

Courtesy Purdey Family

by Linda M. Waggoner

On Trial

The Washington Redskins' Wily Mascot: Coach William "Lone Star" Dietz

IN JUNE 1919, seven months following the close of World War I, a sensational courtroom drama unfolded in Spokane, Washington. The defendant, William Henry Dietz, alias William Lone Star, stood accused of violating the Selective Service Law on September 12, 1918, when he registered for the draft.¹ The federal government filed two counts against him, the first alleging that he falsely registered as "a non-citizen Indian of the United States."² The second charged that he made "false statements as to the fitness and liability of himself for military service."³ Assistant district attorney Charles H. Leavey clarified the charges, asserting that "in truth and in fact" Dietz was a "white person born in Barron County, State of Wisconsin," "a natural born citizen of the United States," and never received an Indian allotment.⁴

Dietz was well-known in Spokane as Washington State College's beloved Indian coach. His career took off when he played football from 1907 to 1912 at the Carlisle Indian and Industrial School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and then honed his coaching skills assisting Glenn "Pop" Warner, the team's famous coach, from 1912 to 1914. Dietz won the hearts of Pacific Northwesters when he took Pullman's Cougars, an underdog team, to victory at the Rose Bowl game in Pasadena, California, on New Year's Day 1916. At six feet and two hundred pounds, more or less, Dietz still looked like the college left tackle he got his start playing. He was a handsome, fashionable fellow who captivated both men and women with his flashing brown eyes, easy smile, charming dimples, and dark hair smoothed stylishly back from his prominent cheekbones.

Dietz's true identity remains a bone of contention even today. Inducted into the College Football Hall of Fame in July 2012, Dietz is still recognized as an Indian athlete who became an innovative college and National Football League coach.⁵ In particular, Dan Snyder, owner of the Washington Redskins (WR), continues to glorify Dietz.⁶ Snyder claims the team's original owner, George Preston Marshall, created the team name in 1933 to "honor" his Sioux Indian coach. As one sportswriter put it: "Marshall had been a racial pioneer of sorts, hiring a full-blooded Native American, Will (Lone Star) Dietz, as coach."⁷ This fallacious argument is regurgitated by many WR fans, who are driven by team loyalty and nostalgia. Consequently, Dietz has become tantamount to a mascot for their home team.

Today's public is not the first to trade reality for stereotype. According to Standing Rock Sioux historian Philip Deloria, "playing Indian" has been a national pastime since the Boston Tea Party. In the early twentieth century, as Dietz grew to manhood, clubs such as the Boys Scouts and the Order of Red Men lived out "the natural Indian" fantasy across the land, a fantasy that found full expression in American team sports. The "appeal of native ways of adorning the body and wearing (or not wearing) clothing, of hunting and fishing, and of gathering together in villages playing games, doing combat, or engaging in communal ceremonies seemed an antidote for modernity's straightjacket on the senses," notes scholar Alan Trachtenberg. The Great Sioux War of 1876–1877, which led to the Ghost Dance movement and the devastating massacre at Wounded Knee on

In the early years of the twentieth century, William H. Dietz, a young Wisconsin man, assumed a new identity. He rechristened himself "Lone Star," after former Carlisle Indian school student James One Star, whose Oglala identity he assumed. In that role, Dietz attended Carlisle, served as its assistant art director, and played football under Coach Glenn "Pop" Warner from 1907 to 1912. Afterward, Dietz served as Warner's assistant coach for two years and then spent a career coaching football and "playing" Indian. He drew this football illustration in 1910.

December 29, 1890, produced iconic first Americans such as Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull. The legacy of these warriors and their stereotypical portrayal in mass media greatly influenced Dietz's generation to "dream Indian" while the notion that American Indians were headed to extinction—the "vanishing Indian myth"—obfuscated the existence of still-living native people.⁸

Meanwhile, the U.S. government wrestled with "the Indian problem" by attempting to eradicate "primitive" culture. Notably, Richard Henry Pratt, infamous for his precept "Kill the Indian in him; Save the Man," established the Carlisle Indian and Industrial boarding school in 1879, where he employed military training tactics to "guide" native children into mainstream society. This disciplined approach led easily to a promising sports program. The first Carlisle football game was played in 1890, but when one of the players broke a leg, Pratt quickly quashed the sport. Pratt's concern about safety was warranted. In the days before protective clothing and helmets, football was extremely dangerous, and public protest against it was deafening. It was not until four years later that Carlisle again fielded a team, whose players Pratt admonished to "develop their strength and ability to such a degree" that they'd "whip the biggest team in the country."⁹

Carlisle's football program entered the national limelight in 1894 when Yale's 1892 all-American quarterback, Vance C. McCormick, agreed to coach for two seasons.¹⁰ Typically, newspaper coverage of Carlisle games employed tropes of frontier warfare: "A band of eleven full-blooded warriors, with their war paint and feathers" caused an "uprising" on Manhattan Island when they "attacked a band of men from the Young Men's Christian Association," the *New York Times* reported when Carlisle played Manhattan's YMCA on November 28, 1895. A "medicine man" attended the wounded and "war cries" erupted with Carlisle's victory. The game drew more than one thousand paid grandstanders and a whopping five thousand bystanders who watched from the bluffs and viaduct beyond Manhattan Field.¹¹

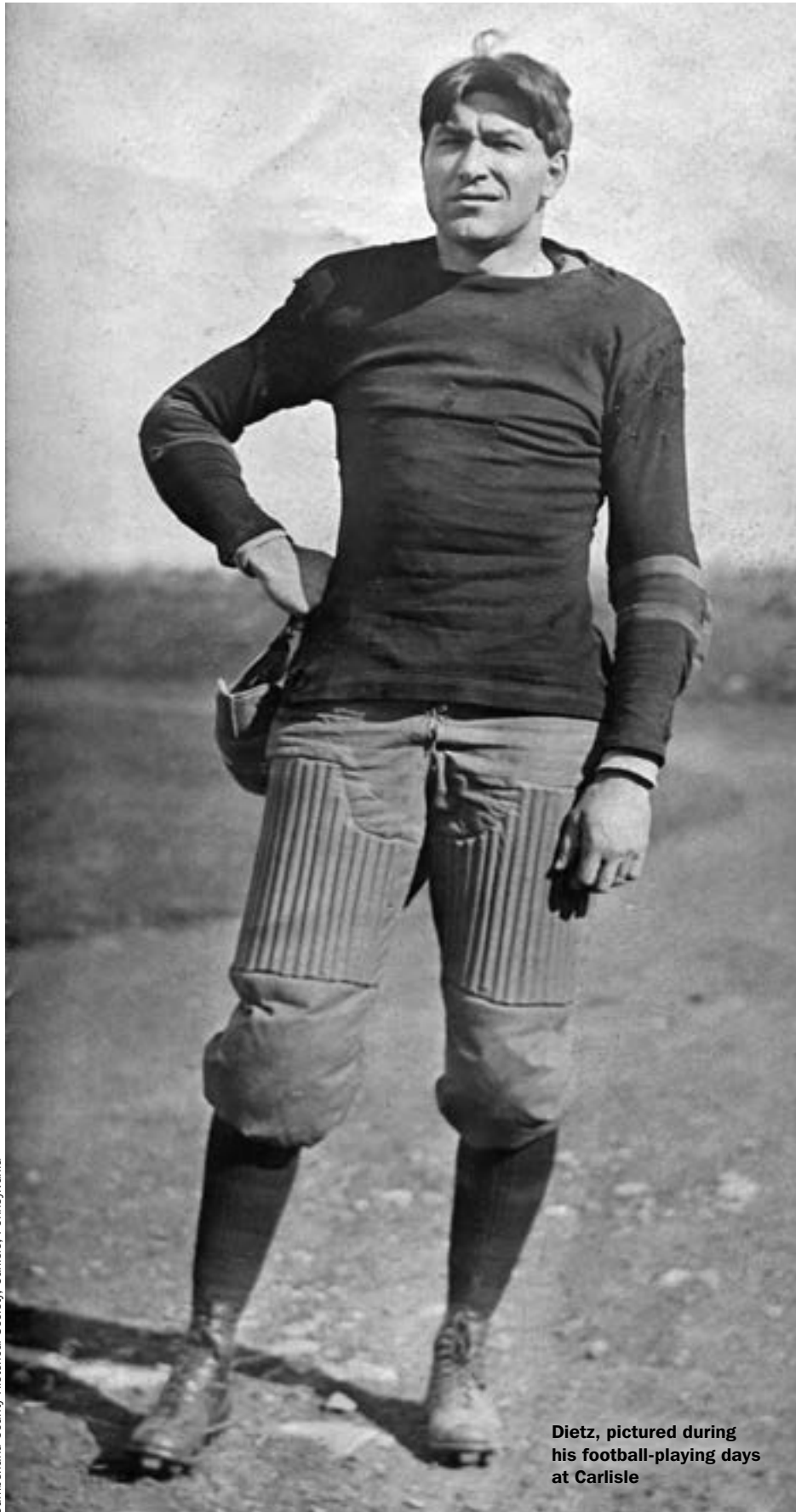
In 1896, coverage of nearly every Carlisle game included the rhetoric of Indian wars, particularly scalping. Remarkably, crowds often rooted for the underdog Carlisle team, whose members were esteemed as "gallant" or "plucky redskins." Although the team

called themselves "The Red Men," emphasizing that they were—like Yale's Crimson—*men*, the Red Men on the gridiron were fast becoming "Redskins" in print. Princeton's "Captain Cochran and his 'Tiger' football team" defeated the "'Redskins' of the Carlisle Indian School" announced an October 1897 report. By the following fall, Carlisle football games were all the rage, and the sportier "R-word" spread to the masses: "Every time the reports of Indian games are printed," wrote a reporter from Chicago's *Daily Review*, "hundreds of Chicagoans are heard to express 'Oh, how I would like to see those redskins play.'"¹²

In 1899, Pratt hired a Cornell man, Glen S. Warner, to lead the team. Immediately, Warner, known familiarly as "Pop," began to put his indelible stamp on the team. As historian David Wallace Adams notes: "By any measure, the gridiron record of the Carlisle Indians was remarkable. Between 1899 and 1914, years during which the team was primarily coached by . . . Warner, Carlisle dazzled the fans with their victories, defeating such football giants of the day as Harvard, Cornell, University of Pennsylvania, and Princeton." However, as Adams concludes, Pratt's dream that football "would advance the school's assimilationist vision" was thwarted when he found himself "unable to control the meaning that journalists, spectators, and players read into Indian-white football." Although U.S. forces had quashed the so-called "frontier conflict," Carlisle football games granted white spectators a chance to see the battles reenacted.¹³

By the fall of 1907, when "Lone Star" Dietz enrolled in the school as an "authentic" Sioux artist and an accomplished athlete, the Red Men were legendary. To play alongside the likes of Jim Thorpe (who enrolled in the school in 1904), to enact Pop Warner's tricky Indian playbook, to hear the cheers of hundreds of fans was an impossible dream for most football players. But William Dietz thrived on challenge and lived big dreams.

