 at Siletz.

## CHEMAWA (1899-1902)

After 1899-1900 at Chemawa, he returns to Carlisle to play in the band in March 1900 for the 1900 spring tour and planned visit to the Paris Expo). He arrived back at Carlisle on March 8, 1900 and stayed through June 28, 1900 as part of the band (Carlisle document). He is in the 1900 US Census at Carlisle.

Back teaching at Chemawa in 1900-1901, and 1901-1902. He resigns in February 1902 order to go to Haskell to take a post-graduate course (Chemawa (Or.) Weekly Chemawa American, February 7, 1902, p. 4).

## HASKELL

At Haskell for a year, 1902-1903 (just when Dennison Wheelock, his old Carlisle bandmaster arrives at Haskell to conduct the band). He may have been preparing for law school. Then DePoe studied law at KU for three years in Lawrence: definitely in 1904-1905, and perhaps spanning 1903-1906. (Did he play in Wheelock's touring band?)

## SILETZ

He then went back west and in 1906 was a justice of the peace and teacher in Oregon. In 1906-1907 he is the band instructor at the Siletz School. He's still a Justice in July 1907. In January 1907, he says he is preparing for the law profession, and serving as a Justice of the Peace, and also is working as an industrial teacher and bandmaster in the Indian Service. In March 1907, he is writing Carlisle from Siletz, where he is a judge in the Justice Court. Carlisle document indicates he was industrial teacher and band master at Siletz Training School in Siletz, Or. in 1906-1907.

## HASKELL

Then for three school years, 1907-1910, he is back in Lawrence, KS, as band leader at Haskell (where he is for the 1910 US Census). The Toledo (OR) Lincoln County Leader (Friday, August 7, 1908, p. 1) speaks of De Poe and wife Mary Hauser De Poe vacationing in the west and it sounds as if they had already been in Eastern Kansas for the preceding year. It seems very possible that he led the Haskell band for up to three years between 1907 and 1910. Clipping says two and a half years, something like spring 1908, 1908-1909, 1909-1910.

An undated newspaper clipping from a Lawrence paper in his Carlisle student file says "Mr. DePoe was a student in the law department at the Kansas University, leaving there to prepare a home for his bride on his Oregon farm. When they returned here for a visit Mr. DePoe was persuaded to remain as bandmaster."

Refs. say one Haskell bandmaster was a Haskell graduate, Robert R. De Poe (1876-1938), who gives melodies to Skilton; "Haskell grad" easily could be error for Carlisle grad.; Skilton remembers the year as 1915 (Kinscella, Music and Romance, p. 233; Cyclopaedia/Dictionary of American/National Biography, etc. often quoted), but in The Indian Leader (1917), Skilton remembers that Peairs put them together, so that would be before Peairs leaves in 1910. Skilton had been at KU since 1903, so there was plenty of time for him to meet De Poe between 1903 and 1910.

## SILETZ vicinity schools

In August 1910, he and the family came out west from Lawrence for a visit. Perhaps they are checking things out, because then they relocate back to Oregon, to be closer to tribe and family.

In 1910, in The Indian School Journal, under "Official Service Changes," he is listed as being appointed by transfer from band leader at Haskell to teacher in Warm Springs, Or. (The Indian School Journal, August 1910, p. 41).

1910: He now is transferred to the position of bandmaster and day schoolteacher at Warm Spring, Oregon. He then was transferred from Warm Spring to Upper Farm, where he and his wife are in charge of a day school. At both, his address is in Siletz. A Carlisle document indicates he was in charge of a day school at Siletz in 1910-1911.

DePoe is back at Siletz in 1910-1911 and teaching (not necessarily bandmastering) pretty continuously in Oregon and Washington State thereafter, including at Chemawa, as below.

1911: Perhaps just for the summer months, he was in the Forest Guard at Siletz, and resigned on August 31, 1911.

#### CHEMAWA

De Poe was bandmaster at Chemawa in 1928-29 for a year. His sons Williams, Charles, and Peter all attended Chemawa in the 1920s.

His sons were all musical, and Charles was bandmaster at Chemawa for a year in the 1930s, but William, in particular, had a very successful professional career as a pianist and composer (Parkhurst, p. 82-87).

In April 1924, Ruthvyn Turney is directing the school orchestra, in which he plays first violin, and in this ensemble are George W. Bent and Charles De Poe on cornet (Portland Oregonian, April 28, 1924, p. 9).

1938: Death.



## JAMES DEVINE BIO

James Devine (b.c. June 1864-1927) was a European-American bandmaster at the Albuquerque and Phoenix Schools.

Born in Washington, DC to Irish immigrant father John Devine (originally a shoemaker from Armaugh [c.1826/1827 to after 1885]), and New Mexican mother Marie. His father, John Devine, was a dragon sergeant in the US Cavalry and a veteran of the Mexican and Indian wars who served from 1847 to a retirement with pension in 1885.

Their son James was married in 1893 to Rebecca Gutierrez Devine (1874 - 1963) of Albuquerque; they had children Nora (d. 1984), Florence (1902-1998), William (d. 1996), Vincent, Rebecca (d. 1995) and Jessie (Jesusita). James probably learned his music from US Army regimental bandmasters during his father's service.

1870 US Census at home with family at Fort Russell, Laramie, WY

1880 US Census at home with family at Fort Robinson, NE

1900 US Census in Albuquerque

1910 US Census in Albuquerque

1920 US Census in Albuquerque

No sign of how he occupied himself during his twenties, c. 1884-1894. However, one newspaper identifies him as "late of the First Regiment band," so he may have been in the military full time as a musician, or else in a National Guard band.

## ALBUQUERQUE

James Devine enters Indian Service in 1894-1895, age 30, when he is hired just as band teacher at Albuquerque for the low sum of \$240 (ARCIA 1895, p. 511). He is also there in 1895-1896 for the same amount (ARCIA 1896, p. 575). No record in ARCIA 1897 or 1898. Most likely still at Albuquerque in 1896-1897. Phoenix newspapers have him moving to the Phoenix School in fall 1897.

## PHOENIX

He must have moved to Phoenix School with McCowan in 1897-1898 and founded or re-founded the band there. He is at Phoenix for four years, through 1900-1901, as industrial teacher and band leader, for \$720, and then, after four years, leaves in 1901, before McCowan's move to Chilocco.

## AFTER INDIAN SERVICE

Leaving the Indian Service in 1901, Devine returns to Albuquerque and stays in music as a noted New Mexico band leader for almost 30 more years. He's offered the Chilocco post for 1903-1904 by McCowan, and Devine turns him down.

It is barely possible that he's the James Devine who is assistant engineer at the Navajo school at Fort Defiance, AZ in 1909. (Native American 10/000, May 8, 1909, p. 193) He's a band leader in the 1910 Census.

He is a salesman in a music store in the 1920 US Census.

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## JOEL B. ETTINGER BIO

Lieut. Joel Bernice Ettinger (11/20/1863 - 04/28/1921) was a European-American inventor, businessman (salesman and industrialist), band conductor, singer, and composer. He was bandmaster at the Carlisle School in 1901-1902.

"J.B. Ettinger is typical of these forgotten composers. According to articles in the *Metronome* magazine, he was leader of the band of the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania during the early 1900s, and in 1920 was heading the Royal Rosarian Band in Portland, Oregon. In 1897, when Ettinger both composed and published his Philadelphia Press Prize McKinley Inaugural March (1897), he was living in Chester, Pennsylvania. Although the cover of the piano edition indicates that the march was 'played by the leading bands at the inauguration,' biographies of President McKinley make no mention of the march."

<http://www.gabbf.com/abb/bios.html>, accessed 02/15/2006

Mechanically minded, Ettinger held at least ten patents, mostly assigned in the 1890s and early 1900s; in 1922, his widow applied for a posthumous patent for him on an invention of his.

Ettinger was born in Aaronsburg, Pa. Musically talented, he became a euphonium soloist. In the early 1890s he lived in Milton, Pa and directed the Milton Band from about 1890 as well as running the Joel B. Ettinger Machine Co. The Milton Band won a prize as the best band in the three states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware (Portland *Oregonian* 1915), and it played at Atlantic City.

Later in the 1890s he moved to Chester, Pa., where he was a music publisher and also general superintendent of the Ettinger Machine Co. (wood-working machines), and leader of Ettinger's Sixth Regiment Band. Lieut. Ettinger was an officer in the Pennsylvania National Guard and served in the Spanish-American War with the Sixth Regiment (as sergeant, one of three in the field and staff officers of the regiment, so indicating bandmaster, I suspect); may well have made Lieutenant with promotion upon leaving active service. Then headed the First Brigade Band National Guard of Philadelphia [The Philadelphia Brigade, a premier unit] and the Philharmonic Band, Wilmington, Delaware. (also, or a.k.a. the First Delaware National Guard Band). He also ran Ettinger's Concert Band of Philadelphia and NYC.

## CARLISLE

Ettinger is at Carlisle as bandmaster for the calendar year 1901 (i.e., parts of two school years). It is a busy year for him and for the band: he does a film of the band and battalion, marries, takes the band to Washington, DC for the inauguration, and takes it to Buffalo, NY for a residency at the Exposition. His vocal soloist at Buffalo is Miss Grace Greenwood Anderson, coloratura soprano, whom he goes on to marry. Nice portrait photo of Ettinger with the Carlisle band.

1901, in April: Release on 30 April of short documentary film of Carlisle band and drill corps, apparently made in anticipation of Buffalo. Had to have been led by Ettinger.

## AFTER CARLISLE

The Ettingers leave Carlisle in February 1902, probably in anticipation of the birth of their first child. Elizabeth Anderson Ettinger is born in Chester on Friday, March 7, 1902 (See Red Man and Helper, Friday, March 28, 1902, p. 3.). J. R. Wheelock visits them and their newborn in Chester on Sunday June 29 (see Red Man and Helper II/47, Friday, July 4, 1902, p. 3.)

Almost a full year after leaving Carlisle, Ettinger and his wife sail on Jan. 3, 1903 for Southampton and Antwerp (New York Tribune, January 3, 1903, p. 8); in Paris a month later, he and his wife are guests of the Consul General of the US in France at a big reception: ". . . Mr. Ettinger, the musical director of the Indian College Orchestra at Carlisle, Penn., who was present with Mrs. Ettinger. This noted music leader in America intends making Paris his residence for a few years. Together with his wife, he is studying with Mme. Marchesi" (New York Times, Feb. 8, 1903, p. 4). (Mrs. Ettinger is the singer, though.) They had planned to stay longer, but returned abruptly in April on account of the illness of their daughter Elizabeth; further, Mrs. Ettinger was also pregnant again; in October Mrs. Ettinger writes Carlisle School with news of new, second daughter, born last July (Red Man and Helper IV/6, Friday, October 2, 1903, p. 3); she explains here that it was illness of Elizabeth, the first born, that "compelled their early return" in the spring. Their new baby is Janet Bernice Ettinger. Mr. Ettinger had a band at one of the parks near Wilmington.

## CHICAGO

Ettinger was in Chicago from roughly 1905-1910. In 1905, he became the Western manager in the Chicago office of the S. A. Woods Machine Co., of Boston, Mass. [Also called manager of the Chicago branch of Woods, in Hardwood Record, April 12, 1907.] Chicago Blue Book directory lists him and his wife for several years (copyrights 1907 and 1909 for the 1908 and 1910 blue books). The Woods firm had offices in Seattle and Portland, and before 1910 he went out to the Portland office with his family. (On this company and its wood-working tools, see lots of Google hits, including on the Portland office.)

## PORTLAND and the ROYAL ROSARIAN BAND

In Portland, Ettinger continued in business. Then this business and family man was turned to for help by Portland's Commercial Club, which wanted to establish a new band, the Rosarians, or Royal Rosarians, to promote Portland, Or. and its annual Rose Festival. Ettinger conducted the widely celebrated Royal Rosarian Band from its founding in 1912 up to the time of his early death in 1921, when he was in only his later 50s. In 1915, he was quoted as saying "The Rosarians' band would rank with first-class musical organizations if we had more oboes and bassoons."

He and his wife, Grace Anderson Ettinger (1878/1879 - 1972), eventually had five children (Elizabeth, Janet, Dorothy, Mahala, and Joel, jr). The third child, daughter Dorothy, was born in Pennsylvania in 1905, while daughter Mahala was born in Portland in 1910. After Ettinger's death in 1921, his widow, along with five children under the age of 20, returned to Philadelphia to live with her elderly parents (1930 US Census).

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Rehrig, citing Metronome of 1920, and other hits; as a composer, Rehrig says Ettinger has four known works.

## JAMES W. GARVIE BIO

James W. Garvie, jr, Santee Sioux) (1893-1983), was a cornettist and conductor. He has ties with Haskell, Genoa, Carlisle, Lenger, Tyrrell, both Wheelocks, Cardin, William Winneshiek, Nelson, Jim Thorpe, Shunatona.

He also ties in with acculturation, Christianity, fluency in English, the printing trade, and so forth.

1893: Slight problem with year of birth. More often affirmed in documents as 27 June 1893, but sometimes 1892. The year 1893 is what he sticks by in his oral testimony, etc. [His Carlisle application gives the birthdate as August 27, 1894, in drop file. His data card says he was 19 when he entered in November 1912. Also, a three-page autobiography in drop file gives the date as June 27, 1893.]

Garvie was born in Santee, NE, on the Santee Sioux Reservation in northeast Nebraska. Could have known John Lenger. In fact, he surely did. Son of James W. Garvie, sr. (1862-1952, age 89) and Anna Red Wing Garvie (1866-before 1905). His father was a prominent native Presbyterian minister and schoolteacher at a mission school and also a musician (piano, organ, singer) and scholar. Garvie, sr. also served as secretary of the council of the Santee band of Sioux Indians. ARCIA identifies him as a native teacher. His mother was also musical (organ playing) and did some school teaching.

James jr. was educated at three government Indian schools: Haskell, Genoa, Carlisle.

## HASKELL

Haskell School (ca. 1899/1900-Dec. 1906). He started there in kindergarten but was immediately promoted to first grade because he could print his name. In his oral history, the interviewer prompts him with suggestion that he was 7, but Garvie does not respond specifically to confirm this.

Troutman (thesis, p. 179; book, p. 136) quotes him from his Carlisle oral history testimony and a 1983 newspaper story that he got his first bugle at Haskell at age 7. This probably puts him at Haskell at that age, in ca. 1899/1900. He was a young student there during the Dennison Wheelock years. NB: Wheelock was a cornetist and printer, and printing is Garvie's eventual trade.

## GENOA

Garvie studied at Genoa Indian Industrial School for three plus years (Jan. 1907-1910). He remembered it as The Grant Institute, one of its old names. He also says he was a graduate of Genoa High School. NB: He was not at Genoa during the Nelson years, but rather during the Paul Walter years. Surely Walter pushed him towards Carlisle.

First trace at Genoa is probably Indian News, vol. XI/5 (Jan 1907), p. 14 report that the orchestra has a new 2nd cornet player.

Genoa Indian News, vol. XI/7 (March 1907), p. 10, says "James Garvie is doing very well on his cornet."

Garvie is in the Genoa senior class as a graduate of the Literary Department (not the Industrial) in June 1910 (age 18). NB: that would imply that he was born in 1892.

## EMPLOYMENT IN NEBRASKA

1910-1912

Niobrara and St. Edward and Genoa as a printer.

1910-1911: He seems to be back in Niobrara, probably working in the printing trade. See ref. in Indian News vol. XIII/6 (March 1911), p. 6.

1911-1912: Garvie is working in a print shop in St. Edward, about 10 miles northwest of Genoa (30 miles west of Columbus; roughly due south of Niobrara). Nelson is back in Genoa this fall, and Garvie visits once a week to play in the orchestra. He also leads the "Little German Band" for New Year's Eve and other festive occasions. He plays with the Nelson daughters and organizes and plays in a school minstrel troupe show. Does cornet solos.

## CARLISLE

1912-1915 Carlisle

Garvie moves to Carlisle in the second half of 1912, i.e., for the 1912-1913 academic year, although he's back to Genoa at least once for a 10-day visit and to assist the band. His Carlisle information card says he arrived on November 9, 1912 and departed as a June 6, 1915 graduate. William "Lone Star" Dietz, Fred Cardin, and Jim Thorpe are among his fellow students then. Age 19 to ca. 22, or in effect what would be like his modern college years. Troutman (book, pp. 119-120) rightly calls him "perhaps the most audible and visible musician during his years on campus between 1912 and 1915."

At Carlisle, Garvie was a student, student director of music, assistant bandmaster, concert soloist for the band, school bugler [sergeant bugler], and member of the trombone choir. He worked at the printing trade, doing some graphics for student publications at Carlisle. (The Benjey book about Lone Star Dietz mentions graphics signed JG that are probably Garvie's work.) He hated the strictness of the military "West Point" discipline at Carlisle. In 1914, he steps in and runs band rehearsals after Claude Stauffer leaves; further, Garvie had to give testimony at the federal hearings about Stauffer and his alleged misconduct. Leo McDonald comes on board to help Garvie with the band two weeks before commencement.

Garvie had two summer outings while at Carlisle (1913 and 1914). His first outing was with R. B. Cassidy of Mt. Union, PA. In his second outing, he was placed with bandmaster George F. Tyrrell in the Tyrrell Military Band of 45 pieces; fellow Carlisle student musician William Winneshiek played with him (Lebanon Daily News, August 22,

1914, p. 000). He earned good money both summers. He was Tyrrell's cornet soloist (Harrisburg Patriot, August 1, 1914, p. 12).

1915: Plays his final year under bandmaster Tyrrell. Carlisle Class of 1915, age 22/23.

Garvie then continues for several years to appear with Carlisle Band as soloist---at least through spring 1917. That is during the Tyrrell and J. R. Wheelock years. He joins the Haskell Band under Nels Nelson during their Chautauqua touring in summer 1919. He later works with J. R. Wheelock in his professional Concert Band. He is soloist in a program for Wheelock's professional band, based in Philadelphia in the 1920s, that is in the Chautauqua archive at the University of Iowa.

#### OAKDALE, NEBRASKA

1915-1916: After graduation from Carlisle, Garvie moved back to Nebraska, established himself in Oakdale, NE and led its concert band for one year (Carlisle student data card and his bio blurbs; Oakdale newspaper hits). Oakdale is about 50 miles due north of Genoa, and north-west of Norfolk. (Hard to believe that this is a full-time job. Probably also a printer there?)

#### LEBANON, PENN.

1916: After a year back in Nebraska, Garvie moved back East to Lebanon, Pa., which was his home ever since. It is probable that marriage or the prospect of marriage brought him back to Lebanon, his wife's hometown. He married Maude E. Frank (1891-1968) of Lebanon on March 27, 1916, in Lancaster, Pa. [NB: Shortly thereafter, a news account says he came to town "about a month ago" from Wyoming (Lebanon Daily News, June 28, 1916, p. 6), neither of which statements is exactly correct.]

Maude was the daughter of Thomas L. Frank and Clara Zerfoss Frank. Her father was well known locally as a musician, which may be how Garvie got to meet her. They were married for over 50 years. The celebration of their fiftieth wedding anniversary was big news in Lebanon in 1966 (Lebanon, PA, Daily Times, March 26, 1966, p. 18, Lebanon, PA, Daily News, March 26, 1966, p. 23)). Maude died December 22, 1968 in a Lebanon hospital (Lebanon Daily News, December 23, 1968, p. 2). Their children are Frank F., Herbert F., James W., and Ruth F. (Mrs. Charles Dove). There were lots of grandchildren and great grandchildren at the time of the deaths of Maud and James. Frank, Ruth and Herbert were all in Lebanon in 1974, and James was in Norfolk, Va. (Lebanon Daily News, June 27, 1974, p. 22).

In Lebanon, Garvie worked for the Lebanon plant of Bethlehem Steel, and then worked in a defense plant near Middletown, Pa (Middletown [Army Air] Depot) until retirement after 21 years there. That would be in the early to mid 1950s, I would guess. Middletown is east of Harrisburg; the Harrisburg Airport has code MDT because it is actually in Middletown, and it lies about 20 miles south-west of Lebanon.

He kept up a busy parallel career in music. He was the soloist under Tyrrell in the Carlisle Band in 1916 and spring 1917. Led three different adult bands in Lebanon at different times: Tyrrell, Bethlehem Steel, Perse. Continues to simultaneously work



as a musician (cornet soloist and bandmaster) into the late 1930s or early 1940s. Then that tapers off.

1916 to 1920, or later: He becomes Director of Tyrrell's Military Band (Lebanon). Takes over in 1916 when he is just 23, while Tyrrell is still alive and working at Carlisle. He is first elected musical director in June 1916 (Lebanon Daily News, June 28, 1916, p. 6), and again in January 1918 (Lebanon Daily News, January 23, 1918, p. 1), and in January 1919 (Lebanon Daily News, January 21, 1959, in column "40 Years Ago" for January 22, 1919) and resumes the position in August 1919 after a summer tour (Lebanon Daily News, August 8, 1919). The Carlisle Arrow 13/33 (April 27, 1917), p. 2: "The band boys were glad to see James Garvie, class '15, in Harrisburg on Saturday. James had charge of the military band from Lebanon, Pa." He is leading the band in 1920 when his father comes on a visit (Lebanon Daily News, February 13, 1920, p. 3).

1918: At his day job at the Bethlehem Steel plant his right hand got crushed in early 1918 (Lebanon Daily News, February 7, 1918, p. 3; Lebanon Daily News, February 6, 1958, p. 14, in column "Turning Back the Pages/ 40 Years Ago/February 7, 1918").

1919, in the summer: he joins the Haskell Indian Orchestra on the Community Chautauqua circuit under Nels Nelson: the band spent several hours in town this morning on the way to Palmyra (Lebanon Daily News, July 8, 1919, p. 1); cornettist James Garvie leaves tomorrow for Rainsburg to join the Haskell Indian orchestra; they spend several hours in Lebanon last week en route to Palmyra (Lebanon Daily News, July 11, 1919, p. 13); he's with them for about a month (Lebanon Daily News, August 8, 1919).

1920s: Director, Bethlehem Steel Company Band (at the local Lebanon plant), from some point continuing through 1922 (Lebanon Semi-Weekly News, August 10, 1922, p. 5) and up to the time of its dissolution by 1925 (Lebanon Daily News, May 13, 1925, p. 3, at which time of writing the band already had been dissolved).

1920s: During the Fall to spring theater season in the early 1920s he was a trumpet player in theater orchestras, and during the summer vacations, when the theaters were dark, he played at resorts with concert bands and orchestras.

For example, he was assistant conductor and concert soloist for the Wheelock Indian Concert Band (Gettysburg Times, November 2, 1979, p. 5). Played in professional bands for several summer seasons (in James Riley Wheelock's band) at:

Steel Pier, Atlantic City  
Municipal Pier, Ocean City, NJ  
Sesqui-Centennial in Philadelphia  
Zoological Garden, Cincinnati

Also: Theatre musician for a number of years, including two years at the Astor Theatre in Reading, Pa. (into the 1940s), possibly under Cardin.

Also: He led the West Lebanon Boys Band

1933, in Spring: Garvie organized the Indian Dance Orchestra of Lebanon Pa., which played at President Roosevelt's first inaugural ball on March 3, 1933 (with Fred Cardin on violin); one clipping in Carlisle drop file says it alternated there with Guy Lombardo. [See also Reading Eagle, June 15, 1933, p. 8: not only did this band play at the inaugural but there is hope that it will get an engagement at the Chicago Fair of 1933-1934, the "Century of Progress."]

This band was to be in the hands of J. B. Shunatona, who had handled the Indian band for the 1929 inaugural, an ensemble in which Garvie and Cardin played; the band is actually headquartered in Tulsa but its director/manager sponsor lives Yukon, Okla., a small town just outside Oklahoma City, not Tulsa; in the oral history by Garvie he remembers it was based in Tulsa; see also Gettysburg Times, November 2, 1979, p. 5] They did not march in the parade.

The Inaugural Charity Ball was held at the Washington Auditorium on March 4, 1933, with the new First Lady, Eleanor Roosevelt, as honor guest. The ball proper began at 10:00, but there was an elaborate musical program beforehand, beginning at 8:30 and featuring the Indian Reservation Band of Oklahoma, "which was the highlight of the charity inaugural ball in 1929." Meanwhile, the Navy Band played continuously in the foyer to entertain guests upon their arrival. The ball itself actually began with an elaborate ceremony for entrances by state governors and the new Vice-President, to music provided by the service bands. Then their place was taken by four dance bands, those of Guy Lombardo, Rudy Vallee, Eddy Duchin, and Eli Dantzig. However, the honor of offering the very first dance music was given to a fifth band, the Indian orchestra, which played "Anchors Aweigh" (Washington Post, March 5, 1933, p. 10). This is just as it had been at Hoover's inaugural ball, i.e., Hoover's, too, was opened by the Indian orchestra.

Evidently, then, Garvie was working for/with Shunatona or whatever the current version of that orchestra was; perhaps "organized" means just that, i.e., Garvie actually reconstituted it, in truth.

1930s: Lebanon, PA. Senior and Junior Drum and Bugle Corps: two champion drum and bugle corps (state champions in 1934):  
Instructor/Director, Lebanon (Pa.) Senior Drum and Bugle Corps, American Legion = Men's Senior Drum and Bugle Corps, William H. Bollman Post No. 158, American Legion Lebanon, Girls Junior Drum and Bugle Corps [Junior Girls Drum Corps], Veterans of Foreign Wars = F. W./Fred Fuhrman Post No. 23, VFW  
He was still leading both in 1940.

1930s: Director, Perseverance ("Perse") Band (Lebanon), for two years, around 1935-1937; he conducts the 80th anniversary concert March 3, 1937, as its regular conductor, and asks his pal Fred Cardin to help out (Lebanon Daily News, March 3, 1977, p. 4, in column "Turning Back the Pages/ Forty Years Ago/ March 3, 1937").

(NB: The Perseverance Band was founded in 1857 and was still performing in 2013. Tyrrell used to conduct this band until his death in 1916, then John Leslie took over until his death in 1934, and Leslie was succeeded by Charles Strohm, who was succeeded by Garvie (Lebanon Daily News, Centennial Edition, September 30, 1972, p. J-14). In 1940, Garvie is called the former director of the Perseverance Band.

- 1940: In December 1940 he directs the W.P.A. band in a concert at the Municipal Auditorium in Reading Pa. The Lebanon Daily News reprints a valuable article from the Reading papers, with bio details (Lebanon Daily News, December n.d., 1940, p. 2)
- 1940: Son James W. Garvie, also a trumpet soloist, graduated from Lebanon High School in June 1940, and was student director of the school band in his senior year. He turned 18 in December 1940.
- 1951: When the movie "Jim Thorpe, All American" was made in 1951, Garvie was called in as a technical adviser to the film.
- 1957: Carlisle Evening Sentinel, May 31, 1957: "Jim Thorpe Memorial Is Dedicated in Jim Thorpe." The article discusses the dedication ceremony of the Jim Thorpe Memorial in Jim Thorpe, Pa. on Memorial Day, Monday, May 27. Many football and baseball stars were in attendance as well as old acquaintances of Thorpe. Some of his former schoolmates at Carlisle were there including Mrs. Sadie Feder, Joe Guyon, Pete Calac, William Lone Star Dietz and Mrs. Dietz, Thomas Miles, Leon Miller, Paul Bald Eagle, Fred Cardin, and James Garvie. Arthur Martin, former publicist for the Indian School, also attended. (See also The Washington Post and Times Herald, May 26, 1957, p. C3). Earlier in the year, the Chicago Tribune had reported that the ceremony would be on Tuesday, May 28, in commemoration of Thorpe's birth (Chicago Tribune, January 27, 1957, p. A5).
- 1966: the Garvies celebrated their Golden Anniversary (Lebanon Daily News, March 26, 1966, p. 18).
- 1979: Garvie attends and participates in ceremonies at the US Army's Carlisle Barracks marking the 100th Anniversary of the founding of the Carlisle School and lays a wreath at the Indian School Monument (Gettysburg Times, November 2, 1979, p. 5; the biographical material in this article sounds mostly like a rehash of Gridley).
- 1980: Lives a LONG life. Contributes an interview on December 3, 1980 to the Carlisle School Oral History Project. Memoirs thus 65 years after leaving school.
- 1983: Died July 4, 1983, age 90, just a few days after his birthday; long-lived, just like his dad. Garvie survived his wife Maude by almost 15 years.
- "Many of the outstanding Brass players in Pennsylvania are pupils of his" (Gridley, 1947, p. 104). "He has instructed many of the outstanding brass players in Pennsylvania" (Gettysburg Times, November 2, 1979, p. 5).

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3-page autobiography in CCHS drop file.

## DAVID RUSSELL HILL BIO

David Russell Hill, sr., 1874-1950. Onondaga Indian chief and educator and musician (composer, conductor, performer). Same age or possibly just a bit younger than the Wheelock brothers. A Family Tree hit on ancestry.com gives birthdate 1874; Indian Census Rolls give 1874 or c. 1874. New York State 1875 Census of June 1875 gives his age as 1 Year. He later shaves a few years off his age, so that, for example, WWII Draft Registration card says 1878 and obit says 72 in 1950 (so born 1878); he is apparently older than that by 4/5 years.

Hill was at Hampton Institute from 1890 to 1895 and a graduate of the Class of '95.

See:

<http://www.twofrog.com/hampton2.txt>

and <http://www.twofrog.com/hamptonmale2.txt>

<https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/27872/person/362337446609/facts?phsrc=lyE2777&phstart=succesSource>

## GRAND JUNCTION and FORT LEWIS

Hill began his career as a bandmaster and disciplinarian in US Indian Government service for three years in Colorado, 1895-1898:

ARCIA 1896 for 1895-96, p. 587 lists him as disciplinarian at the Grand Junction, Co. Indian School, appointed Sept. 7, 1895 for \$300.

ARCIA 1897 for 1896-97, p. 547 lists him as disciplinarian and bandmaster at the Teller Institute, i.e., the Grand Junction Indian School, appointed Aug. 29, 1896 for \$450, so apparently \$150 is all that the bandmaster position added. He marries in Grand Junction in June 1897.

ARCIA 1898 for 1897-1898, p. 641 has him moving to the Fort Lewis, Co. Indian School as disciplinarian from Sept. 1, 1897 at a nicely increased salary of \$720.

Much later he's in Indian Service again in 1920s; see below.

Hill returns to NYS in the fall of 1898, and his son and namesake, David, Jr. is born in New York acc. a record in Carlisle files. (David, jr., born in December 1898 in New York, was 19 when he entered Carlisle in 1917, the school's final year of existence.)

Hill is living in Onondaga township in the US 1900 Census, and in fact is the Census Enumerator.

In 1905, he is already trusted with the apportionment of \$100,000 to the Onondaga (that's \$3.5 million or more today), so he had to be regarded as already a mature and senior individual then (NY Times, October 16, 1950, p. 27).

The Onondaga have a long tradition of a community band---the Onondaga Indian Band---from at least the 1860s. See Utica Gospel Messenger and Church Record of Western New York, October 21, 1869, p. 2; Utica Gospel Messenger and Church Record of Western New York, October 28, 1869, p. 3, citing the Syracuse Daily Journal of October 23, 1869; Watertown Daily Times, June 27, 1881, p. 3; Watertown Daily Times, July 25, 1885, p. 4).

Back in New York State, Hill runs the Onondaga Indian Concert Band, or Onondaga Indian Reservation Band, which also toured as the American Indian Concert Band or North American Indian Concert Band. His name is also associated with the "Iroquois Indian Orchestra," especially in 1912. The change of name happens intermittently over ca. 1911-1914 or so. An October 1917 letter in his son's Carlisle file from David Russell Hill, sr. to Carlisle is written on stationery headed "American Indian Concert Band, Formerly Known as the Onondaga Indian Concert Band."

One often repeated item is that the band was founded in 1940; this is most likely a typo on a standard information sheet, and perhaps the date ought to be 1904. But the error may be different: a brochure for touring (see below) says the band was founded in 1840.

Lyceum brochure says he was Band Master and disciplinarian in Indian Service, and "during his term as Band Master he won a gold medal at a tournament held in the Mormon Tabernacle in Salt Lake City, Utah, in the summer of 1906." Perhaps, then, he remained in Indian Service, or returned to it, after leaving Fort Lewis. The language makes it sound as if he is talking about Indian Service, but probably, nonetheless, he is talking about the Onondaga Band.

In hits just for NY State in Old Fulton NY Postcards, the band seems most active in 1909-1911 or so.

1902: appearing in Tully, NY

1903: the Onondaga Indian band played for the excursionists to Sylvan Beach in central New York (New York Sun, July 26, 1903, p. 9)

1907: the Onondaga Indian Band played the Tobacco Show at Madison Square Garden (New York Tribune, September 14, 1907, p. 8)

1909, in November: The Onondaga Indian Concert Band played in Watertown on November 16 on a lyceum series (Watertown Daily Times, April 21, 1909, p. 10; Watertown Daily Times, October 30, 1909, p. 3; Watertown Daily Times, November 17, 1909, p. 5).

1910: In the US 1910 Census, Hill is a self-employed musician running his Indian Band.

1910 trip abroad:

The North American Indian Concert Band goes to Europe

The band is advertised as having a twelve week, June-July-August 1910 European engagement, primarily in Germany and Central Europe. NU Press book has photo of

a postcard in German from this trip. In fact, the band left in June and returned in October---a trip of four months. Reportedly "they receive \$1000 per week and expenses from Syracuse and return" (Montour Falls, NY, Free Press, September 1910, p. 1).

The Country Gentleman (June 22, 1911), p. 596 says the Indian band of 22 pieces sailed on July 4, 1910 for Europe "to give concerts and entertainments in the principal cities of Germany." The date is an error for June 4. The Syracuse, NY, Post-Standard, June 4, 1910, p. 6 says that a big farewell and bon voyage was given to David Russell Hill and his 22 musicians. See also Fayetteville, NY, Fayetteville Bulletin, June 10, 1910, p. 1.

They reportedly toured Switzerland, Germany, and Austria. The tour is later sometimes described as a two-year tour of the leading cities of German, Austria, and France (The American Indian Magazine 4/7 (1916), p. 198), or France, German, and Italy (Art World, vol. 1, November 1916, p. 144).

Archive of materials about this trip at Huntington Library, including a sort of diary with names of band members, and a printed passenger list of travellers outward bound on the Red Star Line to Europe.

Handwritten list (date unknown), with Ed. Wahler handwritten along the right-hand side. The 20 names are 19 plus Hill, with 7 apparently not on trip after all. Those on inbound passenger lists (13) marked by \*\*:

Henry Pena

\*\* Ed. Nanonka

\*\* C. Peters

\*\* H. Printup

Albert Solomino

Antone Cannosino

C. S. Maria

[absent] Miguel Jarado

\*\* P. Bustos

A. Beghe

\*\* F. Ramirez

\*\* Jose Cigala

\*\* H. Greene

\*\* Wm. Scott

\*\* L. Williams

\*\* G. George [Daniel]

\*\* Geo. Willard

\*\* E. Greene [Emerson]

C. Carson

D. R. Hill, Conductor



Red Star Line, Second Class passengers, alphabetical; Mr. Carl Wahler and Mr. Alfred Wahler are also on the list in Second Class. Band members are hand-numbered and annotated on that list, with the additional handwritten annotation "17 Indianer hier + 5 Indianer absent"

- \*\* 1. Mr. Martin Hill (substitute for Mr. Benjamin)
- \*\* 2. Mr. Andrew Pierce (substitute for Mr. Garner)
- \*\* 3. Mr. P. Bustos (substitute for Mr. Carson)
- \*\* 4. Mr. Cigala
- Mr. Cornelius struck through and noted "absent"
- Mr. Desser absent
- \*\* 5. Mr. Emerson Green
- \*\* 6. Mr. Frances Remeriz
- \*\* 7. Mr. Daniel George
- Mr. Gilmore absent
- \*\* 8. Mr. Hiram Greene
- \*\* 9. Mr. David Russell Hill
- Mr. Jurado absent
- \*\* 10. Mr. Levi Williams
- \*\* 11. Mr. Edward Nanouka
- \*\* 12. Mr. Caspar Peters
- \*\* 13. Mr. William Pierce
- \*\* 14. Mr. Harrison Puntup
- \*\* 15. Mr. William Scott
- \*\* 16. Mr. Phineas Wheelock
- Mr. Williams absent [actually above]
- \*\* 17. Mr. George Willard

Two passenger lists survive for the return to the US on the Holland-American line's "President Grant," seen via ancestry.com (search any one of names below): one from Hamburg as they depart for home on October 9, 1910 and one from NYC as they arrive on October 20. The names on the lists are nearly identical, and include these (a combined list, alphabetized), with the given age:

Bustos, Priciliam (or Pricilian or Priciliano O. Bustos) (31) [born in Mexico; 1878/79/80/82 – 1972; Find a Grave has 1880-1972]  
Cigala, Jose [Joseph Cigalo/ Cigale; born in Chihuahua, Mexico; Chilocco; touring with Wiley, Wheelock, Hill] (23)  
George, Daniel (55) [Onondaga, 1855/56 - ]  
Green, Hiram (50) [1860-1923; Greene; veteran bandmaster of the Tuscarora reservation; wife Emma 1862-1923]  
Greene, Ralph (17) [Ralph Emerson Greene, Tuscarora; 1894-1968; son of Hiram and Emma]  
Hill, David (36)  
Hill, Martin (49) lined through on both lists [Onondaga; 1861- ]  
Nanonka, Edward (23) [Navajo; Phoenix School 1898-1904; Chilocco; 1886-1956]  
Peters, Caspera [Casper Alfred] (36) [Tuscarora; 1876-1940; musician in US 1900 Census; "irregular employee" at Carlisle for one month in February 1897; to Haskell in 1904; clarinet player in US 1910 Census]  
Pierce, Andrew (28) [Onondaga; 1881-1968; brother is William]  
Pierce, William (32) [Onondaga; 1878-1936; brother is Andrew]  
Printop [Printup], Harrison (34) [Tuscarora; Carlisle 1892-1900; Carlisle Band; b. 1867/68?/69 1871? – 1933; Soldier in Soldier's Home in 1910; 1910 Census says he is b. 1876; Veterans Admin has 1876-1933]  
Remercz [Remerez, Ramirez], Francis (30)  
Scott, William (28) [Onondaga/Seneca; William J. Scott; 1882 – 1948; Carlisle, 1902-1905; Carlisle Band]  
Wahler, Arthur (18)  
Whellock ([Wheelock], Phineas (24) [Oneida; 1885-1957; Carlisle, 1894-1904; NARA file has clipping about him being on tour with North American Indian Band]  
Willard, George (24) [George B. Willard; Puyallup (Washington, not Alaskan); 1886/87-1956; at Carlisle 1898-1905; musician with Wheelock's band and NARA file says his salary is \$25; printer in Syracuse NY and living on Onondaga Reservation; bassoonist]  
Williams, Levi (20) [Levi Gustave Williams, 1889-1942; Seneca; Carlisle, 1902-1911; employed at Chilocco in 1910 and gives Chilocco in passenger list; Army band musician c. 1912]

There are 18 names here, but Martin Hill is lined through in both lists, leaving 17, and Arthur Wahler is here, leaving 16 Native Americans. They are often described as a band of 19 in NY State newspapers.

By one account, in the touring band, "Nearly all are members of the Six Nations, six being Onondagas and the Tuscaroras and Senecas being well represented (Syracuse, NY, Post-Standard, June 4, 1910, p. 6).

Those musicians with prior experience on tour in other school and professional bands besides Hill's Onondaga Band include at least these 6: Jose Cigala, Hiram Green, Edward Nanonka, Casper Peters, Phineas Wheelock, George Willard.

Those associated specifically with Carlisle band include at least 6: Jose Cigala, Harrison Printup, William Scott, Phineas Wheelock; George Willard, Levi Williams. [NB: One account says a third of the band are former Carlisle students (Syracuse, NY, Post-Standard, June 4, 1910, p. 6.)]

David Russell Hill is director and Carl Wahler is manager. Arthur Wahler must be Carl's son. (He may have been a performer, too.) Arthur is on a passenger manifest in 1896, age 4, with father Charles (age 34), mother Ida (age 26), and brother Edwin.

The brochure for lyceum and Circuit Chautauqua touring:

<http://digital.lib.uiowa.edu>

and

[https://digital.lib.uiowa.edu/islandora/object/ui%3AAtc\\_51353](https://digital.lib.uiowa.edu/islandora/object/ui%3AAtc_51353)

David Russell Hill  
and his  
Onondaga Indian Concert Band  
The Only Real Professional Indian Band in the World  
15 American Indian Artists 15

This brochure seems to date from 1911 (the European trip is “during the past season”). Here, band is also called the Onondaga Indian Reservation Band (and elsewhere, the Onondaga Reservation Brass Band, Onondaga Band, and later a.k.a. Iroquois Indian Orchestra). "Not a school band nor in any way connected with the United States Government." Says he was a composer while at Hampton as well as conductor. The brochure has a portrait of the band with twenty men in it.

1910: Hill's "Onondaga Indian Concert Band" playing in Avon, NY in October; also in Waterville and Oswego, NY in November

1911, in May: The American Indian Concert Band toured Europe last season, but this year they will not as had been planned, but they have forty weeks of contracts through New England and the Central States (Syracuse Herald, May 14, 1911, p. B-5).

1911, in August: “The American Indian Concert Band” under Hill plays at Floating Bridge Park in Lynn, Mass. in August (NY Clipper, August 1911, p. 20).

1912: The band also toured as the Iroquois Concert Band, and under that name made a nationwide tour in 1912, and also as "the Indian Orchestra" of Syracuse NY, it toured on a Chautauqua circuit (The Lyceumite and Talent).

A possible Canadian ref. to this group: The Encyclopedia of Music in Canada, art. "Native North Americans in Canada," reports that "In the 1890s, the North American Indian concert Band performed in Great Britain, Italy, and Germany. Though based in the USA, the ensemble included Iroquois and Ojibwe musicians from Canadian first nations." (I have found no other trace of, or reference to, this organization but it is most likely to be the Onondaga band of David Russell Hall.)

1913: His group, the "Iroquois Indian Orchestra" is appearing on southern Chautauquas (Lyceum Magazine), in Tennessee, South Carolina, Florida, including Pensacola, Fl. in May (genealogybank.com hits and LoC hits); the ensemble “consists of soloists picked from the best Indian artists in America”, or at greater length, “The Orchestra consist of soloists, selected from the famous American Indian concert Band, organized and led by David Russell Hill, chief of the Tribe of the Onondagas. This Band played two seasons in the Lyceum under the Empire Lyceum bureau” (Manchester (Vt.) Journal, November 27, 1913, p. 2); on tour in February of small upstate NY towns as the Iroquois Indian Orchestra (Billboard).

1913: In March, advertisements in Billboard for the "American Indian Concert Band" seeking engagements.

1913: The Indian's Friend 25/8 (May 1913), p. 3: since two years ago, the band has been abroad part of the time, and is expecting to play Scranton's Luna Park all this season, and then start out again in October on the Empire Lyceum circuit with an eight-piece orchestra, touring the West and South.

1915: The band referred to as "the Indian Band of Onondaga".

1916: "The American Indian Concert Band (formerly known as the Onondaga Indian Concert Band)," will play this year at the Naples Fair (Naples (NY) Record, May 24, 1916, n.p. [p. 2]).

1916: The American Indian Magazine (Society of American Indians), vol. IV (1916), p. 198, under "News About Indians" has reprinted a little note from the New York Sun (possibly a little exaggerated) saying that "The American Concert Band is composed of Indians and the conductor is David Russell Hill, an Onondaga. For two years, this band toured the leading cities of German, Austria, and France, and it has won several gold medals in tournaments held in this country."

1917: Hill's son, David Russell Hill, jr., age 19 (born December 29, 1898), arrives at Carlisle as a student in September 1917.

1920: The Southern Workman XLIX (January 1920), p. 48, reports that Hill is a Hampton graduate of the Class of '95 and has been appointed by Governor Smith (of NY) as one of four persons to confer with Congressional Committees in relation to Indian Affairs. He lives on the reservation near Syracuse.

1920: In the US 1920 Census Hill gives his occupation as musician and leader of a factory band.

1920, in August: the Onondaga Indian Band, "the Only Professional Indian Concert Band Known to Both Hemispheres," will play on Labor Day at DeRuyter, NY (DeRuyter (NY) Gleaner, August 19, 1920, p. 7)

1921-1927

1921, in July: He is concertizing in Massachusetts with the "American Indian Band."

MT. PLEASANT, MI, INDIAN SCHOOL

He is back in Indian Service at a boarding school in Michigan. Summary of letter of Oct. 1927 (on-line: summary of a letter to Joseph Keppler, at Cornell now in the Iroquois Papers, Joseph Kepler collection), indicates he has been in the US Gvt. Field Service at the Mt. Pleasant, Michigan Indian School for six years and has just resigned rather than to accept a transfer to Oregon. That would have him there for 1921-1927 school years.

NB: Paige Clarke image of the band at Mt. Pleasant, led by Hill.

The Southern Workman 52 (1923), 00/000 has ref. that he is bandmaster and property clerk somewhere. Another reference on Hampton rolls website says he runs a grocery store.

1927, in January: "The American Indian Concert Band", Mt. Pleasant, Mich., under direction of David Russell Hill, expects to be on the Chautauqua circuit next year. The organization, with its soloists both in vocal and instrumental numbers, is said to be an unusual novelty" (Billboard, January 1, 1927, p. 45).

Exactly for which school years he taught at Mt. Pleasant is not yet determined with certainty, though c. 1921-1927 is safe. An obituary for his mother in Syracuse, NY, Syracuse Journal, Monday, August 1, 1927, p. 4, says he "was for years an instructor in the Indian School at Mt. Pleasant, Mich." An obituary in Batavia, NY, The Daily News, October 16, 1950, p. 1, says "he taught for 11 years in federal Indian schools in Michigan and at Teller Institute and Ft. Lewis in Colorado." Another local obituary (Syracuse, NY, Post-Standard, October 15, 1950, p. 23 (Section III, "Local News," p. 1) says he taught 11 years in federal Indian schools, including two years at Teller Institute and one year at Ft. Lewis, both in Colorado, and eight years at Mt. Pleasant, Mich."

BACK IN NY STATE

Oswego Palladium-Times, Thursday, August 4, 1932: "Another treat for the noon hour is promised in an address by David Russell Hill, chief of the Six Nations and leader of the famous Onondaga Indian Band."

OBITUARY in New York Times Oct. 16, 1950, p. 27. Says he died on October 15 at age of 72, which puts his birthdate around 1878. He was an Onondaga Indian chief, a leader of the Six Nations, an educator and a musician. He was actually around the age of 76.

## JAMES HOLY EAGLE BIO

James Holy Eagle (1889-1991), a.k.a. James Holyeagle, James H. Eagle and James Eagle, is an Oglala Sioux from South Dakota. He is from the Pine Ridge Agency. His father was the Rev. George H. Eagle of Allen, S.D. and his mother was Alice H. Eagle. He is associated with Pine Ridge, Carlisle, Greenville School, Cal., Riverside School.

Education prior to Carlisle is local.

1910: In the US 1910 Census he is living on the Pine Ridge Reservation and doing odd jobs.

## CARLISLE

1913-1916

He travels to Carlisle by train from Valentine, Neb.

For Holy Eagle, his three years as a student at Carlisle, 1913-1916, age 24-27, were essentially his college years. He played football at the college level, and as a musician---a cornetist--- he had to have been fairly well formed before Carlisle. His trade at Carlisle was printer (Carlisle student data card and Harrisburg Star-Independent, April 13, 1915, p. 7). He played under Stauffer in his last year as bandmaster, and then under Tyrrell.

1915: In March 1915, he was assigned by Superintendent Lipps to accompany two prominent members of the Sisseton Sioux tribe to Washington, D.C. to act as their interpreter (Harrisburg Telegraph, March 20, 1915, p. 19).

1916: Graduated with the Class of 1916.

1916-1917

References in The Carlisle Arrow indicate that he was around in 1916-1917 (see also Carlisle student data card). He is identified in a roster of employees (as of October 9, 1916) as an Assistant in Printing (The Carlisle Arrow, October 13, 1916, p. 7). He played a cornet solo in late October (The Carlisle Arrow, November 3, 1916, p. 3). In April, when the printing instructor was at a convention, James Eagle was in charge of the composing room (The Carlisle Arrow, April 13, 1917, p. 6). He is on a list of "Students Enrolled at Carlisle Indian Industrial School, Corrected to January 1, 1917," in the The Carlisle Arrow, January 5, 1917, p. 6. He played cornet solos with the band (e.g., on January 13, 1917, acc. The Carlisle Arrow, January 12, 1917, p. 2). He helped out directing the band after the death of bandmaster George Tyrrell in the spring of 1917. His May 1917 WWI draft card gives his birthdate as March 1894 and says he is a printer at Carlisle.

## GREENVILLE

1917: Documents in his Carlisle files indicates that he left the school in September 1917 to become disciplinarian and bandleader at the United States Indian School and Agency in Greenville, Cal.

At this moment, he was an employee at Carlisle as printer and temporary band instructor, so this is an employee transfer within the Indian Service.

1918: "The Carlisle Arrow, march and two step," for piano, by J. H. Eagle of Lacreek, S.D., was copyright on February 28/March 1, 1918.

Served in the US Army, by a report in a photo caption in Donovan Arleigh Sprague, Pine Ridge Reservation (2004), p. 80.

Said to have been a coach at the Riverside School until joining the US Army (1918-1919) (Pioneer Pathfinder, (1992), p. 24 snippet view).

## US ARMY

He served as a Corporal in the US Army, July 22, 1918-September 2, 1919 (U.S. Veteran's Gravesites information).

## BACK IN SOUTH DAKOTA

1920: In the US 1920 Census he is working as a printer in South Dakota.

## OBITUARY COMMENTS

James Holy Eagle (Sioux), 4/4/1889- Thursday 8/29/1991, died at age 102.

"James Holy Eagle is the oldest Sioux Indian. He grew up in Pine Ridge, S.D., and went to school at a Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding school. At Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania he studied to become a printer and distinguished himself as a cornet soloist and a football player.

He broke his shoulder in a game against Yale and still has a protruding bone from the injury, but he graduated at the top of his class in 1916 and was hired as a band director and boys' adviser at the Indian school in Greenville, Calif."

"Mrs. La Flesche. For instance, we received a boy from the West, James Holy Eagle or Holy Elk. He is a young man about 17 of 18 years old and a good musician. He came here last fall and entered the band and orchestra. He is one of the leaders now. Well, in the papers frequently you read where James Holy Eagle, a pure-blood Indian, just arrived from the West, was placed in the band, and was an expert musician, or something like that, and the inference is that he received that during his short stay here. That is the idea — to give out a good sounding article."

The Deseret News (Salt Lake City, UT) - August 31, 1991:

### SITTING BULL'S GREAT-GRANDSON DIES

Chief James Holy Eagle, who was said to be the oldest living Sioux Indian and was the great-grandson of Sitting Bull, has died at age 102. Jim Berndt, a close friend, said the chief died Thursday at Sioux Indian Hospital in Rapid City. Holy



Eagle was born April 4, 1889, in western South Dakota on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. He attended Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania and played right guard on the football team one year after legendary athlete Jim Thorpe left. In 1913 his . . .

Holy Eagle himself remembered playing for the Coolidge inaugural (that would be March 4, 1925), and if his memory is OK, then he was probably playing with J. R. Wheelock in the earlier 1920s.

See also [http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student\\_files/james-h-eagle-student-information-card](http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/james-h-eagle-student-information-card)

and [http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student\\_files/james-holy-eagle-student-file](http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/james-holy-eagle-student-file)

## THOMAS E. KING BIO

Thomas E. King (1874-1951) was a Native American (Oneida) bandmaster at US government off-reservation inter-tribal boarding schools. In this context, he is associated as student and teacher with schools including Haskell, Carlisle, Wyandotte, Quapaw, Seneca School, and Flandreau.

Indian Census Rolls identify his tribe as Oneida from Green Bay and say his birth year is 1875, or 1874, or 1873, etc. Find A Grave Index says his birth year is 1874, and his Social Security application gives May 25, 1874. He is a direct Oneida contemporary of the Wheelock brothers, then.

## HASKELL

King is in the Haskell Band in 1893; in his Carlisle "Record of Graduates and Returned Students" he says he attended the Haskell Institute but did not graduate and that he left Haskell "about 13 or 14 years ago," which could indicate something around 1896/1897; an article on the Haskell Band at Chicago in 1893 names him; Native American, vol. 17 (1916), p. 34 calls him "a former Haskell pupil."

## CARLISLE

King was at Carlisle for a semester in 1895. He arrived at Carlisle in January 1895 and "ran away" in June 1895. Did he return to Carlisle and finish there? Did he come to Carlisle from Haskell? Did he return to Haskell? It is curious to have so much documentary evidence in his Carlisle file if he was just there so briefly. Given his age in 1895, it is likely that he got most of his schooling at Haskell and then considered doing a stretch at Carlisle while in his early twenties.

[http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student\\_files/thomas-king-student-file](http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/thomas-king-student-file)

## INDIAN TERRITORY SCHOOLS

1900: He is a day laborer at the Wyandotte Indian Reservation, Wyandotte Nation, Indian Territory, in the 1900 US Census, born ca. 1875.

1900: Thomas King of Wyandotte marries May Long, also of Wyandotte, in August 1900 in Missouri (Missouri Marriage Records). In his Carlisle "Record of Graduates and Returned Students" he there also says her name is May Long.

1902: He is a laborer at Quapaw, I. T., appointed in December 1901 (Red Man and Helper, Friday, January 17, 1902, p. 4).

## WYANDOTTE

1904-1909: In his Carlisle "Record of Graduates and Returned Students" he says he was at the Seneca School in Wyandotte for five years as "labor and band master." Hard to reconcile that "five years" with other records, as it ought to be a longer period. Or maybe he was at the school as bandmaster from 1904-1909, and at Quapaw (not as bandmaster) before that.

A greeting card from Thomas, his wife, and four children is in the Carlisle student

archives; dated ca. 1910, it is signed from Wyandotte, Okla. In the 1910 Census at Flandreau, their four children are ages 8, 6, 5, and 2. In the photo, the youngest, in his father's lap, is clearly not yet two; a better guess is one year old, so the photo would have been taken while at Wyandotte ca. 1909.

