GEOGRAPHIES OF INDIGENOUS-BASED TEAM NAME AND MASCOT USE IN AMERICAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

by

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This dissertation identifies the geographic locations and characteristics of high schools using Native American nicknames and, through the examination of Indigenous-based iconography, analyzes the portrayal of Indigenous peoples in these learning environments. Primary and secondary data collected from archives, newspapers, yearbooks, directories, school websites, and fieldwork are utilized in various ways, including cartographic and quantitative analyses of 1,368 school locations and their attributes, numerous case studies highlighting concocted histories and stereotypical depictions of Native Americans, and a content analysis of Indigenous-based imagery photographed in 125 schools with predominately white student bodies.

The first chapter defines the dissertation topic and provides a literature review of relevant geographic and anti-mascot literature, and Chapter Two stresses the relevance of studying team names. Chapter Three examines the Indian's role in the development of American identity and argues that the tradition of portraying of Native Americans as "Others" in literature, art, Wild West shows, film, and television continues to this day through the use of team names and mascots. Chapter Four applies Renato Rosaldo's concept of imperialist nostalgia, Mary Louise Pratt's idea of anti-conquest, and other theories to explain the selection and continued use of Native American mascots. National,

regional, and local geographic patterns of mascot use are mapped and analyzed in Chapter Five, and Chapter Six critiques the portrayal of diverse Native American groups as stereotypical Plains Indians, noble and ignoble savages, masculine warriors, Indian princesses, and other depictions in secondary schools.

The study complements existing geographic and anti-mascot literature in three ways: by approaching the Native American mascot issue from a spatial perspective and mapping the locations and characteristics of these schools for analysis, by strengthening the anti-mascot argument by examining the practice in secondary schools, the next logical step in a movement that has focused largely on professional and collegiate sports, and by advancing knowledge in geography and in the interdisciplinary realm of anti-mascot literature by using textual evidence from numerous historical periods, and at several geographic scales, to emphasize how race-based ideologies become manifest on the landscape and in life through the use of iconography and ritual.

DISSERTATION TITLE

Geographies of Indigenous-based Team Name and Mascot Use

in American Secondary Schools

BY

Ezra J. Zeitler

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DEDICATION

To my cousin Ryan, who recognized the significance of history in our world and aspired be an educator. He served his country with undaunted resolve, and his valor will forever be a source of inspiration.

PFC Ryan Jerabek, USMC

May 9, 1985 – April 6, 2004

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I acknowledge that this dissertation is a product of knowledge attained from many people working inside and outside of academia, and that any mistakes, omissions, or shortcomings in the dissertation are entirely my own and are by no means a reflection of those guiding me as this study unfolded.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Indians, we can assert confidently, have been central symbolic elements in American culture for a very long time. Nature and nation, violence and colonial conquest, race and race crossing, nostalgia and guilt – images of Indians have been used to make sense of such things and many more besides.

Philip J. Deloria (2004: 136)

Prologue: Wahoo's white warriors

The city of Wahoo, Nebraska is not as unique as its name. This small community, like so many others in America, has served the needs of its residents and local farmers since it was established on the edge of white settlement in 1870. In 1931, sixty-one years after the city's founding, the Wahoo Mothers' Club celebrated the area's heritage by erecting a stone monument on the courthouse square that commemorated the Oxbow Trail, an alternative route on the Oregon Trail passing through the area in the 1850s (Figure 1.1). The monument includes a copper engraving of a man who, with a team of oxen pulling a Conestoga wagon and his wife and children in tow at his side, heads west into the sunset. Carved into the stone below the image is a dedication "to all pioneers who passed this way to win and hold the West," alluding to the battles fought between whites and Native Americans during the frontier period in American history.

By the late 1940s, the community had begun to commemorate the frontier era in an inverted way. The community adopted elements of Native American culture to foster a sense of place and promote it to outsiders. Perhaps the town name, which, according to local legend, is derived from an "Indian" word meaning "burning bush," prompted the movement. Before long, fabricated elements of the area's original residents, the Pawnee

Figure 1.1. A monument honoring "pioneers who passed this way to win and hold the West," erected by the Wahoo, Nebraska Mothers' Club in 1931. Photo by the author, 2007.

Indians, made a notable presence on the landscape. Wahoo's dining institution, the Wigwam Café, adopted a tipi as its logo and decorated its interior with Plains Indian imagery, including statues, photos, and paintings. The welcome sign on the south side of town, which touted Wahoo's five famous men, included the slogan "Home of Good Indians. We say this without a reservation" (Figure 1.2). The Native American warrior was adopted as the mascot at Wahoo High School, and cheerleaders and pep club

members wore sweaters with Indian head icons sewn onto the fronts. The homecoming King and Queen were crowned as "Chief Big Thunder" and "Princess Thunderbird" one year and "Hiawatha" and "Minnehaha" the next (Wahoo High School 1951 and 1952). Yearbooks described football teams as "Heap Big Winners," Seniors as "Big Chiefs," Juniors as "Braves," Sophomores as "Scouts," Freshmen as "Papooses," and cheerleaders as "Squaws" and "Pow-Wow Leaders" (Wahoo High School 1953). Similar "traditions" were practiced into the 1970s, when drum majorettes wore feather headdresses and teachers played victims of Indian raids in homecoming skits (Wahoo High School 1973).

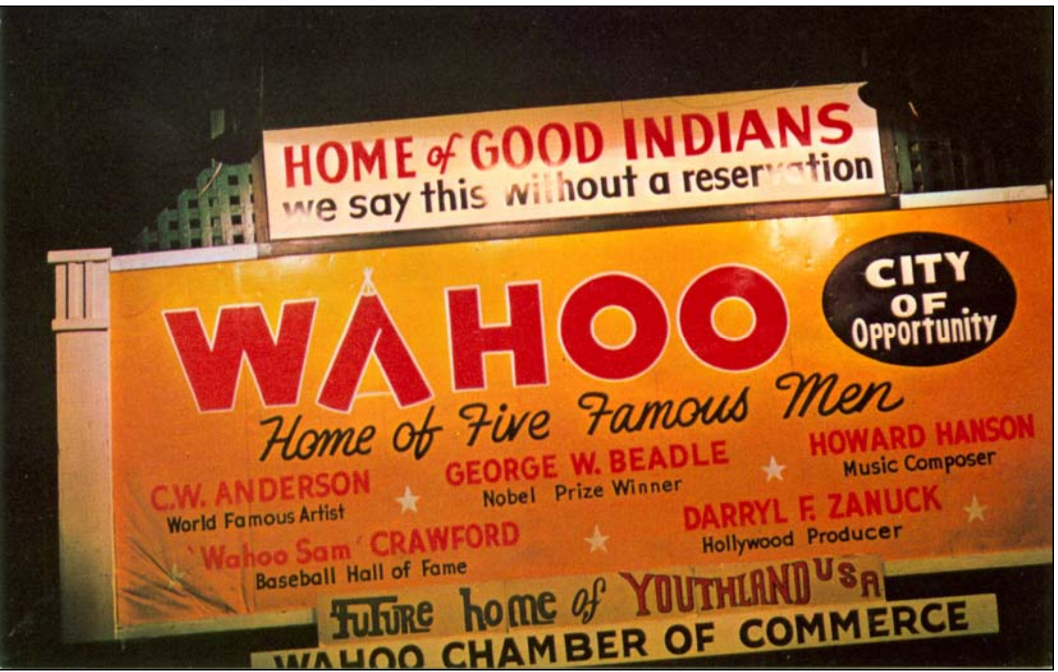
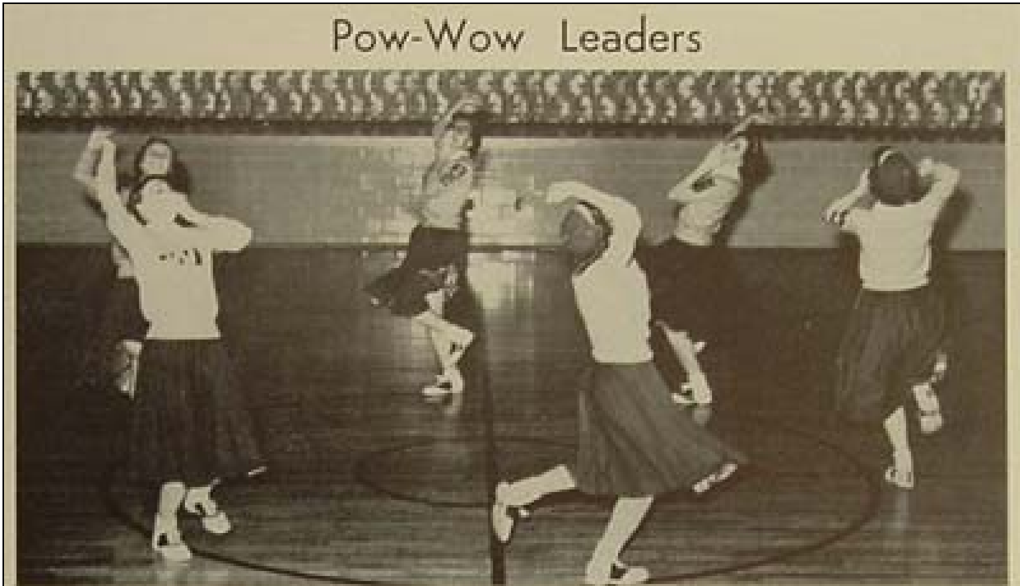


Figure 1.2. A postcard, circa 1960, of Wahoo, Nebraska's welcome sign. From the author's collection.

Pow-Wow Leaders



Left to right: Rochelle Copperstone, Marilyn Anderson, Phyllis Larson, Willa Placek, Willa Gleeson, Patricia Eliason.

SQUAWS

"We're behind you team, fight!" might well have been the motto of the 1952-1953 Squaws who were as peppy and enthusiastic a group as ever wore the traditional blue and gold uniforms. The Squaws, who number forty-three, sponsored a bus to almost every out-of town game.

This year, any maiden except a papoose could join the tribe, which was organized under the demerit system. Under this system, if a member acquired twenty-five demerits, she was dismissed from the Pep Club.

The new Pep Club members were honored by their big sisters at a picnic held in the fall. The Squaws furnished entertainment by rolling potatoes with their noses and tossing eggs at each other.

With whoops and hollers, the Squaws danced their way through Wahoo on the eve of the first game. At this annual Snake Dance, Valley was burned in effigy, and Jim Margrave and Howard Erickson were crowned co-captains for the first home game.

On November 7, Vennie Lanik and Goldie Anderson were crowned King and Queen of Sports at a ceremonial dance sponsored by the Squaws.

A pep rally was held on each game day, and at the majority of these spirited meetings, a skit was presented. The outstanding skit of the year was the "Victory Show," a talent program featuring four acts. According to the laughter and applause of the audience, the Tallahassee Hornblowers, a polka band led by Coach Ackermann, was judged the winning act.

The Squaws' leaders were Nancy Hunter, president; Willa Gleeson, vice president; Goldie Anderson, secretary; Phyllis Larson, treasurer; Mrs. French and Miss Christenson, co-sponsors.

Figure 1.3. A description of activities hosted by the "Squaws," Wahoo, Nebraska High School's cheerleaders, in 1953 with a photo of cheerleaders dancing around the gymnasium's center court "Indian style." Source: The 1953 edition of *The Thunderbird: The Yearbook of Wahoo, Nebraska High School*.

In the early 1980s the school's student mascot wore an unattractive mask as a part of a caricatured Plains Indian costume (Figure 1.4). Recent yearbooks indicate that the portrayal of Native Americans has declined at Wahoo High School. Students no longer dress as Warrior mascots, and the only imagery visible in the school is seen in old team photos that hang in trophy cases and in the gymnasium, where two Indian head logos can be observed on the walls.

Why did Wahoo High School emerge as a racialized environment where cheerleaders were called "squaws," Indian caricatures roamed the sidelines, and the *Warrior* nickname was used to inspire greatness on the field of athletic competition? There are many reasons why Indigenous-based team names and mascots have been selected in communities like Wahoo. One was to remind whites of their superior civilized status. This is the same reason Native Americans were showcased, with their tipis and rituals, during the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, the 1898 Omaha Trans-Mississippi Exposition, the 1901 Buffalo Pan American Exposition, the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, and the 1907 Jamestown Exposition. The purpose for their presence at these fairs, which were visited by millions of people, was to serve "as a baseline for measuring the extent of material progress" in American civilization (Bodnar 1992: 30).

Maybe in the absence of real Indians, however, others had to be fabricated, and the high school mascot became a suitable means of resurrection. The most accessible portrayal of Native Americans in the mid-twentieth century, Hollywood Westerns and western-themed television programs, provided much of the imagery and stereotypes. Much of this imagery is still seen in learning environments, from universities to primary schools, throughout the country. Since the early 1970s, these places have drawn the ire of

Figure 1.4. The Wahoo, Nebraska High School *Warrior* mascot in 1983. Source: The 1983 edition of *The Thunderbird: The Yearbook of Wahoo, Nebraska High School*.

Native American groups and non-Native supporters who have called for the retirement of their Indigenous-based names and imagery because they are disparaging at the least and, in many cases, blatantly racist. The controversies surrounding this issue serve as a contemporary "contact zone" between America's Indigenous groups and European Americans, and defenders of nicknames in many communities are struggling to maintain

a history constructed on false images, misrepresented histories, and stereotyped cultures. This study identifies secondary schools using these names in the first decade of the twenty-first century, examines their frequencies and geographic patterns, and utilizes this and other empirical evidence to suggest that the European American selection of Native American team names was done so to commemorate the conquest of Indigenous peoples and their lands.[1]

ANTI-MASCOT ACTIVISM AND LITERATURE

Native American nicknames, mascots, and logos have been protested for more than thirty years across the United States, and the results have been cyclical, showing peaks of exposure and progress in the elimination of such names and lows of stagnancy when the pace of retirement slows. The beginnings of anti-mascot sentiment can be linked with the Red Power movement of the early 1970s (Banks 1993). Many schools, including Stanford University, Marquette University, the University of Oklahoma, Minnesota State University in Mankato, and the University of Nebraska-Omaha retired their Indian mascots during this decade. The efforts of many groups and individuals sparked a second wave of retirements during the late 1980s and 1990s in primary, secondary, and post-secondary schools. For example, the American Indian Movement (AIM), whose headquarters are in Minnesota, lobbied the state's Department of Education to encourage schools to abandon their Indigenous-based mascots, and dozens

[1] This study uses many names to reference the Indigenous peoples of the United States. The terms Native American, American Indian, and Indian are used with the knowledge that they were invented by European Americans during the colonization of Indigenous lands to, among other things, concoct a racialized distinction between the two groups and homogenize diverse Indigenous cultures into a single enemy. I also recognize that the continued use of these terms today is evocative of the persisting legacies of colonization (Yellow Bird 1999). Tribal names and the tribal affiliations of individuals are noted in specific contexts.

of communities complied (Zehr 2001). Another success story is seen in Los Angeles, California, where a group of activists fought diligently to convince the city's school board that team names and mascots that portray Native Americans in a stereotypical manner do not have a place in the modern world (Machamer 2001).

Scholars increased the visibility of Indigenous-based team names during the 1990s by publishing research in an array of disciplinary journals, and in the past decade and a half there have been many anthropological, sociological, literary, and educational studies of the ways in which athletic team names distort and disparage Indigenous people, their histories, cultures, heterogeneity, and distinctiveness (Baca 2004; Banks 1993; Black 2002; Churchill 1994; Crue 2003; Davis 1993; Eitzen 1999; Farnell 2004; Frazier 1997; Helmberger 1999; King, C.R. 1998, 2002, 2004; King, C.R. and Springwood 2000a, 2000b, 2001a; 2001b; LaDuke 2005; Nuessel 1994; Pewewardy 1991, 2004; Roppolo 2003; Slowikowski 1993; Spindel 2000; Springwood 2004; Staurowsky 1999, 2004; Strong 2004; Taylor 2005; Vanderford 1996; Wenner 1993; Young Man 2003). In addition, psychologists and educators have linked depression and educational underachievement among minority students to the use of stereotypes prevalent in contemporary society (Burke, A.L. 2006; Dovidio et. al 1986; Fiske 1993; Freng 2001; Fryberg 2002; Ganje 1996; Gonzalez 2005; Hirshfelder 1989; Jackson and Lyons 1997; King, C.R. 2002; King, J. 1991; Miner 1991; Muir 1999; Oyserman, et. al 2003; Pewewardy 1991, 1998, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c, 2001, 2004; Riede 2001; Staurowsky 1999, 2004; Steele 1997). Critics are quick to dismiss the conclusions of these scholars, argue that they constitute political correctness gone awry, and many make their views known on the online message boards of local newspaper websites.

The protest cycle is now riding a wave of publicity created by the decision of the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Executive Committee in August of 2005 to implement a policy that bans the displaying of “hostile and abusive racial, ethnic, and national origin mascots, nicknames, or imagery” during NCAA tournament games (NCAA 2005). The committee listed eighteen member colleges and universities with Native American nicknames that are subject to the new policy, and the resulting frenzy by these schools to defend their use was swift, as alumni flooded media outlets, legal action was pursued, and administrators hurried to the nearest reservation for sanctification. Florida State University, whose *Seminole* mascot launches a flaming spear into the midfield logo prior to football games, quickly had the Florida band of the Seminole tribe reiterate their support of the nickname and mascot. To impress the NCAA, university administrators asked the Department of History to offer a Seminole history class, and for the first time since adopting the Seminole moniker in 1947, such a course was offered in the fall of 2006 (Kaczor 2006). The University of Utah and Central Michigan University also received permission from local tribes to use their respective *Ute* and *Chippewa* nicknames.

The NCAA decision has forced many of the schools to retire their Indigenous mascots. Southeastern Oklahoma State University in Durant dropped its *Savage*s nickname for the *Savage Storm*. Carthage College in Kenosha, Wisconsin has changed its *Redmen* name to *Red Men* (with a non-Native mascot), the University of Louisiana-Monroe *Indians* are now the *Warhawks*, Chowan College in Murfreesboro, North Carolina dropped its *Braves* name for *Hawks*, Indiana University of Pennsylvania retired its *Indian* nickname for *Crimson Hawks*, Midwestern State University in Wichita Falls,

Texas abandoned its *Indians* name for *Mustangs*, and McMurray University in Abilene, Texas chose to drop its *Indian* name and not use a nickname at all. In 2007, after years of bitter dispute, the trustees of the University of Illinois-Urbana decided to retire the school's Chief Illiniwek mascot bringing to an end 81 years of use. The presence of Chief Illiniwek has been the topic of many works by anti-mascot scholars (Black 2002: Farnell 2004; Prochaska 2001; Rosenstein 1996; Slowikowski 1993; Spindel 2000). The nicknames at Alcorn State University (*Braves*), Arkansas State University (*Indians*), Bradley University (*Braves*), Catawba College (*Indians*), Mississippi College (*Choctaws*), Newberry College (*Indians*), and the University of North Dakota (*Sioux*) have yet to be retired. If these schools do not retire their team names by August of 2008, they will be ineligible to host postseason athletic events under NCAA rules. The impact of the NCAA decision increased awareness of these names in primary and secondary schools. Administrators and school boards are increasingly being forced to confront this sensitive issue which often attracts more community attention than budget crises and teacher layoffs.

RACE, POWER, AND PLACE

Pierce Lewis (1979) reminds us that the human landscape is "our unwitting autobiography," and that the beliefs of the dominant society are inscribed on the surface in varying degrees of subtlety. The canonized memory of a nation is visible on the cultural landscape, and many geographers have noted how places and scenes have been used to symbolize national images and identities (Cosgrove 1984; Daniels 1993; Daniels and Cosgrove 1988; Harvey 1979; Hoelscher and Alderman 2004; Meinig 1979; Osborne 1998; Rubin 1979). Alan Baker notes that "[i]deologies exert their authority and find

expression not only in language but also in landscape. Non-verbal 'documents' in the landscape can be powerful visual signs" (1992: 5), and Richard Schein observes that in the United States, "cultural landscapes ultimately are viewed as material phenomena, reflective and symbolic of individual activity and cultural ideals, as they simultaneously are central to the constitution and reinforcement of those activities and ideals" (1997: 660). At times, racism can be so ingrained in society and landscape that it appears commonplace to those of the dominant culture (Delgado 2005), and a number of geographers have noted the various ways – including monuments, domestic architecture, flags, and other iconography – white authority and nostalgia for the Civil War/Lost Cause/War of Northern Aggression is symbolized on the Southern landscape (Winberry 1983; Hoelscher 2006; Lieb 2006; Lieb et. al 1994; Webster and Webster 2000). This study proposes that Indigenous-based team names represent a similar form of white authority and nostalgia involving the subjugation of Native Americans and reminiscence of their defeat.

JUSTIFICATION OF STUDY

This study compliments existing geographic and anti-mascot literature in three ways. First, it approaches the Native American mascot issue from a spatial perspective. Mapping the locations of schools using Indigenous-based team names takes a seemingly immeasurable practice and fixes it in space, ordering patterns so they can be observed in their entirety. This study also critically examines the symbolic value that these objects on the cultural landscape carry for their possessors and the role they play in local, regional, and national identities. It also appraises the vernacular landscapes of high school hallways, gymnasia, and playing fields that reveal an array of stereotypical portrayals of

Native Americans. These images commemorate the nation's frontier past and reaffirm control of the country and its original inhabitants. From a theoretical perspective, this study employs geographic techniques – including mapping observations on the landscape and analyzing their patterns – associated with Carl Sauer and classic American cultural geography. It also uses methods related to the work of Don Mitchell and other "new cultural geographers" that observe power structures obscured within the landscape.

Secondly, this study advances the anti-mascot argument by examining the practice in secondary schools. Previous research has focused on the use of Indigenous-based team names in professional and collegiate sports, and investigating Native American nicknames in high schools represents the next logical step for the movement. Intensive research involving the overall occurrence of Native American team name use in secondary schools has been hindered by the sheer immensity of the task. Estimates of the number of these schools varies greatly, ranging from "1,400" (Staurowsky 2004) to "2,600" (Hughey 2004) to "innumerable" (King and Springwood 2001a) depending if primary schools are included in the count, although numbers are decreasing each year due to the retirement of nicknames and mascots. In this study, a comprehensive high school directory designed for college recruiters was utilized to catalog an accurate count of high schools using Native American team names during the 2004-2005 school year.

Finally, this study advances knowledge in geography and in the interdisciplinary realm of anti-mascot literature by using textual evidence from numerous historical periods, and at several geographic scales, to emphasize how race-based ideologies manifest themselves on the landscape. This evidence is utilized to support theoretical assertions for the use of Indigenous-based team names. For example, the theory of

imperialist nostalgia, which in this study is applied to describe American society's love affair with the nation's historic frontier era, has been mentioned by many anti-mascot scholars with little practical documentation. While their arguments are valid, this study cites a number of examples that provide much needed empirical support. Despite the efforts of these and other scholars, who in the past two decades have published research that has heightened awareness about the negative societal effects of Indian nicknames and mascots, C. Richard King and Charles F. Springwood feel that "Native American mascots remain understudied, too often taken for granted, and rarely questioned by scholars and citizens alike" (2001: 5). Observing the mascot issue through a geographic lens exposes it to new perspectives just as the study of Indigenous-related iconography in predominantly white schools advances the topic of race, power, and place in the discipline of geography.

The use of Indigenous-based team names certainly remains a contentious issue on college campuses and in hundreds of communities throughout the United States, and although there are more pressing issues concerning Indigenous peoples which require the attention of American society (poverty, healthcare, and self-determination to name a few), the mascot issue is symbolic of the ongoing struggle between a colonizer and the colonized. As this study shows, white European Americans, who reserve power over Native Americans, depict Native Americans in an antiquated manner that confines them to a past period in American history and debases any attempt to challenge white control. The issue of Native American mascots, therefore, is an important one in the struggle for Indigenous autonomy and self-definition.

Research questions and methodological approach

This study began with a series of simple questions: how many secondary schools in the United States use Indigenous-based team names and where are they located? Are there distinct patterns at regional and local scales? Inquiries soon became more involved: what do the geographic patterns of Native American nickname use mean? Why were these nicknames selected? How are Native Americans portrayed in these learning environments? How do the depictions of Native Americans in high schools reflect the policies and ideologies of those who selected them?

To answer these questions, a number of geographic methods and techniques were employed. First, the study involves the application of a geographic information system (GIS) in cultural geography. School nickname, ethnic, and location data were transcribed into a digital database and linked to a GIS so that zip codes could be geo-referenced. Secondly, cartographic analysis was utilized once maps showing the distribution of schools with Indigenous-based team names were produced. Utilizing cartographic techniques to examine spatial phenomena is at the heart of geographic inquiry and is "one of the basic tools of the geographer's kit" (Kelley 2005: 2). Mark Monmonier would concur: "mapping is not solely a medium for communication, but is also a tool of analysis and discovery" (1993: 12).

The third method, archival research, is used extensively in history and historical geography. In this study, primary and secondary historical sources were perused to learn how Native Americans have been portrayed historically in literature, art, film, and television. Finally, fieldwork at one hundred and twenty-five predominantly white schools was undertaken to collect information from cultural geography's primary source

– the landscape. Fieldwork provided the opportunity to photograph and experience, in person, how the display of Indigenous-related imagery creates environments that promote school spirit at the expense of presenting a diverse group of people in a stereotypical and disrespectful manner. Content analysis of the photographed imagery was performed to categorize common and uncommon portrayals of Native Americans in secondary school learning environments.

ORGANIZATION

This dissertation is written in a narrative style that aims to be accessible to readers unfamiliar with specialized geographic language and dense social theory (Madsen 2002). A number of maps, which portray spatial patterns, and images, which represent interpretable, ready-to-read landscapes, are utilized to compliment the text and reaffirm theoretical arguments. After this introductory chapter, Chapter Two introduces the reader to the role of place identity in our lives and shows that connection to place is often represented on the cultural landscape in both obvious and subliminal forms. Examples discussed are murals, mountains, flags, and team nicknames and mascots. Examples of icons that share dual or multiple meanings are discussed in some detail in order to introduce the reader to the topic of Native American nicknames, mascots, and iconography in high schools.

Chapter Three surveys the images of American Indians in the European American mind and how they were incorporated into the nation's creation myth as an "Other" against which progress could be measured. It is argued that the degree of violence in New England during the Pequot and King Phillip Wars gave birth to an American identity that valued the brutal conquest of the colonial frontier. This ideology came to fruition in the

form of Manifest Destiny, the belief that the North American continent was a divine gift to a young American nation. The resulting process of frontier expansion was glorified as the defining era in American history in 1893 by Frederick Jackson Turner. The myth of the frontier left an indelible impression in the minds of Americans, and authors, artists, travelling performers, film makers, and television producers exploited the nation's nostalgia for the era well into the twentieth century. These early media forms generally presented Native Americans either as noble yet submissive warriors or as bloodthirsty savages, and Native American mascots took the form of each.

Chapter Four builds on Chapter Three by discussing theoretical explanations for the selection and continued use of Indigenous-based team names and mascots. Although many argue that these names are used to honor Native Americans, it is suggested here that they are largely presented as stereotypes adopted from dime novels, Wild West shows, film, and television, and that their use reflects a nostalgic mindset when the nicknames were selected. A belief that Indians had "vanished" was common during the first few decades of the twentieth century, when the majority of team names were selected, and it is argued that, in their place, an Indian proxy was resurrected in the form of the mascot. A discussion of other theories and practices, including anti-conquest and cultural appropriation, precedes case studies involving Geronimo, Black Hawk, and a number of individual schools that illustrate these theories in practice.

Chapter Five examines the frequencies and locations of Indigenous-based team names in secondary schools as well as characteristics of the schools themselves, including their setting and the racial composition of their students. While the sheer number of schools using Native American nicknames is surprising, their overwhelmingly

white ethnic composition is not, supporting the assertion that Indigenous-based team names serve the needs and desires of whites.

Chapter Six examines the portrayal of Native Americans in institutionally-sponsored public spaces, specifically secondary schools in predominantly white communities, and suggests that these fabricated spaces symbolize hegemony and control over Native Americans. The theory of whiteness is discussed – in the context of white defense of Native American portrayals in school space – as a token of bestowed honor, and a content analysis reveals fifteen widespread and largely distinct ways Indigenous people are presented in these learning environments. Finally, Chapter Seven summarizes major findings and observations, discusses the limitations of the study, and suggests future research avenues for this issue in the discipline of geography.

Chapter Two

Place Identity and Athletic Team Names

In the spring of 2005, the Cheyenne, Wyoming school board held a special public meeting. Its purpose was not to discuss the district's budget, a bond referendum, or a teacher's union contract, but to determine the name, nickname, and official colors of a high school that would not open its doors until 2010. The naming committee, with the help of approximately thirty residents, narrowed potential school names to South, Valley View, or South Pride High and athletic team names to the *Grizzlies*, *Eagles*, or *Bison*. Members of the naming committee mentioned that the meeting was important so that students would have a name that "represents them well" and that community involvement was important because it "helps provide ownership" (Orr 2005). The committee, which later named the future building South High School and selected the *Bison* and gold and black as the mascot and school colors (Laramie County School District 2005), asked themselves questions that tens of thousands of communities since the early 1900s have pondered – "what makes us and our community unique?" and, "what nickname or mascot can our community identify with and rally around?" This process involves people's perceptions of place, or place identity, and happens in America's urban fringes and rural areas dozens of times each year as new schools open and existing schools consolidate.

This chapter examines the role of high school athletics in developing place identity, or the attachment one has to a meaningful place, and describes how community pride is often reflected in distinct athletic team names that represent the local economy (or one-time economy), fauna (including vernacular nomenclature of fauna), cultural

characteristics of the residents, or a local historical event or figure. When schools with similar team names are identified at a national scale, regional patterns often emerge that reflect regional identities. In these places, the high school team names have emblematic associations, are icons for the entire community, and often reinforce collective consciousness of local and regional historical and cultural characteristics.

ATTACHMENT TO PLACE

Place has intrinsic value for each of us, and it can often comprise a significant part of our identity. The ambiguity of place attachment makes it difficult to describe because it involves the feelings of individuals and the collective sentiment of groups, it can change over time and space, and it often incorporates nostalgia or intense yearning for past experiences (Cosgrove 2000). For many, place attachment, or a sense of place, has comforting qualities associated with it, but some places, like the World Trade Center, carry negative associations that remind people of an event or period of time which they would rather not recall (Foote 1997; Hummon 1992). The size of a place with which we are emotionally connected can range greatly from the home to a region or a country (Cuba and Hummon 1993), and is often influential in developing a collective sense of identity among a group of people, a sense of belonging (Duncan 1973). For instance, sense of place is a critical ingredient in the formation of ethnic and cultural homelands like the Hispano region of the American Southwest (Nostrand 1992) and the Mormon culture area whose core is in Utah (Meinig 1965). The bonding process occurs when "a people adjust to the natural environment, stamp that environment with their cultural impress, and from both the natural environment and the cultural landscape create a deep sense of place." (Nostrand and Estaville 2001: xix).

Place develops a shared meaning through place-making, an individual and collective process in which inhabitants emotionally invest in a place and develop an adherence to it. Because a place acquires meaning through shared characteristics of its residents, the process of place-making encourages a community identity that is ultimately used to distinguish that community from another. For residents of Southbank, British Columbia, the community's geographic isolation from the "modern" world is one basis for community pride (Larsen 2004). A common ancestry often unites residents (Zeitler 2003), and the legacy of blue collar professions in cities like Detroit, Milwaukee, and Pittsburgh have offered many generations of residents a gritty and masculine source of pride and identity.

For many groups a sense of identity is derived from a landmark with historical significance. In the eyes of Anglo-Texans, the Alamo symbolizes the history and meaning of Texas independence from both Mexico and the United States (Jordan-Bychkov 2001). In the eyes of many Māori, the Treaty House at Waitangi in New Zealand is a visual reminder of British colonization and since 1971 has been the primary place of protest that highlights treaty injustices.

The physical environment is central to place identity for many Indigenous groups, including the Kiowa in Oklahoma (Schnell 2001) and Navajo or Diné in New Mexico, Arizona, and Utah (Jett 2001). Colorado's Rocky Mountains inspire affection from locals as well as non-residents and evolve into nationally-recognizable icons (Blake 2002). Places like the Rockies and other landmarks such as the Grand Canyon, the Statue of Liberty, Mount Rushmore, and the Golden Gate Bridge inspire the kind of patriotic sentiment among Americans that epitomizes the human bond with place.

The cultural landscape contains other, more subtle indicators of place identity that may be invisible to outsiders. For example, Hispano-produced murals in the city of Pueblo, Colorado that depict rural life affirm a shared cultural identity among community members and also reflect nostalgia for hometowns in the Upper Rio Grande region of New Mexico (Smith 2002). These and other distinctive emblems, like vanity license plates displayed by Finnish Americans in the Northwoods of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan that read *Sisu*, (which roughly means "to have guts" in Finnish), may go unnoticed but are widespread and meaningful to many in American society.

At times, emblems of place identity become controversial because they harbor contrasting meanings to other groups. The Confederate battle flag, which has flown over the South Carolina and Alabama state capitols in the past, was once incorporated into the Georgia state flag (1956 to 2003), and remains a component of the Mississippi state flag. That flag has drawn the protest of Civil Rights advocates due to its symbolic links to slavery and Jim Crow laws in the American South. Those who support the flag argue that it embodies Southern tradition and honors ancestors who perished for the "Lost Cause" (Lieb et al 2000; Webster and Webster 1994).

HIGH SCHOOL NICKNAMES AND MASCOTS AS ICONS OF PLACE IDENTITY

The high school athletic team name in many communities is linked to a characteristic with which residents collectively identify with. Over time, a team's nickname can become synonymous with the town itself, not only for residents but also for outsiders. How did the idea of symbolizing the personality of a team, and by extension an entire community, through a mascot arise?

The first known baseball team to display the team name on their uniforms was the Brooklyn *Excelsiors* in 1860 (National Baseball Hall of Fame Online 2005), but the use of a mascot, or good luck charm, at sporting events can be linked to *La Mascotte*, a French operetta that was translated and performed in England and the eastern United States in the 1880s. In this story, a down-on-his-luck French farmer hires a young woman who turns out to be an omen of good fortune and makes him wealthy. Performances of *La Mascotte* in cities throughout the American Northeast popularized the story and inspired the idea of adopting mascots as good luck charms for athletic teams.

Yale University claims its mascot, a bulldog named Handsome Dan that was adopted in 1889, was the first in the United States (Yale University 2006). The trend of using a mascot quickly diffused to other institutions of higher learning and eventually trickled down to secondary schools. Chicago, where high school football leagues were organized as early as 1885, may have been home to some of the first high school nicknames (Gems 1992: 298). Most schools, however, did not adopt an official team name until the development of interscholastic sport.

Early twentieth-century secondary school administrators and teachers saw activities such as student government, student organizations, and athletic teams as effective methods of integrating values they deemed necessary for cooperation, social cohesion, and social solidarity of students with different backgrounds. Alfred E. Stearns, a retired school headmaster, reflected on the personal and societal benefits of high school athletics in a 1914 issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*:

> "In these days of increasing luxury, ease, and softness, the influence of wholesome athletics in developing character and toughening the moral fibre must not be ignored. Many a weakling is made strong through the

> lessons he masters on the football field…and the influence of these lessons is not lost on the student body as a whole. It permeates the very atmosphere of the school-community, restraining the weak, inspiring cleaner standards of life, and lifting to distinctly higher levels the student conception of physical fitness and moral wealth" (Stearns 1914: 148).

Pressure to perform on the field carried into the classroom even for early twentieth century student-athletes: one teacher wrote in 1910, "many a big, vigorous boy out of sympathy with his school work is driven to his lessons by his mates so that he can be eligible to represent his school" (Stearns 1914: 150).

Athletics quickly captured the attention of the community because competitions pitted their children against those of nearby communities. When describing the development of secondary school sports, historian Benjamin G. Rader asserts that, "high school sports helped give an identity and common purpose to many neighborhoods, towns, and cities which were otherwise divided by class, race, ethnicity, or religion" (Rader 1996: 111). Team sports, in effect, leveled the playing field, forcing the children of lawyers and bankers to be teammates with the children of factory workers and farmers. Teams became symbolic compositions of the community, and the sporting event evolved as the place where collective identity was forged. Of this Rader writes, "high school sport could become a community enterprise; the entire community might celebrate victories or mourn losses in concert" (1996: 111).

Nicknames and mascots were selected by administrators, students, and the local press to characterize a team's style of play or to provide an icon that symbolized a community characteristic, ideology, or another source of pride. In a way, they are like place-names in that they originate from the need or desire to distinguish one place from others (Stewart 1970: xxviii). Another way communities separate themselves from others

is by displaying welcome signs at the entrance to town that boast of homegrown athletic heroes and championship teams because of a perceived need to "document uniqueness, to boost [themselves] above the commonplace and average, to humble the competition" (Zelinsky 1980: xx).

Like place names, communities chose high school athletic team nicknames to distinguish themselves from neighbors, but unlike place-names, nicknames are "often more descriptive, diminutive, humorous, or affectionate…and in the context of sports teams are often used to conjure images of power, strength, fearlessness, and victory over a hapless opponent" (Zeitler and Petzold 2001: 25). These are indeed criteria for many nicknames, but there are some, including the Omaha, Nebraska Benson High *Bunnies*, the Hollister-San Benito, California *Haybalers*, and the Freeport, Illinois *Pretzels*, that hardly strike fear into an opponent's heart. Perhaps the fundamental purpose of a nickname, then, is to provide a source of identity for a community.

Many athletic team names were selected through a vote by the student body, adopted from school newspaper and yearbook titles, or named by the local newspaper reporters. Sometimes a nickname was selected because of its similarity to the name of the community or school. For example, Hillsboro High School in North Dakota fields teams with the name *Burros* and the athletic teams at Grover Cleveland High School in Buffalo, New York are called the *Presidents*. For others, geography, history, physical environment, economy, or other distinct community features contributed to the selection of a nickname.

Some schools were slow to adopt what would today be considered a mascot. Seeking a good luck charm during the 1913-14 season, the boys basketball team at

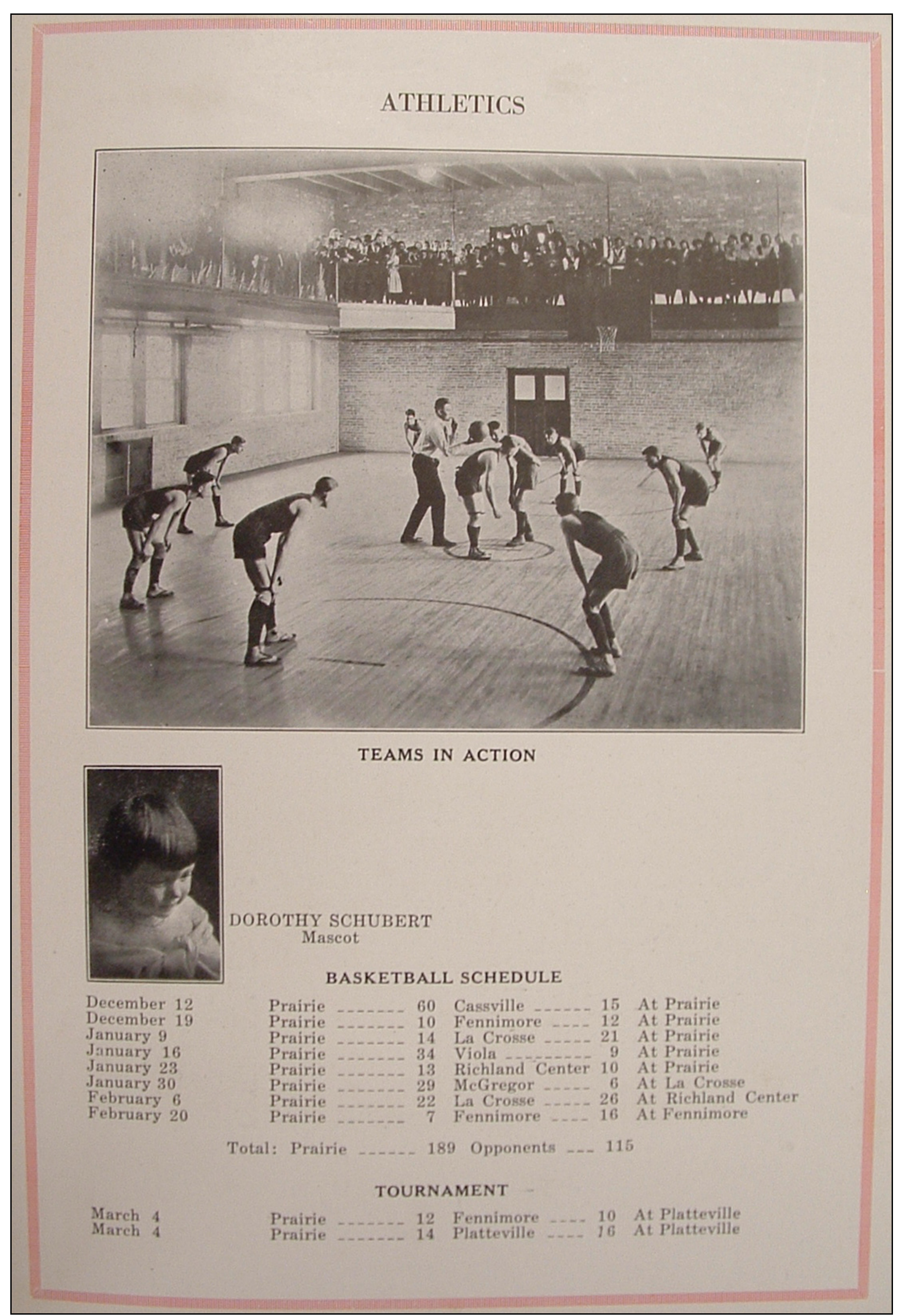
Columbia, Missouri High School adopted a Kewpie doll as their mascot (Figure 2.1). Kewpies, small, cupid-like babies illustrated by author Rose O'Neill for her stories that first ran in a 1909 issue of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, became extremely popular during the early decades of the twentieth-century (some Kewpie dolls are now collectibles worth thousands of dollars). The team ended up winning the state championship, and students working on the dedication page of the school's 1914 *Cresset* yearbook included a

Figure 2.1. The 1913-14 Columbia, Missouri High School boys basketball team. Their mascot, a Kewpie doll seen at the bottom of the photo, was adopted as the school's nickname and mascot after the team won the state championship that year. The school was renamed Hickman High School in 1927, and the nickname remains in use today. Source: Hickman High School Alumni Online.

drawing of a Kewpie holding a sign that reads, “To the Basket Ball Team of 1914, whose loyalty to the school and the Kewpie motto, ‘Keep Smiling,’ has won the State Championship, this Volume of The Cresset is dedicated” (The Cresset 1914). The school’s athletic teams have been called the *Kewpies* ever since (the school was renamed David H. Hickman High School when a new school building opened in 1927).

During the 1919-20 season, the boys basketball team at Prairie du Chien High School in Wisconsin faced a similar predicament and adopted Dorothy Schubert, the young daughter of their coach W.H. Schubert, as their good luck charm (Figure 2.2). The teams fielded by Prairie du Chien High were known as the *Maroon and Gold* and the *Maroons* until 1947, when they were renamed the *Blackhawks* and the mascot became Black Hawk, the Sauk leader whose 1832 rebellion was halted north of town by the United States Army and the Illinois and Wisconsin militias (Prairie du Chien High School 1948). Reasons for the selection of the Blackhawk nickname will be discussed in Chapter Four, but Prairie du Chien is an example of a community linking local history to its high school nickname and mascot.

The physical setting of a community often inspires a nickname. When the community of Watersmeet, Michigan chose to use the *Nimrod*, a word meaning “noble hunter” in the Bible, to characterize its high school athletic teams in 1904, the word represented the community quite well and still does today in the Northwoods town (Watersmeet, Michigan School District Online 2005). The term *nimrod* evolved into a derogatory term in the 1930’s, but Bugs Bunny, who called Elmer Fudd a “poor, little nimrod” in a 1940’s cartoon, could be held responsible for its rise in popularity (Israel



ATHLETICS

TEAMS IN ACTION

DOROTHY SCHUBERT
Mascot

BASKETBALL SCHEDULE

Date					Location
December 12	Prairie	60	Cassville	15	At Prairie
December 19	Prairie	10	Fennimore	12	At Prairie
January 9	Prairie	14	La Crosse	21	At Prairie
January 16	Prairie	34	Viola	9	At Prairie
January 23	Prairie	13	Richland Center	10	At Prairie
January 30	Prairie	29	McGregor	6	At La Crosse
February 6	Prairie	22	La Crosse	26	At Richland Center
February 20	Prairie	7	Fennimore	16	At Fennimore

Total: Prairie ------ 189 Opponents --- 115

TOURNAMENT

Date					Location
March 4	Prairie	12	Fennimore	10	At Platteville
March 4	Prairie	14	Platteville	16	At Platteville

Figure 2.2. The boys basketball season summary in the 1920 edition of *The Prairie Dog*, the yearbook of Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin High School. Dorothy Schubert, the young daughter of Coach W.H. Schubert, served as the team's mascot during its 1919-1920 season. Source: *The Prairie Dog: The Yearbook of Prairie du Chien High School*, 1920.

1997). Therefore, players from Watersmeet have had to endure teasing by opponents and their fans for the better part of the last century. With the help of the media since 2004, however, the school has been able to educate the public about the true meaning of their nickname as well as profit from it. The exposure began when ESPN, a cable television sports network, sent employees to town to shoot footage of a boy's basketball game for a commercial that quipped, "Without sports, who would root for the Nimrods?" The popularity of the commercial led to a report about the school on CBS's *60 Minutes*, a March 15, 2005 appearance on *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno* by the school's boys basketball team, and a documentary produced by Robert Redford to be shown on the Sundance Channel in 2007 or 2008 (Weintraub 2006). Demand for *Nimrod* apparel overwhelmed school employees so much that the management of internet sales was transferred to the Michigan Tech University bookstore in Houghton, and in 2005 the school district signed an agreement with two sports apparel companies to sell *Nimrod* merchandise throughout the country. During a two year period ending in late 2005, apparel sales provided the school district with over $650,000 to invest in building projects, programs, and scholarships (Levra 2005). This has helped ease budget strains tremendously for the community's 1,500 residents and has improved the quality of education for the school's 250 students.

A distinctive characteristic of a school or community has provided many team names. The hill top location of Houston, Mississippi's high school inspired its *Hilltoppers* nickname and mountain goat mascot, and Camdenton, Missouri's high school nickname, the *Lakers*, is explained by the town's proximity to the Lake of the Ozarks. The unique position of Little Diomede Island in the Bering Strait makes the forty or so

students at Diomede School proud to be *Dateliners*. Phillipsburg, New Jersey citizens view their proximity to Pennsylvania as a source of identity, fielding teams named the *Stateliners*. The local political status of Houlton, Maine and Belvidere, New Jersey are reaffirmed through the name of their teams, the *Shiretowners* and *County Seaters*, respectively, and residents of Gwinn, Michigan, a company town built by the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Mining Company between 1907 and 1910, have named their athletic teams the *Modeltowners*.

A local hero or an important historical event is often immortalized in a nickname. Residents of Sauk Centre, Minnesota named their teams the *Mainstreeters* in honor of hometown author Sinclair Lewis, whose novel *Main Street* was awarded the 1930 Nobel Prize in Literature. Teams in Salem, Massachusetts, home of the infamous 1692 and 1693 witchcraft trials, are called the *Witches*, and Gettysburg, Pennsylvania High School are fittingly named the *Warriors*.

