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Selling Indian Education: Fundraising and American Indian Identities at Bacone College, 1880–1941

LISA K. NEUMAN

When we think of schools run by the federal government or by Christian missionaries for American Indians, we are reminded that Indian education was designed—to borrow the words of Richard Henry Pratt, the government's notorious Carlisle Indian Industrial School founder—to "kill the Indian to save the man."[1] Historically, American Indian education in the United States was inextricably linked to Euro-American colonialism. By the late nineteenth century, many Euro-Americans thought Native Americans were a "vanishing race," and schools for Indians incorporated this belief into their design. In the United States, the large number and variety of schools for Indians that sprang up from the late nineteenth through the early twentieth centuries were intended as a means to assimilate Native communities into the American mainstream, turn "primitive" peoples into "civilized" individuals, and create Christian citizens who would adopt values of private property, hard work, and industry considered important by many Euro-Americans. Prompted in part by the Meriam Report findings of 1928, profound changes to federal Indian education began with the Indian New Deal in 1934 and occurred again in the 1970s when Congress passed legislation specifically designed to increase Native American access to and control of formal education. It was during these landmark periods that Indian education shifted to become more community-centered and more tolerant of the expression of Native cultural values and identities.[2]

Only a generation ago in most Native communities, everyone seemed to know someone who had attended one of these institutions of assimilation. Consider what Wilma Mankiller, the former principal chief of the Cherokee

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Nation of Oklahoma, wrote about her family's experiences at the government's Sequoyah School, near Tahlequah, Oklahoma:

> The whole idea behind those boarding schools, whether they were government operated like Sequoyah or a religious operation, was to acculturate native people into the mainstream white society and, at the same time, destroy their sense of self. . . . [T]he fact remains that the primary mission of Sequoyah and the other boarding schools was for the children to leave everything behind that related to their native culture, heritage, history, and language. In short, there was a full-scale attempt at deracination—the uprooting or destruction of a race and its culture.[3]

Scholarship on the history of Indian education often echoes the memories of Indian school survivors. Scholars often use terms such as *deindianization* and *deculturation* to describe the intentions of administrators and teachers in these schools.[4] Although a number of Indian education studies have shown that the intentions of administrators were not always realized and that students often developed creative peer cultures at school, the prevailing understanding of the history of American Indian education is that most schools fought very hard to erase the Native identities of their young students.[5]

The particular focus of my article is Bacone College, a small American Baptist school for Indians founded in 1880 in what is now Oklahoma. Visit Bacone College today, and you will see something intriguing. Covering the walls and floors of the rustic Ataloa Lodge are Navajo rugs, cases of kachina dolls, examples of nineteenth-century tribal clothing, pottery, prehistoric artifacts, and artwork created by students and teachers. On first reflection, these displays may appear to be the product of modern sensibilities, of late-twentieth-century multiculturalism and efforts to bring Native American cultures into schools and colleges that serve American Indian students. Yet the history of Bacone College reveals another pattern. Completed in 1932, Ataloa Lodge was designed to serve as a museum, classroom, social center, and reception hall for this small campus in Muskogee, just southeast of Tulsa. In the mid-1920s, Bacone began to promote the Indian identities of its students. Prior to the Indian New Deal's educational reforms, the school developed its own courses in Native arts, crafts, and history. It even boasted a student glee club that toured the country in Navajo costumes.

Why, then, did a school designed to assimilate Indian students to Euro-American society and convert them to Christianity begin to emphasize the Indian identities of its students? I argue that because Bacone was a small school that relied on private donations for support, economic forces profoundly shaped the specific strategies school administrators and teachers adopted in their treatment of Bacone's Native American students and their Indian identities. Moreover, at Bacone specific social and legal forces—tied to the school's sectarian interests—had a tremendous impact on the particular fundraising strategies the school could pursue. I trace the unique social and legal forces that shaped Bacone College from 1880 to 1941 and demonstrate

how and why Bacone's fundraising efforts shifted dramatically during the 1920s toward an emphasis on the Indian identities of its students. I also show how successful fundraising led to the creation of new campus programs that emphasize American Indian cultures and identities and briefly discuss the positive effects of these programs on Indian students. What follows is a brief history of Bacone College: its mission, students, curriculum, and early attempts at fundraising.

INDIAN EDUCATION AT BACONE COLLEGE, 1880–1918

In America, Baptists began mission work with American Indians during the early nineteenth century. Because Baptists viewed literacy as essential in their converts, they worked to translate the Bible and other religious materials into Native American languages and set up schools to educate Indian youth. Baptists also viewed Christianity as having a "civilizing" effect on tribes that had previously "walked the Indian Road" and came to refer to their educational and evangelical work with Indians as "teaching the Jesus Road." Many Baptist missionaries argued that conversion to Christianity and the assimilation of Indians into Euro-American society were the preferred alternatives to the campaigns of extermination often carried out by white settlers and the federal government against Indians. Baptists viewed formal education as fundamental to their mission to assimilate Indian communities.

Beginning with the removal of the Choctaw in 1830 and continuing into the mid-nineteenth century, the Five Civilized Tribes—the Choctaw, Creek, Chickasaw, Cherokee, and Seminole—were relocated from their original homes in the southeast to Indian Territory, in what is now Oklahoma.[6] These tribes soon began to reconstitute their tribal governments, schools, businesses, and cultural institutions. Ultimately, diverse Native communities from all across the United States were relocated, with at least sixty-five tribes living in Indian Territory by the twentieth century.[7] Baptist missionaries accompanied some of the tribes to Indian Territory, often baptized Indians en route along what came to be known as the Trail of Tears, and then resettled in Indian Territory to continue their proselytizing. In addition to the personal connections some Baptists and their families had to the Indian groups with whom they worked, the desire to acquire a denominational monopoly on evangelical work with the Five Tribes also motivated some Baptists to journey to Indian Territory.

The issue of slavery soon split the Baptists into two groups, as Baptists in the south separated from the core of the Baptist leadership in 1845. This schism produced two major Baptist bodies—the Southern Baptists and the American Baptists (sometimes called Northern Baptists). Both groups continued educational and mission work with Native communities throughout the United States. In Indian Territory prior to the civil war, the two groups largely cooperated in educational work with Indians. However, Indian Territory was bitterly divided during the civil war. Among the Five Tribes, some of whose members had been slaveholders, loyalties were split between the Confederacy and the Union. During this time, the Southern Baptists suspended most of their

efforts in Indian Territory, and the American Baptists dominated work in the area, primarily among the Five Tribes.[8] By the civil war's end, only two Baptist mission stations in Indian Territory had survived: one among the Cherokee and another among the Delaware.[9]

It was near this first mission station, in the Cherokee capital of Tahlequah, that Almon C. Bacone established Baptist Indian University (IU)—later to become Bacone College. Almon Bacone had come to Indian Territory in 1878 to teach at the Cherokee Male Seminary, a Cherokee-run institution modeled on elite college preparatory schools in the eastern United States. Bacone left the Cherokee Male Seminary in 1880 and opened IU in a small building adjacent to it because he wanted to establish a university for Indian students, with its "primary object . . . [being] . . . to prepare native teachers and preachers for a more effective Christian work among the Indian tribes."[10] With only three students at first, in its early years IU recruited students from the Five Tribes and offered coursework to students in the primary through collegiate levels. By the first full academic year's end, fifty-six students had attended IU.[11] From its inception, IU was coeducational. As the only institution of higher education at the time in Indian Territory, IU also accepted a small number of white students who demonstrated an interest in studying for the ministry or the teaching professions.

With a gradually increasing student body, within short order Bacone found his accommodations in Tahlequah too cramped. Bacone wanted to move to the growing city of Muskogee, approximately twenty-five miles to the southwest, because it had direct access to major rail lines and was the location of the Union Agency, which administered government affairs for the Five Tribes.[12] In 1881, Bacone petitioned the Creek Nation's House of Warriors for a land grant in order to relocate IU to a site near Muskogee. After extended negotiations, the Creek Nation ultimately granted Bacone 160 acres for IU.[13] The Creek Nation retained jurisdiction over the land on which IU was located, and the American Baptists assumed responsibility for the school's financial support, construction and physical plant maintenance, curriculum, and recruitment of students.[14]

Under the presidency of Almon C. Bacone, which lasted until 1896, IU prided itself on a classical curriculum modeled after elite white schools and seminaries in the eastern states. The curriculum was extensive: Greek, Latin, French, German, moral philosophy, ancient history, astronomy, chemistry, zoology, English literature, logic, and rhetoric were among the courses offered for college students. The regular curriculum included religious education. Outside of regular classes, students organized literary societies centered on an appreciation of poetry and oratory, and many of them joined groups like the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA).[15] In stark contrast to the Indian schools run by the federal government at this time, IU offered no courses in manual training or domestic science.