## FLANDREAU

King was at Flandreau as bandmaster from 1909 to 1914. In changes in Indian Service employment reported for July 1909, Thomas King accepted a position as assistant at Flandreau for \$600 (Native American, November 27, 1909, p. 407). He accepted a position as laborer at Flandreau in February 1909 (The Indian Craftsman, Feb., to June 1909, p. 54). A 1910 faculty list (reproduced on a website) names Thomas King as Band Teacher. He reported back to Carlisle in a later student survey that he was married and bandmaster at the Riggs Institute in 1910.

In the US 1910 Census for Flandreau City, he is the bandmaster at Flandreau, age 34 and hence born ca. 1876; his wife is May W. King and they have four children. In the US 1910 Census the family also has a second entry under Flandreau Industrial School, where Thomas is called the band instructor and his age is given as 27 (!).

Genevieve Bell, Telling Stories Out of School (1998), in snippet view, mentions "Thomas" = Thomas King, as Band Master at the Riggs Institute. Married to May Long (Shawnee). Former Haskell pupil. Former Carlisle pupil. From Carlisle records.

## WYANDOTTE (SENECA SCHOOL)

1914: King returns in 1914 as bandmaster at the Seneca School in Wyandotte, Okla. (Phoenix Native American, vol. 17 (1916), p. 30). Probably at Wyandotte from 1914, the year of Edwin Skenadore's arrival at Flandreau, to the end of his career. He is the bandmaster there (Native American, vol. 17, 1916, p. 30). In the US 1920 and US 1930 Census, the family is living in Wyandotte, Oklahoma and he is born ca. 1877. He is also at Wyandotte in the 1933 and 1934 Indian Census Rolls. NARA has a formal photo of King and his family in Wyandotte. He is widowed and living in Wyandotte in the US 1940 Census.

1951: Thomas King dies and is buried in Wyandotte in 1951.

## CHARLES LAMAR

Lieut. Charles Lamar (26/28 June 1845 - 22 February 1941), an ex-military European-American bandmaster. He led the band at the Sherman School, 1902-1904, and was bandmaster at the Carlisle School in 1904.

Lamar was born in NYC [1898 bio sketch says June 28, 1845 in NYC, and enlistment records always show NY], but he grew up in Wisconsin. Volunteering too young and so using an assumed name, Charles Lemke, he fought as a young bugler in the Civil War, with service in the Wisconsin infantry from 1861-1865, receiving promotion to second lieutenant. He entered the regular army in 1873 as a bandmaster.

NB: He never uses a middle initial; however, the California Death Index, 1940-1997, calls him Lionel Charles Lamar.

1882: His very much younger and similarly long-lived wife, Alice E. Buchanan Lamar (12/15/1859 - 01/05/1955; mother's maiden name Simmons), whom he married on February 20, 1882, is a Californian related to both US President Buchanan and John H. Reagan, the ex-confederate postmaster-general. The California connection explains why they might have been at Sherman in 1902-1903. (NB: Sherman only opened in 1902-1903.)

1890: Lamar was Chief Musician in the 21st Infantry in 1890 when he wrote a petition to the Secretary of War about regimental bands: "Regimental bands for the Army. Letter from the Secretary of War, inclosing a letter from Chief Musician Charles Lamar, Twenty-First Infantry, and a petition from the members of the band of that regiment, asking that the provisions of House Bill No. 5944, "To Reorganize the Band of the United States Military Academy," may be extended so as to apply to the regimental bands of the Army. July 19, 1890. -- Referred to the Committee on Military Affairs"

1900: Lamar was in active service in the Army for a total of thirty years and retired in July 1900 at age 55, returning then from Cuba after most recently serving as bandmaster with the US Second Artillery. The US 1900 Census puts him in Havana. He first visits friends in Oswego, NY, south of Sacketts Harbor, where he had been stationed before the Spanish-American War. Possibly his wife was still in Sacketts Harbor then. He is Lieut. Lamar, possibly given that rank upon retirement.

## SHERMAN

Lamar is definitely bandmaster at Sherman for three years, 1901-1904, beginning with the final year of the Perris School and then for the first two years at the Riverside, CA campus. Lamar is the "musical director of the Perris Indian School" (Riverside Daily Press, September 21, 1901, p. 8). His wife is Cook at Sherman (acc. ARCIA 1903), with date of employment from February 1903, and he is called band leader there by Red Man, though not in ARCIA. In the Riverside, CA Press and Horticulturalist, May 29, 1903, p. 8, under "Notes From Sherman Institute," Lieutenant Lamar, Sherman band leader, speaks at the Memorial Day ceremonies; he is a Civil War and Spanish-American War veteran.

ARCIA gives only a very short list of employees at Perris and does not mention any bandleader at all, although the superintendent's report and other internet hits show there was a strong band there. In 1902 ARCIA list is still Perris, but in 1903 list is Riverside, with an increase in the number of named employees; Alice is on the list, but only from Feb. 11, 1903.

The Lamars resigned from Sherman to go home to Santa Cruz, but then accept an offer from Pratt to go to Carlisle (Riverside Independent Enterprise, April 9, 1904, p. 4).

## CARLISLE

The Lamars arrive at Carlisle in early 1904, coming East right from Sherman. In 1904, he is 58/59 years old.

## BACK INTO RETIREMENT

After just the 1904 calendar year, the couple leave the Carlisle School. They moved back out to Santa Cruz, California for the last decades of their very long lives (both live into their mid nineties).

## LORING BIO

Harold Loring

Harold Amasa Loring, sr. (06/27/1879 – 11/02/1934) of Portland, Maine.  
Pianist, composer-arranger, conductor, public lecturer, music teacher.

Son of Lincoln Ripley Loring and Jennie Burnham Thompson Loring. Trained in music, especially as a pianist and organist, in Boston and NYC. He was a pianist and church organist as a teenager in Portland, ME in 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899. As an adolescent he evidently either lived in Boston or commuted down from Portland to take piano lessons at two schools in Boston and New York that were famous at the turn of the century, the Virgil Piano School in New York City (founded in 1891 by Antha Virgil, wife of Anthon Virgil) and the Faelten Piano School in Boston (founded in 1897 by Carl and Reinhold Faelten). Studied eight years with Willard Carroll Kimball in Boston, then with Carl Faelton, and he's a graduate of the Carl Faelton Piano School in Boston and of the Virgil Piano School in NYC. One account has him studying for two years at Faelton and then going to Walla Walla, so that would be 1899-1901 (Augusta, ME, Daily Kennebec Journal, May 18, 1901, p. 11).

Member:

Phi Alpha Pi Fraternity  
Musicians Club of New York  
Indian Rights Association  
Society of American Indians

### FIRST PROFESSIONAL APPOINTMENT AS YOUNG ADULT

1901-1902, 1902-1903

Loring begins what will be a relatively long but restless academic career as Instructor in Piano/Assistant Instructor in Music at Whitman College in Walla Walla, Wash., from September 1901, acc. Seattle, WA, Seattle Daily Times, September 11, 1901, p. 15; appears to have been there two years, from 1902 Whitman catalogue and The Pacific 52/11 (a San Francisco publication of the Congregational Church), Thursday, March 13, 1902, p. 15. He first became interested in Indian music while at Walla Walla (Brooklyn Daily Eagle, January 28, 1906, p. 8).

1903-1904

A 1909 Orangeburg newspaper hit says he taught not only at Whitman but at Howe College in Indiana (a college-preparatory Episcopal boarding school), at a conservatory in Illinois (that would be Knox College in 1908-1909), and at Limestone (that would be in 1907-1908).

In fact, he has some appointment at Howe Military School in Lima, Ohio in 1903-1904 (Portland, ME, Evening Express, June 5, 1903, p. 5; Portland, ME, Evening Express, September 23, 1903, p. 3 Portland, ME, Evening Express, June 14, 1904, p. 3).

1904-1905

Not well documented. This academic year is an obvious gap in which he could have had contact with Native Americans, specifically the Sioux at Rosebud and Pine Ridge in South Dakota, for several months.

Harold Loring played for a wedding in Maine in September 1904 (Lewiston, ME, Lewiston Evening Journal, September 17, 1904, p. 9) and is named as a supporting actor in a stock company in Maine in 1905 (Augusta, ME, Daily Kennebec Journal, March 24, 1905, p. 10).

## EXPERIENCE AMONG NATIVE AMERICANS

At some moment before mid-1905 Loring had significant contact with Native Americans and their music, especially Sioux. Whether this is year-round or during the summers is not yet known. Well over a decade later, Loring claimed to have spent up to a total of about seven years on reservations, esp. among the Sioux. Grove Dictionary of Music (1920 edn.) says he had been working on Indian music from about 1905: "since about 1905 has been a student of and lecturer upon Indian music, having spent 7 years on reservations collection data." (This, of course, does not have to mean seven years before 1905.) One claim is that he was with the Sioux for eight or nine months, long enough to learn some of the language.

His grandson's sermon mentions he was at Rosebud. The Omaha Bee, July 14, 1905, p. 4 makes it clear he was at Rosebud before his OIA appointment. It sounds as if he passed some time at Rosebud (as a teacher?), and during this time he became interested in the music---i.e., rather than that he went out to study the music first of all.

One account says that after Whitman College, he became a teacher at Rosebud reservation for the sake of learning the language and more about Indian music. This seems to satisfy most references to his time among the Sioux (Brooklyn Daily Eagle, January 28, 1906, p. 8). A later reference to two years in government service collecting music "under the auspices of the government" may refer to this time (Duluth, WI, Duluth Herald, August 1, 1914, p. 21).

An article in 1909 South Carolina newspaper says this was in the fall of 1902 (though Fall 1904 seems better):

"While a student in Boston he became interested in the music of the Indians and attempted to secure literature that would help him in learning something of it, but investigation disclosed that little had been published.

On graduation at Boston he resolved to learn all that he could of the folksongs and music of these aboriginal people and in the fall of 1902 he went to South Dakota to pay a visit to a friend, a missionary among the Sioux. He became interested at once in the study of the music of the Indians and lengthened his visit, finally mastering the difficult language of the Sioux."

References say he collected the Sioux love song "Cante Masica" at Rosebud, and this would have been before he was appointed to the Office of Indian Affairs, so ca. 1905. It also says he collected songs at the Chilocco and Carlisle off-reservation boarding schools. That would have been in 1905-1906. "He has made considerable study of the music, legends, and folklore of the North American Indians; has spent some time with certain tribes,

particularly mastering the Sioux language and the sign language. Is a member of the Indian Rights Association and the Society of American Indians; has lectured upon the subject" [Loring genealogy publ. 1917].

Moberly, Missouri, Moberly Monitor-Index, March 7, 1923, p. 6, in a review of a lecture recital on Indian music, says: "He went among the Sioux of South Dakota and spent nine months in studying their language and life and making personal friends among the influential members of the tribe. [He recalls that] 'After spending some months among the Sioux of South Dakota, my work was brought to the attention of President Roosevelt, and I was appointed a special officer of the Indian Department and required to visit all the tribes of the west, from Canada to Mexico, and from the Missouri to the Pacific Coast, living among them and getting close to their folklore, legends and music'."

One Chautauqua brochure says he went first among the Sioux of South Dakota, spending an entire winter among them, and studied the South Dakota Sioux for more than two years as an emissary of the Indian bureau during the Roosevelt administration [1901-1909], having been appointed by Roosevelt after having worked among the Sioux for six months.

In sum, altogether, Loring may have spent only six to nine months among the Sioux before his federal appointment, in all probability over the winter of 1904-1905. In any event, at the time of his federal appointment he was young and not a well-known figure.

## FEDERAL APPOINTMENT IN THE OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

1905-1906

Francis E. Leupp, Commissioner of Indian Affairs under Roosevelt, remembers meeting Loring at a hotel in a town close to one of the big western reservations "a year or so ago" (= later 1904 or earliest 1905), hitting it off with him and discussing his research on Indian music and the possibility of entrance into government service (Cleveland Leader, January 28, 1906, p. 4; same article in Brooklyn Daily Eagle, January 28, 1906, p. 8; dateline is Washington, January 27).

In mid-1905, Loring was appointed Supervisor of Native Music for the Office of Indian Affairs, US Department of the Interior, by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Francis Leupp (whose boss was Secretary of the Interior Ethan Allen Hitchcock, whose boss was Theodore Roosevelt). ARCIA 1905 [74<sup>th</sup> Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for the year ending June 30, 1905], dated September 30, 1905, pp. 12-13 has a statement on music and the hiring of Loring. He had only been on board a few months (indicating a late spring or early summer start date). He is called Supervisor of Native Indian Music in ARCIA 1906, p. 423. He is only in ARCIA for 1905 and 1906.

Brooklyn, NY, The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, January 28, 1906, p. 8 calls him "a modest, unassuming young man."

Boston Daily Globe, April 15, 1906, indicates the appointment was in June 1905, which is in accord with ARCIA. Loring appointment is in August or earliest September 1905, by the sense of the announcement in the Chicago Tribune, September 5, 1905, p. 6; see also Daily Republican News (Hamilton, OH), August 4, 1905, p. 8; Valentine Democrat (Valentine, NE),



Sept. 21, 1905, p. 7; Amador Ledger (Amador, CA), Sept. 22, 1905, p. 4; American Anthropologist, n.s. 7/4 (October - December 1905), in "Anthropologic Miscellanea," p. 731; Washington Post, December 11, 1905, p. 4; The Trenton Times, February 8, 1906, p. 9; Boston Daily Globe, April 15, 1906; Washington Post, Sunday, March 18, 1906, p. M6; Los Angeles Times, June 6, 1906, p. II 16; Washington Post, August 26, 1906, p. A8; Popular Mechanics 20/3 (Sept. 1913), p. 316

ARCIA (4959) 74th Annual Report of the Commissioner 1905 for year ending June 30, 1905, dated September 30, 1905, pp. 12-13 has a statement on music and the hiring of Loring. He had only been on board a few months. He is called Supervisor of Native Indian Music in ARCIA 1906, p. 423, but he is only in ARCIA for 1905 and 1906. Loring held the position of supervisor of Native Indian Music for only about a year.

The standard small squib that appears in many newspapers says that he "has passed some time among the Sioux Indians of the Rosebud Indian reservation in South Dakota, becoming much interested in the Indians and their music. His new duties will take him among the various reservations of the Indians in the west."

1905, in the fall: Loring immediately starts to travel in his new role. E.g., rather than going to Pine Ridge as expected, Loring, Supervisor of Native Indian Music, left Rosebud Reservation for Crow Agency, Montana (Pine Ridge, SD, Oglala Light, December 1, 1905, p. 13).

#### LEUPP AND LORING AND A NEW POLICY

With Leupp's change in policy away from assimilation and toward the use of native arts and folklore in the native schools, the OIA set out to incorporate music in this scheme. The OIA was not interested in ethnology per se but rather in finding composers who could transcribe and arrange material for use in the Indian schools. This Leupp policy may have been articulated first in early 1905; see The Outlook, April 15, 1905. Central to the music plan was the appointment of a supervisor of native music.

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The Trenton Times, Thursday, February 8, 1906:

#### "TO PRESERVE THE MUSIC OF INDIANS

This he [Leupp] hopes to accomplish through the agency of the Indian schools located in various parts of the country and has as a first step appointed a Supervisor of Native Music [LORING]. In this connection it might be well to suggest that the services of army band-masters be invited.

Again, the Wheelock brothers full-blooded Indians who were identified with the music at the Indian School at Carlisle Pa would be of assistance. Dennison Wheelock is said to have quite a collection of native music and has orchestrated some of it. Those interested will find in native music much . . . "

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A major statement by Commissioner Leupp, with specific reference to Loring and Wiley, is published in the Washington, DC, Washington Post, Sunday, March 18, 1906, p. M6:

### COLLECT AND HARMONIZE NATIVE INDIAN MELODIES

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May Yet be Made the Basis of a National and Characteristic Musical Expression  
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There has been on foot, during the last few years, a movement toward the development of native American Indian music, which has interested not only those engaged in the advancement of Indian affairs, but also those who have been in search of what should be known as characteristic American music. Germany has her native music, founded on the folk music of her peasantry: Norway has given us, through Grieg and others, a weird music consonant with her wild crags and hardy people: Polish music is characteristic of the country's passion and political struggle. Italy, Russia, Spain, and England have all given expression to the temperamental and characteristic life of their people in musical form--- the history of each country being almost universally pictured in its music. America alone has up to this time had no musical development which could be called distinctively American in fundamental melody and rhythm. An effort has been made of recent to establish the negro melodies of the South as the basis of an American musical expression; but this has so far been unsuccessful, for the reason that the negro music is essentially African in its origin and appears in America in a distorted, deteriorated form, the pure African feeling having been corrupted by mixing with other and different musical conceptions.

It begins to look---and this would seem, after all, the natural source of American music--as if the native Indian melodies, crude and elusive as they are, might yet be made the basis of a national and characteristic musical expression. This means a tremendous and arduous amount of work, for while the rhythm of the Indian song is decided and very beautiful, the melodies are erratic and scattered, and the difficulty of harmonizing them into correct and coherent musical form, capable of performance by a band or orchestra, while still preserving the true spirit of the original conception, is indeed very great.

Commissioner Leupp, head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, who is vitally interested in the subject, believes that he has found a person equal to accomplishing this great task for the government in Mr. Harold A. Loring, of Maine, who is now at work collecting and harmonizing the native Indian melodies on the various reservations.

The Commissioner's attention and interest in the matter of preserving and developing this native music were first aroused while on a tour of the Indian schools throughout the country.

"I found," he said recently, in speaking on the subject, "that not only were all the Indian children rapidly forgetting all that they had learned in their homes before coming to the government schools, but that they were trying to do so. They were ashamed of it---of their customs, their music, their clothes, their appearance. This had been encouraged unconsciously by the teachers in the schools, who, of course, urged them on to all the modern phases of education and civilization. They began to look down with contempt upon their tribes and their parents, upon their native language and strange weird music. They hated all that they had left behind them, and disliked being reminded of it.

"Now I felt that all this was wrong, and very wrong. As a matter of fact, the last thing that ought to be done with the youth of any people whom we are trying to indoctrinate with notions of self respect is to teach them to be ashamed of their ancestry. As we Caucasians take not only pleasure but pride in reviving the musical forms in which our

fathers clothed their emotions in religion, in war, love, industry, and so on, why should the Indian be discouraged from doing the same thing? The Indian schools offer us just now our best opportunity to retrieve past errors, as far as they can be retrieved, on account of the variety of the tribal elements assembled there. The children should be instructed in the music of their own race, set side by side with ours. An experimental start has been already made in this direction, and it is surprising to see how the Indian children have changed their attitude toward things natively Indian. Heretofore the school bands, made up entirely of Indian boys, have played only the conventional music, interspersed now and then with a so-called Indian selection, a totally erroneous composition, largely made up of drum beats, wails, and occasional yells from the boys. This amused the audiences, but the boys hated it, and there was always some trouble in getting them to play these things. Why? Because they knew perfectly well that it was not truly Indian, and they felt as if they were making buffoons of themselves. When, however, they were given the authentic Indian melodies, harmonized in a dignified way, and were told that they should be proud of being able to give audiences an idea of the genuine native music, they became interested, pleased, and entered into the work with vim.

"It was in pursuance of the general idea of saving instead of crushing what is really characteristic of the Indian, and building upon this, that I took steps for the perpetuation through these government schools of what is best in Indian music. This is a subject which has never been sufficiently studied in the United States. Eminent musicians in all parts of the world express astonishment that our people should have left so noble a field almost unexplored, particularly in view of the beautiful themes derivable from certain native songs and dances which are now rapidly passing into oblivion through the deaths of the old members of the tribe and the mistaken zeal of certain teachers to smother everything distinctively aboriginal in the young Indians."

Once convinced that retaining the native music was helpful to the growth of the Indian children, Commissioner Leupp set to work to have it put into adequate shape for presentation. Mr. Loring was sent out to the various reservations to secure it in all its original purity. The difficulties under which he worked were tremendous.

"At first," he said, "I attempted to get some record of the songs by means of a phonograph. I began by attending an Omaha dance on the Rosebud Sioux Reservation in South Dakota, armed with a good phonograph and several blank records. When the dance had reached its height, I set the machine in motion and took about a dozen cylinders, hoping for clear impressions. The machine had been placed in the most desirable location in the dance tepee. When, however, I reproduced the records later on, I could hardly believe they were the ones I had taken. I thought the machine was out of order and that I was turning the cylinder unevenly, but I found on listening closely that the roar I heard was caused by the heavy drum beats at the dance. Next I noticed that the voices I heard most prominently were not those of the singers of the native songs, but the shrill yells of the dancers and the tremolo of the women who were applauding. Next in prominence came a series of dog barks, and other sounds; and, in fact, there was nothing at all that I could use. So I learned that it is impossible to get the real Indian melody except by transcribing it directly into musical notation upon hearing it sung. In this way no false notes are slipped in. I had thought that it would be hard to get the Indians to sing the songs over as many times as would be necessary in order to get them down; but I found they were pleased for the most part at having their music praised and wanted, and they were patient and untiring in giving me assistance. Now and then they will sing into a phonograph alone, without the drums, and this, combined with taking written notes, enables me to get a very pure melody."

Mr. Loring is an accomplished musical scholar, and his endeavor will be to so set the Indian melodies that even the accompaniment and harmonization will be in keeping. The opinion has been expressed by a number of musical authorities that in time the highest attainment in the proper musical setting will be done by the Indians themselves. Some of them possess unusual musical feeling and talent, and once their interest and pride is awakened they will undoubtedly do much to develop their native music. Frequently, in harmonizing the songs, there are two different keys which can be used with equal correctness but the Indian's instinctive feeling will teach him which is the truly characteristic one to use, when the white man's intuition would fail. Professor Fillmore, who before his death did much to analyze these melodies, stated that often he would work with an Indian boy, trying first one chord and then another and another, until he struck the one which satisfied the ear of the native. Mr. Loring, in his work of training the Indian children in the singing of these native songs, says that he found nearly always that they could teach him more than he could teach them, as their instinct in rendering the melodies was almost infallible.

Commissioner Leupp has been much aided in his work of spreading the Indian music, and familiarizing the public with it, by Mr. Lem Wiley, the well-known bandmaster, who for some years past has had charge of a government band picked from the various reservation schools. During the St. Louis exposition Mr. Wiley conducted the band for some weeks and accomplished splendid results. He grew very much attached to the Indian youths, whom he afterward took on several tours, and found that they were received with marked interest by the audiences, especially when giving the pure Indian music.

"So long as the sensational so-called Indian music was demanded of them," said Mr. Wiley, "with its mingled yells and thumps, I used to have all I could do to get them to play it, and often it was more because of my persuasion and their love for me than anything else that induced them to play it. But when the genuine Indian music was promised them and it was explained that their native melodies were to become a part of America's great musical legacy---to be proud of and not merely to be laughed over and taken as a musical joke---they were eager to play it. I am in hopes that much may be done toward restoring and developing the original music, and I am sure that to have such music played by the Indians themselves will be of immense interest to audiences all over the world.

"I have toured the boys through many of the United States, and am planning to take them to England this coming summer to play before English audiences, and perhaps before the King. The band is composed of over sixty members, representing some thirty different tribes. There are seventeen full breeds, from the Omaha, Sioux, Mohawk, Apache Pueblo, and other tribes. They are quiet, well-behaved fellows, never drinking or indulging in profanity, and they get along most amicably together. They are deeply interested in the sights they see everywhere but they are a little shy and retiring, conscious of their Indian cast of countenance and their difference from other people. The effort to inculcate pride in their ancestry, instead of shame at it, will do much to bring out their naturally fine, strong qualities."

Commissioner Leupp has indeed done much for the American Indian, in giving him back loyalty and pride in his own people, and in keeping for him, instead of depriving him of, the music of his race; but, if, in addition, he succeeds in starting a movement which shall result in a characteristic American music, and a contribution to the music of all time, he will deserve to have the thanks of all Americans as well. And it looks now as if this were well on the way toward being accomplished.

A writer on the Indian harmonization of Indian songs, in a recent Indian magazine, says:

"The songs of the Indian possess a reticent dignity. If a superficial impression is received, or if one generalizes and says that Indian music is "noisy," or "discordant," the Indian singer will not try to convince him to the contrary, yet beneath these exterior phases lie the passion and fire of dramatic power of elemental man. Some day a musician will arrive from the Indian race who will take the melodies we are collecting, and who will translate for us their hidden harmonic thought, expressing it in terms of the white man's culture. He will do by intuition that which our most conscientious work cannot fully accomplish. Nothing will be hidden from him, and he will develop the thought in tone, color of voice, and orchestra, for he will bring to the work a nature like that from which the music sprang."

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At Carlisle and Chilocco in Spring 1906:

"Cante Masica" was performed in March at the Carlisle commencement by groups of students with and without band accompaniment, and then by the whole ensemble (Washington, DC, Evening Star, March 23, 1906, p. 14). Then, "Cante Masica" was printed and performed at Chilocco in 1906 (and copyrighted in LoC copyright June 4, 1906); a newspaper article about the Chilocco graduation makes it clear that Loring was present and that "several numbers of native Indian music were featured" (Dallas, TX, Dallas Morning News, May 27, 1906, p. 5).

Article by Loring on "Music of the American Indian" in Chilocco, The Indian School Journal 6/6 (April 1906), pp. 11-00. He begins with a mention of the Carlisle commencement in March, where "one of the Native Indian songs was sung by some of the pupils, the accompaniment being played by the Carlisle Indian Band. This is the first time that any of the genuine Indian music has been thus interpreted by Indian pupils only."

Much later comments, probably from a lyceum/Chautauqua brochure, and especially in 1913 newspapers, e.g., in Fargo Forum and Daily Republican (June 7, 1913), in Popular Mechanics 20/3 (Sept. 1913), p. 316, and a Christian Science Monitor article (June 7, 1913, p. 6) highlight the use of his arrangements of native Indian music at Chilocco and Carlisle in 1906, and that there were calls for copies of the music from all over the country.

An LA Times article (June 6, 1906) mentions a Sioux love song in a Loring harmonization being played for the first time at the 1906 commencement exercises at Sherman School in Riverside. Further, it was performed at the Phoenix School commencement that spring, though Loring was not present (The Native American, June 16, 1906). And, for example, "Cante Masica" was performed at the Rapid City Indian School in June 1906 (Rapid City, SD, The Black Hills Union and Western Stock Review, June 29, 1906, p.1). Wiley played it with his Chilocco band on tour in summer 1906 (Ottawa, KS, Ottawa Daily Republic, July 14, 1906, p. 4). Occasional further references (newspapers.com) for several decades. An article in Buffalo, NY, The Buffalo Sunday News, November 30, 1913, n.p. [260], "The Redskins' Skillful Interpretation of Modern Music," mentions James Holy Eagle playing the melody of Cante Masica on a wooden flute and the article is illustrated with an image of a hand-written transcription of the melody by Carlisle bandmaster Claude Stauffer.

Loring resigned from the OIA in the summer of 1906, according to the Chilocco Indian School newspaper. Washington State newspaper indicates his decision to resign reached

them August 22. By one account, he has resigned on account of his health, and will take a position with an eastern conservatory of music (Pine Ridge, SD, Oglala Light, November 1, 1906, p. 1).

Troutman, Indian Blues (p. 173 and fn 72, p. 290): "This first effort by the OIA did not produce results, however, as the appointee 'failed to appreciate the work in which he was engaged and practically nothing was accomplished'," quoting an unpublished letter. Later references to Loring often remark on his [brief] tenure with the Indian service, his membership in the Sioux tribe, and his arrangement of the love song "Cante Masica."

#### SIDEBAR: A LATER BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS INITIATIVE

A second effort was made along the lines of Leupp's intentions and Loring's mandate in 1913, when on March 19, 1913 the US Secretary of the Interior, Franklin K. Lane, appointed Canadian-born tenor and song composer Geoffrey O'Hara (1882-1967), of New York City, to transcribe melodies and arrange them for use in the schools. [Cato Sells was the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.] See New York Times, March 20, 1913, p. 10; Washington Post, March 20, 1913, p. 4; Christian Science Monitor, March 20, 1913, p. 4; NY Sun, May 24, 1913, p. 14; Christian Science Monitor, June 7, 1913, p. 6; Fairport (NY) Herald, June 4, 1913, p. 8; Popular Mechanics 20/3 (Sept. 1913), p. 316.

#### RETURN TO LORING BIO NARRATIVE

He resumes life as an academic during the school year, but also does lyceum and Chautauqua presentations on Indian music.

#### TEACHING AT COLLEGES, 1906-1912

1906, in August: Lecturing on Indian music in Tacoma (Tacoma, WA, Daily Ledger, August 7, 1906, p. 8)

1906-1907: He is at Olivet College teaching in the Conservatory and serving as Director of Music.

It is around 1905-1907 that Loring meets and marries Elma Zuline Zeigler (1887-1981; b. 3/27/1887 in Orangeburg, SC) of Charleston, SC. Their eldest child, Harold, Jr. (1908-1985), is born on October 22, 1908, so they married by 1907 or early 1908. Their daughter Katherine (1909-1998) is born in December 1909.

1907-1909: two years [?] at Limestone College in Gaffney, S.C. (north of Columbia, S.C.) as Director of Music; the Orangeburg Times and Democrat (September 14, 1909, p. 4) says he taught at Limestone for two years and then became director of music at Orangeburg Collegiate Institute for 1909-1910.

1908-1909: However, other newspaper references point to the year 1908-1909 at Knox College in Galesburg, IL. And a 1909 Orangeburg newspaper hit says he taught not only at Whitman but at Howe College in Indiana (a college-preparatory Episcopal

boarding school) and at a conservatory in Illinois (that would be Knox College in 1908-1909).

1909-1910: One year at Orangeburg Collegiate Institute as director of music; Orangeburg Times and Democrat (June 15, 1909, p. 4); Orangeburg Times and Democrat (July 29, 1909, p. 4); Orangeburg Times and Democrat (September 14, 1909, p. 4)

1910-1911: Then at Columbia College, Columbia, S.C. the 1910 US Census places him in Orangeburg, SC (just south of Columbia, SC), with wife Elma and children Harold A., Jr, born in 1908, and Katherine, a newborn in 1910; Columbia College, Columbia, S.C.; Orangeburg Times and Democrat (April 6, 1911, p. 4)

1911, in June: A newspaper article identifies him as professor of music at the University of South Carolina in the winter and head clerk at the Clifton House, Patchogue, Long Island, in the summer (NY Herald, June 8, 1911, p. 5)

1911-1912: Director of Music, Shorter College (Atlanta, GA); he later toured as pianist-accompanist with violinist Alexander von Skibinsky, a Shorter College colleague, in the 1910s.

## TEACHING IN THE MIDWEST

### THE MICHIGAN YEARS, 1912-1922

Loring moves to Michigan from Georgia in 1912; this may signal of the break-up of his first marriage. Elma is identified as a widow in 1920 US Census and is living with their children together with her siblings and her mother Eliza at her mother's home in Edisto, South Carolina; in the 1930 US Census, Elma Z. Loring is living in Bennettsville, SC.

1912-1913 Glee Club dir. And Director of Music, Olivet College (in Olivet, MI, between Kalamazoo and Lansing); plus Olivet catalogue for 1912-1913. Jackson, Michigan, Jackson Citizen Patriot, August 30, 1912, p. 2: "Has New Director: Harold A. Loring to Have Charge of Music at Olivet College." Olivet catalogue for 1912-1913 has him lecturing ("Prof. H. A. Loring") on American Indian Music on November 19, 1912, in record of current events for 1912.

At Olivet College, as Director of Music, in Patterson's Educational directory, v. 12 (1915), an entry that may be a hold-over reference.

1913, in February: Evening Chronicle (Marshall, MI), Monday, February 3, 1913, records a fire on the Olivet Campus in a professor's house that, it is feared, may have destroyed all of Loring's research.

1913, June: He resigns in June to accept a similar position at Jamestown, North Dakota.

1913-1914

He is Head of the Department of Music at Jamestown College this year.

1914, in January: it is announced that Loring will be in vaudeville on Orpheum circuit in the spring, doing a sketch written by Winthrop B. Chamberlain, dramatic editor of the Minneapolis Journal (NY Dramatic Mirror, January 21, 1914, p. 26).

1914, in April: Married Carol Ada Constant (born in Jamestown, ND, on November 15, 1893), on April 24, 1914, in Minneapolis. At age 20, she is young, even college-age. Maybe they met at Olivet? Did he move to the Twin Cities in 1913 after the fire at Olivet and met her there?

1914 In May, providing music for a pageant at the University of North Dakota.

1914, in August: He is in Bismark, ND, after a collecting visit to Standing Rock Reservation under private auspices (Duluth, WI, Duluth Herald, August 1, 1914, p. 21).

1914-1915

in the fall of 1914, Loring was Dean of Music at Southland Seminary in Tampa, FL, for only a short time, then returns to his old home in St. Paul, acc. The Evening Independent (St. Petersburg, FL), December 7, 1914, p. 6, and The Evening Independent (St. Petersburg, FL), December 11, 1914, p. 12; that must mean from Florida back to St. Paul, Minn.

1915, January: It is announced that Loring will be on Orpheum circuit, doing a sketch, "Red Music and White Magic," written by Winthrop B. Chamberlain, dramatic editor of the Minneapolis Journal, with Native American Grover Eaglewing; he is "former dean of the Southland Seminary Conservatory, of St. Petersburg, Fla." (NY Dramatic Mirror, January 27, 1915, p. 32)

1915, January: he's also touring with violin and soprano: vln. Alexander Von Skibinsky and sop. Madam Grace Hall-Riheldaffer. A brochure survives for this ensemble.

1915 ref. in book that paraphrases Eastman's 1914 article also mentions Loring in ND and working on Sioux material.

1915-1916

1915: Returns to be Director of Music at Jamestown College (Jamestown, ND)

A Chautauqua pamphlet mentions teaching at Limestone, Columbia, Shorter and Jamestown. No mention of Olivet or of the seminary.

1915, in November: Same Lone Bear of Pine Ridge is assisting Loring in his recitals (Pine Ridge, SD, Oglala Light, November 1, 1915, p. 25).

1916, in August: He and his wife, identified as of Jamestown, ND, are in NYC (NY Herald, August 1, 1916)

1916-17



1917: identified as of Chicago in mention of a lecture in November at Defiance College (affil. United Church of Christ), in Ohio.

1917-18

At Baylor College, Waco, TX, on piano faculty, acc. 1917 Baylor bulletin; he is "recently connected" to Baylor, according to the Loring genealogy published in 1917.

1918: At Olivet, as Director of Music; in 1918 Patterson's Education Directory and in 1918 Saerchinger Gazeteer as at Olivet; also at Olivet in Grove (1920); also at Olivet in 1922 edn. of Patterson. Is this a return to Olivet, or just hold-over? Is he working both in Michigan and North Dakota or Montana for a while?

1918-19, 1919-20, 1920-21

Harold and Carol were living in Billings, MT at the time of the 1918 WWI Draft Registration and for the 1920 US Census. He was Dean of Music at Billings Polytechnic Institute. He's in Billings, giving piano lessons, etc., in August 1919. That fall he started a local piano quartet and the Loring Music club; he will run a summer school of music in the summer of 1920 at Piny Inn in Sheridan, Wyoming.

1921-22

Loring is to be head of the conservatory at the college in Adrian, Michigan a small town lying between Ann Arbor and Toledo (Adrian, Michigan, Adrian Daily Telegram, June 2, 1921, p. 1). He was possibly there just one year, and it may have been his last academic appointment. He lectures a few times in the spring of 1922, e.g., in Grand Rapids, MI, Saginaw, MI, and South Bend, IN.

#### 1922-1930 TOURING OUT OF CHICAGO ON CHAUTAUQUA AND LYCEUM CIRCUITS

Loring was a well-known, active lecturer on Indian music and customs for over twenty years, from the 1900s ("since about 1910", i.e., from 1906 or so forward) into the 1930s [latest ref. so far is 1933]; esp. as a summer gig that complemented his school year obligations. Loring toured winter lyceum and summer Chautauqua circuits with a lecture-recital about Indian music (a standard titles: "The Native Music of the Indian," and "The North American Indian and his Music"). He sometimes toured with a Native American performer. He is one of a number of such figures, also including Thurlow Lieurance and Charles Wakefield Cadman. In newspapers, references to his lecture-recitals are by far most frequent in the early 1920s and are drying up by the end of the decade (in line with the decline in Chautauqua generally). The University of Iowa Chautauqua collection, featured in the on-line Library of Congress "Travelling Culture" database, has five brochures about Loring. One of the brochures lists places where he's had engagements, and they cluster around three regions: South Carolina, Michigan (small colleges and community events in South Bend, Kalamazoo, and Grand Rapids), and the upper Mid West (Montana, North Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin).

The years 1922-1930 or thereabouts appear to be heavy years for touring and lecturing. Apparently, Chicago is his base. Fall 1922 sees a big upswing. Hits at least to 1925 and 1926. Seems not to have a collegiate home base anymore. From a much earlier date and now also, he often lectures with a Native assistant. One was Grover Eaglewing (acc. Chautauqua brochures, and Orpheum circuit ref. from 1915); Same Lone Bear, Sioux (a 1915 reference); another was Brave Hawk or Brave Eagle, Sioux from Rosebud, in 1922 and 1923 tours, and George He-Walks-Among-Them in 1925.

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1923: Lewiston Daily Sun (Lewiston, Maine), February 1, 1923, p. 3 says Loring is engaged in musical work among the Indians in Montana.

1923: Moberly Monitor-Index (Moberly Missouri), March 7, 1923, p. 6, in a review of a lecture recital on Indian music, says he is of Chicago.

1927: Harold and Carol Loring have a son, William Harold Loring, February [or December] 6, 1926, born in Hot Springs, Arkansas.

1930: In US 1930 Census, they are living in Chicago suburbs in Oak Park; Loring identifies himself as a public lecturer.

## THE PASSION PLAY PAGEANT

Big shift of gears to the Passion Play as his primary performance vehicle He's down to presenting his lecture-recital in high schools in the later 1920s.

Loring toured with a biblical passion play pageant as conductor, ca. 1929-1934. Pageant has potpourri of classical music, drawn from "well-known oratorios, Gounod's masses and the great music of Bach." A small core of professionals comes to town and prepares the concert with the participation of local chorusses.

## DEATH

Loring dies on November 2, 1934 in New York City.

The Spartanburg Herald (Spartanburg, SC), Tuesday, September 15, 1936, p. 3: Mrs. Harold Amasa Loring announces the engagement of Miss Katherine Loring to Mr. Davison Oscar Herbert [or David O. Herbert]; Katherine is the daughter of the late Harold A. Loring of Galesburg, IL and Orangeburg, SC.

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Brochure materials for Loring lecture recitals (housed at University of Iowa):

Harold A. Loring, Pianist

[https://digital.lib.uiowa.edu/islandora/object/ui%3AAtc\\_25336](https://digital.lib.uiowa.edu/islandora/object/ui%3AAtc_25336)

Harold A. Loring: Music of the Indian

[https://digital.lib.uiowa.edu/islandora/object/ui%3Atc\\_35538](https://digital.lib.uiowa.edu/islandora/object/ui%3Atc_35538)

Harold A. Loring in Lecture Recitals on American Indian Music, assisted by Grover Eaglewing

[https://digital.lib.uiowa.edu/islandora/object/ui%3Atc\\_34255](https://digital.lib.uiowa.edu/islandora/object/ui%3Atc_34255)

Lecture-Recitals of American Indian Music

Harold A. Loring, pianist, Assisted by a Full-Blooded Sioux Indian

[https://digital.lib.uiowa.edu/islandora/object/ui%3Atc\\_25195](https://digital.lib.uiowa.edu/islandora/object/ui%3Atc_25195)

The Riheldaffer-Skibinsky Company (with Loring as pianist)

[https://digital.lib.uiowa.edu/islandora/object/ui%3Atc\\_52755\\_52753](https://digital.lib.uiowa.edu/islandora/object/ui%3Atc_52755_52753)

## McCOWAN BIO

### Sam McCowan

Samuel Manley McCowan (1862-1924); born in Elmwood, IL, or in Conn. (or in Canada?); parents are from Scotland and England. Not a bandmaster, but central to the exploitation of boarding school bands. Trennert (1988, p. 57) calls him ambitious, aggressive, outspoken. That sounds about right.

(1) Educated at Grinnell College and Northern Indiana Normal College; taught school, newspaper reporter, read law; principal of several small Midwestern schools (Trennert, 1988, p. 60); married Emma in 1886 and son Leroy is born that same year, in Illinois.

(2) Enters Indian Service in 1889 as superintendent of the government schools at Rosebud Reservation = Rosebud Reservation day school (Rosebud Reservation was founded in 1889) in South Dakota; the report of the Rosebud Agency in OIA (1890), p. 60 evidently is referring to McCowan in speaking of the agency's schools: "An able and efficient superintendent has had charge of this work during the past eight months" and is now appointed to another field of labor, thus he spent only one school year here.

(3) Superintendent of Fort Mohave Industrial School in Arizona for six years, from its founding in 1890 through early 1896; (see Indian Helper, May 16, 1890; UNLV Spec. Coll and Arizona Republican (Phoenix) in 1891, Trennert, 1988, p. 60).

(4) Superintendent of the Albuquerque, NM school for a year and a half, from early 1896 through spring term 1897---April 26, 1896 to June 6, 1897 (Indian School Journal, 15/2 (October 1914), p. 80); when he arrives, James Devine is already in place as band master; in early 1897 McCowan is offered the post of Supervisor of Indian Schools by the Indian Bureau (LA Times Jan. 21, 1897, p. 5); this is the position that was in Estelle Reel's hands in 1898; there had been much turmoil and staff change at Albuquerque over the last few years; OIA (1897) has his first annual report from Phoenix (p. 344, dated July 15, 1897), after he had been there only a few weeks; in the same OIA (1897).

The first report of the new superintendent at Albuquerque (pp. 360-61, dated August 26, 1897) says he has been there only 24 days, and describes the transfer out of Albuquerque of not just McCowan but most of the principal employees. McCowan took with him took the matron, principal teacher, senior teacher, disciplinarian, assistant disciplinarian, cook, shoe and harness maker, and the older and better trained pupils (Indian School Journal, 15/2 (October 1914), p. 80).

(5) Superintendent of the Phoenix School for five years, 1897-1902; he grows Phoenix in direct competition with Carlisle and Haskell, and it becomes the second largest school after Carlisle (Trennert, 1988, p. 64). Recruits aggressively out of immediate area. In late fall of his second full year (Dec. 1898), he is on tour with football team and band in California (LA Times, Dec. 3, 1898, p. 9); Phoenix plays Carlisle in football in AZ on New Year's Day, 1900; Regarding the band---in December 1900, Band teacher Devine is said to have been there for four years, which would mean that McCowan brought him along from Albuquerque in Fall 1897, even though Devine does not appear in employee list in ARCI 1898; Devine is the founder of the Phoenix band acc. Venne account and his daughter's obit.

In Omaha in the summer of 1899. (Citation about 1898: "At the Omaha exposition, where he had managed the Indian Bureau display in the government building, McCowan had been critical of the Indian congress and the sham battles staged by Captain Mercer" by Moses, p. 152; this actually confuses him with Mooney; it was Mooney who was critical; also, no trace of McCowan in Omaha in the Bee or WH in 1898.)

McCowan is in Omaha in 1899 with bandmaster Devine and the school band; his contact with McGee eventually leads to 1904 role. In 1899, the band was hired by the management of the Greater America Exposition. McCowan takes a leave of absence from Indian Service without pay and is "allowed to make arrangements with the exposition company for procuring Indians and looking after them while at the exposition" (Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1899, p. 39. In his report of July 31, 1899 in ARCIA, the band was hired in June, played in July, and is negotiating for August.) He is, in fact, the Superintendent of the Indian Bureau there, a position from which he resigns in early August, just days after the Indians arrive; his resignation was accepted on August 3 (Omaha Daily Bee Friday August 4, p. 5). He is replaced by his deputy, Capt. G. W. Gaines. McCowan may have resigned because he saw the direction things were headed, i.e., towards a Wild West Show, with a collapse of his hopes for a repeat of 1898, with a "scientific" congress and 300 or more natives in residence.

He had hopes of bringing the Phoenix Band to Buffalo in 1901.

He is elected president of the Department of Indian Education of the National Education Association for 1901-1902, with his term in office overlapping the move from Phoenix to Chilocco; he is then Vice-President for 1902-1903 of the same department and is an active participant in the 1904 NEA annual meeting held in St. Louis in conjunction with the fair.

(6) At Chilocco School for six years, from Jan. 1, 1902 to March 31, 1908; see [www.chiloccoalumni.com](http://www.chiloccoalumni.com). Shortly after his move to Chilocco, in Nov. 1902, he was considered for a move to the new Sherman Institute in California (LA Times ref.; NB: the California school's cornerstone was laid in mid-1901 and students were enrolled beginning in mid-1902; this really is a move for the Perris school); instead he stayed at Chilocco, where he was an ambitious builder and promoter, and acc. Moses, p. 152, "where he established the first and only agricultural school for Indian youth." He writes at length and often in ARCIA

He may have stayed on at Chilocco in part so as to take on responsibilities at the St. Louis fair in 1904 as the Superintendent of the Indian Exhibit and assistant director or assistant chief of the Department of Anthropology under McGee; he is not just in charge of the school, but the overall supervisor of the ethnological encampment---in other words, the role he had hoped to play in Omaha in 1899. Initial assignment via Indian Bureau comes in mid 1902, before McGee involvement; he brings Nelson to Chilocco for 1903-1904 school year. Heavy involvement of McCowan and of his wife Emma with the Indian School right to end of Fair; possibly Emma runs the last two months because he is needed for the school year back at Chilocco.

Ambitious and well-liked at Chilocco, apparently, from info on alumni website; he tours with the band on its 10-week trip through the North Central states in the summer of 1906, including Chicago and Milwaukee (ARCIA 1906 report).

(7) When he leaves Chilocco in March 1908 he is separating from Indian service at age 45.

(8) 1909, in February: announcement of his indictment for embezzlement and misappropriation of funds while at Chilocco, which makes the national news wires; he was released on bond (e.g., Washington (DC) Evening Star, February 8, 1909, p. 2; Seattle Daily Times, February 8, 1909, p. 1); identified as of De Graff, KS, where he has a farm or ranch; someone of his name is living in KC, Missouri in 1909 directory; in 1910 the family is in Ozark, Arkansas, north of Texarkana; in 1914 he is living on State Line Ave. in Texarkana, Ark. (directory); in son Roy's WWI Draft Registration, his father Samuel is in Texarkana; in 1920 they are in Garland, Arkansas, east of Texarkana.

(9) He dies around age 62 in 1924. He is buried in State Line Cemetery in Texarkana, Ark. His widow and son are in Garland, Ark. in 1930 census. Roy's WWII draft card puts him in Rondo, Ark (Texarkana).

## FAMILY

Wife is Emma A. McCowan, born about 1863/65 in Ohio, to parents from Connecticut and Ohio. She is a year younger than her husband in the 1900 US Federal Census (36 to his 37), in 1910 (45 to his 46) and in 1920 (54 to his 55) but in 1930 census, where she is a widow living with her son's family, she is 65; age gap to son in census is always 23/24 years 36/13, 54/30 and 65/44.

Emma was a significant figure in her own right. She held the staff position of "matron" at Chilocco, and there is a big portrait of her in one issue of the student paper. Her work at St. Louis fair in service to the Indian School won her medals, and she ran the school for its last two months (Parezzo and Fowler, p. 363, 372).

Their son is Leroy (Roy) M. (also Ray; US 1900 Census has Loron, age 13; US 1930 Census has simply Roy, age 44, with wife Myrtle and son Roy); born April 11, 1886 in Illinois, starts musical training in 1899, played in St. Louis Fair All-Star band at age 17/18 as clarinet player and assistant manager, and helped adjudicate a newspaperboys' band contest there. (See Schwartz and Schwartz, suppl., pp. 11, 55-56, etc.; he is Ray only in St. Louis band brochure, Roy when he's a judge in a band contest, Leroy in Musician's Union dispute). In both WWI and WWII draft registrations, he is a dairy farmer near Texarkana.

## **Bibliography**

(Trennert 1987; Trennert 1988, Chapter 4, pp. 57-84, covering McCowan's five years at Phoenix, 1897-1902, and citing Portrait and Biographical Record of Arizona, pp. 198-200; Moses bk, pp. 151-52 and ff; Troutman and Parezo, Parezo and Fowler bk, etc.). Massive amount of detail on St. Louis role in Parezo and Fowler 2007; see esp. "the Indian School and Samuel McCowan," inside ch. 3 at pp. 57-61; P & F give his birthdate at 1863 but that is probably from the "about 1863" and "Feb 1863" in Census hits, while his grave site gives 1862. According to Rootsweb hit, his middle name is Manley.

## ALEXANDER MELOVIDOFF BIO

Alexander (Alex) Simeon Melovidoff (or Melovidov); 1896-1961) was a Native American (Aleut/ Inuit/ Chugach Eskimo) bandmaster, performer and teacher at US government off-reservation intertribal boarding schools and US public schools. In this context, he is associated as student and teacher with Haskell and Chemawa.

Violinist, saxophonist, cornetist, conductor, educator. A showman. He was an Inuit, a native from St. Paul of the Pribiloff Islands in the Bering Sea off Alaska. Also identified as an Aleut or as a Chugah Eskimo.

## CHEMAWA

A Chemawa student from 1911 to 1916. His son remembers 1913-1914 and also remembers his father leaving the island to go to Chemawa in 1912, so memory here is inconsistent. At school his trade was printer, and he was the second violin of the Indian String Quartet formed at Chemawa and concertizing in 1916-1918.

## MILITARY SERVICE

1918-1919: Then into WWI military service. USNRF (US Naval Reserve Forces) in Alaska as Mus1.

## KANSAS CITY

Then to KC as printer and probably also musician. (He is single and lodging in Kansas City in 1920 US Census and is a printer by trade.) Said to be one-time concert master of the Kansas City Orchestra, which makes an additional possible connection to Fred Cardin and Reddy. Probably from there directly to Haskell.

In these four KC years (1919-1923) he could have gone out in vaudeville, or that might be during his years in LA right after Haskell.

## VAUDEVILLE appearances:

Chief Minawakataw and the American Indian Band. On the East Coast on the Orpheum theater circuit. Also "Al Melovidoff and His Melody Boys."

## HASKELL SCHOOL

### 1923-1926

Band and orchestra instructor at Haskell for three years after Nels Nelson retires for the first time: 1923-24, 1924-25, 1925-26. (NB: the Indian Quartet had played at Haskell in May 1918 before he went into military service.) His son is born in Lawrence on October 10, 1924, he and the family are in the 1925 Kansas Census there;

in his son's 2004 interview, the son says they left Haskell for LA before he was a year old, so that Melovidoff would NOT have been bandmaster in 1925-1926; also Lawrence Journal-World, May 3, 1924, p. 1; Lawrence Journal-World, March 14, 1925, p. 3; Lawrence Journal-World, November 20, 1925, p. 6; Portland Oregonian,



August 19, 1934, p. 37

He is directing a Haskell ensemble on tour in early 1926 (Des Moines, IA, Des Moines Register, January 3, 1926, p. 10; Albany, MO, Albany Capital, January 21, 1926, p. 4)

## LOS ANGELES

1926: Moved to LA and worked as a musician, including as associate concertmaster of the LA Little Symphony. This could be for about five years. Active musician and doubler (violin and saxophone). He could have done his vaudeville stuff now, too.

## CHEMAWA

1931-1937: His son remembers 6 years at Chemawa before moving to Tacoma, so ca. 1931-1937 at Chemawa?? Could have been bandmaster from 1932, right after De Poe's tenure there. He appears as soloist on violin and saxophone.

## WILLAMETTE

In 1934-1935 he was instructor of band at Willamette University (refs. in Portland Oregonian, August 19, 1934, p. 37)

At Chemawa in 1935 state census.

## TACOMA

1937: He is in Tacoma, WA by 1937 and is there for ten years. He founds and is president of the Tacoma Conservatory of Music.

In September 1937, he is said to be from Tacoma and is leading a junior symphony orchestra of fifty children from Tacoma and Puyallup at the Western Washington Fair being held at Puyallup (Seattle Daily Times, September 20, 1937, p. 3).

Also Tacoma Junior symphony.

Elks Band.

Shrine band.

Union band: the All Tacoma Band, in a summer concert series at Point Defiance Park.

Still in Tacoma in 1940 US Census and in 1942 Draft Registration Card.

## OLYMPIA

1947: Moves to Olympia in 1947. In 1950, he is teacher of music and orchestra at the South Bay School (grades 1-8) in Olympia, Washington, about 30 miles SW of Tacoma (Olympia Morning Olympian, May 15, 1950, p. 10).

1961: He dies in Tacoma in 1961.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Troutman thesis; Troutman bk, pp. 218-220.

Transcription of an interview with his son in 2004:

[docs.lib.noaa.gov/noaa\\_documents/.../Alexander%20Melovidoff.doc](https://docs.lib.noaa.gov/noaa_documents/.../Alexander%20Melovidoff.doc)

## NELS SAMUEL NELSON BIO

Nels Samuel Nelson (1867-1942) was the most significant European-American bandmaster. He is associated with the Genoa, Chilocco, and Haskell schools, with the U.S. Government Indian Band at the St. Louis Fair in 1904, and with the Haskell Band on major Circuit Chautauqua tours.

He had a career in the Indian Service of 26-27 years; his trade was tailoring, and he was perhaps the most important European-American boarding-school bandmaster; he worked at the three major Midwestern US Indian off-reservation boarding schools--- Genoa, Haskell, and Chilocco---which run roughly in a North-South line from central Nebraska down to northern Indian Territory. From Genoa to Haskell is ca. 220 miles SE, and from Haskell to Chilocco, ca. 175 miles SW. Completing the triangle, from Genoa it is pretty much due south to Chilocco and as the crow flies the distance is ca. 310 miles.

1867, in January: Nelson born of Swedish immigrant parents in Illinois, 01/12/1867.

NAME: N. S. Nelson, Sam Nelson, Nels S. Nelson, (and with Niels and Nellis for Nels). [The 1940 US Census says he is a boarder in Genoa and was born in Sweden and is a naturalized citizen (if this is the same Nels Nelson), but all else points to our man being born in Illinois.]