Less common are nicknames which have class connotations. Teams at East Hampton, New York High School, for example, are known as the *Bonackers*, a regional nickname for local working class residents. Williamsport High School in Pennsylvania, contrastingly, fields teams named the *Millionaires*.

Many nicknames reflect a common profession or a representative component of the area's economy. Schools using cattle-related nicknames – *Brahmas*, *Longhorns*, *Mavericks*, *Shorthorns*, *Steers*, and *Whitefaces* (a breed of Hereford cattle) – show up most frequently in Texas and the southern Great Plains (Map 2.1). This pattern is not surprising when one considers the role of cattle in the history of the region and the number of people whose incomes once depended on these tough animals. The *Brahma*,

Shorthorn, *Steer*, and *Whiteface* nicknames are not numerous but are almost exclusive to Texas, highlighting a regional naming preference, the *Longhorn* nickname is most commonly found in the Great Plains, and the *Maverick* name is seen in the East, Midwest, and Texas.

Just as cattle nicknames can indicate a local ranching economy, the presence of occupation-based nicknames highlights characteristics of the local economy. Mapping the locations of names linked to professions taking place on or near the high seas emphasizes their local economic importance and status as a source of pride. The number of schools using the names *Admirals*, *Anchormen*, *Argonauts*, *Commodores*, *Crabbers*, *Dreadnaughts*, *Fishermen*, *Harpooners*, *Mariners*, *Shoremen*, *Skippers*, *Yachtsmen*, and

Map 2.1. Locations of high schools with the nicknames *Brahmas*, *Longhorns*, *Mavericks*, *Shorthorns*, *Steers*, and *Whitefaces* (a breed of Hereford cattle) in the United States, 2005. Source: *Clell Wade Coaches Directory*.

Whalers is most distinguishable in New England, where a once thriving fishing industry inspired nicknames like the *Whalers* of New London, Connecticut, Sag Harbor, New York and Nantucket and New Bedford, Massachusetts (Map 2.2). The country's only *Crabber* nicknames appear fittingly along Chesapeake Bay in Hampton, Virginia and Crisfield, Maryland, and the *Harpooner* nickname at the Tikigaq School in Point Hope, Alaska is reflective of the life-sustaining Tikigaq Inuit method of obtaining food. Not all of these nicknames appear where one would assume, but most are explained by the town or school name. For instance, schools named for David Farragut, a Civil War-era Admiral in the Union Navy whose line, "Damn the torpedoes, full speed ahead!"

Map 2.2. Locations of high schools with the nicknames *Admirals*, *Anchormen*, *Argonauts*, *Commodores*, *Crabbers*, *Dreadnaughts*, *Fishermen*, *Harpooners*, *Mariners*, *Shoremen*, *Skippers*, *Yachtsmen*, and *Whalers* in the United States, 2005. Source: *Clell Wade Coaches Directory*.

during the Battle of Mobile Bay earned him much fame, field teams named the *Admirals* in Farragut, Iowa, Chicago, Illinois, and Knoxville, Tennessee, his hometown.

Other nicknames reflect the importance of agriculture on a local economy. The dairy processing facilities of Tillamook, Oregon and Monroe, Wisconsin are honored by their *Cheesemaker* nicknames, and Rocky Ford, Colorado, known for its watermelons and muskmelons, celebrates its specialty crop by naming its teams the *Meloners*. The *Sugarbeeters* of Chinook, Montana are named for local sugar beet crops, and the *Grapepickers* of North East, Pennsylvania, a community located near the Lake Erie shoreline, pays homage to the region's grape production. These and many other nicknames provide outsiders with insights into the histories and economies of places and arouse community pride among students, alumni, and residents. As teams are extensions of the community, these names are chosen because they epitomize a community's perceived sense of uniqueness, pride, and fortitude in the face of adversity. High school nicknames can provoke intense feelings for place and, as the next section shows, can also reflect engrained, controversial ideologies that are becoming increasingly contested.

CONTESTED NICKNAMES

When the San Jose *Earthquakes* franchise of Major League Soccer moved to Houston in 2006, team officials conducted a full-scale strategic marketing assessment designed to attract fans and sell merchandise. The resulting name, *Houston 1836*, was selected for its similarity to some European teams who use their home city and birth date in their name (like Germany's *Hannover 96*). Officials chose 1836, the year Houston was founded, as the name. This was the same year that Texas proclaimed independence from Mexico after a brutal war, and the city's significantly large, soccer-loving Hispanic

population felt the name and logo, which included a silhouette of a battle-ready Sam Houston on horseback, was insulting (Figure 2.3). Did the marketing department not do their homework?

> "We were aware of the dual meaning of the year," admitted the team's General Manager, Oliver Luck. "We vetted the name with the [Houston] Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, and they thought it would be a good name and a way to unify Houston. In our polls and focus groups we found a very small group — single-digit — took offense. But we felt it is a unique name in MLS and references something Texans are proud of, which is their history" (Trecker 2006a).

Apparently, they failed to realize that Texans share more than one history. Paul Ramos, a professor at the University of Houston, said of the name, "If you disagree with this singular opinion of Texas Independence, then you're not a good American. But in a multicultural America, Americans can hold differing views of the same event" (Trecker 2006a). To Mr. Luck, however, *Houston 1836* was only a name and would not be changed (Trecker 2006a). After receiving a great deal of negative reaction from people throughout the country, however, the team announced it would change its name only ten days after its introduction (Trecker 2006b). Exactly one month after unveiling the *1836* moniker, team officials held a press conference announcing the franchise name as the Houston *Dynamo* (deLuna 2006).

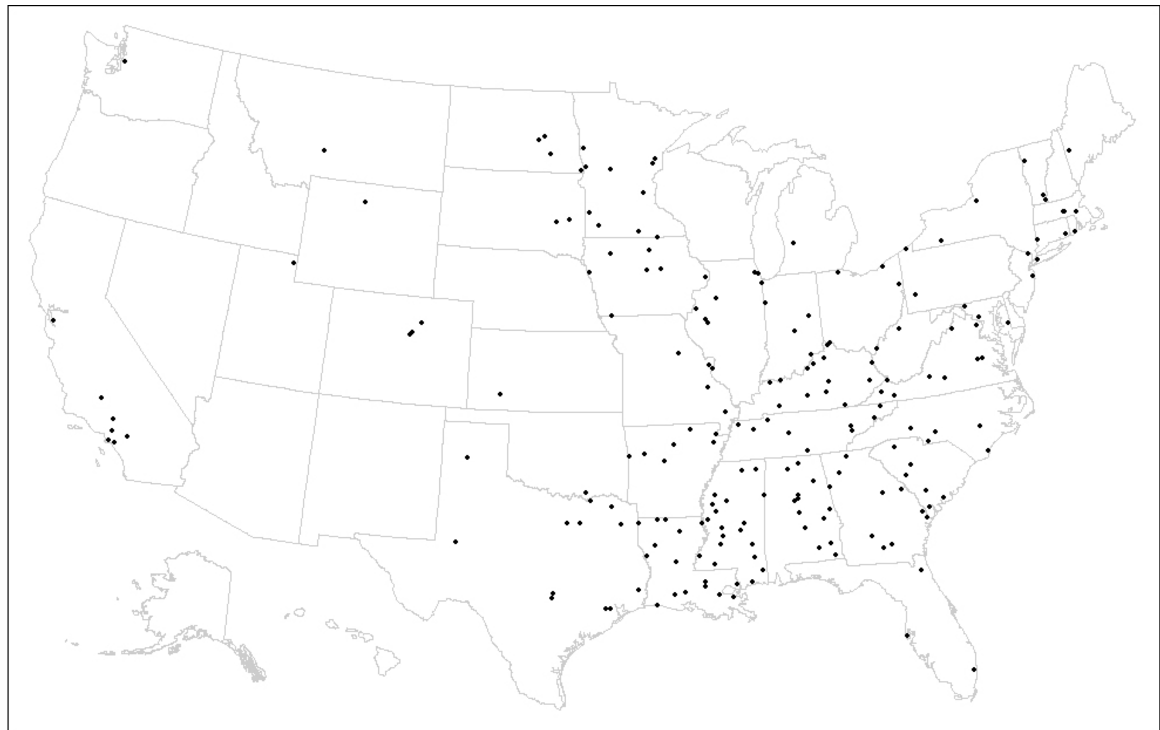
Luck said that the new name, which honors the city's historical ties with the electrical conductor, "has a blue-collar feel to it," and he believed that "a parallel can be drawn to the two major communities in Houston: English speakers and Spanish speakers, who together will create electricity at games unlike any other in MLS" (deLuna 2006). By emphasizing a piece of history that lacks overt links to race but emphasizes economic

class, team officials found the emotional bond they initially desired. The new logo, however, did not fail to include the most beloved and omnipresent of all Texas icons, the Lone Star (Figure 2.3).

Controversial icons are also present in secondary schools (Eitzen 1999). Desegregation and migration during the latter half of the twentieth-century have made African Americans the majority ethnic group in many schools named for Confederate-era leaders. Now armed with political clout, Black activists are calling for the retirement of these names as well as associated names such as the *Rebels*, *Confederates*, and *Colonels* because they feel that doing so would "help black children escape the oppressive names and legacies of those who fought to keep slavery" (Jonsson 2004). A nationwide investigation of these nicknames by the author reveals some interesting patterns. *Rebel*

Figure 2.3. The *Houston 1836* logo, unveiled on February 6, 2006, and the Houston *Dynamo* logo, presented one month later on March 6 after negative reaction by Hispanics. Team officials hoped to draw Spanish-speaking fans to games, but a strong reaction by Hispanics to the *1836* name and logo hastened team officials to renege. Source: *Houston 1836* (now defunct) and *Dynamo* websites.

nicknames in New England can be linked to American rebels of the Revolutionary War (Map 2.3). In the Midwest, these nicknames are tied to anti-government revolts by farmers during the 1930s, many organized by the Farmer's Holiday Association, that stemmed from low crop prices and high foreclosure rates (Alston 1983; Fite 1962; Shover 1964). The frequency of *Confederate*, *Colonel,* and *Rebel* names in the South, where the majority of these names exist, highlights not only local and regional adherence for commemorating the Civil War/Lost Cause/War of Northern Aggression but also evidence of widespread institutional support for what the nicknames symbolize.



Map 2.3. Locations of high schools with the nicknames *Confederates*, *Colonels*, and *Rebels* in the United States, 2005. Source: *Clell Wade Coaches Directory*.

Montgomery, Alabama's Robert E. Lee High School would probably make the anti-mascot activist's list. Here, nearly two-thirds (63.6%) of the school's 1,508 students were African American during the 2005-2006 school year (National Center for Education Statistics 2006), and images displayed on the school's website in the spring of 2006 depict the type of imagery activists are speaking out against. The school's *General* mascot, a genteel Southern white man appearing similar to Colonel Sanders of Kentucky Fried Chicken fame, leans on his cane in the upper left corner of the page adjacent to the prominently displayed school name (Figure 2.4). In a photo bounding the school name on

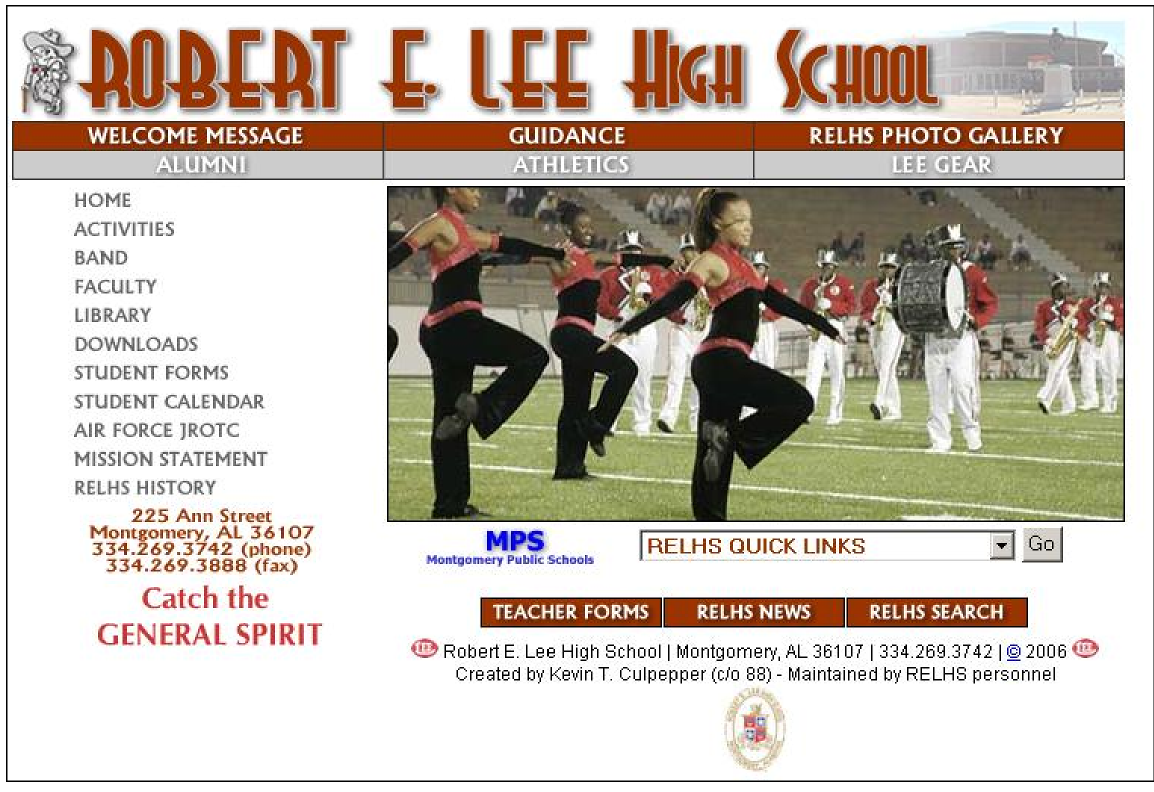


Figure 2.4. A screenshot of Robert E. Lee High School website on March 5, 2006. Nearly two-thirds of the student body was African American in 2005-2006. The school's *General* mascot, a genteel Southern white man, leans on his cane in the upper left corner of the image, and the school's statue of General Lee is visible in the upper right corner. Sources: National Center for Education Statistics and Montgomery Public Schools Online.

the right, although difficult to decipher, stands the statue of General Lee on a tall white pedestal that was unveiled to the town in 1908. He is “always facing North”, says the school history web page, because “tradition says that the general would never turn his back to the possibility of approching [sic] enemies” (Culpepper 2006). On the surface, the meaning of this symbolic landscape may seem trivial, particularly to many whites who would defend the school name, mascot, and other associated iconography. But is it possible that, just as the Statue of Liberty evokes unifying patriotic sentiment among Americans, the use of Confederate-era names and mascots act as mnemonic devices for some Southern whites that make conscious, nostalgic links with a long lost past? Indeed, it is important not to take icons at face value. Holdsworth (1997) warns against relying solely on the visual without peering into the past. The timing of Montgomery’s Lee High School opening provides insight into the meaning of its icons. The statue of Lee, prominently displayed at the city’s busy eastern entrance on the Jefferson Davis Highway when it was unveiled in 1908, was moved to the school grounds when it opened. The school was constructed near the edge of Montgomery’s growing east side on Ann Street, just south of the statue’s previous location, and greatly alleviated the need for another all-white high school in the city (Lanier High had been the city’s only white high school until then). The selection of the school name and mascot by those in power at the time becomes less arbitrary when the year that the school opened is considered – 1955. In March of that year, a 15-year-old Montgomery resident named Claudette Colvin was arrested for refusing to give up her seat on a city bus to a white man, and on December 1st, only three months after the school opened, Rosa Parks repeated Colvin’s actions,

inciting the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Civil Rights Movement. Unless detailed school board minutes remain, the motivations of those christening the new school as Robert E. Lee High that year will remain unclear, but in the context of the racially-charged climate of Montgomery during that period, it is possible that the *Generals* name and mascot were selected by whites as symbols of resistance to change, the defense of their traditional values, and the preservation of the status quo. Many African Americans then and now would view the school name, mascot, and statue as symbolically-loaded icons that impose white power and privilege and serve as painful reminders of slavery and subjugation. The dual meaning of these symbols, which have their roots in attachment to place and preserving power in it, fuels this issue.

African Americans are not alone in their claim that school names and mascots reinforce white authority and relegate minority groups to good luck charms. Pekin, a small city located just south of Peoria in central Illinois, was named after China's "City of the Sun," Peking (Beijing). For the better part of the twentieth-century, Pekin's athletic teams were known as the *Chinks*, a derogatory ethnic slur for a person of Chinese descent (Figure 2.5). A 1961 graduate of Pekin High School confessed in his online blog that he is amazed by some of the things that were done while he was a student there, like electing student "Chink and Chinklette" representatives "who appeared at sporting events and welcomed the other team.....in their Chinese costumes and coolie hats!" Yet he defends these actions, saying that students interpreted the meaning of the word as "worker." His affection for Pekin remains strong, and he claims ownership of the *Chink* name by proclaiming that he and fellow classmates will celebrate and enjoy "our heritage" at a reunion (DeLand 2005). In spite of the derogatory meaning of the school nickname and

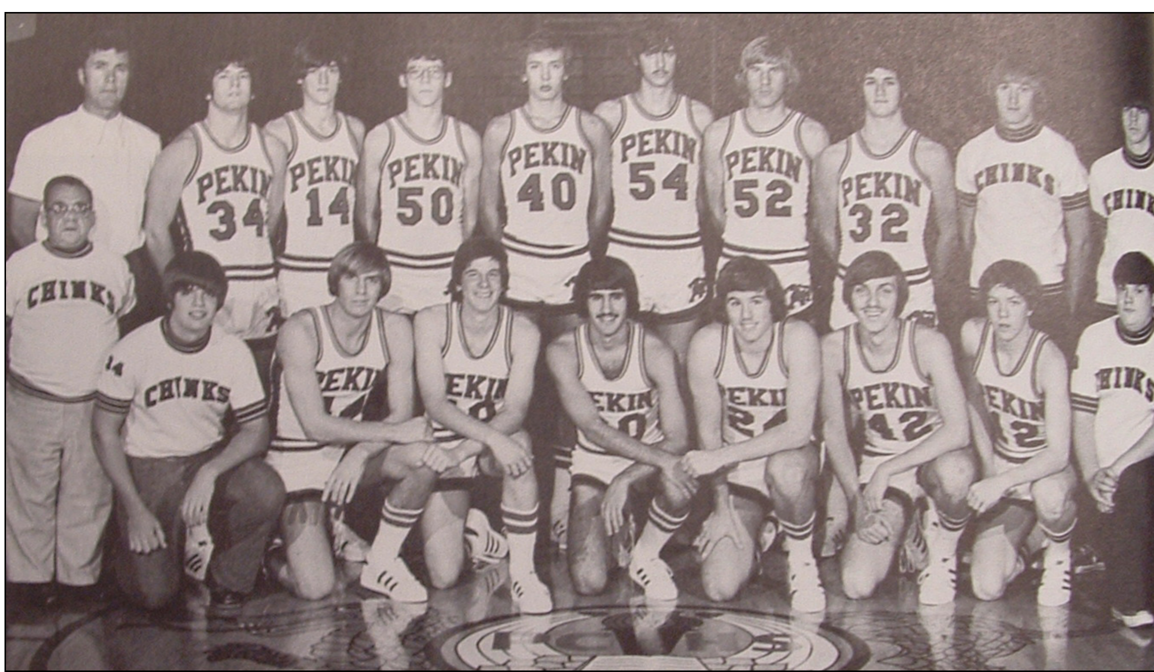


Figure 2.5. The 1974-75 Pekin, Illinois High School Boys Varsity Basketball team, the *Chinks*. A dragon, seen in this photo painted at the center of the basketball court and on players’ shorts, was the school mascot. Source: *The Pekinian: The Yearbook of Pekin, Illinois High School*, 1975.

the insensitive activities stemming from it, such as homecoming float imagery (Figure 2.6), some alumni remain faithfully supportive of its use because it evokes teenage memories and links them to the city of Pekin.

Controversy over the *Chinks* name arose in 1964 and again in 1967 due to publicity received by the varsity boys basketball team for winning the all-school state championship tournament. Chinese Americans protested the *Chink* name in letters sent to school administrators and to the editors of *The Pekinois*, the school newspaper (few, if any, lived in the Pekin area). A failure to address the name prompted a school visit by a delegation from the National Organization of Chinese Americans in the fall of 1974. During their visit leaders voiced their concerns about the derogatory nature of the name

and the emotional harm it provoked (Pekinian 1975). A synopsis of the visit in the school's 1975 yearbook, titled "Big Stink Over 'Chink,'" states that there was some discussion amongst students about the appropriateness of the name, but a school-wide vote taken a month later indicated that they were "overwhelmingly in favor" of keeping it (Pekinian 1975: 55). The school board made a similar decision the following spring, and the *Chink* nickname continued until the 1980-81 school year, when the school adopted their longtime mascot, the *Dragon*, as the nickname.

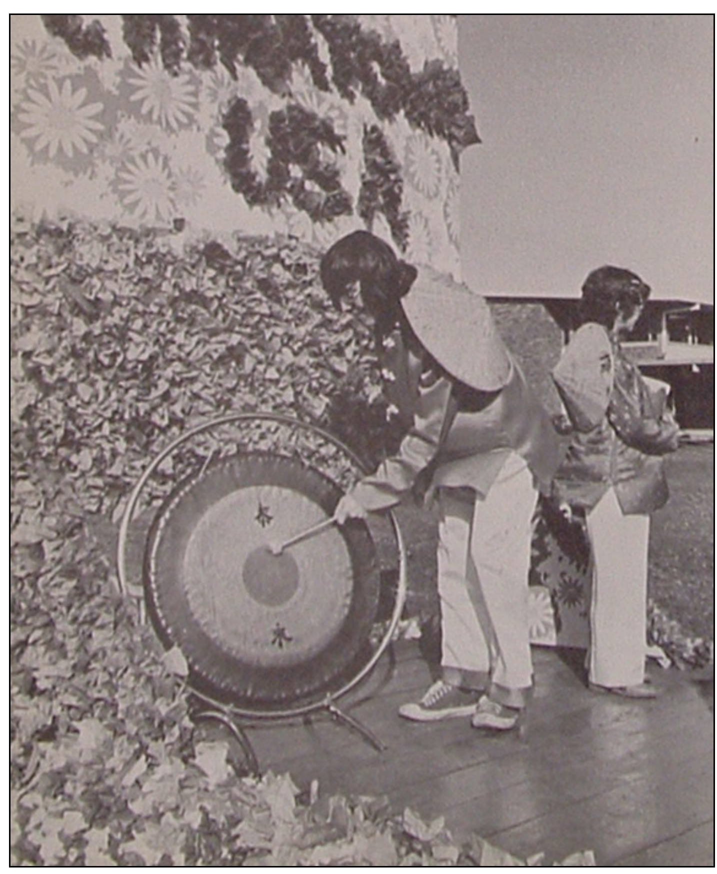


Figure 2.6. A parade float titled "Chinatown, U.S.A." in the 1974 Pekin, Illinois High School homecoming parade. Source: *The Pekinian: The Yearbook of Pekin, Illinois High School*, 1975.

The retirement of the Chinks name did not occur in a void; by this time many universities had changed their Native American nicknames and mascots, including Marquette University (King 2001) and Syracuse University (Fisher 2001). What is particularly interesting is the length of time between the initial confrontation in the 1960s and the final decision to replace the name. Not even an intervention by the National Organization of Chinese Americans could challenge the conscience of the community. In fact, it made them more resistant to change.

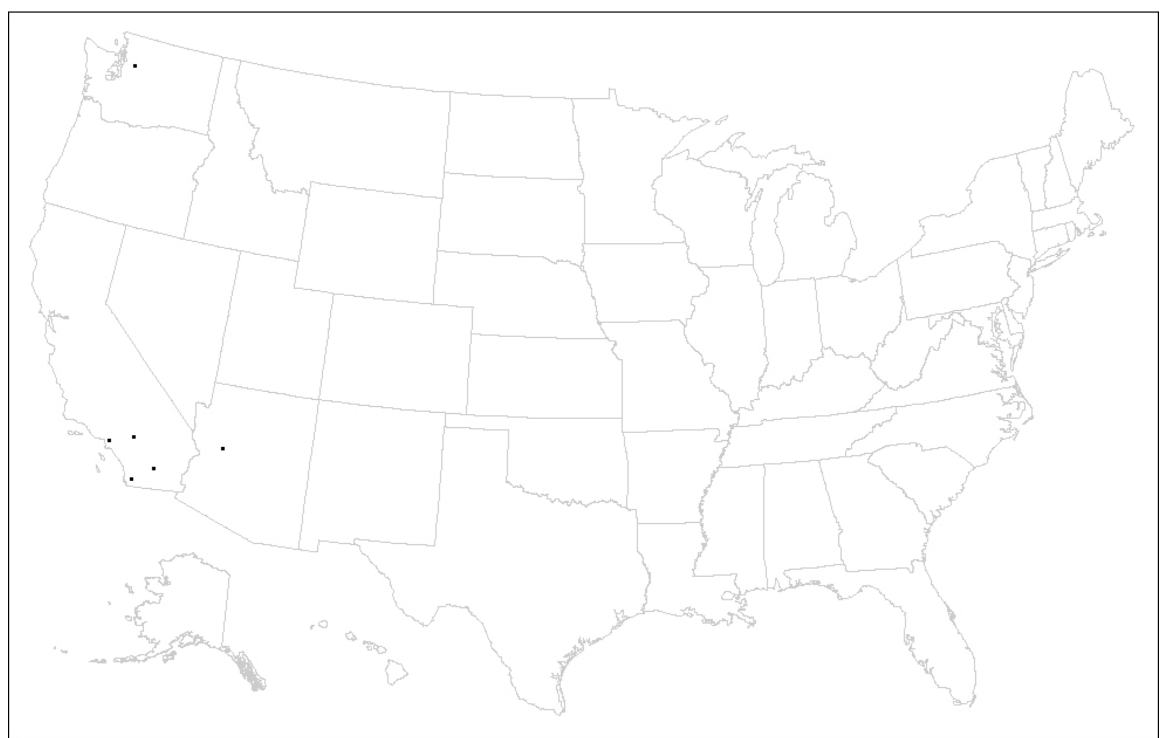
MASCOTS AS ICONS OF ORIENTALISM

The use of nicknames and logos linked to Arabs, just as the Robert E. Lee High School *Generals* nickname and the *Houston 1836* logo, reflect a conscious disregard for their meanings to minority groups. These nicknames have origins in America's early twentieth-century perceptions of North Africa and Southwest Asia. *A Thousand and One Nights* or *Arabian Nights*, a compilation of centuries-old parables popular among many ethnic groups of the region, played a significant part in developing stereotypical representations of Arabs in the American imagination. The book became popular reading when Edward William Lane translated it from the French language (which had earlier been translated from Syrian) in 1838 and was quickly diffused throughout the English-speaking world (Schacker-Mill 2000: 167). Its popularity was largely due to the exotic, as well as erotic, nature of its contents and the universal literary themes found in stories such as *Aladdin*.

The Arab world in the early twentieth-century Western imagination was a masculine one in which women are portrayed as veiled objects of sexual desire and men toil ruthlessly to expand their harem (Norton 1991). Hollywood "Easterns," as John

Eisele calls them, solidified preexisting American images of Arabs, Persians, and Turks on the silver screen. The typical plot line, writes Eisele, included "imprisonment or slavery, mutilation or the threat of amputation by scimitars [Arabian swords], and rescue" from evil-natured Arab men (2002: 68). These stereotypes, in essence, are the antithesis of American society. Edward Said's groundbreaking philosophical volume *Orientalism* confronts this Western invention of the Orient (the region in which Said is referring is the Middle East or Southwest Asia) as a way to "define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience" (Said 1978: 1). In its broadest sense, Said writes, Orientalism involves the appropriation of Eastern ideas and culture by the West, and the resulting relationship is one characterized by a perceived sense of superiority among Westerners that supported the idea of their power and control over the East. His theory is much more complex but can be summed by saying that Europeans invented the East to provide themselves with an inferior civilization to compare with theirs. As they viewed the East as the antithesis of the West, contrasting stereotypes of Easterners were invented to characterize their inferiority. Numerous examples, including wealthy sheiks, sex-starved sultans, greedy crooks, uncivilized slave masters, and hell-bent terrorists, abound in post-World War II novels (Orfalea 1988) and mid-twentieth century American television programs (Shaheen 1984). These depictions are also visible in high school mascots.

Seven high schools in the United States use Arab-related nicknames, and the role of the *Arabian Nights* and related tales is evident in nickname-related imagery. Six of the schools are located in dry southern California and Arizona, hinting that climate may have been a factor in their selection (Map 2.4). A local sportswriter, inspired by the popular



Map 2.4. Locations of high schools with the nicknames *Arabs*, *Sheiks*, *Sultans*, and *Turks* in the United States, 2005. Source: *Clell Wade Coaches Directory*.

1921 movie *The Sheik*, dubbed the teams of Hollywood, California High School the *Sheiks* in that year (Hollywood High School Alumni Online 2007). The movie's plot involved the abduction of an adventurous English woman named Diana by the adoring Sheik Ahmed. Diana thwarts Ahmed's sexual advances while under captivity at the sheik's desert oasis, but after being rescued from Bedouin bandits by Ahmed, she falls in love with him (The Sheik 1921).

The high school in Sultan, Washington uses a very masculine image of a fez-wearing, scimitar-wielding, muscular man as a logo for their *Turk* nickname (Figure 2.7). Images of *Sultan* imagery at Bagdad, Arizona's High School, Sultana High School in Hesperia, California and Santana High School in Santee, California use common

Figure 2.7. Logos of selected high schools using Arab-related nicknames in 2008. 1.) Sultan, Washington *Turks*, 2.) Bagdad, Arizona *Sultans*, 3.) Santee, California Santana *Sultans*, 4.) Hesperia, California Sultana *Sultans*, and 5.) Thermal, California Coachella Valley *Arabs*. Source: Sultan, Bagdad, Sultana, Coachella Valley, and Santana High School websites, 2007.

representations of Arab men, including a turban-wearing male who sits cross-legged on a flying carpet at Bagdad High, a turban-wearing male genie and its lamp at Sultana High, and a grimaced-faced, turban-wearing, mustachioed male at Santana High.

Perhaps Arab Americans would find the nickname-related imagery at Coachella Valley High in Thermal, California the most offensive of all. The name of the athletic teams here, the *Arabs*, is linked to the region's agricultural history. After years of tedious experimentation by the United Stated Department of Agriculture in the early twentieth-century, this corner of the Sonora Desert emerged as the nation's most productive date

producing area (Colley 1983). The original date palms planted in the valley had been imported from North Africa, and migrant workers from the region were brought in to tend to the palms. Their presence, coupled with the local landscape, likely inspired the *Arab* name. Iconography related to the mascot features themes seen at the previously discussed schools. An image of the male mascot, who has facial hair, one gold-capped tooth, gold earrings, and a kafiyya (head wear comprised of a piece of cloth held in place by two thick rings of wool) has an intimidating, almost barbaric appearance (Figures 2.7 and 2.8). A large exterior mural seen on the school's webpage appears to depict male and female genie mascots flying on a magic book rather than a carpet (Figure 2.8). A student

Figure 2.8. A mosaic of sights on the Coachella Valley, California High School campus as depicted on the school's website. The school's *Arab* mascot is depicted on multiple exterior murals, some of which can be seen here. Source: *Coachella Valley High School Online*, October 12, 2007.

dresses as the school's living mascot, which has a large fiberglass head that appears similar to its two-dimensional version and wears a turban, vest and loose-fitting bottoms held up by a red sash (Gonzalez 2002). The school's newspaper is titled *The Scimitar*, and the marching band wears kafiyyas during events (UCLA Center for Near Eastern Studies 2007).

In sum, the common themes involving Arab-related iconography in these schools can be characterized as being masculine, menacing, and belligerent (if not outright savage) in nature. Exposing children and adolescents to these stereotyped caricatures, particularly when few members of that ethnic group are present to provide a contrasting example (only .45% of Riverside County residents claimed Arab-related ancestries in 2000), can greatly misshape popular perceptions of the group. To this date the *Arab* nickname remains uncontested, as does the *Arab* nickname at nearby Imperial Valley Community College, where the use of the nickname has been questioned but remains unchanged (Imperial Valley Community College Council 2002).

SUMMARY: NICKNAMES MATTER

This chapter argues that nicknames, mascots, and associated iconography often denote visual representations of attachment to place and a shared ideology held by members of a community. Because schools transcend any religious, class, and ethnic differences within the community, they become the primary unifier for residents and result in the development of personal and collective identities that are based around school activities. J.B. Jackson writes that places like this, "places we could say were extensions of the dwelling or the neighborhood: the school…the playing field" have a vital role in developing and maintaining a sense of place (1994: 158).

Place has a tremendous influence on how we define ourselves because we link emotions and memories to it. Past events and histories also play an important role in defining who we are, and these histories are inextricably linked to place. Symbols of past events, like the *Houston 1836* logo, Confederate battle flag, and *Rebel* mascot have multiple meanings, but in most cases the meaning of the dominant group (whites) trumps the meaning for groups with less power. The nicknames, mascots, and other iconographic gestures related to Pekin's *Chinks* nickname and the Arab-related nicknames of Sultan, Bagdad, Santana, Sultana, and Coachella Valley High Schools are representative of how whites viewed American minority groups when the names were selected. When these nicknames are challenged, whites become defensive of their use and assert that the names and depictions are intended to commemorate the group. In their eyes the meaning of the icon is indisputable, but what the argument boils down to is the preservation of hegemony or power.

If it is accepted that Pekin's *Chinks* nickname was inappropriate and that schools named for Confederate-era leaders and their nicknames are symbols of slavery, segregation, and Jim Crow laws, is it reasonable to argue that Arab-related mascots negatively condense diverse nations into one class of carpet-riding warmongers? Just as the Arab in the American imagination is constructed from the stories of *Arabian Nights*, the use of Native American nicknames is inextricably tied to Manifest Destiny, the narrative adopted by Americans to develop a national identity. This ideology, which involves western expansion and frontier conquest through the defeat of America's Indigenous peoples, permeates the use of Native American nicknames and mascots.

CHAPTER THREE

THE INDIAN'S PLACE IN EUROPEAN AMERICAN IDENTITY

[W]e are accidental survivors, unwanted reminders of disagreeable events. Indians have to be explained and accounted for, and to fit somehow into the creation myth of the most powerful, benevolent nation ever, the last, best hope of man on earth.

Paul Chaat Smith (1995)

Since the earliest days of permanent settlement, European colonists and their American descendents searched for a source of collective identity free of European influences. The conquest of the Western wilderness and its peoples was eventually adopted as the uniting and defining characteristic (Murdoch 2001: 2). The continent's Indigenous peoples played a special role in the development of American identity. First viewed as hosts, they were seen as hostile, a perceived threat to American existence. This chapter examines the evolution of American Indians in the European American mind and how they were incorporated into the nation's creation myth as an "Other" against which progress could be measured. The Indigenous "Other" did not fare well during the colonization of its lands, and Philip Deloria observes that as conquerors, "Americans wanted to feel a natural affinity with the continent, and it was Indians who could teach them such aboriginal closeness. Yet, in order to control the landscape they had to destroy the original inhabitants (1998: 5). As this chapter shows, Indian fighting quickly became a source of pride for white colonists and a young American nation. Defeated Indians were resurrected in art, literature, Wild West shows, film, and television to reinforce ideologies founded on racial superiority and the rightful inheritance of the continent, and the use of

Indigenous-based team names and mascots is an equally effective method of indoctrinating these ideologies into new generations of Americans.

Frontier violence as an origin of American identity

Recognizing their unique situation as a young, independent country an ocean removed from the rest of the Western world, Americans wished to distinguish their nation from Europe. Early attempts to do so were modeled ironically on European history. The ancient mounds discovered in the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys were quickly adopted as material surrogates for Rome's Coliseum and Athens' Acropolis (Milner 2004; Silverberg 1986), and Native Americans became a living allegory for both the Teutonic tribes that developed into European nations and the young, undeveloped American nation. There were, however, other sources of inspiration.

Jill Lepore (1998) theorizes that one of the earliest tenets of American identity involved the practice of Indian fighting among New England colonists. This occurred, she argues, because of the lack of assistance by the King's army and the fortitude of disparate local militias who were galvanized in their battles against a common enemy during the Pequot War (1637-38) and King Philip's War (1675-76). This collective effort helped develop of a sense of pride among colonists distinct from their English heritage, and these feelings grew stronger as European Americans continued to battle Native Americans on the edges of white settlement.

However, rather than including the role Indian fighting had in developing an American identity, many writers of American history tend to emphasize other "exceptionalist" notions (Madsen 1998; Ross 1991). One source of identity involves divine providence or "supernaturalist explanations," the belief that the Christian deity

chose America to be the beacon of liberty to the world. John Winthrop, the first Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, set an exceptionalist tone in his famous 1630 lecture titled *A Model of Christian Charity* in which he proclaimed the Puritan settlement a "city upon a hill," ordained by God to serve as an example of a model Christian society. "The eyes of all people are upon us," he warned, "So that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken, and so cause him to withdraw his present help from us, we shall be made a story and a by-word through the world" (1838: 47). This paradigm remains steadfast in the twenty-first century, as some policies of President George W. Bush incorporate religious undertones that are often based on America's perceived status as the world's moral compass (*The Economist* 2004).

MANIFEST DESTINY

No ideology had a greater impact on the western territorial expansion of the United States than Manifest Destiny (Smith 1950). Although the phrase was coined in an essay titled *Annexation* by journalist John O'Sullivan in 1945, the thoughts of acquiring the North American continent had been on the minds of American leaders for decades. John Quincy Adams, who would become President in 1824, stated his belief in a letter to his father John Adams in 1811, writing that God had provided the continent to Americans, "[t]he whole continent of North America appears to be destined by Divine Providence to be peopled by one nation, speaking one language, professing one general system of religious and political principles, and accustomed to one general tenor of social usages and customs" (McDougall 1997: 74). An accomplished statesman, Adams would later play a key role in United States foreign policy as the Secretary of State under James Monroe, for whom he wrote the Monroe Doctrine. This 1823 document, which informed

European powers that the Western Hemisphere was no longer available for conquest and that they were not to interfere with independence movements, intended to establish the United States as a formidable opponent to colonial expansion, portray America as the protector of the hemisphere, and provide elbow room for its own territorial expansion (Murphy 2005; Weinberg 1935).

America's Indigenous people were affected most severely by the white American's desire for land; in fact, the seeds of western expansion had been sown with the founding of the first white settlement of Jamestown in 1607. The desire for land was fueled by an inherent sense of Anglo-Saxon or European American racial superiority over Native Americans. In 1752 Irish philosopher George Berkeley included in his poem *Verses on the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America* a final stanza that depicted the sense of racial superiority among whites during the expansion era:

Westward the Course of Empire takes its Way;
The four first Acts already past,
A fifth shall close the Drama with the Day;
Time's noblest Offspring is the last.

Darwin's 1859 theory of natural selection and its metaphor, "survival of the fittest," coined by Herbert Spencer in 1864, provided "scientific" credence to the ideology of Manifest Destiny (Horsman 1981; Stephanson 1995). The country's quickly expanding European American domain during this period inspired a painting by Emanuel Gottlieb Leutze whose title, *Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way*, was borrowed from Berkeley's famous poem (Figure 3.1). Already famous for his iconic *Washington Crossing the Delaware* (1850), Leutze was commissioned by the United States Congress in 1861 to provide the public with a similarly moving piece in the

Figure 3.1. Emanuel Gottlieb Leutze's *Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way*, 1861. In this painting, which is filled with icons of American expansion, European American pioneers optimistically push west into a land of promise. Source: Smithsonian American Art Museum Online.

nation's Capitol Building. The image he left there, like his patriotic painting of Washington and his troops fording the Delaware River in a winter storm, is strikingly nationalistic and captures on canvas the ideologies of American exceptionalism and Manifest Destiny. In it a wave of European American migrants arrives from a dark valley to the crest of a mountain range, stopping for a moment to gaze at the sunlit frontier lying before them. A man waves his hat atop a precipice, while another in the foreground encourages his wife to take in the view. She, Leutze describes, "has folded her hands thanking for escape from dangers past," while the couple's son, standing before them

with his father's rifle in hand, "looks thoughtfully into the future" (Schuyler 1996). A cross appearing to be chiseled into the face of rock formation is another reminder of God's involvement in providing the continent for them. A path is being cleared before them into the valley, and two popular icons of European American frontier expansion, Conestoga wagons and rifles, will follow. Noticeably absent are Native Americans.

Below this image is a panoramic view of the West's coastal icon, the Golden Gate, and the image is bordered by portraits of two heroes of expansion, William Clark (of the Lewis and Clark Expedition) and Daniel Boone (Groseclose 1975: 61). Completed on the eve of the Civil War, a contemporary declared that the work "manifest[s] that we have an indefeasible claim to a more enduring national existence" (Groseclose 1975: 62). This was indeed Leutze's proposition, who explained that his intentions were

> "to represent as near and truthfully as the artist was able the grand peaceful conquest of the great west…without a wish to date or localize, or to represent a particular event, it is intended to give in a condensed form a picture of western emigration, the conquest of the Pacific slope, while if ever the general plan be carried out the side walls will have the earlier history of Western Emigration, in illustrations [sic] from Boone's adventures the discovery of the valleys of the Ohio, Mississippi" (Schuyler 1996).

The word "take" in painting's title includes a word alluding to the covetous mindset of the era, and the allegorical image of white settlers surviving a journey through untamed wilderness devoid of human life to reach a new promised land romanticizes the process of frontier expansion.

A similar piece glorifying European American conquest of the West is titled *American Progress* (Figure 3.2). Completed in 1872 by John Gast, the painting similarly provides a visual narrative for Manifest Destiny. Unlike *Westward the Course of Empire*

Takes Its Way, *American Progress* includes Native Americans. They are, however, seen fleeing from "civilization" into the darkness. Floating at the center of the painting is Columbia, the angelic female personification of the nation created by eighteenth century poet Phyllis Wheatley (Steele 1981). On her forehead is the Star of Empire. She carries a schoolbook and a telegraph line, symbols of Western education and technological innovation, and leads successive waves of settlers from the sunlit East Coast (the Brooklyn Bridge, which had not yet been completed, can be seen near the horizon) across the continent to the Pacific Ocean. George A. Croffut, author of a series of popular travel

Figure 3.2. John Gast's *American Progress*, 1872. In this painting, Columbia, the female personification of America created by eighteenth century poet Phillis Wheatley, leads successive waves of "civilization" from East to West across the United States. Source: Museum of the American West, Audrey National Center Online.

guides on the American West, was so impressed by Gast's portrayal of Western expansion that he incorporated the image into his guides. Crofutt described his interpretation of the painting in the following manner:

> "The general tone of the picture on the left declares darkness, waste and confusion. From the city proceed the three great continental lines of railway...Next to these are the transportation wagons, overland stage, hunters, gold seekers, pony express, pioneer emigrant and the warrior dance of the 'noble red man.' Fleeing from 'Progress'...are Indians, buffaloes, wild horses, bears, and other game, moving Westward, ever Westward, the Indians with their squaws, papooses, and 'pony lodges,' turn their despairing faces towards, as they flee the wondrous vision. The 'Star' is too much for them" (City University of New York American Social History Project 2007).

Croffut's comments equating American Indians to other wild creatures and their homelands as dark, confusing wastelands reflects a common sentiment among Americans at the time. By portraying Native American reaction towards the advancement of the frontier as docile and unobtrusive, Gast, like Leutze, suggests that obtaining western lands was effortless and without incident. Unfortunately, the "conquest of the great west," to use Leutze's words, was not "grand" or "peaceful" by any standards – it was bloody, deceitful, and tragic. Ultimately, however, Americans would remember the process of frontier expansion like Leutze, and the winning of the West would become one of the most prominent sources of pride and identity for European Americans.

THE FRONTIER AND AMERICAN IDENTITY

The idea that the process of frontier expansion defined America's emerging status in the world had been a recognized but unappreciated component of Manifest Destiny throughout the nineteenth century (Conn 2004: 222). Its importance in American history

was proposed by a budding historian named Frederick Jackson Turner during a meeting of the American Historical Association held at Chicago's 1893 World Columbian Exposition. In his essay titled *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*, Turner proposed the nation's distinctiveness from European civilization had its origins in "[t]he existence of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward" (Turner 1893: 1). Citing the Census Bureau's observation that the frontier had officially closed in 1890, Turner reasoned that settlers were required to adapt to new environments in order to survive, and that over time, the frontier evolved from a wilderness uninhabited by whites to a region filled with arable farmland, towns and cities, commerce and industry. Influenced by the ideas of Charles Darwin, Turner eloquently described the process in the following manner:

> The United States lies like a huge page in the history of society. Line by line as we read this continental page from West to East we find the record of social evolution. It begins with the Indian and the hunter; it goes on to tell of the disintegration of savagery by the entrance of the trader, the pathfinder of civilization; we read the annals of the pastoral stage in ranch life; the exploitation of the soil by the raising of unrotated crops of corn and wheat in sparsely settled farming communities; the intensive culture of the denser farm settlement; and finally the manufacturing organization with city and factory system (1893: 11).

The idea that frontier settlement defined America did not catch on quickly among Turner's peers, as he proposed a major paradigm shift from the Teutonic "germ" theory of political institutions that was prevalent within the discipline. Nonetheless, Turner continued restating his ideas in popular magazines like the *Atlantic Monthly* (1897), and within a decade both academics and the public acknowledged his thesis (Billington 1963: ix-x). Its popularity was as much a reaction to the rapidly expanding industrial sector of

the economy and the loss of the "safety valve" of free land as to Americans reflecting upon how the country had grown to become a world competitor with European powers.

Despite its eventual fame, this proposal was not without its critics, and Turner himself recognized the multifaceted character of American history. In private correspondence he confessed, "[i]n truth, there is no single key to American history. In history, as in science, we are learning that a complex result is the outcome of the interplay of many forces" (Billington 1963: xii). But any criticism it received was quickly outweighed by a new wave of historians using the "frontier thesis" to write the story of the country. America now had its own creation myth, and within a decade it became a standard component of primary and secondary school curricula (Adams and Trent 1903; Channing 1912; Hauptman 1977, 1978; Thomas 1903; Thompson 1904). Generations of Americans seeking a source of identity have identified with the frontier thesis, and despite the work of "New Western Historians," who have been challenging it since the 1980s, it remains a principle component of both popular and institutionalized American history. This ideology is ingrained in the national consciousness today and can be seen in places like Cumberland Gap National Historical Park, located at the nexus of the Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia borders. This mountain pass, originally used by Indigenous groups, was used by Daniel Boone to lead settlers into the Kentucky wilderness in 1775 and was later used by thousands more as they entered the nation's interior. Since then, the gap has obtained the status as a mythological gateway into the west and a symbolic place commemorating westward expansion (Bodnar 1992: 185-186). A large copper mural on the exterior walls of the restroom building at the park's overlook depicts the evolution of the frontier from left to right, like a page of a student's history

Figure 3.3. Photograph of a section of a mural visualizing Frederick Jackson Turner's "frontier thesis" at Cumberland Gap National Historical Park in Tennessee. Photo by the author, 2007.

book (Figure 3.3). On the left are Native Americans hunting bison, and following them to the right are explorers, armed trappers, miners, and finally, settlers (including women and children). On a panel aside the mural is an explanatory quote from Frederick Jackson Turner's famous essay; "[s]tand at the Cumberland Gap and watch the procession of civilization marching single file – the buffalo following the trail to the salt springs, the Indian, the fur-trader and hunter, the cattle-raiser, the pioneer farmer – and the frontier has passed by."