William Henry Dietz, or "Willie," as he was usually called, was born on August 17, 1884, in Rice Lake, Wisconsin, at 16 West Humbird Street. The day following his birth, his proud father, William Wallace Dietz, "set up the cigars," and his mother showed off her newborn to neighbors and family. Everyone in town knew Willie's father, "W.W." A pioneer, he settled in the area in 1871 and was elected county



Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle, Pennsylvania

Dietz, pictured during his football-playing days at Carlisle

sheriff in 1877. He married Leanna Ginder in November 1879, and they kept a livery stable. A few days after Willie was born, W.W. was reelected sheriff. As such, county residents esteemed him as “vigilant and efficient” and a “very terror to evil doers.”¹⁴

Willie’s young life was fairly ordinary. He attended grammar school in Rice Lake, was an average student, sold popcorn on the street corner downtown, and played sports. He also loved to playact and draw, particularly cartoons. The summer after high school—the same summer the Buffalo Bill show came to Rice Lake—Dietz donned a Plains Indian costume and was photographed. According to some, “he looked very much like an Indian.” In 1902 and 1903, he attended Macalester College in St. Paul, Minnesota, where he studied art and also played sports and football. During his later trial, in 1919, he claimed that his teammates teased him for “looking like an Indian.”¹⁵

By the spring of 1904, Dietz’s hometown newspaper reported that he was in Minneapolis “taking a special course in the work necessary to perfect him in his drawing.” It praised his “very clever sketches” that were “likely to get [him] a good position, as soon as it becomes known how good work he can do.” That summer, he found employment at the government Indian school exhibit at the St. Louis World’s Fair. More than his “good work” was about to be discovered.¹⁶

The Indian school exhibit, which promoted the assimilation of native children, was a staple at world’s fairs. However, the Progressive Era inaugurated a sea change that students should be educated closer to their own reservations rather than be shipped off to a boarding school like Carlisle. Samuel M. McCowan, the superintendent of Oklahoma’s Chilocco Indian Agricultural School, supervised the exhibit where Chilocco students showed off their domestic, industrial, and agricultural training for fairgoers.¹⁷ It is not clear why McGowan hired Dietz, but it is likely Dietz feigned some kind of Indian identity for the first time. Naturally, visitors to the exhibit, including Dietz’s future wife, Winnebago artist Angel De Cora, thought Dietz was a Chilocco student. His good looks, self-confidence, and artistic ability, not to mention his charm, made him appear an exemplary model for the government’s success in assimilating Indian children.

By August, Dietz’s presence gained national attention. Under “Striking Things Seen at the World’s

Fair,” the *Washington Post* reported: “A life-size representation of a Sioux brave on the warpath, worked in different grains raised on the Chilocco Agricultural Farm, adorns the wall in the display parlor of the Indian school. William Dietz, a full-blooded Sioux, is the artist.” Dietz thrived on attention, and this notice was surely transformative for him. Suddenly, he no longer *resembled* an Indian, he was the *best* Indian to be—a “full-blooded Sioux”—and recognized for his talent.¹⁸

Reborn as a Sioux, Dietz competed in the Indian Games held at the world’s fair as part of the 1904 Olympics. Sometime that summer, he also met or heard tell of a Buffalo Bill performer named One Star and learned of James One Star, the missing Oglala son of the performer’s deceased sister. James had a sister, Sallie Eaglehorse, who hadn’t heard from her brother since he left Carlisle Indian school and enlisted in the army in 1892. It is not clear if Dietz heard about Sallie at the fair or much later. Nonetheless, he began crafting himself a fabulous autobiography: that he was the son of a “half-breed” Oglala woman called Julia One Star or Julia Lone Star (the Oglala term was the same) who had met Dietz’s father, W.W, and gave birth to a daughter and then Lone Star. With just a few tweaks to his appearance and a slight adjustment to his comportment, Dietz could easily pass for one quarter Sioux.

Dietz must have fooled McCowan because the superintendent recruited him for football for Chilocco that fall. After playing the first game, however, Dietz mysteriously disappeared. One-quarter “blood quantum” was sufficient to enroll in most Indian schools, but the government still required proof of tribal enrollment. Undaunted, Dietz enrolled at nearby Friends University in Wichita, Kansas, a non-Indian Quaker college. The student body welcomed him with open arms, acknowledged his artistic talent, and regarded him as “our great Indian athlete.” The day before the Thanksgiving Day game, he performed “Indian songs and dances” for FU’s “young ladies.” Although he joined the football team for the game, the opposing team protested that he was ineligible to play because he had just played for an Indian school from which he had not graduated (Chilocco, like Carlisle, only provided a tenth-grade education). The next day, the headline “Dietz Was Not a Chilocco Man; Pres. Stanley Says That He Was Only an Employe[e]”

appeared in Wichita's *Daily Beacon*. Consequently, Dietz remained at Friends at least through baseball season in the spring of 1905.¹⁹

The next two years of Dietz's life are relatively unknown. During an FBI investigation for the 1919 trial, his maternal aunt, Augusta Whitaker, said that her nephew "became intimately acquainted with an Indian student who looked very much like him" while attending Macalester College. She stated that he "went with Indian friend and began working for some publication in Superior, Wis." as a newspaper artist. Next, "he decided that he would like to go East with his Indian friend" and that is when he "received a position" at Carlisle. Another acquaintance confirmed Whitaker's story, saying that "a 'half breed' named Rogers who played football with the University of Minnesota" got Dietz into Carlisle "thru some subterfuge." Edward L. Rogers fits this description. He attended law school at the University of Minnesota while Dietz was at Macalester. In 1900, he was captain of Carlisle's football team. When Warner left to coach Cornell University for a few years, Rogers filled in for him in 1904. Dietz likely passed as a "mixed-blood Indian" to Rogers, for only Pop Warner had the power, means, and experience to recruit players without tribal documentation or other requirements.²⁰

On December 30, 1907, just two and a half months following his enrollment at Carlisle, Dietz eloped with the director of Carlisle's art department, Angel De Cora, whom he had met at the St. Louis World's Fair. Trained as a fine artist, she specialized in Indian subject matter and design and had been appointed in 1906 to transform Carlisle's outdated art department into a productive and cutting-edge "Native Indian" art program.²¹

The shy and extremely modest De Cora, although fourteen years Dietz's senior, was no match for his persuasive charm. Early in their marriage, she confessed good-naturedly to one of her old friends that her husband "generally twists my arguments into a muddle every time." Remarkably, neither of their parents ever met their son or daughter-in-law. De Cora's mother lived on the Nebraska reservation, and Dietz's mother was "very much put out at her son's marriage to an Indian." One neighbor claimed that she "made a great effort to have the marriage annulled or cancelled."²²



Angel De Cora, the most prominent Native American artist of the era, came to Carlisle in 1906 to revamp its art department. Two and a half months after Dietz's 1907 enrollment, the couple eloped. De Cora kept their marriage secret until Dietz had completed coursework at Philadelphia Industrial School of Art and gained his position as her assistant in the art department at Carlisle. They are shown here with one of the Russian wolfhounds they raised and showed during the early teens.

Self-conscious of her age and her husband's mismatched professional status, De Cora managed to keep the union secret for months, until Dietz, as a part of Carlisle's "outing program," completed coursework at Philadelphia's Industrial School of Art (where he also donned a feathered headdress and put on another Indian show for coeds).²³ Strings were pulled by sources unknown, and Dietz immediately gained a government position as his wife's assistant in the art department. Nonetheless, he continued to play football—as if a student—until he became Warner's assistant coach in 1912.

Dietz finally made the starter team in 1910. Carlisle football provided him something no other sport team could: the unequalled opportunity to transform himself into one of the nation's "Real All Americans."²⁴



Carlisle Indian school played an important role in Dietz's transformation, though how he came to be enrolled is unexplained. Perhaps Pop Warner recruited the six-foot, solidly built Dietz, who already had a couple of college football seasons to his favor. This 1911 team portrait celebrates a three-point victory over Harvard and includes Warner (standing, in suit), Dietz (to his left), and well-known teammate Jim Thorpe (seated in front of Warner with a C on his sweater). Team members are (from left to right): top row, fullback Ben Powell, tackle Elmer Wheelock, right tackle Dietz, Warner, right guard Pete Jordon, and guard Elmer Bush; center row, left end Henry Roberts, center George Burger, left tackle Bill Newashe, right end Sampson Bird, right half Thorpe, halfback Joel Wheelock, and right guard William Garlow; front row, left half Alex Arcasa, halfback Eloy Sousa, and quarterback Gus Welch.

Led by captain Pete Hauser, the team won eight games and lost six. In 1911, Jim Thorpe joined the team, which already featured great athletes such as Gus Welch and Bill Newashe. Lone Star was ecstatic when the Red Men only lost one game that season. Clearly, he learned techniques from the audacious Pop Warner, the “Old Fox,” whose deceptive plays such as the “hidden ball trick” his players enjoyed enacting as much as the spectators loved watching.

Dietz began receiving regular notice from the press both for football and for gallivanting with theater people and prominent Indians. He and De Cora were also becoming well-known for their artwork collaboration, particularly for the school's

new Arts and Crafts–style magazine. In fact, their *Indian Craftsman*, which debuted in February 1909, became the *Red Man* in 1910, when attorneys for Gustave Stickley's very popular magazine, the *Craftsman*, urged a name change, arguing that subscribers were getting the two confused.