Father is Andrew [Anders; Andrew Anderson] Nelson, 1833-1914.

Mother is Anna Nelson, 1833-before 1880; she probably died ca. 1875, acc. info. incl. family tree hit on ancestry.com, which appears to draw mainly from solid 1870 US Census in Chicago, and solid 1880 US Census for Nebraska City; also, newspaper hits as below.

By 1880, Andrew is remarried, to Augusta; Augusta Nelson (0000-0000) is a widow of the right age in 1915 in Red Oak.

Older brother John Alfred ("Al") Nelson (12/11/1859-8/15/1939) was born in Sweden, came over with the family to Chicago as a young child in 1862, and did his education in that city. Nels was evidently born in Chicago. Siblings are John Alfred, Josephine (Josephena), Nels Samuel, Amanda.

The family moved to Nebraska City in 1875, where the boys' father set up in the tailoring business. (This could be about the time of the death of Anna and the remarriage to Augusta.) Nels would have grown to maturity there. At some point the parents apparently moved to Red Oak, Iowa, possibly after 1885 retirement (?), where they lived until late 1913/early 1914 (did Nels ever live in a home in Red Oak?). This needs to be squared with family tree info above. Nels definitely went to Red Oak on account of issues of family health in 1913/1914 (see below) and Augusta is there as widow in 1915.

John set himself up in a branch in Glenwood, Iowa in 1882 (a town between Plattsmouth, NE and Red Oak, Ia), and he purchased his father's store in Nebraska City in 1885. John is traceable as a merchant tailor in Nebraska City from 1886 according to the Nebraska State Directory, and the Nebraska State Gazeteer of 1890. Samuel N. Nelson is listed as a tailor with J. A. Nelson, and living at the same address as John A. Nelson, in the Nebraska City Directory of 1891. John, active not only as a tailor but as a cement contractor, became a prominent citizen of Nebraska City, and he was twice elected a Republican councilman, in 1894 and 1896. The family moved to Omaha in 1917, probably signalling John's retirement from business. This is the

John A. Nelson, 1859-1939 (d. 8/15/1939, interred 8/18/1939), who is buried in Nebraska City's Wyuka Cemetery. His wife, Nanny Stafford Atherton Nelson, died on 12/24/1931 and was interred at Wyuka on 12/26/1931. He married Nannie when he was 26 and she was 18, in 1886.

See [www.rootsweb.com/~neotoe/wyuka/wyuka\\_n.htm](http://www.rootsweb.com/~neotoe/wyuka/wyuka_n.htm)

Omaha World Herald, Wednesday, August 16, 1939, p. 22 The Nebraska Daily News-Press (Nebraska City), Thursday, August 17, 1939, p. 2 and Friday, August 18, 1939, p. 6.

Reference in Lincoln's Nebraska State Journal, Sunday, January 17, 1909, p. 4A says "Sam Nelson, former leader of the Nebraska City band, who was here from Genoa, was entertained by the members of the band Friday evening."

Nelson's Nebraska City obit calls him a "long time resident of Nebraska City and a leading bandsman in Nebraska. . . . Forty years ago he was leader of the Nebraska City band, interested in all forms of music and for some time followed the profession of tailor with his brother."

Nelson takes a ¼ interest in a Nebraska City venture to manufacture a certain type of valve (The Genoa Times, July 3, 1903, p. 5). Nels was called to Red Oak, Iowa in late 1913 on account of the illness of his [step?] mother (The Indian News, Dec. 1913, p. [9]), and visited again shortly thereafter on account of the death of his father (The Indian News, Feb. 1914, pp. [9], [11]). In 1915 Nels leaves his family behind in Genoa and goes on a vacation to visit former homes in Nebraska City and Red Oak, Iowa (The Indian News, September 1915, p. 13); another ref. in The Indian News in the mid teens has him going to Red Oak on business.

1891 Nelson marries Emma D. Gordon or Jordon, age ca. 24 (NB: he's in the Nebraska City Directory this year); see separate file on family

## GENOA SCHOOL

Eight plus years employed at Genoa school (United States Indian Industrial School at Genoa, Neb.), from 1895 to 1903. His first stint of employment in the Indian Service. He is the tailor, and the band is extra-curricular.

1895 Arrives at Genoa School as tailor by fall 1895; OIA annual Reports for 1895 and 1899 both give January 1895; the salary in 1895 is \$600 and in 1899 it is \$720 (NB: this is the same salary that James Wheelock earns at Sherman two decades later, in 1916-1917); comes with wife and two children, at the age of 28; three subsequent children are born in Genoa. Re-establishes the band(s) in the spring of 1896. Brings them rapidly up to a good level. (But he is not the music teacher---that is another position entirely.) Played at a Democratic Party gathering in October of 1896. In 1898, the band played at the Genoa train station as the Fullerton National Guard embarked on their way to the Spanish-American War. They were a regular part of the encampments of the Platte Valley G.A.R. (Grand Army of the Republic), an association of Union Veterans of the Civil War.

1898 At Omaha Exposition in 1898, just over two years after band is restarted, Nelson and the Indian school band played on the Indian Congress grounds for three weeks, September 8/9th-28th, for audiences of up to 10,000.

1899 On September 1, returning Nebraska Company B (of the "Fighting First," I think), is met in Columbus and accompanied back to Genoa by a party including "the famous Indian band" (DB Saturday, September 2, 1899, p. 3)

1902 The Nebraska State Journal, Saturday, February 22, 1902, p. 3 has an article on the Genoa School, including favorable short mention of the band and Nelson ("the school contains one of the finest bands in the state"), including his scheme of two bands, one a feeder for the other.

The Columbus Telegram (July 4, 1902, p. 8): first of the summer's Sunday evening concerts on the lawn at the Indian School; "what a splendid band this organization has become"; "the best band in the history of the school."

1902-03 The Columbus Telegram (December 19, 1902, p. 3) says that arrangements are being made for the Genoa band to take a tour, and that the Genoa band has received an invitation to play at St. Louis in 1904.

1903 Nelson has brought his band to a high degree of polish. In the spring of 1903, the Indian Band sounds great and it is anticipated that they will be invited to the state fair (The Genoa Times May 8, 1903, p. 5). Nelson has ambitions for it to tour during the summer as the "U.S. Indian Concert Band." It plays concerts on tour under this name at least from April through June.

It can be no coincidence that this is the same moment that Wheelock, at Haskell, is polishing his group and aiming for a summer tour in Colorado

The Indian News (April and May, 1903, pp. 1-4 with a photo of the band facing page 1) devotes a major spread to it and talks about wanting to tour eastern Nebraska and Western Iowa, but without any mention of making it the St. Louis Fair band (The Genoa Times, Friday, May 22, 1903, p. 5 mentions this "special issue" of The Indian News devoted to the band). Preparations for this tour crop up with regularity in the papers. The Genoa Times, June 5, 1903, p. 5 says that Nelson wants \$500 for the band to play at Sioux City's mid-summer festival, and he is talking with other Iowa towns about visits. The Genoa Times, June 12, 1903, p. 5 has more about arranging the tour, describes the band as consisting of 25, all of whom are native Americans except for Nelson and two others (the article included a portrait of Nelson, which had been cut out of the copy that was microfilmed). The Genoa Times June 26, 1903, p. 5 reports Nelson in Nebraska City visiting old friends and attending to business concerning the US Indian Concert Band. See also The Genoa Times, July 3, 10, and 17, 1903, all on p. 5, and Columbus Telegram (July 17, 1903, p. 6). Nelson is making arrangements for an August of Iowa towns by the "United States Indian Concert Band" along the main line of the Northwestern RR.

Nelson takes a ¼ interest in a Nebraska City venture to manufacture a certain type of valve (The Genoa Times, July 3, 1903, p. 5).

1903-04: Transfer to Chilocco School to work under Samuel McCowan and prepare an all-star Indian boy's band, the US Government Indian Band, for the St Louis World's Fair. This was in place of using the Genoa Band, or an All-Star Band with the Genoa band (or the Haskell or Chilocco bands) as its foundation. He brings with him for that band at least five Genoa boys. Also, he ran the drum-and-bugle corps and the orchestra at Chilocco.

Genoa school musicians in the 1904 St. Louis band included at least five, and perhaps more. Mentioned in the official brochure are Charles Canfield (snare drum, at Genoa from 1901), Elwood Harlan (baritone saxophone), Robert Leith (bass drum, at Genoa from 1896-1899; 1899 grad., remaining as employee before moving to Chilocco; photo and marriage announcement in The Indian News, September 1906, p. 15), Leon Poitra (alto saxophone, at Genoa 1901-1904; 1904 grad.), Louis Roy (cornet, at Genoa from 1902), and James Ryne (clarinet, at Genoa from 1896). Leith, Ryne, and Harlan were singled out by name in the 1903 The Indian News article; the The Indian News follows the careers and personal news of at least Leith, Roy, and Poitra for several more years. The Indian News, May 1907, p. 14 mentions that Louis Roy, Leon Poitra, and George Mentz, all Class of 1904, were at Chilocco during the last weeks of school in spring 1904 and then at the St. Louis Exhibition. (NB: the name Mentz is not in the official 1904 brochure.) They could all have toured into the fall under Lem Wiley.

1904, in March and April: The "U.S. Government Official World's Fair Indian Band" plays some concerts before the fair opens:

Blackwell, OK, in March  
Winfield, KS, March 30  
Guthrie, OK, April 7  
Chickasaw, I.T. (OK), April 19

1904 May 14-July 4. After a year of preparation, Nelson directs the US Government Indian Band at the St. Louis fair.

However, he resigns in June; he resigned due to "tyrannical action" of the head of his department, [ref. Jerry Clark.]. His last official day is July 4, after which Lem H. Wiley takes over; Wiley works at the fair until October 13 [Schwartz and Schwartz info.], then takes the band on the road for a few weeks. Parezo and Fowler 2007 (p. 154), from letters, have a view of the situation that is prejudiced against Nelson, probably reflecting McCowan's case. McCowan's son Roy is mentioned as temporary leader of the Government Indian Band on June 20, so possibly Nelson has stepped aside already at this point (St. Louis, The Indian School Journal, June 20, 1904, p. 1).

Nelson evidently resigned immediately from Indian service. NB: the Chilocco Band visited the fair later for Oklahoma Day (Sept. 6, 1904). No info on program or who conducted. In Parezo and Fowler 2007 (p. 154), he returns to Chilocco with some band members. He returns to Nebraska City, where he is elected as leader of a local band in early September (Omaha World Herald, September 8, 1904, p. 7, reporting "Nebraska City News" dated September 7).

1904-1911: Nelson spent up to seven years working in Alliance, NE, after some time in Nebraska City. He is definitely in Alliance by 1906; he was a tailor and also directing a band and orchestra (ref. Jerry Clark and Alliance city gazetteer info.): Samuel Nelson leads the Nelson Orchestra in Alliance, acc. NE Gazeteer of 1907, and N. Saml. Nelson is a tailor in gazeteers of 1909 and 1911 (Alliance newspapers report on some of his kids' activities, etc.). Son Herbert's personal card for NU identifies his father as a Merchant Tailor and musician. A ref. in 1909 NSJ makes it clear he kept ties across the state.

## RETURN TO GENOA

1911-1917: Nelson returns to the Genoa School in Fall 1911 where he will remain for 6 years as foreman of the tailor shop and director of the band. Genoa Leader, October 27, 1911, p. 1: "N. S. Nelson, formerly tailor and band leader at the Indian School, has been in town this week. An effort is being made to have Mr. Nelson reinstated in the service and assigned to this school. He is at present located at Alliance, Nebraska." See The Indian News, October 1911, p. 8; November 1911; December 1911; November 1915, December 1915, January 1916, December 1916, etc. The first concert of the year is traditionally in late December, perhaps usually on December 31. Another traditional big concert was in June. He takes on the orchestra, too, in the fall of 1914. (Need to sort out orchestra and band schedules.)

The images of the band and orchestra from Nancy Carlson are both in The Indian News in 1913, and the band image is re-used in 1914. The image of Nelson in the tailor shop turns up in a cropped version in The Indian News for May 1913.

When Nelson returns to Genoa in the fall of 1911, The Indian News says his family will be following soon from Alliance. One or more children are already out of the house, and the youngest is 10. They settle in a new cottage (The Indian News, October 1911, p. 5). This home is expanded by three rooms in 1914 (The Indian News, Nov. 1914, p. [10]).

His wife Emma had had infant children underfoot during the previous stint in Genoa. Now she steps in immediately as the seamstress on September 28 on account of the illness of an employee and does that job all fall.

She takes a different and permanent position as assistant cook just before the end of the year when another employee transfers away (The Indian News, November 1911, pp. 5, 6 and December 1911, pp. 4, 8).

After three years, she is given a position as laundress in the fall of 1914 (The Indian News, Sept. 1914, p. [8]); this is her position on the roster of employees in 1915 (The Indian News, January 1915, p. 12).

Nelson re-established his scheme of two bands (The Indian News, December 1912). The band welcomed William Jennings Bryan in October 1911 (The Indian News, October 1911, p. 7).

In just his second year back, the band is even stronger, and Nelson is ambitious. Toured regionally in the fall of 1912. The band again rapidly improves in size and quality, and Nelson is eager to find opportunities for it in the summer of 1913. He recruited band members from other schools to fill out his ranks. "N. S. Nelson, instructor of the Genoa Indian School Band, has planned to get together a body of

musicians that will equal, if not surpass, the famous band he took to the St. Louis exposition several years ago. Several of the old players who have been with Instructor Nelson in the past will return to Genoa and join the new organization, and by the time fall arrives the band will be open for engagements" (The Genoa Times, May 16, 1913, p. 1). In the summer of 1913, he goes on his annual vacation to Minnesota, returning in early August (The Genoa Leader, August 8, 1913, p. 8), and then gets to work again. The Genoa Leader, August 15, 1913, p. 1 says that he's gathering talent and that the Genoa Indian Band will play at the state fair. [REF?: the Genoa paper in 1913 (August 15) mentioned that he was expecting several Indian musicians to arrive and join "the government band."] They played at the NE State Fair in early September 1913 for five days (Lincoln Daily News, Saturday, August 30, 1913 and Jerry Clark). The Genoa Leader, September 5, 1913, p. 1 says that the Indian school band played at the Chautauqua at Fullerton and then went on to play at the State Fair in Lincoln. All of this is reaffirmed in The Indian Leader (sic??) September 1913, p. 12, which clarifies that the band was reinforced by a half dozen ringers from among alumni, and students and employees at other schools.

The school and town were very proud of Nelson (e.g., The Indian News, June 1916, pp. 11-12); "director Nelson is certainly a musical wizard" (The Genoa Leader, June 3, 1916, p. 1); he is called "one of the best band instructors in the west" (The Genoa Leader, December 20, 1918, p. 1).

## HASKELL SCHOOL

1917-1923: Nelson transferred to the Haskell Indian School in Lawrence, KS after the 1916-17 school year at Genoa; he had been back at Genoa for six years; he is 50. He is then at Haskell for six years. No refs. yet to any tailoring at Haskell. It seems he was hired exclusively as bandmaster, to do musical ensembles. This is apparently a major promotion and opportunity, suggesting that he is only doing music at Haskell. Arrives with Peairs and new football coach, Carlisle's former quarterback Gus Welch, as part of renewal or new momentum at Haskell, probably in light of the forthcoming closure of Carlisle.

The Genoa Leader, July 13, 1917, p. 1 says he will depart with his family at the end of the month for Lawrence; see also a nice, short notice in The Genoa Times, July 6, 1917, p. 4 (sorry to see him go), and The Indian News, October 1917, p. 10, under Transfers and Resignations. The town band gave Nelson a reception and the gift of an upholstered rocker (The Genoa Times, Friday, July 17, 1917, p. 3).

He and family members (wife, son, daughters) moved into a cottage on the grounds at Haskell and evidently are soon absorbed into the community. The children often help concertize (Naomi on violin---often in duets with her father, Gladys singing or playing the piano, Morton on flute). During the Haskell years his wife dies, Naomi dies, and Gladys and Morton go out on their own.

The 1920 US Census (12 January 1920) puts him (age 52) in Kansas, at Haskell Institute, with Naomi (25), Gladys (20), and Morton (19). Nels (Nellis in the 1920 census) is identified in the 1920 census as Bandleader at the school.



He and his children revisit Genoa fairly often during the Kansas years, apparently, especially around Decoration Day (Memorial Day) to visit family graves and friends; this also is a major event for the Indian School Band, which participates in the traditional parade from the Indian School gates to the town cemetery (and it falls just around the time of graduation for the public high school and then the Indian School every year). When his wife died December 9, 1918 in Lawrence, she was brought back to Genoa for burial (The Genoa Leader, Friday, December 13, 1918, p. 8; Genoa Times, Friday, December 13, 1918, p. 5). Acc. cemetery records, her grave was opened on 12/10/1918.

In 1920, The Indian News (June 1920, p. 9) says Nelson, "now of Haskell Institute," led the Genoa town band for Memorial Day; he came up with Naomi (see also The Genoa Leader, June 4, 1920, p. 1). At this time, James R. Wheelock was director of the Genoa Indian School band, which played together with the town band on this occasion, under Nelson, evidently. Possibly this means that Wheelock has left after only one year. In 1921, The Genoa Leader, June 3, 1921, p. 3 reports him as in town from Lawrence with Naomi, Gladys, and Bill, now of North Platte, who is newly married to Catherine Herrod of that city. In 1922, Sam Nelson of Lawrence came up to Genoa with his two surviving younger children for Naomi's burial in March (The Genoa Times, Friday, March 10, 1922, p. 1), and he came up again to visit friends in June (The Genoa Leader, June 30, 1922, p. 1).

#### 1917-1918

Nelson's years at Haskell are able to be followed through The Indian Leader. He energizes the band and the orchestra, which quickly make "splendid progress" (The Indian Leader some time in 1917-1918). Enlistments on account of WWI had drained the musical ensembles at the beginning of the year, but by the end, "with diligence they had reached a high standard" (The Indian Leader, some time in spring 1918, p. 3).

#### 1918-1919

1919, in February: On February 20, 1919, Mr. and Mrs. Thurlow Lieurance gave a concert at Haskell.

1919: During the summer, the "Haskell Orchestral Band" under Nelson toured in Circuit Chautauqua under the management of Thurlow Lieurance of Lincoln, NE. Fred Cardin, James Garvie, George La Mere, Paul Chilson, Sansa Carey, and perhaps Pearl Archiquette all anticipated.

Lieurance writes (June 12, 1919): "I can offer the Haskell band. The best Indian band in the world and possibly myself as director for next summer. I have the Haskell Indian orchestra of 16 pieces and two soloists on the Community chautauquas this summer. All genuine Indians and good folks and ability." The Haskell band/orchestra does not end up on his 1920 or 1921 lists.

By the end of year two, then, Nelson is able to be ambitious. In the Summer of 1919, an orchestra of 14 Haskell boys is on the Chautauqua circuit. Acc.

Vučković (2008), p. 142-43 (citing Chautauqua pamphlet, June 29-July 3, 1919, Littlestown, Pennsylvania, Box 1, SC, HR, RG 75, NACPR); it is touring through the Community Chautauqua system, on a 13-week contract as the fourth-day attraction for two and a half hours of music a day, in native costumes as well as in uniforms, touring through the New England states and Canada. It is organized, in fact, through Lieurance at the NU SOM, with a number of other performers aboard]; Vučković (2008) cites a letter from Peairs to the NU School of Music about this upcoming tour. Gettysburg Times comment on Biglerville mentions that "the leader and daughter are white people", so one of the kids was along.

1919 tour of Cardin, La Mere, etc. with Haskell Band and soloist Sansa Carey, can be traced as day four of a five-day Chautauqua. Their trip was planned to last nearly three months, beginning June 12 and going to the end of August or into early September, hitting very small towns, starting in Georgia and going up into the Eastern coast states, and going to Toronto as one of the last stops. Included performances of music by Prof. Charles Skilton of KU. (Lawrence Journal-World, June 3, 1919, p. 1, 8; Kansas City Star, June 8, 1919, p. 13). "Three months" could mean all or part of June, July, and August, or it could mean 12/13 or more weeks. As the day 4 attraction, they would have been in Lumberton, NC on June 13, so that might have been one of their very first appearances. They evidently ended up started in NC, then went north to MD, PA, and NY, perhaps swinging west across the Empire State and then quickly north from the Buffalo area to Toronto.

June 10-14 Lumberton, NC (June 13)  
Washington, NC

June 21-25 Harrisonburg, VA (June 24)  
June 22-26 Frederick, MD (June 25)

Emporia, Va.  
Glen Rock, Pa.

June 30-July 4 New Oxford, PA  
July 1-5 Biglerville, PA  
July 3-7 Duncannon, PA (July 6)

July 14-18, Centre Moriches, LI  
July 15-19 Riverhead, LI  
July 19-23 Brewster, NY  
July 22-26 Millbrook, NY  
July 23-27 Catskill, NY  
July 27-31 Canajoharie, NY  
July 30-Aug 3 Waterville, NY

LIEURANCE FILE HAS UPDATED INFO

Those who performed with Nelson in 1919 include

Fred Cardin  
Sarsa Carey

John LaMere  
Paul Chilson

They are back by earliest September, because the Haskell Band is to play for the Pottawatomie Indian fair in Layette, KS opening September 3 and continuing for four days (Miami (OK) District Daily News, September 2, 1919, p. 000.

1919-1920

1920, in May: Haskell has a tradition of mounting a performance of Hiawatha that goes back at least as far as 1900 (Lawrence Journal-World, June 3, 1919, p. 1), and is part of commencement exercises (e.g., Lawrence (KS) Jeffersonian Gazette, June 28, 1905, p. 1, mentioning 1904 and 1905). The performance in 1920 was a revival after three years off (Lawrence Journal-World, May 19, 1920, p. 1). This show is a big deal at the 1926 fall homecoming. Haskell does a "Hiawatha" annually (Christian Science Monitor, August 5, 1920, p. 5) starting in 1920, with native music and dances.

1920-1921

In 1920-21, Haskell student supplies melodies for a number of compositions by Prof. C. S. Skilton of KU, as cit. in Indian Leader.  
(All refs. from Granzer thesis, p. 135)

Back to doing Hiawatha (see above)

1921-1922

1922-1923

BACK IN GENOA, NE ONCE MORE

1923: In his sixth year in Lawrence, in February, Nelson resigns from the Haskell School and returns to Genoa, NE by Monday, February 12. He is leaving Indian Service. The Genoa Times (Friday, February 16, 1923, p. 1) reports: "Mr. Nelson of Lawrence Kansas arrived in Genoa Monday. He is well remembered by the Genoa people having had charge of the Indian School band a few years ago." At Haskell, another staff member and family "moved into the cottage occupied for so long by Mr. Nelson and family" (The Indian Leader, 3/23/1923, p. 4). Just days before the announced resignation, he had been reported visiting Gladys in Coffeyville, where he "found her pleasantly located and enjoying her work," which sounds as if she has just moved there (The Indian Leader, February 9, 1923, p. 4). Perhaps he visited to let her know he was moving back to Nebraska. Perhaps she took the job because of that plan. Or vice versa, now that she is settled and Morton is finishing, he can leave Kansas--- Morton is graduating college in the spring of 1923; he may even have been doing student teaching that spring semester.

Back in Genoa, and soon takes up the reins of the municipal band. It is reported that he "has been hired by the band boys to take the leadership of the band," and the newspaper is glad to see him return to make his home in Genoa (The Genoa Times, Friday, March 2, 1923, p. 1). He also immediately starts up a second municipal band,

staying true to his pedagogical pattern ("Mr. N. S. Nelson, who has taken charge of the Genoa band, will organize a junior band": The Genoa Leader, March 9, 1923, p. 8); for further brief references to this second band, see also The Genoa Times, Friday, March 16, 1923, p. 8, Friday, March 23, 1923, p. 5, Friday, March 30, 1923, p. 5. Gladys Nelson visits her father and friends in Genoa over Decoration Day (The Genoa Leader, June 8, 1923, p. 8).

He became a member of the Genoa Congregational Church on June 29, 1924, and his funeral services were later held at that church. [NB:" Wilford's NU personal card has Methodist.] In 1924, Gladys Nelson of Coffeeyville, KS and Morton Nelson of Gem, KS visit their father in Genoa at the same time of year (The Genoa Leader, June 5, 1924, p. 6). And The Genoa Leader, June 12, 1925, p. 8, June 26, 1925, p. 1, and June 18, 1926, p. 1, have him in town as a resident, in references to Gladys's visit over Decoration Day and her wedding soon thereafter (1925), and a fishing trip (June 18, 1926 ref.).

## BACK TO HASKELL

### 1927-1932

1927: Nelson returns to Haskell after four years away, and works there again for almost another five full years. The Indian Leader (April 8, 1927, p. 2) says "Mr. N. S. Nelson, for many years bandmaster in the United States Indian Service, again went on duty at Haskell on April 1, after an absence of about four years. Many of the old-timers here have expressed delight because Mr. Nelson is again a member of the Haskell faculty and everyone has given him a cordial welcome. Cruz McDaniels, who has been acting bandmaster for longer than a year, deserves much credit for his work with the band and orchestra during this period."

### 1927-1928

BIG PLANS are afoot, which may be why he was enticed back, and he is immediately on the road:

The Indian Leader (Fri., April 15, 1927, p. 2): The Haskell Orchestra is to leave here Saturday [April 16] for Abbeville, La., where it opens the season with a concert on Thursday, April 21. Following is a list of towns in which the orchestra will play and the date of engagement during April: April 21: Abbeville, La.; April 22, Port Authur Tex.; April 23, Brenham, Tex.; April 25, Bryan, Tex.; April 26, Houston, Tex.; April 27, Galveston, Tex.; April 28, Victoria, Tex.; April 29, Cureo, Tex.; April 30, Corpus Christi, Tex.

The members of the orchestra are: Mr. Nelson, conductor, violin; Wilbur Howard, violin; Samuel Westika, cornet; William Cournoyer, trombone; Wilson Johnson, drums; Charles Pierpont, piano; Philip Arkansas, clarinet and saxophone; William Foreman, saxophone; Gilbert Marshall, clarinet and saxophone; Cruz McDaniels, string bass, tuba, and saxophone.

The organization is scheduled for 120 engagements and will appear in Arizona,

California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Utah, Montana, and Wyoming before returning to Haskell.

This group is a kind of dance band or society orchestra of just 9 or 10--or 14, acc. 1928 yearbook and photo, and has string players, hence loosely and interchangeably called band or orchestra. The performers are mostly Haskell students or graduates in their twenties. The lengthy wrap-up in The Indian Leader, September 23, 1927, pp. 3-4, calls it the Haskell Indian Symphonic Band.

The four-month tour by bus (April 16-August 28) took them to the Pacific coast and back, through more than 11 states, 16,000 miles, and 125 concerts. Granzer NU thesis (1937), p. 176, citing the Indian Leader account, writes "In 1927 the Haskell Indian Symphonic Band, with Bandmaster Nelson, made a 16,000-mile tour as one of the units on a chautauqua circuit" under Associated Chautauquas of America." This is the tour with the quick changes and unusual ways of playing. [Indian Leader, Sept. 23, 1927, p. 3 identifies the organizers as the Ellison-White circuit of the Associated Chautauquas of America. Associated Chautauquas is based in Midwest, incl. Kansas; Ellison-White is based in Portland Oregon and books tours not just on the Pacific Coast, but "from Louisiana to Manitoba, from Colorado to the Coast."]

Peairs letter of Feb. 11, 1926 to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, as quoted in Troutman, book, p. 187, shows a program in place before Nelson takes the reins again:

"The first half of the program . . . consists entirely of Indian music and during the time that that part of the program is being given the boys dress in Indian costume. The second half of the entertainment is made up of music similar to what any good orchestra would play and during the time that that part of the program is given the boys dress in evening dress. It can be readily understood that the contrast is striking and that the program is unique, no other organization being able to put on such a program."

This is early in the year of the October 1926 stadium dedication. Possibly its outlines date back to 1919 or before.

## BIG TOUR

Haskell Band is on the Ellison-White circuit of the Associated Chautauquas of America for huge tour in 1927 under N. S. Nelson from April to August. Four months and 120 engagements. Ten musicians. Travel by Federal-Knight bus. It was part of a six or seven-day Chautauqua program.

The Port Arthur News (Port Arthur, TX: Sun. March 13, 1927, Tues. April 5, 1927, and Mon. April 18, 1927):

the Chautauqua will be in town April 19-25, and the Haskell Indian Band will play on Friday afternoon the 22nd; it will give a program of American and Indian music, some in costume. "The greatest Indian school in America, representing almost every tribe in the country, sends its crack musical organization to give Chautauqua patrons a thrill. They are the Haskell Indian Symphonic Band."

Port Arthur News, April 5, 1927, expects "a "whoop'em up" symphonic band program with war dances"

The Havre Daily News Promoter (Havre, Montana), Tuesday July 26, 1927:

#### Haskell Band demonstrates Indian Progress

The Haskell Indian Symphonic Band which is to be one of the outstanding features of the double headline program of this year's Chautauqua, is a brilliant example of the change in the method of living of the original American. There will be war dances and INDIAN music played after the primitive fashion, and other parts of the program illustrating Indian methods of living before they had an opportunity at civilization. By way of [contrast] another section of the program will be given in modern dress and playing modern, classical and jazz numbers. The two programs to be given by the Haskell Band will be interesting through every minute. The band loses no time but gives its numbers with a bewildering rapidity and enthusiastic dash that places it among the foremost entertainment attractions of the country when considered from a purely entertainment standpoint.

Bellingham (Wash.) Herald: playing music that varied from the soft Indian love songs to the droning war tunes . . . they played Indian melodies and danced gruesome war dances to the monotonous tom-tom of the drums . . .

Yakima (Wash.) Herald: playing modern and classical music on modern instruments, but playing most of it with the peculiar rhythm and twang characteristic only of Indian music . . . a war dance, done in the ancient manner but to the music of the modern saxophone and trombone . . .

1927, April 16: group leaves Haskell for Abbeville, La.

1927, April 21: Abbeville, La.

1927, April 22: Port Arthur Tex.

April 23, Brenham, Tex.

April 25, Bryan, Tex.

April 26, Houston, Tex.

April 27, Galveston, Tex.

April 28, Victoria, Tex.

April 29, Cureo, Tex.

April 30, Corpus Christi, Tex.

1927, May: Phoenix, Ariz. (Phoenix School)

1927, mid May: Yuma, Ariz.

1927, May 17: arr. at Riverside Cal. (Sherman Institute) from Yuma

1927, May 17: Redlands, Cal.

1927, May 18: Whittier, Cal.

1927, May 19-25 Bakersfield, Cal.

1927, May 31-June 6: Woodland, Cal.

Chemawa, Or. (Chemawa School)

1927, on Tuesday, June 21 at Asotin, Wash. chautauqua

1927, July 21: Oregon City, Or. (suppl. by Chemawa Band)

Bellingham, Wash.

Yakima, Wash.

1927, June 25-30: Chehalis, Wash.  
Twin Falls, Idaho  
1927, July 29-August 3: Ellensburg, Wash.  
1927, August 11-16: Havre, Mont.  
1927, August 20-25: Billings, Mont.  
1927, August 27-31: North Omaha, Neb.

The Indian Leader, Sept. 23, 1927, p. 4, full text:

#### Haskell Musicians End Successful Tour

A group of Haskell musicians, known as the Haskell Indian Symphonic Band on the Ellison-White circuit of the Associated Chautauquas of America, arrived home August 28, after a tour of 16,000 miles and giving 125 entertainments scattered over 11 states.

The trip was made by bus and only two entertainments were postponed during the tour, which gives one an idea of the dependability of this mode of transportation and the condition of the roads generally.

The itinerary of the band took it through Louisiana, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, California, Oregon, Idaho, Washington, Utah, Montana, Wyoming, and Nebraska. In several of these states Government Indian schools were visited and in many instances, especially at Phoenix, Ariz., and Chemawa, Oreg., the member[s] of the band were given a banquet and the visit made pleasant in every way, and these features were much appreciated. At Chemawa, Oreg., Cruz McDaniels was right "at home" as he had been a pupil of that school. Others found old friends here and there on the trip, so it may be said that the members renewed old acquaintances and made new friends in every town where they gave an entertainment. In some towns were Indians who had driven 150 miles to enjoy the show. Indians composed fully one-half of the audiences in many towns.

The News-Promoter, Havre, Mont., made the following comment: "\* \* \* The Indian boys from the Government school at Lawrence, Kans., acquitted themselves most creditably and gave tangible evidence of the fine work which this institution is doing for the Indian youth of the country. From a musical standpoint the group presented one of the best entertainments of the outstandingly fine series of programs. There was plenty of pep also, and the audience cheered and demanded encore after encore which were responded to willingly, although the boys had been on the road for nearly thirteen hours and were hungry and tired."

To those who are not familiar with the program offered by the Haskell Indians on their tour a brief resume may be of interest.

The program was divided, an outstanding feature being offered in each part. Mr. Nelson gave a short history of Haskell, its aims and ideals, and introduced each member of the organization, giving names in Indian and in English and the interpretation thereof.

In the first part of the program the boys were dressed in their beautiful Indian costumes. They played music varying from soft Indian love songs to heavy war tunes. They danced the Indian war dances also in that part of the program. The last half of the program illustrated the progress of some of the Indians in the last few years. Each boy was dressed in the most impeccable evening dress of our time. They gave a program which would be a credit to any nationality, playing the latest jazz and some classic numbers with a finish which is acquired only after long practice and an ability which equals that of any other race."

1928-1929

1929-1930

1930-1931

The band plays on the KU extension lyceum circuit, and for KFKU radio.

When two of Nelson's sons (Morton and Herbert) die around 1930, he is identified in the Genoa paper as their father without any reference to being a "former resident" himself.

1931-1932

#### ANOTHER RETURN TO GENOA, NE

After almost five full years back at Haskell, Nelson retires again from the Indian Service on January 31, 1932, just shortly after the retirement of Hervey [Henry B.?] Peairs in 1931. He is said to have organized the Genoa band 25 years ago, and to have retired after 27 or 30 years in Indian service, after serving at Genoa for a total of 15 years and at Haskell for 12 years [See Kansas City Star, January 31, 1932, p. 6; Omaha World Herald, February 27, 1932, p. 7; Genoa Leader-Times February 25, 1932, p. 1.] This corresponds well with (1) The Nebraska City obit says he retired "about eight years ago," which would be in 1934, and (2) Granzer writes, p. 193, that the retirement of Nels S. Nelson is one of a number of retirements of significant, longstanding personnel over the last 10-15 years, thus 1922-1937 (or possibly, in context of her language, 1931-37, which seems to be what she meant).

He had come back to Haskell to grasp a particularly good opportunity to make some money. His retirement corresponds with the end of Chautauqua and vaudeville, the closing of many Indian boarding schools, etc.

He did not work again at the Genoa school after his second retirement. He splits his time between Omaha, Genoa, and his daughter in New Jersey. When his brother John dies in 1939, an obit mentions that brother Nels lives in Genoa. Older community members recall Nelson's work with student musicians, giving instrumental lessons in the ag shop in the local public high school as late as 1941-1942 (at least in part before the public-school system added instrumental music to the curriculum), and running a band (a mixed student-adult community band, not an official public-school band). He apparently lived for a time in a room or apartment at a local hotel or boarding house, and one of his daughters and a granddaughter are remembered as having also lived there. (Information from Miss Schweizer.) This daughter must be Gladys. The Nebraska City and Omaha obits have him in Nutley, NJ with Gladys, so there may be a pattern of shifting residence between NE and NJ.

1942 On Tuesday, June 30, Nelson died in an Omaha hospital after an illness and hospitalization for five weeks, and was buried in Genoa's Valley View Cemetery on Thursday, July 2 after funeral services that day at the Congregational Church. The Genoa Leader-Times has small front-page notice of the death (Thursday, July 2, 1942), but apparently, no larger obituary. See also the Nance Co. Journal (Fullerton),



July 9, 1942. Omaha World-Herald, Wednesday, July 1, 1942, p. 6: "Funeral of Nels S. Nelson of Utley (sic), N.J., who died Tuesday at a local hospital, will be Thursday at Genoa, Neb." The lengthiest obituary I have found is in The Nebraska Daily News-Press (Nebraska City, NE), Wednesday, July 1, 1942, p. 6, headlined: "Sam Nelson, Band Leader, is Dead"

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#### IMMEDIATE FAMILY MEMBERS

1891: Nelson marries Emma D. Gordon or Jordon (2/12/1866-12/9/1918) on April 1, a date established by the celebration on Friday, April 2, 1915 of their 24th wedding anniversary, which fell the day before, April 1 (see Indian News April, 1915, p. 7) [1900 Census says married 9 years, which is confirmatory, and this year also squares with Herbert's date of birth]. Morton's obituary gives her maiden name as Gordon (The Genoa Leader-Times, July 25, 1929, p. 1), while Mormon family genealogy website give Jordon, and father Christopher Jordan, from Nebraska Marriages database. The 1890 Nance County Census reports she was born in Jan. 1867 (not Feb. 1866) in Ohio of parents who immigrated from Germany (1920 census reports Sweden). She may have been a stay-at-home mom during the first stint at Genoa (1895-1903), with two youngsters at home and then three born there. Upon the family's return to Genoa in 1911 she takes a series of positions on the staff. She dies in late 1918 in Lawrence, perhaps in the flu epidemic. (On the epidemic, see Highlights of Haskell by Ames and Dale, p. 40, who report that there were nine deaths, all but one in October, out of 343 cases.)

The children's names are in the 1900 Census; The Indian News, June 1916, p. 7, naming daughters Naomi and Gladys and sons Morton, Herbert, and Wilfred, and they are in the Genoa cemetery records. Note that the cemetery has parents Nels and Emma, with children Herbert, Naomi, and Morton also buried there. Wilford and Helen (Gladys), who married and moved away, are apparently buried elsewhere.

Herbert John (4/8/1892 or 4/27/1892 to 3/16?/1931) who is  
John H. acc. to one census and on one of his two NU personal cards  
Naomi L. (3/4/1894-3/5/1922) [birthdate from cemetery and The Indian Leader, describing a birthday party at Haskell]; her name is also  
spelled Neoma with birthdate at 3/6 in 1900 census  
Wilford Samuel (11/4/1895- acc census or 11/27/1896 acc.  
NU personal card  
Helen Gladys (7/2/1897- )  
Morton Edward (12/19/01-7/14/29); just 1901-1929, acc. gravestone, but  
mortuary information gives exact birth and funeral dates; obit  
confirms death date.

All the children (including Fred?) are musical. They all take up professions, as musician, pharmacist, musician/teacher, musician/teacher/wife, and teacher/priest. By 1931, Nelson has outlived his wife and at least three of his five adult children.

Herbert J. Nelson (1892-1931) was born in Nebraska City and raised primarily in Genoa and Alliance. Census info gives birthdate as 4/8/92 but his NU personal card twice records 4/27/92. Graduated from Alliance high school in 1910 (CHECK). He was a violin-cellist. The Alliance S-W Times for Friday, September 1, 1911, p. 1 has a prominent article on Herbert. He had attended the University School of Music in Lincoln for his first year in 1910-1911 and would attend for his second year in 1911-1912. He was about to undertake a ten-week fall tour under Brit Lyceum management with a reader and a singer. In December 1911, he had just been released from that extended contract with the Brit Lyceum Bureau and was returning to Lincoln to pursue his musical education (The Indian News, December 1911, p. 7). UNL Archives and Special Collections has two personal cards and a transcript for him. In 1910 he enrolled in the University School of Music, while in the second semester of 1911-1912, he enrolled for the A.B. in the College of Arts and Sciences. His grades in 1912 are bad, and perhaps he decided to return to music. In Indian News 14/8 (May/June 1912), p. 11, he arrives in Genoa on June 13 for an extended visit; he's been attending school in Lincoln, specializing in music.

Not entirely clear what he did in 1912-1913. Indian News 15/1 (Sept. 1912) has him playing again in a trio, the Aller Trio, under the auspices of the Britt Lyceum course.

NB: Britt Lyceum & Chautauqua Bureau of Lincoln, NE

In September 1913, he is going to study cello in Minneapolis (The Indian News, September 1913, p. 000); could this be his second year there (?). Herbert played on his father's December concert at the school in 1916. He is still in Minnesota in 1917 (The Indian News, June 1917, p. 7). Genealogy website hit has him marrying around 1924 (and dying in 1972, but maybe this is a son). Morton dies while on vacation in 1929 in Minneapolis; perhaps he was visiting his older brother Herbert. Herbert himself dies in 1931 in Minneapolis and is buried also in Genoa amongst his family. The weekly Genoa Leader-Times, Thursday, March 19, 1931, p. 1 reports that Herbert Nelson of Minneapolis, MN passed away at his home the first of the week. Mr. Nelson was conducting an orchestra and was stricken with a stroke, dying three days later. "He was well known by a large number of Genoa residents" ("Former Resident Dies"). This report implies he died on Monday the 16th (or possibly Sunday the 15th), having fallen ill around the previous Thursday or Friday. Herbert was married to Doreen Swadling Nelson and they had a daughter Margery (ancestry.com hit with photo of Nelson holding Margery).

A Mormon family genealogy website has hit on Herbert Samuels Nelson, son of Niels Samuel and Emma Jordon, born in 1892 in Lincoln, NE, married around 1924 in Minnesota, and died in 1972. With all that seems wrong here, this is likely to be our guy.

Naomi (1894-1922) was also born before the move to Genoa. She grew up in Genoa and Alliance. Not long after the family resettled in Genoa, Naomi, at age 17, played a violin solo with her father's Genoa School orchestra (The Indian News, Nov. 1911, p. 7). The Indian news 15/3 (Nov. 1912, p. 3) has it that she's visiting Genoa during a short school break and has been working in Lincoln. She graduated from Genoa's public high school in May 1913 at the end of the 1912-1913 year (The Genoa Leader, May 16, 1913, p. 1 and The Genoa Times, May 23, 1913, p. 8). She probably goes to college at Kearney from 1913 to 1916. In June 1914 Naomi Nelson came "home from school" and played a violin solo (The Indian News, June 1914, p. [22]); she also is home and plays a solo on an orchestra concert in February 12, 1915 (The Indian News, Feb. 1915, p. 000 and March 1915, p. 10); in April 1915 she and her sister Gladys played at their parents' wedding anniversary; in June 1915 she is said to have finished her first year as a teacher in a nearby country school (The Indian News, June 1915, p. 8); this must have been some kind of practicum (?) because in November she is still studying hard at Kearney Normal (The Indian News, November 1915, p. 12). She plays with her father's school orchestra in December 1915 (The Indian News, January 1916, p. 18). The Genoa Leader, March 31, 1916, reports her home for spring vacation from the normal school in Kearney, and in June, at the end of her semester, she goes back for a six-week course in vocal music (The Indian News, June 1916); in spring 1917, Naomi comes home for the summer after having taught vocal music for the school year in Ravenna, NE, about fifty miles south-west of Genoa (The Indian News, June 1917, p. 5); in 1917, shortly before the family left for Lawrence, Nelson and Naomi played violin duets at a concert (The Genoa Leader, July 20, 1917, p. 1).

During the Haskell years Naomi apparently lived with her father and was a clerk at the Haskell School (1920 census). She turns up frequently on her father's programs, playing the violin, from Spring 1918 (Indian Leader). Celebrating her birthday in the spring of 1919 were her father, Morton, and Gladys (The Indian Leader, March/April 1919). Perhaps Naomi, but more likely Gladys, evidently travelled with the 1919 summer Chautauqua show. The Indian Leader 23/3, September 1919, p. 21, says "Miss Naomi Nelson has resigned her position in Washington, D. C., and is employed as temporary assistant clerk in the office here." On Oct. 22, 1919 in Lawrence, Naomi played violin at the wedding of Ruth Peairs, daughter of Haskell's Superintendent Peairs, to Mr. J. C. Skinner (The Indian Leader 23/8, October 1919, p. 21; The Indian News, Nov. 1919, p. 3). In 1920, Naomi and her father came up from Lawrence for Decoration Day (The Genoa Leader, June 4, 1920, p. 1 and The Indian News, June 1920, p. 9 [CHECK AGAIN]). For her brother's wedding in 1921, she was apparently in Nebraska and met her father and younger sister there (The Indian Leader, Supplement, June 3-17, 1921). According to cemetery records, she died on March 5, 1922; she had just turned 28. See also The Genoa Times, Friday, March 10, 1922, p. 1, reporting that Mr. Nelson came up from Lawrence accompanied by his son and daughter (Gladys and Morton) for the burial of Naomi next to her mother. Acc. cemetery records, her grave was opened on 3/7/22. (NB: the issue of The Genoa Leader for March 10 was not microfilmed.) (Local mortuary information on Naomi says she died in Omaha of heart failure. Information from the Patrick Mortuary in Genoa, NE, which was the only mortuary in town and was owned and operated by Benj. Person in the first half of the 20th century. Information from Miss Helen Schwiezer.)

Wilford Samuel (1895- ), born in Genoa, on 11/4/95 according to a census report but 11/27/96 on his NU personal card, and 27 November 1895 on his WWI draft card (Ancestry.com). Since the card gives his birth year as 1895 but his age as 21 in 1917, it is probably the case that the discrepancy is a simple error and that, all in all, 11/27/1896 is correct. He's Bill, Fred, Wilfred, William; at least once he's Wilfred and Wilford in the same issue of The Indian News. (But as a freshman in the NU 1916 yearbook for 1915-1916, and on his NU personal card and pharmacy transcript, and North Platte business directory, cemetery, etc., he's Wilford.) He graduated from Genoa public high school in May 1914 (The Genoa Leader, May 15, 1914, p. 1 and The Genoa Times, May 22, 1914, p. 8) He seems to have enrolled at NU after a year off (or perhaps a year at Kearney?). He went to NU from 1915-1917. The Indian News has him winning laurels in Lincoln as an excellent student in December 1915, p. 14. He returns home in 1917 from NU, having passed his state pharmaceutical exams and earned his pharmacist's degree (The Indian News, May 1917, pp. 7, 14 and June 1917, p. 7; see also The Genoa Leader, May 25, 1917, p. 1, and June 22, 1917, p. 1 where it says he is leaving for a job in a drug store in Bayard, NE, which is in the western part of the state right next to Chimney Rock). His 1917 draft registration puts him as a single, registered druggist in Genoa.

By 1921 he is in North Platte, where he marries Catherine Herrod of North Platte on May 29, 1921. (There is a genealogy internet hit on her.) His father comes to the wedding. Gladys accompanies him, and Naomi joins them in Nebraska (The Indian Leader, Supplement, June 3-17, 1921). Bill visits Genoa with his new bride the very next week (The Genoa Leader, June 3, 1921, p. 3). He survives his father and is still in North Platte in 1942, acc. an obit of his father. Polk's North Platte City Directory for 1950 (p. 162) and 1954 (p. 163) list him as a pharmacist at the Davis Pharmacy, with wife Cath. M, but he's not in the 1961 directory (which is the next one that survives at UNL).

Helen Gladys (1897- ) is two years younger than Will. Census has 7/2/97 (but there are possible ancestry.com hits for 21 May 1897 and 25 December 1897). Mormon Genealogy website reports from Social Security info that the Helen Wilcox who was born on 21 May 1897 and died in April 1980 lived in Belleville, NJ, just a mile or so south of Nutley. This could be her!

She played the piano in her father's orchestra at the Indian School (The Indian News, Dec. 1915, p. 14). Gladys Nelson graduated from the Genoa public high school in 1916 (The Genoa Leader, June 3, 1916, p. 1), so her college years are probably 1916-1920, and they may have all been spent at Kearney, or possibly she transferred to KU. The Indian News has her coming home at the end of term in spring 1917 from the normal school in Kearney (The Indian News, June 1917, p. 5); Gladys Nelson sang on 1917 concert (ref.?). Over the Haskell years she frequently appears in Lawrence to perform at Sunday services and on her father's concerts as a vocal soloist, pianist, and substitute choir conductor. Gladys Nelson came back to Genoa around Memorial Day to visit friends in 1919 (The Genoa Leader, May 30, 1919, p. 1). Perhaps Naomi, but more likely Gladys, evidently travelled with the 1919 summer Chautauqua show. The US Census for 1920 has some Gladys Nelson in KS as a lodger. But as Nels daughter, she is listed as a dependent of her father, living at Haskell Institute. The Indian Leader 25/11, November 1921, p. 23, mentions a concert with Miss Nelson, choir director, and Mr. Nelson, orchestra director. She moves to Coffeyville [Coffeerville] in 1922-23 (The Indian Leader, 2/9/1923, p. 4) and is still there in 1924 (The Genoa Leader, June 5, 1924, p. 6). It's not know what she did in 1924-25 unless she is in Winfield (see below). She visited her father in June, 1925 (The Genoa Leader, June 12, 1925, p. 8 and June 19, 1925, p. 1), and then goes on to Omaha on Wednesday the 17th to visit for a few days. She marries immediately thereafter (N. S. Nelson returns from the marriage, as in report with details, in The Genoa Leader, June 26, 1925, p. 5). At this time she is reported as teaching in Kansas, and it is given that she is married in Topeka. She marries Mr. A. W. Hitchcock of Allentown, PA., and that is where they will settle after their honeymoon.

An internet hit states that a Gladys Nelson was running the choral and instrumental program in the public high school in Winfield, KS in 1924-26. See [www.ausbcomp.com/~bbott/music/MUSICHIST.HTM](http://www.ausbcomp.com/~bbott/music/MUSICHIST.HTM) (accessed 12/06/06).

Gladys is identified as Mrs. A. W. Wilcox in Indian Leader 1929, living in Louisville, Ky, and is identified as Gladys Wilcox of Nutley, NJ in the Nebraska City obit for her father, so she is alive in 1942 (and she is remembered by old Genoa residents as visiting or residing in Genoa in the later 30s or early 40s). She may have remarried, but given the identical initials for her husband, it is most probable that the surnames Hitchcock and Wilcox were muddled by the papers.

Morton Edward (1901-1929), the youngest Nelson child, grew up in Alliance, Genoa, and Lawrence. He may be the youth in the 1913 band portrait who is lying on the ground next to the drum. He is mentioned as playing the drums in his father's orchestra (The Indian News, December 1915, p. 14). In early 1917 rosters of the band and orchestra, he is playing piccolo and flute (The Indian News, March 1917, pp. 8-9). In The Genoa Times for July 13, 1917, p. 4, there are photos of participants in the July 4th pageant, including Morton Nelson as a fifer in a costumed Revolutionary War-era trio alongside a drummer and a "veteran." He graduates from high school in Lawrence in 1919, attends KU from 1919-1923, where he majored in Geology, and lives at home, at the Haskell Institute, according to the 1920 census. Then he teaches for a year in Gem, KS in 1923-24. He participates in music-making in Lawrence, on flute (The Indian Leader, ca. 1922/23). In 1924 Morton Nelson of Gem, KS, along with his sister Gladys, come up to visit their father in Genoa around Decoration Day (The Genoa Leader, June 5, 1924, p. 6). He teaches for a year in Arcadia, KS in 1924-25. (In both teaching stints, his fields are Math and Science.) He then goes east to the General Theological Seminary (Episcopal) in NYC for study from 1925-28, is ordained on Long Island, and is at Grace Episcopal Cathedral as curate in Topeka, KS in 1928-29.

Sadly, Morton dies on Sunday, July 14, 1929 of appendicitis while on vacation in Minneapolis with his father visiting his brother. His body is immediately sent to Genoa; there is a funeral on Monday the 15th and he is interred on Tuesday the 16th in the Genoa cemetery. There are two articles about his death in the weekly Genoa Leader-Times. On Thursday, July 18, 1929, p. 1 ("Former Resident Dies") we are told he passed away after an operation for appendicitis and had a funeral at the Congregational Church on Monday afternoon. On Thursday, July 25, 1929, p. 1 there is a big obituary, with lots of biographical detail incorporated above. (The first local article says services are Monday; the second art says the funeral is Tuesday, and the mortuary information also puts the funeral on Tuesday. We can assume that services and funeral are the same, but not necessarily identical to burial or interment.)

More detail also in The Indian Leader, Sept. 13, 1929, p. 4: Mr. N. S. Nelson visited a son in Minneapolis, Minn., and his daughter, Mrs. A. W. Wilcox, in Louisville, Ky. Mrs. Wilcox was a former music teacher at Haskell. The late Rev. Mr. Morton Nelson, former curate of Grace Cathedral, Topeka, Kans. accompanied his father, N. S. Nelson, to Minneapolis and while there had an attack of appendicitis necessitating an operation from which he did not recover. Funeral services for the Rev. Mr. Nelson were held at Genoa, Nebr., the old family home. Interment was made at Genoa. Haskell friend extended then and again reiterate their sympathy for Mr. Nelson's father, brothers, and sister.

[Cemetery records give dates as 1901-1929. Mortuary information gives his birth date as Dec. 19, 1900 and his funeral date as July 16, 1929; hence a death date of July 14, 1929. Local mortuary information on Morton also says he died in Minneapolis from a ruptured appendix. Information from the Patrick Mortuary in Genoa, NE, which was the only mortuary in town and was owned and operated by Benj. Person in the first half of the 20th century. Information from Miss Helen Schweizer]

## PHILIP D. NORMAN BIO

Philip D. Norman (b.c. 1837/1843/44 - 1902), European-American, was the second bandmaster of the Carlisle School, serving 1881-1891.

According to a web-site, Philip D. Norman (NB: his middle initial is not E; the D is apparently for DeSwann---the rare surname of a Maryland family) was a local, born in Pennsylvania. ARCIA 1885 gives his age as 41, so born c. 1843/1844, but 1880 US Census has him as age 38, so born ca. 1842, with wife Mattie born c. 1846 and daughter May born c. 1877; the 1900 Federal Census has him as 63 (born April 1837), with Martha as born ca. 1848 and May born ca. 1877. He marries Martha A. ("Mattie") Norman in 1873. Martha in 1910 Census is said to be 65, so born ca. 1845; in 1920 she is 73, so born ca. 1847. Service records and US Census entries point to his birth in 1837.

Judging from his age, he easily could have served in the Civil War. He probably is the Phillip Norman who served 1862-1865 in a Pennsylvania company, and the Philip Norman who re-enlisted for at least two five-year terms thereafter. He was posted to the Carlisle Barracks in 1877. A cavalry bandmaster.