Turner has been criticized for his Eurocentric and male-dominated bias (Limerick 1988). The frontier thesis treats Native Americans as obstacles to progress and completely disregards their prior rights to the land and the trials and tribulations experienced by them during process of frontier expansion. Unfortunately, most Americans remain infatuated with the myth that hardships experienced on the frontier (environmental and conflict with Native Americans) define the American experience.

THE VIOLENT FRONTIER

An over-romanticized component in the history of frontier conquest involves the degree of violence that occurred between European Americans and Native Americans. This critical part of western expansion has been glorified in popular culture but remains understated in school curricula. Critics say this is because to emphasize the violence acknowledges the dishonorable methods often used by whites to obtain lands occupied by Indigenous people (Churchill 2002; Stannard 1993). For example, anthropologist Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh (2005) documents how European Americans justified the killing of Native Americans, including innocent women and children, during the Apache Wars by transmogrifying or staging them as perpetrators of frontier violence rather than being its victims. Frontier violence has played a larger role in the development of American identity than most recognize, as violence and bloodshed was an inherent component in the contact zone between whites and American Indians. The myth of the frontier, or the perception that the continent was an empty land filled with unlimited opportunity, was prevalent in earliest settlers' minds. "The first colonists," writes Richard Slotkin, "saw in America an opportunity to regenerate their fortunes, their spirits, and the power of their church and nation; but the means to that regeneration ultimately became the means of

violence, and the myth of regeneration through violence became the structuring metaphor of the American experience" (1973: 5).

When Native Americans challenged white expansion, colonists realized they would have to approach warfare in an untraditional manner. Military historian John Grenier describes the method of warfare used against Indians by New England colonists as *petite guerre*, a type of warfare known for its "shockingly violent campaigns to achieve…goals of conquest" (2005: 10). Akin to what is described today as guerrilla warfare, *petite guerre* "accepted, legitimized, and encouraged attacks upon and the destruction of noncombatants, villages, and agricultural resources" (Grenier 2005: 10). The tenets of what Grenier describes as the European American "first way of war" are extirpative actions involving the destruction of crops and homes by ranging expeditions and state-sponsored scalp hunting (2005: 43-52). This type of behavior first occurred during the Pequot War. One morning, English troops and their Narragansett and Mohegan allies awoke a large Pequot village by shooting into it and setting ablaze wigwams and longhouses with occupants inside. Around 400 innocent people, mostly children and elderly men and women, were killed that day (Karr 1998). Similar behavior occurred during King Philip's War, a conflict between colonists (and their Indian allies) and Wampanoags, Nipmucks, Narragansetts, Pequots, and Podunks. The war was particularly brutal in that both sides engaged in *petite guerre*. A number of white and Native American villages were burned, and thousands of innocent people were killed. Major William Bradford lucidly described the result of one successful attack against a Pequot village:

> "It was a fearful sight to see them [Pequots] thus frying in the fire and the streams of blood quenching the same, and horrible was the stink and scent thereof; but the victory seemed a sweet sacrifice, and they [colonists] gave praise thereof to God, who had wrought so wonderfully for them, thus to enclose their enemies in their hands and give them so speedy a victory over so proud and insulting an enemy" (Drake 1997: 33).

Colonists knew, however, that these highly effective yet uncivil "scorched earth" techniques contrasted with the British *grande guerre* philosophy of planned campaigns, organized regiments, and obedient, order-taking infantry. Jill Lepore writes that the colonists concealed their barbarous style of warfare during the King Philip's War by writing about it in an honorable manner. The colonists, she explains, won the war by any means necessary and afterwards historicized it, glossing over some bloody details, to win a "second victory of words." By doing so, they "could distance themselves from that cruelty in the words they used to write about it" (1998: 11). The brutal actions of New Englanders were sanctified by religious leaders such as Increase Mather, whose 1676 history of King Philip's War established from its first sentence that the conflict was about defending the land God had chosen for them:

> "That the Heathen People amongst whom we live, and whose Land the Lord of God of our Fathers hath given to us for a rightfull Possession, have at sundry times been plotting mischievous devices against that part of the English Israel which is seated in these goings down of the Sun, no man that is an Inhabitant of any considerable standing, can be ignorant" (9).

Colonists believed the only way they would succeed was to "meet the Indian on the terms imposed by the Indians' world" (Sheehan 1973: 91). Their success justified the belief that they were doing God's work in clearing the wilderness of its savage inhabitants and contributed to the legendary status the war attained in the following years (Cave 1996:

168-178). Strategies involving *petite guerre* were later employed by American militias along the Revolutionary War's western front. When Colonel Daniel Broadhead and his troops, which included rowdy militiamen, captured the Delaware tribe's capital city of Coshocton (located in contemporary Ohio) in 1871, he promptly had the crops destroyed (Thwaites 1920: 303). *Petite guerre* was also practiced during the final battle between European Americans and Native Americans in the Old Northwest, occurring fifty-one years later in 1832, when approximately one hundred non-combatant Sauk met their deaths at the Battle of Bad Axe (Thwaites 1968). While these types of attacks were reciprocal in the eastern European American and Native American contact zone, Indian raids became less frequent as the frontier migrated west and their military strength weakened. Federal troops and local militias, however, did not abandon these tactics, as the events culminating at Sand Creek in 1864 and Wounded Knee in 1890 attest (Brown 1971; Calloway 1996; Hoig 1977; Utley 1984).

Despite its status as the primary tool of frontier conquest, violence was legitimized in the European American sphere by being portrayed as self-defense or a means of last resort. This may have been true at times, although it was often provoked by non-violent actions such as intruding on Native lands or disregarding treaty law. Until the mid-twentieth century, however, writers of European American history overemphasized the tactics of Native American warfare, namely scalping and limited incidents of captive-taking, and largely disregarded the equally ruthless white practices of scalping and the forced boarding school experiences of thousands of Indian children (Adams 1995). As an underemphasized component of Manifest Destiny, the "honorable" use of violence on the frontier greatly contributed to the American character and showed its face after European

American/Indian hostilities concluded, Native Americans were forced onto reservations, and the "frontier period" in American history closed.

THE MYTH OF THE VANISHING INDIAN

A common mindset related to the Manifest Destiny ideology was the perception that Indians were "vanishing." This myth involved the belief that America's Indigenous people were destined to disappear from the face of the Earth due to their inferior evolutionary status. Believers of this Eurocentric idea felt that Native American societies were too primitive, uncivilized, and ill-equipped to advance culturally and technologically in order to meet the "advanced" European standards of life or living being imposed upon the continent (Dippie 1982). Disease and warfare indeed had a devastating effect on Indigenous populations in the Western Hemisphere, but their perseverance eventually led to the implementation of "civilization" strategies employed on reservations and in boarding schools in the second half of the nineteenth century (Adams 1995; Dippie 1982; Sheehan 1973). These schools were severely restrictive on Native American children, many of whom had been forcefully removed from their homes. They were disciplined if caught speaking any language other than English and, among other things, were forced learn Western subjects and trades (Adams 1995; Jacobs 2004). Indian resistance and severe underfunding, however, doomed these programs, and although there was some "success," the public considered it to be insignificant. In the eyes of whites, the Indian race was living on borrowed time. The words of Bill Nye, the author of a satirical history of the United States, echo this sentiment: "the red brother is on his way to join the cave-bear, the three-toed horse, and the ichthyosaurus in the great fossil realm of the historic past. Move on, maroon brother, move on!" (1894: 319).

Accompanying the text is a cartoon of a blanket-wrapped Indian who stands on the edge of the continent with a bottle of alcohol in hand and a billy-club in his back. He is being forced off his homeland by an authoritative-looking policeman representing “civilization” (Figure 3.4).

Figure 3.4. “Move on, maroon brother, move on!” A sketch by Frederick Opper in *Bill Nye’s History of the United States*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1894, p. 317.

Examples of the "vanishing Indian" mindset saturate books and newspaper articles going back to the earliest days of European settlement. Rhode Island governor Henry Lippett boasted about the imminent demise of the Indian during a bicentennial celebration of King Philip's War in 1876: "Within a few years," he said, "the red man will be practically wiped out. We cannot help it. There is no use wailing about it, because it is one of the things that are inevitable" (Lepore 1998: 234). This idea became so commonly accepted that some Native Americans became convinced of it. Geronimo acknowledged his acceptance of the myth twelve years after his surrender in 1898, leading the *Portland Morning Oregonian* to report that,

> "Old Geronimo, the once famous chief of the Apaches, has unlearned the lesson of tradition and come face to face with truth as regards to the destiny of his race. When he says, 'It will be only a few years until the Indians are heard of no more, except in the books the white man has written,' he states a fact which, however pathetic, admits of no dispute. Strictly in accordance with the inexorable doctrine of the survival of the fittest, and supported by the stern logic of events, the estimate contains that all there is in the Indian problem at present, beyond the humanity which requires that the remnant of a vanishing race be dealt with humanely in passing" (4).

The myth remained active in the early twentieth century. In a 1906 essay titled "The Red Man's Last Roll-Call," Charles M. Harvey discredits Helen Hunt Jackson's critical *A Century of Dishonor* (1881) as "extravagant and misleading" (327), glorifies western expansion, admires Native Americans for being superior warriors and putting up a good fight (324), and closes by saying, "[t]he epic of the American Indian has closed" (Harvey 1906: 330).

THE NOBLE AND IGNOBLE SAVAGE IN POPULAR CULTURE

Native Americans never vanished, but when the threat of any retaliation to westward settlement subsided, the press rarely reported on their status. At the turn of the twentieth century, most Native Americans lived in substandard conditions on remote reservations in the Great Plains states, New Mexico, and Arizona. Their isolation from the majority of European Americans certainly contributed to the perception that Indians had in fact disappeared. Although limited numbers of Native Americans were living in the East, they were far outnumbered by whites. It had been nearly a century since folks east of the Mississippi had been threatened by hostile Indians, and in a way, they were missed. As Native Americans became increasingly popular subjects in nineteenth century literature, two Native American stereotypes that had been engrained in the European American mind emerged in print: "noble savages" and "ignoble savages."

Since the earliest days of colonization, Europeans perceived Native Americans to be either primitive but honorable people living in a virtual paradise or immoral heathens inhabiting a dark and mysterious wilderness (Barnett 1975; Ellingson 2001; Sheehan 1969 and 1973; Slotkin 1973). The latter example, known as ignoble savages, were cast as barbaric, bloodthirsty heathens who impeded western expansion by attacking soldiers and killing innocent settlers, particularly women and children, before scalping them (Barnett 1975; Kornfeld 1995; Meek 1976). Conversely, noble savages were thought of as peaceful, in tune with nature, pure in spirit and in health, independent, unrestrained, morally just, generous, and uncorrupted by civilization. The noble savage was immortalized in *The Song of Hiawatha*, a poem by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

Longfellow composed *The Song of Hiawatha* in his Boston home in 1854 and 1855, a generation after the Indian Removal Act displaced the tribes of the American Southeast and frontier hostilities ceased in the Old Northwest. The narrative poem is partly based on an Ojibwa (Chippewa) legend described in the ethnographic notes of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft and his mixed-blood Ojibwa wife Jane Johnston Schoolcraft, and its meter, or rhythmic flow, is based on a Finnish poem titled *The Kalevala* (Trachtenberg 2004). The Great Lakes region serves as the story's setting, and the plot is centered on the life of Hiawatha, a man whose courage and wisdom enables him to become a strong warrior and a noble leader of his tribe. When European missionaries arrive at the poem's conclusion, Hiawatha welcomes them and, despite his personal fears regarding their intentions, instructs his people to listen to their message. He then floats away in a canoe on a journey into the interior to become the Northwest wind.

Despite a few unfavorable reviews from literary critics, *The Song of Hiawatha* became extremely popular during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Today it remains widely-accepted as a noteworthy example of American poetry and, in the opinion of one scholar, "perhaps the quintessential record of middle-class norms, ideals, and anxieties in our antebellum literature" (Haralson 1996: 329). So popular was the poem that numerous places in the United States, including towns, schools, mountains, mines, lakes, streets, rail lines, and National Forests have been named for its characters. Many communities staged *Hiawatha* pageants for tourists in the early twentieth century (McNally 2006), and the salience of the *Hiawatha* legend is visible today in the community of Pipestone, Minnesota, where volunteers have staged such an event since 1949. Due to declining ticket sales, however, event organizers have decided that the nine

performances scheduled for the summer of 2008 will be the last (Pipestone, Minnesota Hiawatha Club 2007).

The poem has received significant attention by academics who have placed it in a broader social and historical context (Kretzoi 1984; Lockard 2000; Slotkin 1973; Thompson 1922; Trachtenberg 2004). Many inaccuracies have been uncovered in Longfellow's source, Schoolcraft's *Algic Researches* and *History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, published in 1839 (Thompson 1922). Others have argued that the key to the poem's success was Longfellow's portrayal of Hiawatha as a noble savage, a depiction that further popularized the image in America and abroad (Lockard 2000; Slotkin 1972; Trachtenberg 2004). By having a noble and wise Hiawatha faithfully will his leadership role to the white man, Longfellow sought to peacefully incorporate Europeans into the human story of the continent, or "make the white nation seem an outgrowth of red roots" (Trachtenberg 2004: 60) in order to formulate a national narrative recognized by each of America's immigrant groups, and to advance the development of a national identity (Kretzoi 1984). Reflecting on Longfellow's status as an upper class East Coast urban dweller, Joe Lockard describes the poem as "the mixed-blood Chippewa-Finnish progeny of an intellectual marriage between reports from a conquered tribal nation to the west and national revisionism to the east" (2000: 111). This comment may be wry, but the argument that Lockard and others propose, that the vanishing Native American myth was used to assert a European American birthright to the continent, is reflective of nineteenth century society.

DIME NOVELS

Dime novels, first published in 1860, played a significant role in shaping the American perception of the frontier and its Indian inhabitants (Bold 1986 and 1987; Cawelti 1971; Johannsen 1950; Slotkin 1985 and 1992). These mass-produced short stories were an instant hit among young Americans but were read by adults as well, including Abraham Lincoln (Harvey 1907: 39). The first dime novel, titled *Malaeska, the Indian Wife of the White Hunter*, took place on the eighteenth century Alleghany frontier. The story revolves around Malaeska, an Indian woman whose white husband is killed by her father. Fearing for the life of her mixed-blood son, she travels to New York City and leaves the son with her father-in-law. Years later, when the son is about to be married, she returns to the city and reveals his heritage. Distraught over the news, the son then commits suicide (Stephens 1860). The violence in this story is a common link between it and other frontier-themed dime novels involving whites and Native Americans. The central figure in these stories tended to be a virtuous white hunter/Indian fighter who defends European American frontier expansion, and these defenders of "good," like Crack Skull Bob (Figure 3.5), were cast against Native Americans who were usually depicted as savage and barbarous foes. Dime novels elevated the mythological status of frontier explorers, soldiers, scouts, mountain men, cowboys, and settlers. People like William Cody, whose exploits were published in exaggerated and fabricated dime novel tales and articles in *Street and Smith's New York Weekly Dispatch*, became legends of the West. The frontier remained a popular setting for dime novels into the 1900s, when the setting shifted to urban-placed stories (Durham 1954; Jones 1978; Washington Post 1905b).

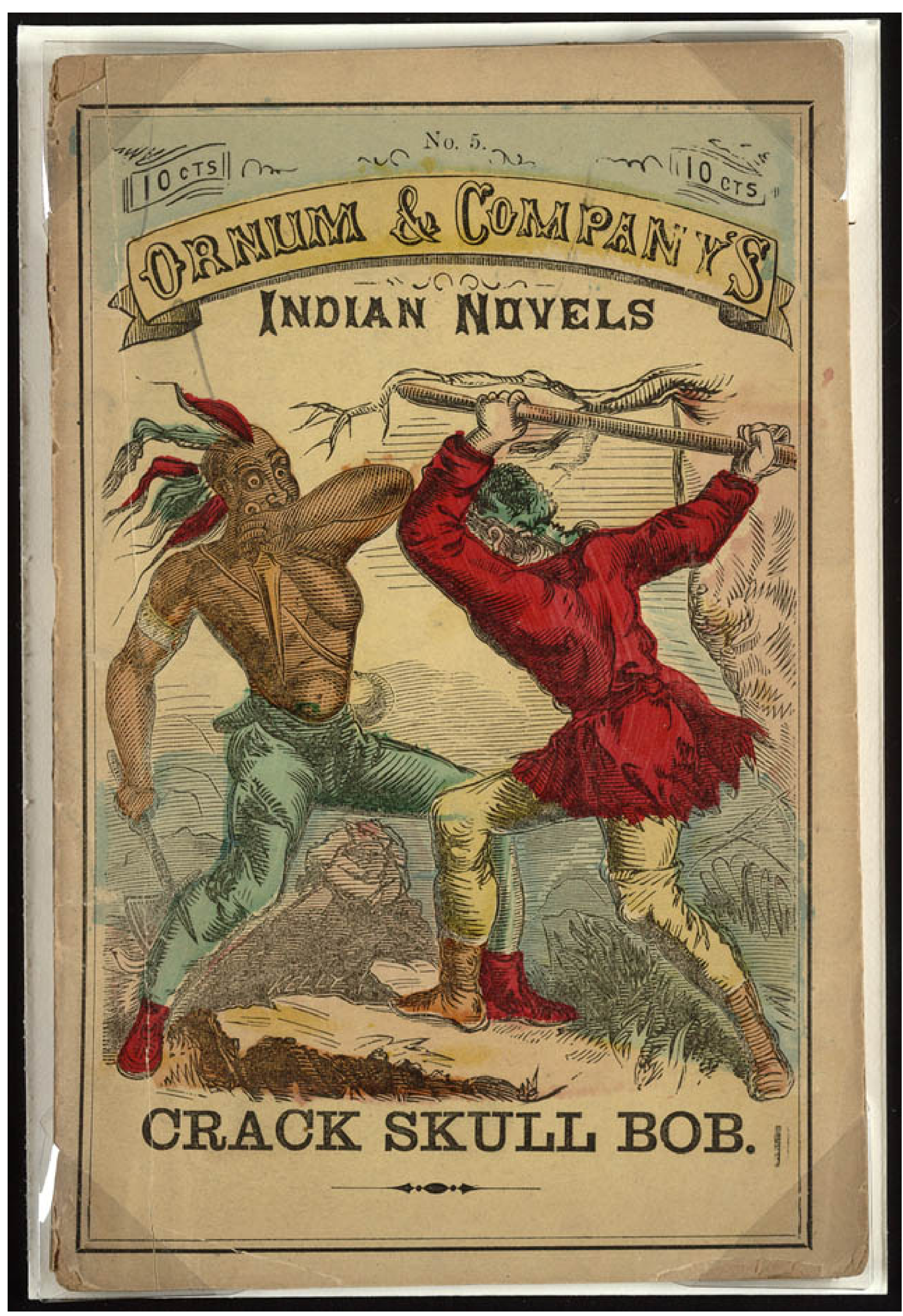


Figure 3.5. The cover of *Crack Skull Bob, Number 5* (New York: Ornum & Co., 1872), one of thousands of dime novels published during the nineteenth century. Many dime novels, like this one, romanticized and mythologized frontier violence. Source: United States Library of Congress Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

Touring Western shows

Also contributing to the demise of the frontier-based storybooks were the touring Western shows which traveled throughout the country from the later decades of the nineteenth century into the 1900s (Bridger 2002; Kasson 2000; Reddin 1999; Warren 2005). William "Buffalo Bill" Cody cashed in on his dime novel popularity by taking the West on the road, bringing the stories to life and granting the majority of Americans the opportunity to see Native Americans for the first time. His and other traveling Western shows were seen by millions of viewers and greatly influenced the non-Native's image of the American Indian. Most notably, Western shows propelled the mounted Plains warrior into the universal Native American archetype (Ewers 1999; Flavin 2004; Green 1988; Moses 1996). The rousing success of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show had earned its self-promoted title "America's National Entertainment" by the late 1880s, and the show did particularly well in eastern cities far removed from the region the show sought to represent. An estimated five million spectators saw the show during five months in 1885, and the show was so successful in New York City that it spent the entire summer there the following year (Reddin 1999: 84).

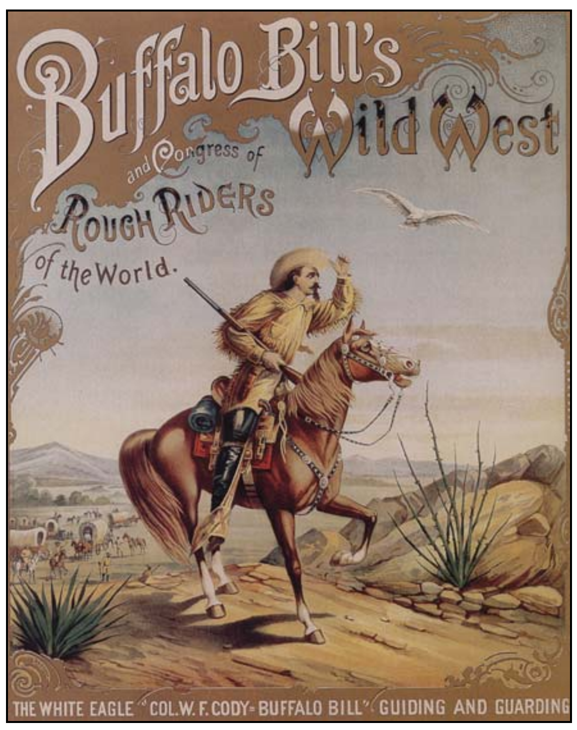
Frontier-era folk heroes like Buffalo Bill Cody authenticated their performances by hiring Native Americans like Sitting Bull, famous for his participation in the Battle of Little Bighorn, to perform in shows. Part of the show's appeal were the lengths Cody went to create symbolic representations of the frontier as an unconquered natural place not yet spoiled by the gritty industrialized world. Spectators were transfixed as the European American frontier was brought to life with frontier imagery in backdrops and special effects that simulated sunsets and tornadoes. Staged battles between American

soldiers and Native American warriors were a key fixture in shows promoted by Cody and his contemporaries, including Pawnee Bill and the Miller Brothers. These dramas between "good" and "evil" solidified the White man's superior status over savage Indians and further elevated the status of the frontier as the place where American identity was forged (Deloria 2004: 53-108; Kasson 2000: 162, 248; Slotkin 1992: 74-79; White 1994). These and other spectacles recreating stage coach raids, captivity narratives, and other harrowing stories portrayed Native Americans in ways that were exaggerated, if not entirely fictionalized, and supported the audience's preexisting perceptions molded by news accounts, dime novels, and other literature. C.W. Rex, promoter of the Miller Brothers' 101 Ranch Wild West Show, once pushed the boundaries of reenactment by playing into the resonating European American fears of Indian violence. In 1907 he offered one thousand dollars to the man who would volunteer to be scalped by one of the Indians employed by the company during its one hundred show stint at the Jamestown Exposition. The February 4, 1907 *Washington Post* reported that,

> [b]eyond the permanent loss of hair and the physical suffering, the person having the hardiness to endure the ordeal does not place himself in peril, the operation being performed by a skilled hand and with neatness and dispatch. A further inducement is mentioned in the conditions laid down, which, the people of the 101 ranch believe, is sufficiently alluring to make it an easy matter to get some intrepid individual to offer himself as the subject for the bowie knife of the redskin.
>
> The paleface will be given a fair start in front of 150 Indians in the big arena of the 101 ranch. If he circles the space three times without being caught, he will receive the money and be permitted to retain his scalp. If he falls in to the hands of the pursuers, he will be led into the center of the stadium, and money will be placed in his hand, and in the presence of the assembled multitude he will be scalped in the barbaric style of the aborigines by Chief White Eagle, the highest ranking chief of the Apaches (Washington Post 1907).

Accounts of someone actually volunteering to do this could not be found, but it was nonetheless a startling marketing ploy that no doubt attracted visitors. Another example, less gruesome but equally iconic, is seen in a set of lithographs sold by Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show during the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago. The dueling images depict Buffalo Bill and Red Cloud, a Sioux war chief and performer in the show, on horseback scouting for Indian raiders and settlers, respectfully (Figure 3.6). A white eagle soaring over Cody (whose nickname in the image is "White Eagle") evokes pure and nationalistic symbolism while Red Cloud's "Red Fox" nickname implies he and his people are swift, sly, and deceitful. Descriptors at the bottom of the images suggest that Red Cloud and his band are "waiting and watching" for a group susceptible to a raid while Cody is "guiding and guarding" the settlers through hostile territory and protecting them against Indian attacks. The scalping spectacle and lithograph souvenirs embody the struggle for and conquest of the continent that European Americans were growing increasingly nostalgic for and, in another sense, reified or brought to life the ideology of Manifest Destiny.

Cody was a strong advocate for Native American rights and improving conditions on reservations, but his winning business model of celebrating the settlement of the frontier through their defeat was too successful to sacrifice. His and other traveling Western shows mythologized frontier conquest and incited America's twentieth century love affair with the era by bringing it to them and reenacting it live and in person with authentic performers who had experienced it first hand (Slotkin 1993). The success of these shows caught the eye of motion picture directors and, later, the producers of television shows, who incorporated aspects of the performances into plotlines.



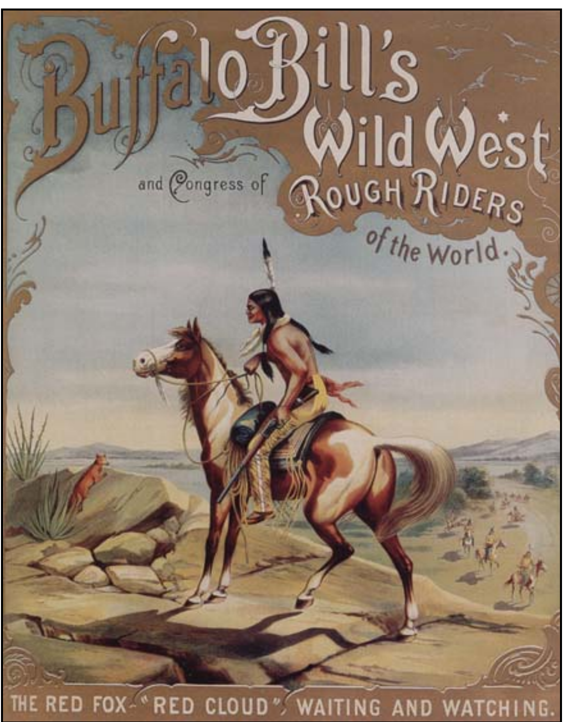


Figure 3.6. A set of lithographs sold during the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago featuring William "Buffalo Bill" Cody as a scout for European American settlers and Red Cloud, a Lakota Sioux performer in Cody's show, on the lookout for settlers. The descriptors at the bottom of the images imply that Red Cloud and his band are "waiting and watching" for a group susceptible to a raid while Cody is "guiding and guarding" the settlers through hostile territory and protecting them against Indian attacks. Source: Wilson, R.L. and Martin, Greg. 1998. *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*. New York: Random House, p. 164-165.

WESTERN-THEMED MOVIES AND TELEVISION SHOWS

The popularity of first motion pictures and then television programs in the twentieth century exposed people to images of Native Americans at unprecedented rates and further popularized the images seen and described in Wild West shows and literature. Film scholar Will Wright contends that Hollywood Westerns had a far-reaching impact, writing that "[a]lthough Western novels reach a large and faithful audience, it is through the movies that the myth has become part of the cultural language by which America understands itself" (1977: 12). Ken Nolley believes that these films helped "construct

much of what still stands for popular historical knowledge of Native American life" (2003: 77). More than seven thousand Western-themed movies have been produced (Kasson 2000: 267), and Edward Buscombe estimates that approximately one-fifth to one-quarter of all movies produced between 1910 and 1960 were Westerns (2006: 23). This degree of exposure undoubtedly influenced European American perceptions of the American Indian, and media critics have examined how Native American portrayals in cinema and television reflected preexisting stereotypes and shaped public opinion (Aleiss 2005; Bataille and Silet 1980; Bovey 1997; Buscombe 2006; Churchill 1998; Griffiths 1996; Hilger 1986 and 1995; Money 1997; Kilpatrick 1999; Lopez 2003; Marubbio 2006; O'Connor 1980; Prats 2002; Price 1973; Rollins and O'Connor 2003 and 2005; Wright 1977).

These critics catalog many ways in which Native American are accurately, and more frequently, inaccurately depicted. The biggest critique involves the large-scale homogenization of diverse Indigenous groups into a singular, pan-Indian tribe modeled on the Sioux and Cheyenne of the Great Plains and the Apache of the Southwest. The Hollywood Western, Richard Maltby notes, "obliterated the ethnic and cultural distinctions between the many indigenous people of North America" (1996: 35). As the majority of films and television programs took place in the West, where the frontier closed and the American/Indian Wars concluded, attributes of these tribes became synonymous with all tribes. Not all tribes utilized horses, were nomadic, lived in teepees, hunted large game, and wore leather clothing and feather headdresses, but the repeated use of these characteristics in films and television led viewers to believe that all tribes, regardless of their homelands, lived this way.

Another common critique involves the Indian's portrayal as the primary instigators of violence and whites as God-fearing and peace-loving people who become the victims of their aggression. In doing this, film and television maintained the savage warrior stereotype. The noble savage stereotype was also upheld through these media. Having either a mixed heritage or a boarding school education, these characters often found themselves caught between two worlds and in many instances had to choose between them. Outside of the typical Indian Princess/love interest role, Native American women were largely absent in film and television (Marubbio 2006). Also absent were Native American actors; non-Indian actors filled the roles of male and female Native American characters more frequently than Native American actors.

Nolley observes that, "[t]he Western was at root an expression of white culture justifying its expansion" (1998: 83), and films of the 1910s through the 1940s reflect just that. Native Americans stand as uncivilized bystanders obstructing progress and are portrayed as savage warriors threatening anyone daring to encroach on their lands (Buscombe 2006: 95-96). For example, fear of an attack by Apache warriors is central to the plot in the movie *Stagecoach* (1939). In this film the warriors are portrayed as ominous killers who lurk in the shadows; a technique still employed in contemporary horror films.

Films in the 1950s and 1960s increasingly portrayed Whites as the aggressors in the West. Sympathy for Native Americans in the film *Broken Arrow* (1950) symbolizes Hollywood's distaste for Hitler's racism (Kaufman 1980; Manchel 2003), and *Little Big Man* (1970) presented western expansion from a Native American point of view. Greater character development in these films humanized Native Americans and improved their

image and also attempted to educate the public about the manner in which Native Americans had been treated by the United States government and its employees. The improved portrayal of Indians in *Little Big Man* – characters laughed and spoke perfect English rather than the stereotypical grunting and "ugh" sounds used in other films – reflected Hollywood's transformative late 1960s-early 1970s shift inspired by heightened awareness of social justice promoted by the Civil Rights and counterculture movements (Buscombe 2006: 178; Hutton 1976; Kasdan and Tavernetti 2003; Meek 2006; Riley 2003). Although Native Americans had begun to be represented more fairly in films of the 1960s, the legacy of racist imagery had become fully ingrained in generations of young boys and girls who would later fondly remember the earlier era in which Western-themed films commemorated the conquest of the wild, untamed West and its inhabitants.

The rise of television programming in the 1950s offered another medium for Western-themed stories to be told, and by the early 1960s twenty Western-themed television shows aired in prime time every week (Manchel 1998: 104). Scholars note similar representations of Native Americans on television as in movies (Jojola 2003; Money 1997), and perhaps no better example exists than Tonto, the Lone Ranger's faithful companion. Tonto was not as eloquent a speaker and not as good a gunslinger as the hero. He exists, argue some critics, in the shadow of a white man and obeys his every command, thus living up to his name – *tonto* means "idiot" or "fool" in Spanish (Kaufmann 1980: 30; Price 1973: 65). *The Lone Ranger* came to television in 1949 after several successful years as a radio program, and although the popular show remained on the air only until 1957, syndication and an animated series airing in the 1960s immortalized the characters in the minds of many baby-boomers.

CONCLUSION

America's Indigenous people always have held a unique position in the history of the United States. At first they were admired by settlers, as they were uncorrupted by Western influences and in tune with wilderness. These qualities inspired a young nation searching for a non-European identity and were adopted as their own. Also shaping American identity were the battles fought against the Indigenous people themselves. Winning the land from the Indians became a central component in the emerging national narrative. The idea of Manifest Destiny fueled further confrontations with Native American tribes, and the importance of frontier expansion was popularized in dime novels, Wild West shows, and by Frederick Jackson Turner. Wild West shows, movies, and television shows perpetuated the ideology of Manifest Destiny and the myth of the frontier while simultaneously glossing over the greed of the government and settlers, the dispossession of Native American land, and the continued poverty in which they lived. These and other art forms, such as advertisements (Steele 1996; Quay 2002), tended to portray Native Americans as noble savages and ignoble savages but most importantly as aggressors, fortifying the myth that the West had to be won and that America had earned its prize.

The myth of the frontier remains steadfast in the collective American memory and remains a key source of pride and identity (Aquila 1996; West 1996; Yellow Bird 2004). James Grossman observes that "[t]he frontier thesis…persists as the standard explanation of western and American exceptionalism" (1994: 3). It remains, Patricia Limerick admits, America's creation myth (1988: 322-323). There has been some opposition to the continued adherence to the myth, as films and television programs have become

increasingly sensitive towards Native American portrayal. Although late twentieth century films such as *Dances with Wolves* (1988) and television shows like *Dr. Quinn, Medicine Woman* have been criticized for notable deficiencies (Baird 2003; Buscombe 2006; Jojola 2003; Kilpatrick 1999), they are not as insensitive as their early twentieth century predecessors.

Although overt messages of racial superiority are not as frequent today as in the past, this ingrained ideology resonates in American society. Native Americans have become appropriated spokespeople for a variety of products, including automobiles, trucking companies, dairy products, and weapons (Francis 1992; Deloria 2004). The most ubiquitous use of Native American imagery in twenty-first century American society is the Indian "mascot." The use of Native American nicknames and mascots is inherently intertwined with white America's belief in Manifest Destiny, frontier conquest, and racial superiority, and the institutional support of mascots represents a continued adherence to these ideologies (Davis 1993). The remaining chapters of this dissertation are dedicated to this topic.

CHAPTER FOUR

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON INDIGENOUS-BASED TEAM NAME SELECTION

One of the most heinous events in American history occurred in the Moravian mission village of Gnadenhutten in 1782. The residents of this trans-Appalachian frontier settlement, in what would become the state of Ohio, were primarily Lenape (Delaware) Indians who had converted to Christianity, learned English, and adopted European-style dress. The village's location along the western front of the Revolutionary War created a tense atmosphere for non-combatant European American settlers and Indigenous inhabitants, as British and allied Native American tribes periodically clashed with members of the Continental Army and locally-organized militia. In March of that year one hundred and sixty members of the Pittsburgh militia set out on an annual retaliatory expedition against hostile Native Americans who had attacked white settlers. They wrongly believed that the one hundred-or-so Indians at Gnadenhutten were posing as Christians to maintain an illusion of neutrality concerning the war and conspiring against them. Because of this, the militiamen reasoned, the Indians had to be eradicated.

On March 7th, the militia encountered Joseph Shabosh, the mixed-blood son of missionary John Shabosh, on a trail outside of the village, hastily killed him, and hacked his corpse into pieces. The militia met the unsuspecting villagers in their corn fields, where they had been working, and coerced them back into the village by notifying them they were to be relocated closer to Pittsburgh for protection from Indians allied with the British. Once in the village, militia leaders locked them up and announced they would

execute every one of them the next morning for their participation in various raids in the region. The innocent Christian converts pleaded with the militia and prayed throughout the night to no avail. Their captors spent the night determining the method of execution.

When the militia leaders returned the next morning their captives were singing Christian hymns. They were told they were to be separated, men in one building, women and children in another, beaten to death with a cooper's mallet, and scalped (as there was a bounty on scalps). There was no resistance, as their Christian education had trained them to be unafraid of death. A militiaman in the men's building tired after killing around thirteen men and had to pass the mallet to another. Ninety-six innocent people were brutally murdered on that day. Their bodies were burned in the buildings, along with the rest of the village, the next morning. Miraculously, four survived the massacre and fled to the nearby mission village of Shoenbrunn, where they warned villagers of the militia's presence. Despite some outcry by writers in the East, the men responsible for these actions were never punished (Slaughter 1986: 75-78).

In a city park along the Tuscarawas River today stands an obelisk-shaped monument honoring the victims of the massacre. It was erected at the site of the village by community members one century after the 1782 tragedy. The frontier village was reconstructed in the 1970s after a series of excavations unearthed the foundations of the two cabins in which the killings occurred – the mission house and the cooper's shop. A visit to the park today is chilling because the tragic history still haunts the place. The recreated village provides an emotive link to the past and resurrects the memory, giving it a life of its own. The monument and buildings were constructed so that the memory of that unfortunate day would not fade.

Local Indian history takes on a strange and entirely different meaning three blocks from the park at Indian Valley High School. There the mascot is the *Braves*, the logo includes the head of an Indian warrior, and students play basketball on a floor decorated with tomahawks and the logo (Figure 4.1). Considering the pacifistic demeanor of the Christian Indians massacred in Gnadenhutten, it is ironic that tomahawks, weapons commonly used by America's Indigenous people in frontier conflicts, decorate center court. The *Braves* nickname implies that the European Americans who selected the name did so to honor the bravery of Native Americans, and the mascot, a male warrior, was likely chosen because of the war-like traits of Native Americans that European Americans admire. The name and logos, probably selected to provoke fear and

Figure 4.1. Gnadenhutten, Ohio's Indian Valley High School gym. Source: Indian Valley High School Online, 2007.

apprehension in visiting teams, are seen today in the school's gym, where a banner warns, "You're in our valley now!!" The nickname, as well as the tomahawks painted on the floor at center court, reminds visitors that Indian Valley will put up an honorable fight. Yet, opponents do not encounter a single Indian during their visit, as the racial composition of the community is almost entirely European American. In 2005-2006, 803 of the high school's 807 students (99.5%) were white (National Center for Education Statistics Online).

Local history has been turned on its head at Indian Valley High School. The atmosphere in this gym, designed to be hostile to visitors, is the antithesis of the environment a visitor to the peaceful Gnadenhutten mission would have encountered prior to that fateful day in 1782. Here, Native Americans are the aggressors of frontier violence, not its victims. The mallets used by whites to cleanse the area of its Indian presence have been replaced by tomahawks, and the innocent victims are not remembered as Christians or as pacifists but rather as *Braves*, a name commonly used by whites for male Indian warriors. Just a short distance from the lonely park commemorating the atrocities of 1782, new generations of European Americans are taught a history that situates the massacre as an isolated incident and places whites as honorable inheritors of the land. This ideology has resonated in Gnadenhutten for decades, creating an atmosphere in which citizens derive a sense of identity from a distorted historical representation.

Gnadenhutten is not alone in characterizing America's Indigenous people as bellicose warriors and whites as noble promoters of civilization, and the historical link between the Indian Valley High School nickname and frontier violence is far from

unique. This chapter examines theoretical explanations for the selection and continued use of Indigenous-based team names and mascots. Although many argue that these names are used to honor Native Americans, it is suggested here that they are largely presented as stereotypes adopted from dime novels, Wild West shows, film, and television, and that their use reflects "imperialist nostalgia," or a collective longing for the frontier era in American history when the nicknames were selected. A belief that Indians had "vanished" was common during the first few decades of the twentieth century, when the majority of team names were selected, and in their place an Indian proxy was resurrected in the form of the mascot. The "denial of coevalness," or rejection of coexistence (Fabian 2002), situated the colonized Native Americans in the distant past. Adopting their names for sport provided the opportunity for whites to harness the powers of the "vanished Indian" to help them perform on the playing field. The duplicitous manner in which Indian mascots were presented, as noble savages and ignoble savages, reflects their true status as trophies of conquest over an Indigenous "Other." In other words, by touting the strengths of their opponent, whites justified their cause (Manifest Destiny), and laid claim to their prize (the North American continent), and appropriated pieces of their opponent's culture that had links to the place where national identity was reputedly forged (the Western frontier).

ALTERNATIVE LEGITIMACIES, ANTI-CONQUEST, AND CULTURAL APPROPRIATION

The selection of Indigenous-based team names and mascots by European Americans reflects a broad-scale effort to make themselves appear as indigenous to the continent as Native Americans. Benedict Anderson suggests that colonizing societies developed "alternative legitimacies" which attained deeper historical ties that were more

embedded with the land than a political-economic presence (1991: 181). This often took shape in the search for and requisition of historic cultural sites and the construction of museums designed to preserve relics of the colonized people. Through the control of such places and items, Anderson contends, the colonizer sought to become a part of the colony's history or become its inheritor. This process of indigenization required that

> "[t]he old sacred sites were to be incorporated into the map of the colony, and their ancient prestige (which, if this had disappeared, as it often had, the state would attempt to revive) draped around the mappers. This paradoxical situation is nicely illustrated by the fact that the reconstructed monuments often had smartly laid-out lawns around them, and always explanatory tablets, complete with datings, planted here and there. Moreover, they were to be kept empty of people, except for perambulatory tourists (no religious ceremonies or pilgrimages, so far as possible). Museumized this way, they were repositioned as regalia for a *secular* colonial state" (1991: 181-182, italics original).

This theory is manifest in the federal and state government ownership of sites formerly inhabited by Indigenous peoples such as the Cahokia Mounds complex outside of St. Louis, Missouri and Mesa Verde National Park near Durango, Colorado. The theory is also reflected in the collection of American Indian material items and their placement in museums. No items are taboo, as weapons, clothing, art work, and even remains of the deceased have been collected by the government. Through these processes the government became the legal guardian of history, and by controlling historic sites and Indigenous objects, the past became malleable enough to forge a link between the pre-colonial past and the colonized present, producing a sense of a natural continuation or succession of civilizations. Outside parks and museums, European Americans were able to establish ties with the pre-European American past through a variety of acts. One popular method was to adopt indigenous place names as names for states, counties, cities,

and other places on the landscape. Another particularly popular method of creating a seamless link with the past (and thereby claiming ownership of it) was through the selection of Indigenous-based team names. By dictating how Native Americans were portrayed and by appropriating stereotypical traits to characterize the demeanor of athletic teams, European Americans indigenized the colonial landscape, made the continent feel like "home," and provided themselves with an "emotional title to the land" (Slotkin 1973: 17).

Another theory that is intricately related to the development of alternative legitimacies by colonial entities involves "anti-conquest," described by Mary Louise Pratt as "the strategies of representation whereby European bourgeois subjects seek to secure their innocence in the same moment as they assert European hegemony" (1992: 7). Anti-conquest is a subconscious act, often unrealized by those practicing it, but Pratt is able to apply this idea to the subtle, yet racially elitist connotations towards the colonized in travel books authored by eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth-century Europeans. This rhetoric, she explains, "differed sharply from overtly imperial articulations of conquest, conversion, territorial appropriation, and enslavement." Instead, it was "a utopian, innocent vision of European global authority" (1992: 38-39). Anti-conquest situates the colonized Other as "deprivileged and devalued" in the mind of the colonizers (Cahoone 2003: 11), and its subversive qualities often make it an invisible component of colonialism, as it involves "glorifying the Other at the same time that the Other is denied real power" (Herman 1999: 77). RDK Herman (1999) has identified how American colonizers employed the notion of anti-conquest through the adoption of Hawaiian place names in Hawai'i only after attaining territorial status. This practice, he explains, "poses

itself as a benign paternalism that puts the Other on a pedestal – a gesture of respect that is also an exclusion, an isolation, and a fixing of the Other into a historical space separate from the modern" (1999: 77). The epitome of anti-conquest, he poignantly indicates, was the European American's use of Hawaiian toponyms to anoint new streets, parks, and other places at the same time they were limiting the use of the Hawaiian language on the islands (1999: 92).

Whites claim to honor Native Americans through the use of Indigenous-based team names and mascots in the same manner that whites claim to honor Hawaiian culture through the use of place names. At the same time American Indians were left to live in poverty while their treaty rights were ignored, their land illegally occupied, their religions repressed, and their legal status challenged by a European American-controlled government, they were being "honored" by whites who turned them into mascots or tokens of good fortune. The honor and admiration professional teams and schools claim they are bestowing upon Native Americans constitutes anti-conquest. Their use anachronistically consigns them to the frontier period of American history, and the degree of emotional (and often legal) defense that schools use to validate their American Indian nickname and mascot only instills the anti-conquest ideology further.

The adoption of Native American iconography for use in sport also constitutes a form of cultural appropriation (Black 2002; Prochaska 2001). Cultural appropriation can be generally described as a dominant society's adoption of an aspect of a minority group's culture, often without not fully understanding its meaning and frequently to make money off of it. Laurie Anne Whitt explains, "[w]hether or not it is conscious and intentional, it serves to extend the political power, secure the social control, and further

the economic profit of the dominant culture" (1995: 2). Artwork is among the more common material forms of appropriation from Native American culture, but other, less recognized aspects of Indigenous traditions and customs appropriated by whites involve "intellectual property, cultural expressions or artifacts, history and ways of knowledge" (Ziff and Rao 1997: 1). The issue of cultural appropriation is indeed an important issue among Native Americans. Margo Thunderbird writes that after consuming land, resources, and pure air and water, European Americans have "come for the very last of our possessions; now they want our pride, our history, our spiritual traditions. They want to rewrite and remake these things, to claim them for themselves" (quoted in Meyer and Royer 2001: xi). As generalized and stereotyped as they are, Indigenous-based team names and mascots are excellent examples of plagiarized culture because "[n]on-Indians, enamored of the perceived strengths of native cultures, have appropriated and distorted elements of these cultures for their own purposes, more often than not ignoring the impact of the process on the Indians themselves" (Meyer and Royer 2001: xi).

The process of cultural appropriation allowed privileged whites to literally dress up and "play Indian" or "go Native" (Baird 1996; Deloria 1998; Green 1988; Huhndorf 2001; Mechling 1980). William D. Boyce, the founder of the American Boy Scout Association (est. 1910), incorporated aspects of Indigenous culture into scouting to facilitate the process of bringing its predominantly urban members into contact with the wilderness. Psychologist Granville Stanley Hall, author of the influential two-volume book *Adolescence* (1904), provided Boyce with a pedagogical foundation. Hall's theory of childhood development, inspired by evolutionary biology, posited that humans progressed from a state of savagery as children to stages of civilization as adults (Deloria

1998: 106-107). Boyle believed that children growing up in industrialized urban areas were too far removed from the preindustrial environment in which they could fully experience childhood. Teaching them "the way of the Indian," he thought, would ignite that internal link with unruliness and provide them with a more natural childhood experience that nourished their development.