It was time for Dietz to properly introduce himself to the world. In January 1912, the *Literary Digest* featured him in “How Art Misrepresents the Indian.” The piece begins with his declaration that the only white artist who could properly represent “the Indian” was Frederick Remington. Dietz supported his claim with an appeal to his own authentic Indian-ness in a dramatic account of how he came to be.

Forty years ago a young German, a civil engineer, was a member of a party of surveyors laying out the line of a railroad over the plains. The party was attacked by Red Cloud and its camp was besieged. Day by day the supply of provisions grew less. Finally, the young German determined on a course so bold that none of his companions dared accompany him.

Alone, without arms, and with a few days' rations, the engineer set out toward the Indian camp. He was captured and taken before the chief. While his captors introduced him with mutterings he stepped [*sic*] forward with outstretched hand toward the chief.

His plan worked. The chief met his captive with the trust that the civil engineer displayed. A lodge was assigned to the white man and he took an Indian woman as his wife. Altho [*sic*] United States troops put an end to the Indian uprising and rescued the other engineers of the party, the young German remained with Chief Red Cloud's tribe and his Indian wife gave birth to two children. The second child, a boy, was named Wicarhpi Isnala, or Lone Star.

After he had grown wealthy as a trader and agent between the Indians and the whites the engineer left the tribe and returned to his home in the East. Here he found an old sweetheart, whom he married. After five years he returned to the Indians and took away from the tribe his son, Lone Star, who, a boy of eight years, entered a school in the East, overcame the handicaps of strange language, and was graduated from a high school at eighteen.²⁵

The story reads like a typical captivity narrative. Beyond that, it is astoundingly anachronistic. Dietz was born in 1884; his "sister" Sallie, in about 1864 (when W.W., who had never been a civil engineer, was only ten years old); and the historical events portrayed



Courtesy Purdey Family



Red Man, February 1914

As Dietz fleshed out the account of his quarter-Oglala heritage, he reinforced his claims, writing to his "sister" Sallie Eaglehorse at Pine Ridge Reservation and providing identification cards to Pine Ridge Agency to become officially recognized as James One Star. At top, Dietz poses for an illustration that he created for the cover of the Carlisle publication the *Red Man* (above).

in his story occurred in the early 1870s. That no one openly challenged his story is remarkable—but Dietz was far from home living a glamorous life.

Apparently, one person did respond to the story, because on March 29 Dietz sent a letter from Carlisle to Sallie Eaglehorse at Pine Ridge:

I might leave the Indian school and go in vaudeville on the stage. If I can do so I will make lots of money and can send you money every month. I know this will make you happy for you will not need to go without pretty clothes and plenty to eat. A white man in New York city is writing me a sketch which he says will make lots of money. I hope so anyway for I know you need lots of things that you can not afford to buy now. With lots of love, I am, yours truly, brother. William Lone Star²⁶

For the time being, Sallie was appeased. Meanwhile, Dietz's good friend Jim Thorpe returned home from the 1912 summer Olympics in Stockholm with gold medals. That fall, Dietz, now twenty-eight, became Pop Warner's assistant. The team continued to draw large crowds, and Dietz enjoyed his new



Courtesy, Purdey Family

The "personal adornment of the Indian" became a Dietz area of expertise. While at Carlisle, he often served as a model for illustrations he or his wife created.

role on the sidelines very much. But the golden age of Carlisle was coming to an end. In 1914, as World War I erupted in Europe, a new, less progressive, and more efficiency-minded administration targeted the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) for investigation. Some believed Carlisle was red-flagged because Thorpe had just been stripped of his Olympic medals for playing professional sports.²⁷ Government officials denied the allegation but directed investigators to the school.

Just as the investigation got under way, Carlisle's superintendent, Moses Friedman, received a letter from Pine Ridge dated January 29, 1914. It read:

[De]ar sir. Please I want you to do little thing for me. I like know where is one star or lone star i think name is james one star or lone star. he left the oglala reservation many years he is going to school. some where i think go to Carlisle ind sch. and he never get home and last i heard he was out to soldier some where but i heard come back to school again he only got one sister lives so she like to know where is he now. i think he is 40 or over years old by this time i want you to do that right the away and you let me know you try to find out please. your truly Chas Yellow Boy²⁸

Friedman responded that One Star left Carlisle to enlist in the army, and records "indicated" he died in Cuba. "The War Department can probably secure definite information regarding his death," Friedman added, "and I would suggest that you write to the Honorable Secretary of War at Washington, D. C., for full particulars."²⁹ Military files do not support Friedman's claim.

Friedman's response confirmed Yellow Boy's suspicion that Carlisle's present "one star or lone star" could not be Sallie's brother. Either Dietz

obtained a copy of the letter or another came for him personally, for he immediately responded, sending Sallie another letter on February 12:

I was glad to get your letter and to know there is some one who loves me. I have been traveling a great deal. I lived with some white people who were good to me and wanted to adopt me, but father died suddenly and left all his money to his other relations before he had time to change his will. I have been to school a great deal and with several wildwest shows. Finally I learned to draw pictures and got money for that. I made mostly Indian pictures and sometimes get good pay. I feel lonesome for my people and want to go home. I never tried to get my land, but just let it go. I shake hands with you with a glad heart. My dear sister, I am, your loving brother.
William Lone Star.³⁰

At the same time, Dietz sent a request to the superintendent of the Pine Ridge Agency. Two weeks later, the agent responded with a letter to Carlisle addressed to “One Star.” “Enclosed find cards and ink,” he wrote. “Please send your right and left thumb marks and English name on each three cards.”³¹ Thumbprints were a new requirement for the BIA, and, as such, none were on file for James. Lone Star Dietz obediently complied and became officially recognized as James One Star.

Meanwhile, investigators found Superintendent Friedman guilty of fraud. They also unearthed the unethical activities of the school’s athletic program over which Warner presided. When the dust settled, Friedman was fired, and newspapers informed the public that Warner had moved on to greener pastures. He was, in fact, fired as well. Among the faculty members who complained about Warner, one stated that there was “absolute power in the hands of a man who had no connection with the [Indian] service other than to make athletes.” The era of the Carlisle Red Men came to an end when the school was closed in the summer of 1918.³²

Dietz managed to stay safely under the radar during the Carlisle investigation. One faculty member testified that “certain football boys were enrolled at said school for the specific purpose of playing football,”



In the Pacific Northwest, Dietz—sans wife—presented himself as part all-American athlete, part Indian warrior, and part European dandy. Given to flashy dressing, in December 1916, Dietz paraded down Portland, Oregon’s Dressy Avenue in top hat and tails. “You might imagine that the stares of the startled pedestrians would bother the ex-Carlisle hero. Not so,” observed a reporter. “‘I’m like Lillian Russell,’” Dietz said, “in perfect English. . . . ‘I don’t care what they say about me just so they say something.’”

but Dietz was only one among several players who Warner illegally recruited. Ever the optimist, Dietz felt certain he was in line to take over Warner’s position. When he discovered he was not, Dietz accepted his first college football coaching position at Washington State College in 1915 and left for Pullman.

In the Pacific Northwest, Dietz—sans wife—presented himself as part all-American athlete, part Indian warrior, and part European dandy. He even went on tour with the college glee club. By December, Seattle’s *Post-Intelligencer* took notice and ran a story

entitled “Three Views of Unique Pullman Coach,” illustrated with public relations photos: “Mr. Dietz in football togs,” “Lonestar in Indian costume,” and “William Lonestar Dietz, in his ‘Glad Rags.’” As the latter persona, Dietz paraded down Portland, Oregon’s Dressy Avenue in top hat and tails. “You might imagine that the stares of the startled pedestrians would bother the ex-Carlisle hero. Not so,” observed a reporter. “‘I’m like Lillian Russell,’” Dietz said, “in perfect English. . . . ‘I don’t care what they say about me just so they say something.’”³³

Dietz did care, of course, especially when gossip disputing his Indian heritage began to circulate. He retold his father’s captivity narrative and publicly named Sallie as his sister. “Father kept his romance to himself and until I was well in my teens everybody supposed I was the child of his second marriage. That is the reason for the frequent newspaper stories that I am not an Indian,” Dietz proclaimed.³⁴

After a training season of Pop Warner–style coaching, including his own innovation, the “dead Indian play,” Dietz took the Cougars to victory against Brown University at the 1916 Rose Bowl. His father had died in December, but that did not thwart his spirit. The producers of the silent movie *Brown of Harvard* discovered Lone Star and his team at the Rose Bowl and

used them in a scrimmage scene for the film. When Dietz returned home, however, rumors again dogged him. On January 23, the *Seattle Sunday Times* printed yet another rebuttal titled “Bill Dietz Says He is Half Indian.”³⁵

Obviously, Dietz felt cornered because not only did he further embellish his phony story, but he also began offering tangible “proofs” for his ancestry. He claimed he attended Chilocco Indian school before Carlisle and argued that it was virtually “impossible” for the government to allow a non-Indian to attend Carlisle. He also carried a well-worn letter in his pocket from Sallie. “I get [an annuity] check from the government every year,” Dietz added. Soon after, the story “A German Indian is Dietz” appeared across the country.³⁶

Dietz renegotiated his contract with Pullman but sought new coaching opportunities in California. The next couple of years of his life revolved around a brief but intoxicating career in movies. He spent the summer of 1916 acting in bit parts in silent films for Santa Barbara’s American Film Company. When silent film actor Tyrone Power Sr. opened a movie studio in Spokane, Dietz invested two thousand dollars in the company. In exchange, Power gave him a role in the Washington Film Company’s first project, appropriately titled *Fool’s Gold*. At the end of January 1918, the



Atropio Studio, photographer, Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections, Washington State University Libraries, Pullman

The federal government investigated irregularities in the athletic program at Carlisle in 1914, and Pop Warner was fired. When Dietz discovered that he would not succeed Warner, he accepted his first college football coaching position at Washington State College in 1915. Here, with his 1915 team, he is standing on the left end of the top row.