In the US 1880 Census, he is a self-employed sadler in the town of Carlisle.

## CARLISLE

In Carlisle, PA, Norman established the Dickinson College band, then led the Carlisle Band 1881-1891, as helper at first to Coleman; he also led the Carlisle Cornet Band, a town-based African-American group.

1880: He was in 1880 the bandmaster of a newly formed band at Dickinson, and he is "late of the United States garrison band at St. Louis."

1881: According to a later ARCIA entry, Norman's date of first employment at Carlisle was July 1, 1881 (i.e., for year three, in the second year of the band); he is also in a Civil Service list of Carlisle employees in 1883, hence likely indicating 1882-1883 (year four), as teacher of both music and painting. His obituary in Red Man and Helper says he was the painter for 20 years; that would be 1881-1901. He had charge of the band for ten years. One web-site says "Norman assisted Clara Coleman . . . in creating a band in 1880," and if this is not right (I have not seen the evidence, which may lie in the Carlisle town papers), then he was soon around. He may have been helping out and then came on board into Indian Service when Coleman left (1881).

He is still on the books as bandmaster in 1891-1892, but Dennison Wheelock is the de facto bandleader in that year.

After giving up the role of bandmaster to Dennison Wheelock, Norman stayed on at the school as painter until failing health forced his resignation. He has a problem with deafness and uses an ear horn. Acc. Red Man and Helper I/7, Friday, August 24, 1900, p. 3: Mr. Norman is back to his duties as painting instructor. Red Man and Helper II/6, Friday, September 13, 1901, p. 3: Mr. Norman has resigned as painter and "we hope that his health will improve." He died just under a year later, on

August 23, 1902, and his obit is in Red Man and Helper, Friday, August 29, 1902, p. 3. (Obits also in papers in Chambersburg, Wilkes-Barre, Lancaster, Carlisle, Philadelphia). His widow is petitioning through a lawyer about Civil War pension business in October 1902.

There is a photo of Norman reproduced in Witmer, The Indian Industrial School.



## EDWIN SKENANDORE BIO

Edwin Skenandore (c. 1866-1935) is a Native American bandmaster (Oneida from Green Bay) at US government off-reservation intertribal boarding schools. In this context, he is associated as student and teacher with schools including the Carlisle, Albuquerque, Sherman, Cherokee, Zuni, Carson City, and Flandreau schools.

NAME: Skenandore is perhaps the best spelling, if one follows the Census Rolls; Schanandore is very common in public records of all sorts, in the Carlisle school papers and in a letter back to Carlisle spelled by him this way (also on 1930 US Census), and he signs this way some times; Skenandoah (a variant name on Oneida enrollment rolls), Skenadore, Skanadore, Schenandore, Schandore, Schenadore, Schanadore (name on US 1920 Census).

## CARLISLE

Student at Carlisle, 1885-1889. He is a direct contemporary at Carlisle of the slightly younger Dennison Wheelock, who is also Oneida.

He is on the employee rolls of Carlisle as a baker, commencing on July 1, 1887, while still not a graduate.

Graduating in 1889 (by one Carlisle document) and in 1890 (acc. another Carlisle document in his file); The Red Man, 9/6 (May 6, 1889), p. 5 names him as an 1889 graduate

He remained at Carlisle for three years, 1889-1892 in the Indian Service as an employee, i.e., baker. Another document says at time of graduation he was assistant disciplinarian.

1891: Solo cornet in Dennison Wheelock's 1891-1892 Carlisle Band (Indian Helper, October 23, 1891).

1892: In 1892 at Carlisle, "the boys organized an athletic association, with Dennison Wheelock as president; Edwin Schanandore, vice president" (NY Tribune, April 25, 1892, p. 4).

1893: He is in a Carlisle employee list (ARCIA) dated July 1893.

## IMMEDIATELY AFTER CARLISLE

Married Melissa Hill (Oneida), who was at Hampton 1892-1894, so just a little younger than Edwin.

## CHEROKEE

1893-1895

Cherokee School, North Carolina, as baker and bandmaster for two years: 1893-1894, 1894-1895 (ARCIA)

A printed card with his photographic portrait in his NARA Carlisle student records identifies him as employed as Baker and Band Leader at the Cherokee School, North Carolina.

1894: In this year, he is reported as conducting a Cherokee band in Tennessee (Knoxville

Daily Journal and Tribune, August 19, 1894, p. 11)

## CARSON CITY

1896-1897

Stewart Indian School, Carson City, Nevada as disciplinarian and bandmaster (see superintendent's letter in ARCIA dated August 20, 1897; see also Native Nevadan, December 7, 1981, p. 17). He says in a letter (dated 1907 but must be 1897) that he lived out West except for two years at the Cherokee School and is now at the Carson School.

NB: The school had seven bandmasters between the founding of the band in 1897 and 1969: Skenandore (who founded the band), Richard Barrington, Harry Sampson, Bob Wright, Alfred Molino, J. D. Oliver, Earl T. Laird (bandmaster 1931-69)

## ALBUQUERQUE

1897-1902

He is at Albuquerque as disciplinarian in 1897-1902.  
Probably, he arrived to be the band master after Devine left with McCowan for Phoenix.

An Edwin Schanadore is reported as marrying Anna West Allison in Bernalillo, NM in May 1898. (This is also where he marries Carlota in 1910.)

## SHERMAN

1902-1903

At Riverside, he serves as Sherman's first disciplinarian, 1902-1903 (Riverside Independent Enterprise, February 11, 1903; Riverside Daily Press, July 25, 1903, p. 4: Schanadore and wife are at Catalina Island for their baby's health).

## ALBUQUERQUE

1903-1907

Return to Albuquerque School again for 1903-1907 as disciplinarian and band master (he writes to the Carlisle School from Albuquerque in March 1907; Albuquerque Journal, December 29, 1908, p. 4 and Albuquerque Journal, November 27, 1913, p. 8).

His wife dies in December 1904. In 1907, in response to an information query from Carlisle, he calls himself divorced, so possibly he has remarried and divorced in the span of a few years. However, yet another document says he lost his first wife and then married again in 1910, as below. Seems given Melissa and Anna, one died and he divorced the other (?).

## ZUNI SCHOOL

1907-1909

1907: He transfers from the position of disciplinarian at Albuquerque to the same position at the Zuni School in July 1907 (The Indian School Journal 7/10 (October 1907), p. 55). He may have been there for two years, 1907-1909.

## ALBUQUERQUE

1909-1914

He is at Albuquerque again with a raise (Native American 10 (December 4, 1909, p. 418).

1910: He marries Carlotta Gutierrez (Navajo, 1886 - ), Hampton class of 1909, who studied there 1901-1909. "Carlota held several positions as housekeeper and matron at Indian Schools in New Mexico and South Dakota. Her husband worked with her in the schools as bandmaster and disciplinarian" (Hampton records); they married on August 2, 1910 (The Southern Workman, v. 39 (1910), p. 641). In the 1910 US Census, she is a teacher on the Zuni Reservation.

1911: Charles Wakefield Cadman praises his work at Albuquerque as disciplinarian and band master (cited in The Carlisle Arrow 7/32 (April 14, 1911), np. [p. 2]).

1912: He makes an address to the Annual Lake Mohonk Congress of Friends of the Indian.

## FLANDREAU

1914-1935

1914: Skenandore is then at the Flandreau School for something on the order of twenty years, 1914, 1914-1915, 1915-1916, 1917, 1931, etc., as bandmaster and disciplinarian. He initially swaps places with the incumbent Flandreau disciplinarian, who goes to Albuquerque (The Native American, vol. 15, p. 428). The US 1920 Census has him in Flandreau with Carlotta, with occupation as music teacher, band, Indian School; ditto in US 1930 Census

1935: Dies at Flandreau, SD of pneumonia, June 29, 1935, age 69. (His name is given as Edwin Skenandore on a list of Tomah Indian deaths in 1935.)

His widow, Carlotta Gutierrez Skenandoah, is living at the Oneida tribe, Tomah Agency, Wisconsin with her husband's relatives in the January 1, 1937 Indian Census Roll.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

See [http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student\\_files/edwin-schanandore-student-file](http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/edwin-schanandore-student-file) , which is a digitization of his student file, including later materials.

## FRED E. SMITH BIO

Fred E. Smith, a Native American (Oneida/ Chippewa) cornettist and bandmaster at US government off-reservation intertribal boarding schools. In this context, he is associated as student and teacher with schools including the Lincoln Institute, Carlisle, Haskell, Flandreau, and Chemawa.

Smith is an Oneida (1878-1966, Chippewa/Ojibwe, enrolled at Lac Courte Oreilles reservation). Wife is Madge H. (Henion Hennion Heenan) Smith (1901/1902-1963/1964); she is also Chippewa.

A student file from Carlisle says he is Oneida from Green Bay.

## FLANDREAU

Possibly at Flandreau as student and even as young employee (in his late teens) before enrolling at Carlisle.

## CARLISLE

Smith attend Carlisle, probably from Nov. 1898 until 1902 (i.e., for over 3 years, Class of 1902). A letter from Pratt (November 23, 1898) discusses the transfer of Smith from the Lincoln Institute.

Fred Smith hangs out with Robert Bruce (Red Man and Helper, Friday July 19, 1901). He is elected to be an officer of the Invincible Society ("Critic") (Red Man and Helper, October 4, 1901), and was elected president of the Invincibles in late 1901 or early 1902 (Red Man and Helper, January 10, 1902). Smith is a graduate with the Carlisle Class of 1902. (On Fred E. Smith in the Class of 1902, see also The Carlisle Arrow, May 5, 1916, p. 5 and The Indian's Friend, September 1905, p. 8).

See also [http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student\\_files/fred-smith-student-file](http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/fred-smith-student-file)

## HASKELL

Smith reports to Carlisle in a survey that he attended the Haskell School three years after leaving Carlisle (for three years, or after an interval of time of three years?). This does not square with the evidence that he was at Flandreau shortly after graduation. What it possibly means is that he toured with the Haskell Band under Dennison Wheelock in 1904. There is, in any event, a small biographical gap around 1903-1902.

## FLANDREAU

1903-1904

1903: It is likely that Smith took over in spring or fall 1903 as bandmaster after the departure of Dennison Wheelock. ARCIA gives the date of Smith's original appointment as July 18, 1896, so possibly Smith was at Flandreau as a student and worker before going to Carlisle, and he has now returned.

NB: Around 1900 the Flandreau School band of 36 and also an orchestra were under the leadership of Fred E. Smith, who had been a cornet soloist in the Carlisle band (acc. George Washington Kingsbury, History of Dakota Territory, vol. 3, pp. 110-11).

Fred E. Smith is assistant disciplinarian in ARCIA 4645 = 1903, employed as of June 30, 1903.

[NB: Marian E. Smith is Music Teacher at Flandreau in same ARCIA, but Fred and Marian are not married or related. Marian E. Smith, born in New York ca. 1875, lives with her parents in Vermillion, DS in the US 1900 Census, and is at the Riggs Institute in a U.S. Register in 1901 and 1903.]

Bandmaster Smith is also supervising the new school newspaper (St. Paul, (Minn.) Globe, September 24, 1903, p. 3), so possibly or even likely that he was one of the Carlisle band boys whose trade was printing.

in May 1904, Fred E. Smith is a student at the University of South Dakota and band master there (Red Man and Helper, May 20, 1904; The Indian's Friend, September 1905, p. 8). The 1904 catalogue of the University of South Dakota (p. 18) identifies Fred. E. Smith as the bandmaster there of the University Band. Holding this position is not incompatible with maintaining a role at Flandreau.

1904: The Riggs Institute Band on parade helped celebrate St. Patrick's Day in Flandreau (Minneapolis, The Irish Standard, April 2, 1904, p. 8).

1904: Smith was the solo cornetist of the World's Fair Indian Band in St. Louis (The Indian's Friend, September 1905, p. 8),

1904-05: At Chilocco?

1905: Smith was said to be going to play at the Portland Exposition this summer (The Indian's Friend, September 1905, p. 8).

1906: Smith accepted a position at Pine Ridge as asst. for \$600 in January and then resigned it (The Indian School Journal 7/2 (1906) p. 66; The Indian School Journal 7/5 (1907)). Was he still at Flandreau until this new appointment?

TUALIP and SALEM (CHEMAWA)

If it is him, he is then in Indian Service at Tualip and Salem (i.e., Chemawa).

1909: Fred E. Smith is in a list for separations for temporary positions; he had been at Chemawa as "Industrial Teacher" for \$720. Was this in the printing dept.? (The Native American, vol. 10, Dec. 11, 1909, p. 432; The Indian Craftsman, December 1909, p. 50).

NEBRASKA

1909: Smith reports to Carlisle in a student survey that he is "Teacher of Music, Cornet Soloist and Band Director" in Chadron, Neb. This is printed in The Indian Craftsman

(February 1909), p. 37. Other references in Carlisle Alumni lists for Chadron in 1910 and 1912.

#### OKLAHOMA

1910: In 1910, Smith fills out a survey for Carlisle from White Eagle, Okla. He has been with the Indian Police for six months, and before that was a schoolteacher at the Ponca Agency schools.

#### NEBRASKA

1914: The Carlisle Arrow, vol. 11/1, September 4, 1914, p. 1 prints from a letter sent by Smith when he renews his subscription to The Arrow and Red Man. He writes: "I am getting along very nicely out here in Nebraska. Have been out here two years and a half . . . I am still in the music business. I have three bands to direct and have secured the engagement to furnish band music (at a County Fair and the State Fair)." So, he is evidently out of the Indian Service and working in Nebraska, perhaps with interruptions, from ca. 1909-1914.

He must marry in the later 1920s. He and his wife appear on the Indian Census Rolls through the 1930s.

#### LATER LIFE

Madge and Fred are in the US 1930 Census and the US 1940 Census in Bass Lake Township, Wisconsin.

## CLAUDE MAXWELL STAUFFER

Claude Maxwell Stauffer was bandmaster and music director at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School for nine and a half years, from Spring 1905 through Spring 1914, with James Garvie and then Leo McDonald briefly stepping in after Stauffer was fired in 1914. His students include some who are among the most important musicians to have attended Carlisle.

Claude Maxwell Stauffer (2 October 1874 - 1961) and his wife Maud (c. 1884/85 - 15 November 1984) are from the area. Born in Ringtown, Pa. and raised in Hazleton, he was in Harrisburg at the time of his hire, perhaps on account of Maud, who was living in Harrisburg at the time of their marriage in late 1904. (His wife's birth state, sometimes given as Pennsylvania, might be Ohio, and she dies in 1984 in Athens, Ohio.) He is from an old Schuylkill County family, with much genealogical history on the Internet. His parents are Franklin (28 January 1848 - 12 December 1931) and Mary Ann Barrow Stauffer (24 August 1851 - 19 February 1923), and he is the oldest of six siblings.

## BLOOMSBURG NORMAL SCHOOL

Stauffer attended Bloomsburg Normal School before attending Dickinson College (see below). He was a graduate of the BSNS Class of 1895. At that moment its emphasis was on secondary and college preparatory courses for special teachers, so he may well have received training/certification as a music teacher there, perhaps even some kind of teacher's degree (but they did not yet offer the BS in Education). He was a violinist in the Bloomsburg State Normal School orchestra in 1900 (see Eda Bessie Edwards, Profile of the Past, a living legacy: Bloomsburg State College, 1839-1979 [Bloomsburg: Bloomsburg State College Alumni Association, 1982] , p. 55). In the 1900 Census he is listed as living at home with his parents in Hazleton, age 25, and his profession is given as music teacher. Sounds as if he is probably teaching school in the area and continuing to play at Bloomsburg, which is west of Hazleton and north of Harrisburg.

## DICKINSON COLLEGE

His address also is given as Hazleton when he is initiated into Sigma Alpha Epsilon, Dickinson College Chapter, in January 1901, as a student in the Dickinson class of 1904 (Sixth General Catalogue of Sigma Alpha Epsilon (1904), p. 323). In the 1904 College Yearbook, however, in the list of fraternity members he is now under Class of 1905. In Who's Who in S. A. E. (1912) he identifies himself as Eminent Archon, i.e. a holder of the position of president of the fraternity chapter. He contributes a song to Songs of Sigma Alpha Epsilon (1921). In Who's Who in S. A. E. (1912), he identifies himself as "ed. Dickinson College, 1905."

Initiation in the Dickinson Chapter of the fraternity in 1901 may mean he was already there for the 1900-1901 school year. Other evidence points to his entering Dickinson College in the fall of 1902, but as a sophomore and a "special student." That would mean he had achieved official sophomore status (implying Class of 1905), but since he was a special student, it is conceivable that he had been attending previously for the two years 1900-1901 and 1901-1902. A special student was not full-time

matriculated, and he was in a sense pursuing continuing education. Possibly his eventual goal was, though, a bachelor's degree. If he started in 1900, that would make him class of 1904, explaining one inconsistency, but evidently there was some slippage. Membership in the Class of 1905 (rather than 1904 as above) is reinforced by entries in the Dickinson 1904 yearbook; also, he identifies Edward M. Biddle (Class of 1905) as a fellow classmate in a letter of February 20, 1928. Stauffer did not receive a degree from Dickinson College, but withdrew after 1903-1904 (acc. one alumni list, he "retired" in 1904, in the sense, presumably, of retiring from the field---"withdrawing").

While at Dickinson he not only through himself into fraternity life but also into dramatic and musical activities.

He was, acc. Who's Who in S. A. E. (1912):

vice-president, Comus Club

president, musical club

organist and director of music at College church (two years).

His entry in the 1904 yearbook (p. 71) reinforces this data and suggests that 1903-1904 is his third year, listing:

Vice-President, Comus Club (3)

President Musical Organizations (3)

Director of Glee and Mandolin Clubs (1, 2, 3)

Elsewhere in the 1904 yearbook (p. 205) he is identified as President and Director of the Dickinson College Combined Musical Clubs; he is also listed as a violinist in the Mandolin Club. A Carlisle School newspaper reference from the fall of 1904 (see below) says he was director of the Dickinson Glee Club last year.

On the side, he's already an impresario. The Harrisburg Patriot, June 12, 1903, reports on entertainment at Independence Island, with music furnished by Claude M. Stauffer's orchestra.

He buys his first Oldsmobile in 1904 and creates a sensation among the citizens of Carlisle.

He was at one time director of the Carlisle Conservatory Orchestra (skimpy Google Book hit).

## CARLISLE SCHOOL

1905-1914

1904: Stauffer joins the Carlisle School as music teacher in the fall of 1904, at age 30, and takes over the band as well in the spring of 1905. He teaches at the school for ten years.

1904: Stauffer marries Maud Augusta Heagy in the bride's house in Harrisburg on December 29, 1904. The Arrow I/21, Thursday, January 19, 1905, p. 3; Who's Who in S.A.E. (1912), 222.



For a full account of his ten years at Carlisle (nine directing the band), see the Carlisle band history in Project File 3: THE PRINCIPAL SCHOOLS AND THEIR BANDS. The band flourishes under Stauffer, and some of the school's most prominent musicians are trained under his eye.

## AFTER CARLISLE

### TRESSLER

1914: Leaving Carlisle, Stauffer went to the Tressler Orphans' Home, founded 1868 by the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, in Loysville, Perry County, Pa., near Harrisburg (basically due west of Harrisburg and due north of Carlisle). Given that it is a Luther Synod orphanage, and that he teaches young boys and girls, it sounds as if he is exonerated of any guilt over the scandal of the Carlisle paddling incident that led to his removal. He seems to have gone directly to Tressler, as suggested by his letter of Feb. 20, 1928.

He's reportedly training the band in the fall of 1915 and could have already been there in 1914-1915: Proceedings of the Ninety-First Annual Convention of the Synod of Western Pennsylvania of the Evangelical Lutheran Church . . . October 11 to 14, 1915, p. 67.

Dates of news articles about his garnering of gifts for buying instruments for the girls' orchestra in January 1917 suggest at least he's been there since 1916. See The Gettysburg Times, Wednesday, January 10, 1917, p. 3 and New Oxford Item (New Oxford, Pa.), Thursday, January 18, 1917, p. 4.

"A field representative and bandmaster has been secured in the person of Claude Maxwell Stauffer, who is giving his entire time to the training of the band and girls' orchestra" (Proceedings of the Ninety-Third Annual Convention of the Synod of Western Pennsylvania of the Evangelical Lutheran Church . . . October 15 to 18, 1917, pp. 64-65)

The 1920 census has him as an officer and the musical director of an orphan's home in Tyrone, PA (Tressler Orphans Home) with his wife and son as boarders there; Claude, jr is called 2+ years old, implying birth in 1917. He claims to have organized a Band of Boys there, but the institution's website says that this famous orphanage had already had a proud history of a boys' band from the early 1890s forward. Stauffer toured with it and brought in considerable income to the Home. Under Stauffer in 1917 it added a girl's orchestra [on-line institutional website, and refs. above]; he led it then in touring. (The boys band toured into the 1950s!) He's there at least to 1920 census. On a big 1920 boys band tour under Stauffer, see; Washington Post, Sunday, June 13, 1920, p. 19; describing a 10-day tour with 42 boys ages 9-14, "some of the youngest musicians in the US", visiting Washington, DC, Frederick, Baltimore, Wilmington. Either as part of the same tour, or a later one, see The Gettysburg Times, July 1, 1920, p. 1, about a concert by the band of 44 pieces under Stauffer at Biglersville as part of a two-week tour including Littlestown and Hanover next; the band raises money by donation for the orphanage; Harrisburg Patriot, August 4, 1920, "The Loysville Orphans' Home Band will give a concert . . . "

He and Maud have one child, Claude M. Jr., born in Bethlehem in early August 1917; birth announcement in Harrisburg Patriot, August 11, 1917: "Mr. and Mrs Claude Maxwell Stauffer, of Loysville, announce the birth of a son, Claude Maxwell, Jr.;" c. 1918 and 12 in the 1930 census; 1920 census says 1917.) Claude Jr and wife Dorothea are

living in the same house as his parents in 1940 US Census.

[NB: A different Claude M. Stauffer of Pennsylvania, son of Walter and Jennie, has census and WWII draft info saying he was born in 1914, and Social Security death index says his dates are 11 October 1914 to 5 August 2002.]

## HAZLETON

Then (after 1920?) he went back to Hazleton. "My next venture was in the Theatre business in Hazleton, which proved to be a very successful venture for me, both financially and otherwise" (letter of Feb. 20, 1928). He is remembered in the Hazleton Standard-Sentinel, Thursday, February 8, 1940, as a former resident and part-owner of Hazleton's Grand Theatre for some years.

## BETHLEHEM

He says that it is after selling out his interest in the theater (ca. 1924) that he applied for and was offered the position as director of the Bethlehem Steel Company Band in Bethlehem (founded in 1910, a huge 100- to 160-member band at its peak). He is given the job in March 1924 (see announcement in Reading Eagle, Wednesday, March 12, 1924, p. 18). The company dissolved its band in November 1924 (Lehigh University gets its instruments.) When the company discontinued its support, he kept the group together and established the City Band of Bethlehem. Newspaper references of the later 1920s place him in Bethlehem (as a citizen of West Bethlehem). In references of 1926 he is associated with the City Band. In Bethlehem, from Google hits, he was "secretary of the Bethlehem motor club and bandmaster of the city band" (1926); he was president of the Bethlehem Steel Soccer Booster Club (1926); he ran for political office in 1929. In 1927 his city and band are helping to honor E. F. Goldman of the Goldman Band (NY Times May 9, 1927); In 1928 he's still director of the City Band of Bethlehem, PA, head of the Bethlehem Motor Club, and a proud Oldsmobile owner since 1904 (see Spartanburg SC Herald-Journal, May 6, 1928, p. 5; LA Times, May 27, 1928, p. G4). The City Band of Bethlehem is the former Bethlehem Steel Company Band, and he is its director (1927). In the 1930 Census he lists himself as a music director. He is a possible candidate for local office in 1931 (Reading Eagle, May 11, 1931, p. 4). Still running the Bethlehem City Band in 1933 (Reading Eagle, June 13, 1933, p. 24 and August 21, 1933, p. 7). He was also Supervisor of the Junior High School of Bethlehem (letter of Feb. 20, 1928). He's a guest of Fred Cardin at a Cardin pageant in Reading in 1933.

In 1928, a nationwide Oldsmobile campaign features him buying the new Oldsmobile. [See the Chronicle-Telegram, (Elyria, OH), May 5, 1928, p. 10; the Modesto News Herald (Modesto, CA), May 6, 1928, p. 12; the Billings Gazette (Billings, Mont.), May 20, 1928, p. 20; Los Angeles Times, May 27, 1928, p. G4; Plain Dealer (OH), June 3, 1908; Google hits on PA Bulletin, Doc. Nos. 06-2356c and 07-318c concerning the estate of Claude M. Stauffer and the remediation of soils contaminated with gasoline under a former auto dealership suggest that if this is the same man, then he may have put money into a dealership, or perhaps turned to cars instead of or in addition to band work.

In the US 1940 Census he is an agent for a real estate corporation.

1952: In Billboard, March 1, 1952, p. 64, in his late 70s in Bethlehem, Stauffer puts in a small ad in this national periodical that offers for sale his violin and his military band library.

Given his college education and aspirations, ownership of automobiles, Bethlehem booster activities, political work, etc., I suspect he may have had some family money.

1961: died.

## GEORGE F. TYRRELL BIO

George F. Tyrrell (1862-1917) was the European-American bandmaster of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School band for three years, 1914-1917.

NAME: Tyrrell's name gets lots of variants. In military records, and otherwise, it is most often, George F. Tyrrell. The most frequent variant is Tyrell with one 'r'. With double rr is how it is spelled, for example, in Metronome 14/31 (March 1898), Washington Post, Carlisle student papers, US Army records.

FAMILY: Wife Alverta M. Tyrrell (born March 23, 1865, in Penn., married c. 1886, dies February 14, 1937) and son.

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George F. Tyrrell (1862 - 05/26/1917), was a very well-known Reading and Lebanon, PA. musician. He emigrated from England in 1885. Associated with Liberati and Sousa in single refs. In and out of National Guard bands, regular Army bands, community bands.

From the major obit in Carlisle Arrow, June 15, 1917, p. 4:

A native of England he was "born in an army post at Allshot," [US Army records give Aldershot, which is right] and "began a musical career very young, playing the cornet before Queen Victoria when he was six years of age. His musical education was received at Nella Hall in England, from which place he was graduated when about eighteen years old [c. 1880].

After coming to the United States, he located in Philadelphia, playing with the Municipal Band at President Cleveland's inauguration [1885]. Later he located in Lebanon, Pa., and held numerous positions there and in Reading, Pa., as soloist and director of various bands. He also held a position as band leader in the A. & M. College at Bryan, Texas, for a period of two years.

Mr. Tyrrell served for a number of years in the U. S. Army, and was connected with the Fourth and Ninth Infantry, the Forty-Eighth Separate Company, and the Eighteenth and Fifteenth Cavalry, as well as the Eighth Regiment Infantry, N. G. P. He saw service in Cuba and the Philippines.

In the fall of 1914 he accepted a position as band leader here at the school, and while here made many friends to mourn his sudden death."

The Native American 17/12 (June 10, 1916), p. 219 says Tyrrell "was previously a trumpeter in the British army, euphonium soloist for Sousa, and "Dean of Music" in the United States Army, including the 15th US Cavalry Band.

## LEBANON AND READING

Tyrrell is in Lebanon by 1886, when the Harrisburg Patriot, June 16, 1886, p. 1, refers to him as Prof. George F. Tyrrell, slide trombonist of Lebanon, Pa. He is in the Reading, Pa. city directory as a music teacher in 1889 and 1890.

In Reading Eagle, September 6, 1891, p. 2, he is chairman of a committee running a local band contest the previous Saturday, and that Saturday evening he conducted a concert by the 20-piece St. Lawrence band (from a town just east of Reading).

1892-1895: Tyrrell first enlisted in the US Army with the 9th Infantry Band (1892-95), and held the rank of sergeant, leaving as Sgt. But then back to Reading and Lebanon.

1895-1896, he is director of the band of the Forty-Eighth Separate Company, New York State National Guard, based in Oswego, NY. [Oswego Palladium cit.].

1896-97: Re-enrolls, in 4th Infantry Band, leaving as Princ. Music (Seattle Post-Intelligencer, February 3, 1897, p. 8). Then again back to Pennsylvania.

Back in Lebanon to led the Perseverance Brass Band and the 8th Regiment Band NGP.

1897-1898: Capt. George Tyrrell is commander of the Gobin Guard and has offered them to the state in case of war (Reading Eagle, March 27, 1898, p. 4:). NB: His march for this unit.

Reading Eagle, May 22, 1898, p. 6: Capt. George Tyrrell has organized a company of 65 men.

1898-1899: He then re-enlists. A third enlistment, with the 9th Infantry again, now as Chief Musician (1898-1899). According to the Lebanon News, Oct. 9, 1898, p. 2, this is in the US 9th Infantry. [NB the 9th Infantry fought in Cuba at San Juan Hill; the 9th Volunter Infantry formed from the Pennsylvania National Guard did not get to Cuba at all.]

In Reading Eagle, October 9, 1898, p. 2, he recently left his position as head of the Perseverance Band in Lebanon and enlisted in the 9th Infantry Band. (NB: The Perseverance Band is overseen by the Citizens' Band Association.)

1899-1902: He re-enlists for a full term as Chief Musician of the 10th Cavalry, for a short period, in Cuba upon the death of its previous Chief Musician [Washington Darrow, 1862-1898] due to Cuban fever. He is in the position by April 1899 (Houston Daily Post, April 30, 1899, p. 5). And then goes to the Philippines.

He was on the band roster as one of two "Chief Musicians" for the US Tenth Cavalry in the Spanish-American War. He is in 1900 Census with 10th Cavalry as Chief Musician in Manzanillo, Cuba. See also <http://www.spanamwar.com/10thcav.htm>

This is significant because the 10th Cavalry was an African-American unit and one of the original regiments of "Buffalo Soldiers". From 1898 to 1902 it fought in the Spanish-American War in Cuba and was then deployed to the Philippines.

[NB obit above says he saw service in Cuba and Philippines.

Cashin, Herschel V., Under Fire With the Tenth U.S. Cavalry (New York; Neely, 1899; Facs. repr./ New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969), p. 359: Chief Musician George F. Tyrell has been appointed to take charge of the band after the death of Chief Musician Washington Darrow of Cuban fever."

1902-1904: he is with Texas A&M Band for all or part of this time, presumably during the school year. Obit says two years, which could be 1902-1903 and 1903-1904. See entry for Tyrell as Bandmaster in The Long Horn (publ. Texas A&M, 1904).

Then in summers again back home in Reading/Lebanon, with the Eighth Regiment Band (Pennsylvania National Guard) of Lebanon.

In Reading Eagle, Tuesday, July 2, 1903, p. 2, the Eighth Regiment Band NGP led by George F. Tyrell goes to Gettysburg from Lebanon to assist in the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the battle. Affirmed in The Gettysburg Times, Tuesday, July 9, 1910, p. 1. they play at Reservoir Park for Labor Day 1903 (Harrisburg Patriot, September 5, 1903, p. 4).

He is with the Eighth for 1902-1903 and 1903-1904. In August 1904, he resigns and recommends Joseph Y. Strohman as his successor (Harrisburg Patriot, August 15, 1904, p. 3)); in December 1904, the band has a new leader, Harvey Brandt (Harrisburg Patriot, December 2, 1904, p. 5).

He re-entered service as Chief Musician of the 10th Cavalry in 1904 and renews in 1907; The Tenth cavalry band under Tyrell played at Fort Robinson, NE on July 5, 1906 (Omaha World Herald, July 6, 1906, p. 2). In Philippines from later 1906 [CHECK] to 1909. The 1907 re-hitch may have been the cause of black grumbling. He moves to the 15th after two years.

Coverage by The Freeman (Indianapolis) on account of leading a black band and the whole controversy, which begins at the time of his re-enlistment in 1907, about staffing blank army bands with black bandmasters.

Schubert, Frank N., On the Trail of the Buffalo Soldier (1995), p. 184: "Ira T. Bryant of Washington, DC, protests reenlistment of George F. Tyrell as chief musician, 10th Cavalry, on basis of "no competent colored man"; . . . decision to keep Tyrell "is discouraging to all colored army musicians." [1907? CHECK]

The Freeman, January 23, 1909, p. 1: "NEGRO BANDMASTER HAS BEEN TRANSFERRED/The War Department has announced that Chief Musician George F. Tyrell, of the band of the Tenth Cavalry, now stationed in the Philippines, has been transferred to the band of the Fifteenth Cavalry (white) and has been ordered with that organization to Fort Myer, Va., near this city. [This is part of a new move to put black bandmasters in charge of black bands, following an order of the President. Tyrell is the first to be transferred under the President's new order.]

President had made this order recently, on November 18. See NY Times, December 9, 1908, p. 5: "Negro Bandmaster for Negro Troops"; and see The Freeman, January 2, 1905, p. 6.

The Freeman, February 13, 1909, p. 1: Chief Musician Tyrrell will remain with the 10th Cavalry until it returns from the Philippines to Fort Ethan Allen, in VT, then join the 15th Cavalry in Fort Myer. (And then as per the President's order, the black band will get a black leader.)

He moved to the 15th Cavalry Band in 1909 as Chief Musician. Thus, to Washington DC area (Fort Myer, Va.) with 15th Cavalry Band from 1909-1912. He re-enlists with the 15th in 1910, but does not see that hitch to its end.

Lots of Washington Post and Washington Times announcements of concerts in 1909, 1910, 1911 with the 15th Cavalry Band.

He retires on account of disability in June 1912. The Virginia post is a big one; it puts him in front of one of the two most active military bands concertizing in DC and Virginia, the other of which is the President's Own. It is in the year 2010 the top US Army band position in military service.

Washington Post, June 7, 1909, p. 1: Tyrrell conducts 15th Cav band on June 6 in Arlington for ceremony honoring Confederate dead.

Washington Post, June 7, 1909, p. 12: Tyrrell conducts 15th Cav band on Smithsonian grounds.

In the Washington Times, Friday, August 13, 1909, he is in an announcement of a concert, where he is directing the 15th Cavalry Band at Fort Myer, Va.

In the Washington Times, Friday, May 27, 1910, he is in an announcement of a concert, where he is directing the 15th Cavalry Band at Fort Myer, Va.

He files for disability retirement on April 18, 1912.

Washington Post, June 11, 1912, p. 14:

"TYRRELL QUILTS U.S. BAND/ Leader of Fifteenth Cavalry Musicians Out of Army Because of Disability/

George F. Tyrrell, who saw service as an army musician in Cuba and the Philippines, and for three years was bandmaster of the Fifteenth Cavalry at Fort Myer, retired yesterday for disability. Arthur Whitcomb was selected as his successor.

Mr. Tyrrell was formerly with Liberati's Band, and was the last white army bandmaster to serve with a negro band. He also had served with the District National Guard."

Back to Reading/Lebanon area in later 1912. He gets his own band going again, and Carlisle students play with it on summer outing assignments.

In 1912-1913 he may have directed the Enola P.R.R. Y.M.C.A. Band; he is its director in May 1913.

In Reading Eagle, April 13, 1913, p. 6, he leads his Military Band to accompany some drill by Company H of the Fourth Regiment of the P. N. G.

Reading Eagle, August 24, 1914, p. 7: He's leading his Military Band in Sunday concerts in the park, probably with James Garvie as cornet soloist

He had connection in army with Eighteenth Cavalry [is this a mistake??]

Ninth Infantry [1890s]

Forty-Eighth Separate Company, NYS NG [1890s]

Fourth Infantry [1890s]

Tenth Cavalry [SA WAR, Philippines]

Eighth Regiment Infantry, N. G. P. [National Guard of Pennsylvania] [1903]

Tenth Cavalry [Philippines]

Fifteenth Cavalry [Fort Myer, VA]

also:

Ran Perseverance Band in Lebanon in 1890s

Runs Tyrrell's Military Band of Lebanon in retirement.

Enola P.R.R. Y.M.C.A. Band

Had James Garvie on summer outing.

Enola Band

Carlisle Town Band

## CARLISLE SCHOOL

1914-1917

1914: Tyrrell is bandmaster at Carlisle, through increasingly bad health, from 1914 to 1917.

1916: Tyrrell is suffering from pneumonia (The Native American (Phoenix) 17 (April 15, 1916), p. 149).

1917: Tyrrell, long known to be in ill health though just in his early 50s, takes a turn for the worse, resigns (by May 1917, according to Superintendent Francis in a letter of June 7, 1917) and suddenly dies on Saturday, May 26, 1917. Services on Monday the 28th in Carlisle. Burial on Tuesday, May 29, in Lebanon.

Wife Alverta applies for widow's benefit. Also, Congressional Record 81/4 (1926), R. 9790, "Granting an increase of pension to Alverta M. Tyrrell." Further, she is a roomer in Lebanon in 1930 Census. She dies in 1937 in Lebanon. In Lebanon Daily News, Friday, November 8, 1957, p. 9, a piece of property of the estate of Alverta M. Tyrrell, late of Cumberland County, is sold.

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COMPOSITIONS include:

Adjutant Trippe's March, by George F. Tyrrell (Philadelphia: Harry Coleman, n.d.)

Adjutant Pardee's March, by George F. Tyrrell (Nelson, 1897)

Army and Navy March, by George F. Tyrrell (Philadelphia: Harry Coleman, 1904)



F.O.E. March, by George F. Tyrrell (Glen Rock, PA: R. F. Seitz, n.d. [1900s])  
The Fighting 10th March, by George F. Tyrrell (Philadelphia: Harry Coleman, 1899)  
Gobin Guards March, by George F. Tyrrell (Philadelphia: Harry Coleman, 1898)  
Luneta March, by George F. Tyrrell (Philadelphia: Harry Coleman, 1908)  
McHenry March, by George F. Tyrrell (Philadelphia: Harry Coleman, 1901)  
Pride of the Regiment March, by George F. Tyrrell (Philadelphia: Harry Coleman, 1907)  
Sherman Young's March, by George F. Tyrrell (Philadelphia: Harry Coleman, 1898)  
The United States Forever March, by Geo. F. Tyrrell (Philadelphia: Harry Coleman, 1899)  
Winter's March, by Geo. F. Tyrrell, in arrangement for band (Philadelphia: Harry Coleman, 1902)

## ALFRED VENNE BIO

Alfred Michael Venne (August 24, 1879 – January 8, 1971) was a Native American (Chippewa) bandmaster at US government off-reservation intertribal boarding schools. In this context, he is associated as student and teacher with schools including Fort Totten, Carlisle, Chemawa, Chilocco, and Haskell.

The Venne brothers, Alfred and Peter, were a cornettist & clarinettist pair, like Dennison and James Riley Wheelock, and like the younger Bruce brothers, Robert and Frederick Bruce. Alfred Michael Venne (cornetist) was the older brother.

They are among the younger children of Michael (Michel) and Cecilia (Cecile) Venne. Michael (b. March 1848) is a French Canadian/Ojibwa tribal chief and farmer from Canada, and Cecilia (b. March 1853) is Chippewa, from North Dakota. The brothers are “Métis” or mixed race, not enrolled Chippewa. They either self-identify as Chippewa or as white. Newspapers, e.g., 1906, identify Alfred as Chippewa from North Dakota. The brothers identify as Native American (Chippewa) in their schooling and careers. Born in Neche, ND, their family home is just to the west, in Walhalla, Pembina County, North Dakota, just five miles south of the Canadian border.

## FORT TOTTEN

1892-1901

Alfred Venne was at the Fort Totten Indian School, ND, as a pupil for five years from 1892-1897, then as an employee there for four years, from 1897-1901, rising to be band master and disciplinarian. He is bandmaster by 1899 and probably from before then, as one reference says he is just 18, perhaps using 1881 as his birthdate (*Grand Forks Herald*, July 15, 1899, p. 3). Younger brother Peter Venne was a student at Fort Totten while his brother was bandmaster and undoubtedly played under his baton. Alfred is at Fort Totten as “assistant” (perhaps, assistant engineer) for \$240 in ARCIA 1900, p. 713; he is disciplinarian for \$600 in ARCIA 1901, p. 738. In one report, he is formerly of Neche, leads the celebrated band, and has learned shoemaking (Pembina, (ND), *Pioneer Express*, July 13, 1900, p. 4).

## CARLISLE

1901-1909

Venne then went back to school at Carlisle for three years, 1901-1904, graduating in 1904 but staying on to 1908 or 1909. His trade there was printer, like most of the bandsmen. A student leader at the school, he was active in the YMCA and one of the literary societies, went to Chautauqua and Lake Mohonk, and assisted in the gymnasium. He was a member of the band under James Riley Wheelock. (In parallel, his younger brother went to Haskell and played under Dennison Wheelock.) In the 1903-04 band, Venne was the solo cornet; he helped run the seniors’ band in 1904, and on occasion took charge of the school band in Wheelock’s absence. (RM&H 19/6 = IV/2, September 4, 1903, p. 3: Alfred Venne will take charge of the band until Mr. Wheelock returns; Venne has been at Chautauqua.)

Alfred Venne stays on as an employee at Carlisle as an instructor in calisthenics and secretary of the YMCA, physical director from 1904-1906, team manager and athletic coach, and disciplinarian from 1904 to early 1909. He becomes athletics manager in the fall of 1906 (Pittsburg Press, October 28, 1906, p. 22). He is celebrated as the man who found Jim Thorpe (Topeka State Journal, September 21, 1912, p. 13).

Venne marries Sara Williams (a Carlisle student, Class of 1905), in 1906, and their first children are born at Carlisle in 1907 (daughter) and 1908 (son). His wife, Sara Williams Venne, is Seneca, of the Allegheny and Cattaraugus reservation, and their children are enrolled as Seneca. Their children include Viola, Alfred, and Victoria.

See also [http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student\\_files/alfred-m-venne-student-information-card](http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/alfred-m-venne-student-information-card)

## CHEMAWA

It was announced in January 1908 that he would come out to Chemawa to be athletics director there, from February 1908 (Spokane Daily Chronicle, January 28, 1908, p. 6). He is definitely at Carlisle, however, through April 1908, and an article on his YMCA work makes it sound that he directly left from Carlisle to take up the Chilocco post (The Indian Craftsman, March 1909, p. 44). Perhaps he was at Chemawa in Fall 1909.

## CHILOCCO

1909-1912

After eight years at Carlisle as student and staff member, he moved in Feb/March 1909 to Chilocco for three years as disciplinarian, and served also as also band leader, athletic director, and general secretary of the YMCA for \$900 per annum (The Indian Craftsman, March 1909, p. 43; The Indian Craftsman, June 1909, p. 52; Topeka State Journal, September 21, 1912, p. 13). He accepts additional responsibilities as an assistant to Charles E. Dagenett (Peoria), the US Supervisor of Indian Employment, as the overseer of Indian employment in one of the districts (The Craftsman 2/8 (April 1910), p. 45).

## HASKELL

1912-1918, 1919-1920/21

After three years at Chilocco, he moved to Haskell for six years, from the fall of 1912 to 1918, where he was athletic director/physical director and manager of the football team as of September 30, 1912 and was also assistant secretary of the YMCA while there. It is now that he relinquishes bandmaster duties. (Did he still play his horn?) His coming means a revival of sports at Haskell (Topeka State Journal, September 21, 1912, p. 13). He sent his address back to Carlisle as "c/o Haskell Institute" in January 1913. He leaves the school in 1918 but returns for a year or two in 1919-1920/21.

There is a big article on Alfred Venne in The Haskell Leader, reprinted in The Carlisle Arrow IX/9 (November 1, 1912). He became coach of the Haskell football team in 1916 (Grand Forks (ND) Herald, August 30, 1916, p. 8). He tried to hire Gus Welch at Haskell for 1917-1918. In 1917, he eventually hires Antonio Lubo, because Venne does not want to both manage and coach the team (Trenton Evening Times, October 25, 1917, p. 13). (Lubo was a Carlisle student on the football team from fall 1903 through fall 1907; a Carlisle graduate in 1904, he was captain of the team in 1907.)

Venne resigns from Haskell at the end of the 1917-1918 academic year to work for the YMCA at Camp Travis, for more money. He's in San Antonio, TX in 1918 at the time of his WWI Draft Registration (and giving his birthdate as August 24, 1881), working for the YMCA as athletic director at Camp Travis; he is described as the former Haskell director, and in February 1919 he had been in YMCA service for ten months (Kansas City Star, February 12, 1919, p. 10). He coached a football team at the camp.

He is back at his old job at Haskell from later 1919 for at least 1919-1920 (Kansas City Star, December 9, 1919, p. 12; Kansas City Star, May 12, 1920, p. 1).

He is apparently visiting Lawrence in 1928 (Lawrence Journal-World, March 8, 1928, p. 2).

#### YMCA WORK

By the 1921 National YMCA Yearbook, he is in San Antonio as physical director at the Y. He may have taken on the job in 1920. He's a Southwest Conference official in San Antonio in 1923 (Dallas Morning News, October 18, 1923, p. 10), and officiating at a Rice-Texas game in Houston in 1924 (Dallas Morning News, November 1, 1924, p. 11). He's in physical education at Brackenridge High School in San Antonio, TX in 1926 (San Antonio Prensa, September 30, 1926, p. 8).

1920: He is in in Sedalia, Mo. in 1930 as athletics instructor at the YMCA. (His SS number was issued in Missouri.)

1946: He retired from the Kansas City Athletic Club in 1946. Then moved to Texas.

1953: Moved to California in 1953.

1971: Venne died in California in 1971 at the age of 91.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alfred\\_Michael\\_%22Chief%22\\_Venne](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alfred_Michael_%22Chief%22_Venne)  
(accessed 07/19/2017).

## PETER VENNE BIO

Peter A. Venne (November 18, 1881 – May 1, 1967) was a Native American bandmaster (Chippewa) at US government off-reservation intertribal boarding schools. In this context, he is associated as student and teacher with schools including Fort Totten, Grey Nuns, Haskell, Cheyenne River, Fort Mohave, Phoenix, Chilocco.

The Venne brothers, Alfred and Peter, were a cornettist & clarinettist pair, like the Dennison and Riley Wheelock, and like the younger Bruce brothers, Robert and Frederick Bruce. Peter A. Venne (clarinetist) was the younger of the two Venne brothers.

Alfred and Peter are among the younger children of Michael (Michel) and Cecilia (Cecile) Venne. Michael (b. March 1848) is a French Canadian/Ojibwa tribal chief and farmer from Canada, and Cecilia (b. March 1853) is Chippewa, from North Dakota. The brothers are “Métis” or mixed race, not enrolled Chippewa, and self-identify either as Chippewa or as white (e.g. in Census reports). Newspapers, e.g. 1906, identify Alfred as Chippewa from North Dakota. The brothers identify as Native American in their schooling and careers. Born in Neche, ND, their family home is just to the west, in Walhalla, Pembina County, North Dakota, just five miles south of the Canadian border. By another account, Peter Venne “was born in a French settlement near Mitchell, South Dakota, being French and one-fourth Chippewa Indian” (Phoenix Arizona Republican, September 13, 1918, p. 8), which does not line up with the reference to Neche, ND, as his birthplace.

## FORT TOTTEN

Peter Venne was at Fort Totten as a pupil in 1900, during the years when his older brother Alfred was employed there as bandmaster.

## GREY NUNS

Peter is an Assistant Industrial Teacher at Grey Nuns Boarding School in North Dakota in ARCIA 1900, p. 713, for \$240, beginning April 11, 1900. In all likelihood, he graduated from Fort Totten at age 18 (after 5 years, like his brother) and immediately took his first job in 1900-1901.

## HASKELL

Then back to school at age 20, in parallel with what his brother is doing. Peter Venne, Chippewa, graduates from the Haskell School in 1904. He was there for three years, 1901-1904, thus including the 1903 and 1904 band tours in the Haskell Band under Dennison Wheelock on E-flat clarinet and attended the world’s fair at St. Louis in 1904. (Brother Alfred was at Carlisle during the same years and played under Dennison’s brother James Riley Wheelock.)

## CHEYENNE RIVER

In 1904-1905 he goes to be disciplinarian at the Cheyenne River Agency school in SD for \$600, with start date in Oct 1904, acc. ARCIA 1905, p. 544. Meets Eva M. Dunham

there; she is a teacher with start date in April 1904 and salary also \$600, acc. ARCIA 1905, p. 544. She is an Illinois-born schoolteacher, who apparently went west for adventure in 1904. Eva transfers to Genoa to be assistant clerk at the Genoa Indian School in 1905. Venne resigns at Cheyenne River and marries Eva in Nance Co., NE on October 14, 1905.

## FORT MOHAVE

The couple both get jobs at Fort Mohave and travel there via Haskell. In 1905-1906, just for this year, he is disciplinarian at the Fort Mohave School in AZ. [He was probably also band leader at both Cheyenne River and Fort Mohave.]

## PHOENIX

1906-1918

1906: In the fall of 1906, Peter Venne moved to the Phoenix School and was band leader there for twelve years, until 1918. See The Indian Journal (Chilocco), November 1906, p. 66 for notice of his transfer; he earned \$720 at both Fort Mohave and Phoenix. He is called disciplinarian at Fort Mohave, becoming band instructor at Phoenix. Further, his wife Eva, a teacher at Fort Mohave for \$600, was going to be a teacher at Phoenix for \$660. See also The Native American [Phoenix School], Oct. 20, 1906, p. 287, and December 1, 1906, p. 333, the latter quoting from The Indian News (Genoa School).

He is also the football coach, at least in 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916; Coach Venne is named in The Native American (Phoenix School), 15/32, October 3, 1914, p. 440, and The Arizona Republican, November 24, 1915, p. 7, etc. He is called the director of athletics at the school (Arizona Republican, November 2, 1921, p. 8).

Venne and some of the band boys enroll in the Arizona National Guard to play in its band, to avoid problems with the local musicians' union, which is hostile to the number of gigs Venne is getting for the school band in the area (Troutman book, pp. 129-132).

He is in Phoenix at the time of his 1918 Draft Registration.,

For his resignation from the Indian School, see The Native American 19/20 (1918), "Peter A. Venne, one of our academic graduates, who has been director of the band at Phoenix Indian School, Arizona, for twelve years, has resigned . . ."

## PHOENIX HIGH SCHOOL AND CITY BAND

High school band from Fall 1918. New city band in 1918-1919 also.

Venne resigns from Indian Service to take the reins of the local public-school band, the Phoenix high school band, prompting a big biographical article in the local paper (Arizona Republican, September 13, 1918, p. 8). And the Arizona Republican (Phoenix), April 15, 1921, p. A1, has an article on a benefit concert of the Phoenix Union High band and says its conductor was "Mr. Venne," or "Peter A. Venne," "the most capable band leader in the state," who was trained by Dennison Wheelock and

played under him in the Haskell Band at Denver in 1903.

A full roster of the 1919 Phoenix City Band, which identifies the men's instruments and former organizations, identifies P. A. Venne as the Director of the band, a former performer in Wheelock's Indian Band, and bandmaster at the Indian school from 1906 to 1918 (Phoenix Arizona Republican, December 24, 1919, p. 11 [section 2, page 3]).

The US 1920 Census says he's a musician in a band, and wife Eva is a bookkeeper in a general store. The Arizona Republican, January 17, 1920, p. 7 also identifies him as Director of the City Band.

In 1921, he is leader of the high school and Capital City bands (Arizona Republican, October 13, 1921, p. 7).

1922: It is undetermined exactly when he left the public high school job. The Arizona Republican, October 7, 1922, p. 5, Arizona Republican, October 14, 1922, p. 5, and Arizona Republican, October 22, 1922, p. A2 have him still in Phoenix, umpiring local football games. Google News Archive names him with the band only through spring 1922 and umpiring in fall 1922.

His first wife, Eva M. Venne, is some three years older (white and born in Illinois in 1876). They are both in the 1920 census, with an adopted son, Fernando [Ferdinand] H. Rodrick (b.c. 1894; perhaps her son), and they are in the 1921 directory together, but they divorce soon after. He marries again in 1922, and the city directory of 1923 shows Peter and Eva at different addresses. In the 1930 US Census, Fernando is a married theatre orchestra musician in Phoenix.

Peter Venne marries Bernice Marie Brill (12/24/1891-7/1967) in 1922 in Los Angeles, CA.

1923: He is in Phoenix in the 1923 city directory. He remains active in Phoenix for all of 1923, leading an orchestra, etc.

## CHILOCCO

1924-1934

Back in Indian Service, Peter Venne is at Chilocco for about eleven school years. He came in January 1924 (see Lawrence, KS, The Indian Leader, January 25, 1924, p. 2), and his son Palmer was born there in January 1924. He was head of music at Chilocco in 1930 (Census); he was head of music there in 1934 (see the 1934 Chiloccoan, published by the Senior Class of 1934 at the Chilocco Indian Agricultural School, Chilocco, Oklahoma (1934), p. 66. This school is where his brother had been two decades before. He directs both the band and the orchestra.

An on-line hit to a "Chilocco, Today and Yesterday" site finds someone quoting notes about Chilocco by Eugene Venne, son of Peter. Eugene says he was born there in September 1928 and remembers only bits and pieces.

In the 1930 US Census, Peter Venne is married to Berniece M. Venne (white), with white

step-children and young natural children, noted as Indian in the census, of their own; he is head of music at Chilocco. Their sons are Palmer Allan (1924-1971) and Eugene E. (1928 - )

#### EUFALA, OKLAHOMA

1934: Eugene Venne reports that the family left Chilocco when he was turning six, in the late summer of 1934, and they went for two years to Eufaula, Oklahoma. That town lies between Muskogee and McAlaster, almost due south of Tulsa, about 150 miles south of Chilocco. Peter Venne was Eufaula's bandmaster (Indian Journal, September 17, 1936).

Peter Venne could well have retired during the 1930s. They evidently move to Indiana. His SS number was issued in Indiana, and his sons lived there.

He died in Florida in May 1967. His wife dies there in July of the same year (SS Death Index has "Bernice").

Their son, Palmer Allan Venne (January 17, 1924-February 22, 1971), enrolls in WWII at age 19 in 1943 from Indiana, and he dies in the same Florida location as his parents. [Eternal Rest Memory Park, Dunedin, Pinellas Co., Florida.]

#### Bibliography

See also Google book hit, Gail Morin, Métis families: Quinn to Zace (Quintin Publications, 2001).