Boyce hired Ernest Thompson Seaton, author of an immensely popular series of books teaching children how to play Indian, including *How to Play Indian* (1903), *How to Make a Real Indian Teepee* (1903), and *How Boys can Form a Band of Indians* (1903) to organize the Boy Scouts. Seaton had eight years of experience organizing and administrating the Woodland Indians, a successful youth program (Mechling 2001). The Campfire Girls, an organization catered to girls and young women, was established the same year as the Boy Scouts. Photos of Campfire Girls clubs were common in early twentieth century high school yearbooks. For example, members of the "Frilotru" Camp Fire at Shawano, Wisconsin High School in 1929 dressed as "Indian maidens," wearing fringed dresses and headbands with their hair in ponytails for their yearbook photo (Figure 4.2). Just as the Woodland Indians, Boy Scouts and Campfire Girls provided children with the opportunity to live the "savage experience" in and outside of school, the selection of Native American team names and mascots in early twentieth century schools further integrated the concept of "playing Indian" as an institutionally-supported component of primary and secondary education. The Indian head logos on Shawano High's cross-country uniforms served a similar role for its wearers as the maiden dresses did for Campfire girls – they were provided to give them a psychological reprieve from a civilized yet chaotic and rapidly-industrializing world (Figure 4.3). By shedding their

Figure 4.2. Shawano, Wisconsin High School's "Frilotru" club of the Campfire Girls in 1929. Source: *The Shawnee: The Yearbook of Shawano, Wisconsin High School*.

inhibitions, the spirit of the noble savage could be harnessed. Campfire employed this technique to teach lessons in honor, trustworthiness, humility, and other aspects of healthy living. The use of the Native American for inspiration on the playing field, C. Richard King notes, embodies totemism. Totemism involves people connecting their primal origins "through a mythical ancestor and in the process tap into the power ascribed to the chosen animal" (1998: 55). For athletes, wearing the Indian head icon symbolized a commitment to continue the Indian tradition of competing bravely, never surrendering, and showing no letup or remorse. After all, "[t]he red man, according to his wisdom—which, it must be remembered, was the wisdom of the child in the forest—struck out, oftentimes blindly enough, by way of retaliation" (Quaife 1916: vii). Whites in Shawano

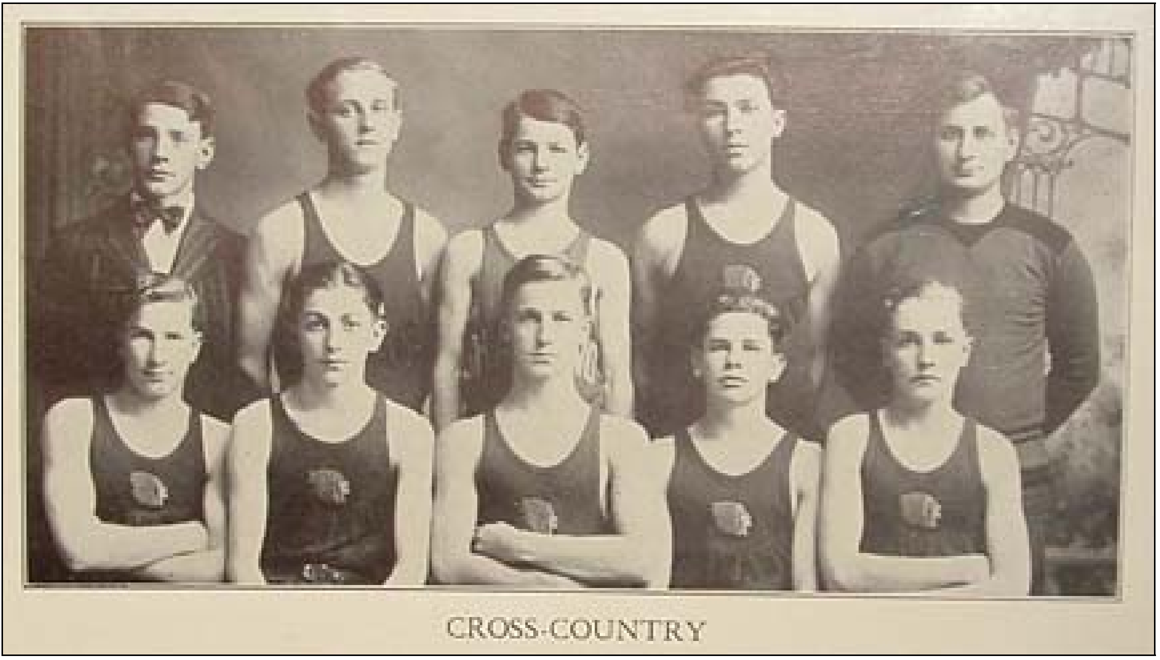


Figure 4.3. The Shawano, Wisconsin High School Cross-Country team in 1929. Wearing Indian head icons on their chests encouraged them to run with bravery, fortitude, and strength – each selected aspects of noble savagery – on the race course. Source: *The Shawnee: The Yearbook of Shawano, Wisconsin High School*.

and other communities using Indigenous-based team names and mascots may have believed they were honoring Native Americans, but that honor was founded on the faulty premises of racial superiority and the "vanishing Indian."

The requirements for non-Indians, or "the tribe called Wannabee" as Rayna Greendescribes them, to play Indian is "the physical and psychological removal, even the death, of real Indians. In that sense, the performance, purportedly often done out of a stated and implicit love for Indians, is really the obverse of another well-known phenomenon, 'Indian-hating,' as most often expressed in another, deadly performance genre called 'genocide'" (1988: 31). Anti-conquest rhetoric, cultural appropriation, and the seemingly harmless act of "playing Indian" reflect alternative legitimacies created by European Americans to mask the atrocities associated with the violent colonization of the

country. These subtle yet remarkably meaningful aspects of colonization blossomed when the last of the warring tribes had been subdued on isolated reservations and the frontier had officially closed. Because Americans bought into the idea that national identity was significantly derived from frontier conflict, the loss of Indigenous opponents created feelings of nostalgia for the frontier era. These feelings were not new – early nineteenth century New England residents admitted longing for the presence of the very people their ancestors had virtually eliminated – but a century later the entire nation, clouded by a sense of racial superiority and shaken by a tenuous state of national identity, collectively sought to relive the era. These intense feelings can be described as "imperialist nostalgia," and Wild West shows, dime novels, western-themed films and television shows, and the use of Native American mascots facilitated the revival of a sanitized frontier period.

IMPERIALIST NOSTALGIA

The "winning of the West," as Theodore Roosevelt (1896) described it, played a crucial role in the development of an American national identity. The country's Indigenous people, as obstacles to conquest, were inherent characters in this "creation myth." Due to this, many scholars assert that the principal reason for the use of the Native American for athletic team names and mascots lies in the deep-seated nostalgic desire for the period of rapid frontier expansion, for the time when America was emerging as a world power and the ideology of Manifest Destiny was prevalent. This premise, called imperialist nostalgia, is adopted from the work of anthropologist Renato Rosaldo (1989). Recognizing the impact he and other peers had in forever changing the livelihoods of Indigenous groups in Southeast Asia, Rosaldo examined the writings of eighteenth and

nineteenth century anthropologists and concluded that these feelings were inextricably linked to racial superiority and the expansion of Western civilization. He described them in this manner:

> "a person kills somebody and then mourns his or her victim. In more attenuated form, someone deliberately alters a form of life and then regrets that things have not remained as they were prior to his or her intervention. [It] uses a pose of "innocent yearning" both to capture people's imaginations and to conceal its complicity with often brutal domination" (1993: 69-70).

An analogous example can be identified in the late nineteenth century, when rapid urban industrialization and exploitation of natural resources in America spurred pressure to preserve natural places like Yellowstone, Yosemite, and other "unspoiled" gardens of nature (Steinberg 2002). In this case, Americans regretted disturbing serene natural areas to the point that they willingly taxed themselves to preserve them. Rosaldo's theory becomes more apparent when it is compared with perceptions of wilderness in different regions of the country. Support for wilderness preservation was highest in the urban and industrialized East, where residents were relatively far removed from remote and undeveloped areas and there was a greater desire to preserve what little wilderness was left. Their support contrasted with the views of many in the West, who considered the region's abundant natural resources as being full of economic potential. Similarly, these two groups held different opinions of Native Americans. On the Western frontier, Indians were generally seen as anachronistic obstacles to progress, whereas Easterners, located out of harm's way from the Indian threat, tended to regard them as admirable and noble warriors. Sympathy for Indigenous peoples increased in the East only after the Indian Removal Act of 1830 instigated the forceful removal of tribes in the Southeast and

Midwest to the American West. On this topic Robert Berkhofer, Jr. writes, "[i]f Whites regarded the Indian as a threat to life and morals when alive, they regarded him with nostalgia upon his demise – or when that threat was safely past" (1979: 29).

There are numerous examples of such attitudes. Residents in the Northeast, where Native Americans were forced to abandon their homelands prior to the Revolutionary War, claimed they missed the presence of Indians. Joseph Story, a United States Supreme Court justice known today for his opinions in *United States v. The Amistad*, expressed his sorrow for the disappearance of Native Americans in 1828, writing, "We hear the rustling of their footsteps, like that of the withered leaves of autumn, and they are gone forever" (Lepore 1998: 207). In 1845 Ralph Waldo Emerson reflected, "We in Massachusetts see the Indians only as a picturesque antiquity" (Dippie 1982: 32). The Worcester, Massachusetts Historical Society celebrated the memory of Metacom, or King Philip, in 1835 by toasting, "Had we lived in the days of our forefathers, as an enemy we would have slain him." As descendents of the victors of the King Philip's War however, they were enabled to follow up by proclaiming, "the present generation may safely express their respect for his sagacity and patriotism" (Lepore 1998: 206). It took a century and a half before a biographer of Metacom described his actions in an honorable manner, but by the early nineteenth century, a despised Indian leader became a valorized celebrity almost instantly after his defeat. The pre-capture notoriety and post-capture fame of two Native American leaders, Geronimo and Black Hawk, provide powerful examples of imperialist nostalgia because they highlight how once detested enemies of white America became such popular fixtures in American culture that they were eventually adopted as beloved high school mascots. The next three sections use Geronimo, Black Hawk, and

some locally-known Native Americans and historical events to discuss examples of imperialist nostalgia at national, regional, and local scales.

Imperialist nostalgia at a national scale - Geronimo

In the eyes of European Americans, the Chiricahua Apache leader Goyathlay (known among whites as Geronimo) is arguably the most famous Native American. For eighteen years he and a group of allies prevented the encroachment of settlers onto their Southwestern homeland, and on numerous occasions he narrowly evaded capture by the authorities (Debo 1976). News of his elusiveness was reported in newspapers nationwide and made him a nationally-recognized name. Examples of imperialist nostalgia in representing Geronimo are visible in many media accounts in the East, where few Indians remained and benevolent societies spoke out against the negative treatment of Native Americans. In the West, however, the tones of reports were much more hostile.

The harsh environmental conditions of southern Arizona and New Mexico Territories initially hindered European American settlement into the region, but by the 1870s many of the tribes living there had been placed on reservations (Waldman 1985: 139-146). Disease and poor rations on the reservations was rife, and a disgruntled Geronimo abandoned the Apache Pass Reservation in 1875 to live across the border in Mexico. He returned later to the San Carlos Reservation due to increased military activity, but left again in 1881 after a skirmish with the military. He began raiding homesteads and reservations to procure supplies and attack civilians and officials (Waldman 1985: 143), and reports of Geronimo's exploits by residents of the region ran in newspapers throughout the country. Most treated the Apaches with contempt. An

excerpt of a letter from R.C. Patterson of Socorro County, New Mexico in the August 28, 1885 edition of the *Los Angeles Weekly* read,

> "I will say, from personal knowledge, that all of the Apaches are a set of sneaking cowards, and fight only when they think they have every advantage and can shoot from a sheltered place at unsuspecting parties. The Apaches don't know what pity or gratitude is, and think that all their rations and presents are given to them, not from a sense of justice, but through fear, by the government, of their power."

In 1886 General Nelson Miles led 5,000 soldiers – one-quarter of the United States Army – into the region to capture or kill Geronimo, and the media consistently published updates. When a bounty was placed on his head, reactions from some Easterners greatly contrasted opinions in the West. The Atchison, Kansas *Daily Globe* reported that, "[t]he old grandmothers at Washington who manage the Indians say that General Miles is acting without official authority in offering $2,000 for Geronimo's head and $50 each for the heads of his followers" (1886). The *Denver Daily News* reported on June 1, 1886 that "Many philanthropists in the East are greatly harrowed up by the report that General Miles has offered a reward of $2,000 for the head of Geronimo and $50 each for his assistant assassins." Located in a region where conflict between whites and Indians had recently been a regular occurrence, the editors of the *Daily News* considered the sentiment of compassionate Easterners as downright absurd: "If humanitarian sentiments inspire the protest," they wrote, "it would be well for the protestants to remember that the policy of humanitarianism has led to the cold-blooded murder of dozens of innocent persons by these Apache fiends in the past six months…The declaration that the only good Indian is the dead Indian is gospel when applied to Geronimo and his band."

Geronimo surrendered to General Miles once and for all in early September of 1886 on the condition that his life be spared, and an ensuing national outcry criticized the agreement. Residents of Arizona and New Mexico Territories were "thirsting for revenge," as a heading in the *Galveston Daily News* read on March 3, 1886, but they felt deceived by the federal government when they learned Geronimo would not be tried in a territorial court, as he would have most certainly been found guilty and sentenced to death (if vigilantes did not interfere before the trial could commence). Some whites felt Geronimo was misunderstood. On October 16, 1886 the *Detroit Free Press* published a letter from Charles H. Laidlaw of Fairview, New Mexico in response to an earlier letter by Charles Ellis of East Saginaw, Michigan, who had defended the actions of Geronimo and his band. Laidlaw suggested that Ellis' dislocation from Arizona Territory clouded his judgment, writing that, "When 2,000 miles separate the [Ellis] from his ideality it is quite possible that he may get a little mixed on the real bearings of the case and advocate what a closer acquaintance would condemn." Ellis' distance from the frontier, as well as from Native Americans (they had ceded their lands in the area by 1820 and did not comprise a significant part of the state's population), may have played a role in his argument, and imperialist nostalgia may have been involved.

Geronimo and his fellow male prisoners were taken by train to Fort Pickens near Pensacola, Florida to live out their life sentences. There, reported the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, they would live out their life sentences and the "confinement in the warm climate…will simply result in their dying off like so many sheep" (1886). Their first major stop along the way was San Antonio, where "several thousand people" visited the army depot to see the Apache prisoners. A report in the *Galveston Daily News* stated that the Apaches were

"apparently enjoying themselves as much as a savage can, unless when engaged in lifting the scalp of a dying victim or stealing his arms" (1886). A large and anxious crowd also gathered "to get a look at the savage" in New Orleans (*New York Times* 1886). Sentiment among some New England residents contrasted greatly with others, particularly in the West. The *Boston Daily Advertiser* suggested that Geronimo be delivered to Boston instead of Florida, where he would be reformed by the city's benevolent societies. "It may be the enthusiasm of overconfidence," the article read, "but we cherish the hope, rather we fondle the expectation, that in 90 days Boston charities worked steadily, would have reformed Geronimo" (1886: 4).

Geronimo's surrender is a significant event in American history. Just as Black Hawk's capture ended warfare in the Old Northwest and ensured "the permanent tranquility of the frontier," as the *Boston Investigator* put it in 1832, the quelling of the Apache raids enabled white settlement in Arizona Territory. As the most infamous participant in the final major armed conflict between the American Army and the country's Indigenous nations, Geronimo became a well-known figure in American popular culture. In the years after his surrender, tales of his resistance against the United States government became legendary among school children who read about him in dime novels (Jones 1978). The plots of dime novels and comic books that would follow in the twentieth century, like *Geronimo and his Apache Murderers* (Figure 4.4), were centered on frontier violence between civilized European Americans and ignoble and savage Native American warriors. His name was used in advertisements to draw visitors to see members of the Jicarilla Apache tribe – "a direct offshoot of the famous Geronimo Apaches who caused so much trouble years ago on the frontier" – at a 1897 city-wide

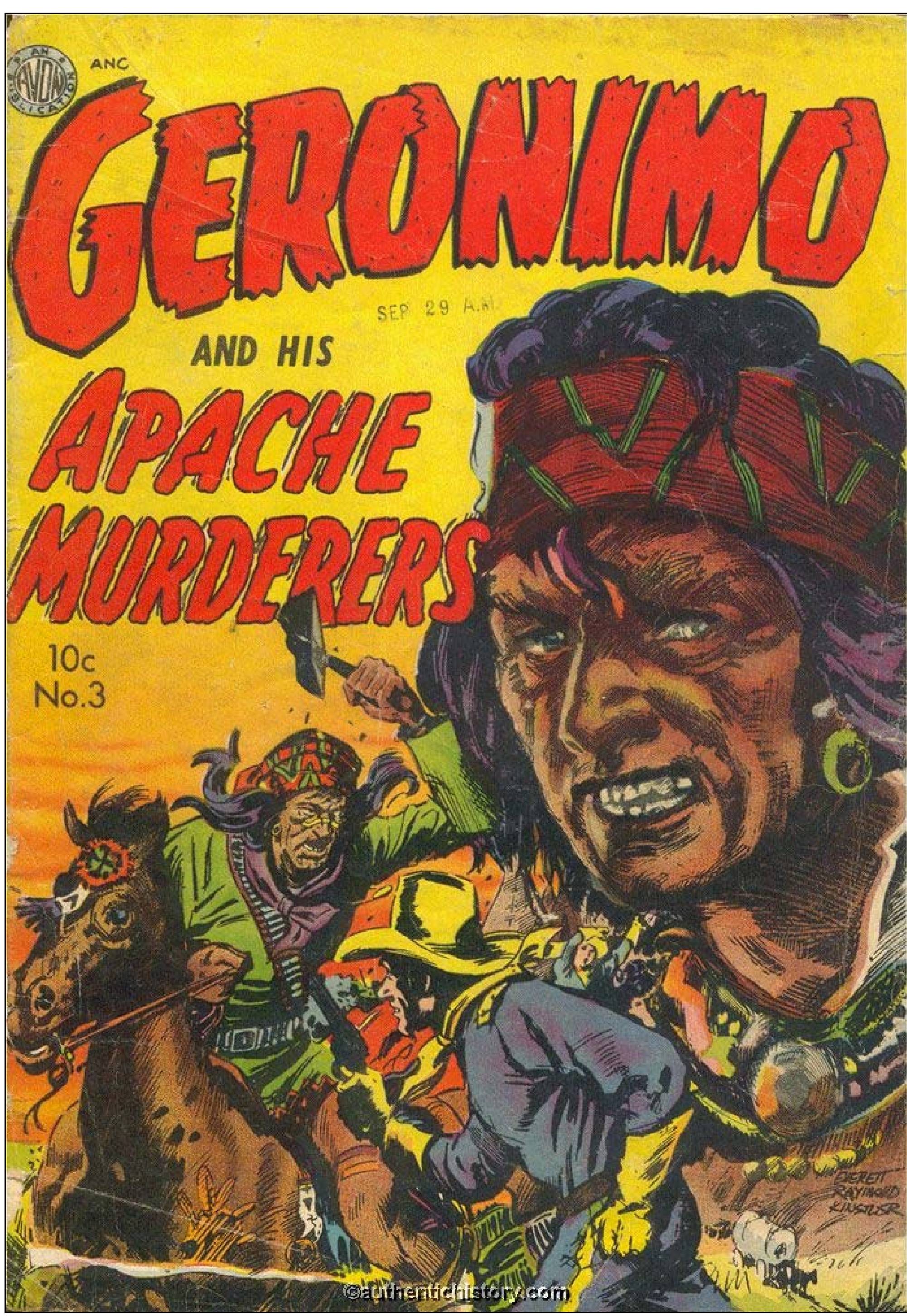


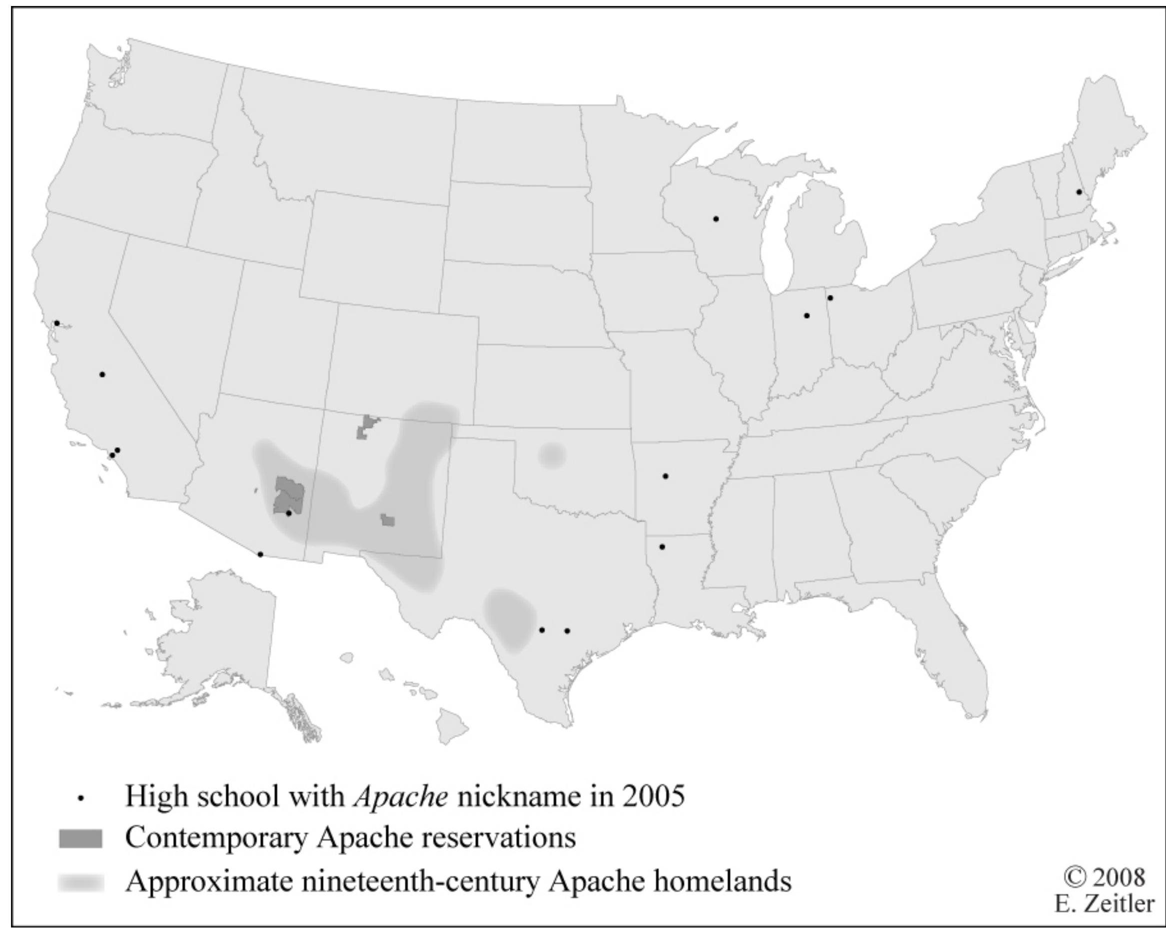
Figure 4.4. The cover of *Geronimo and his Apache Murderers, Number 3*, a comic book published in November 1951. Comic books depicted frontier violence well into the twentieth century, decades after the end of the white-Indian wars. New York: Avon Publications. Source: The Authentic History Center Online.

festival in Denver (*Denver Evening Post* 1897). Geronimo participated in "sham Indian fights" at the Trans Mississippi and International Exposition of 1898 in Omaha, Nebraska, where he received an ovation from the crowd (*Macon, Georgia Telegraph* 1898), and rode in President Theodore Roosevelt's second inaugural parade in 1905 with four other "savage Indian chiefs," as written in the *Washington Post*.

Geronimo died on February 17, 1909 at Fort Sill in Oklahoma Territory, and despite its location far removed from the presence of Native Americans, the *New York Times* (1909) eulogized him the following day in a spiteful manner:

> The career of Geronimo, Chief of the Apaches, gave point to the proverb that a good Indian is a dead Indian. Geronimo, aged nearly 90 years, is dead. Crafty, bloodthirsty, incredibly cruel and ferocious, he as all his life the worst type of aboriginal American savage…His white captors were more merciful than Geronimo or than his tribe and its redskin foes. Those who decry the modern and more deadly refinements in the art of war forget that when the rifle succeeded the bow and the tomahawk, and the telegraph outdistanced the smoke signals, internecine strifes upon this continent were ended.

The paradoxical love/hate relationship Americans had with Geronimo took on a strange twist when high schools chose team names in the first half of the twentieth century, as schools throughout the country fielded teams named the *Apaches*. By 2005, fourteen schools from California to New Hampshire were using *Apache* team names (Map 4.1). These nicknames, selected years after Geronimo's death, are examples of ways European Americans idealized Native American bellicosity only after they had been subdued and pushed to the margins of society. This fanaticized savagery, sometimes disguised as nobility, is seen in the Apache iconography of four high schools using the Apache nickname (Figure 4.5). Vallejo, California High School at first caricatured the Apache as



Map 4.1. Locations of high schools using the nickname *Apaches* in 2005 in comparison to Apache homelands and contemporary reservation lands. Sources: *Clell Wade Coaches Directory* and *The Atlas of the North American Indian*.

a defeated tribe in 1961. Its logo consisted of a side profile of a Roman-nosed, pony-tailed man whose partially-scalped head and well-worn feathers reflected his lowly status in American society. By 1975, however, Vallejo High's Apache mascot had become a noble savage. Pottsville, Arkansas High School's recently-updated Apache logo consists of a fierce-looking, profile of a battle-ready Geronimo. A mid-1990s Auburndale, Wisconsin High School bumper sticker also includes Geronimo, but here he appears to be holding a rifle, crouching, and running, as if he is charging ahead to conduct a surprise attack.

Figure 4.5. *Apache* logos from selected American high schools. The 1961 logo (1) of a defeated, ignoble savage and the 1975 logo (2) of a noble savage at Vallejo, California High School, reflects the evolution of Native American portrayal in popular culture during the period. Pottsville, Arkansas High School (3) uses the fierce-looking likeness of Geronimo for its logo, as does Auburndale, Wisconsin High School, whose logo includes an image of a charging Geronimo who is wielding a rifle. Sources: 1 and 2: Vallejo Senior High School MySpace Webpage, 2007. 3 and 4: photos by the author.

Australian anthropologist Ghassan Hage (2004) has argued that only after colonized peoples are forced to the margins of society, can the colonizer then learn to admire the culture and resistance of the colonized. He calls this process “social necrophilia,” or “loving the dead Other.” As examples in this and previous chapters have shown, Hage’s ideas are certainly applicable to the way America’s Indigenous peoples have been viewed by the dominant white society after their relocation to reservations.

Scholars writing about the meanings of Native American mascots have observed similar correlations between society's treatment of American Indians and the rise in their use as mascots. For example, Slowikowski has called the Indian mascot "a kind of cultural souvenir" (1993: 28), and King and Springwood believe that "the conquest of Native America simultaneously empowered Euro-Americans to appropriate, invent, and otherwise represent Native Americans and to long for aspects of their cultures that had been destroyed by conquest" (2001a: 3). The shifting ways in which the American public has treated and portrayed Geronimo is a relevant example at the national level. A notable regional scale example is seen in the upper Mississippi River valley, where the exploits of Black Hawk have made an impressionable mark on the history and the identity of its European American inhabitants.

IMPERIALIST NOSTALGIA AT A REGIONAL SCALE - BLACK HAWK

Makataimeshekiakiak or Black Hawk, a Sauk leader who rebelled against his tribe's removal from northwestern Illinois to the west side of the Mississippi River in 1832, was described as a hero only one year after his capture (Slotkin 1973: 359). He and a small group of warriors evaded United States Army and state militia for months in that year after initially being attacked by militiamen during a parley in what is known as the Battle of Stillman's Run (Trask 2006). The end of this conflict, dubbed the Black Hawk War, occurred north of Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin along the east banks of the Mississippi in what is called the Battle of Bad Axe. While hundreds of his followers, including women and children, did not survive that fateful day, Black Hawk managed to evade the Army for a few days, when Winnebago (Ho-Chunk) allies convinced him to surrender. The next spring he and other leaders who had participated in the war, including

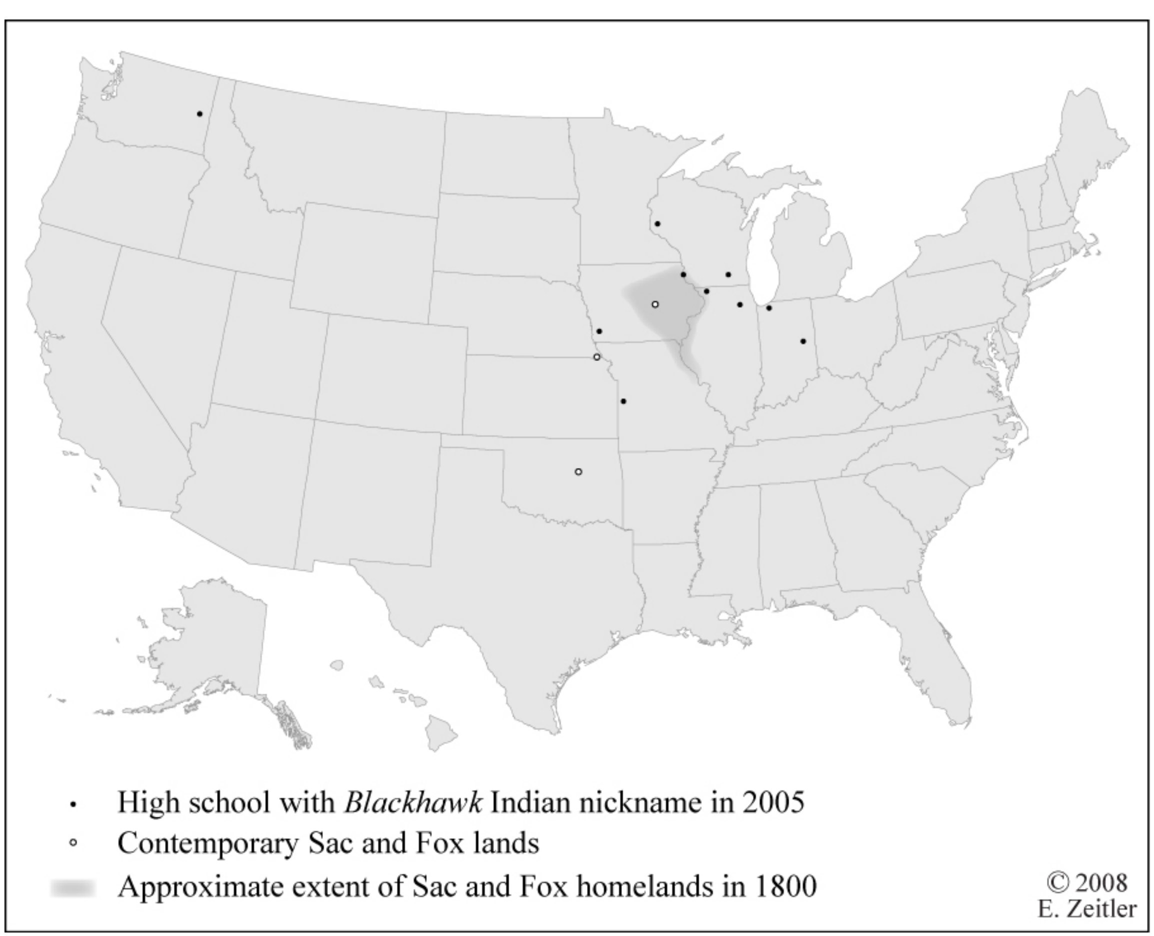
Wabokieshiek (the Winnebago Prophet), were taken on a tour of eastern cities to meet President Andrew Jackson and see firsthand the nation they had been fighting against. By the time he arrived at the White House, Black Hawk had become "much less of a man and much more a symbol that served the emotional needs of a society in search of self-definition" (Trask 2006: 298-299). Black Hawk's popularity increased as word of his charm and handsome looks spread. New Hampshire's *Dover Gazette* published an account admitting that Black Hawk's "placid, pleasant look" was "so very different from what we all expected to see in so renowned and blood thirsty a warrior, just from the field of blood and carnage" (1833). Black Hawk and his entourage attracted large crowds as he disembarked in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York City. The *New York Spectator* reported that Black Hawk and his government escorts had a difficult time navigating through curious onlookers leaving a New York City wharf (1833). Coincidentally, Black Hawk's tour occurred at the same time President Jackson was visiting these cities. The press chided that Jackson was competing in a popularity contest with Black Hawk, and when Black Hawk grew tired of the east and headed home instead of continuing to Boston, the Washington-based *United States Telegraph* quipped that "he was dispatched to the west" by Jackson so "that the President might be alone in his glory" (1833).

When Black Hawk arrived in Detroit, however, he was no longer treated like a celebrity. Upon disembarking the steamer which transported him from Buffalo, Black Hawk encountered people yelling racist epithets and burning his body in effigy. Of this Trask writes, "the malice in the voices clearly indicated that the myth of the 'noble savage' flourished only in the part of the nation where real Indians had ceased to exist" (2006: 302). Susan Scheckel observes that, "[a]s a representative of an era that had

passed, Black Hawk helped Americans situate themselves within a historical framework that defined the present as a triumph over the past" (1998: 111). Black Hawk, in essence, had become a living trophy of conquest that validated both white superiority and Manifest Destiny. The Black Hawk War united white settlers in Illinois and Wisconsin Territory, the western frontier at the time, and Black Hawk himself became a symbol of regional identity. As his popularity increased in the Upper Midwest, Black Hawk evolved into the regional Indian archetype. Interest in the Black Hawk War rose in 1906 when an Iowa farmer discovered what was believed to be the actual $45,000 government payment to the Sac and Fox tribe hidden on his property. As a result, civic organizations began lobbying for places with historic ties to the war like Fort Atkinson and the mouth of the Bad Axe River to be commemorated with monuments (Blend 1907). These additions to the landscape gave further credence to the importance of the war – the last conflict between Native Americans and whites east of the Mississippi River – to the region's white inhabitants.

By the time professional and amateur sports teams were organized in the early twentieth century, the name *Blackhawks* was synonymous with *Indians*. The Chicago *Black Hawks*, was one of the "Original Six" professional ice hockey teams in the National Hockey League, as organized in 1926 (Vass 1970). Business leaders in the cities of Davenport, Iowa and Rock Island and Moline, Illinois formed the Tri-Cities Blackhawks, a National Basketball Association franchise, in 1946. The team relocated to Milwaukee in 1951 and became the *Hawks*, dropping the Native American connotation (Hareas 2007). Dozens of secondary schools fielded teams with the Blackhawks name in 2005, but only a small number of these schools used Native American iconography with

the name. The majority of these schools are located in the Upper Mid-West states of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Wisconsin and elsewhere in Missouri and Washington (Map 4.2). The iconography used at these schools does not often resemble Black Hawk. Rather, images of Native Americans tend to appear more like a Plains Indian (Figure 4.6). The impact of Wild West shows and western-themed dime novels and movies is clearly visible in the selection of Indigenous-based iconography in these schools. The fact that Black Hawk did not wear the traditional feather headdress of the Sioux, an enemy of his



Map 4.2. Locations of high schools using a Native American *Blackhawk* nickname in 2005 in comparison to Sac and Fox homelands and contemporary reservation lands. Sources: *Clell Wade Coaches Directory* and *The Atlas of the North American Indian*.

tribe employed by the U.S. Army to assist at the Battle of Bad Axe, does not prevent schools from depicting him as one. Although small in frequency and often misrepresented, the use of *Blackhawk* team names in American secondary schools reflects strong regional ties and identities with the episode of frontier conflict. Indeed, when several communities in southwestern Iowa's West Nishnabotna River Valley

Figure 4.6. *Blackhawk* logos from Westville, Indiana High School (1), Adrian, Missouri High School (2), Stockton, Illinois High School (3), Cowan, Indiana High School (4), Aurora, Illinois West High School (5), and Hastings, Iowa Nishna Valley High Schools (6). The fact that Black Hawk did not wear the traditional feather headdress of the Sioux, enemies of the Sac and Fox, does not prevent many schools from depicting him as one. Sources: Images 1,2,3,5, and 6 from respective school district websites. Image 4 taken by the author.

opened a consolidated high school in 1963, the nickname *Blackhawks* was selected because collective memory of Black Hawk (read: his defeat) provided a unified source of pride for communities whose teams had previously been rivals (Nishna Valley School District 2007). Investigating the histories of individual communities that use Indigenous-based team names reveals many more connections between the selection of Native American nicknames and frontier conflict.

IMPERIALIST NOSTALGIA AT THE LOCAL SCALE

There are as many stories concerning the selection of Indigenous-based team names as there are schools using them, and telling these stories reveals enlightening patterns. A central example that emerges in communities throughout the country is that Indian nicknames are often inspired by a local historical event involving conflict between the European Americans and Native Americans, as was the case in Gnadenhutten, Ohio.

NASHOBA REGIONAL HIGH SCHOOL, MASSACHUSETTS

On February 10, 1675 Mary Rowlandson, the wife of a Puritan minister in the frontier Massachusetts Colony village of Lancaster, was abducted by a band of Narragansett Indians. As a captive during King Philip's War, she lived with the Indians for nearly three months before being returned for a ransom. She penned an account of her captivity which became an instant best-seller and ignited a distinct genre of American literature known as the "Indian captivity narrative" (Derounian-Stodola 1998). These stories assisted the colonists' delineation of the Native as an "Other" and the justification of their conquest (Turner Strong 2004). Rowlandson was not alone in her experience, and well into the next century "captivity narratives dominated all other North American forms

of frontier literature" (Howe 1993: 89). Today, Lancaster is home to an elementary school named in honor of Mary Rowlandson, but the community's secondary school, Nashoba Regional High, fields teams curiously named after the leaders of her captors – the *Chieftains*. The national controversy surrounding Native American mascots since 2005 has prompted school officials to discontinue the use of Indian head logos and feather headdresses worn by the band's drum major, but the school still uses Indigenous-based iconography (Green 2007). But the selection of this name, in light of the community's history, provides telling testimony to the level of imperialist nostalgia present in New England then and now.

Coshocton High School, Ohio

The official website of Coshocton, Ohio, a city located thirty miles downstream from Gnadenhutten, notes that the site of their city was "once the capital of the Delaware [Lenape] Indians. From 1795 to about 1812, the white settlers from the East moved into the area, causing inevitable conflicts and confrontations with the Native Americans" (City of Coshocton, Ohio 2007). Interestingly, the website omits the critical 1781 incident resulting in the Lenape abandonment of the region. This is odd, considering that the capture of the Lenape capital, Goschachgunk, in that year has been described as "one of the grandest victories for the colonists in the American Revolutionary war" (Hill 1881: 205).

The village was captured by Colonel Daniel Brodhead and his band of federal soldiers and locally-organized militia in a surprise attack (Withers 1895: 302). The swift occupation resulted in no reported casualties on either side, but advancement into neighboring Lenape villages across the Muskingum River was hindered by a rain-swollen

current. Instead, some of the militia were ordered to guard the villagers at a site outside of town while others set buildings on fire, destroyed the village's crops, and killed sixteen warriors thought to have participated in raids (Withers 1895: 303). The following morning, a man called from the other side of the river expressing his chief's desire to parley. Colonel Brodhead guaranteed the chief's safety, but while in council a militiaman "came up, and with a tomahawk which he had concealed in the bosom of his hunting shirt, struck him a severe blow on the hinder part of his head. The poor Indian fell, and immediately expired" (Withers 1895: 303-304). With any hope to prevent further casualties now exhausted, Brodhead and his men left Goschachgunk in shambles, killing most of the prisoners on their way out of the area and taking the survivors to Fort Pitt, where they were exchanged for white captives (Withers 1895: 304). When whites established a village on the former site of Goschachgunk they christened the place Coshocton. The official Coshocton website notes that the name of the city is "an Indian word meaning, 'union of waters'" (City of Coshocton, Ohio 2007). The idea that the word "coshocton" holds the same meaning in hundreds of distinct Indigenous languages reflects a general state of ignorance concerning Indigenous culture in Coshocton today. A visit to the community's high school provides a glimpse of how predominantly white communities objectify the cultures of historically local Native American tribes merely to inspire school spirit and greatness in the realm of athletics.

A welcome sign at the entrance of the school reads "Coshocton High School, Home of the Redskins" (Figure 4.7). The school logo, a side profile of an Indian man wearing his hair braided in ponytails with a lone feather somehow affixed to his head (as if it's an appendage), is included on the sign. Adjacent is a decorative wooden street sign

constructed to look like a tomahawk (Figure 4.8). Engraved on the weapon's blade is the school logo and "Redskin Drive," the symbolic address of the school. Inside, the school gymnasium's basketball court is decorated with a painted version of the logo at its center and the *Redskins* nickname along the sidelines, and a sign above the court reads, "Home of the Redskins." The selection and use of the Redskins name at Coshocton High School reflects the desire of whites to establish a connection with the area's previous inhabitants in addition to a sense of imperialist nostalgia in commemorating their defeat and honoring their absence. It is ironic that the tomahawk is remembered as a Native American instrument of death in this community when its use by a white man to murder a defenseless Lenape chief in 1781 was one of the reasons the tribe emigrated from the area and made it available for white settlement.

Figure 4.7. The welcome sign at Coshocton, Ohio High School. Photo by the author.

Figure 4.8. A decorative wooden street sign designed to look like a tomahawk stands at the entrance of Coshocton, Ohio High School. Photo by the author.

Yutan High School, Nebraska

While not all communities using Indigenous-based team names have direct historical ties to frontier conflict per se, collective memory of, and nostalgia for, Native Americans and their stereotyped traits were utilized to create a sense of local pride. The community of Yutan, Nebraska is an interesting illustration. The town's name is derived from Ietan, the final Otoe-Missouria chief who had lived in the area prior to white settlement. Ietan was born around 1785 as Shonmonicase or Prairie Wolf. When he and his wife Hayne Hudjihini, or Eagle of Delight, accompanied an Otoe Chief to meet President Monroe in Washington D.C. in 1821, Hayne Hudjihini contracted measles and died shortly upon returning home (Creighton 1976: 6). Distraught over her death, Shonmonicase began drinking and soon became inconsolable. During a night of heavy drinking with his brother Blue Eyes, the two managed to get in a rough fight in which Shonmonicase lost the tip of his nose. Embarrassed, Shonmonicase killed his brother the next morning and left his people to live with a band of Pawnee. Wanting to die an honorable death, he earned the respect of the Pawnee for the bravery he exhibited in a battle against the "Ietan or Padouca Apache tribe," and it was from this battle that he earned the name Ietan (Creighton 1976: 6).

When Ietan returned to his people he found that whiskey had gained a grasp on Otoe-Missouria society (Wishart 1994: 45). He became the tribe's leader in 1830, and hoping to lessen the impacts of alcoholism among the tribe, made the difficult decision in 1835 to relocate the entire tribe thirty miles east to the Baptist mission of Moses Merrill in Bellevue (Creighton 1976: 6). Chief Ietan died there two years later in a gunfight with two Otoe men who had returned to the village after running away with two of his five

wives. His death signified "the end of any semblance of unity among the Otoe-Missouria" (Wishart 1994: 79-80), and by the mid 1850s the tribe had been removed south to a reservation along the Nebraska and Kansas border (Wishart 1994: 133).

White settlers in the area the Otoe-Missouria tribe resided in prior to their move to Bellevue named their community Yutan in 1884 after they were told by the State's postmaster that their first selection, Clear Creek, was too similar to another Nebraska town. Yutan High School athletic teams are called the *Chieftains*, and despite the school's claims that they are honoring Chief Ietan, Indigenous-based iconography used by the school suggests that Ietan has become a generic, exploitable Indian caricature employed to strike fear into opponents and, contrastingly, to simply entertain. Banners in the school's parking lot include the headdress-wearing image of a Native American warrior with a message reading "Welcome to Yutan Public Schools." The message changes as visitors approach the field of battle, however, as a message painted on a building at the entrance of the football field ominously warns opponents that they are in "Chieftain Territory" (Figure 4.9). This delineation of space between the "civilized" and the "savage" world is common at schools using Indigenous-based team names, warns visitors that they are entering hostile territory, suggests that Yutan athletes channel the strengths of a proud (yet vanished) race, and that they and their team is about to participate in an intense battle. The fact that Chief Ietan and his people never went to battle with invading whites appears to be lost on residents of Yutan, who employ the noble savage stereotype to inspire greatness on the athletic field.

The noble savage portrayal is inverted at Yutan High by the use of an inflatable, clown-like chieftain mascot worn by a person who maintains the costume's shape with

battery-operated fans (Figure 4.10). The costume depicts a muscular and friendly male Indian wearing the ubiquitous feather headdress and fringed pants. The shirtless state of the caricature symbolizes both the masculine and the uncivilized status the Indian warrior holds in the white imagination, but the aloof demeanor of the mascot underlies another white perception that equates Native Americans to children.

Figure 4.9. Yutan, Nebraska High School's "Chieftain Territory" notice, located on a shed outside the school's football and track facility. Photo by the author, 2006.

Figure 4.10. Yutan, Nebraska High School’s inflatable *Chieftain* mascot. Photo by the author, 2006.

WAUBONSIE VALLEY HIGH SCHOOL, ILLINOIS

Waubonsie Valley High School in Aurora, Illinois, which opened in 1975, also exploits the history of a tribe and its leader to summon a sense of school pride and performance in athletic competition. The school name was inspired by a nearby creek whose name was derived from Waubonsie, a Potawatomi chief described on the school's website as someone who "was well-known for his peaceful ways and for helping the settlers" (Waubonsie High School 2008). The website includes an image of Chief Waubonsie, likely a painting completed during a visit to Washington, D.C., in which he is without face paint, feathers, and other elaborate items commonly worn by Native Americans for their portraits. The website omits his tumultuous life prior to becoming a chief that is described elsewhere (Bourassa 1972), and presents him as a noble savage most memorable for signing treaties that ceded Potawatomi lands to the United States, opened the Chicago area to white settlement, and relocated the tribe west of the Mississippi.

This presentation is in complete contradiction with the school's *Warrior* nickname and iconography. The school crest includes the head of a Native American warrior, who dons a feather headdress, and two tomahawks that symbolize savagery and warfare (Figure 4.11). The school's football team charges into the field of battle through an inflatable feather headdress, and the fight song concludes, "W-A-R-R-I-O-R-S! WARRIORS! WARRIORS! FIGHT TEAM FIGHT! (Waubonsie High School 2008). The contradictory manners in which Waubonsie is depicted highlights the equally incongruous ways whites shape the image of American Indians to help legitimize the conquest of their lands and to provide a sense of identity.

Figure 4.11. Conflicting iconography on the Waubonsie Valley High School webpage. An image of Chief Waubonsie posted on the school's website, which presents him as a noble savage, contradicts the school crest, which includes a Native American with a feather headdress and two tomahawks. The contradictory manner in which Waubonsie is depicted highlights how whites shape their image of American Indians for collective identity and to justify conquest. Source: Waubaunsie Valley High School Website.

SCHOOLS NEAR NATIVE AMERICAN RESERVATIONS

While the majority of secondary schools using Indigenous-based team names are located far from the presence of Native Americans, a number of predominantly white schools are adjacent to reservations. Eastern Washington's Reardan High School, located fifteen miles south of the Spokane Reservation, is home to the *Indians*. The school is located near the site of the Battle of Spokane Plains (also known as the Battle of Four Lakes), the final battle of the Spokane-Coeur d'Alene-Paloos War (1858) that resulted in

the dispossession of tribal lands and removal to reservations (Manring 1912). The community of Ruidoso, whose high school athletic teams are named the *Warriors*, began as an Army outpost that was eventually named Fort Stanton in 1855. Like other forts in the region, it was established to protect settlers from Indian raids (Ryan 1998). Ruidoso is located outside the Mescalero Apache Reservation, where a high school exists for its residents. Seymour, a farming community located just outside the Oneida Reservation in northeast Wisconsin, used its *Indian* nickname as early as 1927 and retired it in 1993 (Seymour, Wisconsin High School 1927, 1993). Thirty miles north of Seymour is Shawano, a predominantly white community located seven miles outside the Menominee Reservation. Athletic teams were called the *Indians* here as early as 1929 (Shawano High School 1929). Menominee students attended Shawano High until 1976, when a school opened on the reservation, but the presentation of Native Americans in Shawano High School yearbooks prior to and after 1976 showcases how whites staged the Menominee as "Others." By situating the Menominee as antiquated relics of a vanishing era, Shawano's white residents promoted the superiority of their race and civilization.