After a training season of Pop Warner-style coaching, Dietz took the Washington State Cougars to a Rose Bowl victory in 1916. In the game, above, WSC beat Brown University with a score of 14 to 0.

Cline, photographer, Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections, Washington State University Libraries, Pullman, PC 033F1-4a

Spokane-Review ran a large feature, “‘Lone Star’ Dietz Hopes to Picture the True Indian in Spokane-Made Films,” illustrated with photos of Dietz in different guises: “As a French count,” “Ready for the opera,” “As a pirate character,” “in gay civilian togs,” and “In the full regalia of a Sioux chieftain.” Dietz hoped to head his own film company, but it never got off the ground. “I may die a poor man, with my ambitions far from realized, but I will never attain them or wealth by portraying the savage Indian again,” Dietz said.³⁷

Fool’s Gold began filming in 1918, but investors, including Dietz, lost their shirts when Power left under the pretense of a nervous breakdown. Consequently, Dietz was down and out, though still in the film, when Washington State granted him a divorce from De Cora in November 1918. Dietz charged her with abandonment. It is not clear how much she knew about his true identity. She died six days after his indictment.³⁸

In December, evidence of Dietz’s draft dodging appeared in a local newspaper when J. C. Argall, the Spokane draft board employee who had handled his registration, “brand[ed] Dietz as a slacker.” Consequently, Fred A. Watt, Washington State’s first FBI agent in charge, initiated an investigation into the “conscription matter.” In mid-December 1918, Watt filed his recommendation: “Subject is a famous athlete and football coach . . . and owing to his prominence it is desired that the investigation be handled expeditiously and with care.”³⁹

Wisconsin FBI agent Charles I. Rukes joined the investigation in January 1919 and traveled to Rice Lake. There, he interviewed various relatives, neighbors, and friends of the family, including Dietz’s childhood school chum Charles A. Taylor, chairman of the Barron County Council of Defense. Taylor claimed “there is absolutely no Indian blood in either of subject’s parents.” It was only after his friend went to Carlisle and “married a half-breed Indian girl, who was an artist,” Taylor stated, that Dietz “sent a picture . . . of himself dressed in football uniform,” signing his name “Lone Star.” He “continued to pass himself as an Indian,” Taylor explained, but his claim that he was “born on a reservation in Dakota” and “a great representative of the Indian race” was a joke at Rice Lake, where he and his parents “have been known by practically all of the older citizens in Barron County for the last 40 or 50 years.”⁴⁰

When the grand jury indicted Dietz on January 31, 1919, he was coaching for Mare Island naval and marine base in Vallejo, California, and was “reported to be working for a moving picture concern near San Francisco.” When the marshal finally tracked him down, he was in Los Angeles, probably pursuing his fledgling movie career. On February 2, an article entitled “Indictment May Change Indian to Ordinary Teuton” appeared in newspapers. “Someone has framed up on me and is trying to kill me in the public eye,” Dietz declared. “If they want the truth as to whether I’m an Indian, they can look me up in the



In 1919, Dietz was tried in Spokane, Washington, for evading military service, claiming exemption as “a non-citizen Indian.” Testimony revealed that Dietz’s Wisconsin family and friends regarded his posing as an Indian as a “great joke.” In addition, he bore no resemblance to James One Star in stature, weight, or appearance. The true One Star is pictured in this group portrait of “Pine Ridge Sioux Boys” circa 1890, standing second from the left. Seated are (from left to right) Thomas Black Bear, Alex Manabove, Charlie Smith, Andrew Beard, Herbert Good Boy, Robert Horse, and Phillip White. Standing are Sam Dion, One Star, Howard Slow Bull, Chas. Brave, and Willis Black Bear.

records of the Pine Ridge Dakota Indian reservation, or at Carlisle where I played football.”⁴¹

While investigation of Dietz’s background continued, attorney Alex M. Winston took on his defense. On March 18, Dietz was arraigned in Spokane and pled not guilty at the U.S. Eastern District Court. Meanwhile, he moved in with his mother, Leanna Lewis, in Lodi, Wisconsin, and worked to secure his bona fides. He wrote to his “dear sister” for the first time in years, telling her he had just been discharged from “the marine corps” and that he was “glad the war is over.” “I suppose you are, too,” he added, “for it was hard on everybody and we all had to do our part.” He wanted to know if her “health is good” and

her “heart is glad and you are happy.” She replied, requesting he obtain a “helmet from the enemy” to be used in a “scalp dance.”⁴²

In Wisconsin, Agent Rukes was “undecided as to whether it was good policy to interrogate Mrs. Lewis.” When he questioned her husband, Frank Lewis, he claimed he “knew nothing about” his stepson and suggested Rukes meet with his wife. After spending two hours with Leanna Lewis; her mother, Leanna Barry; and Dietz himself, the conversation “gradually drifted” toward Dietz’s trouble. “Where were you born?” Rukes queried. “On the Pine Ridge Agency,” Dietz replied. “Is Lewis your real mother?” asked Rukes. “I always considered her as my mother,”

Dietz responded, “but she is not my real mother.” Rukes turned to Lewis and asked, “Is Mr. Deitz [*sic*] here your son?” “He certainly must be; I have raised him,” she retorted.⁴³

“During this interview,” Rukes reported, “each one present continuously intimated . . . that there was a secret pertaining to subject’s birth that had never been revealed, and which would clear subject of the charges against him when it came to light.” “Mrs. Lewis wept bitterly,” he noted, “at times Mrs. Barry cried,” and “tears came” even to Dietz’s eyes “a number of times.” They “tried to lay their intense feeling to a certain secret which would be humiliating to the whole family when disclosed.” Rukes deemed Lewis and Barry “splendid women and good.” “They are almost at the point where they will make any sacrifice or any statement in subject’s behalf,” he concluded. “The parental love of a mother was the most conspicuous feature of this interview.” Upon Rukes’s departure, the irrepressible Dietz presented him with a gift, a photograph of himself posing in Indian garb as “The Great Spirit.”⁴⁴

Two days later, Dietz wrote Sallie, begging her to “please send it [the affidavit] right away, so please, sister, send it as soon as possible.” He enclosed ten dollars so she could get a notarized statement declaring he was her brother. He told her, “I haven’t got a helmet right now, but I believe I can get one from the boys and send it to you, so you can have it to dance with. When you get it dance good and hard for me, too.”⁴⁵

Dietz’s June trial was national news. “Crowds filled the corridors of the federal court, eager for admittance to the trial long before the doors opened,” one reporter observed. “In the assemblage were a large number of young women of the high school age, who filled one section of the courtroom.” The prosecution began by explaining to the court that when Dietz filled out the draft questionnaire, he claimed exemption “as a necessary government employe[e],” “as a man of technical skill,” “as the head of a necessary industrial enterprise,” and “as an Indian who was not a citizen.” The first three points referred to his trumped-up claim that he was the owner of the American Indian Film Corporation, “an industrial enterprise” with fifteen employees “necessary to the maintenance of the military establishment” because it “furnished entertainment to soldiers and sailors and

spread war propaganda in the United States.” For the time being, Leavey focused solely on Dietz’s alleged noncitizen Indian status.⁴⁶

Leavey intended to prove that Dietz “was born of white parents at Rice Lake, Wis.,” that he “had not assumed the role of an Indian until he entered the Carlisle Indian school,” and that once he “learned of the existence of One Star, an Indian,” he “began to impersonate him and assumed his name.” Dietz had told Carlisle “authorities” he was a “quarter breed Indian” and “his mother was a half breed Sioux,” but Leavey would “show that there was a real One Star,” that his sister was Sallie, “and that the defendant opened negotiations” with her “by representing himself as her brother and on this claim secured money from her.”⁴⁷

One of the documents examined was the supplemental draft questionnaire Dietz had filled out. Besides stating he was born at Pine Ridge and listing Sallie as his closest relative, the questionnaire also showed that both Dietz’s parents were born in the Dakotas. In testimony, Dietz acknowledged he used “Lone Star,” but his name on tribal records was “One Star.” He also said he left “tribal life” about 1890, returning intermittently, and had not been back since about 1903. Although he was “unsure” whether he received an allotment, he was certain he “spoke the Sioux language in addition to English.” The official who helped Dietz fill out the draft questionnaire was called first to testify, recalling Dietz had trouble remembering his age.⁴⁸

On the second day of the trial, Leavey called three witnesses from Pine Ridge. Mark Marston, fluent in Lakota, stated he had lived among the Oglala people for at least twenty years, first at Rosebud and then at Pine Ridge reservation. He did not know whether James was “living or dead,” but he knew that he had been “missing for years.” Marston would have heard if James returned home as “every effort had been made to find him without success.” He also confirmed that One Star’s “back pay as interest” sat on the books for years until “a man signing himself One Star at Pullman, Wash. first drew \$60.00 of this money and then \$14.00” in 1916. He’d never seen Dietz at Pine Ridge but asserted, “Any white man can be dressed up to resemble an Indian.”⁴⁹

Next, Oglala William White Bear took the stand. He knew Sallie and James well. He attended Carlisle

James One Star's Life

ca. 1864 Witie (Face Woman), aka Sallie, is born in Nebraska to Foolish Elk and Good Fox (both born in Wyoming). Good Fox may be the sister of One Star of Rosebud Reservation, South Dakota.⁵⁰

ca. 1871 Wicarpí Wanjíla (One Star), aka James One Star, is born in South Dakota to one or both of Sallie's parents.

1872–1887 Foolish Elk and Good Fox die.

August 17, 1884 William Henry Dietz is born in Wisconsin.

1887 James is taken to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and enrolled in the Educational Home, a religious institution for poor, white children that admitted Indian boys for some years.

January 1888 James is baptized at the Educational Home by Reverend Henry Rowland.⁵¹

January 1889 James (age seventeen, Sioux orphan) is transferred to Carlisle Indian school. Records show he belonged to the Pine Ridge band of Red Shirt, a popular Buffalo Bill performer. His height is recorded as 5'9".⁵²

ca. 1890 James is photographed at Carlisle with a group of "Boys from Pine Ridge."

January 19, 1891 James goes on an "outing" from Carlisle and stays with a family in Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, and returns March 22; he goes on another outing to Beach Haven, Pennsylvania, April 2 and returns to school May 22.