To raise money for his new school during those first years, Bacone traveled to the eastern United States and secured donations from a small number of American Baptist congregations. IU also received a number of donations from individuals in Indian Territory, including local Creek supporters and white busi-

nesspeople. Almon C. Bacone's biggest benefactor during this time was Laura Spelman, who, with her husband John D. Rockefeller, gave $10,000 to IU for the construction of an academic and residential building. Completed in 1885, Rockefeller Hall was the first building erected on the new campus in Muskogee; it housed classrooms, a chapel, a dining hall, and sleeping accommodations for faculty and students.[16] Rockefeller Hall was the only building (aside from small faculty cottages) on the IU campus for a number of years. Bacone publicized IU in missionary periodicals by running large pictures of Rockefeller Hall and a few lines of text that advertised the school's tuition costs and its successes in training Native teachers and preachers to work in Native communities. Bacone needed to catch the eye of a few generous donors who would supplement the school's income and provide scholarships for ministerial students.

In the late 1880s, major changes in Indian Country began to realign Native American communities, economies, and identities inside and outside of Indian Territory. In 1887, Congress passed the General Allotment (or Dawes) Act, which authorized the breakup of reservation lands across the country and the allotment of lands in severalty to individual Indians. Ostensibly designed to foster assimilation by turning Indians into farmers, the allotment policies effectively transferred land from tribes to white settlers and business interests, as land left over after allotment was declared "surplus" and opened up to non-Indian use. The Five Tribes lands in Indian Territory were left out of the original Dawes Act, but in 1898 the Curtis Act began a process to disband their governments and extend allotment to their lands in anticipation of Oklahoma statehood. This changed the Five Tribes' former communal land bases into a collection of privately owned plots of land. The Dawes Act had profound consequences for American Indian communities. Large numbers of whites flooded into Indian Country, hoping to stake a claim to any surplus lands made available to them. Moreover, the government's large Indian schools closely aligned their programs to the Dawes Act's intentions by promoting curricula that emphasized the teaching of Euro-American domestic, industrial, and agricultural skills to Indians.[17]

Eventually, smaller sectarian schools like IU also felt the need to adjust their curricula to address the profound changes Dawes effected in tribal economies. After Almon C. Bacone's death in 1896, a series of new presidents took control of IU.[18] By the late 1890s, an athletic program, industrial education, and domestic science were added to the classical curriculum.[19] Although IU was founded to provide collegiate-level work to Indian students, elementary- and secondary-level preparatory courses were also taught. Evidence suggests that IU offered work in the lower grades to accommodate not Indians but white students, many of whose parents had entered Indian Territory illegally and for whom public education was nonexistent. Money was tight at IU during the years following Almon C. Bacone's death. There were often few, if any, funds to pay the expenses of students for the ministry.[20] The number of students varied from year to year; it was normally between 100 and 175. By 1905, only a handful of buildings had been erected on campus: four small residential cottages, a two-room schoolhouse to accommodate the elementary work, Lewis Cottage (the president's house), and Scott Hall (a new girls dormitory).

In the early twentieth century, the American Baptists generated support for IU by stressing its unique history of service to Indians, yet this did not include emphasizing the Indianness of the school's Native American students. When Indianness was used to generate publicity for the school, it was often in a way that juxtaposed "modern" educated Indians with older "traditional" Indians, which made Indian identities appear to be outmoded curiosities of the past. For example, in 1904 the American Baptist Home Mission Society (ABHMS) took a contingent of male students from IU to its exhibit at the world's fair in St. Louis. A publicity photo taken for the ABHMS shows the students dressed in suits and waving pennants labeled "IU." Also in the exhibit, two Crow Indian men dressed in full regalia (including warbonnets) were posed next to Indian and white Baptists dressed in suits and ties.[21] It appears that, next to such overt signs of Indianness, an education at IU had come to symbolize modernity. Yet the transformation to "civilization" was thought to be a fragile one, even for educated Indians. One American Baptist publication asserted that it was difficult to make a clear distinction between the "Indian of today" and the "redman of yesterday," because "the period of transition is not yet past and the teepee of the redman of the feathers and the blankets still stands in the shadow of the wooden house of the Indian of the tailored suit and the college education."[22] American Baptists were afraid that their Indian converts—even those educated in schools like IU—would "go back to the blanket."[23]

The twentieth century's first decades brought many changes to IU and Indian Territory. In 1907, Indian Territory became part of the state of Oklahoma. In 1910, the name of IU was changed to Bacone College, in memory of its founder and first president.[24] In 1917, Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Pawnee students from western Oklahoma began to arrive at IU in significant numbers.[25] Many of these newer students were full bloods, and many did not know English as well as students from the Five Tribes knew the language. Also in 1917, the Reverend Benjamin D. Weeks arrived at Bacone from Minnesota to serve as vice president and then president.[26] Weeks had a difficult task ahead. In 1912, the Baptist churches in the new state of Oklahoma had uniformly voted to join the Southern Baptist Convention, which left Bacone as the only American Baptist–controlled school in the former Indian Territory. This act had profound consequences for the future funding of programs at Bacone. Competition for scarce resources between Southern Baptists and American Baptists in Oklahoma and enrollment increases led Bacone's leadership to adopt more aggressive fundraising strategies. Although the school was initially successful in garnering financial support from wealthy Native American patrons, a protracted legal battle that involved one of Bacone's most notorious Indian donors—Jackson Barnett—changed the way Bacone pursued fundraising strategies in the 1920s.

RAISING MONEY FOR BACONE: THE ERA OF BENJAMIN D. WEEKS AND THE CASE OF JACKSON BARNETT

In 1918, a dynamic young pastor, the Reverend Benjamin D. Weeks, assumed the presidency of Bacone College. Weeks's association with Bacone College dated to at least 1915, when he delivered the baccalaureate address at the school's commencement exercises.[27] Weeks had become familiar with the work of Bacone College while a pastor at a Baptist church in Oklahoma City, and he was keenly interested in educational work with American Indians.[28] When Weeks began his presidency, Bacone had no courses above the high school level. Students from a total of fifteen tribes were represented on campus.[29] Rockefeller Hall was the only academic building, and Sacajawea Hall (formerly Scott Hall), the president's residence, a two-room schoolhouse for elementary work, and a handful of faculty cottages were the only other buildings on the tiny campus. New students from western Oklahoma tribes had begun to arrive on campus in larger numbers, and the lack of space became restrictive. Meanwhile, a fledgling system of public education had developed in the new state, one that could accommodate Bacone's white students. In 1918, Weeks made a crucial decision to limit enrollment at Bacone to Indian students. As in the past, the children of white teachers, missionaries, and administrators were still permitted to attend. However, limiting enrollment to Indians did not alleviate overcrowding at Bacone. Bacone desperately needed money to expand its physical plant.

President Weeks knew that a potential source of funding was sitting right in Bacone's own backyard. Almost overnight, allotment had created a group of extremely wealthy Indians in eastern Oklahoma. During this period, rich deposits of petroleum were discovered underneath many allotments that belonged to Five Tribes members and the Osage Indians. Weeks sought to tap into this newfound wealth by persuading Indians to donate revenue from their oil leases to Bacone.[30] However, many Indians from the Five Tribes in Oklahoma were under a system of dual guardianship (their affairs were managed by local guardians and the Office of Indian Affairs), and their finances were tightly controlled. The need to have donations by Five Tribes members approved by local guardians and the Indian Office meant that Weeks kept abreast of any new appointments to the Superintendence of the Five Civilized Tribes in Muskogee and to the Department of the Interior in Washington, D.C.[31] Moreover, Weeks wielded influence over local government appointments, and he was willing to support specific candidates in return for their promises to approve future Indian donations to Bacone. In a letter to the ABHMS, Weeks stated that he was rescinding his opposition to a candidate for the Superintendence of the Five Civilized Tribes because, "I have been assured . . . that I would get $100,000 out of an $800,000 Indian estate that is now being settled."[32]

With the Indian Office's support, Weeks began to secure substantial donations from wealthy Indians for Bacone and traveled across the state for weeks at a time to raise money.[33] By November 1921, Bacone had already secured $500,000—largely from Indians—in donations for its building fund.[34]

Moreover, these gifts were obtained at minimal cost to the college. Lawyers' fees and travel expenses for President Weeks were the school's only expenses.[35] Weeks reported that he had raised the $500,000 in donations for a cost of less than $150.[36] In addition, by July 1921, the ABHMS General Education Board had funneled $80,000 into Bacone.[37] Weeks hoped he could build the school's endowment to $100,000 by the 1921–22 school year's end.[38]

In the past, many Five Tribes members had supported the work of Bacone and the professional training it offered; however, now many of them were in a position of strength from which to do so. In addition, by officially limiting the student body to Indians, President Weeks and Bacone's administrators had sent a strong message to local Indian communities that Bacone was their school. As a result, many Five Tribes members wrote letters to the ABHMS seeking initial approval of gifts to Bacone. The ABHMS had to vote to accept Indian gifts before they were sent on to the federal government for approval. Once approved by the federal government, these donations were placed by the ABHMS into an "Indian funds" account to be used for the construction of buildings.[39] Along with a number of former Bacone students, Indian friends of the college—largely from the Creek community—contributed substantial amounts of money to furnish buildings and grow Bacone's endowment.[40]