## PAUL A. WALTER BIO

Paul A. Walter (February 5, 1871 - August 13, 1950) was a European-American bandmaster and administrator at Fort Shaw, Fort Lewis, Carlisle, Quapaw, Anadarko, Flandreau, Genoa, Carson School, Jicarilla School.

A naturalized citizen, Paul A. Walter was born in England of German emigrant parents; the family came to the US in 1880. His trade was tailoring.

## FORT SHAW and FORT LEWIS

Walter entered Indian Service in 1893, working as band leader and tailor at the Fort Shaw, Co. school for four years from 1893 to 1897 for \$800 annually, then at Fort Lewis similarly for three years from 1897 to 1900, for \$600. He married Josephine in 1898. The 1900 US Census finds them at Fort Lewis.

## CARLISLE

At Carlisle from 1900 to March 1902, Walter was the tailor, for \$720; his wife, Josephine R. Walter (Nov. 1873 – Jan. 1965; Kentucky), was also on staff as a teacher. In the summer of 1901 his wife travels to NYC with his sister, Miss Walter, and his mother (RM&H July 12); he visits them for a couple of weeks and then comes straight back (RM&H July 29; RM&H Aug 9); she arrives back after having visited the Buffalo fair. In the fall, he occasionally works with the band. Fleming Lavender of the Hampton School visits Mr. Walter; he was a band boy at Fort Lewis (RM&H October 4, 1901). Walter begins to suffer seriously from rheumatism, requiring bed rest (RM&H January 10, 1902). He then goes home to South Dakota, and shortly thereafter mails back a letter of resignation on account of his health (RM&H March 7, 1902; March 21, 1902). The Dakota air agrees with him, and his health begins to be better; he comments on the Flandreau commencement and the Wheelocks, who are in town; he is in business in Flandreau with his father in town (RM&H Friday June 27, 1902, p. 3; RM&H July 11, 1902, p. 3). He has to be hospitalized for his rheumatic trouble but gets out and is feeling better (RM&H September 19, 1902, p. 3).

Spring 1903---did he conduct at all at Flandreau that spring after Dennison Wheelock left?

## GENOA

In the fall of 1903, he takes over from Nels S. Nelson at the Genoa Indian Industrial School as tailor and band leader when Mr. Nelson is transferred to Chilocco. Walter is at Genoa for seven school years, from 1903 to 1910. He is a father now, and in the fall his wife and daughter, Frances E. Walter, stay behind at home in Flandreau when he makes the move; they join him at Genoa early in the new year (RM&H December 18, 1903, p. 3; RM&H January 8, 1904, p. 3).

He works at Genoa until the end of the spring term in 1910, when he leaves to pursue private business opportunities in Blair, NE. (He had been scouting businesses there to purchase.)

## LATER INDIAN SERVICE SCHOOL APPOINTMENTS

1911: Just a year later, Walter re-enters Indian Service. He is at the Carson Indian School, Nevada in June 1911 (see Wilson Lindsley Gill, A new citizenship: democracy systematized for moral & civic training (1913), p. 203). He is there for at least a year, 1911-1912.

1913: He is principal, and his wife is a teacher, at the Jicarilla Apache Indian school in Dulce, NM by the fall of 1913 (The Indian School Journal---About Indians [Chilocco School], 1913, p. 374 and hits on genealogybank.com), and must have been there from 1913 or before to 1919 or later (he is in US Government Congressional serial set for 1919 as principal, alongside his wife in list of staff there in expenditures for Indian Schools).

1920: He is in Wyandotte, OK with wife and daughter as principal of the Quapaw Indian School there in the 1920 US Census; his wife is a teacher there.

1925: In the Shawnee, OK, City Directory for 1925, he is a school inspector for the Shawnee Indian Agency.

In the 1930 US Census he is in East McKinley, OK at a day school; he's in gov't service and his wife is in Indian Service. This is a township (now inactive) right next to Anadarko in Caddo County.

He is Anadarko, OK in 1932. Other hits also suggest that he is at the Anadarko Indian School. (Obituaries in 1950 are printed in Anadarko Daily News and Anadarko Tribune.)

1940: He's at Shawnee, Pottawatomie, Okla. in the 1940 US Census.

1950: He dies in Pottawatomie in 1950.  
(His wife is at first Josephine and much later, Joan, so Josephine may have died, unless Joe/Joan is her nickname.)

## DENNISON M. WHEELOCK BIO

Dennison Wheelock, Oneida (1871-1927), was the single greatest Native American musician in the Indian Service. As student and teacher, performer and composer, he is associated with Carlisle, Flandreau, and Haskell.

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1871, in June: born 14 June on the family farm on the Oneida reservation in Brown County, whose county seat is nearby in Green Bay, WI; son of James A. Wheelock (1837-1905), an Oneida Methodist Episcopal minister and tribal elder, and Sophia Doxtator Wheelock (1842/1845? to 1896?); his parents were born on the Oneida reservation in NY.

NAME: His personal name is a family name going back to the European-American Wheelocks in New England; very occasionally it is Denison with one "n" but overwhelmingly it appears with "nn."  
He prefers never to use his middle initial, and it turns up extremely rarely, as W or more often as M: there are at least three Indian Helper references to Dennison M. Wheelock, and the article in The Dominant is signed DMW, so "M" has the edge.

His Indian name is given as "Ka-Ha-Li-Unt" (Carnegie Hall Program, March 28; Boston, Mass., Boston Herald, March 29, 1900, p. 3).

## CARLISLE

1885-1890: he began with the standard five years at the Carlisle School; his trade there was printer.

1885, in September: He arrived at Carlisle School 09/30/1885 at age 14 with 72 months (6 years) prior schooling at the reservation government school, the Methodist Episcopal Mission School; not a boarding school---he lived at home; NARA record has him entering Carlisle in the 3rd grade and discharged in 9th grade; his trade or industry was printer; at Carlisle he was an outstanding student; a champion debater; he sang tenor in the choir; and played cornet (Hauptman, p. 123)

1887, in November: He wrote a prize-winning student paper, published as "The Prize Paper," "Is It Right for the Government to Stop the Teaching of Indian Languages in Reservation Schools?" that was printed in The Indian Helper III/15, Friday, November 18, 1887, p. 1

Rose to be major of the student battalion. As the (student) major he was in charge of the student battalion of 5 companies.

Active in The Invincible Society.

OIA Annual Report for 1890, p. 361, lists him as a Carlisle employee, an assistant printer, at a salary of \$60, with commencement of service on July 1, 1889, ending June 30, 1890.

1890, in May: graduated from Carlisle in spring, completing one standard 5-year term in June, at age 19 (incl. NYT ref. on May 15, 1890 to him at commencement); departs on 7/29/1890;

For Dennison Wheelock, "The Dawes Severalty Law" (his graduation essay, printed amongst those by fellow graduates) see Red Man X/4, May, 1890, p. 6-7.

1890-91: He returns "to Oneida to teach and serve as a justice of the peace" (Hauptman, p. 123) for less than a year (Stevens has him appointed as bandmaster upon graduation, which is not quite right); on going home to the reservation now, see also Hauptman, p. 54.

OIA 1891, p. 742 confirms that he's at the Green Bay Agency, Oneida Day School, with a contract for \$400 for 10/1/90-6/30/91. [And OIA ARCIA Annual Report for 1891, Part II, pp. 50-51, does NOT list Wheelock as a Carlisle employee]

1891 Makes a speech at the Lake Mohonk conference of Friends of the Indian (Hauptman, pp. 121-22 and n. 26)

1891-1892: Wheelock returns to Carlisle in summer 1891 (Hauptman, p. 50), probably with younger brother James along; The Indian Helper 6/44 (Friday, July 10, 1891, p. 3) says Dennison returns to Carlisle from Oneida, Wisc., he's an "old pupil," and "Dennison returns to prepare for college", i.e., this means schooling at Dickinson; "Dennison Wheelock has been appointed band-master for our school," Indian Helper VI/17, Friday, July 17, 1891, p. 3; Red Man XI/1, July, 1891, p. 5 says: "Dennison Wheelock, class '90, who returned with Mr. Campbell, has been appointed bandmaster . . . . Dennison is a fine performer on the cornet and we have no doubt that the band will make encouraging progress under his instruction"; back in Pennsylvania also for one full year at Dickinson Preparatory School (Hauptman, pp. 50, 123), or Dickinson College (Red Man 1912 art) in classical curriculum (both refs., plus Bell); in Red Man XI/2, August 1891, p. 5: "Dennison Wheelock . . . will enter Dickinson preparatory School, this month."; also employed at Carlisle (see below), and re-enrolled concurrently at Carlisle from 7/8/91 to 7/6/92 [NARA], when he leaves to be a full-time employee---an assistant clerk (financial clerk) and Pratt's personal assistant, in effect [Hauptmann]; that makes Dennison a student on and off for six years overall, from 1885-1892

OIA ARCIA Annual Report for 1892, p. 865 has him employed at Carlisle as one of four assistant disciplinarians this year, from 11/1/91 to 6/30/1892; thus the starting date of Nov. 1891 in Indian Service at Carlisle is reliable, although some later records have it as Nov. 1890, perhaps counting the teaching year in Green Bay. a record card in his Carlisle file says he was an employee from July 8, 1891 through a discharge date of July 6, 1892.

Note that he is NOT bandmaster in OIA Annual Report, and Phil Norman is still on the books in that position in 1891-92.

In addition to the above, The Indian Helper VII/7, Friday, Oct. 23, 1891, p. 2 indicates that he is already running the band, with James on clarinet:

The Carlisle Indian School Band stands thus with Dennison Wheelock as leader:

1. James Wheelock, Eb Clarinet;
2. Thomas Suckley, 1st Bb Clarinet;
3. Hiram Bailey, 2nd Bb Clarinet;
4. Andrew Young, Piccolo;
5. Edwin Schanadore, Solo Cornet;
6. Dennison Wheelock, Solo Cornet;
7. Peter Cornelius, 1st Bb Cornet;
8. Harvey Warner, 1st Bb Cornet;
9. William Beaulieu, 2nd Bb Cornet;
10. Harry Kohpey, 2nd Bb Cornet;
11. Joseph Morrison, 3rd Bb Cornet;
12. David Abraham, Solo Eb Alto;
13. Thomas Metoxen, 1st Eb Alto;
14. Joseph Martinez, 2nd Eb Alto;
15. Mallpass Cloud, 1st Tenor;
16. Paul Lovejoy, 2nd Tenor;
17. William Baird, Euphonium;
18. Reuben Wolf, 1st Eb Tuba;
19. Hugh E. James, 2nd Eb, Tuba;
20. Jos. B. Harris, Snare Drum;
21. Jamison Schanadore, Bass Drum;
22. Joseph Hamilton, Cymbals;
23. Benjamin Harrison, Drum-Major.

The members of the Band are from nine different tribes.

A similar roster is in Red Man XI/3, October and November, 1891, p. 8: The school band has been strengthened by the addition of several new players and is now made up as follows: . . . [names]. . . And Dennison Wheelock is the leader.

Red Man XI/5, May, 1892, p. 8: the band of 28 under Dennison Wheelock is creating quite a stir

When he took over marks the rapid elevation of the band from march and drill to a concert organization, I think.

Played at June 2 dedication of the High Water Mark Monument at Gettysburg; see The Indian Helper VII/38, Friday, June 3, 1892, p. 2: "On invitation, the band went to Gettysburg yesterday to attend the dedication of the high water mark tablet", and p. 3: Capt. and Mrs. Pratt and about 20 boys also attended; The Indian Helper VII/39, Friday, June 10, 1892, p. 3, quoting the Carlisle Herald of June 3, says the band furnished excellent music and delighted the large crowds. Gettysburg Compiler, Tuesday, June 7, 1892, p. 3: the Carlisle Indian School Band played at last Thursday, June 2, dedication at Gettysburg [national dedication ceremony for the "High Water Mark Monument"]; in the line of march, Sousa and his US Marine Band were immediately followed by the Carlisle School Band

1892-1893

Fall 1892 sees big promotion; OIA Annual Report for 1893, p. 563, puts him 5th from the top on the employee list, calls him "Clerk and Bandmaster," at a salary of \$1000, with original appointment on Nov. 1, 1891 and present appointment from July 1, 1893 (sic?). Note that he is "Clerk", not merely "assistant clerk".

OIA Annual Report for 1894, p. 515. Ditto.

OIA Annual Report for 1895, p. 512. Ditto.

OIA Annual Report for 1896, p. 576. Ditto.

OIA Annual Report for 1897, p. 536. Starting in 1896-1897, Wheelock is identified as "Assistant Clerk," and not Bandmaster, with the same high placement and the same \$1000 salary, but with an original appointment date of April 1, 1893; must still be doing the band, though;

OIA Annual Report for 1898, p. 633. ditto. James turns up for the first time, as Band manager, for \$250; he is employed from July 1, 1897.

OIA Annual Report for 1899, p. 621-22. Ditto, but with an appointment date now of October 1, 1890 (the Green Bay job). Further, James is listed as band manager and assistant printer, with a raise to \$490; that is already the fourth highest salary among native employees; his original appointment is given as July 1, 1897.

1892-1893

From this year forward, he is on the rolls at Carlisle as an assistant clerk, so he had other responsibilities, as well as being bandmaster, who is not a regular music faculty member (who would direct the choir and/or teach music classes, mainly; they have a separate listing in the employee records of OIA); acc. Hauptman he then becomes bandmaster and then Professor of Music;

NB: except for when Montezuma is listed as physician, Wheelock's is the highest native salary and position on the list.

the band has been described as having developed into an ensemble of 70 players representing 48 different tribes, but in the touring of 1893 and 1894 it is an ensemble of 30, so the big boastful description must be from time of preparations for Paris, and even then is too big. Pratt account and quoted newspapers in OIA report for 1892-1893 concerning NYC and Chicago parades in October 1892 give 30 members.

1892-1900 he directed the band there for 8 years (NARA and OIA Annual Reports); whatever his status in 1891, his official span is 1892-1900. Thus he directs the band for nine years but is director of the band for eight years

---Troutman thesis cites 8 years;

---Martin (1913) says "after his graduation he was engaged as the leader of the Carlisle Indian School Band, to which he gave his entire attention for seven or eight years. He spent ten years in the government employ as a financial clerk of the school."

---one NARA document indicates he was in Indian Service for 10 years, which must be Green Bay plus Carlisle, or Carlisle plus Flandreau and Haskell (?), and not all as bandmaster;

as employee of Indian Service, the date is 1890, so ten years takes him to 1900

Dennison says he held his post for eight years, and Martin (1913) says 7 or 8 years, and that would be 1892-1900 officially in the post (NARA and Bell thesis, p. 373).

1892-1893

1892 Around the time of Columbus Day and in celebration of the Quadricennial the Carlisle band played at fall parades in NYC (Oct. 10, 1892)---on the same day as the Silas Pratt cantata at Carnegie Hall in the evening---and Chicago (Oct. 20, 1892); Red Man XI/9, November and December, 1892, p. 1: story on NYC and Chicago parades, plus pp. 2-4; clippings from newspapers

1893-1894

1893 a year later in the fall, Carlisle students attend Chicago World's Fair, including Wheelock with band of 65, over the week of Oct. 1-7, 1893; they spent about four days at the fair itself, with the band concertizing daily on a bandstand and also playing for the daily parade and drill by the other students. Pratt (p. 37; Troutman, p. 166) says they played all of the bandstands and the band and choir gave a concert in Festival Hall. See also Indian Helper IX/3, Friday, October 13, 1893, "Carlisle Indian Students at the World's Fair."

Probably not long after the fair, in 1894 (WHEN?---CHECK date in The Dominant; this needs to be found!) D. M. W., who is surely Dennison Wheelock, writes the article on the history of the Carlisle band for The Dominant that is later reprinted in Red Man XIII/7, February, 1896, p. 6, with band photo. Possibly the original Dominant article is meant to forecast the spring 1894 trip? See below.

BIG TOUR OF SPRING 1894

1894 in spring Captain Pratt took 70 students---the Wheelock-led band of 30 pieces and a choir of 40, for a week on an extensive regional tour (Monday, April 9 - Monday, April 16) with 7 concerts, including a first stop in Washington, DC  
Students arose at 4:00 am Monday, boarded their train at 6:00, reached Washington at noon; visited the President at White House at his usual 1:00 pm reception; after being received by President Cleveland in the East Room of the White House, they toured the White House and visited the Treasury, the Capitol, and the Interior Department; their concert was Monday, April 9 at 8:00 at Metzert Music Hall on Pennsylvania Ave.; stayed at the Ebbitt House near the White House; influential endorsements and patronesses; "the first exhibition ever given in this city by the pupils of that school";  
Tuesday: then leave on Monday (sic?---better, Tuesday) for concerts in Baltimore, arriving at noon and staying at Eutaw House, played that afternoon at Harris's Academy of Music and repeated the program at night at the Y.M.C.A. Hall;  
Wednesday: Wilmington, at the Grand Opera House;  
Thursday: Philadelphia, playing at the Academy of Music;  
Friday: New York (stayed at Ashland House; arrived on Friday the 13th, and saw the Statue of Liberty and Governors Island, where they gave a concert; concert Saturday evening, April 14 at Lenox Lyceum; spent the day Sunday sightseeing in Manhattan from the Bowery to Central Park), then Sunday evening the 15th in Brooklyn at the

Plymouth Church (Dr. Lyman Abbott; once had been the pulpit of Henry Ward Beecher); and onto a train on Pennsylvania RR for return home and got back on Monday the 16th; early news says they were going to Boston but that did not happen; among other works they played two, the Carlisle Indian School march and an American Medley, by Wheelock;  
see NY Times, Saturday, April 7, 1894, p. 1; Washington Post, Tuesday, April 10, 1894, p. 6; NY Times, Saturday, April 14, p. 9; big NY Times feature and review of Saturday, April 14 concert on Sunday, April 15, 1894, p. 9; NY Times, Monday, April 16, p. 7; Indian Helper IX/29, Friday, April 13, 1894, p. 000, "The Concert Tour"; Indian Helper IX/30, Friday, April 20, 1894, p. 000, "Return of the Band and Choir and Observations On the Way by One of the Party"; Robert McFadden in The Congregationalist, Thursday, May 3, 1894, p. 18; Red Man XII/5, March/April/May 1894, p. 3-6, "The Band and Choir Make a Little Tour," with long quotes from local papers; Bazar, Vanderbilt Honors thesis, pp. 51-55

Washington program (Wash Post):

Gloria, from Twelfth Mass [Mozart], choir and Band  
Bass solo, "The Pilot," Elmer Simon  
Overture, "Caliph of Bagdad [Boieldieu]," band  
Trio, "Morning Invitation," Julia Dorris, Rosalie Doctor and Linnie Thompson  
Minuet, band  
Chorus, "Joy, Joy, Freedom Today," choir  
"Our Victorious Banner," choir and band  
Solo, Julia Dorris  
Selection from "Tannhauser [Wagner]," band  
Contralto solo, "Ben Bolt," Linnie Thompson  
"Historical Recollections of the War," band  
Chorus, "March of the Men of Harlech," choir  
"Hail Columbia"

NY program similar (NYT), incl. Mozart and Wagner and two Wheelock numbers, "The Carlisle School March" and an "American Medley" [Hauptman, p. 125, quoting NYT]

1894-1895

1894 at the end of the year Wheelock married Carlisle student and Chippewa native of Minnesota Louise (or less often, Louisa) La Chapelle (October 27, 1875 - January 16, 1931) on Dec. 24 in Carlisle (though Bell thesis, p. 373 says Christmas day, as does Hauptman, p. 126). A small wedding announcement goes out on the national news wires (is this Pratt's doing?).

NARA documents and Landis website list of Chippewa students all give the spelling Louise, and their daughter is Louise. Children:

- (a) son Edmund Richard Wheelock (12/5/1896 - 10/15/1929), born at Carlisle in 1896; he's an enrolled Chippewa
- (b) They lose an infant son, Paul (1899-1900), at Carlisle in May 1900



(c) son Leland (1902-1903): The couple come to Haskell in late fall 1902 with two children, Edmund and an infant son, Leland, but lose Leland at Haskell in early 1903

(d) Daughter Louise (1903-1938) is the youngest child, born in 1903 at Haskell in Lawrence, Ks.

1895-1896:

The Indian Helper XI/17, Friday, January 31, 1896, p. 2: mentions two compositions by Dennison, his March, Class '96 and his Indian School March.

The Indian Helper XI/19, Friday, February 14, 1896, p. 2: mentions that the Carlisle Indian School March by Dennison Wheelock is for sale in a piano arrangement; this information is also in The Red Man XIII/7, February 1896, p. 8

The band held a concert and then a later social in town (Carlisle) in January to raise money to cover some debt; they successfully brought in about \$100; see The Red Man XIII/7, February, 1896, p. 8

Red Man XIII/10, May and June 1896, p. 2: Dennison writes on "The Indian as Musician"

1896-1897:

1896, in October: Premiere of Wheelock composition "From Savagery **to** Civilization" or "From Savagery **into** Civilization"; played Tuesday, October 6, 1896 at Carlisle on the occasion of the celebration of the 17th anniversary of the birth of the school (The Indian Helper XII/1, Friday, October 9, 1896, p. 2; see also Troutman thesis, p. 238; Virtually identical quote in Troutman book, p. 186, is cited by him in reference to American Volunteer (Carlisle, Pa.), October 1896, in CCHS clipping file; Hauptman, citing school paper, p. 126). From The Indian Helper: "Dennison Wheelock with his cornet band then brought out a new and entirely original composition, "From Savagery to Civilization," in which the sounds produced led up from the wild tom tom, through curious and intricate twists and turns to the sweet and classic strains of civilized horns. It was very appropriate for the occasion and was highly appreciated by the audience."

The Indian Helper XII/2, Friday, October 16, 1896, p. 2, reports that the work was played again on Thursday the 8th.

Does the title include the word "to" or "into"? Mostly it is reported as "to." In Carlisle, The Red Man X/12 (June 1891), p. 2, there is a headline to an article that reads "Raised From Savagery to Civilization"; however, in The Indian Helper, 13/20 (March 4, 1898), p. 1 the expression "Out of Savagery into Civilization and Citizenship" is used. The phrase with either "in" or "into" is very much a cliché.

The band---a travelling ensemble of 25 pieces--- plays it again on December 19, 1896 in Chicago on a concert after a football game against Wisconsin, according to a program published the day before (The Chicago Record, December 18, 1896, p. 6). There it is identified as:

From Savagery Into Civilization, Wheelock

a. Introduction

- b. Indian Dance
- c. "Auld Lang Syne"

That the dance is the second movement explains the reviewer's comment from October (see above). In all probability, the first and second movements here become the finale of Suite Aboriginal (see below).

This composition reportedly was played a few years later on the 1900 spring tour (The Red Man 16/1 (April 1900), p. 8; Katanski, p. 91, citing NY World, as quoted in the April 1900 The Red Man); The Music Trade Review in early 1900 also reports that on the pre-Paris tour: "One of the features during the forthcoming tours will be Mr. Wheelock's own composition, "From Savagery to Civilization," which opens with the sound of the tom-tom and the war-whoops of the savage, but, by gradual progress, evolving the results of civilization and education, till the music grows to the best classic gems, the ideal music of the future." For its anticipated performance in Paris, see also F. S. Livingston, "The New American," Metropolitan Magazine, 11 (0000) pp. 660-000 at p. 664.

1896, in December: the band plays west of the Alleghenies for the first time as Wheelock and the band of 25 members accompany the football team to Chicago to play against Wisconsin on Saturday, December 19; they leave Carlisle late on Wednesday, December 16, and they will play Saturday night by electric light. (Chicago Tribune, Tuesday, December 15, 1896, pp. 5, 8; Boston Herald, December 17, 1896, p. 8; The Indian Helper XII/11, Friday, December 18, 1896, p. 3; Chicago Daily Inter-Ocean, December 19, 1896, p. 5)

The Chicago Daily Inter-Ocean gives a full roster for not only the football team but also the band. The 23 bandmembers are:

Dennison Wheelock, bandmaster

George Wolfe  
Joseph Adams  
Josiah Archiquette  
James Arquette  
Frank Cajune  
Joseph Craig  
Robert Depoe  
W. Gansworth  
Benjamin Hardison  
Abram Isaacs  
Mathew Johnson  
Corbett Lawyer  
Harry Lamison  
Thomas Marshall  
Louis McDonald  
George Northrop  
Casper Peters  
Wilbur Peters  
Harrison Printup

Levi St. Cyr  
John Webster  
James R. Wheelock

The Indian Helper XII/13, Friday, January 8, 1897, p. 2: the band plays "behind the scenes" for a McKinley parade in NYC but did not march.

1897, in March: The Carlisle band played at the inauguration of President McKinley in March. By most accounts this is its first appearance at an inauguration; on Carlisle students and band at McKinley inauguration in 1897, see The Indian Helper, XII/21, Friday, March 5, 1897, p. 4, "The Indian School Battalion Off for Washington," and see also The Indian Helper, XII/23, Friday, March 19, 1897.

The Indian Helper XII/21, Friday, March 5, 1897, p. 4, quotes from the Washington Star of February 17, anticipating the band's trip to Washington for the inauguration: they will leave for DC at 3:00 am on March 4, arriving at 7:00 am, departing again at 7:00 pm (plus more information)

The Indian Helper XII/24, Friday, March 26, 1897, p. 3: Father Ganns helps a student move on to more music education.

The Indian Helper XII/24, Friday, March 26, 1897, p. 3: Wheelock brothers play together on a Sunday service, including a "very pretty march" by Dennison

1897-1898

The Indian Helper XII/49, Friday, September 17, 1897, p. 2: he is Critic of The Invincible Society; his younger brother James is Assistant Critic

Red Man XIV/7, November and December, 1897, p. 4: "No feature of our school is more popular than the band" of 33 pieces.

End of 1897: Wheelock speech at football banquet on campus in YMCA Hall at end of season: "Should Football be Abolished?" published in Red Man XIV/8, January 1898, pp. 5-6. (He sees football as a form of resistance; argues against abolishing it.)

SUMMER 1898 TRAVEL

Summer 1898: Wheelock makes early summer 1898 national tour---June and July---of 17 Indian schools to recruit for an all-star military band that was intended to play at the Paris Exposition of 1900; was this also an audition tour for Wheelock himself? (Troutman, p. 166; p. 280-81)

Indian Helper XIII/34, Friday, June 10, 1898, p. 2; "Mr. Dennison Wheelock, director of our band, has gone on an extended tour throughout the West, on the search for good Indian horn-blowers. He will visit only the Indian schools which have bands, among others Haskell, Kan., Genoa, Nebr., Phoenix, Ariz., Perris, Calif., Chemawa, Oregon, Puyallup, Washington, Grand Junction, Colorado, Wittenberg, Wisconsin, etc. His mission is to get up a band for the Paris Exposition in 1900. He is acting under the authority of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and will confer with the

Superintendents of the various schools in arranging for the transfer of musicians to our school, where they will receive special drill and be under the immediate supervision of Mr. Wheelock";  
ditto, p. 3: he left on Wednesday, i.e., Wednesday the 7th.

"Mr. Wheelock on the Move," Indian Helper XIII/36, Friday, June 24, 1898, p. 1; From Carlisle, visited 17 schools in loop west through NE, KS, OK, CO, and down to NM, AZ, CA, NV, ID, OR, WA, then east again to MT, ND, SD, and WI; probably home to Green Bay via Wittenberg, WI. He's been to Genoa, and then he was at Haskell on Sunday, June 12th and Monday the 13th, leaving Monday evening. He was in Chilocco on Tuesday the 14th, and then to the Arapahoe School and Cheyenne, OK on Wednesday the 15th. Grand Junction, Col. to follow on Saturday the 18th.

Genoa, NE  
Haskell, KS  
Chilocco, OK  
Cheyenne, OK  
Grand Junction, CO  
Ft. Lewis, CO  
Albuquerque, NM  
Phoenix, AZ  
Perris, CA  
Carson City, Nev  
Ft. Hall, Idaho  
Chemawa, OR  
Puyallup, WA  
Ft. Shaw, MT  
Ft. Totten, ND  
Flandreau, SD  
Wittenberg, WI

Indian Helper 13/37, Friday, July 1, 1898, p. 1, another letter from Wheelock

Indian Helper 13/38, Friday, July 8, 1898, p. 1 another letter reports he went from Fort Lewis to Santa Fe, NM School and then to Albuquerque

LA Times, July 7, 1898, p. 7 reports that "D. Wheelock, a full-blooded Oneida Indian, paid the Phoenix School a brief visit this week. He is engaged in organizing . . . "

Indian Helper 13/41, Friday, July 29, 1898, p. 2: he returned Wednesday [i.e., July 27] from his trip, after stopping off to see his wife and baby Edmond who were staying at the White Earth Agency.

Martin (1913) says that while on staff at Carlisle as a financial clerk "he travelled throughout the United States, gathering pupils and visiting the different Indian reservations for the benefit of the school"

Troutman thesis, p. 166, quotes the art. "Pennsylvania," in The Dominant 6/6 (1898), 7-8: "the government will send a band of Indian musicians to the Paris Exposition of 1900. Professor Dennison Wheelock, musical director at the Carlisle School, has

been touring the Indian Agencies in California, Colorado, Dakota, and other States, endeavoring to secure the best Indian musical talent to augment the band to a membership of sixty. So far he has engaged thirty-eight new members, and the enlarged band will be equipped with new instruments of a superior tone and finish."

Concerning those instruments, The Indian Helper XIII/44, Friday, August 19, 1898, p. 3:  
"Director Wheelock is getting everything in good readiness to begin practicing in good earnest as soon as the new instruments come, which are expected daily. There are instruments coming which were never before seen by many at the school."

And Dennison remembers the new instruments many years later, in a letter to Pratt from Green Bay, Dated August 11, 1922:

"There is nothing very pretentious in connection with my musical education, all of which was obtained at Carlisle. Of course my first teacher, as you know, was Mr. Norman, who was the band master in 1885. Afterwards I studied under Father Ganss, the Catholic Priest whom you will remember was a fine pianist and composer of music. Father Ganss was my instructor during the time that we organized the band to go to the Paris Exposition. You may not recollect that the instrumentation of that band was similar to that of Gilmore's Band and in order to instruct the players in the proper use of the new instruments added, I actually learned to play every instrument in the band from piccolo to bass drum."

NB: James also studied music with Ganss.

1898-1899

Dennison conducted the Carlisle band in a concert in December 1898 (Indian Helper XIV/10, December 23, 1898, p. 2) Son Edmund seems to be around Carlisle in 1898-1899 [Indian Helper 4/1/1898; Indian Helper 12/23/1898; Indian Helper 6/30/1899]; James conducts orchestra. Report of his return to Carlisle after a weekend in Washington DC, as an alumnus, for March 1899 graduation (Indian Helper, Friday, March 10, 1899, p. 2); in May 1899, he speaks of being at Carlisle for 14 years, indicating uninterrupted time there from 1885 (Indian Helper, May 26, 1899)

Summer 1899 Wheelock stays at Carlisle, drilling the band for the following year's planned European tour.

The Indian Helper XIV/39, Friday, July 21, 1899, p.4:

"THE BAND. -----The great United States Indian Band composed of members from several of the Indian training schools of the country is, from all reports, doing excellent work under the able leadership of Prof. Dennison Wheelock, at Carlisle. The band now numbers over sixty pieces and we hope will even excel Sousa's and Gilmore's bands when they meet across the Atlantic. All the schools feel they have some claim on this band, and will be proud to hear of its achievements at the Paris Exposition. -[Chemawa American, Oregon.]"

On that sixty-piece band there is information from the Reading Eagle, June 29, 1899, p. 6: the band played at the commencement exercises of Keystone Normal School

(Kutztown, PA); the article gives the full instrumentation of the 60-piece ensemble, playing their new Conn silver instruments.

Buffalo, NY, Buffalo Sunday News, April 8, 1900, p. 15, itemizes 59 instruments

14 Bb clarinets  
2 piccolos  
3 flutes  
2 oboes"  
1 cor anglaise  
2 petit clarinets  
1 alto clarinet  
2 bass clarinets  
4 bassoons  
3 saxophones  
2 sarrusophones  
4 French horns  
2 cornets  
4 trumpets  
2 flugel horns  
3 trombones  
2 euphoniums  
2 tubas  
2 basses  
drum  
tympani  
etc.

A later addition to the band, or a late announcement of an earlier addition, is Robert De Poe of the Indian School at Chemawa (Salem, OR, The Daily Journal, March 3, 1900, p. 5).

1899-1900

in December 1899 the Indian Helper News (Dec. 1, 1899, p. 4) mentions director Wheelock in an article "Band Scored a Success." The spring tour references indicate one band with amplification by all-stars---called Carlisle band;

"It has recently been augmented by the addition of a number of soloists from the various Indian schools" (Public Opinion, Thursday, March 29, 1900, p. 408).

Does the band go to away football games? Mostly no. Did it play in Phoenix at the Phoenix-Carlisle game on New Year's Day? No.

1900, in January: The band was photographed by Choate in January 1900; see The Indian Helper, Friday, January 19, 1900, p. 3 "the band was photographed this week by Mr. Choate." The image of this band is in Wittmer, p. 41 (where it is identified as courtesy of the "CCHS, J. N. Choate"). It is very large and has all the unusual instruments of a "Gilmore Band." This portrait of the band has 51 musicians, plus Wheelock (digital image available on-line shows date of 1902 added in pencil, but it must be the band of 1900, since Wheelock conducts and James is first chair first clarinet, i.e., concertmaster). The numbers of visible images of instruments

corresponds to the list above. On tour, the band is alternately described as of 50, 54, 55, 57 or 60 members (most often, "60"), drawn from 23 schools. The Indian Helper 15/22 (March 30, 1900), p. 1, speaks of "53 members of the band." No membership list has yet come to light.

## SUITE ABORIGINAL

1900 Wheelock's Suite Aboriginal (or incorrectly, but frequently found in contemporary newspapers and modern secondary literature, Aboriginal Suite); composed for full orchestra, and published in reduced orchestral version; no reported surviving score or parts for a version for wind band without strings; instrumentation of 1900 All-Star band is very rich and undoubtedly drawn upon in the version of this piece that they played on tour (and later, e.g., under Dennison Wheelock in 1904)

"one movement . . . includes an adaptation of a native melody (Washington, DC, Evening Star, March 16, 1900, p. 8)

Carnegie Hall performance is not a premiere (contradicting Hauptman and etc.). It turns up for the first time in a September 1899 concert at Carlisle, with Part I only (see below). Possibly it represents the fruits of his study with Pastor Ganss. Moreover, before the Carnegie Hall performance it was played at prior engagements in March on the Spring 1900 tour. From the newspapers, it sounds as if often only the outer two movements were played, and sometimes only one.

The suite was played by Denison Wheelock with the Haskell band in 1904, J. R. Wheelock's professional band in 1908 and etc. into the later 1930s, at least.

A useful website is

<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/publications/suite-aboriginal-dennison-wheelock>

At this site are the Coleman orchestral parts, provided by the Fennell Music Library at Interlochen Center for the Arts, including violin, viola, cello, bass, and piano.

MVT I is Morning on the Plains;

arr. Edward Beyer, Philadelphia: Harry Coleman, 1900 in Marquette University library

in an arrangement for 15-piece orchestra, NY: Carl Fischer, 1922; this version in UCLA archives

(in some spring 1900 accounts the title is "Morning on the Mountains"; a much later mention calls it "Dance to the Sun God")

Mvt II is The Lover's Song

Mvt. III is The Dance of the Red Men; originally for full orchestra but also in 12-piece version for reduced orchestra, arr. Edward Beyer (Philadelphia: Harry Coleman, 1900); this is the only item in WorldCat; a copy of the parts is at Hennepin County Library; calls for violin I & II, viola, cello, bass; flute, clarinet; cornet I & II, trombone, drums; cues suggest also bassoon, clarinet II, oboe, 2 horns were part of unreduced scoring

elsewhere sometimes "Dance of the Red Man," or "Festival and Dance of the Red Man"; one movement is "Festival and Dance of the Red Man" according to Katanski

(p. 91), citing Red Man, April 1900, "Press Comments on the Band" (which would have referred to the band during its East coast trip). Katanski cites from Red Man that it is "in some passages, very Indian in character, especially in the "Dance." Indeed, newspaper hits in 1900 and 1904 sometimes call this movement "Fetival and Dance of the Red Man/Men"

Coleman published parts at Interlochen definitely read "The (*sic*) Dance of the Red Men (*sic*)"

The highest likelihood is that this final movement derives from the first two movements of Wheelock's 1896 From Savagery to Civilization ("Introduction" and "Indian Dance").

A 1915 program of an orchestral performance (Colorado Springs Gazette, January 24, 1915, p. 7) indicates the subdivision of movement 3 into three sections:

- a. Announcement
- b. Preparation
- c. Dance

described as " the weird and fantastic dance of the Red Men" (Trenton, NJ, Trenton Evening Times, July 29, 1923, p. 19)

Library of Marshall's Civic Band, Topeka, KS has a copy of the parts arr. Edward Beyer (Philadelphia: Harry Coleman, 1900)

Fennell Music Library at Interlochen has a copy of the parts arr. Edward Beyer (Philadelphia: Harry Coleman, 1900)

ditto but mvt. 1 only in the sheet music collection of Marquette University

ditto but mvt. 1 only in the UCLA silent film music collection from the Capitol Theatre (NYC) dated 1922

Julian Harris Salomon, The Book of Indian Crafts and Indian Lore (NY: Harper, 1928; repr. NY: Evanston, Harper and Row, 1973; NY: Dover, 2000) lists it on p. 330 as being published by Carl Fischer (and also lists works for band by Bellstedt, Busch, Frieman, Herbert, Lake, Skilton, Sousa, Troyer); this sounds like it was lifted from The Etude, October 1919.

A printed synopsis is included with the piece:

No. 1. Morning on the Plains. Nature is never so enchanting as upon a beautiful, quiet and cloudless morning on the plains of the West. Here and there, in the vale or on the banks of many a silvery stream, can be seen the curling smoke issuing from the wigwams of the early risers in the Indian villages, while beyond the far-distant hills King Sol is slowly lifting his head, as if to spy the doings of nature upon such a magnificent and resplendent dawn of light. Presently an Indian song is heard upon the air, a troubled heart is in the camp; but Nature responds with a soothing cadence, and as the dawn of light breaks forth in all its glory there is gladness and joy everywhere.

No. 2. The Lover's Song.



Many an early morn has witnessed an Indian singing his love song upon on or another of the hills usually surrounding an Indian village, with a fitting accompaniment in the heart-throbs of the maidenly object of his adoration, still under the vigilant charge of her grandmother in one of the wigwams of the camp. It is easy to imagine the varying responses in her feelings as the melody flows on, now on a flight of ecstasy and expectation, now thoughtfully peering into the future, and all in turn overthrown by doubt, but still happy.

No. 3. The Dance of the Red Men.

The camp-crier announces a great dance; there is a flurry of excitement. The Red Men, however, quickly relapse into their wonted stoic indifference, and the preparations are dignified. Aside from the young men dashing hither and thither on their ponies, with a surprise now and then to enhance their sport, there is nothing to indicate the coming of an unusual happening. The dance begins, and the participants appear in their most gorgeous apparel. The dance is animated, but withal dignified. Laughter is now and then provoked by the singers suddenly stopping, thus throwing the dancers in apparent discomfiture.

Indian Helper, 14/45, Friday, September 1, 1899, p. 2:

The Band will give the following program tomorrow (Saturday) evening on the public square in town:

1. March, Salute to Burlington - Sherman;
2. Overture, Semiramide - Rossini;
3. Selection, Chimes of Normandy - Coon;
4. Aria from Lucia di Lamermoor - Donizetti;
5. March, Our President - Reeves;
6. On the plantation - Ch. Perner;
7. Selection, Cavalleria Rusticana - Mascagni;
8. March, Stars and Stripes Forever - Sousa;
9. Suite, Aboriginal, Part I - Wheelock;
10. Dragoons Call - R. Filenberg;
11. La Traviata - Verdi;
12. Patriotic Selections

NB: A year later, in San Francisco, Cal., The San Francisco Call, March 17, 1901, p. 23, the program for the Park Band concert this afternoon includes Wheelock's Suite aboriginal, identified as in five movements:

- a. "Morning on the Plains"
- b. "Indian Song"
- c. "Lovers' Song"
- d. "Dance of the Red Men"
- e. "Preparation Dance"

In a 1907 program (Three Oaks, MI, The Acorn, 16/45 (October 4, 1907), p. 1), the three movements are given as:

- a. "Morning on the Plains"

- b. "Sioux Love Song"
- c. "War Song and Dance"

In a review in New York, NY, The World, March 29, 1900, p. 3, it is said that Wheelock "mixes the war whoops and the monotonous chants of his redskinned kindred with harmonies that smack of Grieg and Tschaikowsky."

Another review of the Carnegie Hall concert, in Saginaw, MI, Saginaw Evening News, April 7, 1900, p. 3), says that the "'Festival and Dance of the Red Men' is bristling with weird motives and rhythms"

1899-1900

Wheelock, not yet 30 years old, is identified in spring 1900 in an article by Jessie Cook, a boarding-school educator, as one of a select group of "representative Indians"; Cook's article includes comments on Colonel Ely Parker, Charles Alexander Eastman, Carlos Montezuma, Francis La Flesche, Zitkala-Sa [Gertrude Simmons], William Pollock, Dennison Wheelock; photos of Dennison Wheelock, Zitkala-Sa, Rose Bornassa, Isabella Cornelius, Angel De Cora, Charles Eastman, and Honoré Jaxon. See Katanski, esp. pp. 37-38, drawing on Jessie W. Cook, "The Representative Indian," The Outlook 65/1 (May 5, 1900), pp. 80-83; repr. Red Man and Helper (June 1900), p. 3.

To the end of the spring academic year Wheelock is still at Carlisle, employed as bandmaster (Bell, p. 108) and at Carlisle in 1900 US Census.

In the spring he rehearsed the all-star band, which beginning Friday March 16 went on what was supposed to be a 10-week tour of US (into mid to late May, i.e. May 24), to be followed by a short vacation at Carlisle (end of May), and then by a ten weeks' tour of Europe (June and July) closing at the Paris Exposition (in what would be early August); NYT March 18, 1900, p. 20

The band was expected to vacation briefly at Carlisle into early June and then embark on a 10-week tour of Europe including an engagement at the Paris Exposition where they would be stationed at the American building (Washington Post, March 17, 1900) and serve as an example of the educational system of the government Indian schools (NYT, March 25, 1900, p. 18); "to show the difference between educated Indians and those who have been seen in Europe with the various Wild West shows" (Chicago Tribune, April 1, 1900, p. 51); note: "The government recently ruled against the appearance of the reservation Indians in any shows, but decided that anything like concerts tending to show their educational development could be permitted to any extent" (ibid.)

Official tour by approval of the Interior Department. Another source says they intend to leave in early May for Europe (LA Times, Sunday, March 18, 1900). By other reports, their departure was scheduled for July 11 (e.g., McConnellsburg, Pa., Fulton County News, March 15, 1900, p. 6).

US tour is intended to be of the East Coast and Mid-West with violin soloist and

reciter/orator, the Yankton Sioux Gertrude Simmons (Zitkala-Sa, 1876-1938), who had taught at Carlisle for 18 months (Fall-Spring 1897-1898 and Fall 1898) and knew the Wheelock brothers then and also later in SAI; described by the papers as under constant rehearsal for over a year (see 1899), the band was a group of 55 youths (57 in Washington Post, Saturday, March 17, 1900) plus Wheelock, Zitkala-Sa [who used this name as a performer on this tour], and some chaperones, including a Mrs. Cook for Gertrude and Carlos Montezuma as doctor; the Glee Club was also along on the US tour; musical soloists besides Zitkala-Sa (violinist who also did recitations) were John Warren, Chippewa, bass, James Flannery, Alaska, cornet, Robert Bruce, Sioux, euphonium, and James Wheelock, Oneida, clarinet.

The band is equipped with C. G. Conn's "Wonder" instruments.

They began by playing in Washington at the International Longfellow Society meeting (the [Longfellow] Memorial Association), on Friday the 16th (Washington Post, Saturday, March 17, 1900, p. 7 says they were at the Longfellow meeting in the afternoon and at the National Rifles' Armory in the evening); Zitkala-Sa orates and meets the poet's daughter; they played at the White House for President and wife on Saturday, March 17; Zitkala-Sa orates and gets flowers from the President's wife; They headed home for a short break (The Indian Helper XV/21, Friday, March 23, 1900, p. 2 indicates that the band had just held a social, being their last week before the trip), and then out again on Friday, March 23rd to Philadelphia where they played on Friday and again twice, apparently, on Saturday the 24th at Witherspoon Hall, then Sunday and Monday in Trenton (the 25th and 26th, with a Monday matinee), Monday evening the 26th in Bristol, Tuesday the 27th again in Trenton, Princeton University, Newark, NYC at Carnegie Hall on Wednesday, March 28, Newark on Thursday the 29th, the Brooklyn Academy on Friday the 30th, [plus possibly in Yonkers while in NYC area], in Boston in the week of April 2-6 at the Keith's Theatre there, the back to NYC at Keith's Theatre there for the week of April 8-15 or so; they were back in Carlisle by Sunday, April 15; the Indian Helper XV/25, Friday, April 20, 1900, p. 2 announces "Dr. Montezuma, who accompanied the Band on its recent tour, has returned to his practice in Chicago," and "The Band arrived from Boston and New York on Sunday morning. The boys report large and appreciative audiences and a good time generally. Mr. Dennison Wheelock was entertained by a Musicians' Club in Boston and received many compliments upon his original work."

The Red Man XVI/1, April 1900, p. 8 quote in "Press Comments on the Band" that in Brooklyn, Zitkala-Sa was to play a violin solo, but a Hiawatha reading, "The Famine", was substituted.

The tour was once going to be national, and Chicago is mentioned, but no trace in Chicago Tribune and no mention in Carlisle papers.

The Indian Helper, writing of "Our Band on the Road" on April 20, 1900, speaks of leaving last Friday morning and giving a first concert in Philadelphia, [SEE ABOVE] so this is possibly a second swing out onto the road; Trenton and Philadelphia papers are quoted

Indian Helper XV/22, Friday, March 30, 1900, pp. 1, 4:

## OUR BAND ON THE ROAD

Indian Helper XV/24, Friday, April 13, 1900, pp. 1, 4:

SNAP SHOTS FROM THE BAND ON THE ROAD

Indian Helper XV/25, Friday, April 20, 1900, pp. 1, 4:

SNAP SHOTS FROM THE BAND ON THE ROAD

lengthy articles of quotations from the press

The Red Man XVI/1, April 1900, p. 8:

"Press Comments on the Band"

The Red Man XVI/1, May 1900, p. 7:

"Comments on the Band"

April 1900 issue of Red Man has "Press Comments on the Band"; Katanski (p. 90) cites one of these, from the New York World: "An interesting proof of the plane of development to which the American Indian is capable of being elevated is afforded by the Carlisle Indian Band. Little of the primitive influence of the monotonous beat of the tom-tom or the clash of the rattle, which are the main stays of the instrumental recitals that accompany Indian religious rites or merrymaking, can be detected in the performance of the musicians." Another item in April mentions that the band played "From Savagery To Civilization"; the Brooklyn Times mentions just two numbers of Suite Aboriginal, namely "Morning in the Mountains" and "Festival and Dance of the Red Men"

In the end, the US tour lost rather than made money (Pratt-Montezuma and Pratt-Zitkala-Sa correspondence), so the band could not and did not go on to the Paris Exposition. Troutman also reports that the death of an infant Wheelock child could have played a role, and Hauptman concurs. Dominguez, in Zit-kala Sa intro, pp. xiii-xiv, writes: "Tragically, during the tour Wheelock's baby died and, contrary to press reports at the time, the upcoming performance at the Paris Exposition in June was cancelled two weeks before the trip." This is presumably Paul, born ca. July 1899. But the tour closes up in April, and Paul dies in May, around May 15, with funeral on May 16. The child's death played a role not in the status of the tour---which seems a question of finances---but possibly played a part in Wheelock's decision to leave Carlisle.

Headline: "PARIS TRIP ABANDONED" (Carlisle Evening Herald, May 12, 1900, p. 4).

The Garde Republicaine Band played Wheelocks's Aboriginal Suite (later clipping cited by Hauptman); see also McAnally, p. 3 and fn 9.

Montezuma had returned to his practice in Chicago before April 20 (see above) Pratt wrote Z-S on April 16 and April 19 to say that there are no further opportunities

Washington Post, Saturday, March 17, 1900, p. 7, review of Friday evening mentions:

violin solo, "Vision de Jeanne d'Arc" by Zitkala Sa [this is Charles Gounod: Méditation "Vision de Jeanne d'Arc"]; encore: a fantastic aria a bit of aboriginal music written by Dennison Wheelock

the Glee Club sang Werner's "Two Roses"  
double-belled euphonium solo, "Inflammatus," Rossini, by Robert Bruce (Sioux),  
with encore the "Holy City"  
The Star Spangled Banner

Carnegie Hall Digital Archive provides a complete copy of the marchn 28 concert program. The individual names of the band members are not provided. In The Metronome 16/4, April, 1900, p. 15 there is a review of the concert of the United States Indian Band under Dennison Wheelock at Carnegie Hall in NYC on Wednesday March 28, 1900 ("one of a series . . . prior to its departure for Paris, where it will demonstrate a new development in Indian civilization").

The full program is as follows:

1. Overture, "Jubel," Weber, concluding with the National Anthem  
[NB: that is, "My Country 'Tis of Thee]
2. Idyll, "Gypsy," Le Thiere
3. Song, "The Jolly Blacksmith's Lay," Geibel  
Glee Club
4. "Suite Aboriginal," Wheelock
  - (a) Morning on the Plains
  - (b) Festival and Dance of the Red Men
5. Selections from "Faust," Gounod  
with solos for cornet, Flannery (Alaskan) and euphonium, Bruce (Sioux)
6. Burlesque, "The Arkansas Traveler," Reeves  
A dispute in the band room, in which the different instruments make wry faces at each other.
7. Grand Scene from "The Huguenots," Meyerbeer
8. Euphonium solo, "Inflammatus," Rossini  
Bruce (Sioux)
9. Patriotic Anthem, "Star-Spangled Banner," Key  
[NB: it is not yet the National Anthem]

The mix of serious and light is absolutely typical, and there was probably an intermission between items 4 and 5. There is no mention anywhere of Zitkala-Sa. The NYT Sunday, March 25, 1900, p. 9 display ad says this is a repetition of the concert for McKinley at the White House.

The band played engagements in the Carlisle vicinity in late May.

Indian Helper XV/33, Friday, June 15, 1900, p. 3: "The band has given up its trip to Paris and has disbanded. Many of the boys have gone to their homes in the west and some to the schools whence they came. Storekeeper Kensler has taken charge of the instruments and there will be no band music for some time."

Indian Helper XV/35, Friday, June 29, 1900, p. 2: "Director of the Band, Dennison Wheelock and family have left us. Mr. Wheelock has gone to seek other fields of usefulness, and with his family will remain awhile at Mrs. Wheelock's former home, Leech Lake, Minnesota. It is with profound regret that their many friends at Carlisle see them go. Mr. Wheelock has been with us from a mere boy, and the loss of the Band as he led it will be seriously felt." Etc.

Indian Helper XV/36, Friday, July 6, 1900, p. 2: friends and co-workers made the Wheelocks a gift of silver spoons, forks, and knives; p. 3 quotes the Carlisle Evening Sentinel to the effect that Wheelock is resigning to take a few months' vacation and will leave next Thursday [apparently July 5]. He ran the band for eight years, from 1892, and had joined the band and played cornet from 1885. "Mr. Wheelock is undecided as to what he will follow in the future, but his musical ability will enable him to get a position without any difficulty . . . Mr. Wheelock has become very popular in the community and his many friends and admirers regret to hear of his leaving and predict a prosperous career for him."

[NB: Bell says he spends time at Haskell, where his second child, Paul, was born in 1899; Paul dies at Carlisle in 1900, so I think she's confusing Paul with Leland. Hauptman has it that he resigns his Carlisle post after death of Paul ca. May 1, 1900 (Hauptman, p. 127)

NB: Both Wheelocks end up leaving the Carlisle nest at around age 30.

1900-1901

After tour collapse, Dennison Wheelock leaves Carlisle and Indian Service; ARCIA report of 1901 for 1900-1901 has no mention of him. This might make his ten years as a financial clerk from 1891 to 1900. Hauptman is right about clerking from mid-1892, and by counting calendar years, not academic seasons, then he is clerk for the ten years from from 1891 to 1900.

Hauptman has him leaving in 1900 after death of child and cancellation of overseas tour; he takes up work as a newspaper man in Green Bay (p. 127); this new profession is on the national news wires as a novelty and filler (not unlike his wedding; who is pushing him? is it Pratt?), confirmed by lots of hits including Columbus (Ga.) Daily Enquirer, October 30, 1900; Columbus (Ga.) Daily Enquirer, November 11, 1900; Springfield, Mass. Republican, November 5, 1900, p. 5, etc.: "Dennison Wheelock, a full-blooded Oneida Indian, has joined the staff of a Green Bay (Wisc.) paper as a reporter. He is a graduate of Carlisle Indian School."

Red Man and Helper I/14, Friday, October 12, 1900, p. 3: Dennison is living with his family in a nice house in DePere.

Duluth News Tribune, October 16, 1900, p. 3 reports that he is making campaign speeches in Brown county "under the auspices of the county Republican committee" so he's plunging into local affairs immediately.

1900, in December: In late fall 1900, writing from West DePere on December 19, 1900, in a letter to Pratt, he "explained that he had to leave Carlisle to move on to conduct a professional Indian Band. Wheelock's American Indian Concert Band would convey the idea that 'Indians can now be competitors with the greatest.'" Cit. Pfister, p. 122 and p. 297, n. 134), from letter of Wheelock to Pratt, December 19, 1900.

The letterhead with "American Indian Concert Band" is from this letter. Wheelock is planning to go pro, rehearse in NYC, etc.

**contents:** \*writes of late arrival of “long lost letter” and a previous wire from Wheelock to Pratt regarding a Pan-American contract (“Carlisle will desire greater credit and less worry if I take Pan-American contract. My manager writes I can get it if you decline. Six thousand etc.”)