A good example of this mindset is found in the school's 1957 yearbook. That year's senior class dedicated their yearbook to the Menominee, and although this gesture appears honorable, it is unfortunately quite the opposite. A law passed by Congress in 1954 determined that Menominee sovereignty within their reservation was to be dissolved in 1958 as part of the government's termination policy, and at the time of the yearbook dedication, the Menominee were locked in a bitter legal battle with the federal government over the cancellation of their status as an autonomous nation (Ourada 1979). The dedication reads:

> We the Senior Students of Shawano Sr. High School do hereby dedicate this our 1957 Shawnee to those Menominee Indians who have, and are graduating from our school.
>
> Because:
> They have learned with us.
> They have shared our laughter.
> They have had the same trials and heartaches.
> They have participated in our athletics and other extra curricular activities.
> They have offered us their friendship and accepted our own.
> They have triumphed, as we, over hurdles of intellect and daily living.
>
> But most of all, because we have been young Americans together, all looking ahead.

This is followed by a photo of the Spirit Rock (Figure 4.12), a sacred site for the Menominee located in the reservation. The dedication concludes:

> According to the legend of Spirit Rock, its crumbling symbolizes the disintegration of the Menominee tribe. We are confident that when Spirit Rock is no more, our neighbors will not have perished as a people, but only as a tribe, and that, under the leadership of the graduates of Shawano High School, the complete assimilation of the Menominees as an integral part of our great democracy will prove to be a pleasurable and happy experience. (Shawano, Wisconsin High School 1957: 4)

In this act, Shawano students declared the traditional Menominee "Other" dead, and they celebrated the new, assimilated Menominee. The celebratory tone of the students symbolizes their hegemonic view towards the issue of Native American sovereignty and is also contradictory, declaring them equals but only because they have assimilated. The irony of the dedication is that, although the traditional Menominee was "dead," an anachronistic representation lived on through the continued use of the *Indian* nickname and Plains Indian iconography until 1992. In that year a progressive school board allowed hearings on the issue and, after testimony by members of the Menominee

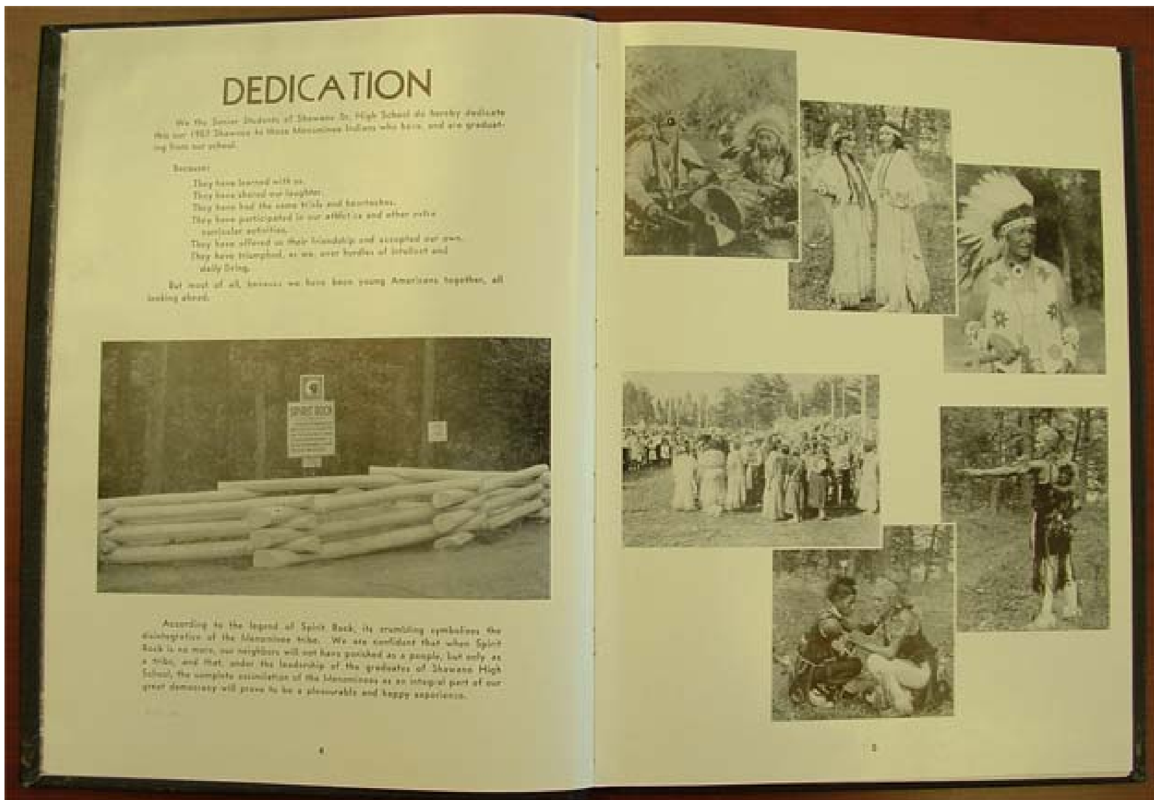


Figure 4.12. Dedication to the Menominee Indians in the 1957 edition of *The Shawnee: The Yearbook of Shawano, Wisconsin High School*.

tribe, determined that the name was offensive and outdated (Blaser 1992; Shawano High School 1993). In Shawano, as in other communities, imperialist nostalgia for Native Americans trapped them in the past, preserving them in a state that was suitable in the minds of whites.

CONCLUSION

The use of Indigenous-based team names in sport can be directly linked to white America's collective nostalgia for the winning of the Western frontier. Unable to relive their victory over Native Americans, as they had "buried the hatchet" and succumbed to a poor reservation life, whites began "playing Indian" in existing fraternal associations

such as the Order of the Red Men and as members in newly-formed organizations like the Boy Scouts, the Campfire Girls, and the Koshare Indians (Deloria 1998; Mechling 1980, 2001). Native American nicknames and mascots are another example of the practice. Armando Prats construes that American identity in the post-frontier era was in part derived from its conquest, a process that "transforms the Indian's historical and cultural reality into a strategy of American self-definition. The new nation comes to affirm its civilized being through persistent – and persistently passionate – tributes to the destruction of the 'savage' native peoples" (Prats 2002: 30). In the vacuum created by the vanished Indian stood a new Indian, the mascot. The form the mascot took was malleable; it could be presented as a noble savage, depicting honor and strength, or it could be presented as an ignoble savage, the uncivilized, bloodthirsty, and callous Indian. Each could strike fear into an opponent's heart. In a similar vein, Robert Berkhofer maintains that "[s]ince Whites primarily understood the Indian as an antithesis to themselves, then civilization and Indianness as they defined them would forever be opposites. Indianness must be conceived of as ahistorical and static" (Berkhofer 1978: 29). With few exceptions, the use of Indigenous-based team names and mascots constitutes a form of anti-conquest because they pretend to honor Native Americans when they actually freeze them in the past, allowing whites to appropriate qualities of a "vanished race" as a genesis of community solidarity, identity, and inspiration in athletic contests.

Presenting Native Americans in disingenuous ways reflects non-Native ambiguity over their honoring Indigenous cultures and historical accuracy. Peaceful leaders are remembered as warriors, warriors remembered as patriots (but only after they are

captured), and all of them wore feather headdresses, regardless of their tribal affiliation. Considering this uncovers the true status of the Indigenous-based nickname and mascot; they are not tributes to Native Americans, they are trophies of conquest. They are used to assert white hegemony or control over Native Americans, and as the following chapter reveals, the mere presence of these names in fifty states and in more than one thousand communities reflects the widespread adherence of this philosophy.

CHAPTER FIVE

LOCATIONS, FREQUENCIES, AND CHARACTERISTICS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS WITH INDIGENOUS-BASED ATHLETIC TEAM NAMES

The preceding chapters provided a brief cultural history of the ways Native Americans have been portrayed by European Americans and theories suggesting that those portrayals were founded in the ideologies of Manifest Destiny and racial superiority. The composite Indian emerging from early twentieth century film and television was both noble and savage, wise and in tune with nature but also capable of ruthlessly taking another human's life in a heartbeat. The objectified warrior personification, revered particularly by boys and adolescents of the period, inspired a legion of disparaging Native American nicknames throughout the country that continue to evoke the conquest of the Western frontier. This chapter examines the frequencies and locations of Indigenous-based team names in secondary schools as well as characteristics of the schools themselves, including their setting and the racial composition of their students. As this chapter unfolds it will become evident that white Americans were largely responsible for the selection of Indigenous-based team names and that the maps not only portray the locations of schools using the names, they are in essence mapping white America's nostalgia for the frontier era.

It is difficult to ascertain who selected the Indigenous-based team name in every high school in the United States. The locations of these schools and the contemporary racial composition of their student bodies suggest that those making the decision, whether they were administrators, students, or local sports writers, were white. If Native

Americans resided in the community at the time the nickname was selected, they were probably not consulted. Because the vast majority of Indigenous-based nicknames are used in communities where few if any Native Americans reside or have likely resided since their removal, it is doubtful that they were consulted at all.

However, dozens of secondary schools using Indigenous-based team names are located in communities that are predominantly Native American, and their inclusion in this study is meant for comparative reasons. The team names in these schools reflect the ancestries of community members and those determining the names in the same way that Dutch Americans in Pella, Iowa (*Little Dutch*), Holland, Michigan (*Dutch*), and Oostburg, Wisconsin (*Flying Dutchmen*) selected team names related to their ancestry. Some nicknames appearing offensive may not be for members of the community. For example, the Aniak, Alaska *Halfbreeds* certainly piques interest and appears odious, but much of the student body has mixed Native Alaskan/European American ancestries, and this self-chosen nickname is a source of pride among many in the community (Joling 2005). The communities of Dowagiac and Hartford, Michigan have made arrangements with a local Potawatomi tribe to portray their *Chieftain* and *Indian* iconography in a manner respectable to their culture, but this type of interaction is rare among schools with Indigenous-based team names.

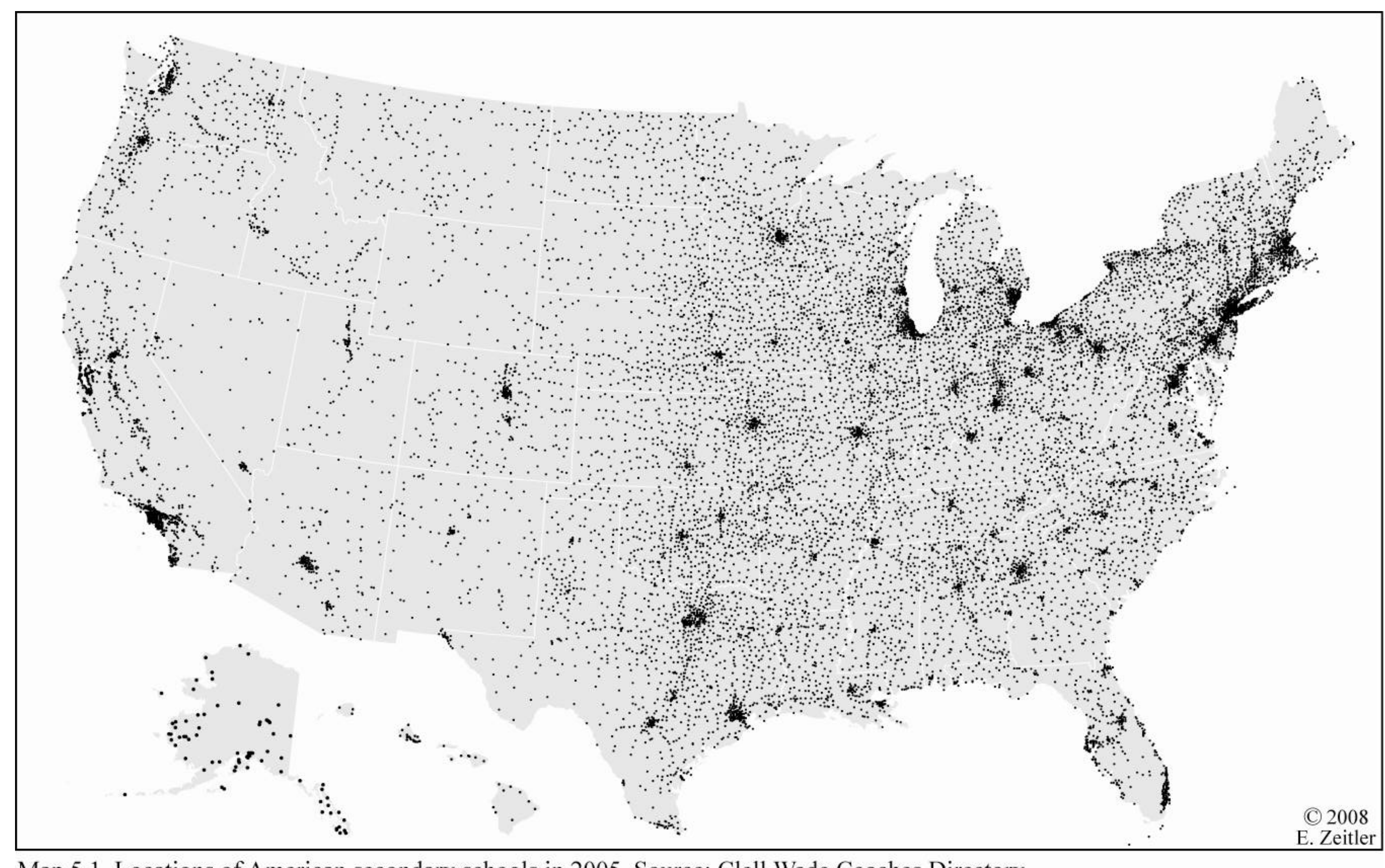
CARTOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF INDIGENOUS-BASED TEAM NAME PRESENCE

The primary research question in this chapter involves geographic inquiry at its most fundamental level: where are high schools with Indigenous team names located, what patterns emerge when their locations are mapped, and how can these patterns be explained? Utilizing cartographic techniques to examine spatial phenomena is a

fundamental component of geographic inquiry and “one of the basic tools of the geographer’s kit” (Kelley 2005:2). Mark Monmonier concurs, writing that “mapping is not solely a medium for communication, but is also a tool of analysis and discovery” (1993:12).

Indigenous-based team name frequency

Intensive empirical research involving the overall occurrence of Native American team name use in secondary schools constitutes a void in anti-mascot literature. The sheer immensity of the task has understandably hindered research, and estimates of the number of these schools varies greatly, ranging from “1,400” (Staurowsky 2004) to “2,600” (Hughey 2004) to “innumerable” (King and Springwood 2001a). The lack of an exact number places these schools in a nebulous position, as if they are floating in space, “out there somewhere.” Additionally, previous work has not addressed the spatial patterns of Indigenous-based team names that, when mapped, reveal telling patterns. The *Clell Wade Coaches Directory*, a comprehensive public and private high school index, provides a way to fix these schools in place and make their presence visible for further inquiry. The 2005 edition of the *Clell Wade Coaches Directory* was digitally transcribed into a database which was then merged with a 2003 zip code GIS shapefile. The resulting map, displaying 18,973 secondary schools, reflects the general population distribution of the United States (Map 5.1).



Map 5.1. Locations of American secondary schools in 2005. Source: Clell Wade Coaches Directory.

An analysis of school nicknames in the directory reveals that the ten most popular names are, in order of frequency, *Eagles*, *Tigers*, *Bulldogs*, *Panthers*, *Wildcats*, *Warriors*, *Lions*, *Cougars, Indians* and *Trojans* (Table 5.1). Seven of these names are wild predatory animals, and *Trojans* (as they are depicted in high school iconography) and *Warriors* are persons trained to kill, or human predators. The presence of Indians on this list indicates that those selecting the nicknames perceived America's Indigenous people to be hostile and predatory and should be feared.

If all Indigenous-based nicknames like *Braves*, *Chiefs*, *Redskins*, and others are accumulated into a single category, they total 1,368 and become the most popular names in the country, falling in-line with Staurowsky's 2004 estimate and outnumbering *Eagles* by more than 300 schools (Table 5.2). These schools represent 7.2% of all public and private high schools in the United States. A similar pattern once existed among collegiate nicknames. Franks (1982: 9) noted that Indigenous-based nicknames became the most

Eagles	1,049
Tigers	860
Bulldogs	791
Panthers	753
Wildcats	672
Warriors	588
Lions	444
Cougars	437
Indians	435
Trojans	379

Table 5.1. Frequency of the ten most popular team names in American secondary schools, 2005. Source: *Clell Wade Coaches Directory*.

Apaches	14	*Kiowas*	1
Arrows	12	*Little Green*	1
Battling Warriors	1	*Little Indians*	2
Big Red	5	*Marauders*	1
Big Reds	8	*Mohawks*	15
Big Warriors	1	*Mohicans*	2
Blackhawks	17	*Moquis*	1
Braves	115	*Na Alii*	1
Charging Indians	1	*Prophets*	1
Cherokees	5	*Purple Warriors*	1
Chickasaws	2	*Raiders*	32
Chiefs	67	*Red Arrows*	1
Chieftains	39	*Red Raiders*	27
Chippewas	1	*Redmen*	20
Chipps	1	*Reds*	3
Choctaws	2	*Redskins*	73
Comanches	4	*Running Indians*	1
Eskimos	4	*Sachems*	6
Fighting Braves	1	*Saukees*	1
Fighting Indians	2	*Savages*	11
Fighting Reds	1	*Scarlet Warriors*	1
Fighting Seminoles	1	*Seminoles*	7
Flying Arrows	1	*Senecas*	2
Golden Arrows	2	*Sequoits*	1
Golden Warriors	1	*Shamen*	1
Haida Warriors	1	*Sioux*	4
Halfbreeds	1	*Thorpes*	1
Hatchets	3	*Thunderbirds*	43
Illineks	1	*Thunderhawks*	6
Indians	431	*Tomahawks*	5
Injuns	1	*Utes*	1
Kahoks	1	*Warriors*	347
Kays	1	**Total**	**1,368**

Table 5.2. Frequency of Indigenous-based team names in secondary schools, 2005. Source: *Clell Wade Coaches Directory*.

commonly used names in collegiate athletics when they were grouped. Without the 2005 NCAA decision requiring the majority of colleges and universities using Native American nicknames to retire them, Franks' statement would remain true today.

The five most common Indigenous-related team names – *Indians*, *Warriors*, *Braves*, *Redskins*, and *Chiefs* – constitute over 75% of the Indian names. Other nicknames used by more than ten schools include *Thunderbirds*, *Chieftains*, *Raiders*, *Red Raiders*, *Redmen*, *Blackhawks*, *Mohawks*, *Apaches*, *Arrows*, and *Savages*. These names embody the multiple images Native Americans possess in the European American psyche: the generic Indian, the noble Indian brave, the savage Indian warrior, the uncivilized Redskin, romantic facets of their culture, and the weapons with which they fought the white man – the tomahawk and the arrow.

The term *Indian* is used to broadly describe all Indigenous peoples in North America, but tribal names such as *Mohawks* and *Apaches* are also used among high school nicknames in and outside of tribal homelands. *Chiefs* and *Chieftains* are common titles for group leaders in many world cultures, but in the context of American secondary school team names, they refer specifically to Native American tribal leaders.

Team names such as *Warriors* (those who participate in warfare), *Raiders* (those who raid), and *Marauders* (those who roam and plunder) may not always refer specifically to Native Americans, but a number of schools use these and other names like *Savages* (those who are uncivilized) to describe Indians. Together, they account for 418 (30.5%) of all high school Indigenous-based team names. A comprehensive search for iconography conducted on the websites of schools with these names revealed that fifty-nine of the 375 (15.7%) schools using *Raider* nicknames employed Native American iconography in 2005 (iconography for seventy-one schools was not visible online). Fewer schools, only one of twenty-eight, used the Indian as the mascot for its *Marauder* name.

Americans, it turns out, tend to view Native Americans as warriors. In 2005, 588 schools used *Warrior* nicknames in the country, and 347 (59%) used Native American mascots to depict such warriors. A small number, 116 (19.7%) were not using Indigenous-related iconography, and imagery could not be found for the remaining 125 schools. Many of these schools opened after American Indian Movement (AIM) activists first raised the issue in the early 1970s. In Virginia alone, two high schools opening in the 1990s selected the Native American warrior as their mascot. This is an important indicator of how European American collective memory can shape the image of another race. In the white mind "warriors" are not white, they are Indian.

Other disparaging team names include references to war, including the Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio Walsh Jesuit High School *Battling Warriors*, the Lake Charles, Louisiana Washington-Marion Magnet High School *Charging Indians*, the Lakeland, Florida Lake Gibson High School *Fighting Braves*, the Sanford, Florida Seminole High School *Fighting Seminoles*, the Jackson, Missouri and Rittman, Ohio *Fighting Indians*, and the Eaton, Colorado *Fighting Reds*. These team names and others that incorporate aspects of war including *Warriors*, *Braves* and weapons such as *Arrows*, *Tomahawks*, and *Hatchets* display a false image of Native Americans as being characteristically bellicose or war-like.

Thunderbirds (used by forty-three schools) and *Thunderhawks* (used by six schools) are legendary creatures among diverse North American tribes and are commonly appropriated by non-Natives for use in art and literature in addition to team names. Of the forty-nine schools using these names (3.5% of all Indigenous-based team names), only six have a significant Native American proportion in their student body – Kake High

School in Alaska, Lodge Pole High School in Hays, Montana, Zuni High School in New Mexico, Tiospaye Topa High School in La Plante, South Dakota, Oneida High School in Wisconsin, and Lakeland High School in Minocqua, Wisconsin.

A handful of schools field teams bear the names of individual Native American leaders. Thirty-six high schools in this country use the *Blackhawk* nickname. The name is derived from Black Hawk, a Sauk leader who led a revolt in the Upper Mississippi River frontier in 1832. As the final conflict between European Americans and Native Americans in the region, the defeat of Black Hawk represented the end of Indigenous resistance and the securing of the region for increased white settlement (Trask 2006). In recent years many schools using this name have retired the Indian mascot and adopted a black-colored hawk as a replacement.

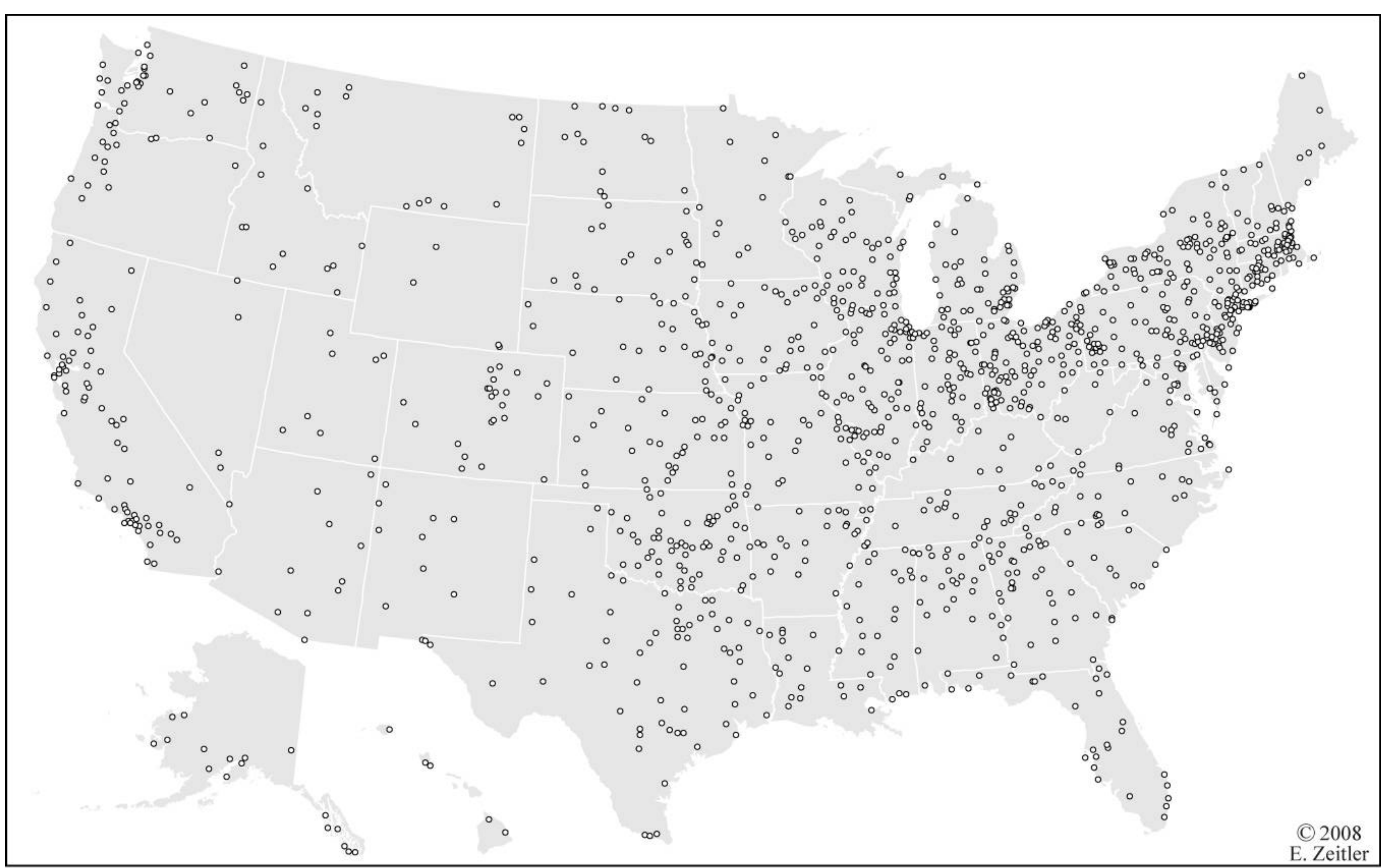
The community of Prophetstown, Illinois is located near the site of a village once home to Wabokieshiek, the Ho-Chunk (Winnebago) leader and spiritual advisor to Black Hawk during the Black Hawk War. Remembered by many as the Winnebago Prophet, this name has been adopted by the town's athletic teams, the *Prophets*. Teams fielded by South Dakota's Pine Ridge High School, located on the Pine Ridge Oglala Lakota Sioux Reservation, are called the *Thorpes* in honor of Jim Thorpe, the celebrated Sac and Fox athlete who won two Olympic medals in 1912 and played professional football and baseball (Crawford 2005).

Tribal names are used by seventy-one (5.1%) of schools using Indigenous-based nicknames. *Mohawks*, *Apaches*, *Seminoles*, *Cherokees*, *Comanches*, *Eskimos*, and *Sioux* are the most numerous, and other names include locally and regionally-known tribes such as *Chippewas*, *Choctaws*, *Kays*, *Kiowas*, *Moquis*, and *Utes*. The team name at

Collinsville High School in Illinois, the *Kahoks*, is derived from the prehistoric Cahokia Mound complex located nearby, and the school has adopted the Cahokia tribe as their mascot. Pittsville, Illinois uses the *Saukees* nickname for its athletic teams. The Saukee tribe, also known as the Sac or Sauk, lived along the Mississippi River north of St. Louis before being dispossessed and relocated west. The northeastern Illinois town of Antioch uses an Indian mascot for its *Sequoit* high school nickname, and although the word has ties to the Potawatomi who once lived in the area, it has no reference to an Indigenous person per se (Willman 2005). The high school managed by the University of Illinois Champaign-Urbana fields teams by the name *Illineks* in reference to the Illinois, or Illiniwek, tribe which once inhabited the central part of the state.

Locations of Schools with Indigenous-based Team Names

In 2005, there was at least one secondary school using an Indigenous-based team name in every state and Washington, D.C. (Map 5.2). When examined at the national level, school locations appear scattered, but on closer examination a concentrated band of schools runs from New England west through Pennsylvania, through the lower Midwest states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois before scattering into the western and southern Great Plains. Significant clusters of schools are seen in a region extending from the cities and suburbs of Boston through New York City to Philadelphia, in Pittsburgh and its environs west into the Youngstown and Cleveland region, in Detroit, Cincinnati, Chicago and their hinterlands, in Tulsa, and in the Los Angeles basin. Regions that lack the presence of such schools include northern New England, most of the states of Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky, the western Great Plains, Rocky Mountain, and Great Basin regions of the American West, and northern Alaska. The relatively small population in



Map 5.2. Locations of American secondary schools using Indigenous-based team names in 2005. Source: Clell Wade Coaches Directory.

	# of schools		# of schools
Ohio	93	South Dakota	20
New York	86	Louisiana	19
Pennsylvania	73	Alaska	17
California	70	North Carolina	17
Illinois	68	Oregon	17
Texas	63	North Dakota	15
Oklahoma	55	Minnesota	14
Michigan	48	Montana	14
Indiana	47	South Carolina	14
Wisconsin	43	Maryland	13
Massachusetts	41	Arizona	12
Missouri	39	Idaho	12
Kansas	36	New Mexico	12
Georgia	35	Kentucky	10
Iowa	33	New Hampshire	10
Alabama	29	Utah	9
Florida	28	Maine	8
New Jersey	28	West Virginia	7
Arkansas	26	Vermont	6
Nebraska	25	Wyoming	5
Washington	25	Hawai'i	4
Tennessee	24	Nevada	4
Virginia	24	Delaware	1
Mississippi	23	District of Columbia	1
Colorado	22	Rhode Island	1
Connecticut	22	**Total**	**1,368**

Table 5.3. Number of secondary schools using Indigenous-based team names by state in 2005. Source: *Clell Wade Coaches Directory*.

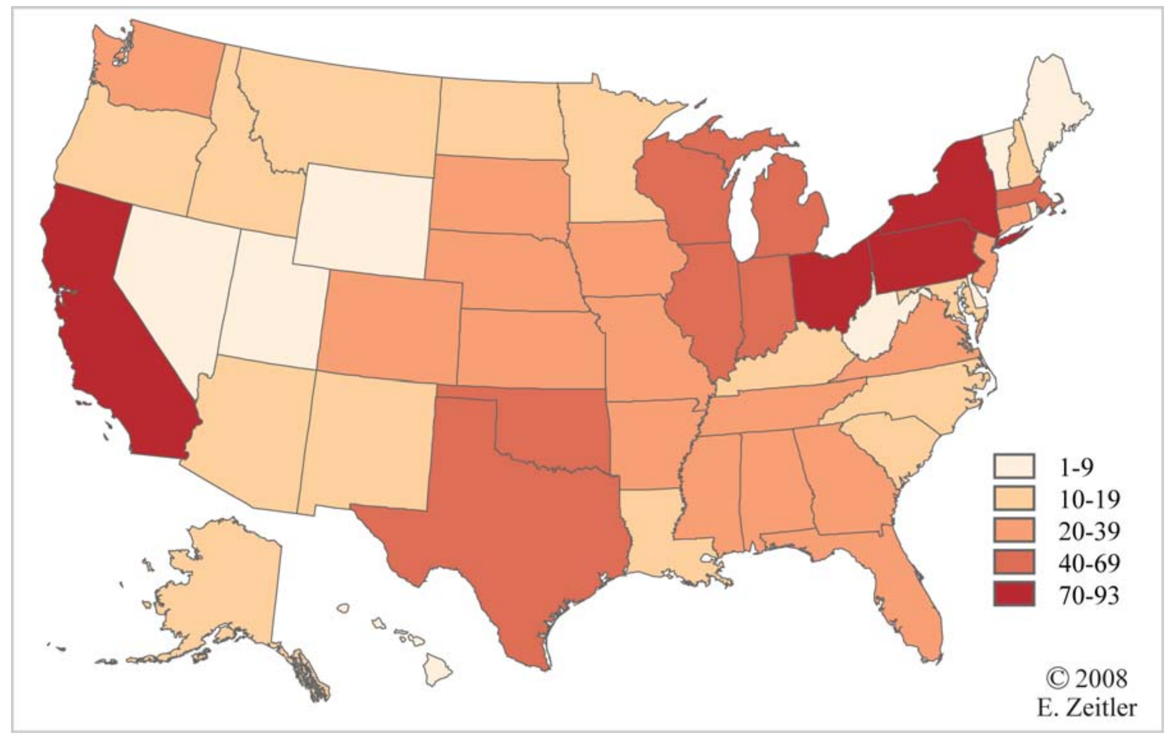
many of these regions provides a partial explanation for the lack of such schools, but when the number of schools with Native American nicknames is standardized by the total number of secondary schools in the state, slightly different patterns emerge.

Twenty-seven states contain more than twenty secondary schools with Indigenous-based team names (Table 5.3). Many states containing a high number of schools – Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania, California, Illinois, and Texas – also rank high

among states with Native American team names (Map 5.3). However, many of these states do not rank high in terms of containing the highest percentage of schools with Indigenous-based nicknames. Many states atop this category, including Indiana, Oklahoma, Ohio, South Dakota, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, share notable histories involving white-Indigenous conflict (Table 5.4). For example, William Henry Harrison's battles against Tecumseh's confederacy during the War of 1812 are venerated in

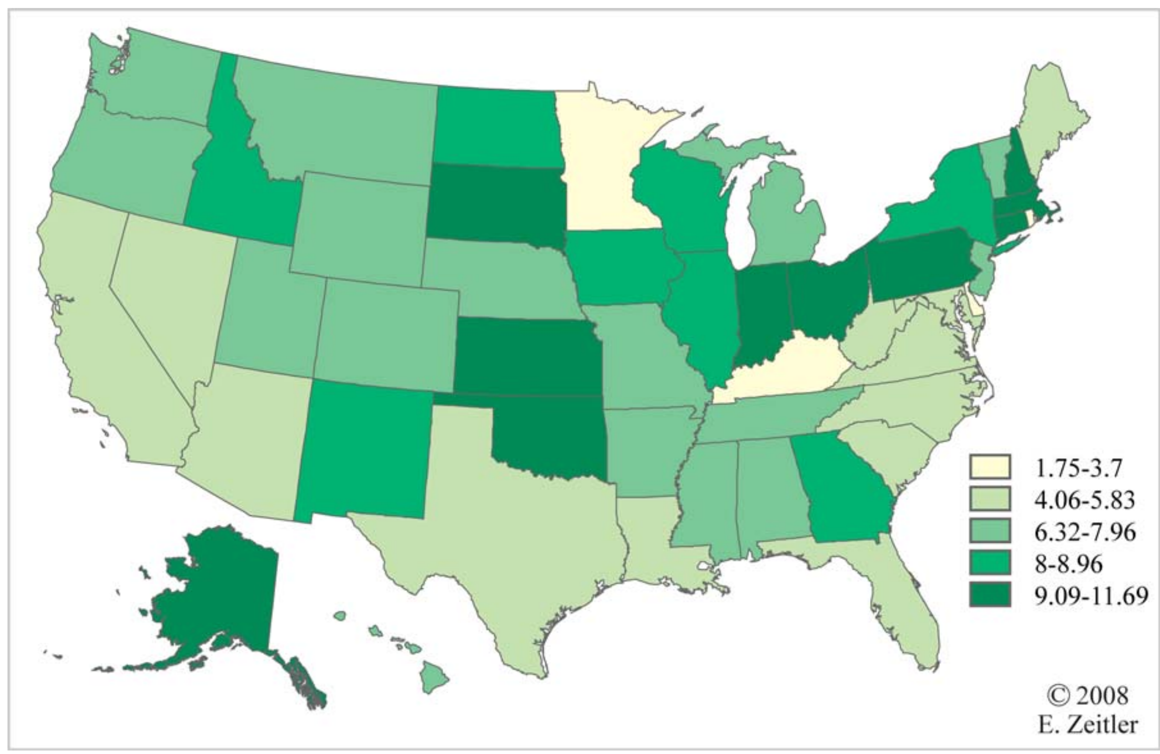
	% of schools		% of schools
Indiana	11.69	Tennessee	6.98
Oklahoma	11.27	Alabama	6.74
Ohio	11.23	Washington	6.67
South Dakota	10.53	Missouri	6.55
Massachusetts	10.51	Michigan	6.37
Connecticut	10.43	Hawai'i	6.35
Pennsylvania	9.76	New Jersey	6.33
Kansas	9.63	Oregon	6.32
New Hampshire	9.35	Virginia	5.83
Alaska	9.09	Nevada	5.71
Idaho	8.96	South Carolina	5.67
Illinois	8.91	California	5.61
Wisconsin	8.67	Arizona	5.41
New York	8.57	Maine	5.30
Iowa	8.31	Florida	4.93
North Dakota	8.29	West Virginia	4.90
Georgia	8.27	Maryland	4.69
New Mexico	8.00	Louisiana	4.47
Utah	7.96	Texas	4.27
Nebraska	7.89	North Carolina	4.06
Montana	7.87	District of Columbia	3.70
Vermont	7.50	Kentucky	3.55
Colorado	7.46	Minnesota	3.12
Arkansas	7.45	Delaware	2.22
Wyoming	7.25	Rhode Island	1.75
Mississippi	7.17		

Table 5.4. Percentage of secondary schools using Indigenous-based team names by state in 2005. Source: *Clell Wade Coaches Directory*.



Map 5.3. Frequency of secondary schools with Indigenous-based team names in 2005. Source: *Clell Wade Coaches Directory*.

American history for securing the Indiana frontier for white settlement. These states include two in the Northeast, two in the Midwest, and two in the Great Plains (Map 5.4). From a regional perspective, the Northeast and Midwestern sections of the country stand out in the frequency of Indigenous-based nicknames and also in the percentage of all schools that have Indigenous-based nicknames. Percentages drop significantly south of Pennsylvania and the Ohio River, where Georgia ranks highest with a Native American nickname rate of more than eight percent. Many states with high percentages west of the Mississippi River – North Dakota, South Dakota, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Alaska in particular – stand out due to a relatively high number of schools that are predominantly Native American in demography. States with low proportions of Indigenous-based nicknames are Rhode Island, Delaware, Kentucky, and Minnesota. An overall low

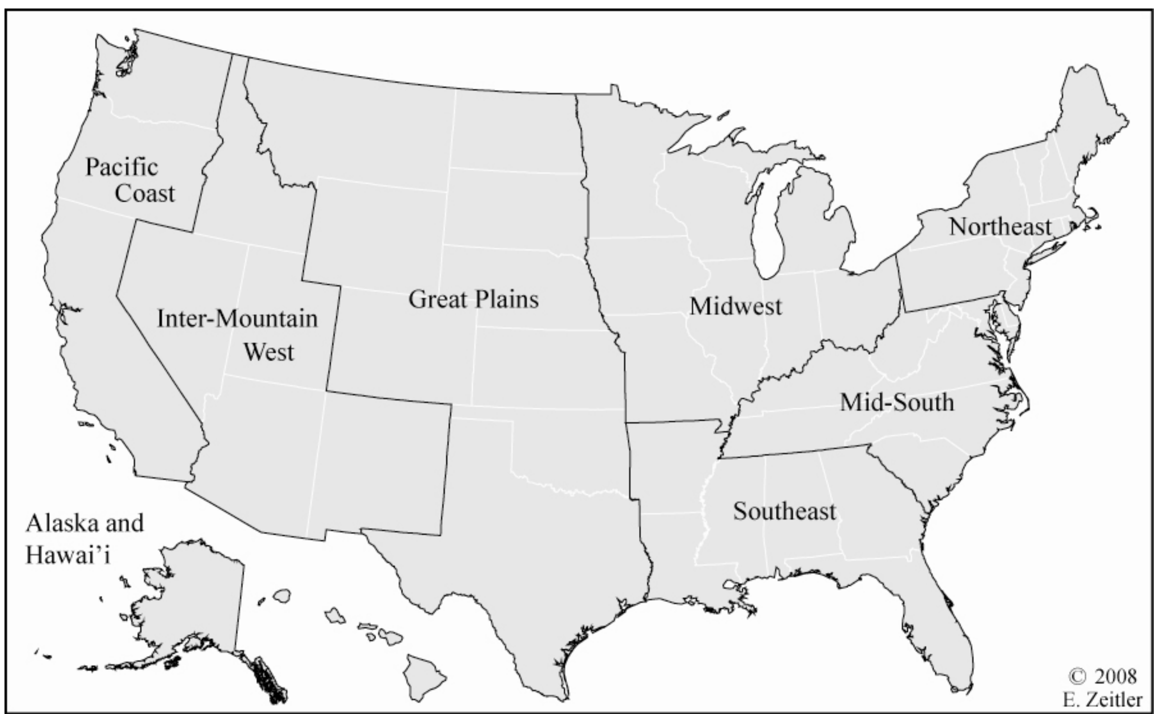


Map 5.4. Percentage of secondary schools with Indigenous-based team names in 2005. Source: *Clell Wade Coaches Directory*.

number of schools in Rhode Island (57) and Delaware (45) may explain their low percentages, as it would take only two or three additional schools to raise the percentages significantly. Minnesota's low percentage is likely attributed to the work of AIM, who in the early 1990s successfully lobbied the State of Minnesota to encourage schools to retire Native American mascots. Three of the remaining fourteen schools in 2005 had student bodies which were more than 45% Native American. Kentucky's low ranking – only ten of the state's 282 schools used an Indian nickname – may be attributable to the preferred selection of nicknames referring to the Civil War era (*Colonels*, *Generals*, and *Rebels*), which constitute nearly twice as many nicknames as Indigenous-related names. Kentucky's position as a historical boundary between the Union and Confederacy likely

inspired more nicknames than the frontier warfare between white settlers and Native Americans occurring generations earlier.

When the nation is compartmentalized into broadly-defined regions as seen in Map 5.5, the Northeast and Midwest stand out in terms of frequency and as a percentage of all schools: more than eight percent of schools in each of these regions used an Indigenous- based team name in 2005 (Table 5.5). A high percentage of schools in Alaska and Hawai'I use the names, but a majority of these schools are in communities which are predominantly Indigenous. More than seven percent of schools in the Great Plains and Inter-Mountain West regions use Indian nicknames, and the Southeast, Pacific West, and Mid-South regions had a Native American nickname rate of at least five percent. The presence of Native-majority schools in three regions inflates their numbers



Map 5.5. Regions utilized in geographic analysis of Indigenous-based team names.

and percentages. When such schools are excluded in Alaska and Hawai'i, where fourteen of the region's twenty-one schools are predominantly Native Alaskan or Hawaiian, the region's percentage decreases to 2.8%. In the Great Plains and Inter-Mountain West, where the majority of Native Americans reside today, schools with a Native majority inflate the number of schools by forty-five and seventeen and the percentages by 1.3% and 2.5%, respectively.

There is little regional variability among the most popular Indigenous-based team names (Table 5.6). The most frequently used nicknames, *Indians*, *Warriors*, *Braves*, and *Chiefs* or *Chieftains*, appear in the top five names lists for all regions except for Alaska and Hawai'i, where no schools use the *Indians* name. The name *Redskins* appears in every region except for Alaska and Hawai'i and the Northeast. The *Thunderbird* nickname was popular in the Inter-Mountain West, Pacific West, and Alaska and Hawai'i, and *Red Raider* and *Raider* nicknames are more common in the Northeast than any other region.

	# of states	# of schools	Total # of schools	% of all schools	% of all schools if majority-Native schools are subtracted
Northeast	9	275	3,189	8.62	8.62
Alaska & Hawai'i	2	21	250	8.40	2.8
Midwest	8	384	4,672	8.20	8.13
Great Plains	9	255	3,569	7.14	5.80
Inter-Mountain West	5	49	689	7.11	4.60
Southeast	6	161	2,516	6.40	6.35
Pacific West	3	112	1,892	5.92	5.6
Mid-South	8	111	2,196	5.05	5.00
Total	50	1,368	18,973	7.20	6.75

Table 5.5. Number and percent of secondary schools with Indigenous-based team names by region in 2005. Source: *Clell Wade Coaches Directory*.

Northeast		Midwest		Mid-South		Southeast	
97	*Indians*	114	*Indians*	42	*Warriors*	55	*Indians*
59	*Warriors*	86	*Warriors*	37	*Indians*	44	*Warriors*
19	*Red Raiders*	33	*Braves*	8	*Braves*	15	*Chiefs*
16	*Braves*	27	*Redskins*	8	*Chiefs*	11	*Braves*
16	*Raiders*	14	*Chiefs*	6	*Redskins*	8	*Redskins*
Great Plains		**Inter-Mountain West**		**Pacific West**		**Alaska and Hawai'i**	
93	*Indians*	14	*Warriors*	35	*Warriors*	9	*Warriors*
64	*Warriors*	8	*Braves*	28	*Indians*	4	*Braves*
17	*Braves*	7	*Indians*	19	*Braves*	2	*Thunderbirds*
14	*Chieftains*	5	*Thunderbirds*	7	*Redskins*	2	*Chiefs*
13	*Redskins*	4	*Redskins & Chiefs*	5	*Thunderbirds & Chieftains*		

Table 5.6. Most frequent Indigenous-based team names by region in 2005. Source: *Clell Wade Coaches Directory*.

Town settings

A core question related to the locations of secondary schools using Indigenous-based team names involves their specific setting. Do these schools tend to be located in larger cities, suburban fringes, smaller towns, or rural areas? The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) compiles such data for every school in the nation. The NCES uses two methods, one called an “urban-centric” model and another “population-based” model to classify school locales. Classification within the urban-centric model, which categorizes schools within twelve classes based either on a school’s location within a city or suburb or its distance from an urban area, is designed to accentuate schools located on the urban fringe (the transition zone where urban and rural land uses blend). The population-based model locates schools within eight classes: large cities with more than 250,000 persons that constitute the core of a Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA), mid-size cities with less than 250,000 people that are the core of a MSA, the urban fringe of a large city, the urban fringe of a mid-size city, large towns (located

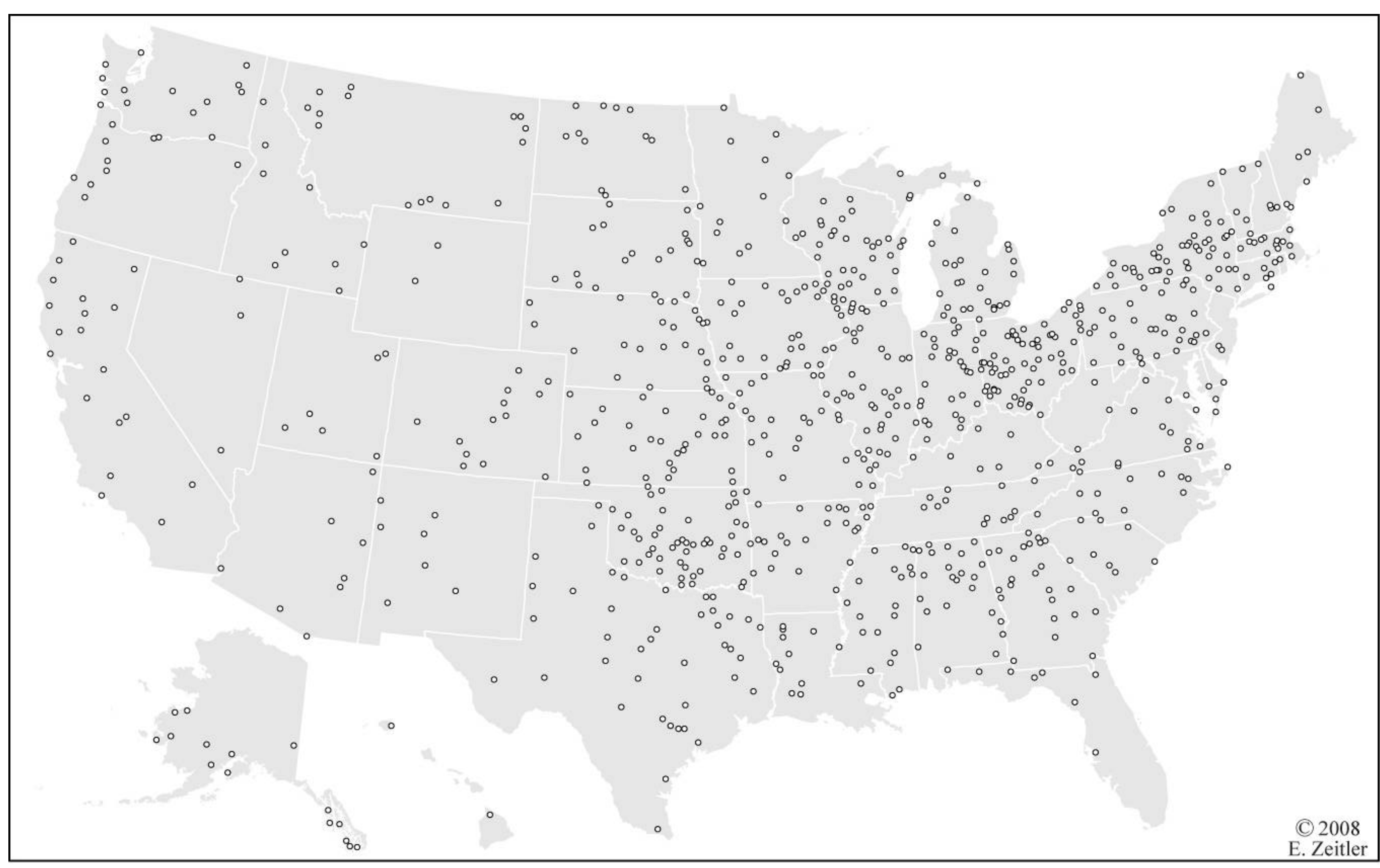
outside of MSAs with more than 25,000 persons), small towns (located outside of MSAs with between 2,500 and 25,000 residents), rural places outside of MSAs, and rural places within MSAs. The population-based scheme is used and discussed here because, for the purposes of this study, a school's location within a place (city, town, rural area) is more telling than its distance from an urban center.