Newfound Indian wealth made Bacone's physical expansion possible. In 1921, Weeks began to erect the first new academic building on campus since Rockefeller Hall had been constructed in 1885. Eastman Richards (Creek) donated money from his oil leases to build Samuel Richards Memorial (1923), named for his son who had died before graduating from Bacone. Named for their Creek donors, Poloke-Bosen Hall (1922) and Walter Starr Hall (1923) were used as residential space for the children of the Murrow Indian Orphans' Home, which had been relocated to the Bacone campus in 1910. Also named for its donor, who was the daughter of Eastman Richards, Jeanetta Barnett Hall (1923) was erected next to the existing Sacajawea Hall to serve as a boys' dormitory. Benjamin Wacoche (Creek) donated the money for Bacone to build its first stand-alone dining hall, Wacoche Hall, which was completed in 1924. The dollar amounts involved were extraordinary. By October 1922, Weeks had obtained $100,000 from Jeanetta Richards Barnett, $50,000 from Walter Starr, $50,000 from Susanna Butler, $10,000 from Salina Starr, $6,500 from Lena Cosar, $5,000 from Russell Thompson, and $500 from Liza Sewell. In a one-year period from mid-1923 to mid-1924, the Department of the Interior had approved gifts by Indian donors of an astounding $287,700 to Bacone and $176,500 to Murrow Indian Orphans' Home.[41]

On 11 December 1922, the ABHMS resolved to accept a very large gift of $550,000 to Bacone from Jackson Barnett, a Creek man whose oil fields near Tulsa had become some of the most productive in the world. Approved by the commissioner of Indian affairs, Charles Burke, this was the kind of gift Weeks and the American Baptists had been waiting for. Almost immediately, the Barnett donation's size attracted the attention of many people involved in Indian affairs. Guardians for Barnett, who was presumed to be a full-blood Creek with no known heirs, soon took legal action to recover the money.[42] They stated that the ABHMS "was in collusion with others in an attempt to

despoil Jackson Barnett of his estate."[43] Barnett's guardians also claimed that Barnett did not understand English, was not legally competent to make such a gift, and was coerced into it by the Baptists, the commissioner of Indian Affairs, and his wife Anna, a white woman who was widely believed to have married Barnett to gain control of his fortune.[44] Moreover, the Oklahoma guardians asserted that Charles Burke had no authority to approve a large gift from a Five Tribes member without consulting them.[45]

The first lawsuit to recover the Barnett donation came in 1923 after news of the large gift broke in a local newspaper, and another major suit was launched in 1925.[46] Although at first confident in its ability to defend the Barnett donation, the ABHMS soon began to doubt its ability to pay the costs of a protracted legal battle. The Baptists eventually assumed much of the defense's cost after their attorney, Charles Rogers—who also represented Charles Burke and Anna Barnett—told the Baptists that, if the Barnett gift was nullified, all donations given to them by Indians were also in jeopardy.[47]

The pending Barnett litigation posed a serious threat to the means by which Weeks had come to secure funding for Bacone. To Bacone's administrators it looked likely that the courts would nullify the Barnett gift, and that this would affect the ability of Bacone to get additional funding from Five Tribes members. Weeks needed to find Indians from groups other than the Five Tribes who were not under the same local guardianship system and who might have money to give to Bacone. In a letter to George Rice Hovey, secretary of education for the ABHMS, Weeks wrote of his new strategy for securing funds to pay off Bacone's debts:

> [I]t is impossible to get donations from the Five Tribes approved now on account of the Barnett litigation. Everyone is afraid, but there will be no difficulty regarding donations from other tribes where there is no question regarding the authority of the Secretary. I have secured twelve thousand from the Osages and fifteen thousand from the Quapaws, and it looks as though these will be approved at once. I am leaving for home tonight going directly to the Quapaws to finish my work there. The Superintendent of the Quapaw agency thinks we can get twenty-five thousand more there and I will take to the field at once and do my best to get it.[48]

In 1927, Commissioner Burke officially informed the ABHMS that he would not approve further gifts by Indians to Bacone because of the Jackson Barnett case.[49] In August 1927, the $550,000 Jackson Barnett gift to Bacone was invalidated on the grounds that Barnett was "unable to exercise" judgment in the Bacone gift, and it was returned to the secretary of the interior to be held in trust.[50] A subsequent appeal by the Baptists was dismissed in May 1928, and the Supreme Court refused certiorari on procedural grounds later that same year.[51] Bacone was deeply in debt.[52] It became imperative for Weeks to find a new set of donors, and he did this by constructing a new image for his school.

NEW PATRONS/NEW IMAGE

IU had been designed to "civilize" Indian youth. By all accounts, the school had been successful. Indian students from Bacone were known to be bright, literate, model Christian citizens. In February 1924, an article in *The Watchman-Examiner* described "our Baptist Indian School" as a place where "260 young Indians . . . are entering new worlds of opportunity and culture."[53] To many, *culture* was a synonym for refinement and Euro-American "civilization" and had nothing to do with Indianness. However, the pending Barnett litigation changed all of this. Faced with the loss of Indian donors, Weeks had to figure out how to sell Bacone to white donors in order to keep Bacone financially solvent. Weeks knew he needed to make Bacone appear different from other religious schools that were also courting white donors. In the past, Bacone's administrators had used Indian identities in limited ways to generate publicity for the school by presenting traditional Native American identities as outmoded vestiges of the past and contrasting them with the modernity of Bacone's students. However, faced with a financial crisis, in the mid-1920s Weeks aggressively began to promote the image of Bacone as a modern Indian school, and he made the Indian identities of his students the centerpiece for this new fundraising strategy.

In the mid-1920s, Weeks utilized the press to spread the word about Bacone. He invited writers from missionary publications such as *Missions* magazine and *The Watchman-Examiner* to tour Bacone and write feature articles about the school's students. Evidence suggests that these articles provided a key opportunity for Weeks to refashion the image of Bacone as an Indian school. For example, for an article in *The Watchman-Examiner*, Weeks asked two of his high school students to pose in Native dress for the cameras. When introducing the article's writer to an assembly of Bacone students, Weeks was reported to have jokingly instructed students to "keep their knives and tomahawks out of sight" because their guest "was a bit afraid of being scalped."[54] In 1925, the *Muskogee Daily Phoenix* published an extensive story on the school, along with a photograph that showed seventeen male and female students, all dressed in blankets, headdresses, buckskin, or the nineteenth-century clothing of the Five Tribes.[55]

In addition, Weeks began to allow students to perform Indian dances on campus during school plays and graduation ceremonies, and he sent some students in costume to local events for area chambers of commerce.[56] This was all the more noteworthy because the American Baptists often condemned dancing as "heathen worship" and students at IU in the early days had pledged never to dance.[57] Moreover, many Indian Baptist churches had a tradition of making their members pledge to "give up the dance."[58] These displays of Indianness by Baconians caught the attention of some ABHMS members and troubled them deeply. Bruce Kinney, then the district secretary and acting superintendent for the ABHMS in the Southwest District, objected strongly to Bacone students performing Indian dances and wearing Native costumes. Kinney was concerned that such displays were akin to the "Wild West shows" so prevalent in Oklahoma at the time. He viewed these displays as

exploitative, because they fed into the images of Indians that white audiences wanted to see. Moreover, according to Kinney, Indian identities had no place in modern American society, and "the really progressive Indian desires to forget his former life."[59]

Although controversial, the promotion of Indianness for fundraising purposes was eventually accepted by many ABHMS members. This was due, in large measure, to fears that if Bacone foundered fiscally, the American Baptists' work with Indians would be taken over by Southern Baptist or Catholic interests in the state.[60] Many American Baptist leaders were concerned that the Southern Baptists would build their own Indian school in Oklahoma, thereby drawing Baptist donors away from Bacone.[61] They also knew that many students at Bacone were Southern Baptists who might have loyalties to any potential Indian school established by that denomination.[62] Despite the opposition many felt toward presenting Indianness to the public as a way to sell Bacone to potential donors, the American Baptists conceded the effectiveness of this strategy at a time when per capita charitable donations among Protestants in the United States were falling dramatically.[63] Potential conflict with specific Baptist beliefs was considered by many to be secondary to the goal of keeping higher education for Indians in Oklahoma in the hands of the American Baptists.

In 1927 the American Baptists redoubled their efforts to reach white donors by presenting an image of Bacone as the state's premier Indian school. In 1927, college-level courses, which had been eliminated from the school for close to a decade, were reinstated at Bacone in the form of a new junior college curriculum. Junior college students became an important part of Bacone's strategy to compete for white donors. Moreover, in the Jackson Barnett decision's wake, President Weeks and a newly hired Chickasaw instructor created a bold new fundraising strategy that presented specific images of Indianness in order to sell Bacone to white audiences.

PRINCESS ATALOA AND INDIAN CULTURE AT BACONE

In the fall of 1927, a young Chickasaw named Mary "Ataloa" Stone (later Mary "Ataloa" Stone McLendon) began to teach in the department of English at Bacone. One of a number of Native American instructors eventually hired by President Weeks, Ataloa, as she preferred to be called, had earned a bachelor of arts from the University of Redlands and a master of arts in religious education from Teachers College, Columbia University. Ataloa was hired not merely to teach English; her arrival at Bacone was related to efforts by the school's administration to court white donors.[64] Ataloa would become a pivotal figure in creating Bacone's new public image as an Indian school.