August 9, 1892 An army recruiter from the town of Carlisle enlists James (recorded as age twenty-five and occupation as farmer) and seven other Carlisle students to serve in Company I of the Twelfth Infantry, Mount Vernon, Alabama. He is discharged from the school August 10. Shortly after, he writes to his sister to inform her he's joined the army.⁵³

1892–1894 James's regiment guards Geronimo and his Chiricahua Apache followers at Mount Vernon Barracks in Alabama.

1893 Sallie resides in the Wakpamni District of the Pine Ridge Agency, South Dakota.⁵⁴

September 10, 1894 Shortly after Geronimo is transferred to Fort Sill, Oklahoma, James is dishonorably discharged from the army for drinking and breaking rules.⁵⁵ He leaves the barracks on September 15 and disappears.

1895 James's apparent uncle, One Star (age

thirty-eight), and his wife, Red Beaver (age thirty-two), and three children are among the Brule Sioux living at the Rosebud Agency, South Dakota.⁵⁶

1897 Sallie marries Edward Yankton.

1898–1901 Sallie and Yankton separate.

1906 Sallie and James are allotted land on the Pine Ridge Reservation. James never completes the allotment because he can't be located.⁵⁷

September 15, 1907 "Lone Star" Dietz (age twenty-three) enrolls at Carlisle as the son of Julia One Star (half Oglala) and W. W. Dietz, "a white man." He is 5'11³/₄" and 174 pounds.

October 30, 1908 The Indian Rights Association sends an inquiry to the U.S. War Department to locate James.⁵⁸

June 8, 1909 Richard H. Pratt also writes to the War Department about James. The adjutant general replies that he was dishonorably discharged in 1894, adding, "this office has no later information concerning him."⁵⁹

1910 Sallie (age forty-seven) is living with John Eaglehorse (age thirty-three) as his wife.⁶⁰

1911 John and Sallie join a Wild West troupe and travel to France.⁶¹

1912 Dietz first corresponds with Sallie after the *Literary Digest* publishes his autobiography. He convinces her he is her missing brother.

January–March 1914 Charles Yellow Boy writes to Carlisle looking for James; superintendent Moses Friedman answers that he was killed in Cuba; Dietz writes to Sallie and then to Pine Ridge agency to apply for James's "back pay" annuity.⁶²

February 2, 1915 A payment of \$61.40 from the Pine Ridge Agency is made out to "One Star" at Pullman, Washington.

March 3, 1916 A payment of \$14.70 is also made out to "One Star" at Pullman.

Summer 1918 Carlisle Indian school closes and is used for a military hospital. Records for James and Dietz are displaced.⁶³

January 31, 1919 Lone Star Dietz is indicted for claiming exemption as James One Star.

January 20, 1920 Lone Star Dietz pleads no contest and goes to jail for thirty days.

1923 James One Star is removed from Pine Ridge census rolls. There is no known record of his death.

Indian school from 1887 to 1894 and believed James had been sent to reform school from Carlisle in 1891, after which he had never been heard from again. White Bear agreed Dietz was not the “missing Indian One Star,” identifying the latter from a picture he was shown. “The original One Star, which in the Indian tongue is synonymous with Lone Star had he lived would now have been 49 years old,” remarked White Bear, “while Lone Star Dietz is but 35.” He declared not only that Dietz was not “a Sioux Indian” but that “he was not an Indian at all.”⁶⁴

After certified copies of Dietz’s Carlisle school records were introduced as evidence, Sallie Eaglehorse was called to testify, accompanied by an interpreter. She stated she was fifty-eight years old and that her father, Crazy Elk, and mother, Good Fox, were Oglala Sioux. She made no mention of a white father or a mother named Julia. Her brother was about sixteen when he left for Carlisle, and the last time she heard from him, thirty years ago, “he was about to enter the army.” Her “brother had a scar on his forehead from an ax wound, a scar on his nose, and pierced ears.” Lone Star’s features were different, she said, and he was definitely not her brother. As one reporter observed: “The Indian woman believed Dietz to be her brother until she reached Spokane and was deeply disappointed to find that [s]he had been writing to the wrong man.”⁶⁵

Dietz refused to accept her public rejection. He “approached” her during recess “and tried to tell her in his limited knowledge of the Sioux tongue that he really was her brother.” Sallie became upset and began to cry. She held his hand until “her Indian escort induced her to leave.” Leavey warned that Dietz’s “little effort of theatrical work” was “an attempt to interfere” with one of his witnesses. Dietz then tried to speak Sioux to William White Bear. White Bear asked him a question in his language. When Dietz attempted an answer, White Bear replied, “You can’t talk Sioux; you are no Sioux.”⁶⁶

The prosecution summoned various hometown witnesses, including the Rice Lake postmaster, who also testified that Dietz’s parents were German. Leavey produced a certified copy of his birth certificate, showing his parents were W.W. and Lewis. He also entered sworn 1915 affidavits from W.W.’s probate records that affirmed Dietz Jr. was indeed his son, “a voter in the City of Rice Lake,” and “an American

born citizen.” On the last day of the trial, the prosecution called Elizabeth Dietz, the second wife of W.W., to the stand. She agreed her late husband and Lewis were indisputably the parents of her stepson. Among the neighbors who testified Dietz was not an Indian was Sarah Manheim, who stated she “helped to make some of the baby clothes” for him and that on the morning after his birth, she “kissed the mother and congratulated her on the fine boy.”⁶⁷

Finally, Dietz was called to the stand. The defense began establishing his Indian identity with three “facts,” the first barely true and all circumstantial: one, he had attended Chilocco Indian school in 1904 “as a commercial student”; two, he entered Carlisle Indian school in 1907; and three, in the same year, he married De Cora, “an Indian woman,” whom he “divorced last year.” Dietz confirmed he was the son of W.W., and, until he was fifteen, believed Lewis was his real mother. “The first reference to my resemblance to an Indian came when I was attending school in Rice Lake,” he testified. His classmates



Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle, Pennsylvania

**When fellow Carlisle student William White Bear (above, circa 1890) took the witness stand, he recalled that James One Star had left Carlisle in 1891 and was never heard from again. He agreed that Dietz was not One Star and asserted, “The original One Star, which in the Indian tongue is synonymous with Lone Star, had he lived would now have been 49 years old.”
Dietz was thirty-four.**

Sally Eaglehorse, Dietz's supposed sister, testified that he was definitely not her brother. Sadly, as one reporter observed, "The Indian woman believed Dietz to be her brother until she reached Spokane and was deeply disappointed to find that [s]he had been writing to the wrong man." Pine Ridge Agency interpreter William Garnett appears in this photograph with Eaglehorse.

derided him for resembling "an Indian," and he "resented it very much." "With tears in my eyes I went home to mother, telling what the children had said to me. She replied it was all right, 'little boy, you are as good as anyone else.' I then took it up with father and he said not to worry, there was no truth in it."⁶⁸

"The first night I knew I had Indian blood," said Dietz, was "when I went home late and heard my parents discussing it through an open door leading to their bedroom." He asked his mother about it the next morning; she told him to ask his father. His father told him "not to bother him," [and] "I was as good as anyone." A week later, said Dietz, "I went to him and asked who my mother was, and he replied she was a long, long ways from here. I asked if she were a Chippewa woman and he declined to answer."

Dietz claimed he "was still persecuted" while at Macalester College. "If I were an Indian I wanted to know," he told his father, "and come out from under a cloud." Finally, he said, his father admitted, "I was of Sioux blood and that my right name was One Star." "When the St. Louis world's fair was on I went there to do some decorating in the Indian village and met an Indian named One Star," Dietz continued. "I told him my history as my father had told me and the Indian said I was the son of his sister Julia One Star, who had married a white man and left the reservation." Next, Sallie had sent him a letter at Carlisle,

Denied She Is Dietz's Sister



Sally Eagle Horse.

William Garnett.

Sally Eagle Horse, fullblood Sioux Indian, who William H. (Lonestar) Dietz stated in his questionnaire was his sister and next of kin. She is 84 years old, and lives in the Pine Ridge reservation, South Dakota. She was one of the chief witnesses for the government and twice on the witness stand repudiated Dietz, who, so she was told, was her long lost brother.

One Star. William Garnett, a halfblood Sioux Indian, interpreted for Sally Eagle Horse. He has lived on the reservation most of his life, and knew Sally's missing brother, One Star. He said that Dietz is not One Star, nor a Sioux Indian as he alleged. He denied Dietz's claim that he had visited the Pine Ridge Agency.

telling him he was her brother and notifying him that "there was money at the Indian agency awaiting me." Dietz said, "I replied that my father had told me that I had a sister and suggested to her that she draw the money at the agency and keep it herself. Later \$61.60 of the money due One Star as an annuity was drawn out. I sent Sally \$50 and kept \$14.79. Another check for \$4 came, which I also sent to Sally." Even so, Dietz "denied that he had obtained any money from the government on account of [James] One Star."

Leavey began his cross-examination. In reply to his question about the draft questionnaire, Dietz

stated that he did not give his birth year as 1871. He simply left a question mark. He told the court that he and De Cora visited Pine Ridge in 1908 and 1910, though he never attempted to visit Sallie Eaglehorse. Dietz called Lewis his “foster mother,” adding she was “affectionate toward him” and “she was the best friend he ever had.” He confirmed that his father told him “his mother was a Sioux Indian and that he had a sister somewhere in the Dakotas.”⁶⁹

Curiously, Dietz altered his story about his “uncle,” One Star. Instead, he said he met “Chief Yellow Hair at the St. Louis fair and from him learned of the existence of his sister, Sally Eaglehorse.” Later, he claimed, he tracked down the elder One Star “traveling with a wild west show.” He had “associated with Indians more or less since 1902” and “had himself traveled with a wild west outfit.” He also said he worked as an actor, playing mostly villains.⁷⁰

William Lone Star’s letters to Sallie were entered as evidence.⁷¹ The prosecution, referring to the letter of February 1914, asked Dietz why he told Sallie “a white family” adopted him. It “gave him the appearance of more prosperity with the Indians,” he replied. The part where he told Sallie “father” left his money to other relatives when he died was not addressed, though his father had died in December 1915 and, as W.W.’s probate records show, he went out of his way to make sure his son inherited from his estate.