The distribution of secondary schools using Indigenous-based team names in 2005 is heavily weighted towards small town and rural settings (Table 5.7). Nearly two-thirds (62%) of all schools using Indian nicknames, 851 in all, were located in such places (Map 5.6). The frequency of nicknames in these schools, many of which were established in the first decades of the twentieth century, reflects the presence of imperialist nostalgia in American society at the time. Schools located on the urban fringe, where new school construction has been at its greatest for decades, constitute or one-quarter (350) of schools with Native American nicknames. The remaining schools, numbering 167 (12% of all schools), were located in large and mid-size cities or large towns (Map 5.7).

Population-Based Location	**# of schools**	**% of schools**
Large city (> = 250,000, core of MSA)	61	4.46
Mid-size city (< 250,000, core of MSA)	89	6.5
Urban fringe of large city	214	15.56
Urban fringe of mid-size city	136	9.93
Large town (> = 25,000 and outside MSA)	17	1.24
Small town (2,500-25,000 and outside MSA)	174	12.71
Rural, outside MSA	441	32.21
Rural, inside MSA	236	17.24

Generalized Categorization	**# of schools**	**% of schools**
Large and Mid-Size Cities or Large Towns	167	12.22
Urban Fringe	350	25.49
Small Towns	174	12.71
Rural Area	677	49.45

Table 5.7. Location of secondary schools using Indigenous-based team names, categorized by community population, in 2005. Sources: *Clell Wade Coaches Directory* and the National Center for Education Statistics.



Map 5.6. Secondary schools using Indigenous-based team names located in small towns, rural areas within Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs), and rural areas outside of MSAs in 2005. Source: Clell Wade Coaches Directory and the National Center for Education Statistics.

Map 5.7. Secondary schools using Indigenous-based team names located in large or mid-size cities, the urban fringes of those cities, or large towns in 2005. Source: Clell Wade Coaches Directory and the National Center for Education Statistics.

Ethnic composition of schools with Indigenous-based team names

The ethnic composition of a school's student body often mirrors that of the community, and data available from the National Center for Education Statistics indicate that of the 1,062,066 students attending schools with Indigenous-based team names during the 2005-2006 school year, nearly seventy percent (741,867 students) were white. Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians together constituted twenty-seven percent (292,062 students), and Indigenous students made up less than three percent (28,137 students) of the total. Many of these schools were diverse in the limited sense that there was at least one member of each group in attendance, but Indigenous students were absent from the student bodies of 456 schools, the most of any ethnic group (Figure 5.1). The most frequent percentage segment among all ethnic groups involves 608 schools (44% of all high schools with Native American team names) that were between ninety and ninety nine percent white, and the second most frequent segment were 577 schools in which the student body was between .1 and .9% Native American.

Native Americans were the majority racial group in eighty-seven schools using Indigenous-based team names in 2005 and were clustered in the northern Great Plains, Oklahoma, Arizona and New Mexico, Alaska, and Hawai'i (Map 5.8). Seventy-five schools with a Black, or African American, majority, mostly located in the American South and in urban centers in the Northeast and Midwest, used Native American nicknames (Map 5.9). Schools with a Hispanic majority, forty-seven in all, were found in south Texas, New Mexico, California, the New York City region, and scattered small towns like Booker, Texas, Mattawa, Washington, and Schuyler, Nebraska (Map 5.10).

Only two schools with an Asian majority, both in California, fielded teams with Indian nicknames (Map 5.10). Predominantly white or European American high schools make up the remaining 1,087, or 79.5%, of schools using Indigenous-based team names in 2005, and they are most prevalent in the Northeast and Midwest regions of the country (Map 5.11).

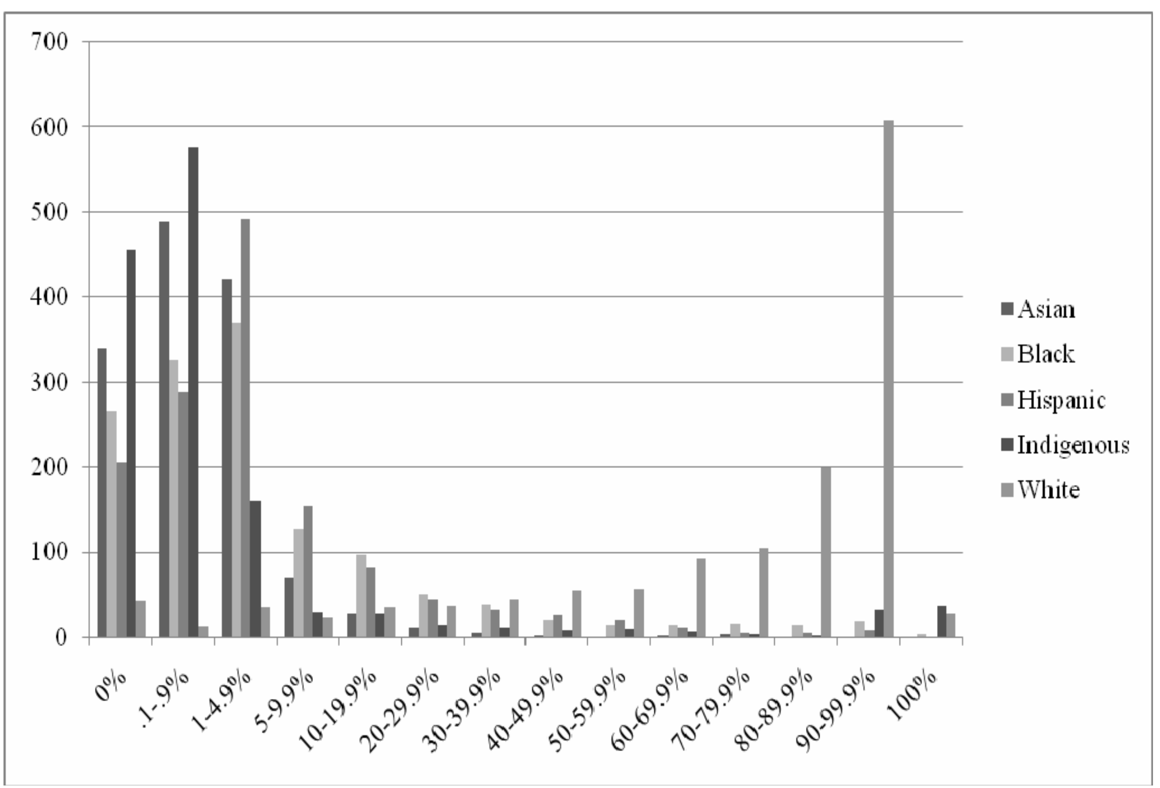
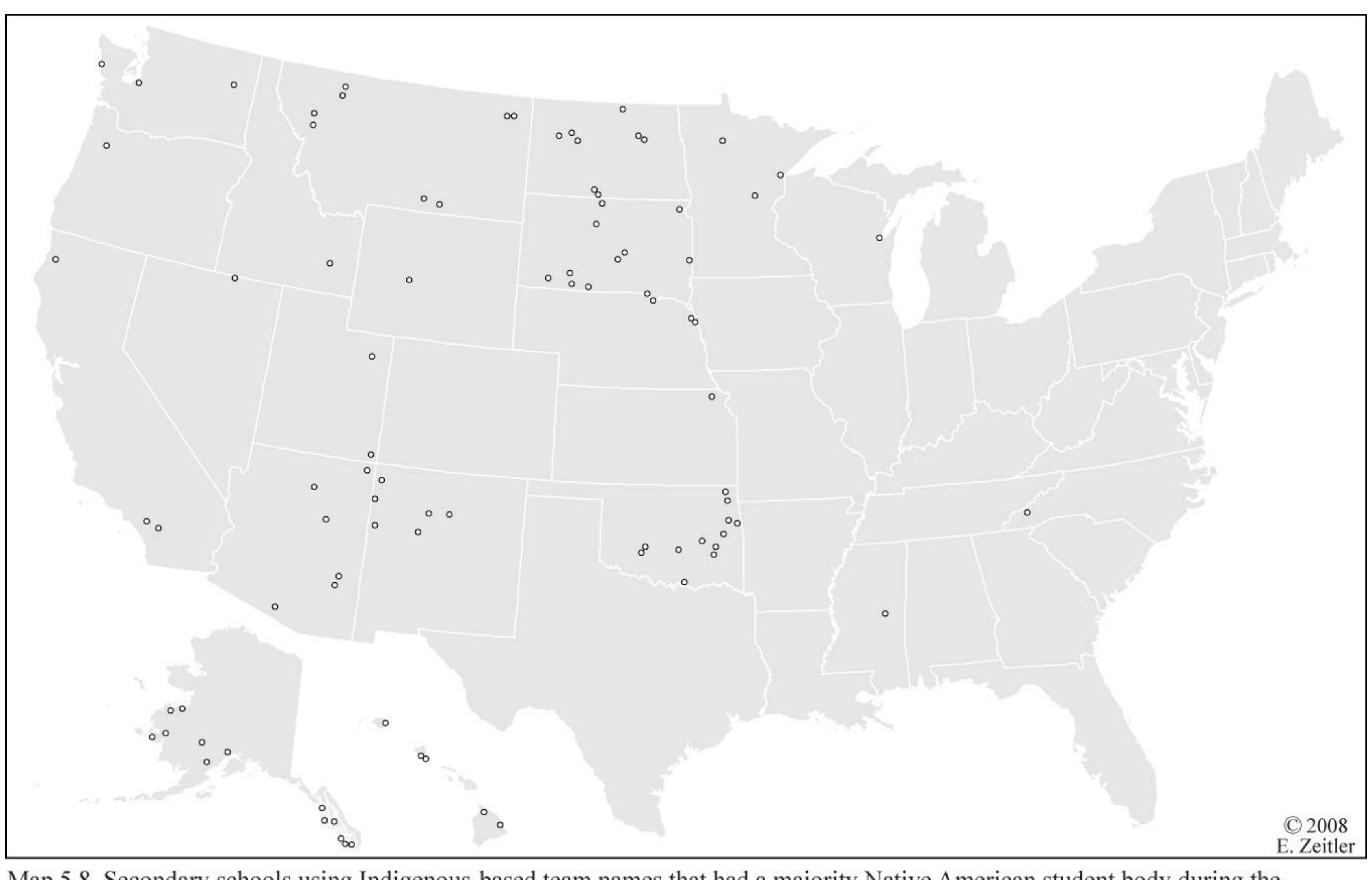


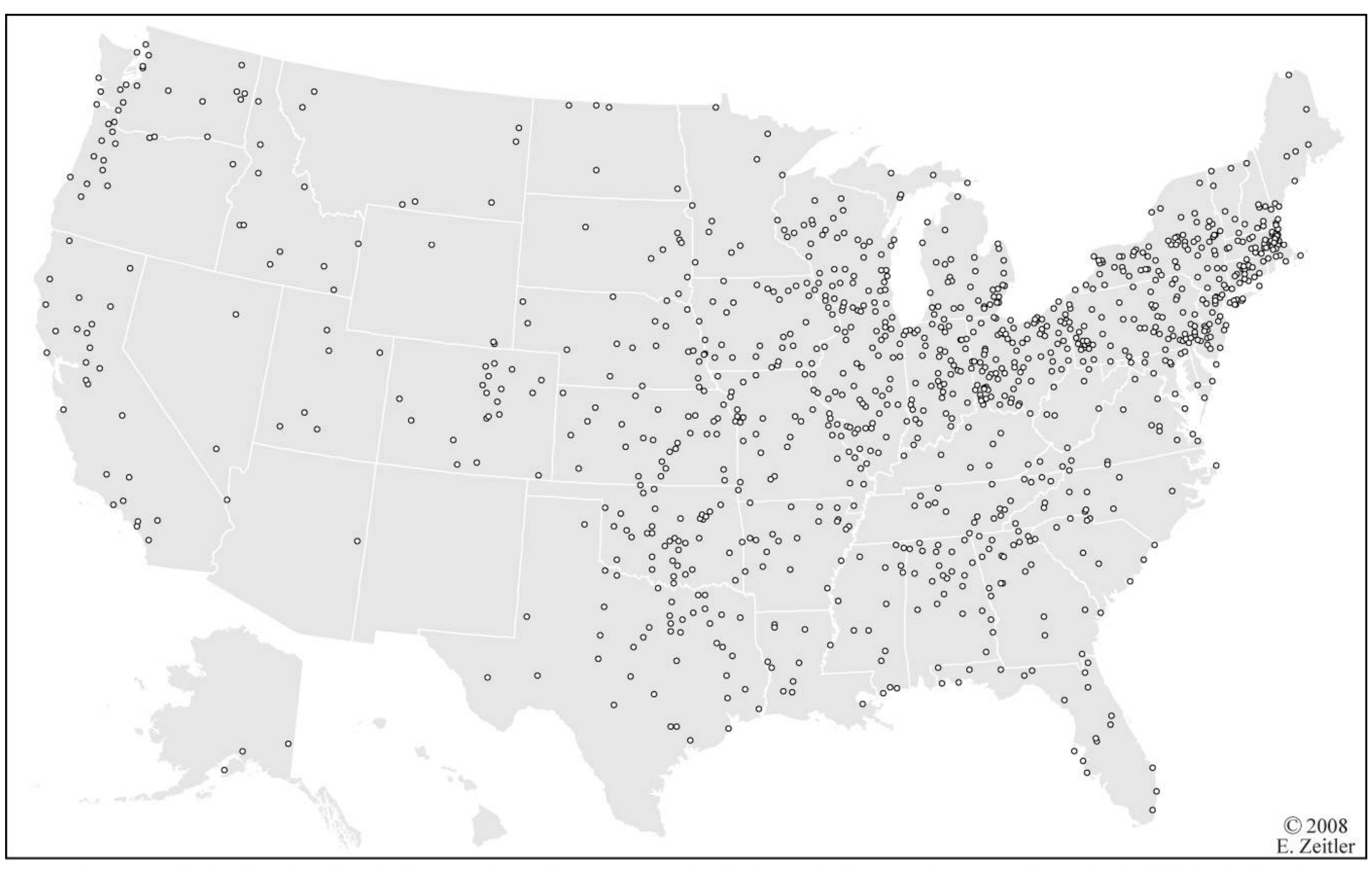
Figure 5.1. The ethnic composition of secondary schools using Indigenous-based team names in 2006. The y-axis signifies the number of schools containing segmented percentage groups of the student body, which are represented on the x-axis.



Map 5.8. Secondary schools using Indigenous-based team names that had a majority Native American student body during the 2005-2006 school year. Source: Clell Wade Coaches Directory and the National Center for Education Statistics.

Map 5.9. Secondary schools using Indigenous-based team names that had a majority African American student body during the 2005-2006 school year. Source: Clell Wade Coaches Directory and the National Center for Education Statistics.

Map 5.10. Secondary schools using Indigenous-based team names that had a majority Hispanic or Asian American student body during the 2005-2006 school year. Source: Clell Wade Coaches Directory and the National Center for Education Statistics.



Map 5.11. Secondary schools using Indigenous-based team names that had a majority European American student body during the 2005-2006 school year. Source: Clell Wade Coaches Directory and the National Center for Education Statistics.

Distribution of individual team names

Investigating the distribution of specific nicknames unveils many interesting geographic patterns at national and regional scales. Schools using the nickname *Indians* are most frequent in the Northeast, Midwest, and southern Great Plains. Clusters appear in the New York City, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Chicago areas, and are scattered throughout most of the country outside of the northern Great Plains, the Inter-Mountain West, Alaska, and Hawai'i (Map 5.12). A handful of schools use the adjectives *Charging*, *Little*, and *Running* to, perhaps, provoke a heightened sense of fear among opponents. Browning High School, located on the Blackfeet Reservation in northwestern Montana, uses the *Running Indians* name. Washington-Marion Magnet High School in Lake Charles, Louisiana fields teams with the *Charging Indians* name. The school crest includes a Native American atop a horse poised to release a spear (Lake Charles Washington-Marion Online 2005). Bishop Rice High School in South Burlington, Vermont and Indiana, Pennsylvania High School used the *Little Indians* name for their athletic teams, and the offensive name *Injuns* was used at Lemont High School in suburban Chicago. Since 2005 Bishop Rice has retired the name to become the *Green Knights* and Lemont has altered their team name to the *Indians*. Indigenous-based *Warrior* team names in high schools are present throughout the country but are most frequent in the Northeast, Midwest, and Great Plains regions. They are also the most popular names in the Mid-South, Inter-Mountain West, Pacific West and Alaska and Hawai'i (Map 5.13).

Secondary schools throughout the country used the *Braves* nickname in 2005, but noticeable concentrations existed in Ohio, Indiana, northern Kentucky, and in New Jersey

and neighboring states (Map 5.14). This team name is popular among schools with a predominantly Native student body like Turtle Mountain High School in Belcourt, North Dakota, Owyhee High School in Nevada, San Carlos High School in Arizona, and Mount Edgecumbe High School in Sitka, Alaska.

Locations of schools using Indigenous-based references to skin color in nickname

The use of skin color has been used to distinguish races for centuries, and the origin of the term "redskin," which has been used to reference the skin color of North America's Indigenous people, is a contested one. Linguist Ives Goddard claims to have found the oldest printed evidence of the term, dating to 1815, in which "red skin" is used by a Native American leader to distinguish his people from "white skins" during treaty negotiations after the War of 1812 (Goddard 2005). Native American activists argue the term has earlier ties to the blood-soaked scalps of Native Americans collected by white bounty hunters during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Despite his findings, Goddard is in agreement with activists that the meaning of words such as "Redskin" can change as time passes (Gugliotta 2005). The term is considered offensive today and is generally not used by the public unless it is in reference to sports teams. A professional football team using the nickname *Redsksins* plays only miles from the place where laws were passed that dispossessed Native Americans, confined them to reservations lands, attacked their cultures and livelihoods, and maintain their status as the poorest demographic group in the country.

Secondary schools using *Redskins* and similar Indigenous-based names such as *Big Red*, *Big Reds*, *Red Raiders*, *Redmen*, and *Reds* were concentrated in the Northeast and eastern Midwest regions of the country in 2005 (Map 5.15). The southern Great

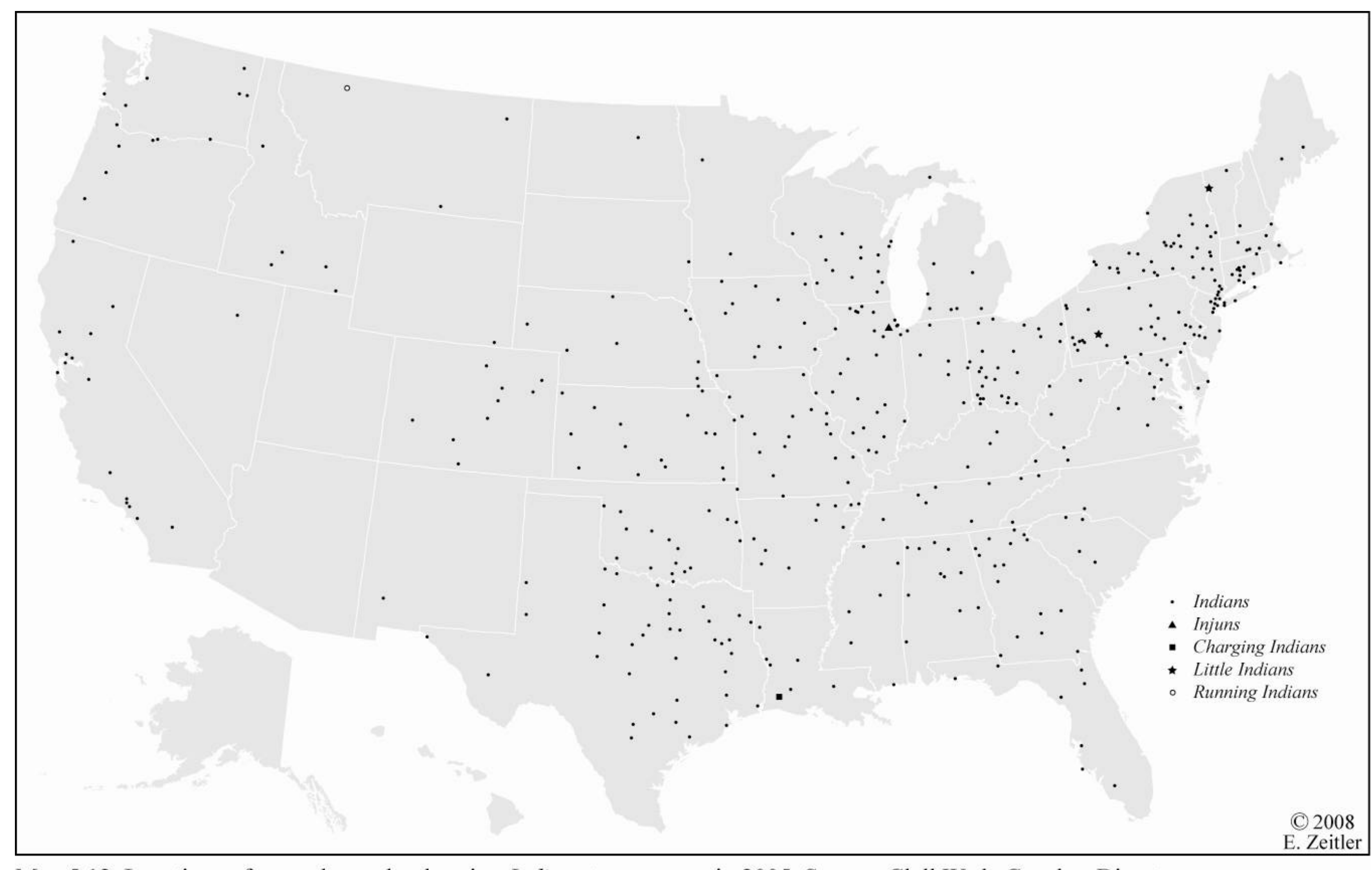
Plains, northern Alabama, and California's Central Valley are other noteworthy places. Of the 136 schools using these names, only four, Sisseton High School (*Redmen*) in South Dakota, Wellpinit High School in Washington (*Redskins*), and Oklahoma's Dustin High School (*Redskins*) and Kingston High School (*Redskins*), had a student body that was majority Native American (National Center for Education Statistics 2006).

Locations of Schools Using Team Names Inspired by Titles of Native American Leaders

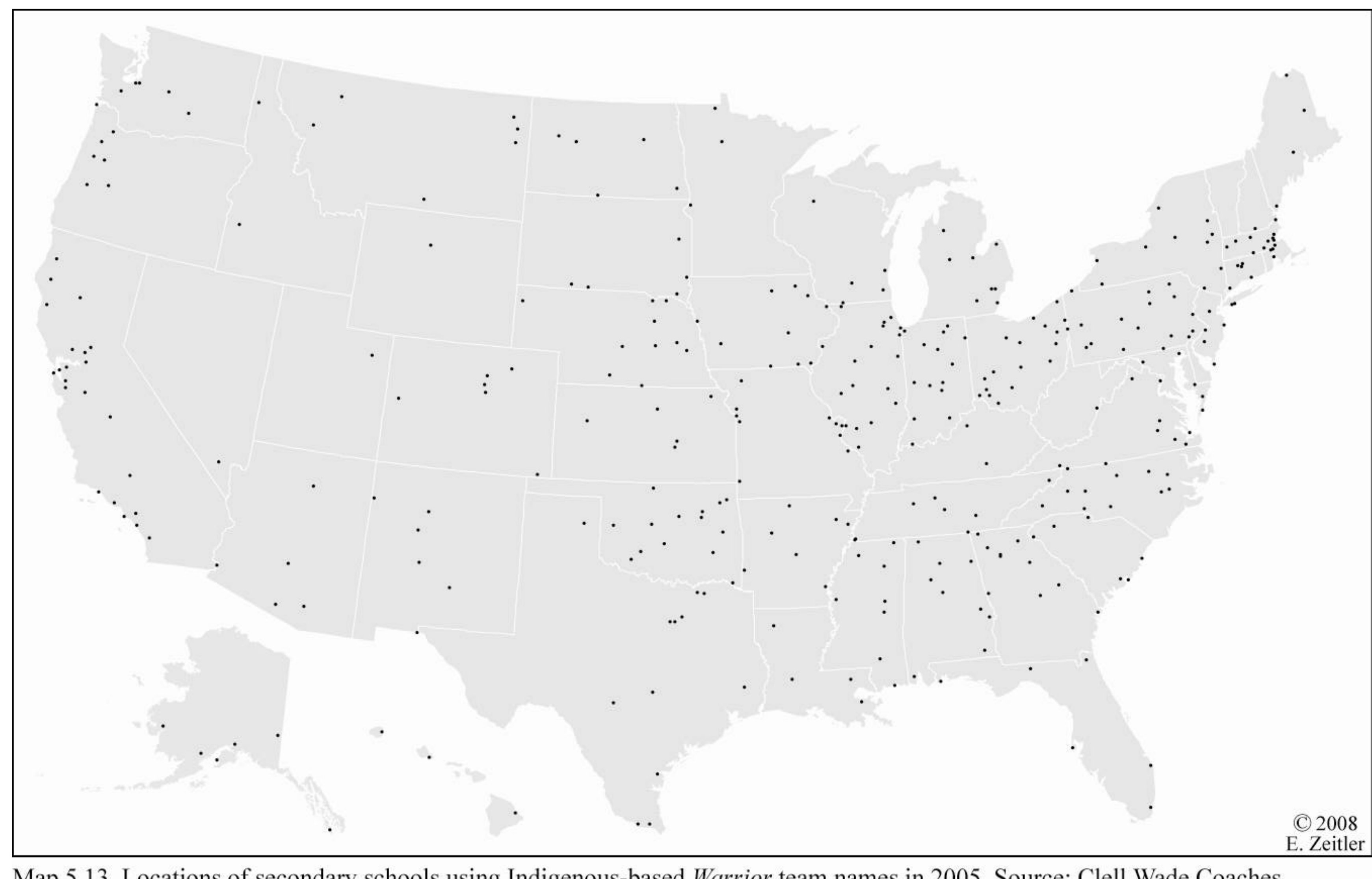
Schools with nicknames inspired by titles of Indigenous political and spiritual leaders (*Chiefs*, *Chieftains*, *Sachems*, and *Shamen*) comprised more than eight percent of all Indigenous-based team names in 2005. One hundred and six of the 113 schools using such names adopted *Chiefs* and *Chieftains*, and although these two names are scattered throughout the country, the former name is more prevalent in the Southeast than the latter (Map 5.16). New England, the Midwest, Southeast, and the northern and southern Great Plains are regions where these names appear. Six schools fielding sports teams by the name *Sachems*, the title used for leaders of New England tribes, are located in that region. Each of these schools were at least ninety-one percent white in 2005 (National Center for Education Statistics 2006). Chefornak, Alaska's Caputnguaq School, where 100% of the students are Native Alaskan, uses *Shamen* for its team name.

Locations of Schools Using Raiders, Red Raiders, and Marauders Team Names

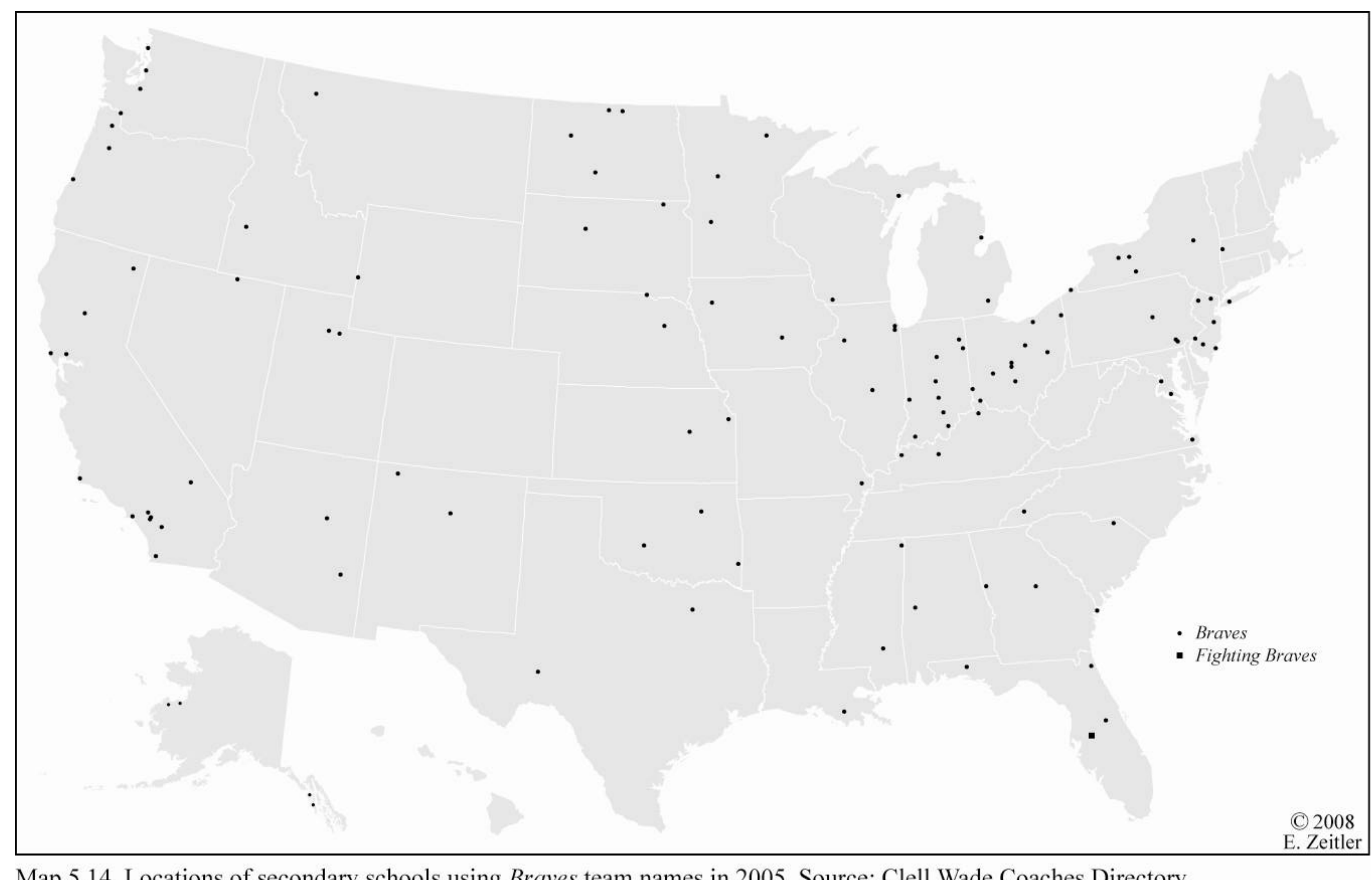
The name "Raider" probably brings to mind a pirate or buccaneer, but a number of secondary schools use Native Americans as visual representations of their *Raider*, *Red*



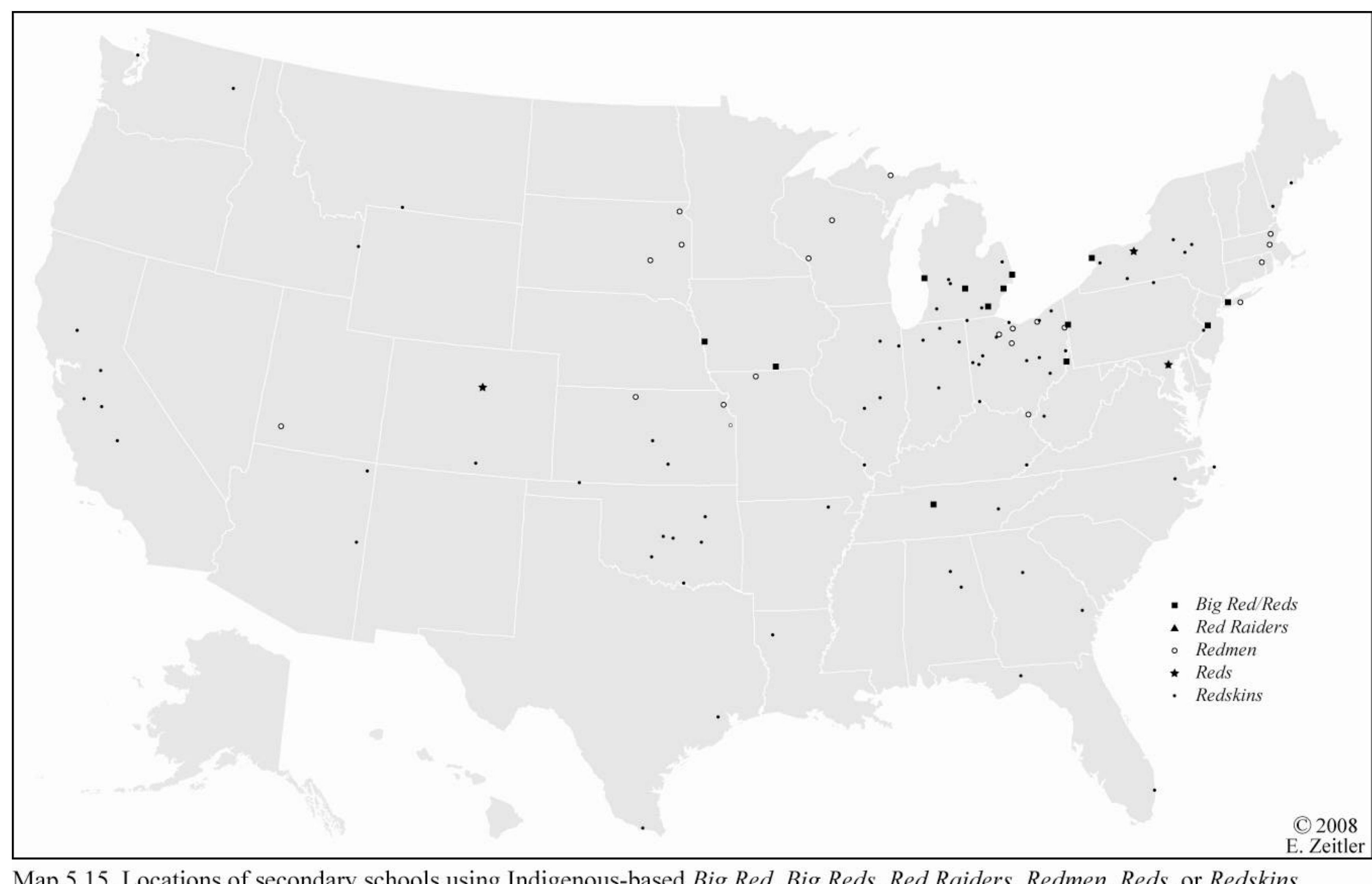
Map 5.12. Locations of secondary schools using *Indians* team names in 2005. Source: Clell Wade Coaches Directory.



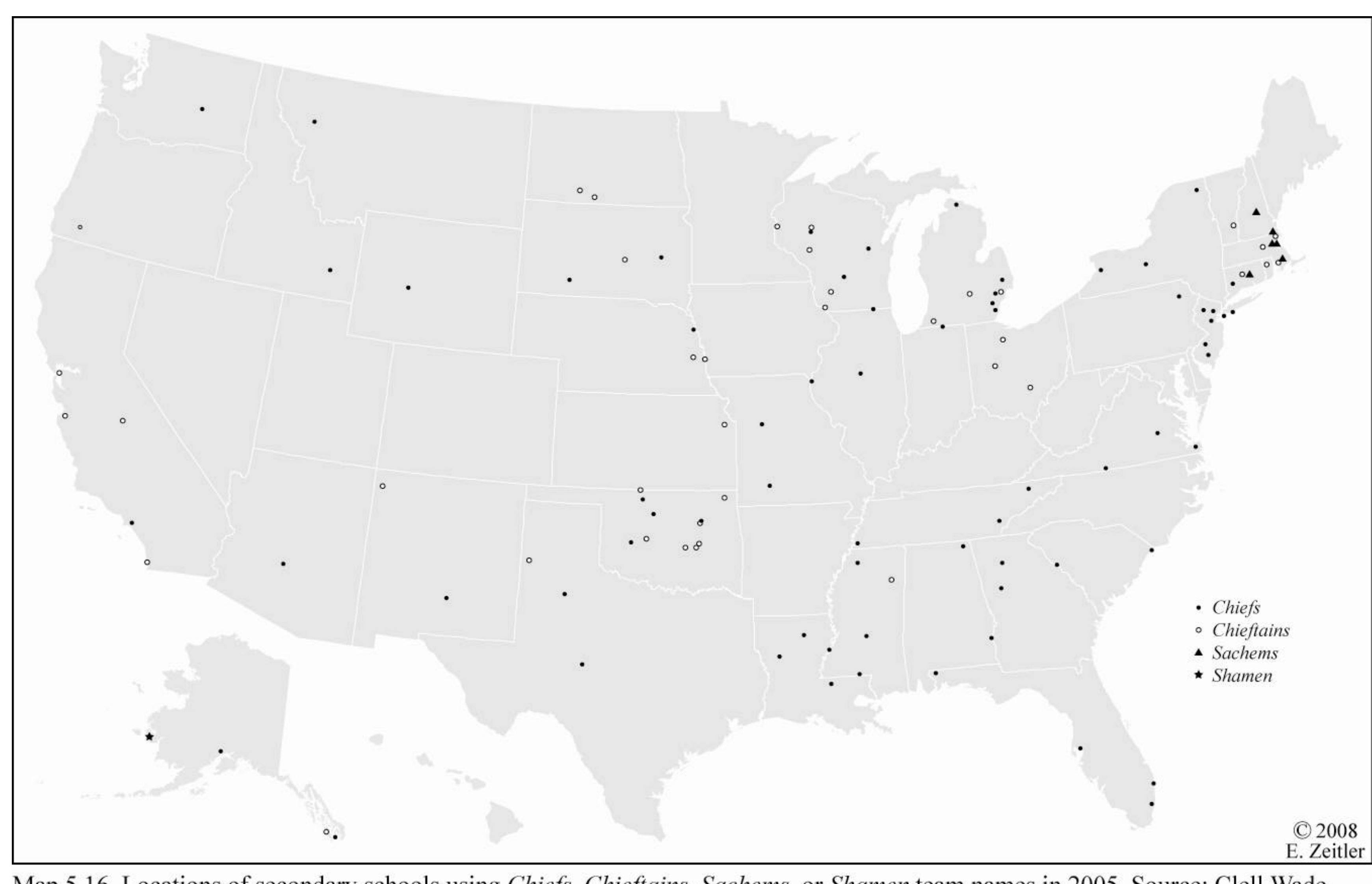
Map 5.13. Locations of secondary schools using Indigenous-based *Warrior* team names in 2005. Source: Clell Wade Coaches Directory.



Map 5.14. Locations of secondary schools using *Braves* team names in 2005. Source: Clell Wade Coaches Directory.



Map 5.15. Locations of secondary schools using Indigenous-based *Big Red*, *Big Reds*, *Red Raiders*, *Redmen*, *Reds*, or *Redskins* team names in 2005. Source: Clell Wade Coaches Directory.



Map 5.16. Locations of secondary schools using *Chiefs*, *Chieftains*, *Sachems*, or *Shamen* team names in 2005. Source: Clell Wade Coaches Directory.

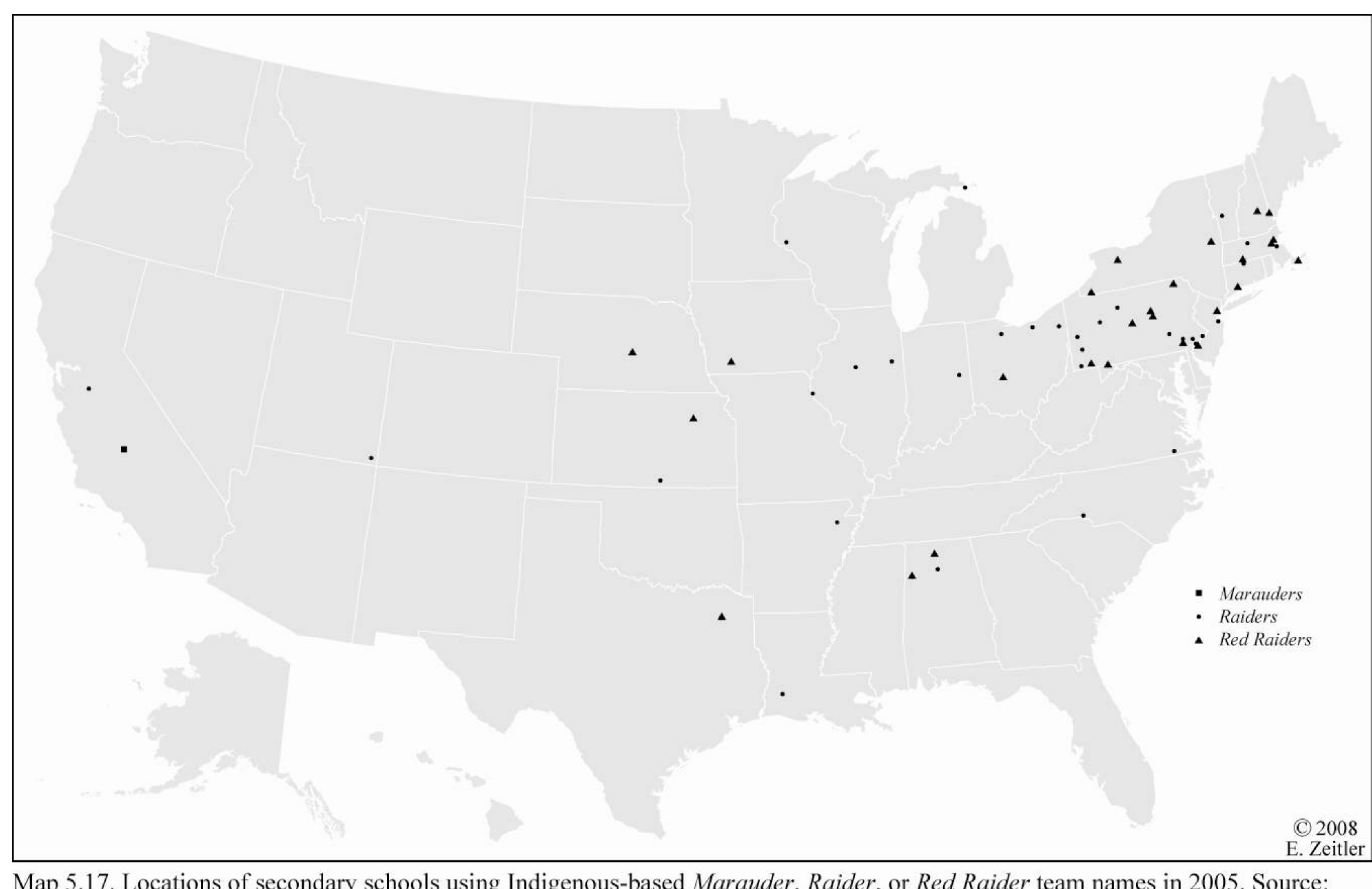
Raider, and *Marauder* names. Teams named *Raiders* and *Red Raiders* are most frequent in the Northeast region of the United States, but the names are also seen in the Midwest and in northern Alabama (Map 5.17). There were twenty-eight schools using the *Marauders* nickname in 2005, but Monache High School in Porterville, California was alone among them in using a Native American as a mascot. Outside of Whitehorse High School in Montezuma Creek, Utah and DeTour High School in Michigan, where one hundred percent and twenty-one percent of students were Native American, respectively, the average percentage of Native American students in schools using these nicknames was .3%. Thirty of these schools (there are a total of 61) were at least ninety percent white (National Center for Education Statistics 2006).