Ataloa recognized that Bacone needed a way to reach alumni and advertise itself to the non-Indian public and founded the school's first bimonthly student newspaper—the *Bacone Indian*—in September 1928. Eventually boasting a circulation to thirty-two states and Panama, the paper proved to be an important source of revenue for the college.[65] In addition to running advertisements for local businesses, the paper showcased articles by President Weeks, who appealed to readers for financial support. Using the *Bacone Indian*

to help publicize the school's work, Weeks and Ataloa began to use the term *culture* in their fundraising appeals to white donors. They began to emphasize the unique cultural contributions American Indians could make to Euro-American society. In an article for *The Baptist*, Ataloa wrote that all Americans should learn to appreciate the "religion, music, art, ethics, customs, traditions and philosophy of life . . . [of Indians as] . . . a distinct contribution to America's future culture."[66] Ataloa felt that the public—which was familiar with Wild West shows, cigar store Indians, and skookum dolls—needed to be taught that Indians were civilized. Yet Ataloa used the term in a different sense than other educators at Bacone had in the past. To Ataloa, Indians were *cultured*—not because they emulated Euro-American civilization—but because they had their own traditions, particularly in the areas of art and music, which rivaled those of whites in their beauty, refinement, and sophistication.[67]

Trained as a contralto opera singer, Ataloa began to perform with the Bacone Girls Glee Club to generate publicity for Bacone. When performing together, Ataloa and the Girls Glee Club often wore Indian costumes. Dressed in Indian blankets of Plains and Navajo style, the glee club joined Ataloa—who wore what became her signature Plains buckskin fringed dress, with beaded moccasins, braided hair, feather, headband, and turquoise jewelry—as she accompanied the group on a tom-tom drum. Ataloa and the glee club performed on campus for special visitors and in Muskogee at churches, fairs, and civic events. President Weeks, who usually accompanied the glee club and gave a lecture on Bacone to local audiences, often asked students from particular tribes to sing hymns for their audiences in the students' native languages.[68] Moreover, the glee club's repertoire came to include a number of popular songs by white composers—among them Thurlow Lieurance ("By the Waters of Minnetonka"), Charles Wakefield Cadman ("From the Land of the Sky Blue Water"), and Rudolf Friml ("Indian Love Call")—that presented romantic Indian themes to white audiences.[69]

Ataloa's attempts to infuse the glee club's performances with Native American culture produced apparent contradictions. To sell Bacone to the public successfully, Ataloa and the glee club had to present images that the white public would easily recognize as signifying Indianness. As a result, they often played to white expectations of how Indians should look, act, talk, and behave—largely drawing on images of Plains and Southwestern Indian life popularized in films, Wild West shows, and novels. In generating publicity for Bacone, many students in the glee club found themselves presenting images of Indianness that had little to do with their own personal or cultural identities as Five Tribes members. Ataloa knew how to use romantic images of Indians to Bacone's advantage, and she carefully wove them into performances that underscored the value of Indian "civilization" to white America. At the same time, selling Bacone to the public also meant convincing white audiences that the glee club's performances presented authentic Indian culture that somehow stood outside of white representations of Indianness. A 1932 brochure, which advertised a glee club concert, informed prospective audience members: "All costumes presented are authentic, and those taking part are presenting true pictures of tribal ceremonies."[70]

Bacone's music programs were wildly successful with local church groups, civic groups, schools, clubs, and businesses, which often requested that Ataloa and the Girls Glee Club perform and sing songs with Indian themes.[71] At the end of these performances, offerings for Bacone were accepted from white audiences. Ataloa and President Weeks realized Bacone would benefit financially from taking these musical performances to audiences outside of Muskogee and Oklahoma. However, the school's administration had imposed tight restrictions on the travel of female students and prevented the Girls Glee Club from participating in extended trips away from campus.

To solve this problem, in 1929, under the direction of President Weeks's brother-in-law, Gordon Berger, Bacone began to focus on a vocal music program for boys.[72] Dubbed the Brave Warblers, twenty-four male junior college students joined eighteen Maiden Warblers in an effort to publicize Bacone.[73] Also known as the Men's Glee Club, the Brave Warblers proved to be a success, generating attention and money for the school. When President Weeks accompanied the Men's Glee Club, he delivered speeches about the work of Bacone and requested donations from the audience.[74] As they gained in popularity, the Men's Glee Club was groomed to represent Bacone to the larger public outside of Oklahoma. As they prepared for summer tours to distant cities, the group held extensive practices on campus. They also adopted a new name—the *Red* Men's Glee Club.[75] In summer 1930, the Red Men's Glee Club toured the Midwest and performed before the Northern Baptist Convention in Ohio. Local Muskogee businesses and the Muskogee Chamber of Commerce provided the group with a tour bus, on which a banner was hung that read: "The Red Men, Bacone Indian College, Muskogee, Oklahoma, *The Indian Capital of the World*."[76] The tour was a success and paved the way for future summer trips away from campus.

During the 1930s, the Red Men's Glee Club made annual summer concert appearances in major cities across the United States. In 1932, the glee club made a five-thousand-mile summer tour of the eastern states.[77] On these extended tours, members of local Baptist congregations, for whom the Red Men performed, often volunteered to house students overnight in their homes. In 1933, they took a four-thousand-mile summer tour of midwestern states. Baconians spent nine days at the world's fair in Chicago, singing at the Century of Progress, the Hall of Religion, and the American Indian Village. Accompanied by President Weeks, the Red Men's Glee Club presented more than forty concerts on this tour alone and was broadcast over Chicago's WLS Radio.[78] In 1935 and 1936, the Red Men took their performances to the southern United States. In a two-week period in 1936, twenty-two Bacone students performed twelve concerts in six states. On this tour, two female students, who had been chosen to accompany the male students, performed Indian sign language and enacted female roles to illustrate the Red Men's songs.[79] In 1934 and 1937, they visited California and parts of the western United States. For the latter trip, the Red Men rode in a newer bus donated by local businesses to replace their old one, which they had worn out.[80]

Bacone's notoriety and its Red Men's Glee Club were enhanced by local and national media attention. In spring 1931, the glee club was first

broadcast over KVOO Radio in Tulsa.[81] The Daughters of the American Revolution frequently sponsored Bacone's vocal groups on fifteen-minute radio performances on KTUL Radio in Tulsa.[82] NBC radio carried some of their programs, along with appeals by President Weeks for donations to Bacone.[83] By December 1938, the glee club—by then known as the Singing Redmen—had signed with an agent from New York to complete future concert tours of Chicago, Washington, D.C., and New York. In addition, they were slated to make a short film for Warner Brothers, appear on the national Fred Allen and Rudy Vallee radio programs, and allow *Life* magazine and King Features Syndicate to publicize their concerts.[84]

As they performed and their popularity grew, the Singing Redmen increasingly reflected white expectations of Indianness. In spring 1936, the Singing Redmen adopted a new costume of long-sleeved red velveteen shirts, reminiscent of Navajo design.[85] In 1937, in preparation for their summer tour to California, Berger officially changed the group's costumes from coats and ties to Navajo outfits.[86] Similar to Ataloa's fringed buckskin dress, the Navajo costumes became the Singing Redmen's signature look, one that made them highly appealing to the public. By the 1930s, many Euro-Americans had taken a keen interest in the Indians of the American Southwest and tended to view these groups—along with Plains tribes—as representative of all Indian groups. During this time, a growing interest in Native American arts meant that Euro-Americans were at least familiar with the clothing, decorative arts, and material culture produced by the Navajo, an association on which Bacone capitalized. Over the years, the Navajo costume remained extremely popular with the public and with the Singing Redmen. Although the Navajo image was used, at no time in the Singing Redmen's history were there more than a handful of Navajo students in the group.

In 1937, a student writer for the *Bacone Indian* described the Singing Redmen as wonderfully talented, despite having "only the crude background of hundreds of years of savagery and with only native music, the songs of birds, and the music of the wind and waterfall as a 'conservatory.'"[87] Deliberately using humor and irony, the student captured perfectly what other Baconians knew. The idea that the Singing Redmen had cultivated their talents in Indian-themed music through diligent musical study made them appear to be less than authentic to white audiences. As a result, the musical group relied on an image of earthy primitivism in their fundraising campaigns, and they selected songs—their favorites being the "Dagger Dance" and "The Redman's Death Chant"—to project this image to white audiences.[88]

With the Singing Redmen representing the students of Bacone, Ataloa realized she could best serve Bacone in an expanded fundraising role as field secretary for the school, and she began to take extended publicity trips to distant cities on behalf of Bacone. Similar to a number of Indian concert singers of the time, Ataloa adopted the title "Princess" and began to perform a solo act before white audiences.[89] Her style, which combined elements of education and entertainment reminiscent of the influential Chautauquas, was a combination of costumed oration, music, and dance. Dressed in buckskin, she danced and sang songs with Indian themes, many of them by Lieurance and Cadman.