\*discusses an idea to present a musically accomplished Indian band at the Exposition, recruitment of musicians, rehearsals, uniforms

\*mentions that having a good band at the Exposition will give credit to Carlisle

\*requests a “declination” to Mr. Buchanan and a recommendation for the \$6000 contract

So it would appear that Wheelock has the ambition to build a band and take it to Buffalo. He wants Carlisle to decline. Carlisle would still get lots of credit but less worry. NB: in December Ettinger was probably not yet on board.

1901, in February: DW reads a paper at the state convention of the Wisconsin Epworth League (a Methodist young adult association) in Marinette (Daily Northwestern (Oshkosh), February 23, 1901, p. 1)

1901 in July: just in time, Wheelock turns up again and is assistant bandmaster under J. B. [Joel Berenice] Ettinger, who had taken over the Carlisle Band in January 1901; a four-week stint at Buffalo's Pan-American Exposition from 29 July to 25 August 1901 by the Carlisle Band of about 45 boys (program says 40 but photo shows more) representing 25 tribes

1901-1902

## FLANDREAU SCHOOL

After Buffalo gig, Dennison Wheelock goes back into Indian Service and out to the Flandreau School for one year or a year and one term, from Fall/Winter 1901 to December 1902 (his own statement in NARA records says one year, without a date) as disciplinarian, and conductor of the band and chorus; NB as disciplinarian but not specifically as bandmaster in OIA report 1902, p. 696; Leland was born early in time at Flandreau [Jan 28, 1901], and Louise is pregnant again by early July

Time at Flandreau supported by the Rm = Red Man and Helper XVII/50 = II/46, Friday, June 27, 1902, p. 3 [also ref. in Troutman p. 281]:

### **Echoes from Flandreau, S.D.**

Mr. Beitzel, who recently visited the Indian School at Flandreau, South Dakota, met Mr. Dennison Wheelock there. His many friends who remember him first as a student and afterward clerk and bandmaster here, will be pleased to learn that he is doing good work as disciplinarian, bandmaster and instructor of the choir at the Flandreau School. He, Mrs. Wheelock, Master Edmund and baby Leland are all in excellent health.

Mr. Paul A. Walter, who resigned his position here as tailor a few months ago on account of ill health, is engaged in the merchant tailoring business with his father in the town of Flandreau and is much improved in health. He and the Wheelock family joined Superintendent Peirce in sending most cordial greetings to their many friends at the Carlisle School.

Note the multiple jobs to make one salary. Could it be that when he left Flandreau, Walter stepped in for the spring?

Littlefield and Parins give 1902 [NB: BIA 1899 (for 1898-1899), p. 429 says that Flandreau has no disciplinarian]

This move can be best read as a first step beyond Carlisle, back on government payroll, in an effort to restart a professional career in the Indian Service, but outside the Carlisle orbit and closer to home, albeit for less money [!]

## HASKELL SCHOOL

Basically two calendar years at the Haskell School in Lawrence, KS, from late 1902/January 1903 to December 1904. About Wheelock's career at Flandreau and Haskell: not only are these schools with band traditions, but they are schools that a significant number of Wisconsin Oneida attend. See Hauptman, pp. 35, 43, 68.

The Indian Leader, Nov. 21, 1902, p. 3 announces that Miss Robbins resigns effective Nov. 30 after 8 years of being in charge of vocal and instrumental music, to study voice in NYC (that's 1894-1895 to 1901-1902); Stella Robbins (1874-1965) returns after a year, in 1903-1904; The Indian Leader, May 18, 1906, reports that the "Haskell



March" composed by Miss Stella Robbins, Haskell's well-known music teacher, has been published in Lawrence; she is there into the 1930s.

The Indian Leader VI/39, December 19, 1902, p. 2 "Mr. Dennison Wheelock Has Been Transferred"; announces that Dennison Wheelock transferred from Flandreau to be assistant disciplinarian (which OIA confirms) and band/ orchestra/ mandolin club person; comes with wife and two kids; and The Indian Leader of Jan. 30, 1903 reports the death of an infant son, Leland, in Lawrence. ARCIA 1903, p. 564, gives his salary as \$720

Littlefield and Parins give 1903 and surely mean 1902-1903; if the Haskell band was ready to tour in the summer of 1903 (see below), he is probably auditioning IT for the St. Louis gig (against Genoa?!); undated small clipping from local KS paper about wife Louise in NARA visiting Lawrence, KS says he was "bandmaster here for several years"; there is a Schwartz and Schwartz reference to the fact that he was at Haskell in charge of music "for a couple of years" before St. Louis 1904 [suppl. p. 36]; RM = Red Man and Helper XIX/8 = IV/4, Friday, September 18, 1903, p. 2 identifies Wheelock as Band Master; his own statement in NARA records, however, says one year. Hauptman thinks that he was appointed in 1903 (Hauptman, p. 128). When Bell writes about a loss of an infant, this must be Leland in Jan 1903, not Paul. Newspaper clipping from Lawrence dated August 25, 1903 [Hauptman, p. 134, n. 11] suggests he has been there a year already.

Band organized soon after founding of school in 1884, in its third year, 1886-87 (Granzer, thesis, p. 44). It had helped represent the school at Chicago in 1893, so already a presence. BIA ref. 1899 says a good organization.

Haskell bandsmen are at least a part of his all-star band that toured in the summer of 1905 including Willow Grove Park. Nelson took over Haskell band (not the pro outfit) from 1917 to 1923. He toured with them in 1919 and the late 1920s.

Haskell Band, whipped into shape by Wheelock in one year, and amplified with ringers, no doubt, tours in the summer of 1903 in July and August; 30 or 40 piece band for six weeks, essentially static engagement in Colorado at Denver and Pueblo, incl. 3 weeks in Denver (Metronome, March, 1904 art.; NU Granzer thesis, p. 87; Conn's Truth clipping from vol. 5, no. 7 (Nov. 1903); Google archiv hit; McAnally, p. 4); Red Man and Helper III/52, August 21, 1903, p. 3 mentions Wheelock and Haskell band having successful season in Colorado and other Western states; also toured the country, acc. S&S suppl. p. 36 but this is an overstatement.

The 1904 pamphlet discussed below has extensive quotes from

Denver Times  
Denver News  
Pueblo Times  
Pueblo Chieftain  
Pueblo Star-Journal  
Pueblo Star

## Colorado Springs

from which it appears that in 1903 they were a band of 33 and played in Pueblo (engaged by the Tramway company), Colorado Springs (at the Grand Stand), and Denver (at City Park), with a return engagement in Pueblo; by one reference, they hoped for engagements in Salt Lake City (3 weeks) and Kansas City (2 weeks), which would keep them busy up to September 30, so the tour evidently unfolded in July and August; by another reference, they were going east, booked solid after Pueblo until Haskell opens again. They had a huge crowd reported at 100,000 in Denver on Saturday, August 8, 1903; then back to Pueblo in that week, and they returned to Lawrence on Monday, August 17, 1903.

At the end of summer 1903 Dennison is reported in Carlisle school paper as Band Master at Haskell and travelling on Haskell business (Red Man and Helper, XIX/8 = IV/4, Sept. 18, 1903, p. 2; Troutman wrongly writes "Headmaster")

## 1903-1904

The Haskell Band was not invited to be the band in residence at the St. Louis 1904 Exposition. Instead, it prepares for a residency at the St. Louis World's Fair, touring before and after, and a possible launch into the professional ranks. Band grew from 32 to 40, purchased new instruments. Wheelock goes to Chicago in October and St. Louis in January on business to make arrangements. Band plays in Lawrence, KC, Topeka, KU campus; JR comes into town in late April; Haskell Indian band plays at inaugural May Music Festival at KU in 1904 (McAnally). Soloists include vocalists Blanche Lyons and Stella Robbins, and Joe Bartholomew and Flannery (cornet), and Robert Bruce on euphonium. [plus Efen/Efrin Hernandez on violin]

From 1903 newspapers, and then a Brochure/pamphlet with program and roster, "Haskell Indian Band" (1904), at Haskell Institute Records, Kansas Collection, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas. Vučković (2008), pp. 140-141 and n. 37.

Pamphlet quote of Wheelock statement (see also Vučković [2008]):

"The original Indian music is a strange thing. It is devoid of harmony, but the melody and time are there, and it is easily harmonized. Some great critics say that our aboriginal music is the same as played by all primitive people the world over. Chinese music itself is built on the same principle. I am planning now a composition called the evolution of music. I hope to show the growth of harmony.

First, some of our musicians will come out in Indian costume, playing some primitive melody. Others will follow playing something more advanced, and so on until the whole band is on the stage and we are rendering the best grand opera."

1903-1904 ARCIA 1904, p. 668 calls him bandleader and says his salary continues to be \$720; Metronome cover and article in March 1904, discussing success of 1903 (last summer's) tour: "There is maintained in almost every Indian School a small band composed of students. That a few are better than the rest is entirely due to the energy of their instructors. . . . the Haskell Indian Band [is] not merely a boys' band but an up-to-date aggregation of capable musicians trained in every respect for high class concert work."; summer engagements at fair and Willow Grove are already set,

and "a more extended effort will be made this coming summer to place the band where the greatest number of people can hear them than heretofore and agents will soon be on the road booking the band at the principal parks of the East."  
(Metronome March 1904)

Harrisburg Patriot, March 29, 1904: the resignation of JR from Carlisle

Harrisburg Patriot, April 4, 1904: the Wheelock brothers have formed a professional Indian band; The Patriot, April 4, 1904, p. 6 has it that "The Wheelock brothers have formed a professional Indian Band of which J. Riley Wheelock is leader and his brother, Dennison, manager. They will make a tour of the west, coming east in the summer to fulfill engagements at Philadelphia, New York and the sea shore resorts."

The 1904 Band Roster:

Haskell Band 1904 brochure with image and 32 band members' names (here alphabetized)

George Baine, baritone saxophone, Sioux  
Joseph Bartholemew, solo cornet, Omaha  
John Black Hawk, second trombone, Winnebago  
Chambers Brinkette, first clarinet, Monnonin  
Robert Bruce, euphonium, Sioux  
Chil-Joseph Buetz, first trombone, Sioux  
Robert DePoe, first cornet  
Herbert Fallis, Sioux  
Nathan Elms, third clarinet, Oneida  
Wallace Fourlotte, porter, Monnonin  
Joseph Gaden, third alto, Chippewa  
Damcio Garcia, second clarinet, Pueblo  
George Gardner, second clarinet, Chippewa  
William Gardner, piccolo, Chippewa  
Bode Graham, first alto  
Alex Grave, tenor saxophone, Chippewa  
Charles Guyon [Guin], alto saxophone, Chippewa  
Herbert Hallis, solo clarinet, Sioux  
Thomas Hopinkah, snare drum, Winnebago  
Daniel Howard, third clarinet, Sioux  
James Howard, solo clarinet, Sioux  
Oscar Hunt, third trombone, Seneca  
John Kuhn, saxophone, Sioux  
George La Motte, tuba, Chippewa  
Peter McKay, first trombone,  
George McNight, second alto, Chippewa  
Jacob Morgan, first cornet, Navajo

Eulogio Padilla, bass drum, Pueblo  
Celso Rivera, solo alto, Pueblo  
Joseh Shadamed, third trombone, Chippewa  
Victor Urtiago, second cornet, Pueblo  
Peter Venne, E-flat clarinet, Chippewa

#### 1904 PRE-FAIR TOUR

1904, in May: Early plans to return to Pueblo and Denver for two weeks before the St. Louis fair, but they fall through. Instead, they leave Sunday, May 28, 1904 for a tour through Kansas and Missouri into early June. They are managed by "the polite and gentlemanly Mr. John Hammitt."

NB This is Lieurance territory! Could he have had a hand in it?

Weir City  
Iola (six days at the Crouch Electric Park, June 5-10)  
Cherryvale  
Coffeyville  
Independence  
Columbus  
Galena  
Neodesha  
Parsons, Ks (to the south, near Pittsburg and Coffeyville, Ks)  
and Nevada and Webb City, Mo.

From the Haskell band, I think only Jacob Morgan jumps ship to the Chilocco/Nelson band. Meanwhile, Dennison raids Carlisle for bandsmen to beef up Haskell Band for summer 1904. Red Man and Helper, July 15, 1904, p. 3. RM&H says there are 12 from Carlisle, but gives only ten names, one of which is JR. Former Carlisle students who are players include:

James Wheelock [clarinet and concertmaster, b. 1874, Oneida, Carlisle c.1891-1896, grad. class of 1896] c. 30  
James Flanery [cornet; Alaskan from Sitka, Carlisle 1893-1903, grad. class of 1894, cornet soloist in 1900]  
Malpas Cloud [Malpass Cloud, Malpass D. Cloud; b. c.1870, Chippewa, Carlisle 1889-1894, he is first tenor horn in 1891 band] c. 34  
Robert Bruce [euphonium, b.c. 1879, Sioux, Carlisle 1898-1902, euphonium soloist in 1900] c. 25  
Lon Spiechi [percussionist; Alonzo or Alonze Spieche or Spieche, b.c. 1882, Apache, Carlisle 1898-1902, grad class of 1901] c. 22; RM&H, Friday, August 1, 1902, p. 3, says that Alonzo Spieche '01 has been appointed shoe and harness maker at Hoopa Valley Indian School in California.  
Joseph Ruiz [cornet, Juan Ruis, b.c. 1885, Pueblo, Carlisle 1898-1904, grad. class of 1903] c. 19  
Casper Peters [b. 1874, Tuscarora] c. 20  
Junahuska Standingdeer [Junaluska, trombone/bass, b. 1881, Cherokee] c. 23

Charles Corson [cornet, b.c. 1880, Piegan/Blackfoot, Carlisle 1894-1902, grad class of 1900, Wheelock band in 1905-06, 06-07] c. 24; he will be the husband of Cora Youngblood Corson

Edward Valley [b.c. 1881, Ojibwe (Chippewa), ] c. 23

Red Man and Helper IV/34, Friday, April 22, 1904; on p. 2, Mr. Lamar is working with the left-overs of the Carlisle band; on p. 3, he's come from Sherman to run the band; still on p. 3: "Joseph Ruiz, class 1903, has gone to join the Haskell Brass Band, Lawrence, Kansas . . . If they keep on in this way the Haskell Band will soon be an ex-Carlisle Band." Red Man and Helper IV/41, Friday, June 10, 1904, p. 3 "Lt. Lamar goes on the principle, if the best musicians leave us, play the best with what we have." Red Man and Helper IV/42, Friday, June 17, 1904, p. 3: cornetist John Harvey leaves, although for a job, not for Haskell, and ". . . still the band plays on. We hope it will continue if only the snare drum is left."

In respect of the make-up of the band, the Lawrence Daily World in spring 1904 (quoted by McAnally, p. 22, and note 91) said that Dennison Wheelock "has been training this band for two years and a half, having in the first place selected from the various parts of the country the best of the professional Indian musicians," and that musicians were selected by "Uncle Sam," which sounds as if they view it as more like his group than one belonging to Haskell, and going back to the 1900 and 1901 plans, and/or early 1902; moreover, McAnally quotes the Lawrence Daily World about how "the Indian band is different from other college bands, for while they usually change in instrumentation and membership from year to year, this one is maintained and supported as a permanent organization."

## ST. LOUIS WORLD'S FAIR

1904, June 14-25: After preliminary touring, Wheelock leads the Haskell band at an engagement at the St. Louis World's Fair for 12 days from Tuesday June 14 to Saturday, June 25 [see S&S, pp. 000-00]; they arrived on June 13, 1904 (St. Louis Republic, June 14, 1904, p. 3); they are paid \$750 per week for 40 men, for a total of \$1500; that would be \$18.75 per man per week by simple division, but if Dennison got 20%, then that would be \$600 a week for the men, or just \$15 per man per week; we are in the ballpark to assume that the men earned \$2.00 per day, plus a larger sum for the conductor, and something to cover some of the expenses. James Riley Wheelock is on board as concertmaster, and Mrs. [Blanche] Lyons of Kansas University in Lawrence is the soprano soloist (RM&H, July 15, 1904); for their final gig they played Saturday, June 25 at an evening reception from 8:00 to 11:00 on Dedication Day at the NY State building, and then will leave for a concert tour through Eastern cities (see St. Louis Republic, June 26, 1904, p. 26 and p. 30).

"Don't confuse Wheelock's Band with another Indian Band playing in the Indian village on the pike and having a white man for a conductor" (Manchester (Ia.) Democrat, September 21, 1904, p. 5).

They are so popular that management tries to get them to extend their stay by a week, and then tries to get them back for the fall; Lawrence (KS) Weekly World, June 23, 1904, p. 5 prints copy from the official program about the band: it says they will tour after the Fair, and then return "later in the season for another World's fair engagement." The Cleveland Plaindealer, September 4, 1904, p. 26 repeats this basic information, saying: "at the end of

its second engagement at the S. Louis fair the Haskell Indian band will play in Cleveland as the opening attraction of the series of "Pop" concerts at Gray's armory."

#### 1904 SUMMER TOUR AFTER THE FAIR

Wheelock then immediately resumes touring, taking the group on a two-month summer tour under professional management from late June through mid August, swinging east and then back into the Midwest; hits on Google Archive and Old Fulton NY Postcards indicate where they were out in July and August in the Midwest (Stevens Point, Fort Wayne, etc.)

Later, it's Dennison Wheelock; see The Fort Wayne News, August 19, 1904 [Google archives hit]), near the end of the bigger tour of the summer after St. Louis; big towns included Indianapolis, Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia, New York, Louisville (see official Fair program and Schwartz and Schwartz, suppl., pp. 36-37; in the end, no evidence for NY or Chicago); described variously as a band of 50 or of 70 boys (50 seems better = reference to 50 Conn instruments); group had plans to tour the US and England.

1904 advance publicity language appearing repeatedly in the press, in anticipation of the band on tour and also in reviews, says the suite, "introducing the native dances and war-whoop, is not only musical but interesting as a study of genuine Indian music"

Bellstedt played on 1904 tour (see Grand Rapids, MI, Evening Press, November 16, 1904, p. 4)

Bay City, MI, Bay City Tribune, November 19, 1904, p. 4: "the Indian war dance, a characteristic composition, elicited enthusiasm and the band appeared perfectly at home in the rather odd piece. The orchestral accompaniment imitated the Indian tom toms; the war whoop was given with aboriginal spirit and a few revolver shots added to the realism." {This may have referred to Bellstedt's composition rather than to Wheelock's.)

Muskegon, MI, Muskegon Daily Chronicle, November 17, 1904, p. 7: "The Indian war dance, the most interesting number on the program followed. With musical whoops and yells, intermingled with the tones of the instruments and the reports of pistols, while the drums kept up a musical tom toming, the piece was carried through with pronounced success." (Again, could well be Bellstedt's piece.)

1904, June 26: Terre Haute on Sunday evening, June 26

Mt Vernon, Stubenville, Youngstown, East Liverpool, Cleveland, Cincinnati, OH  
Philadelphia (Willow Grove), Carlisle (Mt. Holly), and Pittsburgh (Calhoun Park), PA  
Indianapolis, Richmond, Fort Wayne, New Albany, Evansville, IN  
Louisville, KY  
Wheeling and Parkersville, WV

1904, June 29-30: By one hit, they were in Jackson Park in Cambridge City, IN (ca. 20 miles west of Richmond) on June 29 and 30; however, Red Man and Helper IV/47, Friday, July 22, 1904, p. 3, says they gave concerts on June 29 and 30 at Richmond, Indiana, at the Driving Park, east of the City."

1904, July 8: Red Man and Helper IV/45, Friday, July 8, 1904, p. 2: Haskell Band coming for 2 concerts near Carlisle at Mt. Holly Park on Friday, July 8

1904, July 9: Red Man and Helper IV/46, Friday, July 15, 1904, p. 3: the Haskell Band dropped in on Carlisle and the school on Saturday the 9th, the day after their Mt. Holly concerts; they are "filling an engagement this week at Willow Grove, near Philadelphia. It is the plan of the leader to make an extended tour, and they will probably go to Europe in the Fall . . . the Wheelock brothers . . . are full of hopes that they will succeed in winning popular approval to the extent of making the venture pay financially, as well as show what opportunity may do for the native American." This language is repeated in The Indian Leader (Haskell), and quoted by McAnally (p. 23)

1904, July 10-16: The engagement at Willow Grove Park (outside Philadelphia) was reportedly for a week (at \$1600 or \$1900) including Friday, July 15, and Saturday July 16, 1904 afternoon and evening concerts, so that would be from Sunday the 10th or Monday the 11th through Saturday the 16th; Trenton Times, May 24, 1904, p. 3 says their run is July 10-16; the Willow Grove summer schedule was released nationally around May 20, and Haskell was noted on the roster of groups appearing, although dates not given

see McAnally; Willow Grove web site; Trenton Times, Thursday, July 14, 1904, p. 7 and Trenton Times, Sat. July 16, 1904, p. 10 for the Haskell Band at Willow Grove on the 16th; Manchester (Ia.) Democrat, September 21, 1904, p. 5, for the figure of \$1900 per week.

They were such a hit that they were awarded a medal on the 15th and a loving cup on the 16th; the Indian Leader, August 6, 1904?, pp. 2 and 3; Stevens bio. in Rehrig says "another favorite venue was Willow Grove Park in Philadelphia, where citizens presented him with a gold medal and a silver cup in recognition of his accomplishments. Over 70,000 people attended the band's last performance at Willow Grove in 1904." S&S story about gold medal and loving cup put in 1903 [suppl. p. 36]; Stevens/Rehrig puts properly in 1904; Dennison's 1905 letter to Pratt remembers 30,000 people

On to Parkersburg, West Virginia (McAnally)

Red Man and Helper IV/47, Friday, July 22, 1904, p. 3: having "left Willow Grove, they go to Pittsburgh next where they expect to play, and then on to Ohio." From Pittsburgh (Calhoun Park) they go to Youngstown and Cincinnati (Coney Island)

1904, in July: Cincinnati at Coney Island for two-day engagement on Saturday and Sunday, July 23 and 24 [Sunday programs in McAnally], but then they were re-engaged for an entire week (McAnally; also ref. in Indian Leader and Haskell history bk, Elzea 1978);

1904, in July: Played at the Jockey Park Club in Louisville, KY for the week of Mon. July 25-Sun July 31 (Kentucky Irish American, Saturday, July 23, 1904, p. 2 and Saturday, July 30, p. 4)

1904, in August: Cincinnati, August 1-7: a return to Cincinnati on Monday, August 1 for a week through Sunday, August 7

1904, in August: played at Rock Springs Park (a major amusement park), in Chester, WV, just across the Ohio river from East Liverpool, Ohio (see quote from East Liverpool Star in The Indian Leader, August 6, 1904)

1904, in August: The Arrow, I/1, Thursday, August 25, 1904, p. 3: the Haskell band with the Wheelock brothers is in Fort Wayne, Ind, on August 20, and "they will take a little vacation soon before starting out for the winter's trip."

1904, September: they played a week in Evansville, Ind. at Cook's Park, from Sunday, Sept. 4, presumably to Sat. Sept. 10 (Evansville Courier and Press, September 5, 1904, p. 4); they disbanded in Evansville, Ind. (Beinecke letter)

1904, September 13: Return to Lawrence on September 13.

1904-1905

1904, in September: "Mr. Denison Wheelock, director of the Haskell Indian Band, (himself an Oneida Indian), gives this reason for the proficiency of his musicians: "The primitive music of the American Indians," said he, "was not created for artistic satisfaction. It is his language to the Supreme Being. It is intended to express sentiment and emotion. There is nothing humorous about it. Consequently when your Indian student is studying the harmonies of the Anglo Saxon he brings with him the serious sense of musical sentiment, which is a part of his being. In no other way can I explain why an Indian who is inclined to music is susceptible of being made a musician of more than ordinary capacity"." The Indian's Friend 17/1 (September 1904), p. 8)

1904, in September: Wheelock is one of the organizers of the National Indian Republican association, which is encouraging Indians who are citizens to vote Republican, and just as he stumped for McKinley four years ago, so he is being encouraged to stump for T. R. Roosevelt, in whom he has the fullest confidence (Lawrence Daily World, September 27, 1904, p. 2).

FALL 1904 TOUR and 1904-05 season

Plan for major lyceum tour and European trip is first mentioned in August 1903; Slayton tour of ten weeks is mentioned in April 1904; in early September 1904 the next tour is to be for several months; then it shapes up as a tour leaving town on Monday, October 10 for Clay Center and then only two weeks seems to be lined up ("an itinerancy of two weeks"); he signed a deal with the Slayton Lyceum Bureau of Chicago for a four-year term of service with a handsome salary and a probable European tour (Lawrence papers; McAnally)

They were under a Lyceum Bureau sponsorship for a four-week engagement (Parezo and Fowler, p. 437, n. 43). Schwartz and Schwartz, supp. p. 37 has it that they toured under the management of the Slayton Lyceum Bureau of Chicago, with the name "Wheelock's United States Indian Band," and that the organization had plans to tour the US and England (S&S cite the Conn magazine for December 4, p. [2]). Also, photo 14 in S&S, suppl., has the caption "The Haskell Indian Band of Lawrence, Kansas, under the Direction of Denison [sic] Wheelock, as it appeared at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, with a complete set of Conn Instruments. Now Enroute, En Grand Concert Tour, under the name of Wheelock's United States Indian Band."



They played at least into December---over eight weeks in all. Their short-term itinerary from October 10, 1904 was slated to include:

Clay Center, Concordia, Beloit, Clyde, Minneapolis, Newton, Hutchinson, Coffeyville, and Pittsburg, KS

Joplin, Nevada, Pleasant Hill, Independence, Carrollton, and Kirksville, Mo.

The band gets called by many names. In September and early October, it was announced and especially publicized in relatively local Kansas newspapers that it would be called Wheelock's United States Indian Band, dropping its identification with Haskell, and have its headquarters with a lyceum bureau in Chicago (see, e.g., Lawrence, KS, Jeffersonian Gazette, September 28, 1904, p. 1; Topeka, KS, Topeka Daily Herald, September 30, 1904, p. 4; Newatka, KS, Newatka Times, October 6, 1904, p. 1; Clyde, KS, Voice-Republican, October 13, 1904, p. 7). But the advertising for the fall tour, reaching back into the spring, had identified the band with Haskell, and so on the road it is called names such as the Haskell Institute Band, Haskell Institute Indian Band, Haskell Indian Band, and Haskell's Indian Band, and there is mention of being "in United States service" (McAnally). The change of name began to be recognized as they toured, but not without some continued confusion. The Decatur Review (Decatur, IL) reports on Sunday, December 4, 1904, that it had been decided to change the name from "US Indian Band" to "Wheelock's US Indian Band" to recognize Wheelock and "to do away with confusion." And The Decatur Review, Wednesday, December 7, 1904, p. 10, identifies it as "Wheelock's United States Indian band, formerly the Haskell Indian band"; the review in the The Decatur Review, Saturday, December 10, 1904, p. 3 repeats that it is Wheelock's United States Indian band and says it is an ensemble of 36.

That confusion was probably in part not only about the Haskell/Wheelock name change, but about Lem Wiley's group, the "real" US Government Indian Band from the St. Louis Fair, which had launched out on its own in the fall.

The Arrow, I/2, Thursday, September 1, 1904, p. 3: printer Phineas Wheelock "may join the Wheelock band, for the winter trip." The Arrow, I/6, Thursday, September 29, 1904, p. 3: J. R. Wheelock has been in town and now is leaving for Haskell, while mamma and Isabel leave for Philadelphia; there is to be a mid-west tour.

Parezo and Fowler, p. 156, say they return later in the season to St. Louis for two weeks ending Oct. 1, repeating the Official Program ref. to returning later in the season (S&S, p. 41); they may have known that officials had asked the band for a return engagement (McAnally, quoting Lawrence papers); if the later September date is right, their second visit was not a stint at the fair after Wiley's official band leaves to go on tour, because that begins October 12. No trace of this later visit, though. They did not do it.

Whatever the publicity blurbs, papers tend to report a band of only 32 or 34; sometimes toured as "the US Indian Band."

The Native American v. 5, October 22, 1904, p. 286: repeats the [Slayton] blurb, reporting that Wheelock's United States Indian Band . . . will make tours of the United States and Europe under the management . . .

They are clearly out on the road again in later October, November, and December: Iowa City, Cedar Rapids, Cedar Falls, Davenport, Decatur, Bay City (MI), Saginaw (MI), Benton Harbor (MI), Owosso (MI), Bloomington, IL---definitely as Wheelock and the Haskell Band, or "Wheelock's Indian Band (the Haskell Indian Band)"

1904, October 10 or 12: trip begins; papers anticipate leaving on the 10th and going to play that day at Clay Center, but other refs. say they pull out of town on the 12th. "The band is starting on its way to glory."

1904, October 14: Hutchinson, Kans.

1904, October 18: Joplin, Mo.

1904, October 19: Nevada, Mo.

1904, October 27: Spencer, Ia.

1904, October 29: Cedar Falls Concert on Saturday, October 29; Cedar Falls Gazette, October 25, 1904, p. 1: "it is generally acknowledged in musical circles that the Haskell organization is the finest Indian band in the United States."

1904, October 30: Waterloo, Ia.

1904, October 31: Cedar Rapids concert; a Cedar Rapids paper, the Coe College Cosmos, October 19, 1904 reports upcoming concert on October 31; Iowa City Daily Press, November 2, 1904, p. 5 reports on the success of the Cedar Rapids concert

1904, November 2: Manchester, Ia., for a matinee performance.

1904, November 2: Independence, Ia.

1904, November 3: Davenport/Rock Island concert is Thursday, November 3, 1904; Tri-City Evening Star (Davenport, IA), October 25, 1904, p. 6 says they will be playing in a lyceum tour ("Salvation Lyceum Bureau of Chicago"---must mean Slayton) under the local auspices of the Rock Island YMCA; Iowa City ref. (Iowa City Daily Press, Wednesday, November 2, 1904, p. 5) calls it Wheelock's Haskell Band, playing in the 1904-05 series sponsored by the YMCA; an on-line search hit finds the Quad cities On-Line website, and for the date April 20, 2004, there is a citation "100 Years Ago" to the fact that the Rock Island YMCA has booked the Haskell Indian Band for next season---this means that at the end of the 1903-1904 season, they book the band for 1904-1905, probably for this concert in late fall 1904

1904, November 4: Decorah, Ia.

1904, November 5: Dubuque, Ia.

1904, November 6: La Crosse, Wisc.

1904, November 9: Wausau, Wisc.

1904, November 12: Manitowoc, Wisc.

1904, November 15: Grand Rapids, Mich.

1904, November 20: Battle Creek, Mich.

1904, November 24: Tecumseh, Mich.

Owosso Mich. around here

Bay City, Mich. around here

1904, November 16: Muskegon, Mich. (Muskegon (Mich.) Chronicle, November 15, 1904, p. 2)

1904, November 17: St. John's, Mich.

1904, November 19: Saginaw, Mich. (Saginaw News, November 17, 1904, p. 5 and November 21, 1904)

1904, November 20: Battle Creek, Mich.  
1904, November 22: Benton Harbor, Mich.; Benton Harbor, MI Nov. 24, 1904 (see "50 Years Ago" in the Benton Harbor News-Palladium, Wednesday, November 24, 1954, p. 2)  
1904, November 23: Adrian, Mich.  
1904, November 24: Tecumseh, Mich.  
1904, November 25: Hillsdale, Mich.  
1904, November 27: Cleveland, Ohio, at Gray's Armory, opening concert to kick off a season-long Sunday afternoon pops concert series (Cleveland Plaindealer, September 4, 1904, p. 26; Cleveland Plaindealer, November 13, 1904, p. 13; Cleveland Plaindealer, November 27, 1904, p. 24)

1904, November 28: Angola, Ind.  
1904, November: Alexandria, Ind.  
1904, November 30: Elkhart, Ind.; Played for the Elkhart Lecture Association on November 30, 1904 (Elkhart Truth, December 1, 1904)

1904, December 3: Ottawa, Ill.  
1904, December 8: Bloomington, Ill.; Played in the Illinois Wesleyan lecture series in Bloomington, Ill. on Dec. 8 as the Haskell Indian Band---band of 32  
1904, December 9: Played Decatur, Ill.; Milliken University lecture course in the university auditorium on Friday, December 9. Steadily advertised in the fall in the Decatur paper as the famous Haskell Indian Band of 34 pieces.  
1904, December 11: Paris, Ill.

1904-1905 season at Haskell: It seems that Dennison Wheelock leaves Haskell officially at the end of the fall term 1904; he is not at Haskell in OIA 1905 report. Is he out of Indian Service in 1904-05 and trying to make a go of it with the band? Not all year. Is he officially at Haskell when he's taking out the band in the fall? Seems so. The year 1904-1905 marks the start of a new emphasis on vocational education at Haskell. Could this have made the environment less appealing to Wheelock? He was there four terms, from December 1902 to December 1904.

The Indian Leader VIII/35, December 16, 1904, p. 4, runs an advertisement for a new bandmaster for Haskell: "WANTED ---A good bandmaster; one who can give instruction on violin and mandolin, as well as band instruments. A man who has had military training preferred. The salary is \$720 per year."

1905, early

The Indian Leader, May 5, 1905, reports that "The band boys who will tour with Mr. Wheelock are now in Chicago practicing at Steinway Hall. All are in good shape for work. They have elaborate new uniforms." This suggests that some but not all of the band is drawn from Haskell, and that it is likely under Conn? sponsorship. Surely they are still with Slayton.

Advertisement for Dennison Wheelock's professional band: "The Only Professional American Indian Band in the World . . . Comprising Forty-Five Picked American Indian Musicians, Graduates of Carlisle School and Other Famous Institutions in the United States." Cumberland County Historical Society, Box P1-10-3: Advertisement (as cited in Bazar Vanderbilt thesis, pp. 84-85).

## 1905 SUMMER TOUR

1905, in June: Wheelock took an all-star band of fifty, now boldly called the United States Indian Band, on a major summer tour with significant residencies; for details, see JAMES RILEY WHEELOCK file

Dennison mainly an advance man now, although they also have hired professional management, while James conducts, and he sells his share to James.

1905, in June: Dennison is in Elkhart, Ind. on band business and James is holding down the fort with the band; "they are no longer connected with the school, because while they were, they were very much hampered by the restrictions placed over them by the school regulations" (Elkhart (Ind.) Daily Review, June 8, 1905, p. 5; Elkhart Truth, June 8, 1905, p. 8); he is in Elkhart again on business, as a guest of C. G. Conn in August (Elkhart Truth, August 4, 1905, p. 5)

1905 Wheelock writes Pratt on June 14, 1905, about financial juggling and to say he's in a financial pinch (Hauptman, p. 129, and p. 137, n. 50, from letter in Pratt papers at Yale); Wheelock is doing advance work for the band on the road from Cincinnati, and writing to Pratt, who is no longer at Carlisle. Hauptman writes: "The Oneida was unable to survive financially without the efforts of Pratt and the superintendent's now shrinking base of financial supporters. . . Wheelock was supporting an aging father, numerous siblings, a wife, and a son and could no longer survive as a musician without this support. The Oneida's financial pinch eventually led to his resignation from Haskell."

**contents:** \*writes of recent misfortune: a badly attended concert in Chicago  
\*discusses imminent return to NYC and upcoming concerts along with his remuneration for each concert  
\*discusses a lawsuit against Hervey Peairs for defrauding him of concert receipts  
\*his desire to buy a home in DePere  
\*refers to a previous loan request

At some point in the summer, as above, the band conducting duties are fully turned over by Dennison to James Riley while Dennison goes on the road as an advance man. Then, in a move probably timed to the end of the summer season, James buys out Dennison, by one account (see The Arrow, Aug 3, 1905, ref. Troutman, p. 281).

See also the 1905 postcard with J. R. fronting the band; see also The Indian's Friend 18/2 (October, 1905), p. 8.

James directed this professional band and its successors in some guise (as the Wheelock Indian Band or the US Indian Band) into the 1930s, incl. Chautauqua, Lyceum, YMCA, vaudeville, parks, resort hotel, radio, etc. engagements.

NARA document reports that it started out from Chicago in June 1905 under Dennison and James, and Dennison withdrew about the first week of August.

The Indian's Friend, 18/2 (October 1905), p. 8 says J.R. has bought out the interests of his brother Dennison, and that the band has an "all summer engagement" at Willow Grove, Pa, where it has won laurels." Not clear whether that is summer 1905, already past, or anticipating summer 1906. If it is old news, then J.R. bought out Dennison in June. NY Morning Telegraph, October 16, 1905, p. 4 says J. R. bought out Dennison for \$1800 and kept the manager that Dennison had hired on June 27, Max Rosenberg. Same day's account in NY Press says J.R. bought the band outright the day after the Rosenberg deal was signed, thus June 28.

THE CAREER IN REAL ESTATE AND LAW, 1905-1906; 1906-1911; 1911-1927

BACK ON THE EAST COAST, STUDYING LAW  
1905-1906

Fall 1905

Dennison Wheelock is out of the band business. Having left the Haskell School and having tried to go solo with a band out of Chicago, he now returns to Carlisle, PA and the study of law, 1905-1906, and then returns with his wife to West De Pere, Wisconsin in 1906, where he pursues a career in real estate for five years (NARA record and Hauptman), 1906-1911, and then was admitted to the bar, with first involvement via Oneida real estate (esp. financial claims and allotment-related issues).

He was apparently already studying law (or hoping to) in Carlisle during the band leader years, to judge from a remark about his study of law in The Indian Helper XIII/24, Friday, April 1, 1898, p. 3.

Hauptman has it that he returns to Carlisle and reads law in Philadelphia in 1906 (?1905-1906), and only then goes back to Wisconsin in 1906 (p. 95) or in 1907 (according to a picture caption). His return home seems to be summer/fall 1906, acc. his son Richard's obit, which says his parents settled in West DePere, Wisc. in 1906.

In effect, he could have been reading law in academic year 1905-1906, or 1906-1907, or both. But it would seem that unless he separated for a while from his family, it was just 1905-1906. He is already doing correspondence and other business around land in 1906 (petition for patent in fee simple, etc.). Arguing for a 1907 return to Wisconsin is a reference in Martin (Brown County, 1913) which has it that "In 1907 he severed his connection with that institution [Carlisle] and took up the study of law under John R. Miller, who was an attorney connected with the Dickinson School of Law of Carlisle, Pennsylvania." In "Is Oneida's Counselor," p. 354, it says "He afterwards went to Dickinson College in Carlisle, taking the classical course. He afterward studied law under a well-known lawyer of that city, John R. Miller." Just when is what is at stake. Perhaps a resolution is he returned to Carlisle but not to the school, studied some more at Dickinson for a year, and then read law for a year. Better, that the work at Dickinson was earlier, and that now he only studied law.

The Dickinson School of Law was associated with Dickinson College from its inception as a department in 1833 to its independence in 1917; NARA statements just say he

attends Dickinson for one year in the classical curriculum and also reads law (NARA); this could be two stints, i.e., 1890-91, and 1905-06-07-ish, as acc. Hauptman; also, Indian Helper refers in 1898 to his interest in, and study of, law.

1906, in February: NOTE: newspaper ref. that he has library of Indian music, etc., is clearly in conjunction with new Leupp/Loring initiative (Trenton Times, February 8, 1906); could just be knowledge of a once local man, or be current news about someone still local

MOVE BACK TO DEPERE, WISC.

1906-1907

From summer/fall of 1906 he is working on legal issues in Wisconsin (Google Book hits)

Hauptman has him functioning as a tribal attorney from 1906 (p. 95, p. 96); on the crucial year of 1906 in respect to allotment policy that might have caused him to head back, see Hauptman, p. 193; he brokered mortgages (essentially "home equity"-type loans against the real estate after the conversion to "fee simple" [Hauptman, p. 195])

The Native American (Phoenix), 7/35, October 20, 1906, p. 287: "Dennison Wheelock arrived Saturday evening from Oneida, Wis., with three large pupils who were promised places by Superintendent Peirce when there in August. Mr. Wheelock is organizing a band to play at the Jamestown (Va.) Exposition next year. He left here Sunday for White Earth, where his wife was staying.—*Weekly Review (Flandreau, S. D.)*."

The Indian's Friend, 19/3 (November 1906), p. 8: He is organizing a band to play at the Jamestown Exposition next year. [The Jamestown expo of 1907 is presumably the one that Henry F. McGarvie of exposition fame had a hand in. It is clear that Dennison is not fully out of the band business, even in 1906. This reference makes him back in the Mid-West in 1906-1907.]

1907, in late April and May: a band of "full-blooded Indians" identified with the Carlisle school is playing at the Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition in Norfolk.

Hauptman (p. 66) has it that Wheelock proposed in 1907 that the Oneida boarding school be turned into a day school, so he was back in Wisconsin by then.

1907-1908

1908-1909

1909-1910

1909: NARA file letter of Dec. 4, 1909 with letterhead: "Office of Dennison Wheelock West De Pere Wis." He is a progressive, while other Oneida are of "the Injun factions" . . . "Of the Indian faction, are Indians who desire to remain as Indians forever."

JOINS THE BAR AND CAREER IN LAW GROWS

## 1911-1927 career in law and civics

1911: Helps found the SAI and active through 1916, including hosting the 1914 annual convention (Hauptman, pp. 129-30); he also regularly attends the Mohonk Conference.

1911: admitted to bar in July 1911 by the supreme court of state of Wisconsin and begins general practice of law. NARA document for Carlisle has him admitted to bar in 1911, Martin (1913) has him admitted to the bar of Wisconsin in July, 1911, and so does "Is Oneida's Counselor," in The Red Man 4/8 (April 1912), pp. 352-534 at 353. Acc. Littlefield and Parins, he is admitted to practice before the Wisconsin Supreme Court in 1911 and before the US Supreme Court in 1919 and also served as Green Bay city attorney; Google Archive newspaper hits make him city attorney of DePere, with an office also in Green Bay.  
Law Notes, v. 15 (1911-1912), September 1911, p. 113, says he's admitted to the bar as "the first full-blooded Indian to win this distinction in Wisconsin," and says he's a Marquette graduate.

NB: Bell thesis has him admitted to Wisconsin bar in 1910 as first native American so honored (p. 374), but 1910 is clearly wrong; Hauptman says that he passes bar in 1910, following Bell? (Hauptman, p. 129)

NARA letter of April 1, 1912: hew has added Attorney-At-Law to his letterhead

NARA clipping has him opening a law and real estate office in DePere: He "has left the land of his fathers and cast his lot among the white population." One issue is seeking money from NYS Oneida that the US govt gave them, some of which ought by right to go to the Wisconsin Oneida.

1912 art. "Is Oneida's Counselor." He has left the Indian world.

1912: Around this year, De Pere organized a band, with Dennison Wheelock as Director. It celebrated its 11<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1923; Wheelock led it for about 2 years, and then gave up the conductor's role on account of the press of professional duties (Milwaukee, WI, Milwaukee Journal, March 4, 1923, p. 32).

1913: Gets bio and picture in Martin (1913), so already prominent.

Practice at first mainly in De Pere and then Green Bay in 1910s; esp. working as a tribal attorney, an advocate for Native American individuals and tribes, charter member and SAI leadership roles (SAI 1911-1923; Wheelock esp. active 1911-1916, acc. Hauptman, p. 130, even hosting one national meeting)

1913: at SAI Third Annual Conference in Denver, he and Cherokee Princess Tsianina Redfeather are featured singing "classic Indian songs." [Patterson, "Real Indian Songs", AI Quarterly 2002]. His participation is mentioned in Red Man 1912-1913. Worth developing the point that he and brother James have contact with Gertie Simmons, Tsianina, Ataloo, Garvie, Kuhn, etc.

1914: Wheelock writes to Carlisle, looking for a place for his son Edmund, who was then 17, turning 18 in December of that year.

1914: In December he heads a group from SAI and makes the personal presentation to President Wilson on December 10 at White House. (Hauptman, p. 130); see also The Red Man, January 1915, p. pp. 163-168, esp. 166

1919 Wheelock writes to Haskell asking for a place for his daughter Louise, who was born at Haskell 16 years before, and is now in the 9th grade. Vučković (2008), 248-49 and n. 3 She is in the school roster in the US 1920 Census.

1920 He was gathering support for a bid to become the Commissioner of the BIA. See letter of Wheelock to Pratt, November 27, 1920, in RHPP (Yale), cit. Pfister, pp. 79-80. Hauptman, citing same letter but as from a different archive, reads this as Pratt urging this thinking on Dennison (Hauptman, p. 117 and n. 17)

1921 The Blair News (Wisconsin) reports (May 5, 1921, p. 2): "Mr. Wheelock was the organizer of the famous Carlisle Indian band which played at the Chicago world's fair and which made a trip to Great Britain."

Still active as band director in Wisconsin:

He heads Green Bay Concert Band by 1915 (Hauptman, p. 131; Green Bay Press-Gazette, May 27, 1915, p. 9; Green Bay Press-Gazette, April 11, 1916, p. 9; Green Bay Press-Gazette, February 23, 1917, p. 7, etc.); a professional, white, union (AFM) group (Metronome). Conducts this band in summer outdoor concerts during WWI (Stevens and Google hit).

Organized centennial celebration (Hauptman, p. 96) and formed and led Oneida Centennial Band for 1921 centennial of 1821 migration.

The Daily Northwestern (Oshkosh, WI) for Thursday, August 18, 1921, writes about a program to take place on Saturday, August 27 at Oshkosh and says Dennison Wheelock, the World's Most Famous Indian Instructor of Music, will lead the band.

He is elected City Attorney of De Pere in 1921.

In 1923 he moves to Washington, DC and is traceable in newspapers through 1926. [Son marries in 1924, age 27; daughter marries in 1925, age 22.]

1924: Mention of Wheelock's Indian concert band of Green Bay, Wisc. (Rockford Republic, July 8, 1924, p. 9).

1926 Asked to assemble a 32-piece band of Indian school alumni for a Wild West Show at the 1926 Philadelphia Sesqui-Centennial, at behest of T. J. McCoy [Colonel Tim McCoy], for "Colonel T. J. McCoy's Last Great Council and Historical Spectacle Winning of the West" (tiny mention in Troutman thesis, p. 240; better and expanded, Troutman book, pp. 187-188); no record that Dennison responded positively; McCoy's interest speaks to Dennison Wheelock's continued prestige as a musician; also seems to be Dennison acc. ref. in the Appleton Post Crescent, Sept. 23, 1926;



NB: This hoped for new ensemble is not the same as "Wheelock's Concert Band," which in fact was very much a going concern and continued to be led by Dennison's brother. Indeed, JRW brought his own band to the Sesqui-Centennial (LA Times, August 1, 1926, p. C20, etc.). The JRW band was the principal band there for four weeks, from Aug. 16 to Sept. 11; Princess Ataloo was a soloist (LA Times).

1927 Dennison Wheelock died suddenly on Thursday, March 10, in Washington, D.C. [Or overnite Thursday the 10th into Friday the 11th.] Funeral services in DC on Saturday the 12th. Appleton Post Crescent for Saturday, March 12, 1927, has a short article on the funeral services that were held in Washington. Appleton Post-Crescent, Thursday, March 17, 1927 (evening edition), p. 7, reports that he died last Friday Morning [March 11] and will be buried [today, the 17th] after a 2:00 pm service. His body came from DC accompanied by his wife, his son Edmund, and his daughter, Mrs. Frank Christenson.

He is buried at Woodlawn Cemetery in Green Bay, the "white" town cemetery, not the Oneida cemetery.

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<http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/people/wheelock-dennison>

[http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student\\_files/dennis-wheelock-student-information-card](http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/dennis-wheelock-student-information-card)

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Ancestry.com, RootsWeb.com, and Mormon genealogy site  
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Carlisle article on its band history.

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Amelia V. Katanski. Learning to Write "Indian": The Boarding-School Experience and American Indian Literature. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005. On Wheelock, see esp. pp. 87-92 and notes, pp. 236-237. She's primarily interested in Wheelock's English literacy, and his spoken and written word. She points out (p. 90) that Wheelock's Carlisle band was "a lesson in civilization for the students" and "a visual and audible measure of the success of the school's assimilative purposes." She erroneously thinks it is Dennison at Sherman (note 103 on pp. 236-237), saying Sherman's "Bulletin notes marked improvement in the band after his arrival."

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The Metronome 16/4 (April, 1900), p. 15-16, "Greater New York" [seen]

The Metronome 20/3 (March, 1904), cover and p. 8, "The Haskell Indian Band" [seen]

The Metronome 20/12 (December, 1904), p. 10 [seen]

The Metronome, 36/10 (October 1915), p. 56 [seen]

Oneida Indian Centennial Souvenir Program, August 5-7, 1921 [not yet seen]

Brown County (Wisconsin) Democrat, December 27, 1907 [not yet seen]

De Pere Journal-Democrat, March 17, 1927 (obituary) [not yet seen]

De Pere Journal-Democrat, March 17, 1927, p. 1 "Masons Hold Funeral Rites of D. Wheelock." [not yet seen]

Milwaukee Sentinel, March 12, 1927, "Famous Indian Lawyer is Dead." [not yet seen]

Green Bay Press-Gazette, March 12, 1927, 2, "Dennison Wheelock Funeral Held Today." [not yet seen]

Evening Sentinel (Cumberland Co., PA), March 16, 1927, "Dennison Wheelock, Carlisle Indian, Dead." [not yet seen]

Appleton Post Crescent for March 12, 1927 [not yet seen]

Green Bay Press-Gazette, July 31, 1918 [not yet seen]

Traceable in local newspapers in 1904 and 1905 tours:

Tri-City Star (Davenport, Iowa, Thursday, October 27, 1904): "Mr. Wheelock's Indian name is "Kah la Luint." As Weber Fields say: "It listens well." Mr. Wheelock is a well-educated man, musically and otherwise, and has done more for the advancement of Indian music in this country than any other."

The Fort-Wayne Journal Gazette, Tuesday, June 13, 1905:

NDIAN BAND The Composition of MUSIC Not an Art But Luck, Says Bandmaster WHEELOCK. "The writing of MUSIC is one of the most uncertain occupations in which one can say Bandmaster Dennison Wheelock, whose famous organization is to play at park 1 for four days, commencing Wednesday"

1906 newspaper ref. that he has library of Indian music, etc., clearly in conjunction with new Leupp/Loring initiative:

The Trenton Times, Thursday, February 8, 1906:

#### TO PRESERVE THE MUSIC OF INDIANS

This he [Leupp] hopes to accomplish through the agency of the Indian schools located in various parts of the country and has as a first step appointed a Supervisor of Native Music [LORING] In this connection It might be well to suggest that the services of army bandmasters be invited.

Again, the Wheelock brothers full-blooded Indians who were identified with the music at the Indian School at Carlisle Pa would be of assistance Dennison Wheelock is said to have quite a collection of native music and has orchestrated some of it Those interested will find in native music much . . .

NB: big Washington Post art is March 18 of same year.

[Note the later statement by Charles Alexander Eastman in "'My People": the Indians' Contribution to the Art of America," The Craftsman (Gustav Stickley), v. 27/2 (Nov. 1914), pp. 179-86 at p. 184; repr. Red Man 7/4 (Dec. 1914), pp. 133-140 at p. 138 and in Eastman, The Indian Today: The Past and Future of the First American (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1915; reprinted 1998), pp. 000-00 at 159: "Native melodies have been adapted and popularized for band and orchestra by native musicians, of whom the best known are Dennison Wheelock and his brother James Wheelock, Oneidas and graduates of Carlisle."]

Similarly, in Elaine Goodale Eastman, Pratt, the Red Man's Moses (Norman, OK: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1935), p. 212, Dennison Wheelock is identified as a composer and as a "compiler of modified native airs."

## ICONOGRAPHY

Bloomfield, The Oneidas

facing page 321

Witmer, The Indian Industrial School

p. 40: the brothers, with female relatives (?)

p. 41: Dennison with big 1900 band

p. 91: in the Invincible Society, 1890

Hauptman The Oneida Indians, after 154:

young Dennison

Dennison with band

older Dennison from Martin

Martin, Brown County

older Dennison

Pfister, Individuality Incorporated

p.12 Dennison's letterhead

Schwartz and Schwartz, bands at St. Louis

individual portrait

with Haskell band

## JAMES RILEY WHEELOCK BIO

James Riley (J. R., Riley, Jim) Wheelock, Oneida, (June 1, 1874 – January 11, 1941) was the greatest Native American bandmaster and was associated as student and teacher with the Carlisle, Sherman, and Genoa Schools. He, rather than his older and more famous brother, is “the Red Rival of Sousa.”

J. R. is the younger brother of Dennison Wheelock, another great Native American bandmaster, and their careers are closely interconnected. They form a cornet and clarinet pair of brothers (Dennison and James, respectively), like the Venne brothers and the Bruce brothers.

NAME: James is a Wheelock family personal name.

### BIRTHDATE:

The month and day are not a problem. The Philadelphia Inquirer, June 1, 1918, p. 2, prints his picture, with the caption “J. RILEY WHEELOCK/ The Inquirer congratulates the conductor of the Indian Band, Carlisle on the anniversary of his natal day.” Many other records repeat June 1.

Thus, his birth DAY (June 1) is firm, but the year of birth (1874? 1875? 1876?) is a bit of a problem. The strongest evidence is for 1874. The 1900 US Census puts him in Carlisle, says he was born in 1874 and is now age 26 and calls him journeyman [printer], arguing for 1874. He is 39 in fiscal 1914 (1913-1914) and 40 in fiscal 1915 (1914-1915) in the Sherman Institute employee registers. If the register was initiated in the fall, then he is actually 40 by mid to later 1914, arguing again for 1874. NY Times notice of death in early January 1941 calls him 66, which likely means he turned 66 in 1940, which would put his birth most likely in 1874.

On the other hand, the 1920 Census says he's 40, thus apparently shaving off a few years. He gives his date of birth as 1 June 1875 on his 1903 passport application that also calls him 28, and given that the passport application is date June 11, 1903, just after his birthday, if he is 28 the, he would be thirty in 1905, pointing to 1875. A Carlisle Student Information Card records his arrival at school on 08/30/89 at age 14, indicating 1875. Land allotment information gives even more alternatives. The US Indian Census Schedules indicate either 1876 (mostly) or 1877. In a Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Veteran's Compensation application he gives his birthdate as June 1, 1879.