Locations of Schools Using Savages and Squaws Team Names

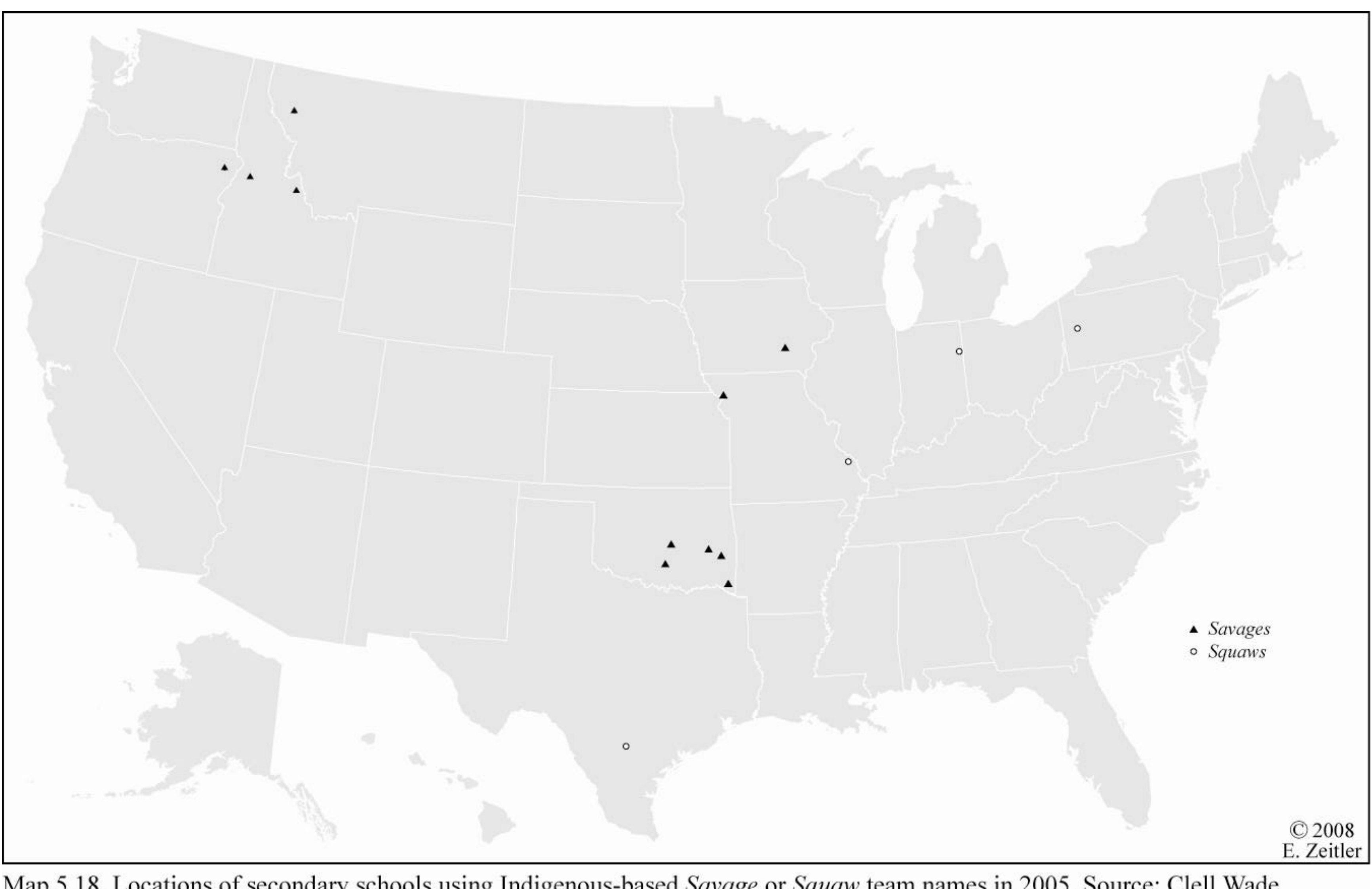
Historically, the perceived lack of civilization exhibited by Native Americans popularized the term "savages" among European Americans colonizing the continent. The term "savage," which means to be untamed or uncivilized, was used to characterize Indigenous people in eleven American high schools in 2005. When their locations are mapped, two clusters appear, one in southeastern Oklahoma and the other in the northwestern states of Montana, Idaho, and Oregon (Map 5.18). Of these schools, Hot Springs High School in Montana had a sizeable percentage (30%) of Native American students, and each of the five Oklahoma schools – Broken Bow High School, Leflore High School, Quinton High School, Tecumseh High School, and Wynnewood High School – had a noticeable Native American contingent of the student body at the time, ranging from sixteen percent at Wynnewood to fifty-six percent at Quinton (National Center for Education Statistics 2006). The ethnic composition in the remaining schools –

Enterprise High School in Oregon, Salmon High School in Idaho, Salmon River High School in Riggins, Idaho, Savannah High School in Missouri, and Sigourney High School in Iowa – were at least ninety-five percent white in 2006. All of the schools using *Savage* nicknames are located in small communities, indicating that the secondary school has been in existence since the early twentieth century. Because of this, it is likely that the nicknames were in use prior to 1950, when Indigenous people were not afforded an opportunity to voice opposition to the name. Since then, the team names have become ingrained in the history of the community and remain largely uncontested. The individual histories of these communities would shed light on the selection and use of the *Savage* name, and the multicultural qualities some of these towns share offers an avenue for further research.

The term "squaw" means "young woman" in the Algonquin language and has been adopted into the English language like the terms "papoose" and "buck," which refer to an Indian toddler and adolescent male, respectively (Cutler 1994; Goddard 1996). Many scholars and activists, however, have discussed the evolution of the term from its original denotation into a derogatory expression. For example, Rayna Green (1975) argues that the term "squaw" characterizes the antithesis of the highly sexualized Indian maiden or princess. Four schools – Bellmont High School in Decatur, Indiana, St. Vincent High School in Perryville, Missouri, Moniteau High School in West Sunbury, Pennsylvania, and Jourdanton High School in Texas – fielded girls teams with the *Squaws* nickname in 2005 (Map 5.18). Hispanics constituted fifty-four percent of the student body in Jourdanton High School, and the remaining schools were at least ninety-three percent white in 2006 (National Center for Education Statistics 2006).



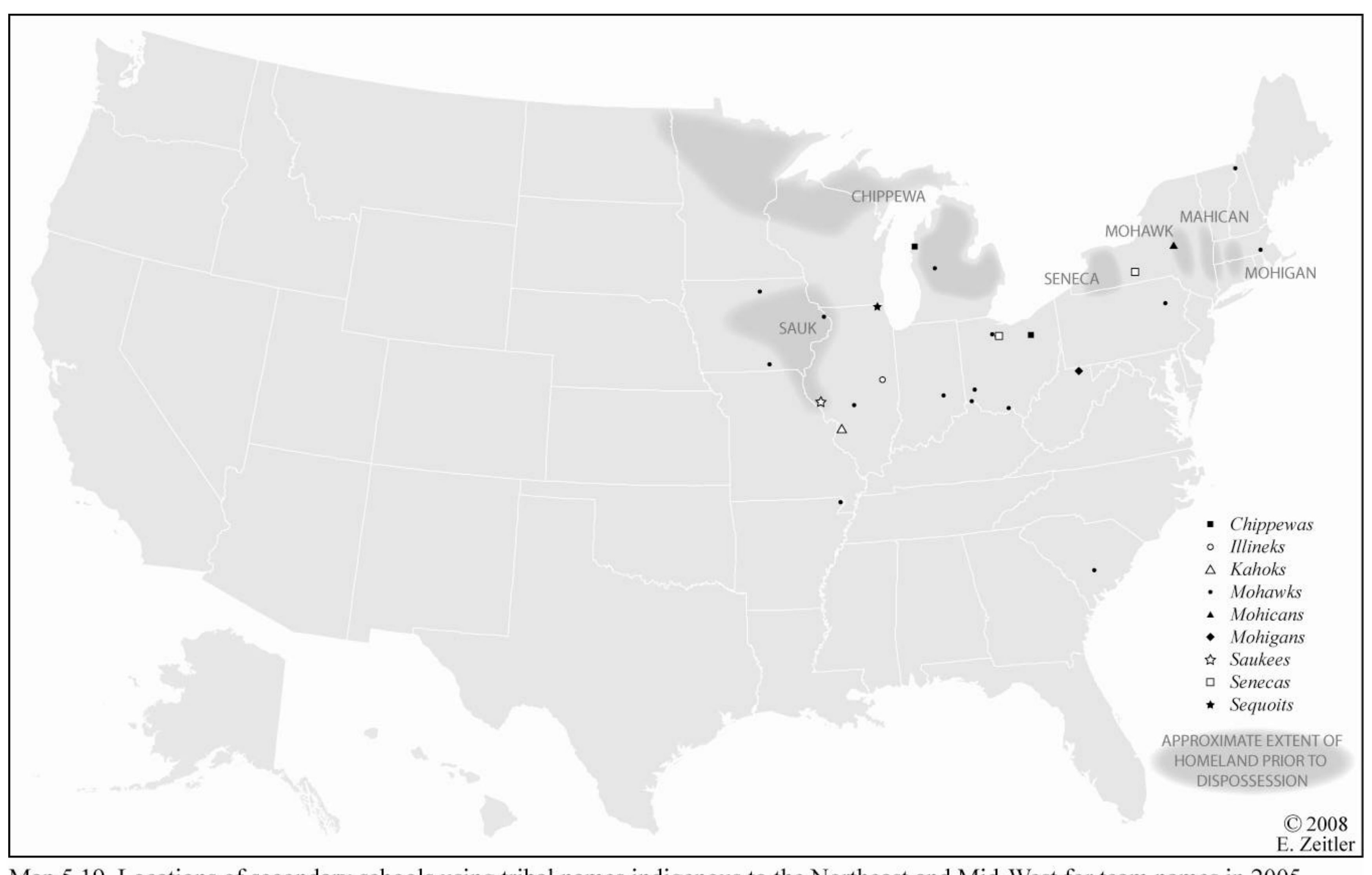
Map 5.17. Locations of secondary schools using Indigenous-based *Marauder*, *Raider*, or *Red Raider* team names in 2005. Source: Clell Wade Coaches Directory.



Map 5.18. Locations of secondary schools using Indigenous-based *Savage* or *Squaw* team names in 2005. Source: Clell Wade Coaches Directory.

SCHOOLS USING TRIBAL NAMES INDIGENOUS TO THE NORTHEAST AND MIDWEST

The Northeast and Midwest regions of the United States were once home to dozens of distinct Native American tribes, and although they now constitute only a fraction of the total population, their names live on through the use of high school sports team names. Fifteen schools fielded teams by the name *Mohawks* in 2005, and each of them were located outside of the traditional Mohawk homeland in upstate New York (Map 5.19). A cluster of four schools using *Mohawks* is located in southwest Ohio and southeast Indiana, and schools as far away as Iowa, Arkansas, and South Carolina were using the name in 2005. Of the 6,765 students attending these schools in 2006, only twelve were Native American (National Center for Education Statistics 2006). Two other tribes indigenous to New York, the Mahican and Seneca, inspired the nicknames at Mohawk, New York High School (the *Mohicans*), Watkins Glen, New York High School (the *Senecas*), and Calvert High School in Tiffin, Ohio (the *Senecas*). West Virginia's Morgantown High School used *Mohigans*, the name of a Connecticut tribe, as its name in 2005, and in this year Manistee High School in Michigan and Chippewa High School in Doylestown, Ohio, were using the *Chippewa* and *Chipps* nicknames after the Chippewa (Ojibwa) tribe. Other single unique tribal names discussed earlier, the *Illineks*, *Kahoks*, *Kays*, *Saukees*, and *Sequoits*, are found in Illinois. Each of these schools had majority white student bodies in 2006 (National Center for Education Statistics 2006).



Map 5.19. Locations of secondary schools using tribal names indigenous to the Northeast and Mid-West for team names in 2005. Sources: Clell Wade Coaches Directory, The National Park Service, and the Atlas of the American Indian.

SCHOOLS USING TRIBAL NAMES INDIGENOUS TO THE SOUTHEAST

Four Indigenous tribes native to the Southeast were used for high school team names in 2005. Four of the eight schools using the *Seminoles* nickname were in Florida, and the remaining schools, located in Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, and Ohio, lie outside the traditional south Florida Seminole homeland (Map 5.20). Of the 5,595 students attending these schools in 2006, only ten were Native American (National Center for Education Statistics 2006). Three of the five schools using the *Cherokee* team name were located in the tribe's southern Appalachian homeland, but Morgan Township High School, located four hundred of miles north of the region in Valparaiso, Indiana, also used the name. Each of these schools was at least 88% European American or African American in 2006. New Hampton High School in Iowa is another school far removed from the homeland of the tribal name it uses, the *Chickasaws*. Blytheville, Arkansas, located within proximity to the territory formerly occupied by the tribe, also used the *Chickasaw* team name. Only one Native American student attended these two schools, which were 97% white and 72% Black, respectively, in 2006 (National Center for Education Statistics 2006). The Choctaw are the final group of southeastern Indigenous people used for high school team names, and the two schools using the *Choctaw* nickname were located close to their traditional homeland in southern Alabama and Mississippi. However, no Native American students attended these schools in 2006 (National Center for Education Statistics 2006).

Map 5.20. Locations of secondary schools using tribal names indigenous to the Southeast for team names in 2005. Sources: Clell Wade Coaches Directory, the National Park Service, and the Atlas of the American Indian.

SCHOOLS USING TRIBAL NAMES INDIGENOUS TO THE GREAT PLAINS, INTER-MOUNTAIN WEST, AND ALASKA

Approximately thirty schools used tribes affiliated with the American West and Alaska as nicknames in 2005 (Map 5.21). The most popular of the names, *Apaches*, was used at Fort Thomas High School near the San Carlos Apache Reservation in Arizona (where 93% of students were Native American in 2006) and as far away as Wisconsin (Auburndale High School), Indiana (Wabash High School), Ohio (Fairview High School in Sherwood), and New Hampshire (Prospect Mountain High School in Alton), where student bodies were at least 95% white (National Center for Education Statistics 2006). This team name also appears in Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, and California schools that had little Native American presence. The Comanche tribe, whose homeland prior to dispossession was on the southern High Plains of contemporary west Texas and New Mexico, inspired nicknames at Cahokia High School in Illinois, Anaheim, California's Canyon High School, and at the high schools in Shiner and Stinnet, Texas. Of the 3,913 students attending these four schools in 2006, only eight were Native American (National Center for Education Statistics 2006). Four schools fielding teams by the name *Eskimos* were located in North Dakota, Minnesota, Michigan, and New York, states that experience cold winters. Each of these schools was at least 97% white during the 2005-2006 school year. Schools using *Kiowas*, *Moquis*, and *Utes* nicknames were located within or near the traditional homelands of the respective tribes, but none had a notable Native American component of the student body in 2006. Over half of students at Booker, Texas High School (the *Kiowas*) were Hispanic, 80% of students at Escalante, Utah High School (the *Moquis*) were white, and Uintah High School in Vernal, Utah (the

Utes) was 90% white (National Center for Education Statistics 2006). A different pattern existed among schools using the *Sioux* nickname. Three of the four schools, Solon High School in North Dakota and Lower Brule and Wakpala High Schools in South Dakota, were located on Sioux reservation lands and had predominantly Sioux student bodies. Westhope High School in northern North Dakota, where 98% of students were white, was the outlier.

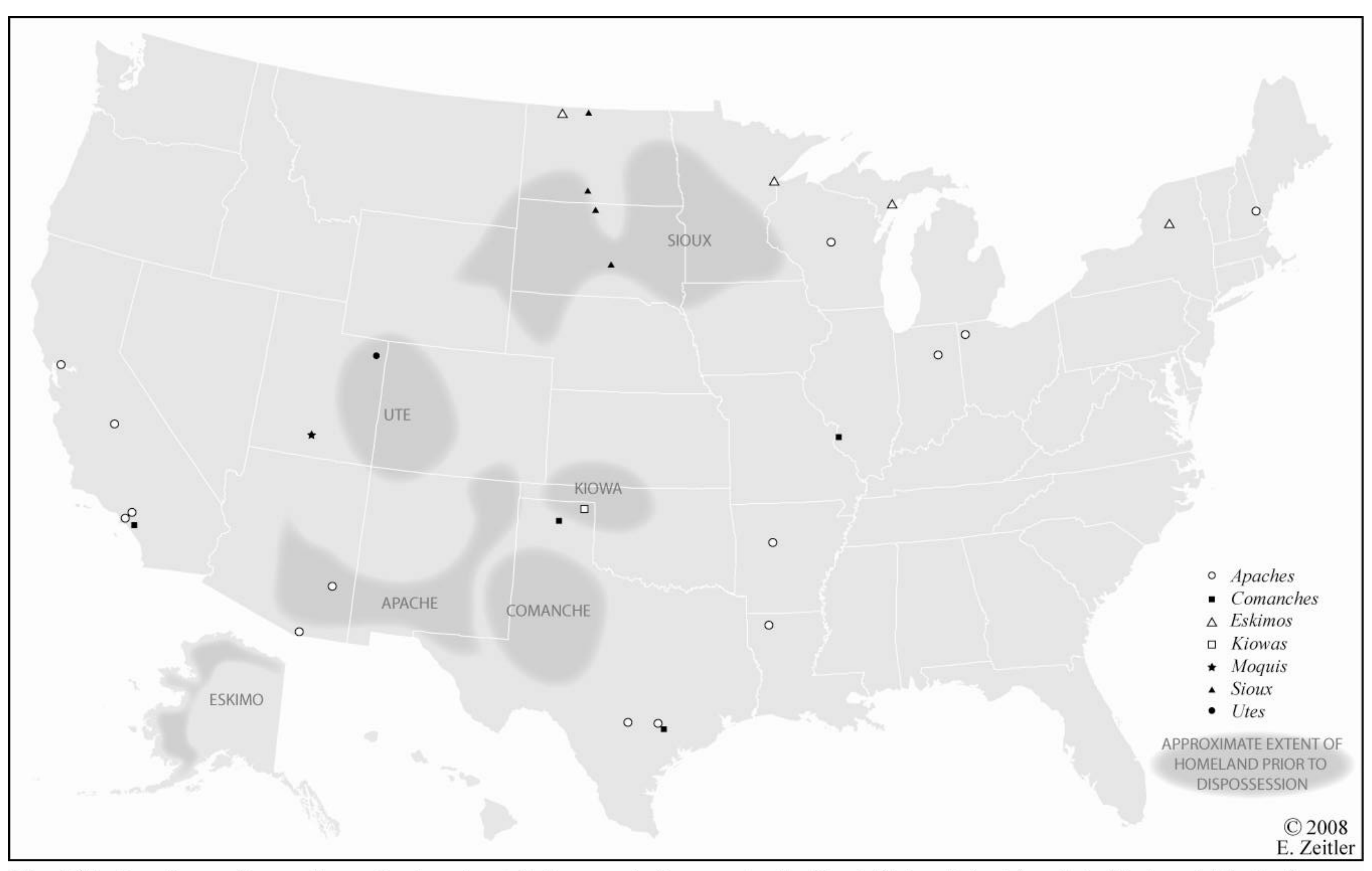
LOCATIONS OF SCHOOLS USING WEAPONS FOR TEAM NAMES

A small number of schools, twenty-four to be exact, used the team names *Arrows*, *Hatchets*, and *Tomahawks* in 2005. Although these weapons have been used by non-Natives, school logos often associate the weapons with Native Americans through the use of feathers and other Indigenous iconography, like an Indian head (Figure 5.2). Schools using these names appear most frequently in New England, upstate New York, Ohio, and southern Indiana (Map 5.22). Four of the five schools using the *Tomahawks* nickname are located in New England and upstate New York, and *Arrows* names appear most frequently in Ohio. Three schools, Washington High School in Indiana, Bad Axe High School in Michigan, and Tomahawk High School in Wisconsin, use the *Hatchets* nickname. The names of the latter two communities surely inspired the team names. Each School using the *Arrows*, *Hatchets*, or *Tomahawks* nicknames was predominantly white in 2006 (National Center for Education Statistics).

Figure 5.2. Indigenous-based imagery used by secondary schools with *Arrow* team names. The Pipestone, Minnesota High School logo (left) uses feathers to associate the name with Native Americans, and Sachem High School in Ronkonkoma, New York uses the image of an Indian head to welcome its students and visitors. Source: Pipestone High School Online and Ronkonkoma, New York Sachem High School Online.

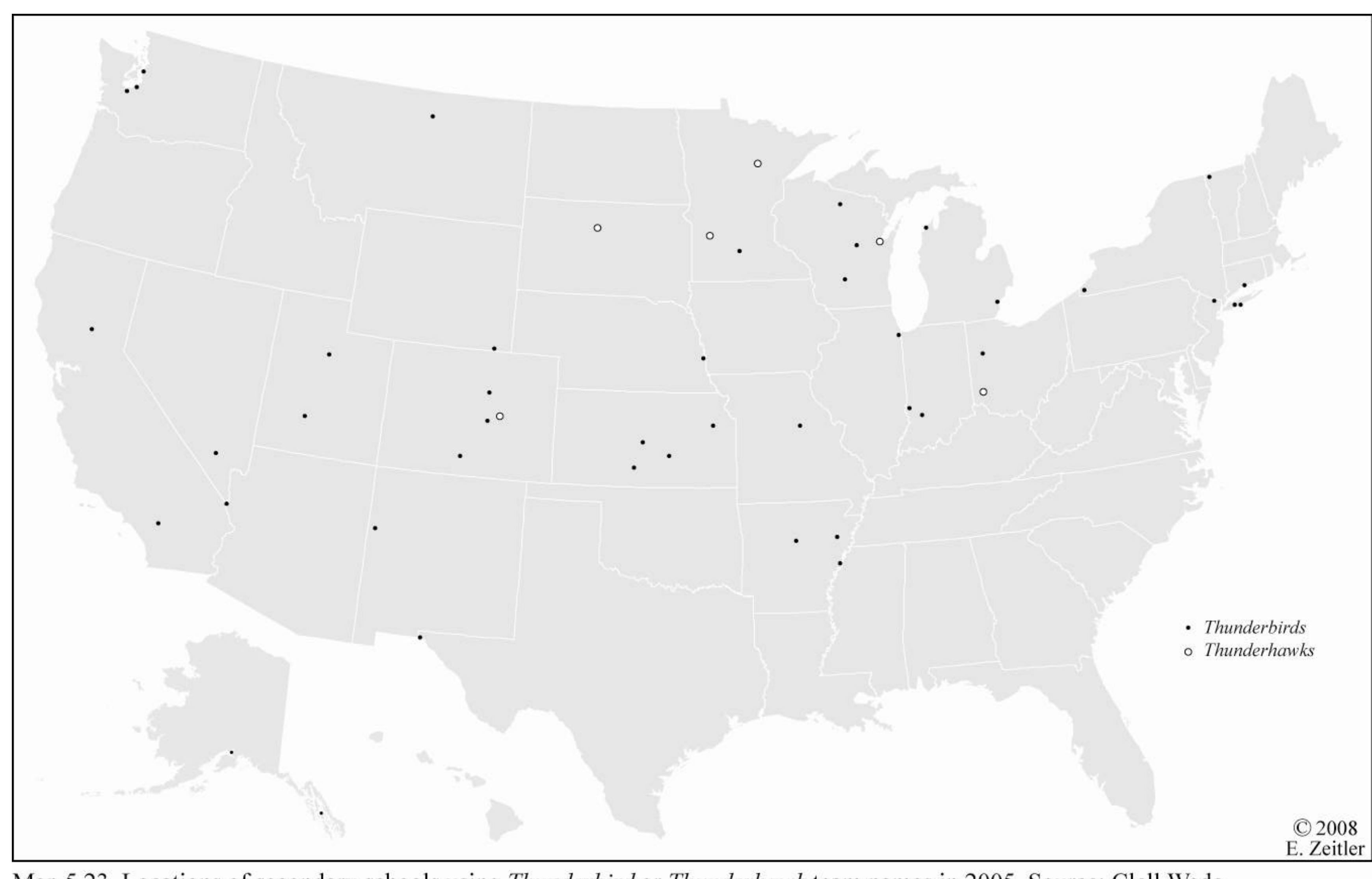
LOCATIONS OF SCHOOLS USING THUNDERBIRDS AND THUNDERHAWKS FOR TEAM NAMES

Stories associated with the mythological thunderbird or thunderhawk, a large bird with a wing span so wide it stirs up thunderstorms as it flies, are shared among many North American Indigenous groups. They have been adopted as high school nicknames in communities that are predominantly European American from coast-to-coast, but they are most common in the Midwest, Great Plains, and Inter-Mountain West (Map 5.23).



Map 5.21. Locations of secondary schools using tribal names indigenous to the Great Plains, Inter-Mountain West, and Alaska for team names in 2005. Sources: Clell Wade Coaches Directory, the National Park Service, and the Atlas of the American Indian.

Map 5.22. Locations of secondary schools using the team names *Arrows*, *Hatchets*, and *Tomahawks* - weapons traditionally used by Native Americans - in 2005. Source: Clell Wade Coaches Directory.



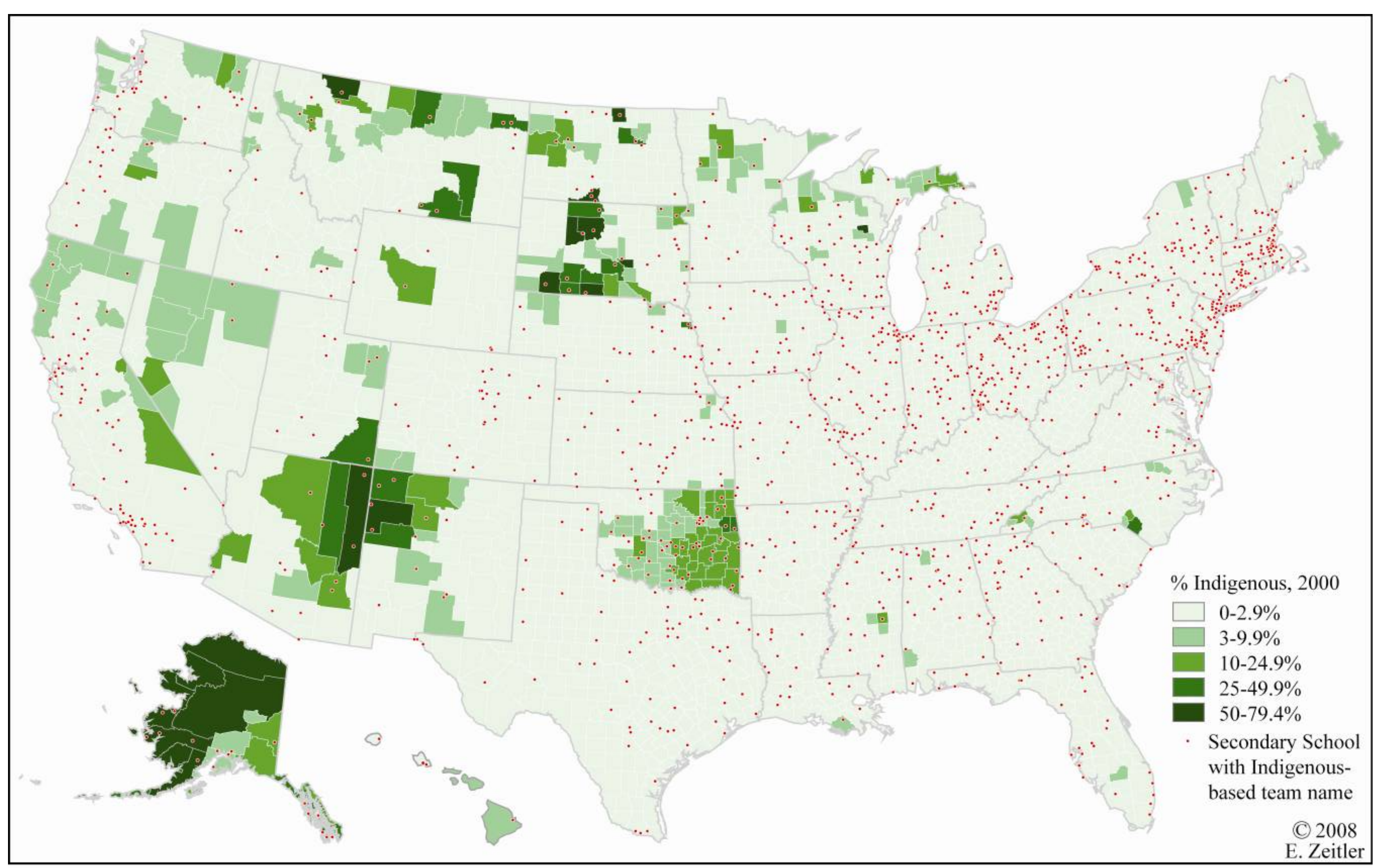
Map 5.23. Locations of secondary schools using *Thunderbird* or *Thunderhawk* team names in 2005. Source: Clell Wade Coaches Directory.

SUMMARY

Geographic patterns clearly exist among high schools with Indigenous-based team names. Nearly half are located in the Northeast and Midwest regions of the United States. The nicknames *Raiders* and *Red Raiders* are most common in the Northeast, and the popularity of tribal names such as the *Apaches*, *Cherokees*, *Mohawks*, and *Seminoles* in and/or outside of traditional homelands indicates that the specific names were particularly meaningful for the people selecting them in the early twentieth century. Nicknames defining Native Americans by their skin color or their supposed war-like and uncivilized demeanor accounted for 672 or nearly half of all Indigenous-based high school nicknames in 2005. The popularity of such names reflects the common non-Native view that Native American culture was inherently violent, and their continued use perpetuates the mindset among new generations of students.

Another pattern indicates that Indigenous-based nicknames are more common in communities that are predominantly European American. A clear distinction exists on the map (Map 5.24) between places inhabited by large percentages of Native Americans and places using Native American team names. Counties with majority Native American populations, concentrated on the northern Great Plains and in the states of Oklahoma, Arizona, New Mexico, and Alaska, are far-removed from the Northeast and Midwest regions where the names are so popular. This characteristic is related to the final pattern, which involves the geographic setting of the schools.

Indigenous-based team names are more prevalent in small towns and rural areas than large cities and suburbs. Although this may be due to a higher overall number of



Map 5.24 County-level percent Indigenous population in 2000 and locations of secondary schools using Indigenous-based team names in 2005. Sources: United States Census Bureau and Clell Wade Coaches Directory.

schools in small town and rural settings than in urbanized areas, the link between small towns and their team names can often be explained by their historical setting in the European American/Native American contact zone, the proximity of a frontier battle site, or the nearby location of a former Indian village. For example, seventeen communities with the word "Fort" in the town name used Indigenous-based team names in 2005. Eleven of them, located in the Midwest, Great Plains, Inter-Mountain West, and Florida, either hosted federal troops during periods of frontier conflict or were constructed to administer post-war reservation affairs (Map 5.25).

Today the schools in Fort Thomas, Arizona, which was used as an operational base during the Apache Wars (Thrapp 1979), Fort Duchesne in Utah, constructed to oversee the affairs on the Ute Reservation (Simmons 2000), and Fort Totten and Fort Yates in North Dakota, constructed to protect overland travelers and enforce federal law on the Spirit Lake and Standing Rock Sioux reservations, respectively (Athern 1967; Schunk 2004), are predominantly Native American.

Forts having historical ties with subjugating Native Americans during frontier wars include Fort Loramie and nearby Fort Recovery in Ohio and Fort Wayne, Indiana, garrisons that served as outposts during Northwest Indian War (Gaff 2004), Fort Atkinson in Wisconsin, which stationed troops during the Black Hawk War (Trask 2006), Fort Lauderdale in Florida, which was the site of a battle during the Second Seminole War (Missal and Missal 2004), and Fort Davis in Texas, constructed to protect white travelers and settlers from Apache and Comanche raids (Utley 1965). Each of these towns includes at least one secondary school using a Native American team name. The

Map 5.25. Former military fort communities, now using the word "Fort" in the town name, that used Indigenous-based team names in their secondary schools in 2005. Source: Clell Wade Coached Directory and the Atlas of the American Indian.

Blackhawks nickname at Fort Atkinson High School, for example, is a clear reference to the very person that troops stationed at the garrison were assigned to subjugate in 1832. What incited the selection of the *Blackhawk* name in this predominantly white community, and why is the identity of this community derived from the leader of a defeated Indian tribe? Why did predominantly white communities select Indigenous-based team names? The answer is much more complex than simply "to honor Native Americans," as most communities say for justification. Indigenous-based team names, as selected by white Americans, are not tributes to Native Americans – they are symbols of frontier conquest and physical manifestations of collective memory, of imperialist nostalgia. The following chapter examines the role predominantly white schools, as spaces of institutional control, play in the maintenance of this ideology.

CHAPTER SIX

INDIGENOUS-BASED ICONOGRAPHY IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

White people create the dominant images of the world, and don't quite see that they thus construct the world in their image.

Richard Dyer (1995: 9)

Travelers driving American highways are usually welcomed into smaller cities and towns by a series of road signs designed to distinguish the community from others (Zelinsky 1988), and the city of Wapakoneta in western Ohio is a good Midwestern example. Coasting into town from Interstate 75, one learns that the city was founded in 1849, has enough churches to cover all sects of Christianity, and is home to "five famous sons," including a Civil War hero, a record-setting professional baseball pitcher, an Oscar winner, a best-selling author, and the first man on the moon. Wapakoneta, another sign reads, is also home to the *Redskins*, and visitors to the high school know they have arrived when they turn onto Redskin Trail Road. Inside the main entrance of the school, a large trophy case and alumni hall of fame encapsulates the school's history and accomplishments. Atop the case, dressed in full Plains Indian regalia, a statue of a Native American warrior stands outside a tipi adorned with a painted "W," feathers, bison skulls, and other iconic symbols of the American West (Figure 6.1). Two spears with exaggerated arrowheads cross over the entrance, as if to impede entry. The warrior stares into the horizon, using his left hand to focus into the distance and his right hand to hold the strap of a well-stocked quiver that rests at his feet. Like any work of art, this

Figure 6.1. The Alumni Hall of Fame and Redskin diorama in the atrium of Wapakoneta (Ohio) High School. Photo by the author, 2005.

exhibit can be interpreted many ways. To students and faculty who pass it on a daily basis, it may simply be “The Wapakoneta Redskin and his tipi,” but this diorama is layered with meaning, and when examining it a visitor may view it as a melancholic symbolization of the demise of the American Indian that could be interpreted in the following manner:

> The “Redskin” warrior has stopped fighting, has put down his weapon, and silently watches his people disappear into the distance. He is not allowed to enter his home, for he too must join them.

As Donald Meinig (1979) notes, there are dozens of ways to read landscapes like the visually-loaded atrium at Wapakoneta High. The mass-produced statue evokes strong emotions of Native American loneliness and uncertainty, but several scholars might also contend that it also symbolizes a classic case of imperialist nostalgia, or the European American’s longing for a lost past filled with noble and brave Indians in the much romanticized frontier era in American history (Davis 1993; Deloria 1998; Fisher 2001; King and Springwood 2000a, 2001a; Prochaska 2001; Slowikowski 1993).

This chapter examines the portrayal of Native Americans in institutionally-sponsored public spaces, specifically secondary schools in predominantly white communities, and suggests that these fabricated spaces symbolize hegemony and control over Native Americans. This is done through the use of mnemonic devices – iconography, text, and ritual in particular – and the culmination of these practices results in a landscape or space that evokes the European American ideologies of Manifest Destiny and frontier conquest. This is an important issue, considering nearly eighty percent of secondary schools using Indigenous-based team names in 2005 had a majority white student body and that this practice indoctrinates these race-based ideologies into new generations of students. Before exploring specific case studies that exhibit these traits, however, it is important to consider how authority is manifested in space and how iconography, or visual culture, displayed in space can embody power.

Landscape and power

Pierce Lewis (1979) reminds us that the human landscape is "our unwitting autobiography," and that the beliefs of the dominant society are inscribed on the surface in varying degrees of subtlety. The canonized memory of a nation is visible on the cultural landscape, and many geographers have noted how places and scenes have been used to symbolize national images and identities (Cosgrove 1984; Daniels 1993; Daniels and Cosgrove 1988; Harvey 1979; Hoelscher and Alderman 2004; Meinig 1979; Osborne 1998; Rubin 1979). Richard Schein notes that "U.S. cultural landscapes ultimately are viewed as material phenomena, reflective and symbolic of individual activity and cultural ideals, as they simultaneously are central to the constitution and reinforcement of those activities and ideals" (1997: 660). The erection of monuments is a common way memory and ideology is transcribed into the landscape. Ranging from the sublime and mundane, memorials often commemorate persons and/or historical events that may have collectively admired significance, like the United Airlines Flight 93 Memorial near Shanksville, Pennsylvania, or contested meanings, like the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C. (Wagner-Pacifici and Schwartz 1991).

Other examples highlight how sacred spaces and monuments harbor often contested meanings among nations, ethnic groups, classes, and genders (Burke 2006; Edensor 1997; Foote 1997; Johnson 1995; Mitchell 2003; Osborne 1998; Sörlin 1999). The topic of public memory and the politics of commemorating the Civil War and Civil Rights Movement, for example, revealed notable racial cleavages in Southern society. The legacies of each have been inscribed into the landscape and take form in various types of visual texts. Written forms such as place and street names can indicate a historic

event, designate a historic space, or venerate a historic figure. For example, Derek Alderman (1996; 2000; 2006), has studied the politics, meanings, and impacts of renaming streets in honor of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Herald Gulley (1990) has discussed the practice of naming counties after Confederate-era heroes and how this plays a role in maintaining white Southern identity. These practices have resulted in varying degrees of contestation between whites and African Americans. The latter are increasingly challenging white social memory in the South by erecting memorials that honor their versions of the past and contesting existing icons (Dwyer 2000).

Not all text is read on signs or maps. Alan Baker notes that "[i]deologies exert their authority and find expression not only in language but also in landscape. Non-verbal 'documents' in the landscape can be powerful visual signs" (1992: 5). A number of scholars have noted the various ways – including monuments, domestic architecture, flags, and other iconography – white authority and nostalgia is symbolized on the Southern landscape (Hoelscher 2006; Lieb 2006; Lieb et. al 2000; Webster and Webster 1994; Winberry 1983). For many African Americans and outsiders, including whites raised outside of the South, icons of "Southern Pride" are tangible components on the landscape. Opponents of these icons suggest they commemorate the era of slavery in America, but advocates assert they are simply honoring aspects of the past they deem important.

White reaction to criticism of such icons like Confederate monuments and the Confederate flag is often swift and authoritative. Richard Delgado (2005) has remarked that, at times, racism can be so ingrained in society and landscape that it appears commonplace to those of the dominant culture. In the eyes of many Southern whites,

protests against the display of Confederate icons are viewed as direct challenges not only to white memory, but to a racialized social hierarchy under white control. These reactions are similar to many who defend the use of Native American nicknames and mascots, and examining reasons for their defense from a race-based perspective reveals that contesting Indigenous-based team names is, at a deeper level, challenging white authority.

WHITENESS AND THE DEFENSE OF TRADITION

The anti-mascot movement, started by Native Americans but now joined by non-Native allies, has incited a siege mentality among the largely white defenders of Indigenous-based team names. The most serious charge against anti-mascot activists, that what they propose is "political correctness gone awry," belies the real threat against normal (white) tradition and the status quo. White defense of Native American team names, associated imagery, and rituals has been critiqued by scholars who have employed theories surrounding white identity and privilege, or "whiteness." Whiteness theory has a number of dimensions. At its most basic level, it examines the development of white racial identity, the privileges associated with being white, and the effects of multiculturalism on white identity and privilege (Allen 1997; Frankenburg 1993a; Jackson 1998; Kincheloe et. al 2000). Ruth Frankenberg (1993b) suggests that there are three varying degrees, ranging from the overt to the mundane, in which whiteness appears:

> First, it is a position of structural advantage, associated with 'privileges' of the most basic kind, including for example, higher wages, reduced chances of being impoverished, longer life, better access to health care, better treatment by the legal system, and so on…Second, whiteness is a 'standpoint' or place from which to look at oneself, others and society. Thirdly, it carries with it a set of ways of being in the world, a set of

> cultural practices, often not named as "white" by white folks, but looked upon as 'American' or 'normal' (54).

Whiteness in America is largely invisible because it is the natural order of things (Bonnett 2000). Kobayashi and Peake explain, "[w]hiteness is indicated less by explicit racism than by the fact that it ignores, or even denies, racist indications. It occupies a central ground by deracializing and normalizing common events and beliefs, giving them legitimacy as part of a moral system depicted as natural and universal" (2000: 394). In other words, the Civil Rights Movement may have erased fundamentally racist policies involving discrimination and segregation, but subtle forms of racism remain in the form of white power and privilege (Winant 1997).

Wendy Shaw has linked the concept of whiteness to the manner many non-Native Australians have designated the Aboriginal Redfern neighborhood of Sydney, Australia as a space of the Other and a place that they fear to tread (2006). Shaw explains that events emanating from The Block, apartment buildings with Aborigine tenets in Redfern, are often exaggerated by the media. Together, Shaw explains, these practices stigmatize Redfern, marginalize the community, and "enhance The Block's status as both a foreign and unwanted presence in the city of Sydney" (2006: 863).

The use of Native American team names in schools exposes another space where whites dictate the presentation of an Indigenous group. C. Richard King (2005) made the case that supporters of Indigenous-based team names "balk at policies designed to ensure cultural citizenship and justice for all, precisely because they see such measures as infringements on their lives, liberties, and pursuits of happiness."

The defense of Indigenous-based team names and imagery can be interpreted through the lens of whiteness. For example, representatives from predominantly white schools in Lebanon and Philomath, Oregon met with the state's Department of Education in the fall of 2007 to discuss their Native American *Warrior* nicknames. When an article about the scheduled meeting ran in the *Albany Democrat-Herald*, the newspaper's online version became a forum for community members aghast at the notion that they were misrepresenting Native American culture. One person under the pseudonym "Honor" demanded that, "[t]he American Indians should be honored that a high school wants to use them as their mascot. This is such bullonee [sic]. I can't stand when someone has to whine because they think someone is picking on them because of their race, creed, [and] sexual preference" (Moody 2007). This person is clearly offended that the town's use of Indigenous-based imagery is being challenged. While his/her ethnicity is unknown, it is likely that the person is white, as the counties Lebanon and Philomath are in, Linn and Benton, respectively, are more than ninety percent white (United States Census 2007). The comments equate whiteness to normalcy. The person is not only defending the use of the *Warrior* name, he/she is defending the <u>white</u> use of the *Warrior* name. By comparing the issue to others involving race, creed, and sexual preference, this person is implying that using a Native American mascot is as "normal" as being white, Christian, and heterosexual.

Comments posted by other readers reflect the common state of "startled defense" by supporters of Native American team names. A person named "Reader" was dumbfounded by the possibility that the *Warrior* names were considered distasteful, writing that, "I cannot believe the Native Americans of this country have taken offense to

the honor bestowed upon them by being chosen as the image for this title [as a warrior]" (Moody 2007). Another comment posted by "Jeff" asks, "Why is it dicrimination [sic] when a school (with a mainly white population) uses a mascot like the warriors, and not discrimination if a tribal school uses it?" Like many, these two people have difficulty realizing that it was whites in Lebanon, Philomath, and hundreds of other communities who decided to remember Native Americans as bellicose warriors. There was a hierarchical power structure at play when the team names were selected, and by "honoring" Native Americans, the victorious and empowered whites granted, or in "Reader's" words, "bestowed," a symbolic warrior status upon the conquered Indians in the form of noble, but harmless, nicknames and mascots. White proponents of these names, like the three mentioned here, are offended that some Native Americans shun this "gift."

Supporters of Indigenous-based high school team names also defend their use for the sake of tradition. As cherished symbols of local pride and identity, a nickname, mascot, and rituals associated with each harbor a significant degree of symbolism. The traditions at these schools, however, were invented to rally students and the community-at-large around athletic teams as they competed against other neighborhoods and towns. Eric Hobsbawm explains that invented traditions (like those associated with Native American mascots) "seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past" (1983: 1). The selection of imaginary Indian mascots and creation of fictional rituals by white Americans reflects the dominant ideologies involving racial superiority, conquest,

authority, and appropriation. The continued use of these names and icons reflects the persistence of these ideologies. The following pages examine the iconography of Native Americans in secondary schools.

INFLUENCES OF VISUAL CULTURE

Many scholars of culture, like Gillian Rose, have noted that "the visual is central to the cultural construction of social life in contemporary Western societies" (2001: 6). Just as Frederick Jackson Turner and William "Buffalo Bill" Cody utilized frontier imagery to visualize their narratives (White 1994), the use of visuals in contemporary society is intrinsically tied to "dynamic and interactive relationship[s] of history, heritage, tradition, cultures, and politics" (Ballengee-Morris 2002: 233). Behind the use of such imagery are hierarchies of power. Indeed, Johannes Fabian suggests that "[t]he hegemony of the visual as a mode of knowing may thus directly be linked to the political hegemony of an age group, class, or one society over another" (2002: 122). Predominantly white schools that utilize Indigenous-based team names provide an under-recognized source for scholars identifying places where power and landscape collide. Because Native American imagery displayed in these spaces is predominantly created and displayed by whites, observers must remember that the imagery does not depict authentic Native Americans or their cultures; rather, the imagery reflects *white* perceptions of Native Americans and their cultures. Collectively these landscapes, like other imperial landscapes, reflect nostalgia for the era when Manifest Destiny represented "unbounded prospect of endless appropriation and conquest" and they were constructed by those in power to naturalize hegemonic order (Mitchell 1994: 20). The use of unrepresentative iconography presents

students with an anachronistic image of Native Americans, and the more imagery they are exposed to, the deeper it is instilled (Van Ausdale and Feagin 2001)

INDIGENOUS-BASED ICONOGRAPHY IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Content analysis was employed to answer questions regarding the frequency and degree of Native American iconography in secondary schools. This process involves devising a set of codes, or descriptions, which classify visual images into distinct groups (Hannam 2002; Neuendorf 2002; Rose 2001: 54-68). To identify types of Indigenous-based imagery used in such learning environments, iconography from the websites of 100 Midwestern secondary schools using an Indigenous-based *Warrior* team name was examined prior to establishing a set of codes. This method produced fifteen categories of iconographies (Table 6.1). These categories include the captive Indian (life-size statues contained in glass cabinets in the school's trophy section), the Indian caricature (a crude and cartoonish representation), the environmental Indian (Native Americans in the natural environment), the use of feathers to symbolize Indigenous culture, the ignoble Plains Indian chief and Indian warrior (differentiated in this study by use of the stereotypical feather headdress), the female Indian maiden, the masculine Indian warrior (a Native American man whose muscles are emphasized), the noble Plains Indian chief and Indian warrior (differentiated from the ignoble Indian by the lack of weaponry), the sporting Indian (Native Americans playing a sport invented by and played predominantly by whites like football or basketball), the display of a tipi (an Indigenous icon), the territorialization of the school as "Native space" by naming school grounds or athletic fields "Indian County" or "the Reservation," the vanished Indian (no Indigenous-based icons on the exterior of the school despite the use of iconography elsewhere, like the

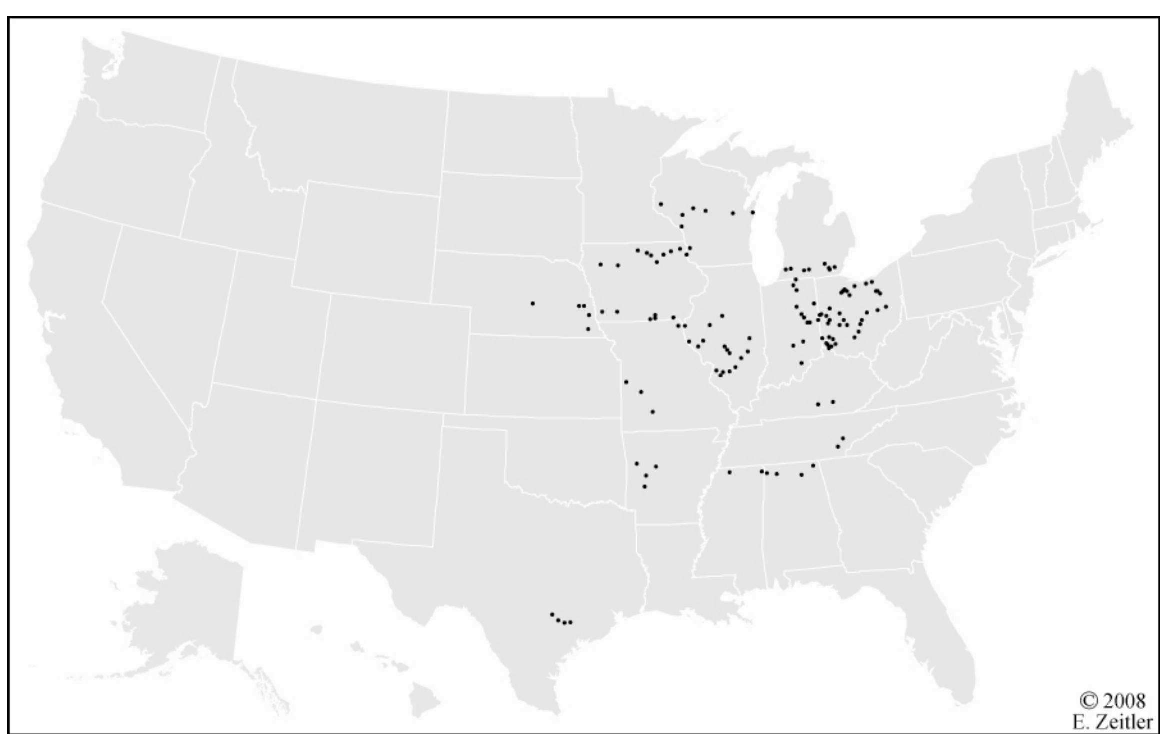
communitiy newspaper or the school's website), and finally, the display of weapons that were traditionally used by Native Americans, including the tomahawk and bow and arrow.