Juxtaposing "native broken dialect" and "perfect English," Ataloa described Indian history, customs, and legends.[90] Ataloa's performances in eastern cities raised her to near-celebrity status; in 1933 she performed a solo concert for President Franklin D. Roosevelt and members of his cabinet.[91]

Back at Bacone, Weeks had decided that an expanded men's football program might increase local and national attention for the school and bring in needed funds. Although Indian background had been a prerequisite under Weeks's administration for admission to Bacone, during the late 1920s and early 1930s Weeks actively recruited male students for the junior college who could play football well, even if they were not Indian.[92] Nevertheless, Weeks hired coaches who would emphasize the Indianness of the school's student athletes. In 1934, Bacone students chose their first football queen during homecoming. Leah Hicks (Paiute), a high school senior, appeared on the football field during halftime in a buckskin dress. A member of the men's football squad placed a Plains headdress on her head as a crown. For the occasion, the newly formed Bacone Pep Club members dressed in Indian blankets and sang Indian songs.[93] Later, Hicks and her homecoming court posed for their yearbook photo wrapped in Plains blankets. A 1939 article by Coach Reinold Peterson described his plans to use Indian imagery at the newly dubbed Bacone Warriors football games: "A cheering section of Bacone girls garbed in Indian blankets will be organized; a medicine man will be selected to make 'medicine' for the team; a war bonnet for the captain, tom-tom and Indian symbols for the supporters will be provided in order to add picturesque Indian atmosphere which can be authentically used by Bacone to spread far her fame."[94]

Under Weeks and Ataloa, Bacone's fundraising strategies proved highly successful. The Singing Redmen and the name Bacone College were recognized in many urban areas of the country where the group had visited. The city of Muskogee and Bacone played hosts to numerous visitors during the 1930s and 1940s. Opera stars from Europe and New York, famous musicians, foreign dignitaries, soldiers, government officials, movie stars, and even Eleanor Roosevelt were guests of Bacone. Bacone, its students, and its campus were featured on postcards circulated across the country. For President Weeks, who sometimes gave as many as forty-five speeches to the public in one month's time, white interest in Bacone was a boon.[95] The school's financial troubles were gradually turning around. Money, equipment, scholarships, and books were provided to Bacone by a number of regular sponsors, including the American Indian League, the Grand Council Fire of the American Indians, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Confederated Council of Women's Clubs, Oklahoma Gas and Electric, the Muskogee Chamber of Commerce and Junior Chamber of Commerce, Oklahoma Natural Gas, Muskogee Electric Traction Company, and the Muskogee Real Estate Board.[96] In 1937, ten years after Ataloa arrived on campus and Weeks began to focus on creating an Indian image for his school, Bacone had an endowment of $300,000 and $500,000 in property.[97]

Most importantly, money from Bacone's fundraising campaigns was used to implement new programs that emphasized American Indian arts,

culture, and history. Ataloa had always believed that Indian people should take the lead in preserving Indian arts and culture, and she felt that only "someone *who knows* and *feels the sacredness* of *Indian rites*" could keep "Indian ceremonials, dances, and folk lore" from "degeneration."[98] Yet a history of forced relocation and cultural assimilation had produced a generation of young Indians with little or no knowledge of the lifeways of their great grandparents. This was particularly true for many of Bacone's own students, who tended to come from the more assimilated Five Tribes families. Ataloa concluded that "if the original arts and crafts of America are to be preserved, they must be *taught*."[99]

With the support of President Weeks, Ataloa set out to teach Indian arts, culture, and history at Bacone and utilized money from the school's fundraising campaigns to develop new curricular programs. In 1932, Bacone completed construction on the Art Lodge (later named Ataloa Lodge, in honor of its creator), a rustic, two-story, log building designed to showcase the best in Indian arts and crafts and serve as a museum, art gallery, reception hall, and classroom for the Bacone campus. Friends of the school, students, and parents donated Indian items for display.[100] Indian rugs lined the floors and Art Lodge's walls, and baskets, pottery, and beadwork were displayed in each room.[101] Indian blankets, baskets, rugs, pottery, moccasins, bracelets, necklaces, earrings, and beaded belts—some made by students—were among the items offered for sale to the public through the Art Lodge.[102] The Art Lodge became a popular campus center. A Mason Hamlin grand piano was acquired in October 1932.[103] The Singing Redmen and the Girls Glee Club entertained their campus guests on Navajo rugs in front of the stone fireplace.[104] The lodge was used as a social center, and Baconians often played host to community members on Sundays for special programs.[105]

Money generated by these very public displays of Indianness was used to teach courses on Indian arts and history and establish an art department at the school that focused on American Indian painting. By the 1932–33 academic year, Bacone offered courses in pottery, beadwork, basketry, woodcarving, silver work, and weaving for college credit under the designator "Tribal Arts." The basic course History and Appreciation of American Indian Art was offered, along with advanced courses for students training to be teachers, camp counselors, or commercial artists.[106] Ataloa developed the course Capturing and Recording Indian Culture, which was designed as "a laboratory course where old songs, legends, traditions, history, will be repeated, classified and preserved in written form . . . and made available to individuals and groups."[107] In 1933, for the first time Bacone actively began to recruit Indian students who wanted to study Indian art.[108] Moreover, the school's library began to build its collection of books on Indian arts, culture, and history, using money donated to the college.

Bacone's new focus on Indian arts and culture had important implications for students. For example, in 1937, motivated by alumni who had gone on to continue their studies at other institutions, students formed a campus Indian Club—later also called Ittanaha, the Choctaw word meaning "council of the red man."[109] The Indian Club's goals were to "keep Indian traditions, customs,

and expressions alive through art, dancing and music."[110] Members of Ittanaha, who came from diverse tribes, studied and exchanged information about specific tribal dances, songs, and ceremonies and often performed for local audiences.[111] Some members even accompanied the Singing Redmen on their fundraising tours to distant cities. Indian clubs also emerged during this time period at other colleges and universities attended by Bacone graduates, and the activities of these clubs became important expressions of Native identities.[112]

Also important for students, under Weeks's administration at Bacone, a stronger effort was made to hire Indian teachers. Five members of the class of 1934 returned immediately after graduation to teach at Bacone, and others went on to further studies at other institutions and returned later to teach at the school.[113] In 1935, after eight years as a member of Bacone's faculty, Ataloa left Bacone to conduct her own research on Indian history and culture, but her legacy continued at the school, largely due to the efforts of President Weeks and the school's Indian alumni. A former student, Alex C. McIntosh (also known as artist Acee Blue Eagle), took Ataloa's place in 1935 as the Bacone Art Department head. Blue Eagle and his successors, among them Woody Crumbo and Bacone alumnus Walter Richard "Dick" West, created a nationally known center for the study of Indian art at Bacone during the mid-twentieth century.

Bacone had seen a renaissance. Students flocked to the school. In 1939, forty-two different tribes were represented on campus, up from fifteen when Weeks assumed the presidency.[114] During the 1939–40 academic year, Bacone, which could accommodate three hundred students, had turned away 467 applications from Indian students who wanted to attend the college.[115] Under Weeks's tenure as president, eleven new buildings—including a spacious new chapel built on the former site of Rockefeller Hall, a new women's dormitory, a new men's dormitory, and a modern building to house the new Art Department—had been added to campus. By 1941, the year Weeks stepped down as president after twenty-three years at the school, Bacone had transformed itself into a center for the study of Indian culture.

CONCLUSION

IU was founded to educate Native preachers and teachers who would help assimilate other Native Americans to Euro-American society and convert them to Christianity. In the early years of IU, the American Baptist leadership and a few rich white benefactors provided financial support. Moreover, the Five Tribes leadership—especially the nearby Creek Nation—lent their support to the school because it served Indian students. Although IU's presidents advertised the school's mission in a few local and national Baptist publications, fundraising in those early years did not bring in consistently large revenue streams and did not allow the school to expand its physical plant. Moreover, IU's fundraising activities in those earliest years did not overtly emphasize the Indian identities of the school's students. Although in its earliest years the school had emphasized its mission to assimilate Indian students to Euro-American culture, beginning in the 1920s, financial considerations

led Bacone to emphasize the positive ways in which its Indian students were culturally *different* from white Americans.

In many important respects, the promotion of Indianness in fundraising efforts at Bacone was not representative of the phenomenon of the cultural "safety zone"—that is, a desire to further control and domesticate Indian students by permitting the expression of narrowly defined aspects of their cultures and identities—which Lomawaima and McCarty identify as operating at a number of Indian schools.[116] Although the images of Indianness that Baconians presented to their patrons were acceptable to non-Indians and "safe," the story of Bacone's treatment of Native cultures and identities did not end with these public displays of Indianness. The romantic images of Indianness that Bacone's administrators, teachers, and students projected to the public were successful in generating income for the school and functioned to help them—to borrow an expression from Philip Deloria—"play Indian to Indian advantage."[117] Bacone's administrators reinvested many of the funds they raised into cultural programs for Indian students. Bacone's development of programs that stressed Native arts and cultures provided an environment where students could examine, negotiate, transform, and—to a certain extent—redefine their own identities as Indians. Eventually, students from across the United States came to Bacone, and many participated in the school's programs in Indian culture. For some students, attending Bacone provided opportunities to meet and exchange cultural information with other young Indians, and a large number of Bacone alumni went on to become educators, leaders, and activists in their communities.