### CARLISLE

For J.R. as a student, see:

<http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/people/wheelock-james>

and

[http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student\\_files/james-wheelock-student-information-card](http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/james-wheelock-student-information-card)

1889, in fall: J. R. Wheelock arrives in 1889 at age 14, acc. Carlisle student records (Dennison was 14 with 6 prior years). NARA record of Carlisle document says he had had 108 months (9 years) of prior schooling before starting at Carlisle.

1896: He graduates from Carlisle in 1896 (Choate photo in Witmer, p. 118, and NARA and Littefield and Parins, The Indian Helper, etc.) so he could be four or five years younger than Dennison (who graduated remarkably young, at age 19, in 1890), but age 22/23 seems right on. He ends up as president of the Invincible Society in his senior year.

As a student, he is a clarinetist in the Carlisle Band under his brother on E-flat and B-flat clarinets, and as concertmaster. Lots of references in Carlisle student newspaper. An important student in his own right. Also, a football star there, acc. some later newspaper references, but that is likely wrong and probably confuses him with a cousin, Martin Wheelock, who plays guard.

He apparently did play baseball early on, and did some club football while a printer, and coached football at Riverside.

On playing baseball, see The American Indian Integration of Baseball (2004), by Jeffrey P. Powers-Beck and Joseph P. Oxendine, Appendix 2, p. 195, where James R. Wheelock is listed as short stop on a roster of an 1892 Carlisle "Secret Base Ball Club."

On football, The Indian Helper XIV/6, Friday, November 25, 1898, p. 3 has him playing left end on a football team of the printers that beat the harness makers.

For four academic years, 1895-1899, he is listed with the Dickinson College orchestra as a player (3 years on clarinet and the final year on saxophone). No other association with Dickinson. Another Native American and Carlisle student in the group was trombonist Joseph F. Adams. J.R. only appears in the portrait photo in the 1896 yearbook; this is the photo where he is front and center, seated in the first row with clarinets in his lap, staring straight into the camera. Possibly his increased duties at Carlisle with band, orchestra, and printing shop caused him to stop participating in the group at Dickinson. NB: no overlap with Claude Stauffer at Dickinson.

The Indian Helper XI/13, Friday, January 3, 1896, p. 3: "The Dickinson College Orchestra and Glee opened up the concert last Friday evening with the College yell behind the scenes. James Wheelock, President of the Invincible Society, in introducing the musicians said in part: "As it is our custom each year to bring before the school something worth hearing the Invincible Literary Society decided this year to bring before you the Dickinson College Orchestra and Glee Club. We do not claim that this is an Invincible entertainment, but the evening is given under the auspices of the Society."

CARLISLE as employee

1896-1904

After graduation, J.R. stayed on in Carlisle for eight more years, until he was about thirty. For seven of those years, he was on the printing staff and being promoted under Miss Burgess, and he moved up at the same time from band manager to assistant band director to Band Leader. Dennison was at Carlisle for a total of 15 years, 1885-1900, and James came close with 13 years, 1891-1904, plus his return in 1917-1918.

[After graduation, he stayed on as assistant printer, and as assistant band director and conductor, acc. Littlefield and Parins, etc., for five years, acc. NARA. In another statement (NARA) he says he was bandmaster and assistant printer at Carlisle for one year. Since he is bandmaster for more than two school years (1902-1904; see below), this is possibly being very technical and indicating that only for one year was he fully promoted in the Printing Office and also Bandmaster. [?] In ARCIA 1898 he is journeyman printer but in ARCIA 1899 he is already Assistant Printer, so he is promoted in printing before in music. Another way to rationalize the numbers is that he was there for five years after graduation before working for all or part of three years as Band Leader.

In The Native American (Phoenix School) 17/6, Saturday, March 18, 1916, p. 104, it says: "Miss M. Burgess, who had charge of the various school publications at Carlisle as managing editor and instructor in Theory of printing under Gen. R. H. Pratt, was a recent visitor at Sherman Institute. James R. Wheelock, bandmaster at Sherman, was her assistant in the Carlisle printing department."

The formidable Quaker, Miss Marianna Burgess, was superintendent of printing. Inevitably, she is close to both brothers. Hauptmann, p. 50, cites Dennison and Burgess bringing Oneida recruits back to Carlisle in September 1895; her mother and father were around; then mom dies, but elderly dad still pitches in from time to time helping in the printing dept.

1896-97

Student record card exists in NARA for August 28, 1896 to June 30, 1897, saying James was discharged in order to become an employee at Carlisle. The card calls him an ex-student on the reverse, in a later entry; that side also records two complaints against him and mentions correspondence regarding some "fracas" being filled with Commissioner's file in July 1912. This probably refers to the 1909 fracas (see below), not a second later incident in 1912.

In his first year out of school, he stays in Carlisle, playing in Dennison's band and occasionally subbing as conductor when Dennison is out of town (The Indian Helper XII/6, Friday, November 13, 1896, p. 3).

He is also playing with the Dickinson Orchestra and Glee Club (The Indian Helper XII/15, Friday, January 22, 1897, p. 3).

He is appointed the Assistant Critic of the Invincible Literary Society---a non-student position, as a judge of debates, apparently (The Indian Helper XII/14, Friday, January 15, 1897, p. 2), plays with Dennison around town for church socials, Sunday services, and the like (The Indian Helper XII/15, Friday, January 22, 1897, p. 3 and XII/24, Friday, March 26, 1897, p. 3), and he also plays with Flannery at an Easter service (The Indian Helper XII/28, Friday, April 23, 1897, p. 2).



## 1897-1898

The Indian Helper XII/40, Friday, July 16, 1897, p. 3, reports that "James Wheelock, '96, is one of the new appointees in the Indian service at Carlisle. He is the band manager." James serves as band manager under Dennison for \$250 from 07/01/1897 in ARCIA; he is also a journeyman printer (The Indian Helper XII/50, Friday, September 24, 1897, p. 2); at this time, St. Cyr is Assistant Printer, Gansworth is Foreman, and Wheelock is Journeyman, which helps to define the ranks through which he climbs over the next few years.

The Indian Helper XII/49, Friday, September 17, 1897, p. 2: he is again the Assistant Critic of The Invincible Society

The Indian Helper XIII/1, Friday, October 15, 1897, p. 3 reports he played a clarinet solo accompanied by Gertie Simmons in later September at the opening ceremonies of the school that year.

In February-March 1898, he's running a song competition (The Indian Helper XIII/19, Friday, February 25, 1898, p. 2).

In March 1898, James plays lead clarinet with the Dickinson College Orchestra and Glee Club (The Indian Helper, XIII/24, Friday, April 1, 1898, p. 3)

In May 1898, the band went to Mount Gretna, PA under Dennison Wheelock. "Clarinetist J. R. Wheelock received a good musical offer while at Gretna, the other day. We have not heard of his accepting" (The Indian Helper XIII/30, Friday, May 13, 1898, p. 3).

NARA file clipping from a much later period, when J.R. is with the Enola Band in 1911, describes him as leading music for a Red Man's parade in Shamokin, PA, and says "In 1898 Wheelock was in Shamokin in charge of the Indian orchestra at Indian Park, now known as Edgewood Park, and made many friends while here, many of whom recognized this renowned Indian musician." Also, The Indian Helper XIII/44, Friday, August 19, 1898, p. 3 says James has been playing clarinet for a few weeks at Shamokin.

## 1898-1899

ARCIA (OIA Annual Report) for 1899 has him as assistant printer as well as band manager, with raise to \$490.

The Indian Helper XIV/6, Friday November 25, 1898, p. 3 has him playing left end on a football team of the printers that beat the harness makers.

The Indian Helper XIV/31, Friday, May 26, 1899, p. 1 reports he directed the Carlisle orchestra at an entertainment there.

## 1899-1900

Asst. Printer with raise to \$600, and Dennison still around.

NB: in 1900 he is on the books only as "journeyman", acc. his entry in the 1900 US Census at Carlisle.

Indian Helper XV/6, Friday, December 1, 1899, p. 3: James Wheelock is first clarinet in the orchestra of 16 (so he's not conducting? or both?).

Indian Helper XV/10, Friday, January 5, 1900, p. 4: JRW and an orchestra of 13 have a concert--he's the conductor.

Indian Helper XV/14, Friday, January 2, 1900, p. 2: there is now a new newspaper at the Phoenix School, and if you want it to print Carlisle news, send news to JRW and he will forward it.

Indian Helper XV/18, Friday, March 2, 1900, p. 3: "Assistant band-master James Wheelock" played clarinet in Easton, MD Tuesday night.

## 1900-1901

With Dennison gone, J.R. is still Asst. Printer at \$600.

Dennison leaves. The band limps on under Paul Walter, and then Joel Ettinger is appointed in early 1901.

In October 1900 James is one of a small number of leading graduates who give a short address at the 21st anniversary celebrations for Carlisle on October 6 (New York Observer and Chronicle, Oct. 11, 1900).

James served as assistant to Ettinger, but steps aside in July 1901 for Dennison in that role at the Buffalo Fair. J.R. is concertmaster instead at Buffalo. James is in the Buffalo picture as clarinetist, sitting to the left of Ettinger.

Married July 2, 1901 in Philadelphia; see RM XVII/1 = RM&H 1/49 (Friday, July 5, 1902), p. 2, and Newville Times, Wednesday, July 10, 1901, reports that J.R. marries Emma ("Emmie") Eversman in Philadelphia.

Red Man and Helper II/4, Friday, August 23, 1901, p. 3: Mrs. J. R. Wheelock will join him in Buffalo and go on vacation to the west and Wisconsin. Red Man and Helper II/5, Friday, August 30 and September 6, 1901, p. 3: Mr. James Wheelock, with his bride, is spending his vacation at Green Bay, Wisc.

## 1901-1902

The band remains under J. B. Ettinger in the fall of 1901, but Ettinger's name is not in the OIA Annual Reports, probably having fallen through the reporting-year cracks, or because Ettinger never fully entered Indian Service. Witmer book says James took over for Dennison when the older brother left, but that is not quite the case.

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Feb. 1902: J.R. takes over the band, and in ARCIA 1901-1902, James is finally identified as band leader at Carlisle, with a raise to \$720.

1902, June: First child of James and Emma, daughter Isabel/Isobel, born on June 8, 1902. Later in life she sometimes gives 1904 or 1905 as the year.

1902-1903

First full school year as bandmaster. In ARCIA, James on the rolls at Carlisle for \$720 as band leader.

Harrisburg Patriot, September 26, 1902, JR has been elected director [of the band?] for the ensuing year.

J. R. conducts the band at the Feb. 1903 fifteenth commencement; he composed and conducts his march, "Class of 1903." See The Washington Times, Feb. 9, 1903, p. 4; New York Observer and Chronicle, February 19, 1903; NY Times, Feb. 13, 1903, p. 7; The School Journal (E. L. Kelly & Co., 1903), p. 222. Note that the Redpath Collection at Iowa has a program that includes the Carlisle march. Evidently both Wheelocks composed marches for Carlisle.

Red Man and Helper III/30, Friday, March 20, 1903, p. 3 and III/31, Friday, March 27, 1903, p. 3; III/33, Friday, April 10, 1903, p. 3; III/35, Friday, April 24, 1903, p. 3; III/37, Friday, May 8, 1903, p. 3: Baby Isabel has double pneumonia and is very ill in Philadelphia; she had a cough, travelled to Philadelphia, and it got worse; by the next week, she now has hope of recovery; two weeks later, she is improving in Philadelphia; after a month, Isabel is better and she and mom are in Wissahickon, a northern Philadelphia suburb; not until early May are mother and daughter back in Carlisle.

The band had an engagement in the spring for one week, then extended to almost two weeks (ca. March 27-April 10) at Gimbel Brothers department store in Philadelphia (ARCIA 1903, p. 431-32, report on Carlisle by Pratt; see also Bell, p. 147). This was conducted by J. R. Red Man and Helper III/31, Friday, March 27, 1903, p. 3: the band will be at Gimbel Brothers in Philadelphia all of next week; Red Man and Helper III/32, Friday, April 3, 1903, p. 3: they were gone the week of March 30-April 3 and the disciplinarian went to help manage the boys' free time, plus they left on Friday the 27th; Red Man and Helper III/33, Friday, April 10, 1903, p. 3: they made a good impression; Red Man and Helper III/35, Friday, April 24, 1903, p. 2, 3: huge, four-column review of Philadelphia trip and the program about it held at Carlisle on Saturday the 18th; they were gone, in fact, for two weeks, ca. March 27 to April 10 or so.

They will go again next spring to Gimbels, and later he had a professional band there in 1909, acc. NARA.

Red Man and Helper III/35, Friday, April 24, 1903, p. 3: Isabel sick. Dennison has new daughter.

Red Man and Helper III/41, Friday, June 5, 1903, p. 2: JR and the band were a hit at a Sunday School picnic, as quoted from The Reading Eagle, Tuesday, May 19.

Red Man and Helper III/37, Friday, May 8, 1903, p. 3: band to play at Lake Mohonk on May 23.

### GERMANY IN SUMMER 1903

1903: Travel to Germany for two summer months, where he studied. His ship touched in at Southampton, but it would appear he went straight on to Leipzig.

Some references also place him in England on this trip. However, letters back to Carlisle while abroad make no mention of any visit in England.

NB: Washington Times says England and Germany (July 5, 1905, p. 8); Obit in Morning Herald (Hagerstown, MD) reprinted in column "30 Years Ago" on Monday, January 18, 1971, p. 4: says "He was a former clarinet player for the London Philharmonic orchestra"

US Passport Applications database on Ancestry.com answers the question of the trip date. He was away from late May to early August 1903. He left the US on May 26, 1903; applies at the Leipzig Consulate for an emergency passport on 11 June 1903, and the passport is issued in Leipzig on June 12, 1903. He gives his age as 28 (which could possibly mean he'll be 30 in 1904) and his birthday as June 1, 1875 (Note: not 1876 or 1877, which tend to be supported by Indian Census data). Returns August 2.

Red Man and Helper III/40, Friday, May 29, 1903, p. 3: brief mention that Band Director JRW has gone to Germany.

Harrisburg Patriot, June 1, 1903: JRW has gone to Leipzig

Red Man and Helper III/42, Friday, June 5, 1903, p. 2: from letter to wife, he arrives in Europe, goes to Berlin, then Leipzig

Red Man and Helper III/43, Friday, June 19, 1903, p. 3: JR writes from Berlin to Pratt to tell about trip; he touched at Plymouth, then Cherbourg, then disembarked at Bremerhaven. Toured Berlin. Will study at Leipzig with the concert master of the Leipzig Conservatory.

Red Man and Helper III/44, Friday, June 26, 1903, p. 3; he takes exams at Leipzig and is allowed to enter the four-year course and finish in two years; he will take private and special lessons in the summer.

Red Man and Helper III/45, Friday, July 3, 1903, pp. 1, 4: prominently featured more-than-four-column letter from JR.

Red Man and Helper III/50, Friday, August 7, 1903, p. 3: he's back, arriving last Sunday evening, August 2, from Europe [presumably to NYC or Philadelphia]; Isabel visits town with momma and papa; JR will temporarily be editor of RM&H, taking over from Miss Burgess while she is on a vacation trip, a duty which stretches to early October ("During the absence of The Man-on-the-band-stand, Mr. Wheelock will occupy the editor's chair"); and "He is enthusiastic over the benefits derived from his instruction abroad."

JR returns to Philadelphia (Littlefield and Parins); return in summer of 1903, acc. the Harrisburg Patriot, August 5, 1903 and Gettysburg Star and Sentinel (Aug. 12, 1903), which says Director James Riley Wheelock of the crack Carlisle School band returns from study in Leipzig, Germany; the brief obit in The Gettysburg Times (19 January

1941) says he was sent abroad by the US government to study music.

Not clear how to reconcile the Red Man and Helper letters with other claims. McNally (p. 22), in a passage whose source is not unambiguously cited, though he mainly relies on Lawrence newspapers, says Wheelock "played first clarinet for the Royal Opera Theater Orchestra for productions of Die Walküre and Götterdämmerung. He also performed in the Crystal Palace in London in a Handel Festival."

In a 1936 Carlisle Sentinel article, when Wheelock visits the Carlisle Barracks, says he "attended High School of Music at Berlin; studied harmony and Wagnerian Opera under Arthur Nikisch at Gewandhaus in Leipzig; conducted at the National Conservatory in London."

1903-1904

Second full year as bandmaster for J.R.

Red Man and Helper IV/3, Friday, September 11, 1903, p. 3: the Band Boys have been giving "German concerts," and "they say they are all likely to turn German now that Mr. Wheelock has studied in Germany." Red Man and Helper IV/4, Friday, September 18, 1903, p. 2: list of band members; p. 3: band practice officially starts up again with 51 members.

JR spends August and September working mainly at printing while Miss Burgess is away: he "will occupy the editor's chair" (Red Man and Helper, August 7, 1903, p. 7), although he does go west on a recruiting trip. School newspaper has him recruiting students for Carlisle in Wisconsin at threshing time---late summer 1903. Burgess journals of her trip dominate page 1 of RM&H for many weeks. In Red Man and Helper IV/5, Friday, September 25, 1903, p. 3, Miss Burgess is just back, and in Red Man and Helper IV/6, Friday, October 2, 1903, p. 3, Miss Burgess prints thanks to JR and others for help while she was away.

Red Man and Helper IV/20, Friday, January 15, 1904, p. 2: big review of Wheelock's two band concerts in Carlisle at the Opera House (matinee and evening), copied from Carlisle Evening Sentinel of January 11; it is announced that the band will attend the St. Louis Exposition this coming summer. Red Man and Helper IV/21, Friday, January 22, 1904, p. 3: reprint of review of opera house concerts from The Dickensonian says "The Band will soon leave for St. Louis to be present at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition."

JR name appears on a petition from Carlisle to the Congress of the US in US Congressional Serial Set that was dated 26 January 1904; signed by Pratt, etc.; J. R. is one of four Native Americans to sign.

RM&H through the spring of 1904 gives lots of attention and praise to the band; it plays at Carlisle Opera House, does a Harrisburg, Chambersburg, Shippenburg concert swing, has expectation of playing at St. Louis, played at Gimbel Bros. in March, for what ended up as three weeks.

In ARCIA, Charles Lamar is said to be employed as the new Carlisle bandmaster from February 1, 1904; if that is accurate, perhaps he comes on board in anticipation of J. R. Wheelock's departure.

1904, in March: Harrisburg Patriot, April 4, 1904, p. 6, citing news from "The Patriot Correspondent " in Carlisle dated March 3, has it that JR is the former instructor at Carlisle, and he has left for Chicago on business; "The Wheelock brothers have formed a professional Indian Band of which J. Riley Wheelock is leader and his brother, Dennison, manager. They will make a tour of the west, coming east in the summer to fulfill engagements at Philadelphia, New York and the sea shore resorts." Harrisburg Patriot, March 29, 1904, reports the resignation of JR from Carlisle.

Gimbel Brothers residency in Philadelphia for the second time, a year after the first; now for three weeks, in late February and early March 1904; possibly his resignation is effective after Gimbel Bros. gig?

Red Man and Helper IV/26 & 27, Friday, February 6 and March 4, 1904 (the consolidated graduation and commencement issue), p. 7: the Band is at Gimbel Brothers this and next week; Red Man and Helper IV/28, Friday, March 11, 1904, p. 3: the band is/was at Gimbel Brothers, who want them for another week, and want them to return next year; Red Man and Helper IV/29, Friday, March 18, 1904, p. 4: review of a concert under JR, so they must be back; Red Man and Helper IV/30, Friday, March 25, 1904, p. 3: band came back Saturday (i.e., the 19th?) after three weeks at Gimbel Brothers.

Red Man and Helper IV/31, Friday, April 1, 1904, p. 2: "Mr. Wheelock Leaves", an article with warm praise, connected to school for 15 years, graduated in 1896, trip to Germany and ENGLAND last summer, he will vacation in Wisconsin and then return to Philadelphia "where he has made business arrangements."

Note that he is leaving at the end of the academic year, after commencement, just before Pratt; this is when Warner leaves, too, and then Miss Burgess will retire at the end of the year.

NB: Both Wheelocks end up leaving the Carlisle nest at around age 30.

## WHEELOCK BAND

From summer 1904 on, J.R. throws in his luck with Dennison on their second attempt to start a professional band, with Haskell and Carlisle bandsmen as its nucleus and with J.R. as concertmaster and assistant conductor. They anticipated a 1904 tour of the west, then coming east for engagements in Philadelphia, NY, and the seashore resorts. St. Louis, summer tour, fall tour.

## 1904-1905

Details of summer/fall 1904 Haskell Band touring, and the band in spring 1905, in DENNISON WHEELOCK BIO (above in this document) and HASKELL in the separate on-line document, "Project File 3: THE PRINCIPAL SCHOOLS AND THEIR BANDS."

## 1905 SUMMER TOUR

1905, in June: the all-star band of fifty, now fully independent and professional and called the United States Indian Band, (a.k.a. Wheelock's United States Indian Band) goes on a major summer tour with significant residencies

Dennison contracts with "an old hand in the theatrical business," Max Rosenberg, to manage the band, on June 27 in Newport, KY. Rosenberg, based in Cincinnati, is a manager of acts and of amusement parks. He immediately grasps the reins and gets the band (and himself) into Billboard.

The advertised 1905 "Second Annual Tour of Wheelock's U. S. Indian Band" included:

Coney Island, Cincinnati, Ohio, June 25-July 8

Glenwood Park, New Albany, Ind., July 9-16

The People's Railway Company Park, Dayton, Ohio, July 18-21

Willow Grove Park, Philadelphia, Pa., July 23-August 4

Brandywine Park, Wilmington, Del., August 5-18

NB: manager Max Rosenberg bills the band for his expenses in Dayton and Wilmington

Decatur: Haskell Indian Band played in Decatur, IL on Tuesday, June 6, 1905; Decatur Jun 6: The Decatur Review for Tuesday, June 6, 1905, has them playing at "Dreamland," and still refers to the band as the Haskell Indian Band. For the rest of the season, best title is "Wheelock's United States Indian Band" (all spelled out)

1905, in June: Dennison is in Elkhart, Ind. around June 7, 8, 9 on band business and James is holding down the fort with the band; "they are no longer connected with the school, because while they were, they were very much hampered by the restrictions placed over them by the school regulations" (Elkhart (Ind.) Daily Review, June 8, 1905, p. 5; Elkhart Truth, June 8, 1905, p. 8); later in the summer Dennison is in Elkhart again on business, as a guest of C. G. Conn in August (Elkhart Truth, August 4, 1905, p. 5)

Rock Island

Chicago poorly attended

Danville (probably Danville, Ill. just east of Champaign but perhaps Danville, Ind. just west of Indianapolis)

1905: Dennison Wheelock writes Pratt on June 14, 1905 about financial juggling and to say he's in a financial pinch (Hauptman, p. 129, and p. 137, n. 50, from letter in Pratt papers at Yale); Dennison is seriously concerned about money, since he is supporting so much family.

J.R. is conducting and Dennison is doing advance work for the band on the road from Cincinnati

1905, in June: Fort Wayne, at the Robison Park theatre, Wed-Sat, June 14-17 (The Fort-Wayne Journal-Gazette, Friday, June 9, 1905, p. 7; The Fort-Wayne Journal-Gazette, Friday, June 16, 1905, p. 7; Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette, Sunday, June 17, 1905, p.

10). The US Indian Band under Dennison Wheelock, a group whose players are graduates of the best schools in the Indian Service.

Lima: Google Archive/Ancestry.com hit has J.R. as conductor in Lima, Ohio, on June 22/23, 1905: Lima Daily News, Band of 40 from 25 tribes; Lima June 22: The Lima Daily News (Lima, OH) for June 22, 1905 has J. Riley Wheelock as conductor.

Cincinnati: Coney Island, Cincinnati, Ohio, June 25-July 8; two weeks at Coney Park/Island, closing Saturday, July 8; Blanche Lyons is their soloist (Cincinnati Post, June 26, 1905, p. 7)

Billboard, July 8, 1905, says Wheelock's Band has been a popular feature at parks throughout the Midwest this summer, and mentions that Max Rosenberg has signed on, etc.

Cumberland, MD: Wheelock's US Indian Band, playing the Chautauqua circuit, is at Cumberland, MD in early July 1905. The Evening Times (Cumberland, MD), July 7, 1905 and July 9, 1905. For just one day??

Wheeling one week in July (? Can this be fit in, or is it another year, i.e. in 1904? or just one day?)

New Albany, Ind.: Glenwood Park, New Albany, Ind., July 9-16

Dayton: The People's Railway Company Park, Dayton, Ohio, July 18-21

Willow Grove: Willow Grove Park, Philadelphia, Pa., July 23-August 4

Wilmington: Brandywine Park, Wilmington, Del., August 5-18

New York City: Lion Palace Roof Garden, August 21-26

?Cincinnati: Cincinnati's Coney Island again

?Indianola: At Indianola this week [Columbus, OH] (NY Dramatic Mirror, September 2, 1905, p. 5)

#### JR TAKES OVER THE WHEELOCK BAND

At some point in the summer, as above, the band-conducting duties are fully turned over by Dennison to James Riley while Dennison goes on the road as an advance man. Then, probably in late June, James buys out Dennison, by one account (see The Arrow, Aug 3, 1905, ref. Troutman, p. 281).

See also the 1905 postcard with J. R. fronting the band; see also The Indian's Friend 18/2 (October, 1905), p. 8.



James directed this professional band and its successors in some guise (as the Wheelock Indian Band or the US Indian Band) into the 1930s, incl. Chautauqua, Lyceum, YMCA, vaudeville, parks, resort hotel, radio, etc. engagements.

One NARA document reports that it started out from Chicago in June 1905 under Dennison and James, and Dennison withdrew about the first week of August.

The Indian's Friend, 18/2 (October 1905), p. 8 says J.R. has bought out the interests of his brother Dennison, and that the band had an "all summer engagement" at Willow Grove, Pa, where it has won laurels." NY Morning Telegraph, October 16, 1905, p. 4 says J. R. bought out Dennison for \$1800 and kept the manager that Dennison had hired on June 27, Max Rosenberg. Same day's account in NY Press says J.R. bought the band outright the day after the Rosenberg deal was signed, thus June 28.

1905-1906

J.R. is with his band, and brother Dennison is studying law.

#### THE RED RIVAL OF SOUSA

When J. R. Wheelock takes over the band, he is quickly billed in advertisements as the "Red Rival of Sousa":

Carlisle: He is "Sousa's red rival" (Carlisle, PA, The Sentinel, August 14, 1905, p. 2)

Wilmington, Del.: He is Sousa's Red Rival (Wilmington, The News Journal, August 10, 1905, p. 8)

Pottsville, PA: he is Sousa's Red Rival (The Evening Herald, September 11, 1905, p. 4)

Albany: He and the band are at Proctor's in Albany, NY from September 25-30 (Billboard), and the Albany Evening Journal, Friday, September 22, 1905, p. 10, promotes him as "J. Riley Wheelock, styled the "Red Rival of Sousa," and his United States Indian Band of 36 pieces, will be the chief top-line act in next week's vaudeville at Proctor's," etc.

#### ONTO THE VAUDEVILLE CIRCUIT

1905-1906 A list of members of the professional band includes 34 names, in a report on a complaint filed against J. R. Wheelock by Augustine Mendoza (see NARA\_RG75\_91\_b3028\_07243.pdf).

The order below is that of the complaint, with some documentary annotations inside (). Annotations inside [] are additional here.

John Harvey (Assinniboine)

George Gardner (Chippewa)

Joseph Cigalo (Pueblo) [St. Louis 1904]

Manuel Bender (Washoe)

Miguel Jurado (New Mexico) [St. Louis 1904]

Chas. Carson (Blackfeet) [Haskell under Dennison Wh.]

Victor Gomez (Pueblo)

Cornelius Wheelock (Oneida; brother of James)  
Jerome Henry (Menominee)  
Joe Bultz (Poplar Mont.) [Buetz? If so, Haskell 1904]  
Spencer Williams (a Carlisle graduate)  
William Arquette [St. Louis 1904]  
James Arquette [St. Louis 1904]  
Simeon George (Onondaga)  
Hiram Green (Onondaga)  
David Hill (Onondaga)  
David Abram (Chippewa)  
Casper Peters [Haskell under Dennison Wh.]  
Willard Gansworth (Tuscarora) [Carlisle; Chilocco touring under Wiley]  
George Willard (Alaskan)  
Chamie Prickett (Menominee)  
George Bain (Sioux) [Baine; Haskell under Dennison Wh.]  
Malphus Cloud (Chippewa) [Carlisle and Haskell under Dennison Wh.]  
Dan Howard (Sioux) [Haskell under Dennison Wh.]  
Demascio Garcia (Pueblo)  
Monroe Coulon (Oneida)  
Phineas Wheelock (Oneida)  
Nathan Elm (Oneida) [Haskell under Dennison Wh.]  
Andrew Elm (Oneida) [St. Louis 1904]  
Ephraim Hernandez  
Augustine Mendoza (Pueblo)  
LeRoy Kennedy  
Alonzo Spieche (Apache) [Haskell under Dennison Wh.]  
Oliver Exendine (Delaware)

1905, September: New York: Wheelock's United States Indian Band of 36 at Proctor's 125th St. theatre in NYC (New York Tribune, September 10, 1905, p. 2).

1905, September: New York: Playing Luna Park (Coney Island) for five (six?) nights beginning September 18 (from 18 to 22/23).

Then they are to take a short tour, and then they are to leave for Europe early in November (Billboard; New York Dramatic Mirror, September 9, 1905, p. 20)

Poughkeepsie: on Wednesday, October 4, 1905 (Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle, Monday, October 2, 1905, p. 5).

NYC: Proctor's 58th Street theatre with 30 musicians for the week of October 8-15 (NY Times, October 8, 1905, p. 000; The Sun (NY), October 8, 1905, p. 22 [Sec. 2, p. 6]; The Sun (NY), October 10, 1905, p. 7; New York Tribune, October 8, 1905, p. 3).

Hoboken, at the Empire Theatre in the week of Monday, October 16, running Oct. 16-21 (Billboard; Jersey City Jersey Journal, October 14, 1905, p. 12; Jersey City Jersey Journal, October 17, 1905, p. 16)

The NY Clipper, October 7, 1905, p. 829 says Wheelock's Band has been placed under contract by John T. Whitfield and John J. Iris for a European tour to commence on or about November 15, 1905, and already the managers of this enterprise have had some offers. This trip never got off the ground.

J.R. is being sued by his business manager, Max Rosenberg, for \$499 in salary and expenses; the band was to have sailed to Europe but "the suit intervenes"; papers were served as soon as they left the stage at Proctor's on October 15, to get the money out of the salaries for the week just ended; the case is to go to court October 25 (NY Morning Telegraph, Monday, October 16, 1905, p. 4; NY Press, Monday, October 16, 1905, n.p. (illeg.); NY Dramatic Mirror, October 21, 1905, p. 20).

Wheelock's US Indian Band, playing the vaudeville circuit, is back at Cumberland, MD in November 1905 (Cumberland (MD) Evening Times, Friday, Nov. 3, 1905, p. 6).

Euphonium soloist Jose Cigala is in residence in Wichita in the Friends' University Band in 1905-1906, with lots of newspaper references. Cigala is called to NYC for an engagement with Wheelock's Band in November (Wichita, KS, Wichita Daily Eagle, November 24, 1905, p. 6). Cigala then returns to Wichita, where he is a bit of a local musical celebrity. See Wichita Daily Eagle, January 14, 1906, p. 8; Wichita Daily Eagle, January 19, 1906, p. 6; Wichita Daily Eagle, February 25, 1906, p. 8; Wichita Daily Eagle, May 3, 1906, p. 5; Wichita Beacon, May 4, 1906, p. 10; Wichita Daily Eagle, May 6, 1906, p. 14.

There is now a gap in documented band activity. Do they go to Europe for November 1905-January 1906 or so? Or did the lawsuit and the loss of manager Rosenberg put the band on hiatus? Much later biographical references to playing for the King of England may refer to this trip, though the relative silence at the time lends some doubt!

## SPRING-SUMMER 1906

The Indian's Friend 18/6 (February 1906), p. 8 quotes the Carlisle Arrow about how "Some Indians stay east after leaving school and are able to make their way among white people," including eleven musicians and ex-Wheelock band members boarding together right now in Philadelphia.

Winter Lyceum, YMCA, university lectures, plus summer Chautauqua, amusement parks, resort hotels, etc. J.R. manages the band himself from offices in Philadelphia, and every summer he takes an all-star band on tour.

1906, in May: Wheelock's band appears at the local Philadelphia Woodside Park resort, evidently for two or three weeks (Philadelphia Inquirer, May 23, 1906, May 24, 1906, May 27, 1906, May 28, 1906, and June 17, 1906)

Billboard, May 26, 1906, p. 28, under page heading PARKS, says Wheelock is to play for a fortnight at the Big Island Park at Lake Minnetonka, Minn.

1906: some time in 1906 they play Dreamland in Pittsburgh and are held over for a second week; "Florence Eversmann renders some pleasing songs" (Variety, np, nd)

1906, July 23-28 at Electric Park in Detroit (Detroit Free Press, July 23, p. 5; Detroit Free Press, July 24-28, 1906;) possibly from the 22nd, unless the Free Press is an evening paper

1906, in July-August: Luna Park in Schenectady, playing daily concerts for a week from Sunday, July 29 (Saratoga Springs Daily Saratogian, July 30, 1906, p. 8; also, Amsterdam and Albany papers, August 1, 1906, etc.)

1906-1907

At least from 1907 to 1910, J. R. is based in Philadelphia (NARA). In a NARA document that is a Carlisle Record of Graduates and Returned Students, he writes that his address is at the Keith theatre building in Philadelphia, and that he is self-employed in the band business. In 1907, he answers a Carlisle survey of January 21, 1907, by saying he lives at 1910 Green Street in Philadelphia and has offices at 929 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, and is the proprietor of Wheelock's Concert Band. In 1910, he gives his address as 1921 Wallace Street, Philadelphia, and his stationery reads "Wheelock and his Band" [These citations are from NARA; need to check Philadelphia business directories]

NB: Proctor and Keith merge in June 1906; in 1909 and 1910 Wheelock's business address is at the Keith Bldg.

NARA record says that in January 21, 1907 J.R. is living in Philadelphia and is the proprietor and conductor of Wheelock's Concert Band---50 members.

1907, in May: On tour, soloists include Barrett, saxophone, Miguel Jurado, cornet, Joseph Cigala, euphonium, Albert Deses, clarinet, and Helen May Monroe, soprano (Owensboro, KY, The Owensboro Messenger, May 25, 1907, p. 2 and May 26, 1907, p. 10)

In the summer of 1907 the young, white, blue-eyed Iowan Alonzo Leach (1884-1969) became a flute/piccolo soloist with Wheelock's Indian Band ([www.karlking.us/alonzo\\_leach\\_1.htm](http://www.karlking.us/alonzo_leach_1.htm), accessed 06/09/2013).

1907, in late April and May: a band of "full-blooded Indians" identified with the Carlisle school is playing at the Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition in Norfolk. This is not likely to be the current Carlisle School band, and is probably either James' professional band, or a band put together by his brother Dennison.

1907: Dream City Park in Pittsburgh

1907, in June: Wheelock's famous Indian band is at Oak Summit park in Evansville, IN for three days, featuring soprano Helen May Monroe (Evansville Courier, June 1, 1907, p. 5).

1907, in July: The band plays at Pabst Park in Milwaukee from June 16 for three weeks up through July 4. Bellstedt commences next Sunday, July 7 (Milwaukee Journal, June 15, 1907, p. 4; Milwaukee Journal, Wednesday, July 3, 1907).

Patriot (Harrisburg), July 4, 1907, article discussing arrangements being made for Wheelock's band to play, probably locally.

1907-1908

1907, October: Wheelock and the United States Indian Band play at the Three Oaks, MI opera house on October 9 (Three Oaks (MI) Acorn, 16/44, September 27, 1907, p. 1).

The Lima Daily News (Lima, OH), November 12, 1907, p. 8 says Wheelock's Indian Band is visiting members of a show in Lima while en route from Troy to Mansfield. The show is Lincoln J. Carter's popular melodrama, "The Flaming Arrow," which is supported by a Genuine Indian Band; both the company and its band had graduates from Carlisle or another of the government Indian schools. The band members from Carlisle surely knew members of Wheelock's band. The show, "a play of Western frontier life," was on the road for eleven seasons from Fall 1900 to Fall 1911, and always featured an Indian Band, sometimes identified as a brass band. In advertisements from 1905-1908 it is hailed as a "Genuine Indian Band." In 1901, "the members of this band are all graduates of Carlisle and are fine musicians" (Duluth, MN, News Tribune, May 4, 1901, p. 4).

The Mansfield News (Mansfield, OH), Monday, November 11, 1907, p. 10 says they are to play tomorrow night, Tuesday, November 12, 1907, at the opera house (Ancestry.com hits confirm); led by "James Riley Wheelock (Oneida), who has established his reputation as a rival of Sousa and the other famous leaders of the day." The men "made a decided hit at the St. Louis World's Fair and rank with Sousa, Innes, etc."

And JR is identified as "Carlisle's famous giant football guard." Is this really him, or a relative? Seems more likely to be Martin Wheelock, who was a guard and tackle and twice team captain. Dennison was also misidentified with the football Wheelock, but, as mentioned above, J. R. coached football at Sherman.

Wheelock's Band of 40 played two concerts in Canton, OH at the Auditorium on Wednesday, November 20, 1907. See The Stark County Democrat (Canton), November 19, 1907, p. 5, The Canton Morning News, Tuesday, November 19, 1907, p. 5 and Friday, November 22, 1907, p. 6. They are booked full until the season ends in June [1908].

Hauptman cites (p. 137, footnote 56) an advertisement for Wheelock's band in the Brown County (Wisc.) Democrat, Friday, December 27, 1907, p. 4, so they are coming to Green Bay, I would guess.

1908, in April: Son Raymond (Arthur Raymond Wheelock) born April 12, 1908.

1908, in May: The band (the “famous Carlisle Indian Band”) is the opening feature for the new season at Woodside Park in Philadelphia, with soprano soloist Miss Sadie O'Neill (Philadelphia Inquirer hits, e.g., May 31, 1908, p. 3b); she is the “Singing Comedienne”

1908, in June: Visiting Trenton, NJ at the White City there in June 1908 for band concert and vaudeville. In Trenton for June 22-July 4 (Billboard).

1908, in summer: at Cape May all season, July 6 to September 5 (Washington Times, June 20, 1908, p. 5; Philadelphia Inquirer, June 28, 1908, 2nd section, p. 10; Brooklyn Daily Eagle, July 5, 1908, p. 11; Washington (DC) Evening Star, July 5, 1908, p. 22; Billboard, July 18, 1908, p. 44; Baltimore Sun, July 5, 1908, “Red Men At Cape May” playing music for the beachfront pavilions; Carlisle Evening Sentinel, Wednesday, September 2, 1908, p. 2, has a little article on cute six-year-old Isabel, quoted from a Cape May newspaper.

1908-1909

Carlisle Evening Sentinel (drop file), Saturday, September 26, 1908, p. 2, Wheelock's band played at Carlisle. Possibly this is when the picture gets in the paper of JR as Red Rival. Also, may signal kick-off for big fall tour.

1908, in early fall: they recently played for a week at Gimbel Brothers in Philadelphia (Billboard, October 31, 1908, p. 30).

1908, October 15 and then October 16 in Bridgeton, NJ, but then cancelled (Bridgeton Evening News, October 5, 1908, p. 3; Bridgeton Evening News, October 12, 1908, p. 3).

later October 1908 in North Carolina (Daily Record (NC), October 26, 1908)  
Raleigh, Tuesday, October 27

Winston-Salem, Wednesday, October 28 (Spartanburg (NC) Herald, November 1, 1908, p. 1  
Charlotte (NC) Observer, October 28, 1908, p. 3 says their concert is tomorrow night (i.e., October 29), and that they had recently been in Racine, Wisc. (they are formerly the Haskell Indian band), and for Charlotte on October 29, see also Billboard, November 7, 1908, p. 33

Converse College on Tuesday, November 2 (Spartanburg (NC) Herald, November 1, 1908, p. 1)

Charleston, SC by early November (The Weekly True Democrat (Tallahassee), Nov. 27, 1908, p. 2)

Tallahassee in late November 1908

Wheelock's United States Indian Band plays under J.R. in November in Atlanta on Wednesday, December 2, at the end of a six-week southern lyceum tour (thus mid-October to December), after being previously in Racine, Wis. (Atlanta Constitution, November 29, 1908, p. A2); also in Georgia, the Augusta Chronicle (Ga.), November 1, 1908, mentions the band, as did Augusta Chronicle, June 18, 1908, p. 8, explaining that it was going to appear on the Augusta City Lyceum program

1909: Advance notice in September 1908 had anticipated that they would play all summer season in Cape May, from June 6 to September 10.

1909 clipping in NARA from Carlisle Arrow has his band playing at Gimbels with many former Carlisle students. What month? Is this actually the professional band, or the Carlisle School Band?

## THE BIG SQUABBLE

1909 July newspaper references to squabble over treatment of students at Carlisle. Could it have been motivated by problems getting Carlisle students for his touring band? Yes. See Bell thesis, p. 91, Troutman thesis, pp. 182-84, and the following newspapers:

Washington Times, Mon., July 5, 1909, p. 8 big art.; also Wed. July 7, p. 6

Philadelphia Inquirer, July 5, 1909.

Trenton Evening News, July 7, 1909

NY Times

Washington Post

Galveston Daily News

Hartford Courant, Wednesday, July 7, 1909, p. 8

American Volunteer (Carlisle, Pa.), Thursday, July 8, 1909

In late June, some band members left campus without permission and were returned and put in the guardhouse. For this, Wheelock attacks superintendent Friedman, who eventually is cleared of charges of mismanagement.

Trenton Evening Times (Trenton, NJ) Wednesday, July 7, 1909, regrets the spat between Carlisle and Wheelock over his accusations, and says he has attempted to secure Carlisle students for the band during their vacation and has been denied.

American Volunteer (CCHS drop file) reports Wheelock's attack on Friedman, seems that JR claims none of his bandsmen are current students---no one but graduates (and the implication is that Friedman has no power to detain them)

1909, in July: The Cumberland (MD) Evening Times, July 7, and Cumberland (MD) Evening Times, July 9, 1909, have Wheelock's US Indian Band in Chautauqua.

1909, in July: Fort Wayne, Ind., at the Chautauqua in Riverside Park (tonite) on Friday, July 23, 1909 (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette, Friday, July 23, 1909, p. 8).

1909, in August: opened last night (Tuesday, August 17) at Glenwood Park in New Albany, Ind. (New Albany (Ind.), Evening Tribune, Wednesday, August 18, 1909, p. 1).

1909-1910

Continues touring into the fall of 1909.

1909, late August: Kentucky Irish American (Louisville, KY), Saturday, August 28, 1909, p. 1, has J. R. and the United States Indian Band playing in town for the Democrats for a fall campaign kickoff at the State Fair grounds on two days upcoming, next Tuesday and Wednesday, August 31 and September 1. Right now, they are at Glenwood Park, on the east side of New Albany, Indiana, which is just north across the river from

Louisville. It held a Chautauqua there, which might be relevant. (Dennison had brought the band to Louisville in 1904.) Lexington Herald, August 28, 1909, p. 8; Lexington Herald, August 31, 1909; Lexington Herald, September 1, 1909, p. 1. Interestingly, there is independent corroboration of the Louisville gig in Elliot Paul, My Old Kentucky Home (NY: Random House, 1949), p. 431; they play at the Kentucky State Fair on August 31 and September 1 (Billboard).

Playing at Indianola, presumably Indianola Park in Columbus, OH, beginning Friday (Democrat-Sentinel (Logan, OH), Sept. 2, 1909, p. 5)

1909, September: playing the Colonial Theater in Cambridge, OH on Saturday, September 18 (The Daily Guernsey Times (Cambridge, OH), September 14, 1909, p. 000)

1909, in December: J.R. joins the Oxford Circuit Methodist Episcopal Church in Oxford Pa. on December 5, 1909. [Oxford in SE of Lancaster and SW of Philadelphia, down near the state line.]

1910: No record yet found in 1910 US Census.

1910, in July: Still touring, but not too many hits. They are at Cape May in summer 1910 for ten weeks beginning July 2 (as they had been in 1908) and were evidently running into early September. (Philadelphia Inquirer, June 26, 1910, p. 18)

At some point, he writes back to Carlisle, saying:

"Any one who has ever heard the Wheelock's United States Indian Band play, will testify that I have brought before the public a strong contradiction to that old saying "that the only good Indian is a dead one", and proved that an Indian with proper training is capable of mastering the highest art in the world "music". If he can prove himself equal to his white brother in music he can do anything is what I "PREACH" and to the best of my ability I try to practice what I preach."

1910-1911

1910, in September: Web ref has him bringing the "Wheelock's United States Indian Band" to Indianola Park in Columbus, OH in 1910. Presumably a return engagement a year after 1909 gig.

He is in Philly city Directory for 1911 but not for 1912, which signals his move out of the city to the center of the state in 1911.

ENOLA

J.R. goes to Enola, the RR town across the river from Harrisburg, in late 1910 or early 1911. He is building up the band, and he is also Physical Director of the Enola YMCA. Announced in January 1911. He's removed by letter from church rolls in Oxford, Pa. in July 1911.

Philadelphia Inquirer, January 9, 1911: Indian to Lead Band



Harrisburg Patriot, March 6, 1911, p. 8: he is getting tired of touring and will settle down at Enola with band gig and YMCA gig; one last gig with professional band next summer will require him to take a leave from Enola.

The Philadelphia Inquirer, Sunday, May 28, 1911, p. 6:

#### Enola Band and Its Indian Leader

CARLISLE, Pa., May 27.---The new Enola Band, with headquarters at Enola, will be the first band in this country to be organized and maintained by the Pennsylvania Railroad Young Men's Christian Association. The promoters of the Enola Band secured as director James Riley Wheelock, the famous full-blooded Indian band leader, who has had a brilliant career musically. All of the members of the organization are railroad employees and members of the Young Men's Christian Association. The first formal appearance of the new band will be at the one hundred and twenty-eighth annual commencement at Dickinson College, when the band plays on the college campus on the evening of June 5 at the junior promenade.

1911, in July: He has another 10-week gig at Cape May with his professional band starting in July 1911, and he will have to take a leave from the Enola job to do it (Harrisburg Patriot, March 6, 1911, p. 8)

Harrisburg Patriot, August 17, 1911: big three-day YMCA carnival with band.

1911-1912

#### BETHLEHEM

1911, in September: after less than a year, J.R. jumps ship from Enola to be assistant band director and instructor of the Bethlehem, PA band (Reading Eagle, September 13, 1911, p. 7; Philadelphia Inquirer, September 13, 1911, p. 3; Easton (PA) Express-Times, September 13, 2011 "On This Date"). He reports to Carlisle that he is now in Bethlehem, PA as leader of the Bethlehem Steel Co. Band. Has to be fall 1911. Enola band hits on genealogybank.com stop after summer 1911, until 1913. Bethlehem Steel Company Band founded in September 1910, so it is quite new. He's coming on board for the start of year two. The Easton (PA) newspaper article calls it "Schwab's Bethlehem Band"

NARA clipping from Bethlehem PA paper dated September 13, 1911 has him as having been physical director of the Pennsylvania Railroad YMCA and now to be assistant instructor of the Bethlehem Steel Co. Band. Clipping calls him formerly the leader of the Wheelock Carlisle School Indian band.

Also, Reading Eagle, September 13, 1911, p. 7, news from Harrisburg.

Philadelphia Inquirer, September 13, 1911, p. 3, art. from Enola dated Sept. 12: "Indian Quits Band Leadership/ James Riley Wheelock, the full-fledged Indian who has been physical director of the Pennsylvania Railroad Y. M. C. A. and conductor of the Enola

Band here, has resigned. He has accepted a position at Bethlehem, where he will become assistant instructor of the Bethlehem Band." This gig must not have lasted too long, maybe just the year. And note he's just assistant instructor.

1912-1913

#### EIGHTH REGIMENT BAND

J.R. leaves Bethlehem gig after a year, apparently, and takes on the Pennsylvania National Guard's Eighth Regiment Band. They are the official band for the 50th Anniversary of Gettysburg. Tyrrell had at one earlier point led this band.

The Patriot (Harrisburg), June 25, 1913, reports:

"WHEELOCK'S BAND ENGAGED/ Gettysburg, Pa., June 24.---James R. Wheelock, who a few years ago toured the country as the head of Wheelocks' Famous Indian Band and who led the Enola Pennsylvania Railroad Young Men's Christian Association band until a year ago has been notified that the Eighth Regiment band of Carlisle, which he now leads, has been chosen the official band for the big celebration marking the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg here next week."

1913-1914

#### ENOLA

By fall 1913 he's back with Enola again, as per newspaper hits. Also, Carlisle Arrow 10/31, April 10, 1914, p. 2 has him introduced at commencement event as at Enola.

He is physical director of the of the Pennsylvania RR YMCA Band and conductor of its Enola Band at Enola (The Carlisle Arrow, 10/31 (Friday, April 10, 1914), p. 2), a band of 55 pieces (NARA), which he builds it up into virtually a new organization in a few months. Enola is across the river to the immediate west of Harrisburg. J.R. and family are living in Carlisle.

Claude Stauffer is suspended as Carlisle band director by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on February 12, 1914 and formally dismissed in mid-May. From February through May/June 1914, Wheelock is asking about a possible position at Carlisle as temporary band instructor, and he writes that he'll leave for California unless something comes up. He writes for the first time to Lipps ON FEBRUARY 12 (!) "relative to the position of temporary band instructor." He is living in town and right on top of things; his address is 40 Main Street, Carlisle. He's looking to rejoin the Indian Service. He writes again exactly one week later, on February 19.

1914, in March: The Wormsleyburg Minstrels of Wormsleyburg, Pa. are holding a three-evening benefit for the Wormsleyburg Fire Company, and James Riley Wheelock, director of the Pennsylvania Railroad Young Men's Christian Association band and one of the best known clarinet players in the state, will offer a number of selections" (Harrisburgh Telegraph, March 24, 1914, p. 2).

In the midst of all this, Wheelock is a speaker at Carlisle on Wednesday evening of Commencement Week, on the program of what is called the Experience Meeting, where alumni talk (The Arrow X/31, Friday, April 10, 1914, p. 2 quoting the Carlisle Sentinel). He says, "Forget that you are an Indian." Mr. and Mrs. Wheelock were also at the alumni banquet.

After a short gap in the record, we know he writes Lipps on May 21 and is answered the very same day. (This must have been immediately after the formal dismissal of Stauffer.) He says he has the Sherman job in hand and will go, although the salary is bad, unless the Carlisle job is offered. He anticipates leaving about June 1. He says he's willing to combine band director with railroad stores job. The reply reveals that Carlisle had had a position of musical director that is to be abolished. One would have to find another position to combine with band leader: "I am somewhat at a loss to know just what other position to combine with that of band leader, for only a small portion of a man's time will be taken up with the band . . . . If they divide the salary heretofore paid the musical director and employ a music teacher and a band leader, you can easily see the salary of the band leader will not be very large." So evidently Stauffer was "musical director" but it was expected that the position would be abolished and its duties redistributed. Lipps thinks nothing will be done until fall. The band boys had been consulted about the kind of person who might be hired. Lipps says "personally I would prefer to have an Indian in that position." He recommends that if Wheelock has an offer at Sherman, he should take it.

J.R. is low enough on funds that he seeks for Carlisle to cover his RR ticket as a chaperon for students heading home for the summer to get him as far as Chicago or KC. Carlisle agrees to purchase his ticket to KC in the Lipps letter of May 27, and Wheelock's reply the same day confirms this; he says he's taking a party west on June 4 to KC, and he writes Lipps from Riverside upon his arrival on June 11 to say all went well with the kids.

Wheelock writes again from Sherman on July 15, and in a reply of July 27, Lipps indicates that the Commissioner decided that Carlisle ought to hire someone who is a violinist to cover both the orchestra and the band (i.e., someone more like Stauffer), and that the appointment ought to be made shortly. However, a letter from Wheelock to Lipps of Nov. 3, 1914, indicates that the Carlisle position "for Band Instructor and Assistant Disciplinarian" is still vacant, with Lipps replying on Nov. 9 they are still interested in finding a winds/strings person, and that they have a candidate for disciplinarian who is not a band man.

1914-1915

SHERMAN SCHOOL

1914-1915 is first of two years at Sherman Institute for J.R. as musical director according to a NARA document and refs. in newspapers, etc. He has to leave his wife and family behind in the East.

Band mentioned in Katanski, Learning to Write Indian, p. 2236 (notes) and etc., citing the Sherman Bulletin over years 1909-1917.

Job was offered before May 21, 1914, as is clear from Lipps letter of May 21.

Native American, June 20, 1914, p. 340 reports his arrival in Riverside.

Arrives June 11. On June 13, the paper says he has arrived a few days ago, and already is engaged as clarinet soloist with the Riverside Military Band (Riverside Independent Enterprise, June 13, 1914, p. 5); he plays for the first time on June 21 (Riverside Independent Enterprise, June 20, 1914, p. 3).

The Sherman Employee Register 1892-1940 has four entries (fiscal 1914 through fiscal 1917), documenting his date of original appointment as June 11, 1914, service for two academic years, 1914-1915 and 1915-1916, as band and music instructor, for \$720; raise to \$800 for fiscal 1917, but resignation effective 8/31/1916. There is no mention of "assistant superintendent of industries," but see below. This job is a rejoining of Indian Service.

The Native American (June 20, 1914), p. 340 (quoting the Sherman Bulletin: "James R. Wheelock arrived here this morning from Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Mr. Wheelock will assume the duties of bandmaster. He found a number of friends already here who gave him a cordial welcome.") and The Native American (1914), p. 464 (where he is identified as "of Philadelphia")

The band program grows steadily in size and prestige while he is there. He also takes on various other faculty and executive positions at the school (Riverside Independent Enterprise, April 5, 1916, p. 8)

Anticipated performances at San Francisco Exposition in 1915, but that does not happen.

Ref. in The Carlisle Arrow, Friday, July 21, 1916, p. 12, (plus NARA and in Littlefield and Parins) that he is band leader and assistant superintendent of industries at Sherman Institute, Riverside, CA [until he resigns in 1916]: "James R. Wheelock, class 1896, is a frequent visitor during the summer, as he is at present with his family in Carlisle. Mr. Wheelock is band leader and assistant superintendent of industries at Sherman Institute, Riverside, Cal."