The prosecution showed the jury photographs of Dietz as an infant and a boy “to show that no trace of Indian blood existed in the family” and that “Dietz in his earlier career did not resemble an Indian to the extent that he does today.” The jury also saw a tintype of his grandparents that proved Almira Swart Dietz “to be black haired and of dark complexion.” As an FBI agent told Leavey, the “photograph will plainly show where the dark hair and high cheekbones came from, as they are very prominent in subject’s Grandmother on his father’s side.”⁷²

When the defense called Dietz’s lovely “flaxen-haired” mother, Leanna Lewis, as its last witness and resort, justice fell by the wayside. Lewis stated she married W.W. in 1879, and they had separated in 1883. After three months, they reconciled, and she became pregnant. Her husband was thrilled because he “had always wanted to have children.” Lewis’s next statements galvanized the courtroom. A baby, born premature on August 17, 1894, was a stillbirth,

so her husband buried the remains “in the timber.” Afterward, as she was bedridden, W.W. confessed that he had just had “another child.” He asked if he could fetch his baby and “replace the one that died.” “I felt that a child would be a bond between us,” Lewis explained, “and consented.” Her husband left the house and “was gone several days.” Her mother “admitted no visitors” “until four or five days later when her husband returned with the Indian boy baby,” Willie Dietz, “who replaced her dead child.” “When my husband brought the baby,” she said, “Dr. Morgan,” who was long deceased, “certified the birth as regular and no one knew the difference for many years.” She explained that she “preferred to have a child come into the family in this way” rather “than go through all of the publicity and trouble of an adoption.”⁷³

To the stunned jurors, the defense presented a red shawl, in which, Lewis claimed, the “Indian child” had been wrapped. Before Lewis was excused, Leavey asked her about her own prominent cheekbones and whether “people had not commented upon the resemblance Dietz bore to her.”⁷⁴ Newspaper reports failed to record her answer.

Why Lewis’s sisters, Augusta Whitaker and Mary Ellen Drake, weren’t subpoenaed is unknown. Perhaps as close family members they were not required to testify, or perhaps when they learned of the changing story they changed the statements they made earlier. In January, Whitaker had informed the FBI that Lewis had confronted her son about his posing: “Why do you advertise yourself as an Indian; do you think I want to pose as a squaw?” “Well it don’t affect you any,” Whitaker said Dietz had answered, “if anyone would see you, they would know different, but you know it means a whole lot to me.” Dietz’s “trunk full of newspaper clippings which boast of him as an Indian” conveyed its significance to Whitaker. She also relayed that after her nephew and De Cora separated, he confided: “I hated to leave her as much as a sister, but you know, I wanted a younger woman and a white woman.” When Rukes interviewed Mary Ellen Drake, she insisted that her nephew, Willie, was born in Rice Lake “on the morning of Aug. 17, 1884.” Dr. Morgan and her mother were present at his birth.⁷⁵

The newspaper report of the trial’s conclusion was telling: Dietz’s mother cried on the stand, lending to her testimony its “sincere manner of delivery,” which

was deemed “the most effective testimony for the defense.” The prosecutor, like the FBI agent before him, thought Lewis’s tears supported his argument that her son coerced her to relinquish her role as his real mother. Some found his “denunciation of Dietz” to be “the most scathing heard in the federal court in years.” Still, “Lone Star sat through it without betraying the slightest emotion.” While some branded Dietz a “faker” and a “slacker,” his attorney “argued that Dietz believed he was an Indian and had answered the questions of the government in good faith.”⁷⁶

In reaching a verdict, jurors were not to consider what was true but to establish what the defendant believed to be true: in other words, they no longer had to decide if Dietz and James One Star were one in the same, or if Dietz was his father’s Indian baby, or even if Dietz was the result of his mother’s adultery but to determine what Dietz believed. Judge Frank H. Rudkin advised the jury to “consider Dietz’s entering an Indian school” and “his marriage to an Indian woman as evidence of his intent and belief as to his parentage and Indian blood.”⁷⁷ After twenty hours of deliberation, the jury failed to reach a verdict. By breakfast time, Rudkin discharged the jury, which was eight to four for acquittal.

Leavey quickly filed a new indictment that tactically ignored the question of whether or not Dietz was in fact “an Indian” but still contended he was “a natural born American citizen,” not “a noncitizen Indian as he stated in his registration card.” The indictment also reintroduced charges regarding Dietz’s claim he was exempt as the head of a motion picture company that produced wartime propaganda films. Leavey had learned from the FBI that Dietz’s film company had no employees whatsoever and also “never got beyond the stage of trying to float its capital stock, and never operated as a going concern in making pictures.”⁷⁸

On January 8, 1920, Dietz appeared before Rudkin and pleaded *nolo contendere* (no contest) to the new charges. According to his attorney, Dietz’s plea was not “a confession of guilt” but reflected the dire circumstances of his client. “Mr. Dietz had no money, either to pay his lawyer or to procure the attendance of witnesses.” Winston declared, his client “could fight no longer. His weapons [witnesses] were impossible of procurement. He was in the position of a man without a weapon, fighting an army equipped with repeating rifles.”⁷⁹ Nonetheless, the plea—replete

with lofty allusions to Chief Joseph’s “I will fight no more forever” statement—provided a lifetime alibi for Dietz. If he was a victim of injustice, and portrayed as such in the newspapers, then he would no longer have to prove he was an Indian. In fact, having been “framed” or unjustly punished served to support his identity even after his death.⁸⁰

Rudkin sentenced Dietz to thirty days in the Spokane County Jail “without fine or costs.” Dietz was released in February, and for the next year his whereabouts are unknown. In 1921, he took a coaching position with Purdue University in Indiana. He married Doris O. Pottlitzer, a middle-aged “Jewish heiress” and local journalist, on January 29, 1922. The week previous to their marriage, Purdue officials fired him for illegal recruiting.⁸¹

In spring 1933, George Preston Marshall, the owner of the Boston Braves, hired Dietz to replace Coach Lud Wray. Marshall obviously hoped to cash in on Indian football nostalgia because, with a nod to Carlisle, either he or Dietz came up with a new name: the “Boston Redskins.” In 1937, the team moved to Washington, D.C.

Although current WR owner Dan Snyder claims this slick marketing ploy was conceived to “honor” Lone Star Dietz, newspapers of the day did not mention anything about an homage to Marshall’s newly hired coach. Instead, they simply listed Dietz’s career accomplishments chronologically: “Dietz assumed charge of the Redskins after a series of triumphs on the collegiate gridiron. He received his early football education under Glenn S. (Pop) Warner at Carlisle institute, and has coached successfully at Carlisle, Washington State, Mare Island Marines, Purdue, Louisiana Polytechnic, Wyoming university, Stanford, Los Angeles Town club and Haskell.”⁸²

Dietz’s previous job at Haskell Institute, an Indian school in Lawrence, Kansas, allowed him to recruit real Indian players for Marshall—players whom Dietz directed to apply “war paint” to their faces when they played football. After a disappointing second season, however, Marshall “dishonored” his Indian coach by firing him.⁸³

For the rest of his life, Dietz continued to promote himself as Lone Star Dietz, the son of W.W. and Julia One Star of Pine Ridge. He took on his last coaching job in 1937 for Albright College in Pennsylvania, where he became a beloved figure. In 1964, still married to

The term “r*dskins” is not honorific to Dietz or to anyone else. Many, regardless of ethnic background, have expressed that it is deeply offensive, and as equally racist as the “N-word.” As Dr. Suzan Shown Harjo, a Muscogee-Cheyenne activist and journalist, declared at a recent symposium on sports stereotypes and Indian mascots at the Smithsonian’s National Museum of the American Indian: “It is the worst name we can be called in the English language. . . . And it’s in the nation’s capital.”⁸⁴

In 1992, Harjo led seven prominent American Indians, among them Vine Deloria Jr., in a lawsuit requesting that Washington, D.C.’s football club cancel six of its trademarks in compliance with the Lanham Act, which prohibits the registration of names that are “disparaging, scandalous, contemptuous or disreputable.” Dan Snyder, who leads Pro-Football, Inc., the team’s corporate owner, answered the charge with the counterclaim that the team name was not disparaging but “honorific” to Native Americans, adding that it “would face massive financial losses if it lost the exclusivity of the brand it had marketed for 36 years.”⁸⁵ In April 1999, the Trademark Trial and Appeal Board ruled for the plaintiffs, agreeing to cancel the trademark but pending appeal.

When the ruling came down, head plaintiff Harjo exclaimed, “the judges agreed with us that the R-word never was honorific and is not . . . now.” But the victory was short-lived. Snyder immediately appealed the decision and defended the team’s name by revealing its “honorific” tribute to a specific Native American, none other than William “Lone Star” Dietz. According to Harjo, as soon as the appeal was filed, the team “lawyers trekked out to South Dakota in a modern-day version of the white man trading trinkets for Manhattan. The chief-makers gave away jerseys, jackets and hats sporting the team’s name and asked for signatures on a paper saying the R-word is an honor.”⁸⁶ Since Dietz never had children, the lawyers appealed to an Oglala descendant of One Star, the Buffalo Bill performer whom Dietz claimed was his maternal uncle.⁸⁷

Back in Washington, D.C., Pro-Football, Inc.’s appeal included a “Factual Background” sheet

about Dietz, a former coach of the team, that was debatably factual and oiled with nostalgia, a common sentiment invoked in every sport team name and Indian mascot dispute in America.⁸⁸ Consequently, U.S. District Judge Colleen Kollar nullified the Trademark Trial and Appeal Board’s decision in 2003. According to the *Washington Post*, “she threw out a federal board’s 1999 decision to cancel six highly lucrative Redskins trademarks. She said she was not opining on whether the word ‘redskin’ was insulting or not but concluded that the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office’s board had relied upon partial, dated and irrelevant evidence submitted by the activists.”⁸⁹ Her decision embraced as “fact” Snyder’s propaganda that Dietz was a “full-blooded Sioux” and that the team was named in his honor. Harjo et al. lost the appeal in 2009, but Harjo assured reporters, “A group of younger Native Americans is ready to challenge the trademarks if any appeals are unsuccessful.”⁹⁰

Meanwhile, Dietz remains the Indian mascot for the Washington Redskins. As Dr. C. Richard King, coeditor of *Team Spirits: The Native American Mascot Controversy*, writes: “American Indian mascots are not an Indian issue, they matter to all of us; for only in coming to terms with mascots can we begin to come to terms with the legacies of colonization and start to unravel the racism that dehumanizes and divides all of us.”⁹¹ The perpetuation of Indian stereotypes and racially charged language, whether in sports or in media, effectively veils a painful history of institutional racism that denies not only the lived and still living history of native people, but in some cases, as in that of James One Star, their very existence.