In my interviews with them, alumni who attended Bacone differed in their assessments of the school's use of Indian imagery to raise funds. A number of alumni, including the late Dr. Julius LaCroix and the late artist, Dick West, fondly recalled experiences performing and traveling with the Singing Redmen.[118] In retrospect, the Reverend Herschell Daney, who also was a member of the Singing Redmen, said he did not like the fact that the school had to raise money by "selling" Indianness; however, he believed that Bacone would have to continue to use its image as a historically Indian school "to really differentiate who we are" and bring in donations.[119] Alumna Mary Kathryn Harris Smith found the Girls Glee Club's use of buckskin costumes to be out of place: "Some of 'em had the war bonnets, you know, with feathers on, which is not the type that goes with these Indians that were there at the college."[120] And alumnus Shelby Ray, who graduated from the junior college in 1929 and participated in athletics, said that fundraising activities were "givin' the whites what they wanted to see. . . . For God's sake, give me a diploma; don't give me blankets and beads!"[121]Although not all students actively participated in Bacone's fundraising efforts, these varied responses indicate that students were keenly aware of the specific images of Indianness that the school used to market itself to the public.

Bacone's ability to sell Indian education to the public clearly suffered after the departure of President Weeks. His immediate successors—the Reverend Earl Riley (1943–47, the school's first alumnus and American Indian to serve as president) and the Reverend Francis W. Thompson (1948–55) attempted to keep

up the pace of Weeks's fundraising efforts and to support the school's programs in Indian culture. However, American entry into World War II curtailed many of their efforts. For example, the Singing Redmen and the school's football program disbanded during the war years, due to fuel rationing and a lack of older male students on campus.[122] It was largely through the efforts of Bacone alumni who had returned after the war to teach at the college—such as artist Dick West—that the Singing Redmen and the Indian Club were eventually reestablished. Moreover, larger social and economic changes to postwar American society—the development of new industries, increasing urbanization, and the government's own plans to absorb Indian communities into the American mainstream through programs of relocation and tribal "termination"—forced schools like Bacone increasingly to justify their educational mission to Indians. After the war, many people affiliated with Bacone worried about the school's continued ability to raise money to meet its operating costs.[123]

In 1953, Milton Froyd, Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, was commissioned by the ABHMS to study Bacone and recommend changes that could be made to make Bacone more financially viable. Froyd recommended that the campus further rethink its Indian mission in light of the fact that the government was moving away from "segregation in education."[124] Froyd noted that Bacone was having trouble attracting Indian students who were being given increasing opportunities to pursue education elsewhere.[125] He also suggested that the era of Indian education in the United States would soon be ending, the Bureau of Indian Affairs would ultimately be eliminated, and control over Indian matters would be placed in the hands of city, county, and state governments.[126] In 1957, after much debate, Bacone's administrators decided to end the enrollment restrictions implemented by Weeks that had made the school an all-Indian institution.[127] Beginning in the 1950s, a number of white students enrolled at the school and brought increased tuition revenues with them.[128] The last Bacone high school class graduated in May 1957, and the school became exclusively a junior college.[129]

Bacone is still in operation today, and, although independent, the school still maintains ties to the American Baptists, now known as the American Baptist Churches USA. Bacone has continued to emphasize its Christian mission while implementing significant changes to its curriculum and its student body. During the 2003–2004 academic year, Bacone had a full-time enrollment of 830 students of diverse backgrounds from around the world, and 46 percent of these students were Native American.[130] Recently accredited to offer bachelor and associate degrees, today Bacone emphasizes training students in applied programs such as nursing, education, social services, and business while retaining some focus on the liberal arts and American Indian studies. Although the Singing Redmen no longer exists, the Bacone Art Department is still a centerpiece of the school's focus on its Indian heritage, and Ataloa Lodge still serves as a campus museum. Today Bacone offers some extracurricular programs—including a Native Culture Club—that provide opportunities for the expression of Native identities.

In many respects, the history of Bacone's fundraising strategies and its early implementation of Native cultural programs made it different from

other Indian schools. Its location among the diverse Native communities of Oklahoma, the relatively older demographics of its student body, its American Baptist administration, and its need to attract white donors by promoting the Indianness of its students all contributed to making Bacone a unique institution during the early and mid-twentieth century. Specifically, the development of programs in Indian culture and the school's intertribal nature provided creative outlets for students to explore their Indian identities. Bacone's focus on Indian arts and culture had a profound effect on many students, who came to view Bacone not simply as a school for Indians but as an *Indian* school.

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NOTES

Please note that the following abbreviations are used: American Baptist Historical Society Archives, Valley Forge, PA (ABHSVF); American Baptist Home Mission Society (ABHMS); Bacone College Indian Collection (BCIC); *Bacone Indian* (*BIN*); *Muskogee Daily Phoenix* (*MDP*); *Muskogee Daily Phoenix and Times Democrat* (*MDPTD*) and American Baptist Samuel Colgate Historical Library, Rochester, NY (SCHL). Copies of *BIN* can be found in the BCIC, Bacone College Library, Muskogee, OK. Also note that *BIN* changed its numbering system several times beginning with the first issue of the 1946–47 school year. E.g., *BIN* 68, no. 1 (26 September 1947) immediately follows *BIN* 19, no. 15 (23 May 1947). Volume numbers changed at the beginning of each school year, rather than each calendar year. Issues were not normally produced during the summer.

1. Richard Henry Pratt, cited in Genevieve Bell, "Telling Stories Out of School: Rethinking the Documentary Record of the Carlisle Indian School," paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association, Washington, DC, December 1995, 7.

2. Recent studies of American Indian education tend to fall into several major categories (because of space limitations, I have selected only representative works). For general or regional histories see David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction:*

American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928 (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995); Michael C. Coleman, *American Indian Children at School, 1850–1930* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993); and Jon Allan Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, *A History of Indian Education* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004). For studies of government educational policy see Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880–1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984). For historical accounts of missionary education see Carol Devens, "'If We Get the Girls, We Get the Race': Missionary Education of Native American Girls," *Journal of World History* 3, no. 2 (1992): 219–37. For studies of bilingual and multicultural education see Jon Allan Reyhner, *Education and Language Restoration* (Philadelphia, PA: Chelsea House Publishers, 2006). In addition, there are many case studies of specific institutions. E.g., see Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900–1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000); Amanda J. Cobb, *Listening to Our Grandmother's Stories: The Bloomfield Academy for Chickasaw Females, 1852–1949* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000); Clyde Ellis, *To Change Them Forever: Indian Education at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893–1920* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996); Donal F. Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877–1923* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995); K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of the Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994); Devon A. Mihesuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851–1909* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993); Scott Riney, *The Rapid City Indian School, 1898–1933* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999); and Robert A. Trennert Jr., *The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891–1935* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988). One of the best unpublished works on Carlisle is Genevieve Bell, "Telling Stories Out of School: Remembering the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879–1918" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1998). A history of Bacone College, written to commemorate the school's centennial, can be found in John Williams and Howard Meredith, *Bacone Indian University: A History*, Oklahoma Horizons Series, ed. Kenny A. Franks (Oklahoma City, OK: Western Heritage Books, 1980). The unpublished work of Coeryne Bode, "The Origin and Development of Bacone College" (master's thesis, University of Tulsa, 1957), stands out for its thorough research. For a discussion of the government's Santa Fe Indian School, which implemented its own Indian arts program and was perhaps the most similar to Bacone, see Winona Garmhausen, *History of Indian Arts Education in Santa Fe: The Institute of American Indian Arts with Historical Background 1890–1962* (Santa Fe, NM: Sunstone Press, 1988) and Sally Hyer, *One House, One Voice, One Heart: Native American Education at the Santa Fe Indian School* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1990). For a discussion of a well-known tribally controlled college see John Collier Jr., "Survival at Rough Rock: A Historical Overview of Rough Rock Demonstration School," *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 19, no. 3 (1988): 253–69.

3. Wilma Mankiller and Michael Wallis, *Mankiller: A Chief and Her People* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 7–8.

4. For a discussion of deindianization see Trennert Jr., *The Phoenix Indian School,* 49. For deculturation consult p. 45 in Michael C. Coleman, "Motivations of Indian Children at Missionary and US Government Schools," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 40 (Winter 1990): 30–45.

5. For examples of complex discussions of varied student responses to the Indian schools, see Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light* and Adams, *Education for Extinction*. Because the Indian schools differed in their geographic locations, student and staff demographics, sources of funding, and governance, the practices of administrators and staff at individual schools and their treatment of Native cultures and identities—as well as student responses to them—merit additional research and analysis.

6. So named by whites to indicate their degree of assimilation to Euro-American values and economies, particularly European-style agriculture, education, and political institutions. For some Five Tribes members, this included the adoption of Christianity, intermarriage with whites, and the institution of African slavery.

7. See Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (1951; repr., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965). The work of Angie Debo, *And Still the Waters Run* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1940) and Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942), provide important information about the history of Indian Territory and its transformation into the state of Oklahoma.

8. See p. 163 in Wendy J. Deichmann, "Domesticity with a Difference: Woman's Sphere, Women's Leadership, and the Founding of the Baptist Missionary Training School in Chicago, 1881," *American Baptist Quarterly* 9, no. 3 (September 1990): 141–55. Also see p. 168 in Rittenhouse Neisser, "The First Fifty Years of the American Baptist Home Mission Society," *The Chronicle* 8, no. 5 (October 1945): 160–68. Two excellent sources on the historical divisions among Baptists are Robert G. Torbet, *A History of the Baptists*, 3rd ed. (1950; repr., Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1973) and H. C. Vedder, "Fifty Years of Baptist History," *The Chronicle* 9, no. 4 (1946): 163–70. For links between English and American Baptists, see William Henry Brackney, *The Baptists*, Denominations in America, no. 2, ed. Henry Warner Bowden (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988).