He is immediately busy. The band, for ex., is in the Riverside County fair plus competition already in October 1914 (L.A. Times, October 11, 1914, p. I11).

His letter east to Lipps at Carlisle from Sherman on October 31, 1914, speaks of duties he has taken on including band, girls' mandolin club, orchestra, and football (!). Football has just started at Sherman, and he is at present the head coach.

NARA file has correspondence with Carlisle, etc. while in Riverside, CA, over debts, including a letter from his wife to Carlisle trying to explain things from Oct. 27, 1914. He's interested in returning east, where his family is, and still to Carlisle, if possible.

He falls ill. The Red Man, December 1914, p. 146, "Mr. James Riley Wheelock, band leader at Sherman Institute, Riverside Cal., underwent a surgical operation recently and we are glad to learn that he is up and about again."

Clearly, he is looking for ways to get more income. He wins a contract for six months of playing in San Francisco but decides to stay at Riverside (Riverside Daily Press, January 29, 1915, p. 7).

LA Times, March 21, 1915, p. I11 reports the band in a parade.

In June, he ends up taking a contract to play in San Francisco during his annual leave, but it was hard for him to decide to take the job rather than go visit his family (Riverside Daily Press, June 5, 1915, p. 4).

In fall 1915, the band plays at the Orange County fair (LA Times, October 12, 1915, p. I17).

Katanski, "Learning to Write Indian," thinks Dennison is the Wheelock brother at Sherman, which is wrong---it is James Riley---but cites the Sherman Bulletin from around 1917 (Katanski, pp. 236-237, n. 103) that there was "marked improvement in the band after his arrival."

1916-17

#### RETURN TO PHILADELPHIA

Wheelock is announced as the coach of the Sherman football team for the 1916 fall season, a team he had helped get going in 1914 but which had in 1915 had been led by a West Pointer, Lieutenant Weir (Riverside Independent Enterprise, April 5, 1916, p. 8), but J.R. eventually ends up returning East instead.

Return to Philadelphia area from California by the fall of 1916. In summer of 1916 summer, after two years at Sherman, The Native American (Phoenix School), July 1, 1916, p. 238, reports that "James Riley Wheelock, musical director at Sherman Institute, will fill a musical engagement in the East during the summer." Then in The Native American 17/16, October 14, 1916, p. 292: "James R. Wheelock, music director at Sherman Institute, has resigned and is leading an orchestra in Philadelphia." And once more The Native American (Phoenix School), v. 18 (1917), p. 46, reports "James R. Wheelock has resigned as bandmaster at Sherman Institute, California." Advertisements in The Gettysburg Times for Thursday, August 24, 1916, p. 3 and Tuesday, September 5, 1916, p. 5 indicate that "Wheelock's Famous Indian Orchestra" is playing at the Colonnade Hotel in Philadelphia in later August and September. Littlefield and Parins correctly report that he becomes an orchestra leader in Philadelphia.

#### HAGERSTOWN

1917, in February: After about a half year back in Philadelphia, J.R. becomes director of the Hagerstown Municipal Band (only the band's second director) from February 1917 through August 24, 1917, incl. April 1, 1917 letter to Carlisle on Hagerstown

Municipal Band letterhead. He had headed musical organizations at Enola and Waynesboro (cit. in on-line History of Hagerstown Municipal Band). See also NARA records. Succeeded Vernon Knauss in this position.

1917, in March: Wheelock publicly tries to apply for for military service with Colonel Roosevelt in Roosevelt's proposed volunteer infantry division (Philadelphia Inquirer, March 26, 1917, p. 4; Baltimore Sun, March 26, 1917, p. 2; Gettysburg Star and Sentinel, March 27, 1917; Philadelphia, Evening Public Ledger, March 27, 1917, p. 5; Gettysburg Times). Roosevelt was denied the opportunity to form the proposed division, and so the opportunity never really presented itself.

1917, in April: J.R. brings the Hagerstown Band to Carlisle, 55 miles away, in April. The Carlisle Arrow, Friday, April 27, 1917, p. 3, reports that the Hagerstown Band came by car to Carlisle and performed last Friday (which would be Friday the 20th).

He makes enquiries about the Carlisle vacancy that was due to the death of George F. Tyrrell. His Hagerstown Band wins the state band contest at Cumberland in May or June 1917.

1917, in August: Effort in August to appoint him to lead the First Maryland Regimental Band. Probably National Guard. Post of Chief Musician pays \$81 a month, i.e., \$972 a year (Baltimore Sun, August 19, 1917, p. 5: "Indian May Lead Soldier's Band"). Evening Public Ledger (Phila.), August 24, 1917, p. 2 says he has several offers under consideration, including possibly a regular army regiment; ditto in Hagerstown (MD) Morning Herald, August 23, 1917, p. 1: he is considering the offer of the First Maryland Regiment Band, another band which is a US Regular Army Band stationed in Gettysburg, and the leadership of the municipal band in San Bernardino, Cal.

1917-1918

CARLISLE

After much petitioning, in the fall of 1917 it was announced that he would take over as director of the Carlisle School Band, to succeed the previous director, G. F. Tyrrell, who had resigned due to ill health before mid-May and then died on May 27, 1917 (Gettysburg Times, Thursday, September 20, 1917, p. 3, and NARA records, including correspondence from June 1917). The brief interim leader had been a student, James Holy Eagle; Holy Eagle was a 1916 graduate who actually came back to help. JR left when the school closed its doors in 1918. (NB: the fall 1917 season was the last for Carlisle football.)

In the spring, when the Carlisle instructor in printing was off, Wheelock had to take his place in the printing office (Carlisle Arrow and Red Man, 14/34 (May 10, 1918), p. 2).

He is congratulated in the Philadelphia Inquirer, June 1, 1918 on his birthday.

1918, in August: On August 26, 1918, a public reception with speakers was held on the Carlisle school grounds for community members and Carlisle faculty and staff to mark the closing of the school and to welcome its transformation into the U. S. General Hospital. At this event, "Former [band] Director James R. Wheelock was presented by the Carlisle [ . . . ] with a handsome silver wrist watch, S. M. Goodyear making the presentation speech. Mr. Wheelock, who will soon leave for Siberia (*sic*), was too much overcome to make a speech, but was able to say 'thank you'." (Carlisle, PA, The Sentinel, August 27, 1918, p. 6)

1918-1919

## IN THE ARMY

After the final year of Carlisle, military service beckoned again.

J.R. tries again to enter the Army, about a year after the abortive effort to join up with Roosevelt. He enrolls and serves for one year as a 2nd Lieutenant in US Army with the American Expeditionary Force (AEF), August 20, 1918 to August 28, 1919, between his employment at Carlisle and employment at Genoa School. He won the post of bandmaster of the 808th Pioneer Infantry Band. The 808th Pioneer Infantry was an African-American construction regiment, and the band was also African American. NB: As an officer, he was technically regarded as white by the army.

The 808th, organized in July 1918 at Camp Meade, MD, shipped out in August after just one month of training, and was the first of the 800s (Pioneer Regiments) to reach France, on 7 Sept. 1918. They were present at the Meuse-Argonne offensive that began September 26th, at times working within range of enemy fire. They built a narrow-gauge railroad under fire. The regiment was officially listed as seeing action from Oct. 1 to Nov. 11. Of the 16 Pioneer regiments, it was one of two to be decorated.

The regiment consisted of 81 officers and 2721 men. Carlisle graduate and footballer Gus Welch entered officer training school in April 1917, won a commission as a second lieutenant, then on June 13, 1918 made captain in the 808th regiment. As a captain, he was one of the highest-ranking Native Americans in the army. He volunteered for this black regiment, and he commanded a company (ca. 250 men). Welch won combat ribbons, was twice decorated, and earned letters of commendation. He left the service in 1919. See Sally Jenkins, The Real All Americans (2007), pp. 296-298 on Welch and the regiment in France, citing archival documents; and on the regiment, see also Barbeau and Henri, The Unknown Soldiers, pp. 105, 171, and Hunton and Johnson.

There is an article in the Baltimore Afro-American in Nov. 1918 on Wheelock and the band, which in edited form is later published by Hunton and Johnson. "Lieutenant "Chief" James Wheelock became popular by playing a few kilometers back of the front lines with the 808th Pioneer Infantry" (also cit. in From Harlem to Paris: Black American Writers in France, 1840-1980, by Michel J. Fabre [1991], p. 57, with no source for

the ref., which must have been Two Colored Women, Hunton and Johnson, pp. 223-225).

Harrisburg Telegraph (CCHS drop file), January 29, 1919, no page number, reports an article from Enola, Pa of January 29, saying that JR, with the 808th Pioneer Regiment, crossed the Rhine with the Army of Occupation.

Wheelock's band won first prize amongst all US infantry bands on June 2, 1919 in France. the Genoa school newspaper says he holds an award "Presented by the Y.M.C.A. to 808 Pioneer Infantry USA Band, First Prize, Band Contest, Camp Pontanezen, Brest, France, June 2, 1919." "Mr. Wheelock's band contested for the prize with all Infantry Bands out of 80,000 troops that were at Camp Pontanezen, Brest." (Indian News, Oct. 1919, p. 6). Reference in Indian Leader (Haskell) 23/9, November 1919, p. 22, says he won a silver loving cup. Philadelphia Record obit says that "after the war [he] was awarded a cup by General Smedley Butler for conducting the best band in the A.E.F."

NB: from Wikipedia: US Marine General Smedley Butler (1881-1940)] was promoted to the rank of [brigadier general](#) at the age of 37 and placed in command of [Camp Pontanezen](#) at [Brest, France](#), a debarkation depot that funneled troops of the [American Expeditionary Force](#) to the [battlefields](#), in October 1918.

Camp Pontanezen is where US soldiers stayed before embarking for America at the end of WWI. The 808th lost between 150 and 200 men in the Pontanezen barracks during the influenza epidemic (Barbeau and Henri, p. 105).

The most famous African American regimental bands had already left before the June contest. The greatest of these, the band of the 369th "Hellfighters" regiment under James Reese Europe (former Clef Club musician), left for NYC on January 31, 1919 and arrived in early February. By the end of that month the bands of the 367th "Buffaloes" Regiment under E. E. Thompson (former Clef Club musician), the 368th regiment under Jack Thomas (not a Clef Club musician), and the 370th "Old Eighth Illinois" Regiment under George Dulf had returned. The 350th Field Artillery Band (the "70 Black Devils") under Tim Brynm (former Clef Club musician) and the 807th "Pioneers" under Will Vodery (former Clef Club musician), Europe's principal rivals, were scheduled to return in March. (Badger bio., p. 204).

Wheelock led his band for President Wilson in Brest on June 29, 1919. Possibly this was a prize or recognition for having won the contest earlier.

The 808th was delayed at Brest for two months (Barbeau and Henri, p. 171). It is unclear from that statement exactly when they were expected to leave or when they did finally ship out, but they were still in France in June, leaving in June. The Chicago Tribune reports some elements of the 808th arriving in New York harbor on July 18 and July 23, 1919.

For another short narrative on the formation of the 808<sup>th</sup> and their service in Europe, see Peter M. Lefferts, "Black US Army Bands and Their Bandmasters in World War I."



Wheelock is mostly referred to thereafter in conjunction with the US Indian Band or Wheelock's Indian Band as Lieut. J. Riley Wheelock or Lieut. Riley Wheelock. Identified in death records as 2nd Lt. US Army.

1919-1920

#### GENOA SCHOOL

1919-20: J. R. Wheelock is at Genoa School as bandmaster and disciplinarian, with his wife Emma as choir director, and son Raymond with them, for just one year, the 1919-1920 school year.

The Native American (Phoenix School), v. 20 (1919), p. 265: JR, of 808th Pioneer Infantry, now the new disciplinarian at Genoa; see also Lawrence (KS) Daily Journal-World, December 4, 1919, p. 1)

Wife Emma directs a "Hiawatha" operetta (Indian News, June 1920, pp. 15-16). (School newspaper ceases publication at that time, making further tracing hard to do. He is in Genoa for 1920 census. However, since Nelson conducted on Decoration Day, perhaps the Wheelocks had already left.)

#### DECATUR, RED OAK, PHILADELPHIA, AND THE PROFESSIONAL BAND

1920-1921

1920, in the Fall: Wheelock leaves Indian Service and becomes publisher of the Decatur Herald, in Decatur, Neb., a small town on the Missouri in NE Nebraska adjacent to the Omaha Reservation (The Decatur Herald, October 21, 1920, p. 10, and etc.). He also leads the Decatur band.

1921, in the summer: Wheelock's Indian Orchestra is the principal Day One attraction on a seven-day Midland Chautauqua circuit in the Midwest in June and July: Iowa, Wisconsin, South Dakota, Nebraska, Minnesota.  
(Lyceum Magazine; Red Cloud (NE) Chief, July 14, 1921, p. 8; Red Cloud (NE) Chief, July 21, 1921, p. 8; Billboard, December 31, 1921, p. 78; Decorah, Ia., Decorah public opinion, May 18, 1921, p. 2; Redwood Falls, Minn., Redwood Gazette, May 11, 1921, p. 2)

1921-1922

1922, in February: After about a year and a half as a newspaperman, Wheelock moves back into the band world, in Red Oak, Ia. (Lincoln, Neb., Lincoln Star, January 28, 1922, p. 4):

"J. Riley Wheelock, publisher of the Decatur Herald, is an Oneida Indian, and withal one of the brightest writers among the small town newspaper fraternity of Nebraska. He was educated at Carlisle, and later the government sent him to Europe that he might finish his musical education in Liepsic and Berlin. He is an accomplished musician and band leader. He served in the world war and at Brest,

France, he was given a loving cup by the American army in recognition of his splendid work with the bands. He is going to take a little vacation from the newspaper business and has accepted a position as municipal music director at Red Oak, Ia., for a year, starting February 1. He will retain his newspaper property at Decatur, operating it with the help of an assistant."

See also Butte, Neb., Butte Gazette, February 9, 1922, p. 2.

1922, in March: J. R. Wheelock of Red Oak, leader of the Red Oak band, made a proposition to the local businessmen concerning having a band in the coming summer (Council Bluffs, Ia., Council Bluffs Nonpareil, March 9, 1922, p. 3).

1922, in summer: Wheelock's Indian Orchestra was out again on the Chautauqua circuit (Billboard, July 29, 1922, p. 64), e.g. Great Falls, Montana in June

1922, in July: The Red Oak municipal band directed by Wheelock is accompanying the Red Oak delegation to the annual Ak-Sar-Ben entertainment in Omaha. "The Red Oak band is fast coming to the front under Director J. R. Wheelock, and besides being engaged for a concert at Crystal lake at Lewis, Ia., on August 6, are negotiating contracts for a number of county fair job in southwest Iowa (Council Bluffs, Ia., Council Bluffs Nonpareil, July 28, 1922, p. 32).

1922-1923

1923, in January: J. R. Wheelock leads the Red Oak, Ia., band for a special community affair (Council Bluffs, Ia., Council Bluffs Nonpareil, January 8, 1923, p. 2).

1923-1924

Wheelock turns up again in the Philadelphia City Directory for 1924, after having been absent since the 1912 directory, except for 1919-1920, when it says he was in the Army, although by that moment, in point of fact, he was back in the US at Genoa, Neb. So, if the city directories are allowed to be out by a year, then he could have been back in Philly in early 1924, or perhaps already for the 1923-24 academic year.

Seems to be back, at least in summertime, in Pennsylvania by early to mid 1920s. Leads Wheelock's U. S. Indian Band. This may have only been from ca. 1924. See 1924 brochures below, which imply activity at least from summer 1923 forward at Cape May, etc. And James Holy Eagle remembers shaking Coolidge's hand so that would mean 1925 inauguration. Played the Marshall, MI fair in June 1925.

1924 brochure in U of Iowa Libraries:

The U. S. Indian Band, formerly the Carlisle Indian Band.

Soloists acc. brochure incl. Princess Tsianina and James Garvie.

Booking agent is Hammond & Harff in Philadelphia. Includes a Carnegie Hall program. They have been playing at Cape May and Gimbels. They are "The Only American Indian Concert Band in Classical and Popular Programs." See

<http://sdrdata.lib.uiowa.edu/libsdrc/details.jsp?id=/usib/1>

PROGRAM RENDERED IN THE CARNEGIE HALL, N.Y. CITY

1. March---""Carlisle" ...Wheelock
2. Overture---"Tannhauser" ... Wagner
3. Euphonium Solo---"La Favorite" .... Hartman  
Robert Bruce
4. Valse Suite---"Invitation to the Dance" ... Weber
5. Descriptive---"Indian War" .. Wheelock
6. (a) Paderewski---Minuet  
(b) Down South" ... Lyleton
7. Grand selection---"Faust" ... Gounod
8. Soprano solo---"Inflammatus" ... Rossini  
Blanche Lyons
9. March---"Stars and Stripes Forever" ... Sousa

Bruce and Lyons with the band at Carnegie Hall? Has to be 1904 or 1905 or later.

NB: Blanche Lyons is a reasonably well-traceable lyric soprano who sang with Dennison in 1904 and is identified as from Lawrence at KU; she is at KU from 1903-04 to 1911-1912, and as assistant prof. in service from 1907; then southern California/San Diego/LA/from 1910s into 1930s, esp. with Henry Ohlmeyer Band; [info at KU and also McAnally] toured with bands in 1910s; possibly J.R. renewed acquaintance with her while he was at the Sherman Institute, or this is VERY old program from Carnegie Hall in 1904 or 1905; with Bruce on euphonium, it is probably old

1924: A separate, different one-page program is also in the Redpath Collection at U of Iowa: "A tentative program offered for Chautauqua or Lyceum concert. The above program is one of many concerts that this band played the last season." See:

<http://sdrldata.lib.uiowa.edu/libsdrc/details.jsp?id=/usib/2>

1. March---"The Marine Institute" ... Branton
2. Overture---"William Tell" ... Rossini
3. Polka for Cornet---"Arbucklianian"  
Mr. James Garvie
4. Descriptive---"Indian War Reminiscences" ... Wheelock  
(Introducing Indian dancers in full war regalia)  
Synopsis: 1. Morning on the plains. 2. Indian council. 3. War dance (enacted by a dancer in Indian war costume.) 4. (Yankee Doodle and Dixie) U.S.A. marching to quell the Indians. 5. The Battle. 6. Peace, Auld Lang Syne.  
5. Valse Suite---"Blue Danube" ... Strauss

INTERMISSION

6. Grand Selection---"Carmen" ... Bizet
7. Comedy---"Showing off Before Company" (a la sousa) Sousa
8. Song for Trombone---"Selected"  
Mr. J. H. Williams
9. Jazz Melodies .. Feist

Featuring Saxophone Sextet  
10. March---"The Victor" ... Eben

1924: During the early 1920s, J.R.'s brother Dennison also had a band out in the summertime: "Wheelock's Indian concert band of Green Bay, Wis."

[NB: 1925: James Holy Eagle remembers a Coolidge inauguration with the US Indian Band (1925); this is too late for a school band, of course, but he could easily have been part of JR's professional band.]

1925, in May: Wheelock's band is playing in Philadelphia (Philadelphia Inquirer, May 10, 1925, p. 29)

1925, in June: J. R. Wheelock's Band is playing at Ocean City, N.J. outside Philadelphia. (Philadelphia Inquirer, June 28, 1925, first page of Resort and Travel Section; NY Sun, June 6, 1925, n.p. [resorts page])

1925-1926

1925, in December: "Lieut. J. R. Wheelock, quartermaster reserve, to duty at once in Philadelphia for training."  
(Washington, DC, Washington Times, December 16, 1925, p. 13)

NB: His obits say he was in the 103rd Engineer Battalion P. N. G., a famous Pennsylvania national guard unit whose armory is in Philadelphia. It seems that that J.R. stayed in the National Guard/reserves after the war and was a member of this Pennsylvania unit at that time. One obit says he was a reserve lieutenant. Also, Philadelphia Record obit says. "He was turned down because of his age when he volunteered for military service last summer" (i.e., in 1940).

1926, August: he leads his band ("Wheelock and His Indian Band, formerly Carlisle Indian School Band") with soloists Pedro Lozano (trombone), Augustine Mendoza (piccolo), Chief Katati (baritone), Robert Bruce (cornet), and Princess Ataloo (vocalist) in Philadelphia for the Sesquicentennial. Ataloo does a Who's Who kind of entry in which she says, "Soloist with Wheelock's Concert Band, Sesqui-Centennial, Philadelphia, Pa., August and September, 1926". The band was well-established at this point as a premier band in Philadelphia. The bands in residency in series were Conway, Thaviu, Creatore, and Wheelock. Wheelock's band played from August 11 to September 16 (Austin and Hauser, eds., The Sesqui-Centennial International Exposition: A Record based on Official Data and Departmental Reports [Philadelphia, 1929], p. 222).

Hits on programs for the band at the exposition, with Ataloo, in Philadelphia Inquirer, e.g., Philadelphia Inquirer, September 11, p. 8, "Wheelock and His Indian Band"; see also Los Angeles Times, August 1, 1926, p. C 20.

NB: Pedro Lozano was a soloist with Conway, the Syracuse Symphony Orchestra, Mexico City Symphony Orchestra, etc., and author of instrumental methods books  
NB: Chief Katati and Princess Elona are "Iroquois Songbirds" on vaudeville bills

1926-1927

1927, summer: as in 1926, Ataloo has "short season with same band in 1927" including a residency at the Cincinnati Zoo, as below.

1927, June: A two-week residency at the Cincinnati Zoo for June 5-18 (Covington, KY, Kentucky Post, June 10, 1927, p. 34 [second section, p. 25], Cincinnati, OH, Cincinnati Post, June 3, 1927, p. 20; Cincinnati Enquirer, June 6, 1927, p. 14 and numerous further hits in Cincinnati Enquirer, etc.). Vocal soloists are George Lamere (who also dances to Bellstedt's Indian War Dance) and Princess Ataloo; another soloist is cornet player Robert Bruce; they broadcast live on the radio from Cincinnati (Indianapolis Times, June 4, 1927, p. 9; Atlanta Journal, June 5, 1927, p. 66).

A series of portraits apparently taken at the 1927 Zoo residency (date not 1929, but 1927 on account of the appearance of Ataloo among them) are mounted online through the Cumberland County Historical Society. They are from the Carlisle School and are part of a very large collection identified as Winneshiek. See

Riley Wheelock

<https://carlisleindian.historicalsociety.com/images/winneshiek-riley-wheelock-director-of-wheellocks-all-indian-band/>

Ataloo with the band

<https://carlisleindian.historicalsociety.com/images/winneshiek-princess-ataloo-in-wheellocks-all-indian-band/>

Reuben Sun Down [Reuben Charles, Tonawanda Seneca, Carlisle 1900-1912] holding a clarinet:

<https://carlisleindian.historicalsociety.com/images/winneshiek-sun-down-holding-woodwind-instrument/>

Two Kills holding a trumpet:

<https://carlisleindian.historicalsociety.com/images/winneshiek-kills-two-holding-a-trumpet/>

Chief Winn playing the flute:

<https://carlisleindian.historicalsociety.com/images/winneshiek-chief-winn-playing-the-flute/>

Lazano [Pedro Lozano] playing a baritone horn

<https://carlisleindian.historicalsociety.com/images/winneshiek-lazano-as-a-member-of-wheellocks-all-indian-band/>

Wolf Chum with sousaphone [same as Paul Wolf Chum, Cheyenne, Carlisle 1910-11?]

<https://carlisleindian.historicalsociety.com/images/winneshiek-wolf-chum-with-sousaphone/>

After the residency at the Cincinnati Zoo, the band swings east towards a residency at the Steel Pier in Atlantic City.

Frederick, MD in June 1927.

1927, July-August: Ads for Atlantic City resorts run simultaneously in NY Times and Washington Post on July 10, 1927, and many other papers, advertising renowned concert bands, such as "Pryor, Creatore, Sousa, Goldman, Wheelock or U. S. Marine Band." For the band in Atlantic City, see also Washington, DC, Washington Times, September 8, 1927, p. 15.

1927-1928

Played on radio at in 1927 and 1928; lots of hits; referred to as Wheelock's Band or Wheelock's Indian Band. Wheelock's band on radio in: Plain Dealer (OH), May 15, 1927; Trenton Evening Times, June 5, 1927; The Sun (Baltimore), September 5, 1927; lots of other hits for September 1927, broadcasting from Atlantic City

1928, in June: for the second year, the popular two-week residency for "Wheelock's Indian Band" at the Cincinnati Zoo, led by Lieut. J. Riley Wheelock. They play twice a day. "Chief Shunatona" is named as being with them (Covington, KY, Kentucky Post, June 12, 1928, p. 3).

Wheelock's Band, while in Cincinnati (Cincinnati Post, June 16, 1928, p. 7) holds a native Indian dance Saturday night at the Zoo to celebrate the nomination of Senator Charles Curtis for the Vice Presidency.

Billboard magazine gives Wheelock's Band a generous half column devoted to the 1928 Zoo residency. Princess Winona is their vocal soloist, Chief Shunatona is an entertainer and dancer who does songs and dances, and the programs also feature "the Chilocco Oklahoma Quartet," which likely is Shunatona and his "Four Americans" (The Billboard, June 16, 1928, p. 15, Cincinnati Enquirer, etc.)

1928-1929

1929-1930

From 1929 forward, the "United States Indian RESERVATION Band" or "United States Indian Band" identifies the band Shunatona organized for the Hoover inaugural, and as an RKO (Keith-Orpheum) Feature Act. Wheelock's band may continue to be the United States Indian Band, or else the United States ORIGINAL Indian Band, Wheelock's Indian Band, or Wheelock and his Indian Band.

1930: on the radio (Boston Daily Globe, March 27, 1930, p. 17)

1930-1931

1931, in May: On the radio.

1931-1932

1932-1933

1932, in November: Trenton Evening Times (November 8, 1932, p. 11, November 9, 1932, p. 10, November 10, 1932, p. 19) announces a movie along with stage program

headed by Wheelock and "The Original United States Indian Band" at the RKO Capitol Theatre; a band of 16 individuals representing ten tribes; the name probably indicates a rivalry with Shunatona

1933, in June: Wheelock and his Indian Band play with Buck Taylor's Wild West and rodeo at Willow Grove in May and June, and then they are all at the Million Dollar Pier in Atlantic City (Billboard hits). Around now, William Winneshiek leads a band that also plays at the Million Dollar Pier. A photo survives to confirm this. Winneshiek surely plays in different weeks. (NB: Winneshiek may very well have been in Wheelock's band earlier in his career, and he and his band play some of the same kinds of rodeo gigs as Wheelock in the mid to later 1930s.)

1933-1934

1933, in November: Lieutenant Wheelock and his Indian Band are with the Bob Morton Circus Company (Shrine Circus) in Camden, NJ and Richmond, VA (Billboard; Richmond, VA, Times Dispatch, November 26, 1933, p. 8).

1933, in December: Wheelock and a band of 10 are playing for the Bob Morton Circus (Shrine Circus) in Toronto (Billboard, December 2, 1933, p. 42)

1934, in April: Wheelock and his band are with the Bob Morton Circus (Shrine circus) in Omaha.

One obit says he retires in 1933 and that Emma dies in 1936.

1934-1935

1935-1936

1936, in January: Wheelock is in charge of the prison band at the Broadmeadows Farm prison northeast of Philadelphia near Trenton, as a WPA Instructor, and he has to do lots of elementary instruction; he is still doing this in August 1936 (Chester Times, January 7, 1936, p. 8; Chester Times, August 13, 1936, p. 12); Chester Times art. has lengthy bio and mentions that he is in the National Guard.

1936, in February: Wheelock and his Indian Band will appear in Col. Jack King's show in Wilkes-Barre, Pa. late in February (Circuses pages, "The Corral" column, in Billboard, February 8, 1936, p. 37)

1936, in July: Wife Emma M. Wheelock dies 9 July 1936 and is buried on 13 July 1936 in Philadelphia National Cemetery.

1936, in July: From CCHS drop file: A July 1936 article from The Sentinel (Carlisle), reprinted in a much later Sentinel in a feature called "Tour Through Time," reports that Wheelock comes to guest conduct at Carlisle Barracks on Thursday night, July 23, 1936. [That would be very shortly after Emma dies.] Says he was educated at his father's mission school; his dad was James Abram Wheelock, Methodist minister and last Sachem of the Oneida Nation; entered Carlisle at age 12; mastered the clarinet; studied theory, harmony, and history of music under Rev. G. Ganns, who was pastor of St. Patrick's Catholic Church; attended High School of Music at Berlin; studied harmony and Wagnerian Opera under Arthur Nikisch at Gewandhaus in Leipzig;

conducted at the National Conservatory in London; "known as the Red Sousa"; organized the band for V.P. Curtis. (Really?? This was Shunatona in 1929 and Shunatona/Garvie in 1933. Elmira Star-Gazette also mentions this in 1938, and so there may be something to it, such as that Wheelock band members constituted a significant part of the 1933 band under Garvie.)

NB Rev. Ganns: The Rev. Herbert G. Ganns was for many years the rector of St. Patrick's in Carlisle. He left in 1903 to be Financial Agent of the Catholic Indian Schools and Missions [see RM&H 19/11 = III/49, July 31, 1903, p. 3] and then returned to Pennsylvania.

1936-1937

1937, in August: making an appearance for a week's engagement at the Steel Pier in Atlantic City (Pottstown, PA, Mercury, August 21, 1937, p. 4).

1937-1938

1937, in September: Schenectady, NY Gazette, Wednesday, September 1, 1937, p. 24 has Lieut. J. Riley Wheelock's All-American Indian Band playing a concert at the Troy Rodeo that runs September 16-19

Wheelock, the leader of the United States Indian Band that appeared last season with the J E Ranch Rodeo, is recovering in Philadelphia from an appendectomy (The Billboard, January 13, 1938, p. 43)

From Spring 1938 or thereabouts, Wheelock is identified in some contexts as Chief Oneida and the band is "Chief Oneida's Indian Band." This band is with a rodeo in Wilkes-Barre, PA in April.

1938, in August: "Indian Chief Leads Rodeo Band": he is leading the rodeo band at Suffolk Downs (Boston Daily Globe, August 9, 1938, p. 19)

1938, in August: As "Chief Oneida," Wheelock is leading the J. E. Ranch Rodeo Indian Band at the county fair in Elmira, NY (Elmira Star-Gazette, August 31, 1938, p. 8).

NB: The JE Ranch rodeo is still going strong in the 1950s.

1938-1939

Still in rodeo work, appearing, e.g., in Pittsburgh, PA in April 1939, Allentown, PA in June 1939, Rochester, NY in July 1939.

1939-1940

1940, in April: Wheelock and the "All-American Indian Band" are with Col. Jim's rodeo playing the Cleveland Arena; it is Eskew's rodeo, here called the American Legion Club rodeo (Cleveland Plain Dealer, Sunday, April 14, 1940, p. 118)

1940, in April: While in Cleveland, Wheelock and the band visit the Cleveland Indians baseball team at the stadium and make Bob Feller an honorary member of the band



(Cleveland Plain Dealer, April 18, 1940, p. 7; Cleveland Plain Dealer, April 19, 1940, p. 20)

1940, in May: in Harrisburg, PA

1940, in May: Wheelock, as "Chief Oneida," is still running a rodeo band, an "all-Indian band from Wisconsin", for Col Jim (J. E.) Eskew of Texas (the JE rodeo) (Philadelphia Inquirer, May 6, 1940, p. 20).

1940, in June: in Pottsville, PA

1940, in June: in Hazleton, PA

1940, in August, in Scranton, PA

1940, in August: Chief Oneida and his all-Indian Band are playing the county fair in Middleton, NY this week (Wallkill (NY) Valley World, August 23, 1940, p. 4).

1940, in August: Wheelock and the Indian band are playing the Chemung County Fair (Elmira Star-Gazette, August 27, 1940, p. 14).

1940-1941

James Riley Wheelock dies 11 January 1941 in Upper Darby, PA. Tiny obit/death notice in NY Times, 14 January 1941, reprinting a Philadelphia notice of 13 January 1941. These notices say he is 66.

J. R. is interred on 14 January 1941 in Philadelphia National Cemetery. 2nd Lt. US Army, WWI. What does gravestone say for birthdate? Anything? the cemetery is the Philadelphia National Cemetery at Haines Street and Limekiln Pike, Philadelphia, PA.

Philadelphia National Cemetery on-line reports no birth dates for them:

[http://www.interment.net/data/us/pa/philadelphia/philanat/index\\_wawh.htm](http://www.interment.net/data/us/pa/philadelphia/philanat/index_wawh.htm)

Wheelock, Emma M, d. 07/09/1936, Plot: 233 07/13/1936, \*

Wheelock, James Riley, d. 01/11/1941, 2ND LT INF, Plot: 234 01/14/1941, \*

NB: After Wheelock's death, the "American Indian Band" continues with Eskew's JE Ranch Rodeo under the leadership of "Young Chief Oneida." A lucky survival that is scanned and on-line is a program of the Grotto Rodeo at Edgerton Park in Rochester NY, July 14-19, 1941, sponsored by the Lalla Rookh Grotto of Rochester and featuring Col. Jim Eskew's Rodeo. One page (p. 8) is devoted to the Indian Band, here also called the Oneida Indian Band, with a portrait photo of the band showing 13 performers, including J. R. Wheelock and his son Raymond, and Princess White Fawn, drum-majorette) and a block of text giving the band's history; it is explained that Raymond had been in the band for a decade and took over upon his father's recent death. See also Billboard, March 28, 1942, p. 37; Sayre, PA, The Evening Times, June 30, 1942, p. 1; Rochester, NY, Democrat and Chronicle, July 21, 1942, p. 12; further, Billboard, September 26, 1942, p. 38, reports that an all-Indian band under Chief Wheelock played at the Cortland (NY) County Fair in late August and early September; this is son Raymond: "Chief Raymond Wheelock, Conducting" (Cortland, NY, Standard, August 19, 1942, p. 2).

In 1944, the band of 10 pieces is playing with the JE Ranch Rodeo and is said to carry on the good work of Wheelock, "the pioneer Indian Band leader, who won a

national reputation as a fine leader" (Goshen, NY, Independent Republican, August 17, 1944, p. 4).

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Potential confusion between Wheelock's professional band and an Oneida community band, which may both be called the Oneida Indian Band.

Reminiscences of Oneida musicians travelling with Oneida Indian Band (a.k.a. Oneida Indian National Band), may be from 1920s or perhaps after he gives up big band, in 1930s, unless this is actually a reference to the big band: "We began to travel under the leadership of a man names James Wheelock . . . We stopped in high-class places because we were a high class band, and we got high wages," cit. in Oneida Lives (2005), p. 33.

And see also mentions in Hauptman, The Oneida Nation, about this period, pp. 140-41: "James Wheelock organized a traveling band and I went along. We went all over the country. We went through about fourteen states."

And Oneida Bands website has "The American Band was organized by James Wheelock. This Band travelled around the country and visited approximately fourteen different states." Possible that what's being referred to is the Wheelock professional band. It also smacks of the title of Hill's band, and of Dennison's 1900 enterprise. Possible that J. R. took a more active role with the Oneida in Wisconsin between Genoa and Philadelphia years in early 1920s, or after Dennison left for Washington in 1923, or after J.R. closed the Wheelock Band in the 1930s.

Incidentally, the Oneida Indian Band gets hits on Google Archive for Appleton and other Wisconsin towns from 1923 to 1934. [other refs from 1908 to 1940s on Ask.com]

## ICONOGRAPHY

James with Dickinson orchestra

Witmer, Indian Industrial School

p. 40: the brothers

p. 68: James with printers

p. 118: James with his graduating class

Hauptman

after p. 154: young James

Carlisle Band ca. 1901:

Momaday, Three Plays, p. 152 (James on conductor's right)

Buffalo Exposition 1901 brochure (James on conductor's left)

James with Enola Band

Chautauqua brochure of 1924

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## LEM WILEY BIO

Lemuel H. (Lem) Wiley (1844-1912) was a European-American cornetist ("a gifted horn tooter") and conductor, Civil War bandsman, band leader, circus impresario, opera house/theater manager; US House and Senate Door Keeper; a unique character, irrepressible. He sometimes seems to have gone by the honorific title "Colonel," but not often. He is in this document because he took over direction of the US Government Indian Band at the St. Louis Worlds' Fair in 1904 from Nels Nelson. He led it on a brief tour in the fall of 1904 at the end of its residency, and then returned to Chilocco in the summers of 1905 and 1906 to take the Chilocco school band out on the road again under the name of US Government Indian Band.

1844: Born April 17, 1844, in Greene Co., Penn.; went into blacksmith trade with his father

1862: went to Peoria

1862: enlisted in the fall in the 77th Regiment, Illinois Volunteers, as Chief Musician, at age 18; army bugler; there is a great story of how he got drunk and smashed his horn; possibly he enrolled as Chief Bugler and mustered out as Chief Musician.

1865: returns to Peoria and joins Spencer's Light Guard Band in the Peoria community as cornet soloist for nine years; opens a music business

1871: goes on tour with the Nilsson troupe (NY Evening Post, March 17, 1871, p. 4)

1872: One of 24 Gilmore cornettists at the Boston Peace Jubilee

1872: marries; spouse Atta (Alta) E. Wiley (Alta Wilson, daughter of Levi Wilson of Peoria); she is about five years younger

1880: a member of Haverly's Original Mastadon Minstrels, touring out of Chicago, for five years, 1880-1884

1884: has his own Peoria band from 1884

1885: manager of the new Grand Opera House, Peoria, Ill. (seating capacity 1,600) and still holds that position six years, to 1891; he forfeits his lease and is no longer connected with the Grand after the end of the 1891 season (NY Dramatic Mirror hit, 1891, n.d., p. 16)

1890, 1891, 1892: runs Music Day at the State Fair in Peoria (and possibly through 1895 and 1896); in 1895, he is rehearsing the children for the flag presentation ceremony on Children's Day; he has charge of Children's Day

1891: at end of Spring, he severs his ties to Peoria's Grand Opera House

He really seems to get politically active in the 1890s, judging from newspaper hits.

1891: possibly a congressional doorkeeper at the House of Representatives from this time; one 1911 newspaper reference says he has been a doorkeeper for 20 years, so from 1891; another 1911 reference says he has been on the *main door* for several years. He is a House doorkeeper (but not "The Doorkeeper") in 1902, anyway. In 1900, the Chicago Tribune says that after touring the Peoria Congressional district with the successful candidate for Congress in that year's campaign, he spent the last four years (1896-1900) as a messenger in Congress. The doorkeeper post might be synonymous and from 1896 or 1897 only. At St. Louis in 1904 he is having a march played that is called "West Door, H. R." that refers to the fact that he had charge of the *west door* of the House.

1892-1893: He's managing Rouse's Hall in Peoria (NY Dramatic Mirror, April 2, 1893, p. 10)

1893: he publishes his Jig Medley march

1894: He's in charge of "Music Day" at the Indiana State Fair (NY Dramatic Mirror, September 29, 1894, p. 3 [8?])

1894-1895

1895: He's managing The Tabernacle in Peoria (NY Dramatic Mirror, April 6, 1895, p. 5, etc.)

1895, September: he receives a heavily gold-plated and engraved bugle, "Presented to Lem H. Wiley by General Lawler and staff, G.A.R. Department, 1895, Louisville, Ky."; he has been chief bugler for national Commander in Chief Lawler for the past year, so presumably 1894-1895 (Springfield Daily Illinois State Journal, September 27, 1895, p. 3); the Chicago Tribune (October 31, 1900, p. 12) says he has already held the post of chief bugler for some years

1895-1896

1895, in August: He's going to manage a new theater in Peoria, to be called the Comedy, which will open in October (NY Dramatic Mirror, August 17, 1895, p. 6)

1895, in November: the new theater opens, and it is now called The Auditorium (NY Dramatic Mirror, November 30, 1895, p. 17)

1896, March: He's managing The Auditorium, a theatre in Peoria (Oswego (NY) Daily Times, February 8, 1896, p. 8; NY Dramatic Mirror, March 7, 1896, p. 6; NY Dramatic Mirror, April 4, 1896, p. 6)

1896-1897

1896, October: Former generals Daniel Sickles, etc. go out on the campaign trail for McKinley; Lem Wiley travels as Sickles's bugler (Canton (OH) Repository, October 19, 1896, p. 4)

1897 wants to direct the Marine Band as the successor to Fanciulli (the job that went to Santelmann); is a candidate for doorkeeper at the White House under McKinley (Springfield Daily Illinois State Register, February 10, 1897, p. 6); possibly the Congressional gig comes at this moment for the also-ran

1899 An engraved presentation cornet survives, presented by the citizens of Peoria to Wiley in 1899

1902-1903

1903: He is fishing to be a part of the Indian band at the St. Louis Fair; correspondence from March. He does not initially get this post.

1903-1904

The Indian School Journal 4/29 (June 29, 1904) St. Louis World's Fair Daily Issue, p. 1:  
"Wiley has arrived at the Indian School and accepted the position of Leader of the World's Fair Indian Band. . . He has been one of the popular doorkeepers of the House of Representatives for the past eight years."

Wiley is in town on June 29 and directs the band in concert that night (St. Louis Republic, June 30, p. 9).

Wiley runs the Indian band at the Fair officially from July 5 until October 11, replacing Nels Nelson; on tour in a little in the summer, and then for three weeks in the fall, and then returns to the fair and then to DC; then tries to keep the band going to the end of the year on the road. Parezo and Fowler 2007 (p. 154), from letters, report a view of the situation that is prejudiced against Nelson, probably reflecting McCowan's side of the case.

By August, the Wiley-led band is accepting gigs in surrounding communities (Parezo and Fowler, p. 156). Google hits for some band in Decatur, Ill. on Aug 3 & 4, 1904, could well be Wiley.

#### WORLD'S FAIR BAND ON TOUR IN THE FALL OF 1904

Plans were underfoot for the official band's tour for quite a while; arrangements were worked out in Jan/Feb 1904. McCowan got an agreement for a six-month concert tour arranged with Fred Pelham's Central Lyceum Bureau of Chicago, which became an eight-week tour with fourteen weekly concerts, and continued to shrink (Moses, p. 166; Parezo and Fowler p. 66 and fn 25.) They were going to tour the Midwest and West (p. 156).

See also The Indian's Friend 17/1 (September 1904), p. 3 saying they would tour the western and central states under the auspices of the Central Lyceum Bureau.

St. Louis Republic, October 13, 1904, p. 4, says the Indian Band is going on tour for four weeks through Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, and then will return and remain to the close.

St. Louis Republic, November 6, 1904, p. 14 (Part II, p. 2), says the band returned yesterday from Peoria, where they completed a six-week tour of Illinois, Iowa, Indiana, and Minnesota (see also Schwartz and Schwartz, p. 39).

Metronome 20/12 (December 1904) says the Indian School Band played from May 1, and left October 12 to tour Iowa, Illinois, and Wisconsin. They eventually tour for four weeks from Oct. 12 through Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. So, this is basically like the earlier St. Louis newspaper announcement.

In the end, the trip was from October 12 to November 5, just three weeks.

October 25: Rockford, IL (Rockford Daily Register Gazette, October 12, 1904, p. 4; Rockford Daily Register Gazette, October 24, 1904, p. 3; Rockford Daily Register Gazette, October 25, 1904, p. 7, etc.)

The Band may then have remained at the Fair to its close on December 1.

The Lyceum Bureau was Pelham (S&S, p. 35; Moses; Parezo, p. 437, n. 43). Wiley back in Washington by late November (DC newspaper ref. CHECK; by language in

Washington Post, December 19, 1904, p. 6 he is back by then). Moses chapter in his Bk on WW shows implies that they went out [it would have been with Wiley] for \$600 [Moses says "\$600 a performance" but it must have been the rate per week] but couldn't get engagements and stopped: "The "greatest Indian musical organization in existence" passed quickly from a route traveled by other, more successful Show Indians" (Moses, p. 166).

The bandsmen primarily returned to Chilocco. Wiley took the Chilocco band out on tour twice more, in the summers of 1905 (Iowa State Fair, etc.) and 1906 (Riverside Park, Chicago etc.) as the US Government Indian Band.

## BACK AT THE FAIR

Oblivious to the fact that the Government Indian Band was on tour, it was announced in the daily calendar all through October in newspaper schedules.

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Washington Post, Dec. 19, 1904, p. 6:

"There is one House employee, L. H. Wiley, who comes back to the Capitol thoroughly convinced that it is tame business "sitting on a door." For those who do not fully comprehend, "sitting on a door" describes, in the vernacular, the work of a House doorkeeper.

Wiley comes from Peoria, in itself a pretty hot town, with distilleries enough to intoxicate the entire population of the United States. He is a bugler and musician of repute and, in his career, harks back to the halcyon days of early minstrelsy. During the summer Wiley was on the Pike at St. Louis as the leader of a band composed solely of young Indians. He is equally emphatic, after his strenuous summer, that the Indians are excellent musicians, competent even to execute classic programmes, and that the House of Representatives makes one feel like going to sleep."

1905, summer: the US Government Indian Band---essentially the Chilocco Band under Wiley---takes its second big summer tour. Wiley is based in Peoria as manager.

1905-1906

1905, fall: Wiley is made the headquarters bugler in Washington for the G.A.R. (Jersey Journal (Jersey City), October 30, 1905, p. 3)

1906, summer: Wiley takes the Government Band---again, essentially the Chilocco band under Wiley, in its third summer---on another big tour. Now he is based in Washington, D.C. as manager; tour of Chicago and Milwaukee, summer 1906. ARCIA ref., etc.

1906-1912

1910: US Census; he is 65 and spouse Alta is 60, in Peoria

1910: T. R. Roosevelt visits Springfield, Ill. and is serenaded by "Peoria's Pride," a musical organization under Lem Wiley.

1911: At some point Wiley becomes Door Keeper of the US Senate; he was formerly a House doorkeeper for many years

1912: Wiley dies in Peoria on January 9 of a stroke suffered on January 7

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## WINNESHIEK BIO

Winneshiek, William Phineus ("Bill"; "Chief Winneshiek"; NaHiSonWahiKa) (12/24/1892 - 9/15/1949); some sources give birth year as 1896; enrolled Winnebago/Ho-Chunk. Middle name also given as Phineas. Son of John Winneshiek, "the true chief of the Winnebago tribe" (1833-1931) and mother Sue; brother of Lillian Winneshiek Red Cloud (Nellie Red Cloud, 1896-1993, married to Mitchell Red Cloud, sr.). First wife is Marie Marguerite Zerbe (1891-1938) of Lebanon, PA; they have a daughter, Doris Winona Winneshiek (1917-1991), and a son, William Sherwood Winneshiek (1919-1995).

His name is occasionally Winnieshiek, Winnishiek, Winneshick, or Winneshick. The name Winnishiek is especially associated with the Iowa County. Winnishick is associated with Carlisle football in 1914, and "Bill Winneshick" is especially associated with the 1922 football team.

He is described as "of Dubuque, Iowa" in an article on the band in Batavia, NY Times, July 1, 1937, p. 6. Winneshiek, Iowa is the county in which the county seat is Decorah.

1904: Tomah Indian School, in Tomah, Wisc. (about 100 miles NE of Decorah).

1904-1911: Education at the Sac & Fox Indian School, Toledo, Ia. (about 125 miles SW of Decorah); 1904-1907 (through fifth grade); 3 months at Eland Mission; Sac & Fox 1907-1911 (through eighth grade).

## CARLISLE

1911: Entered the Carlisle School on June 28, 1911 (or September 4, 1911). He is called 17 years old on Carlisle 1911 roster. An athlete and musician at Carlisle.

He's in charge of the Carlisle barbershop and writes a little article about it for The Carlisle Arrow 11/11 (November 13, 1914), p. 4. There are 17 hits on his name in the Arrow, vols. 10-12.

1913: In a Carlisle commencement program for Tuesday evening, April 1, 1913, the band played under Stauffer; James Garvie was the cornet soloist and William Winneshiek played 2nd trombone. He plays with Cardin as well as Garvie.

1914: His summer outing assignment was with Tyrrell's band in Lebanon., Pa.

1914-1915

1914: on Carlisle football team. Played football with Thorpe at Carlisle and then later on Thorpe's "All-Indian" NFL team, the Oorang Indians, during the 1922 season.

1915-1916

Departed October 19, 1915. He had been taking course work at Carlisle Commercial College.

## AFTER CARLISLE

1915: left Carlisle, October 19, 1915, without graduating. He writes bandmaster Tyrrell in October 20, 1915 to ask for help in purchasing a slide trombone. He works for the Pennsylvania RR in Altoona, PA, which is northwest of Harrisburg and Carlisle, and plays in the Mishler Theater Co. orchestra there.

1916: he is a former Carlisle student who is visiting there.

1916: Assistant football coach under Joel Wheelock at Lebanon Valley (junior) College.

1917: Lebanon Valley College in Annville, Pa. Living in Altoona.

Probably marries around now. Daughter is born in 1917.

1918: In WWI draft registration, he is a Penn. RR car repairman at the Altoona Car Shop.

At least from by 1920 or thereabouts to late 1930s, he lived in Lebanon, PA. Thus, in the same community as James Garvie.

Graduate of Lebanon Valley College and Penn State. Chemist and metallurgist, and professional musician. His son attended grade school through high school in Lebanon, PA.

1922: Played under coach Jim Thorpe on the Oorang Indians NFL football team in the 1922 season.

In the 1923 & 1925 Lebanon City Directories he is a painter.

1930: In US 1930 Census he's a chemist at a steel foundry in Lebanon; wife Marie and children Doris and William.

1933, in September: He is reported to be going to sail with Richard E. Byrd to the Antarctic. He is described as a lecturer, chemist, metallurgist, Boy Scout official, author of two books on scouting, and an accomplished musician who spent the summer playing with an Indian band as a feature in the Million Dollar Pier show. Pretty standard article in several papers, "Indian Chieftain to See South Pole" or something like that (e.g., Philadelphia, Inquirer, Sunday, September 3, 1933, p. 6 SO; Boston Herald, Sunday, September 10, 1933, p. 4]

Atlantic City Million Dollar Pier. A photo shows the band (of eleven performers) in front of the entrance to the Million Dollar Pier.

Does Boy Scout work and is affiliated with the National Council

Boy Scout books:

Indian Lore and Indian Legend

Nature Study and Sportsmanship with the American Indian

The September trip apparently was scheduled but then postponed.

In the 1936 & 1938 Lebanon City Directories he is "musician."

Leader of "Chief Winneshiek's Indian Band" or "Chief Winneshiek's All-Indian Band" in the 1930s. A 16-piece band with three ex-Carlisle students.  
[hits in 1933 (as above), 1936 & 1937]; in articles he is sometimes referred to as Tom Winneshiek.

Lacy Rankin Oxendine [also, Lacey, Lacie], 1897-1965, french horn, a Cherokee of the Lumbee Nation who was a former Carlisle classmate (Carlisle 1914-1915), was in the band in 1937. Oxendine entered Conway Hall (Dickinson College prep school) after leaving Carlisle.

1935-1936

In 1936 and 1937 his All-Indian band makes appearances at rodeos in upstate New York, and elsewhere with George Hamid's/Milt Hinkle's Texas Rangers Rodeo Show. This is the same kind of activity, at the same time, for J. R. Wheelock and his All-American Indian band. The "All-Indian" band name also is used by Joe Shunatona arund now.

1936, in May: The Billboard, May 2, 1936, p. 43, under Circuses, under "The Corral" by-line: "Chief W. P. Winneshiek advises that his All-Indian Band will play 24 weeks with the Harris-Eskew Rodeo, starting with the Pittsburgh engagement"; it "his 10-piece band." (Wheelock's band plays for Eskew next year and often thereafter.)

Winneshiek and his Indian Band of 15 pieces perform at the rodeo in Rochester, NY (Rochester Democrat and Chronicle, July 22, 1936, p. 17), and later that summer for a rodeo at the New York State Fair in Syracuse in September (Albany, NY, Times-Union, August 23, 1936), p. 10-B).

1936-1937

1937, in May: Winneshiek's band is with the Texas Rangers Rodeo in May 1937 in Flint, Michigan, Batavia, NY in early July, Buffalo, NY in July. (Wheelock's band is with Eskew this year.)

1937-1938

1937, in September: Winneshiek's band in Staunton, VA. (Staunton, VA, Daily News Leader, September 10, 1937, p. 2).

1938-1939

1939-1940

1939, in October: Marries Estella Ebert Winters (1899 - 0000) of Reading, Pa. in Hartford, Conn. on October 12. They first met 25 years before (which would be late in his Carlisle years).  
At time of 1939 wedding, he was a metallurgist and a musician, and "at one point he played trombone in Rudy Vallee's orchestra [that would have to be in 1930s] and was also the leader of a touring Indian band, now disbanded." (His first wife died a

year ago.) He is called a “cosmopolitan world roamer [who] now seeks employment” (Stamford, Conn, Stamford Advocate, October 13, 1939, p. 4).

In another newspaper article at the time of this marriage, he is employed as President of the National Indian Defense Association, Inc. and also employed by Rudy Vallee.

Or, at one time he played with Rudy Vallee; now he is connected with the National American Indian Defense Committee, whose president is his friend John E. Hamilton (Chief Rolling Cloud), a Mohican Indian.

full title: National American Indian Defense Association, Inc. of Harford CT  
see: <http://www.geocities.ws/Athens/Delphi/8150/>

1940: In the US 1940 Census there is a William Winneshiek, age 43, a widowed lodger, with four years of college, born in Wisconsin, living in Lebanon PA in 1935, now living in Brooklyn, NY (King’s County), who is a chemist at a metal production company.

1949: Tragic death at age 57 at the home of Lacey Oxendine, Minquadale, Delaware (just south of Wilmington) where he was a visitor.

Obituary Clipping:

<https://delawareonline.newspapers.com/clip/106589501/obituary-for-william-p-winneshiek/>

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<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/people/winneshiek-william>

<http://winneshiek.org/kids.html>

<http://www.winneshiek.org/phineus.html>

Winneshiek was interest to Tom Benjey on account of his experiences with football at Carlisle, as a coach, and in the NFL. See:

<https://tombenjey.com/2010/09/06/winneshiek-and-more-on-hidden-ball-play/>

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