Dietz's trial ended in a hung jury. The prosecutor filed a new indictment, but Dietz pleaded no contest and served thirty days in the Spokane County Jail. In doing so, he avoided a second trial and obtained a lifetime alibi. He could maintain that he was the victim of injustice and would no longer have to prove that he was an Indian. He continued to promote himself as the one-quarter-Sioux Lone Star Dietz and coached football for two more decades. Above, he stands with his Haskell Institute football team on the left end of the center row. He served as the coach at Haskell, an Indian school in Lawrence, Kansas, between 1929 and 1932.

Doris, Dietz died in Reading, Pennsylvania. He and Doris were so poor that former teammates purchased his headstone. It reads: "William 'Lone Star' Dietz born in South Dakota."

Dietz was posthumously inducted into Pennsylvania's Sports Hall of Fame in 1997. Understandably, the press release stressed his achievements at Carlisle, but it also noted his Winnebago wife, Angel De Cora, without mentioning his longtime marriage with Doris Pottlitzer.⁹² Nearly eighty years after his trial, Indian school and marriage to an Indian not only proved that Dietz believed he was an Indian but also sanctioned Americans to forget that he wasn't James One Star, the true brother of Sally Eaglehorse from Pine Ridge.

Today, Dietz remains an enigma for football fans who can't fathom why anyone would go against the

grain of racism to pose as an Indian. Yet, American Indian activists wonder, will Americans ever stop playing Indian?

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Notes

1. A third registration for the draft was held on Sept. 12, 1918, for older men like Dietz.

2. Case No. 3162, U.S. Eastern District of Washington, Northern Division, U.S. District Court, September Term, 1918: First Count, bx 53, case 3248; Second Count, bx 55, all in Criminal Case Files, 1890–1955, Records of the United States District Courts, Eastern District of Washington at Spokane, RG 21, NA. The two cases, hereafter Eastern District of Washington Case Nos. 3162 and 3248, were consolidated on Jan. 8, 1920, but separate case files still exist, each of which contains papers from both trials.

3. Dietz sent the questionnaire from California to Spokane's Local Board Number Two. Unfortunately, the court files from this period do not contain the actual trial testimony except the notarized depositions (taken on May 2, 1918, in Madison, WI) of Dietz's maternal grandmother, Leanna Barry; a paternal aunt, Hattie Dietz; and her two sons, Clarence and Leslie Dietz.

4. Eastern District of Washington Case Nos. 3162 and 3248.

5. Dietz's induction is undoubtedly due to the concerted efforts of Tom Benjey, author of *Keep A Goin': The Life of Lone Star Dietz* (Carlisle, PA, 2006).

6. I borrowed "r*dskins" from C. Richard King because I share his aversion to the term.

7. William J. Ryzcek, *Crash of the Titans: The Early Years of the New York Jets and the AFL*, rev. ed. (Jefferson, NC), 98. Today, Marshall's reluctance to recruit African American players is common knowledge.

8. Philip H. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, CT, 1998); Alan Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880–1930* (New York, 2004), 13, 10. See also Deloria's *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence, KS, 2004).

9. Robert M. Utley, ed., *Battlefield and Classroom: An Autobiography by Richard Henry Pratt* (Norman, OK, 2003), 317–18.

10. John S. Steckbeck, *Fabulous Redmen: The Carlisle Indians and Their Famous Football Team* (Harrisburg, PA, 1951), 13. See also Sally Jenkins, *The Real All Americans: The Team That Changed a Game, a People, a Nation* (New York, 2000). For an excellent analysis of football at Carlisle, see David Wallace Adams, "More than a Game: The Carlisle Indians Take to the Gridiron, 1893–1917," *West-*

ern History Quarterly 32 (Spring 2001): 25–53.

11. *New York Times*, Nov. 29, 1895.

12. *Syracuse (NY) Herald*, Oct. 17, 1897; *Chicago Daily Review*, Nov. 12, 1898.

13. Adams, "More than a Game," 25–27.

14. *Barron County (WI) Chronotype*, Aug. 21, 14, 1884; *Cumberland (WI) Advocate*, Dec. 12, 1907. Thanks to James Hansen, reference librarian and genealogist of the Wisconsin State Historical Society in Madison (WSHS), for his help with the Dietz family. After years of researching, I found no evidence to suggest that any of Dietz's grandparents had Native American ancestry. W.W. was the son of John Dietz Sr., a German immigrant, and Almira Swart Dietz, also local pioneers. Almira's family descended from early New York German-Hollanders. Her surname, "swart," means "dark-complexioned," an attribute many claimed distinguished her and her grandson, Willie, from their fairer kin. Willie's maternal grandfather was John Ginder, also a German immigrant. Ginder married Leanna Lehr, an "Eastern Yankee," whose German parents were born in Pennsylvania. The genealogical sources can be accessed at WSHS, www.ancestry.com, and the Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Stout (Stout).

15. *Sheboygan (WI) Press*, July 9, 1919. According to the July 24, 1902, *Rice Lake (WI) Leader* of that date, Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show came to Rice Lake for "one day only."

16. *Rice Lake (WI) Chronotype*, Apr. 1, June 17, 1904.

17. *Final Report of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission*, pt. 10 (Washington, DC, 1906).

18. *Washington Post*, Aug. 24, 1904. See also *Chilocco Farmer and Stock Grower*, Mar. 15, 1904, copy in Chilocco Indian School Records, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City.

19. "Dietz, W. H. (1/4 Sioux)" parents, left blank and term: "unconditional," Enrollment Registers, Chilocco Indian School, 1884–1908, 7RA61, NA, Fort Worth, TX; *Wichita (KS) Eagle*, Nov. 25, 1904; *Wichita (KS) Daily Beacon*, Nov. 26, 1904. See also Linda M. Waggoner, *Fire Light: The Life of Angel De Cora, Winnebago Artist* (Norman, OK, 2008), 176–77.

20. Case No. 339242, William Henry Dietz, Investigative Case Files of the Bureau of Investigation 1908–1922, 1–78,

roll 763, M1085, Old German Files, 1909–21, NA (see Fold3, www.fold3.com) (hereafter referred to as FBI Case 339242); William Henry Dietz, date of entrance: Sept. 11, 1902, "Information from Student Ledger, Matriculation Entries from 1895 to 1904," line 26, p. 44, DeWitt Wallace Library Archives, Macalester College, St. Paul, MN. For Rogers, see Daniel F. Littlefield Jr. and James W. Parin, *A Bibliography of Native American Writers, 1772–1924: A Supplement* (Metuchen, NJ, 1981), 277; and "Carlisle Indian Industrial School Manuscripts," www.historicalociety2.com/ciismanuscripts.html. For Dietz's enrollment, see fldr "1776 Dietz Wm. H. Sioux SD," Hm 1996, E-1327, P1–163, bx 37, RG 75 20.3, NA. Rogers was also inducted into the Football Hall of Fame in 1968. See Steckbeck, *Fabulous Redmen*, 134, 138. The Justice Department's Bureau of Investigation was not called the Federal Bureau of Investigation until 1935, but I will refer to the early bureau as "FBI" for simplicity's sake.

21. Their marriage record states she was twenty-five. See Certificate and Record of Marriage, Dec. 30, 1907, State of New Jersey, Camden.

22. Waggoner, *Fire Light*, 160; Sophia Geisert of Spokane, FBI Case No. 339242, May 15, 1919, 69–70. John C. Ewers, senior ethnologist for the Smithsonian during the 1970s, believed De Cora "lured the poor boy to the school." Ewers discovered Dietz while revising his 1939 book *Plains Indian Painting* and decided to claim the overlooked artist for the early twentieth century, which, he stated, "was pretty much of a dead end one so far as the emergence of young artists whose work obtained some recognition." See John Canfield Ewers Papers, Smithsonian National Anthropological Museum Archives, Suitland, MD (hereafter Ewers Papers). Ewers first brought Dietz and his talents to national attention in "Five Strings to His Bow: The Remarkable Career of William (Lone Star) Dietz, Artist, Athlete, Actor, Teacher, and Football Coach," *Montana* 27 (Winter 1977).

23. Although many reports state Dietz and De Cora married after his graduation from Carlisle, this information is incorrect.

24. See Jenkins, *Real All Americans*.

25. "How Art Misrepresents the Indian," *Literary Digest*, Jan. 27, 1912, 160–61. The column was also reprinted in the *Carlisle (PA) Arrow*, Friday, Apr. 5, 1912. The piece was originally compiled

from a newspaper interview with Dietz and a short autobiography of De Cora's that appeared in Carlisle's *Red Man*.

26. *Spokane (WA) Spokesman Review*, June 26, 1919 (hereafter *Spokesman Review*).

27. Thorpe pleaded guilty to playing professional baseball on Jan. 28, 1913. The Olympic investigation committee believed Warner deserved condemnation for turning a blind eye on Thorpe's professional playing, *Washington Post*, Jan. 13, 1913. Still, Thorpe lost his Olympic medals, and his records were expunged. See Waggoner, *Fire Light*, 211.

28. Letter in James One Star, Carlisle Student Files, RN 1327, RG 75.20.3, NA.



Elaine Gooddiale Eastman, *Yellow Star* (Boston, 1911), frontispiece

Dietz and De Cora illustration for the book *Yellow Star*

29. *Ibid.* "Dead" is written across the top of One Star's school enrollment card. It is unlikely James was killed in Cuba because the Spanish-American War broke out years after he disappeared.