9. Many of the schools, businesses, and houses of the Five Tribes had been destroyed, some as government retribution against tribal factions that had supported the Confederacy. For a discussion of the Delaware mission see ABHMS, "Baptist Home Missions in North America," (1883), 503. SCHL call no. 266 AM30 40023878.

10. Bacone College, *First Annual Catalogue 1880–1881*, 14. Cited in Bode, "The Origin and Development of Bacone College," 18.

11. Ibid., 19.

12. Williams and Meredith, *Bacone Indian University*, 11.

13. Bode, "Origin and Development of Bacone College," 23.

14. Baptist University, "Articles of Incorporation," (1881). ABHSVF, group 4, box 52, folder 5: Indian University/Bacone College History 1929–41.

15. Bode, "Origin and Development of Bacone College," 27–29.

16. Ibid., 25–26.

17. There has been much recent controversy within the field of American Indian studies concerning the degree to which the Dawes Act fostered new racial standards by which Indianness was measured and quantified in the late nineteenth century. The widely cited work of M. Annette Jaimes that has been linked to controversial scholar Ward Churchill (see M. Annette Jaimes, "Federal Indian Identification Policy: A Usurpation of Indigenous Sovereignty in Native North America," in *The State of Native America: Genocide, Colonization, and Resistance*, ed. M. Annette Jaimes [Boston: South

End Press, 1992], 123–38) suggests that the ideology of blood quantum originated with the language of the original Dawes Act. This claim is refuted by several scholars, most notably John LaVelle (see "The General Allotment Act 'Eligibility' Hoax: Distortions of Law, Policy, and History in Derogation of Indian Tribes," *Wicazo Sa Review* 14, no. 1 [Spring 1999], 251–302). LaVelle argues that the original language of the Dawes Act did not specify a blood quantum requirement for eligibility for allotment. However, as the Dawes Act was implemented among diverse tribes into the twentieth century and as subsequent legislation such as the Burke Act was added to amend Dawes, new government racial ideologies that separated "full bloods" from "mixed bloods" emerged. E.g., see Circe Sturm, *Blood Politics: Race, Culture, and Identity in the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002) and Tanis Thorne, *The World's Richest Indian: The Scandal over Jackson Barnett's Oil Fortune* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

18. After Almon C. Bacone's death, N. L. Brown served as the president of Indian University from 1896–97, followed by the Reverend John Hart Scott (1897–1905), P. B. Guernsey (1905–6), the Reverend William Charles Farmer (1906–7), Ewing Nathan Collette (1907–10), and J. Harvey Randall (1910–18).

19. Indian University, *17th Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Indian University, Bacone, I. T., 1896–1897* (1897), 7–8.

20. Ibid., 11–12.

21. ABHMS, *Baptist Home Mission Monthly* 28, no. 3 (March 1906).

22. Jane Maynard, *The North American Indians: Pocket Editions Studies in Home Missions* (Chicago: The Women's American Baptist Home Mission Society, 1919), 5.

23. Pratt referred to his first unassimilated Plains students at Carlisle as "blanket Indians" (see Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom,* 248). Moreover, a number of writers of the time used this phrase to describe Indians who, having been educated in boarding schools, later abandoned their training.

24. Perhaps surprisingly, the adoption of the name Bacone College came at a time when the institution began, for the first time in its history, to eliminate many of its college-level courses.

25. The influx of Plains students at this time was due to the cooperation between Bacone's administration and the superintendents of Indian agencies. Graduates of Indian University also helped to recruit students from western Oklahoma (see Williams and Meredith, *Bacone Indian University,* 50).

26. Bacone College and Murrow Indian Orphan's Home, *Indian Education* 15, no. 1 (1918): 1. BCIC.

27. Bacone College and Murrow Indian Orphan's Home, *Indian Education* 12, no. 1 (1915): 2. BCIC.

28. Bode, "Origin and Development of Bacone College," 57.

29. Ibid., 61.

30. Although by the second decade of the twentieth century oil-rich allotments had created a new class of wealthy Indians in eastern Oklahoma, the reality at this time was that many of the allotted lands of the Five Tribes were quickly passing into non-Indian hands. By 1916, 90 percent of Five Tribes lands were in non-Indian hands (see Thorne, *The World's Richest Indian,* 36). For discussions of the oil boom in Oklahoma, see Terry P. Wilson, *The Underground Reservation: Osage Oil* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985) and Donald L. Fixico, *The Invasion of Indian Country in the*

Twentieth Century: American Capitalism and Tribal Natural Resources (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1998).

31. In 1906, ostensibly to protect newly allotted Indian lands from falling completely into the hands of unscrupulous whites, the Burke Act amended the Dawes Act and established a procedure whereby the lands of individual Indians could be designated "restricted" and held in trust by the federal government. Conversely, highly assimilated individual Indians (and often those of lower blood quanta) could obtain a legal designation of "competency," which would allow them to control their assets. The property of those adult Indians who were not deemed "competent" to manage their own affairs continued to be held in trust, with all decisions relating to the management of proceeds from their oil, gas, and mineral leases left to a system that often pitted local white Oklahoma guardians against officials from the Department of the Interior in Washington, DC. Thorne, *The World's Richest Indian*, 36–48, offers an excellent analysis of this dynamic.

32. Benjamin D. Weeks to Charles L. White, 1921, 2. ABHSVF.

33. Charles W. Dawson to B. D. Weeks, 19 December 1921. ABHSVF, group 4, box 52, folder: B. D. Weeks Correspondence 1921, Bacone 1921–41.

34. B. D. Weeks to George Rice Hovey, 19 November 1921. ABHSVF.

35. B. D. Weeks to G. R. Hovey, 16 December 1921. ABHSVF.

36. B. D. Weeks to G. R. Hovey, 21 July 1921. ABHSVF.

37. G. R. Hovey to B. D. Weeks, 26 July 1921. BCIC.

38. B. D. Weeks to G. R. Hovey, 23 November 1921. ABHSVF.

39. Charles Babbidge, "History of Extracts from Charter Deeds, Buildings, Votes Authorizing Appropriations, and Special Votes. Report Prepared for the ABHMS and Bacone College," October 1923. BCIC, folder: Bacone, OK.

40. B. D. Weeks to G. R. Hovey, 7 October 1921. ABHSVF; Williams and Meredith, *Bacone Indian University*, 57–59.

41. Thorne, *The World's Richest Indian*, 250n10.

42. See Thorne, *The World's Richest Indian*, for a discussion of uncertainties surrounding Barnett's blood quantum and heirs. For a discussion of Barone's acceptance of the Barnett donation, see Babbidge, "History of Extracts from Charter Deeds."

43. ABHMS, "Jackson Barnett Case," 1929, 1; ABHSVF, group 4, box 53, folder 1: Jackson Barnett.

44. ABHSVF, group 4, box 53, folder 1: Jackson Barnett.

45. Thorne, *The World's Richest Indian*, 13, 109.

46. Ibid., 108–9, 125.

47. Ibid., 135.

48. B. D. Weeks to G. R. Hovey, 29 June 1926, 2. ABHSVF.

49. G. R. Hovey to H. J. Thorkelson, Director of College and University Education, General Education Board, 29 June 1927. ABHSVF, group 4, box 52, folder 11.

50. Thorne, *The World's Richest Indian*, 141.

51. Ibid., 143.

52. G. Lee Phelps to Charles L. White, 28 February 1927. ABHSVF; B. D. Weeks to G. R. Hovey, 29 June 1926, 2. ABHSVF.

53. Curtis Lee Laws, "A Little Journey to the Indians," *The Watchman-Examiner* (21 February 1924), 233. BCIC.

54. Ibid., 236–37.

55. "Thirty-Two Indian Tribes Represented at Bacone," *MDP*, Muskogee, OK (4 October 1925), 14.

56. Ibid.; Carl White to G. R. Hovey, 21 December 1926. ABHSVF, group 4, box 52, folder 8–10; Bruce Kinney to G. R. Hovey, 7 December 1926. ABHSVF, group 4, box 52, folder 8–10, 2.

57. Kinney called Indian dancing "heathen worship." See Bruce Kinney to G. R. Hovey, 7 December 1926. ABHSVF, group 4, box 52, folder 8–10, 2; also see Bode, "Origin and Development of Bacone College" for a discussion of Bacone's early policies concerning students and Indian dancing.

58. B. Kinney to G. R. Hovey, 20 December 1926. ABHSVF.

59. B. Kinney, *The New Indian* (New York: Board of Missionary Cooperation of the Northern Baptist Convention, 1927), 9.

60. G. R. Hovey to Carl White, 24 August 1926. BCIC.

61. G. R. Hovey to Carl White, 26 October 1926. BCIC.

62. G. Lee Phelps to Charles L. White, 28 February 1927. ABHSVF.

63. Robert T. Handy, *The American Religious Depression, 1925–1935* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968), 5–6.

64. G. R. Hovey to B. D. Weeks, 20 April 1927. BCIC.

65. *BIN* 13, no. 8 (6 March 1941): 1–2.

66. Ataloa [Mary Stone McLendon], "Can the Indian Be 'Saved'?" *The Baptist* (10 January 1931): 46.

67. Ibid., 46–47; also see Ataloa [Mary Stone McLendon], "The Romance and Education of the American Indian" (address delivered to the Daughters of the American Revolution Congress, 21 April 1932), 6. ABHSVF, group 4, box 57, folder 1. That Ataloa's arrival on campus corresponded to the first uses of the term *culture* in Bacone's fundraising strategies is no accident. At Columbia University, the anthropologist Franz Boas and his students popularized the idea of cultural relativism. The progressive education movement focused attention on the value of the arts (read "high culture") in schools. John Collier and groups of white Americans in the eastern United States were fighting for the religious rights of the Pueblo Indians, on the grounds that these cultures were highly "developed," were aesthetic, and constituted "civilizations" in their own right. At a time when the term *culture* was being used in politics and academia to refer to several different things, it should be no surprise that in Bacone's fundraising campaigns it was used simultaneously as a synonym for *civilization*, *art*, *heritage*, and *custom*.

68. "A Dream of a Cherokee Princess Is Being Realized at Last in the New Art Lodge of the Indian College," *The New York Sun* (20 June 1933): 1. Also see *BIN* 1, no. 2 (25 October 1928): 1.

69. Doris Anderson Smith, telephone conversation with author, 1998. For examples of the glee club's musical repertoire see *BIN* 2, no. 3 (1 November 1929): 1 and *BIN* 13, no. 7 (14 February 1941): 1. Friml's "Indian Love Call" (lyrics by Otto Harbach and Oscar Hammerstein II) presented the sensual story of young Indian "maidens" awakening to their sexuality: "When the maiden moon/Riding the sky, gathers her starry-eyed dream children nigh/That is the time of the moon and the year/When love dreams to Indian maidens appear/And this is the song they hear/[Chorus] When I'm calling you-oo-oo-oo!/Will you answer too-oo-oo-oo?"

70. Bacone College publicity brochure, 1932. BCIC.
71. *BIN* 2, no. 3 (1 November 1929): 1.
72. *BIN* 2, no. 1 (4 October 1929): 1.
73. *BIN* 2, no. 2 (18 October 1929): 1.
74. *BIN* 2, no. 13 (23 May 1930): 1.
75. *BIN* 10, no. 4 (17 November 1937): 1.
76. *BIN* 3, no. 1 (30 September 1930): 1, emphasis in the original.
77. *BIN* 4, no. 10 (23 February 1932): 3.
78. *BIN* 6, no. 1 (27 September 1933): 2.
79. *BIN* 8, no. 9 (18 March 1936): 1; *BIN* 8, no. 11 (17 April 1936): 1.
80. *BIN* 9, no. 12 (5 May 1937): 1.
81. *BIN* 3, no. 9 (27 February 1931): 3.
82. *BIN* 12, no. 7 (14 February 1940): 1.
83. *BIN* 9, no. 2 (21 October 1936): 2.
84. *BIN* 11, no. 5 (7 December 1938): 1. It is not clear that this short film for Warner Brothers was ever made. In 1951, Warner Brothers did release its feature film, *Jim Thorpe—All American* (Warner Home Video, 147 min.), which starred Burt Lancaster in the title role as the legendary sports hero from Carlisle. Shot on the Bacone campus, this film featured many Bacone students as extras. See "Warner Couldn't Have Picked Better Site for Filming than Bacone College," *MDPTD* (19 August 1951) BCIC, folder: 1948.
85. *BIN* 8, no. 11 (17 April 1936): 3.
86. *BIN* 9, no. 10 (31 March 1937): 1–2; *BIN* 9, no. 13 (26 May 1937): 1.
87. *BIN* 6, no. 11 (2 May 1934): 1.
88. *BIN* 12, no. 4 (15 November 1939): 1.
89. Ataloa's use of the title "Princess" should not surprise us. As Rayna Green has shown, the Indian Princess image has been central to European and Euro-American ideologies about Indian women. Ataloa was one of a number of prominent Native American women during the early-to-mid-twentieth century who capitalized on this image and adopted the name "Princess" in their public performances. See Rayna Green, "The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture," *The Massachusetts Review* 16 (Autumn 1975), 698–714.
90. Ataloa [Mary Stone McLendon], concert tour publicity brochure and program, n.d. ABHSVF, biographical file: Ataloa "Little Song" Chickasaw Contralto.
91. *BIN* 5, no. 8 (1 February 1933): 1.
92. Shelby Ray (Bacone Junior College, Class of 1929), conversation with author, Okemah, OK, 1995. Also see Bode, "Origin and Development of Bacone College."
93. *BIN* 7, no. 5 (28 November 1934): 1; *BIN* 7, no. 6 (12 December 1934): 1.
94. In 1939, Bacone retired its previous name, "The Red Rovers," and substituted the name "Warriors" for its athletic teams. *BIN* 11, no. 6 (18 January 1939): 1. Today, Bacone's teams are still called the Warriors.
95. *BIN* 8, no. 10 (1 April 1936): 1.
96. *BIN* 1, no. 12 (4 April 1929): 4; *BIN* 1, no. 13 (2 May 1929): 2; *BIN* 8, no. 11 (17 April 1936): 1; *BIN* 9, no. 12 (5 May 1937): 1; *BIN* 13, no. 4 (23 November 1940): 1.
97. *BIN* 10, no. 1 (29 September 1937): 3.
98. Ataloa [Mary Stone McLendon], "Romance and Education of the American Indian," 4, emphasis in the original.

99. Ibid., emphasis in the original.

100. *BIN* 5, no. 7 (11 January 1933): 3–4.

101. Ataloa [Mary Stone McLendon], "The Dream of an Indian Princess," Missions (March 1933): 155.

102. *BIN* 5, no. 5 (22 November 1932): 1.

103. *BIN* 5, no. 2 (5 October 1932): 1.

104. *BIN* 8, no. 3 (6 November 1935): 1.

105. *BIN* 5, no. 7 (11 January 1933): 4.

106. Ataloa [Mary Stone McLendon] to Dr. Frederick Keppel, The Carnegie Foundation, 5 November 1932, 10. BCIC; *Bacone College Bulletin and Annual Catalogue 1932–1933.* BCIC, folder: 1926–33, Annual Catalogs.

107. *Bacone College Bulletin and Annual Catalogue 1932–1933.* BCIC, folder: 1926–33, Annual Catalogs.

108. *BIN* 5, no. 14 (22 August 1933): 1.

109. *BIN* 9, no. 12 (5 May 1937): 1; *BIN* 70, no. 10 (28 April 1950): 1.

110. *BIN* 10, no. 2 (13 October 1937): 1.

111. *BIN* 12, no. 1 (4 October 1939): 2; *BIN* 12, no. 2 (18 October 1939): 1.

112. E.g., the University of Redlands (also an American Baptist institution) was home to a number of Bacone alumni, who, by early 1936, had helped to establish an Indian Club on that campus. See *BIN* 8, no. 11 (17 April 1936): 3.

113. *BIN* 7, no. 1 (26 September 1934): 3.

114. *BIN* 12, no. 5 (13 December 1939): 1.

115. B. D. Weeks, lecture delivered to the congregation of the North Shore Baptist Church, Chicago, IL (9 April 1940), 5. BCIC, folder: Oklahoma Indian Baptist Association.

116. K. Tsianina Lomawaima and Teresa L. McCarty, *To Remain an Indian: Lessons in Democracy from a Century of Native American Education.* Multicultural Education Series, ed. James. A. Banks (New York and London: Teachers College Press, 2006), 2–3.

117. Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 122.

118. Julius LaCroix, conversation with author, Hugo, OK, 2 June 1995. Dick West, conversation with author, Tijeras, NM, 9 August 1994.

119. Herschell Daney, conversation with author, Tulsa, OK, 2 August 1995.

120. Mary Kathryn Harris Smith, conversation with author, Tulsa, OK, 17 May 1995.

121. Shelby Ray, phone conversation with author, 2001.

122. Although female vocal groups assumed some of the fundraising roles of the Singing Redmen during the war years, their abilities to travel were also restricted by fuel rationing. *BIN* 14, no. 2 (30 October 1941): 4; *BIN* 14, no. 10 (4 May 1942): 2; and *BIN* 15, no. 1 (28 September 1942): 1.

123. Bacone College, *Echoes from the President's Office* (August 1949): 3 and *Echoes from the President's Office* (December 1949): 2. BCIC, folder: Echoes from the President's Office 1948–1955.

124. Milton C. Froyd, "Report on Bacone College to the American Baptist Home Mission Society" (1953): 11. ABHSVF, group 13, box 109, folder 10.

125. Ibid., 13.

126. Ibid., 11.

127. Bode, "Origin and Development of Bacone College," 112.

128. At this time, the debate about opening Bacone to non-Indians meant "white" students. Even though the cities of Tulsa and Muskogee and the nearby town of Taft all had relatively large black communities, it was not until later that African American students began to enroll at Bacone.

129. W. W. Dolan, "Junior College for Indian Students," *The Junior College Journal* 9, no. 2 (1938): 64. Bode, "The Origin and Development of Bacone College," 111–12.

130. Bacone College, "Admissions," http://www.bacone.edu/Admissions/faqs.htm (accessed 7 June 2007).