30. *Spokesman Review*, June 26, 1919.

31. General Correspondence, Copies of Misc. Letters Sent, vol. 77, Feb. 28–Apr. 6, 1914, series 6, bx 74, RG 75, NA.

32. Waggoner, *Fire Light*, 210–19.

33. *Pow Wow* 6, no. 2 (Nov. 1915): 8–10, copy in Ewers Papers.

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Seattle Sunday Times*, Jan. 23, 1916. The film was released in Jan. 1918. Only the 1923 remake (with a cameo by young John Wayne) is remembered.

36. *Seattle Sunday Times*, Jan. 23, 1916; *Edwardsville (IL) Intelligencer*, Mar. 22, 1916. The implication may have been that Dietz chose to emphasize the race/nationality that was most optimum for his public image. Anti-German sentiment is

exemplified by the FBI's extensive investigation of "pro-German" activities in this period.

37. "Spokane Press Clipping Bureau," *Spokesman Review*, Jan. 27, 1918 (WSU Libraries, Digital Collections, Lone Star Dietz, <http://content.wsulibs.wsu.edu>).

38. See Waggoner, *Fire Light*, 248–50.

39. "Famed Gridiron Star Indicted as Slacker," <http://content.wsulibs.wsu.edu/cdm/>.

40. According to Taylor, one of Dietz's former schoolmates informed a newspaper in Portland, Oregon, that Dietz "did not have any Indian blood whatever and was not a ward of Government, but a son of German-American parents and was born in Rice Lake, Wis." FBI Case 339242, Jan. 7, 1919, 23.

41. *Ibid.*, May 20, 1919, 55; *Coshocton (OH) Tribune*, Feb. 2, 1919.

42. *Spokesman Review*, June 26, 1919.

43. FBI Case 339242, May 20, 1919, 49–51.

44. *Ibid.* Rukes also noted that Dietz was "very nice" and "curious to know" who had "investigated him at Rice Lake."

45. *Spokesman Review*, June 26, 1919.

46. *Ibid.*, June 23, 25, 26, 1919; *Seattle Post Intelligencer*, June 22, 24, 25, 27, 1919; *Seattle Times*, June 24–26, 1919.

47. *Seattle Times*, June 24–26, 1919.

48. *Spokesman Review*, June 23, 1919;

Rice Lake (WI) Chronotype, June 30, 1919.

49. *Rice Lake (WI) Chronotype*, June 30, 1919.

50. According to one tribal record, which is ambiguous, Sallie's father was either Fearless giver or Foolish Elk and her mother either Fearless giver or Good Fox. See Allottee Record Card, 1904–1909, Revision of Names on Allotment Roll, 1906, Pine Ridge Agency, South Dakota, MF5224, RG 75, NA, copy in South Dakota Historical Society. Birthplaces are from the 1920 South Dakota federal censuses, township 36, Shannon County, and the Rosebud Indian Reservation, Meyer County.

51. "James One Star" appears on a list of Indians Rev. Henry J. Rowland baptized on May 18, 1887. "Philadelphia Catholic Church of the Evangelist," www.ancestry.com.

52. James One Star, Carlisle Student Files, RN 1327, RG 75.20.3, NA. Red Shirt first left the United States on tour with Buffalo Bill in 1887. See L. G. Moses, *Wild West Shows, and the Images of American Indians, 1883–1933* (Albuquerque, NM, 1996).

53. Roll 46, M233, Register of Enlistments in the U.S. Army, 1891–1892, RG 94, NA.

54. Regular Pine Ridge census rolls begin in 1892, when Sallie first appears as Wittie, or "Woman Face," age twenty-

eight. The next year, she is listed with "One Star," her "brother," age twenty-one. John Eagle Horse Jr. begins heading Sallie's household in 1913. See Pine Ridge Agency Census Rolls, Oglala College Archives, Kyle, SD.

55. "James One Star," No. 4651 (hereafter No. 4651), A.G.O. Document File (entry 25), RG 94, NA.

56. 1895 census Brule Sioux, Rosebud Reservation, Oglala College Archives, Kyle, SD.

57. James One Star is shown as Sallie's brother and only living relative. His Indian name, "Wicarpí wanjila," is the same one Dietz used for himself. Allottee Record Card, 1904–1909, Revision of Names on Allotment Roll, 1906.

58. No. 1445230 in No. 4651.

59. No. 1531545 in No. 4651.

60. 1910 South Dakota federal census, Wakpamini District, Pine Ridge Agency, Shannon County.

61. *St. Paul* "Passenger Lists," departing Cherbourg, France, Oct. 11, 1911, www.ancestry.com.

62. The Spanish-American War did not break out until 1898, well after James disappeared.

63. Since the U.S. Army reclaimed the property, Leavey "complained that correspondence with the Carlisle Indian School has proven unsatisfactory, and that virtually no information had been given in response to his requests." FBI Case 339242, Mar. 3, 1919, 41.

64. *Spokesman Review*, June 24, 1919; *Rice Lake (WI) Chronotype*, June 30, 1919.

65. *Rice Lake (WI) Chronotype*, June 30, 1919; *Spokesman Review*, June 26, 1919.

66. *Spokesman Review*, June 23, 1919.

67. "In the Matter of the Estate of W. W. Dietz," State of Wisconsin, County Court of Barron County, Stout; *Spokesman Review*, June 24, 1919.

68. Dietz's testimony in this and the following paragraphs is from the *Spokesman Review*, June 25, 1919.

69. *Ibid.* De Cora may have gone with him in 1908, but it is doubtful she went again in 1910.

70. *Ibid.* Chief Yellow Hair, though dressed in Sioux costume, is pictured with his "Chippewa council" at the fair.

71. *Spokesman Review*, June 26, 1919.

72. FBI Case 339242, Jan. 7, 8, 1919, 23, 34; *ibid.*, May 29, 1919, 68; *Spokesman Review*, June 23, 1919.

73. *Spokesman Review*, June 24, 1919.

74. *Ibid.*, June 25, 1919. Sometime shortly after the trial, Lewis and her husband relocated to Florida, where they ran a poultry farm. She died there in 1951.

75. Case 339242, Jan. 8, 1919, 35–36. Dietz's birth was not registered by the county until 1889. According to James L.

Hansen, a late registration date was not unusual in a remote area like Rice Lake. This also explains why there is no death record for Almira Swart Dietz, who died in Barron County in 1891.

76. Case 339242, Jan. 8, 1919, 35–36; *Spokesman Review*, June 26, 1919.

77. *Spokesman Review*, June 25, 26, 1919.

78. *Ibid.*, June 27, 1919.

79. *Rice Lake (WI) Chronotype*, Jan. 15, 22, 1920. Since the *nolo contendere* plea is “in the nature of a compromise between the state and the defendant—a matter not of right, but of favor,” the court must agree to it. Winston complained that his client’s situation should be “shocking to the sense of justice of every American,” not just because Dietz had been falsely accused but also because the law only allowed funds for witnesses “within the district where the case is tried.”

80. See “How ‘Lone Star’ Earned His Name,” by Charles S. Castner of Reading, Pennsylvania, in Ewers Papers.

81. *Decatur (IL) Review*, Jan. 25, 1922; *Iowa City (IA) Press*, Feb. 7, 1922.

82. *Sheboygan (WI) Press*, Aug. 27, 1933. Newspapers made the announcement about the name change by July 18, 1933.

83. *Ironwood (MI) Daily Globe*, Feb. 8, 1935.

84. The author was privileged to participate in the panel “Racist Stereotypes and Cultural Appropriation in American Sports,” at the symposium held at the National Museum of the American Indian on Feb. 7, 2013. The webcast can be viewed at <http://nmai.si.edu/multimedia/webcasts/> or www.youtube.com/watch?v=N7J8reePgLo.

85. The National Congress of American Indians attempted to meet and discuss the issue with the team’s former owner, Jack Cooke Kent. Kent refused a meeting but spoke through a reporter and the UPI service on Jan. 22, 1988: “‘There’s not a single, solitary jot, tittle, whit chance in the world’ that the Redskins will adopt a new name.” Suzan Shown Harjo, “Fighting Name Calling,” in *Team Spirits: The Native American Mascot Controversy*, ed. C. Richard King and Charles Fruehling Springwood (Lincoln, NE, 2001): 194.

86. Suzan Shown Harjo, “Washington Chief-Making and the R-Word,” *Indian Country Today*, Feb. 2, 2002. Harjo is also the president and founder of the Morningstar Institute, a National Indian Rights organization based in Washington, D.C.

87. Linda M. Waggoner, “Reclaiming James One Star,” *Indian Country Today*, 5 pt. series, July 2, 12, 20, 27, Aug. 8, 2004.

88. “Mr. Marshall chose to rename his franchise the Redskins,” according to the fact sheet, “in honor of the team’s head

coach, William ‘Lone Star’ Dietz, who was a Native American.” See *Pro-Football, Inc. v. Harjo*, 284 F.Supp.2d 96 (2003), United States, District Court, District of Columbia, Sept. 30, 2003.

89. *Ibid.* Specifically, the judge’s eighty-three-page report states: “There is no evidence in the record that addresses whether the use of the term ‘redskin(s)’ in the context of a football team and related entertainment services would be viewed by a substantial composite of Native Americans, in the relevant time frame, as disparaging. . . . The problem, however, with this case is evidentiary. The Lanham Act has been on the books for many years and was in effect in 1967 when the trademarks were registered. By waiting so long to exercise their rights, Defendants make it difficult for any fact-finder to affirmatively state that in 1967 the trademarks were disparaging.”

90. See the amicus brief for Dec. 10, 2004, at http://sct.narf.org/documents/harjovpro-football/dc_circuit/ncai_amicus_brief.pdf; Del Quentin Wilber, “Appeals Court Rules against Activists in Suit Challenging Redskins Trademark,” *Washington Post*, May 16, 2009.

91. C. Richard King, <http://www.popsspot.com/2013/02/rdskins-last-stand-reflections-on-racist-stereotypes-in-american-sport/>. See also King and Springwood, *Team Spirits*.

92. Originally viewed at “Carlisle Indian School,” Barbara Landis, archivist, <http://home.epix.net/~landis>.