A common challenge in coding is preventing categorical overlap (Rose 2001: 60), and this issue arises here. For example, a masculine warrior may also be depicted as a Plains Indian, a sporting Indian may be presented as an Indian maiden, or an Ignoble Indian warrior may also be a caricature. Nonetheless, the selection of these categories succeeds in revealing the various ways images of Native Americans have been molded to satisfy the imaginations of European Americans.

Code	Description
Captive Indian	Life-size Native American statue displayed inside a cabinet
Caricature	Native American depicted in a crude and particularly cartoonish manner
Environmental Indian	Native Americans depicted in the natural environment
Feathers	Use of stand-alone feathers as Native American iconography
Ignoble Plains Indian Chief	Native American wearing a feather headdress and holding a weapon in a threatening manner
Ignoble Indian Warrior	Native American not wearing a feather headdress but holding a weapon in a threatening manner
Masculine Warrior	Native American male whose muscles are emphasized
Indian Woman	Native American woman
Noble Plains Indian Chief	Native American wearing a feather headdress and not holding a weapon in a threatening manner
Noble Indian Warrior	Native American not wearing a feather headdress or holding a weapon in a threatening manner
Sporting Indian	Native Americans playing European American sports
Tipi	Use of stand-alone tipi as Native American iconography
Vanished Indian	Lack of Native American iconography outside school buildings
Weapons	Use of stand-alone weapons as Native American iconography
White space as Native Space	Use of language implying school grounds occupied by Native Americans

Table 6.1. Codes utilized in the content analysis of photographs, taken by the author, of Indigenous-based imagery in 125 American secondary schools between 2005 and 2007.

School visits commenced after the coding system was established, and between 2005 and 2007, iconography in 125 predominantly white secondary schools was photographed. The majority of schools are located in the Midwest, but examples from Texas and states in the Southeast were also obtained (Figure 6.2). Photos were taken inside fifty-nine of these schools during athletic events or with the permission of school officials. Sixty-six of the schools were closed at the time of the visit, therefore only exterior imagery could be photographed. Photography was restricted to public areas within schools, including atriums and reception areas, cafeterias, and gymnasia.



Map 6.1. Locations of 125 secondary schools visited and photographed between 2005 and 2007.

Two schools – Carlyle High in Illinois and Piqua High in Ohio – would not grant permission to enter the school solely for the purposes of taking photographs but did allow exterior imagery to be photographed. Perhaps it is not coincidental, then, that the portrayal of Native Americans at these schools is disparaging. Carlyle's highly offensive mascot, a tomahawk-swinging, buckskin-wearing, shirtless Indian (Figure 6.27), is displayed on the ticket booth at the school's football facility. Piqua displays its abstract Indian head logo on school grounds, but a visit to the school's official athletics website prominently displays a photograph of a white student dressed as an Indian mascot and across the website's banner are the words, "Spirit… Pride… Tradition… The Indian Nation" (V Creative Group 2008).

CONTENT ANALYSIS RESULTS

The content analysis reveals that a majority of schools photographed from the outside (39 of 66) used only one type of Native American icon on school grounds. Fifty of the fifty-nine schools whose interior public spaces were photographed in addition to their exterior spaces, on the other hand, employed multiple types of Indigenous-based iconography. Although the use of a variety of images in reference to the school mascot creates a sense of community that is essential in the learning environment, it also exposes students to a variety of Native American stereotypes. A discussion of each of the fifteen codes begins with the noble, male Plains Indian chief, an icon used by two-thirds (83 of 125) of the schools (Table 6.2).

Code	All Schools Frequency	%	Inside & Outside Frequency	%	Outside only Frequency	%
Noble Plains Indian Chief	**83**	66	**47**	80	**36**	55
Noble Indian Warrior	**41**	33	**21**	36	**20**	30
Weapons	**36**	29	**24**	41	**12**	18
Feathers	**27**	21	**17**	29	**10**	15
Masculine Warrior	**15**	12	**11**	19	**4**	6
White space as Native space	**15**	12	**8**	14	**7**	11
Caricature	**14**	11	**11**	18	**3**	5
Indian Woman	**11**	9	**8**	14	**3**	5
Ignoble Plains Indian Chief	**11**	9	**8**	14	**3**	5
Ignoble Indian Warrior	**10**	8	**9**	15	**1**	2
Captive Indian	**7**	6	**7**	12	**0**	0
Tipi	**7**	6	**4**	7	**3**	5
Vanished Indian	**5**	4	**0**	0	**5**	8
Sporting Indian	**4**	3	**3**	5	**1**	2
Nature	**3**	2	**3**	5	**0**	0

Table 6.2. Frequency and percentages of content analysis codes in regards to the entire study group – schools photographed on the exterior and interior, and schools photographed on the exterior only.

The Noble Plains Indian Chief

The most common depiction of the American Indian in 125 surveyed schools is the noble, Plains male Indian chief. The noble Indian is a common fixture in American popular culture that conveys many honorable qualities: he is handsome, independent, spiritual, modest, healthy, and wise at the least, but he typically was not a bloodthirsty savage (Dippie 1982). Consequently, an image of a Native American is defined as a noble Indian in this study if he or she lacks a weapon.

The iconic feather headdress that has become synonymous with all Native Americans has its roots among tribes of the Great Plains, and despite the distance of many surveyed schools from this region, two-thirds of the surveyed schools utilize the Plains Indian in its mascot imagery. The frequent use of the Plains male Indian supports scholarly agreement that he has become the universal Native American archetype (Ewers

1999; Flavin 2004; Green 1988; Moses 1996). Examples of the noble Plains Indian chief include a pow-wow-ready warrior on the gymnasium wall at Wes-Del High School near Gaston, Indiana (Figure 6.2) and Indian head logos at center court in Fourche Valley High School in Briggsville, Arkansas (Figure 6.3) and Colbert Country High School in Leighton, Alabama (Figure 6.4).

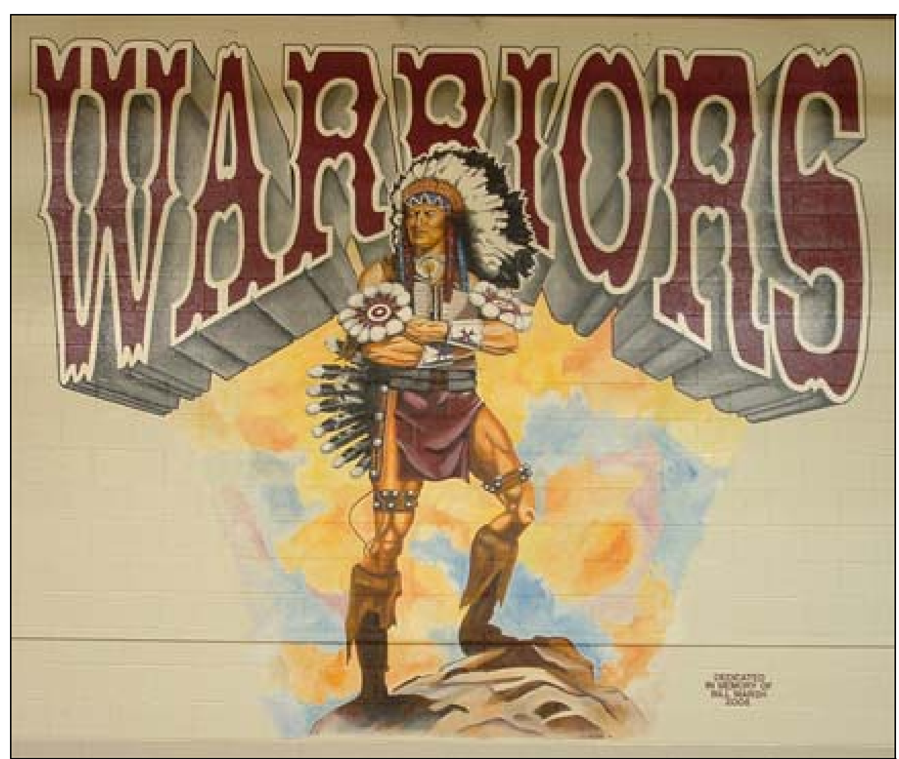


Figure 6.2. Painting of a noble Great Plains chief in the gymnasium of Wes-Del High School (*Warriors*) in Gaston, Indiana. Photo by the author, 2007.

Figure 6.3. Painting of a noble Great Plains chief at center court in the gymnasium of Fourche Valley High School (*Indians*) in Briggsville, Arkansas. Photo by the author, 2006.

Figure 6.4. Painting of a noble Great Plains chief at center court in the gymnasium of Colbert County High School (*Indians*) in Leighton, Alabama. Photo by the author, 2006.

THE NOBLE INDIAN WARRIOR

One-third of the surveyed schools displayed at least one image of a Native American who was not wearing a feather headdress generally seen in portrayals of Great Plains Indian chiefs. For the purposes of this study, these images were coded as Indian warriors. Examples in this category typically wear two feathers in their hair. The *Brave* in the painting at center court in Tishomingo County High School in Iuka, Mississippi is shirtless, and he displays two feathers, war paint, an arm band, and a “Mohawk” haircut (Figure 6.5). The *Redskin* mascot at Arcadia High School in Arcadia, Ohio has its hair in ponytails, and two feathers hang from a headband (Figure 6.6), and the stoic male and female mascots at Southwest Pulaski County High School in Somerset, Kentucky each wear two feathers – hanging on the male, pointing up on the female (Figure 6.7).

Figure 6.5. Painting of a noble Indian warrior at center court in the gymnasium of Tishomingo County High School (*Braves*) in Iuka, Mississippi. Photo by the author, 2006.

Figure 6.6. Painting of a noble Indian warrior on an outbuilding at Arcadia High School (*Redskins*) in Arcadia, Ohio. Photo by the author, 2005.

Figure 6.7. Painting of a noble Indian warrior and woman at center court in the gymnasium of Southwest Pulaski County High School (*Warriors*) in Somerset, Kentucky. Photo by the author, 2007.

Weapons

Weapons commonly associated with America's Indigenous groups and used by warriors to defend their homeland against European Americans – the tomahawk, spear, and bow and arrow – were seen in thirty-six (29%) of the schools. Two high schools using the *Blackhawks* team name in Wisconsin, Baldwin-Woodville and Prairie du Chien, recently retired imagery of Native American people but still utilize arrows with stone arrowheads as Indigenous-related iconography (Figure 6.8 and 6.9). Tomahawks were seen in a number of schools, including on the gymnasium wall at Loudon High School in Tennessee (Figure 6.10). One of the surveyed schools, McMinn County High School (*Cherokees*) in Athens, Tennessee, uses a spear as an Indigenous icon, where it can be seen at center court of the gymnasium alongside the cheer, "Go Tribe" (Figure 6.11). A tomahawk is one of many Indigenous-based icons displayed at Mohawk High School in Sycamore, Ohio and Utica, Ohio High School (Figure 6.12).

Figure 6.8. Painting of the Baldwin-Woodville High School *Blackhawks* logo, which includes an arrow with feather décor, in the school's atrium in Baldwin, Wisconsin. Photo by the author, 2006.

Figure 6.9. Painting of the Prairie du Chien High School *Blackhawks* logo, which includes an arrow, in the school's gymnasium in Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. Photo by the author, 2006.

Figure 6.10. Tomahawk-shaped athletic booster signs on the gymnasium wall in Loudon High School (*Redskins*), Loudon, Tennessee. Photo by the author, 2006.

Figure 6.11. Painting of a school cheer, “Go Tribe,” accented with a spear at center court in McMinn County High School (*Cherokees*) in Athens, Tennessee. Photo by the author, 2006.

Figure 6.12. Painting of a tomahawk on the gymnasium floor at Utica High School (Redskins) in Utica, Ohio. The use of vegetation in the imagery implies the weapon's owner resides in nature and therefore is wild or uncivilized. Photo by the author, 2007.

FEATHERS

The feather is used as stand-alone Indigenous-related iconography in twenty-seven of the surveyed schools. Feathers are sacred spiritual symbols among most Indigenous groups in North America (Black 2002), and they are appropriated by whites to summon stereotypical qualities of Native Americans, including honor, pride, strength, tenacity, and perhaps a little wildness on the playing field. Bellevue High School (*Redmen*) in Ohio uses feather icons on its football helmets and in the school (Figure 6.13).

Figure 6.13. A feather decal in Bellevue High School (*Redmen*) in Bellevue, Ohio. Photo by the author, 2007.

THE MASCULINE WARRIOR

The Native American warrior has always been held in high regard in American society. As victors, European American society inflated the status of the warrior after their defeat in order to make their triumph more impressive and fulfilling. On this topic Armondo Prats observes, “[t]he male Indian is the ‘savage’ who blocks the white nation’s way to the fulfillment of its exalted destiny; the enemy whose powers the hero must appropriate in order to defeat him…[h]is defeat trumpets not only the victory of ‘civilization’ over ‘savagery,’ it marks the first moment, prophesied and long-awaited, of the exceptional nation (2002: xv-xvi). The depiction of male Indigenous warriors as muscular, warlike, and dangerous is a reflection of this ideology and has been noted in novels and on the silver screen (van Lent 1996). These images, many caricatured, are also seen on the walls of secondary school gymnasia. Fifteen of the 125 surveyed schools

portrayed Native American men in this manner. They are characterized by an abundance of large muscles, a mean grimace, and the display of a weapon. Masculine warriors are seen crashing through a wall in Wesclin High School (*Warriors*) in Tenton, Illinois (Figure 6.14), breaking through the gymnasium floor in Goshen High School (*Warriors*) in Ohio (Figure 6.15), and intimidating viewers at Hopewell-Loudon High School (*Chieftains*) in Bascom, Ohio and Tishomingo County High School (*Braves*) in Iuka, Mississippi (Figure 6.16).

Figure 6.14. A painting of a masculine Indian warrior crashing through a Wesclin High School (*Warriors*) wall in Trenton, Illinois. Photo by the author.

Figure 6.15. A painting of a masculine Indian warrior breaking through Goshen High School's (*Warriors*) gymnasium floor in Goshen, Ohio. Photo by the author.

Figure 6.16. Paintings of masculine Indian warriors in the gymnasia of Hopewell-Loudon High School (*Chieftains*) in Bascom, Ohio and Tishomingo County High School (*Braves*) in Iuka, Mississippi. Photos by the author, 2006.

THE PORTRAYAL OF WHITE SPACE AS INDIGENOUS SPACE

Fifteen of the surveyed schools use spatial delimiters such as "Country," "Territory," or "Reservation" to define places on school grounds. Notable examples from the survey groups include a sign outside of Morrisonville High School in Illinois warning visitors that they are in "Mohawk Territory." The sign includes an image of a Plains Indian, not a Mohawk Indian, and is framed by tomahawks adorned with feathers (Figure 6.17). The east wall of the gymnasium in Colbert County High School in Leighton, Alabama is painted to resemble the barren High Plains (Figure 6.18). A set of tipis and a portrait of a Plains warrior frame a message reading, "This is Indian Territory!" at Southwest Pulaski County High School in Somerset, Kentucky advances their *Warrior* territory claim by naming a number of athletic facilities for places that evoke a Native American presence. The school's football stadium and track facility is called "The Reservation" (Figure 6.19), its soccer field is named "The Plains" (Figure 6.20), and its softball diamond is known as "The War Path" (Figure 6.21).

The use of these names constitutes a small scale example of nation-building; that is, a nation of fans. By presenting these white-controlled spaces as a fictional realm of Native Americans, schools intend to portray their home fields as foreign places in the eyes of competitors, making them uncomfortable and intimidated by an unfamiliar environment. In reality, however, these practices reflect larger issues involving the process of colonization. European colonizers and their progeny appropriated Indigenous history, place names, culture, and imagery to legitimize the process of colonization and justify their position as natural inheritors of the continent. Similarly, Indigenous-based team names, iconography, and the fabricated spaces in which they exist are conjured to

suit the needs of the colonizers. Individually, these schools may simply be attempting to create an atmosphere that incorporates their mascot and to enhance school spirit. Collectively, however, they celebrate the continued conquest of the continent by bringing "dead" American Indian enemies from the frontier period back to life and appropriating their perceived qualities to inspire greatness on the playing field.

Figure 6.17. A sign notifying visitors to Morrisonville, Illinois High School that they are in *Mohawk* territory. Photo by the author, 2007.

Figure 6.18. A painting notifying visitors to Leighton, Alabama’s Colbert County High School that they are in *Indian* territory. Photo by the author, 2006.

Figure 6.19. A sign welcoming visitors to the home field, or “The Reservation,” of the Southwest Pulaski County High School *Warriors* football team in Somerset, Kentucky. Photo by the author, 2007.

Figure 6.20. A sign welcoming visitors to "The Plains," the home field of the Southwest Pulaski County High School boys soccer team in Somerset, Kentucky. Photo by the author, 2007.

Figure 6.21. A sign welcoming visitors to "The War Path," the home field of the Southwest Pulaski County High School girls fastpitch softball team in Somerset, Kentucky. Photo by the author, 2007.

THE INDIAN WOMAN

A handful of surveyed schools include Indigenous female representations among nickname-related iconography. Historically, Native American women have typically been depicted as sexualized objects of desire, and many scholars argue that this representation is an important component of colonial domination (Albers and James 1987; Bird 1999; Green 1975; Scheckel 1998). Armando Prats observes that the roles of Native American women in Western-themed literature and film reflect this ideology. They are portrayed generally as comic relief, the “exotic bride of a white renegade,” the chief’s daughter or the “Indian Princess,” the object of the white hero’s sexual desire, a donation from the chief to the hero, the bride of the conqueror or “the beautiful maiden of divided loyalties,” or loyally dying in defense of the white hero (2002: xvi-xvii). Representations of Native American women as mascots are done so in a noble manner; that is, they are not wielding a weapon. However, many images embody the aforementioned sexualized representations.

Images at Utica High School in Ohio, Pocahontas High School in Iowa, and Mascoutah High School in Illinois depict Native American women as expressions of natural beauty. The painting in Utica’s gymnasium shows a woman standing next to a protective and masculine male mascot (Figure 6.22). A painting on the concession stand at the Pocahontas softball diamond, where the girls teams are named the *Maidens*, illustrates a lipstick-wearing woman wearing a feather in a headband (Figure 6.23), and an image seen in Mascoutah’s gymnasium presents a lipstick, fingernail polish, and

Figure 6.22. Paintings of Utica, Ohio High School's sexualized female and male *Redskins* mascots on the wall of the school gymnasium. Photo by the author, 2007.

Figure 6.23. A painting of the *Maidens* mascot at the Pocahontas, Iowa High School softball diamond. Photo by the author, 2006.

mascara-wearing woman accented with feathers in a headband (Figure 6.24). These images, as well as others viewed in the survey group, conform to the presentation of Native American women in popular culture because they tend to present Native American woman as docile and defenseless objects of desire.

Figure 6.24. A painting of the female *Indians* mascot in the gymnasium of Mascoutah, Illinois High School. Photo by the author, 2007.

THE INDIAN CARICATURE

A categorical overlap occurs when considering caricatured depictions of Native Americans, as they are presented as Plains Indian chiefs and Indian warriors. Fourteen of the surveyed schools include cartoonish depictions of Native Americans with other imagery. Five of these schools use a logo similar to the Cleveland *Indians* professional baseball team emblem, which is noted for its large nose and intense red-colored skin. Other examples include Caddo Hills High School in Norman, Arkansas and Nokomis High School in Illinois, where tomahawk-wielding, grimaced-faced caricatures are displayed on buses and a large-nosed Indian head logo is visible at center court of its gymnasium, respectively (Figure 6.25).

Figure 6.25. Native American caricatures displayed on a bus outside Caddo Hills High School (*Indians*) in Norman, Arkansas (left) and at center court of the Nokomis High School (*Redskins*) gymnasium in Illinois (right). Photos by the author, 2007.

THE IGNOBLE PLAINS INDIAN CHIEF AND INDIAN WARRIOR

A total of twenty-one schools in the survey group presented their Plains chief mascot or Indian warrior mascot in an ignoble manner. Eleven schools displayed Plains Indians in such a manner, and five of these schools used a similar logo of a headdress-wearing, tomahawk and spear-wielding "savage" who appears to be marching "on the warpath." A caricatured example of this depiction can be viewed at Columbia High School in Ohio (Figure 6.26).

Figure 6.26. A painting of the ignoble, weapon-wielding *Raiders* mascot on the concession stand at the football stadium of Columbia High School in Ohio. Photo by the author, 2007.

Ten schools portray Indian warriors in an ignoble manner. A caricatured example is seen on the ticket booth of the football and track facility at Carlyle High School in Illinois (Figure 6.27). Here a Native American man is seen “on the warpath” with his tomahawk raised. A bit of comic relief is injected, as his headband has fallen in front of his eyes in the midst of charging.

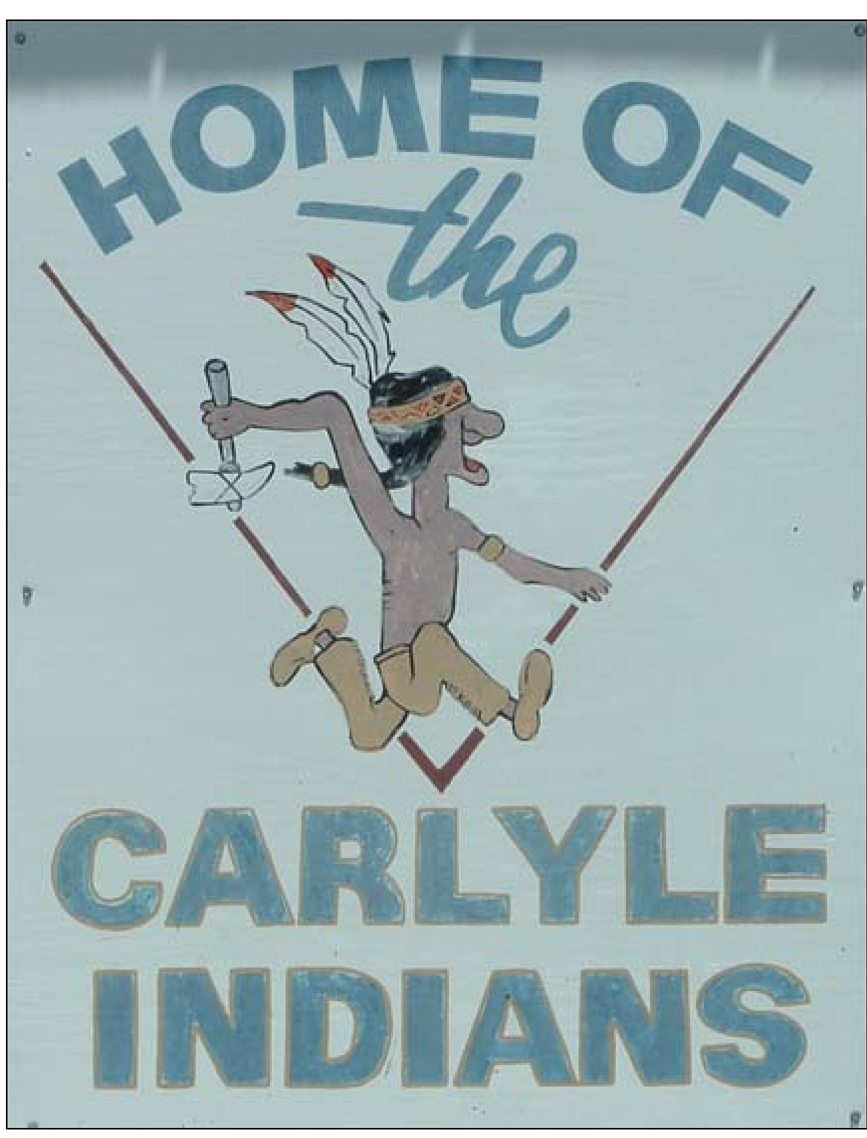


Figure 6.27. A painting of the ignoble, weapon-wielding *Indians* mascot on the football stadium ticket booth at Carlyle High School in Illinois. Photo by the author, 2007.

THE CAPTIVE INDIAN

Seven of the fifty-nine schools whose interiors were photographed displayed a life-size statue of a Native American inside a glass-enclosed cabinet. These fixtures are placed in cabinets to prevent vandalism, but they also symbolically invert captivity narratives. These frightful stories, many based on real-life experiences, involved the kidnapping of whites by Indians and subsequent captivity among them during the frontier period in American history. To be held against one's will among the "savages" was "a fate worse than death" (Michno 2007). It is also symbolic that six of these statues are surrounded by trophies won by the school's athletic teams. As coincidental as that may be, it is ironic that the conquerors of the continent, who forced surviving Indians onto rural reservations and into urban ghettos, proudly display lifeless representations of Native Americans in the trophy sections of their schools.

Mechanicsburg High School in Ohio displays a tomahawk-wielding yet seemingly dazed "captive Indian" inside its main entrance (Figure 6.28). Northwest High School in Canal Fulton, Ohio, whose website reads, "On the warpath to excellence!" (Northwest Local Schools 2008), displays a glass-enclosed statue of a Native American man who wears an American flag at his waist and has his hand over his forehead, as if he is searching for something or someone (Figure 6.29). The city of Mascoutah, Illinois and its high school is named for a distant Algonquin-speaking tribe who once lived 250 miles away near Lake Michigan (Johnson and Hook 2007: 20). A pair of "captive Indians" can be viewed among the school's trophies outside its gymnasium (Figure 6.30). A plaque displayed with the statues describes not the history of the tribe but rather what the word is

believed to mean, “Prairie people,” and how a resident suggested the name after the post office had to change its name in 1839.

Figure 6.28. A statue of a “captive Indian,” with tomahawk in hand, at the entrance of Mechanicsburg High School (*Indians*) in Ohio. Photo by the author, 2007.

Figure 6.29. A statue of a “captive Indian” who, wearing a United States flag at his waist, appears to be searching for something – perhaps his people? – at the entrance of Northwest High School (*Indians*) in Canal Fulton, Ohio. Photo by the author, 2007.

Figure 6.30. Statues of male and female “captive Indians” at Mascoutah High School (*Indians*) in Illinois. Photo by the author, 2007.

THE TIPI

Seven of the 125 surveyed schools include the tipi (also spelled *teepee* and *tepee*) in their display of Indigenous-related iconography. Despite their appearance at schools in Ohio, Indiana, and Alabama, these collapsible shelters were used most predominantly in the United States by the tribes of the Great Plains and Southwest (Waldman 1985: 50). The display of tipis in interior and outdoor athletic facilities is designed to create an atmosphere that is both welcoming for hometown fans and uncomfortably foreign for visitors. Northwest High School in Springfield, Ohio uses a rudimentary tipi at the entrance to its football and track facility (Figure 6.31), and a tipi constructed of metal overlooks the football and track complex at Forest City High School in Iowa (Figure 6.32).

Figure 6.31. The entrance to the football field and track facility at Northwest High School (*Indians*) in Springfield, Ohio resembles the shape of a tipi. Photo by the author, 2007.

Figure 6.32. A tipi structure overlooks the football field and track facility at Forest City High School (*Indians*) in Iowa. Photo by the author, 2006.

THE VANISHED INDIAN

Five schools in the surveyed group do not display Indigenous-related iconography on the exterior of school buildings or signs. Explanations for the lack of imagery are unclear; however, it may reflect an administrative decision to limit imagery to interior spaces and school websites and to limit exposure to the casual observer, prevent potential controversy, or slowly reduce mascot-related imagery. A logo displayed outside South Winneshiek High School in Calmar, Iowa includes a simple "S" and "W," and the logo of Centerville High School in Iowa includes a red "C" with the name of the school's athletic teams, the *Reds*, on its inside (Figure 6.33). The interiors of these schools were not photographed, but their websites include images that, if included in this study, would fall into the ignoble Indian warrior and noble Plains Indian chief codes, respectively (South Winneshiek Community Schools 2008; Centerville Community School District 2008).

Figure 6.33. Logos displayed outside South Winneshiek High School (*Warriors*) in Calmar, Iowa (left) and Centerville High School (*Reds*) in Iowa (right) suggest that they do not use a Native American nickname. Imagery on their websites, however, suggests otherwise. Photos by the author, 2007.

THE SPORTING INDIAN

A small number of surveyed schools, four to be exact, display Indigenous men playing basketball or football – sports invented or adapted by European Americans. The image of an American Indian playing the games of their conquerors has always held symbolic value for whites. In 1893 Richard Henry Pratt, head of the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, granted students permission to field a competitive football team primarily because he hoped it would indicate the Indian's capability to assimilate and compete with whites (Adams 2001: 26). Late nineteenth and early twentieth century football games between Carlisle and upper crust universities such as Harvard, Yale, and Penn drew very large crowds. Carlisle squads competed with and beat the elite teams of the era. In 1899, the team's sixth season, the Carlisle football team outscored opponents 338 to 44 (Adams 1995: 183). While much of the team's popularity was due to its talent, it has been suggested that people were also attracted to games because the aggression and struggle to gain territory on the field acted as post-frontier era metaphors for frontier violence and battles over contested grounds in the West (Adams 2001). Therefore, Carlisle's players, in the minds of many spectators, were walking a fine line between savagery and civilization.

This dualistic mindset is reflected in the portrayal of Native Americans in four of the surveyed schools. The most overt example is seen on a section of a retired gymnasium floor, used between 1960 and 1980, that hangs on the gymnasium wall in McMinn County High School in Athens, Tennessee. Here a shirtless caricature is shown running from right to left, awkwardly dribbling a basketball in his right hand and gripping his tomahawk with the left. The use of this icon underlines the potency of

assimilationist ideologies among whites, and its current display under the guise of tradition, commemorates an era in which they were instituted (Figure 6.34). Other, more subversive examples include a painting, seen on the gymnasium wall at Lewistown High School in Illinois, of its *Indian* mascot hanging on a basketball rim after a seemingly aggressive dunk (Figure 6.35), and an image of Moravia, Iowa High School's *Mohawk* mascot playing football on an outbuilding (Figure 6.36).

Figure 6.34. A retired piece of gymnasium floor hanging in McMinn County High School in Athens, Tennessee depicts their *Cherokee* mascot in a balancing act between savagery (tomahawk in one hand) and civilization (basketball in the other). Photo by the author, 2006.

Figure 6.35. A painting in the gymnasium of Lewistown High School (*Indians*) in Illinois depicts a Native American hanging on a basketball rim after an aggressive dunk. Photo by the author, 2007.

Figure 6.36. A painting, located on an outbuilding at Moravia High School (*Mohawks*) in Iowa, of a Native American man playing football. Photo by the author, 2007.

The environmental Indian

The least frequent code of the content analysis involves portrayals of Native Americans in the wilderness. These images harbor much more meaning than their irregularity would suggest. They reflect white admiration for the Indian’s connection with nature, yet they also dehumanize Native Americans and imply that they are uncivilized and no different than the creatures with which they live (Krech 1999: 26). Philip Deloria notes this duality and observes that white admiration for Indigenous peoples in the early twentieth century presented Indians as “objects, not simply of racial repulsion, but also –

as they reflected nostalgia for community, spirituality, and nature – of racial desire" (2004: 120).

Illustrations of this stereotype are seen inside the main entrance of Fort Loramie High School in Ohio, where a painting of a masculine Native American man sitting atop his horse in a wilderness setting, with spear in hand, is displayed (Figure 6.37), and in a mural outside the office of the *Smoke Signals* student newspaper in Mascoutah High School in Illinois (Figure 6.38). Here, two Native American warriors and one woman are situated in a natural setting among dozens of wild animals, including elk, beaver, ducks, and geese. These images glorify Native American intimacy with the wilderness, but they also suggest they are, like the animals they are seen with, naturally wild creatures. More poignantly, these images freeze Native Americans in a bucolic state that ignores the effects of European American conquest on their lives.

Figure 6.37. A painting of a muscular Native American man atop his horse in a wilderness setting is located inside the main entrance of Fort Loramie High School (*Redskins*) in Ohio. Photo by the author, 2007.

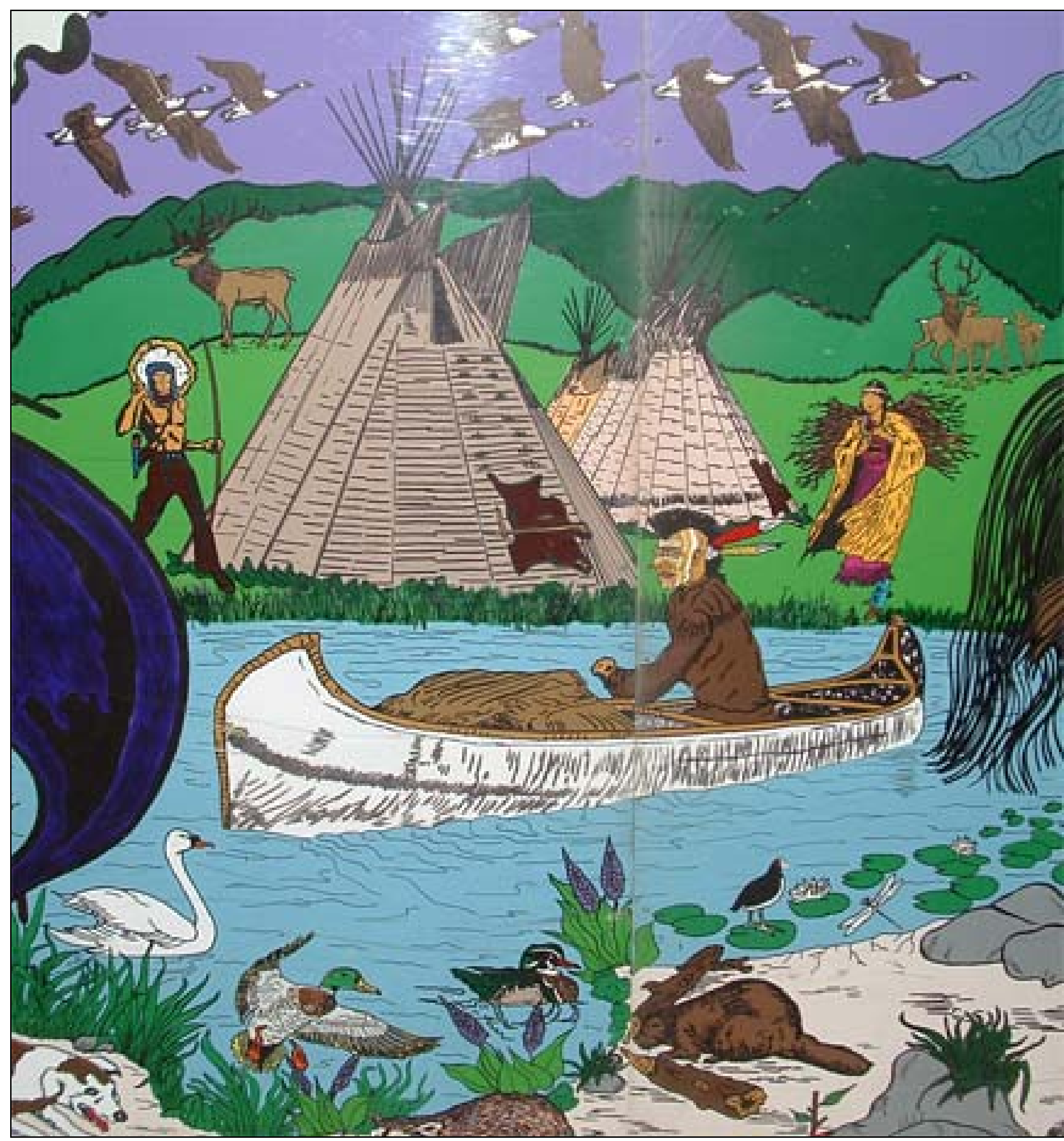


Figure 6.38. A section of a mural located outside the office of the *Smoke Signals* student newspaper in Mascoutah, Illinois High School suggests that Native Americans are as inherent components of the natural environment as untamed animals. Photo by the author, 2007.

CONCLUSION

Predominantly non-Native schools using Indigenous-based team names tend to portray Native Americans in a manner which may seem appropriate on the surface. The imagery displayed in these schools, however, is universally anachronistic and signifies the race-based ideologies, including imperialist nostalgia, anti-conquest, and cultural appropriation, that were present at the time they were selected. Through the continued use of this outdated iconography, the myths of frontier conquest, the noble and ignoble savage, the Indian Princess, and others discussed in this chapter will endure.

The spaces in which these visual representations are used are learning environments, and although children are capable of developing ideas involving race on their own, the influences of parents and other figures (teachers, siblings, and peers) can greatly influence and reaffirm racial stereotypes (Van Ausdale and Feagin 2001). The institutional support of Indigenous-based team names and associated iconography in learning environments has indoctrinated generations of Americans into believing that Native Americans *were* a single, feather headdress-wearing tribe whose most notable traits *were* their honor and bellicosity. Depictions of Native Americans and aspects of their culture in the secondary schools of predominantly white communities are, in a sense, monuments to the vanished Indians of yesteryear, and Brian Ladd reminds us that monuments "are nothing if not selective aids to memory: they encourage us to remember some things and to forget others" (1997: 11). Indigenous-based iconography is discerning because it presents American Indians as unaffected observers of European colonization. By staging Native Americans as daunting obstacles to civilization, it also commemorates frontier conquest and celebrates the superiority of Western civilization. The importance

of a team name and mascot is important in every community, but it is time to realize that the use of disparaging Indigenous-based nicknames in predominantly non-Native communities not only affects American Indians, they affect everyone.

CHAPTER SEVEN

REITERATIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES

[W]e remain imprisoned by the past as long as we deny its influence in the present.

Supreme Court Justice William Brennan (1987)

I remember the moment clearly. In fact, it defines this study. While attending a conference in San Marcos, Texas during the fall of 2006, I decided to spend a Friday visiting nearby schools that use Native American nicknames. Four communities along or near U.S. Highway 90, located fourteen to twenty-six miles apart, were my destination. The employees at Prairie Lea, Gonzales, and Hallettsville Sacred Heart High Schools, like most of the people I have encountered in the midst of fieldwork, were very hospitable and graciously allowed me to photograph Indian-related imagery. The final stop of the day, at Shiner High School's Friday afternoon pep rally, provided a chance to experience firsthand the rituals associated with an Indian nickname. An administrator had invited me to the pep rally after expressing interest in how the school portrays its caricatured *Comanche* mascot "Chief Win 'Em All," so after grabbing a quick bite to eat at Friday's Fried Chicken Restaurant, I headed back to school.

I joined dozens of community supporters in the gymnasium bleachers a few minutes before the marching band had entered to play the school song. Elementary students – probably first or second graders – were the last to trickle into the gym and, because there was no room in the stands, had to stand along the end wall. At a certain point in the song almost everyone began swinging their forearms back-and-forth, à la the "tomahawk chop" made famous by fans of the Florida State University *Seminoles* (King

and Springwood 2001b: 131). The position of the young students provided an unusual view of the older students and adults, and I observed a number of them looking towards the crowd and, in an apparent act of imitation, join in (Figure 7.1). From my perspective, they were becoming indoctrinated with a ritual that, with other school traditions and imagery, instills stereotypes that depict Native Americans as unsophisticated and bellicose people. It occurred to me that rituals like this, which are performed in hundreds of schools throughout the country, exemplify the Native American mascot debate.

Figure 7.1. Shiner, Texas Elementary School students performing the “Comanche Chop” during a Friday afternoon pep rally for the high school football team. Rituals such as this instill disparaging Native American stereotypes into young students every school year. Photo by the author, 2006.

REITERATIONS

As the group largely responsible for the near demise of an Indigenous presence on this continent and the continued subjection of Native Americans, European Americans must acknowledge the ideological symbolism inherent in Indigenous-based team names, mascots, and imagery. The nineteenth century Native American warrior lives on in the white imagination through mascots and associated imagery. These images, along with many other factors, commemorate frontier conquest, help define whiteness, and assist the maintenance of a racialized ideology.

Collectively, Indigenous-based team names are the most popular names used by American secondary schools, outnumbering the use of the *Eagles* nickname by 319. In 2005, 1,368 of 18,973 (7.2%) of the country's high schools used Indigenous-based nicknames. They were located in each state, but the Northeast and Mid-West regions contained almost half (48%) of all Native American nicknames. Nearly two-thirds of the schools were located in cities with less than 25,000 residents or in rural areas, and 80% of the schools had a majority white student body. These data indicate that the current use of Indigenous-based team names is done so in small, rural, and predominantly white communities and suggest that the names were originally selected by whites.

The use of Indigenous-based nicknames and associated iconography in secondary schools produces a space in which impressionable adolescents observe and retain images of Native Americans that are primarily stereotypical in nature. Imagery that sexualizes Indian maidens is equally disparaging as the depiction of masculine warriors busting through walls and caricatured ignoble savages with a tomahawk in hand. While imagery

in many schools is limited, the presence of stereotypical imagery in two-thirds (83 of 125) of schools visited and photographed suggests that such practices are widespread.

FUTURE RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES

There are a number of avenues holding potential for future research at the nexus of geography and Indigenous-based team names. The sheer number of secondary schools, each with distinct histories, provides ample and much needed opportunities to conduct local-scale studies. Analyses comparing a number of specific case studies would facilitate the development of generalizations and patterns among schools. Investigating the social histories of individual communities that use Indigenous-based team names will reveal many more connections between the selection of Native American nicknames and frontier conflict.

From a geographic/anthropological perspective, a study involving extensive participant observation at school events, like the pep rally at Shiner High, would make a fascinating study concerning the production of fictional Indigenous space by non-Native persons for school spirit, intimidating opponents, and theoretical reasons like “Othering” (Fabian 2002).

Examining primary schools that use Indigenous-based team names is another important area of research, particularly considering the research highlighting the psychological impacts stereotyping can have on Native American students and the role they play in the development of implicitly negative attitudes among non-Native students towards Native Americans (Burke 2006; Freng 2001; Fryberg 2002; Gonzalez 2005; King 1991; Pewewardy 1991 and 2001; Staurowsky 1999; Steele 1997).

Research that compares the portrayal of Native American imagery in predominantly Indigenous schools to imagery in non-Native schools would, presumably, present a disparity between the two. Additionally, a study of predominantly white schools receiving tribal permission to use their Indigenous-based name would similarly fill a much-needed void in the literature. A middle ground does exist between mascot advocates and opponents in communities like Hartford, Michigan and Littleton, Colorado. Cooperation between the Potawatomi and Arapahoe tribes and schools in these respective cities indicates that it is possible to turn schools that use stereotypical imagery into positive learning environments. Finally, it should be noted that a study which champions the status quo has yet to be published. As this study clearly indicates, however, the status quo is not acceptable.

APPENDIX A. SECONDARY SCHOOLS USING INDIGENOUS-BASED TEAM NAMES IN 2005

School	State	Team Name
Alakanuk	AK	Braves
Anchor Point Nikolaevsk	AK	Warriors
Aniak	AK	Halfbreeds
Bethel	AK	Warriors
Chefornak Caputnguaq	AK	Shamen
East Anchorage	AK	Thunderbirds
Hoonah	AK	Braves
Hydaburg	AK	Haida Warriors
Kake	AK	Thunderbirds
Klawock	AK	Chieftains
Metlakatla	AK	Chiefs
Nondalton	AK	Warriors
Northway	AK	Warriors
Saint Michael Anthony Andrews	AK	Braves
Sitka Mount Edgecumbe	AK	Braves
Tyonek Tebughna	AK	Chiefs
Wasilla	AK	Warriors
Alabaster Thompson	AL	Warriors
Athens East Limestone	AL	Indians
Auburn Lee-Scott Academy	AL	Warriors
Carrollton	AL	Indians
Centre Cherokee County	AL	Warriors
Centreville Bibb County	AL	Choctaws
Cherokee	AL	Indians
Cullman Good Hope	AL	Raiders
Cullman West Point	AL	Warriors
Decatur	AL	Red Raiders
Eufaula Lakeside School	AL	Chiefs
Eutaw Warrior Academy	AL	Braves
Florence Wilson	AL	Warriors
Goodsprings Martin	AL	Warriors
Guin Marion County	AL	Red Raiders
Leighton Colbert County	AL	Indians
Loachapoka	AL	Indians
Midland City Dale County	AL	Warriors
Mobile Davidson	AL	Warriors
New Hope	AL	Indians
Ohatchee	AL	Indians

School	State	Team Name
Oneonta	AL	Redskins
Pinson Valley	AL	Indians
Seale Russell County	AL	Warriors
Silas Southern Choctaw	AL	Indians
Stevenson North Jackson	AL	Chiefs
Talladega AL Blind	AL	Redskins
Warrior Corner	AL	Indians
Wetumpka	AL	Indians
Blytheville	AR	Chickasaws
Branch County Line	AR	Indians
Briggsville Fourche Valley	AR	Indians
Charlotte Cord-Charlotte	AR	Indians
Cherry Valley Cross County	AR	Thunderbirds
Cotter	AR	Warriors
Delaplaine	AR	Indians
Guy-Perkins	AR	Thunderbirds
Jonesboro Nettleton	AR	Raiders
Jonesboro Westside	AR	Warriors
Lamar	AR	Warriors
Lavaca	AR	Golden Arrows
Lepanto East Poinsett County	AR	Warriors
Little Rock Hall	AR	Warriors
Marked Tree	AR	Indians
Norman Caddo Hills	AR	Indians
Osceola	AR	Seminoles
Pea Ridge	AR	Blackhawks
Piggott	AR	Mohawks
Pocahontas	AR	Redskins
Pottsville	AR	Apaches
Poyen	AR	Indians
Rohwer Delta Special	AR	Warriors
West Helena Desoto	AR	Thunderbirds
Wickes	AR	Warriors
Williford	AR	Indians
Bullhead City Mohave	AZ	Thunderbirds
Fort Thomas	AZ	Apaches
Mesa Westwood	AZ	Warriors
Nogales	AZ	Apaches
Phoenix Thunderbird	AZ	Chiefs

School	State	Team Name
Saint Johns	AZ	Redskins
San Carlos	AZ	Braves
Sells Baboquivari	AZ	Warriors
Teec Nos Pos Red Mesa	AZ	Redskins
Tuba City	AZ	Warriors
Tucson Pueblo	AZ	Warriors
Winslow Leupp Technical	AZ	Braves
Alta Loma	CA	Braves
Alturas-Modoc	CA	Braves
Anaheim Canyon	CA	Comanches
Arcadia	CA	Apaches
Baker	CA	Braves
Bellflower St John Bosco	CA	Braves
Bridgeville Southern Trinity	CA	Warriors
Burbank John Burroughs	CA	Indians
Carpinteria	CA	Warriors
Chowchilla	CA	Redskins
Colusa	CA	Redskins
Compton Centennial	CA	Apaches
Concord Ygnacio Valley	CA	Warriors
Crockett-John Swett	CA	Indians
Daly City Jefferson	CA	Indians
El Cajon Valley	CA	Braves
Fairfield Armijo	CA	Indians
Fallbrook	CA	Warriors
Fremont Mission San Jose	CA	Warriors
Fresno	CA	Warriors
Fullerton	CA	Indians
Galt	CA	Warriors
Greenville	CA	Indians
Gustine	CA	Redskins
Hamilton City	CA	Braves
Happy Camp	CA	Indians
Hoopa Valley	CA	Warriors
Irvine Woodbridge	CA	Warriors
Kelseyville	CA	Indians
La Puente	CA	Warriors
La Quinta	CA	Blackhawks
Laytonville	CA	Warriors
Lompoc	CA	Braves

School	State	Team Name
Maricopa	CA	Indians
Marysville	CA	Indians
Mission Hills Bishop Alemany	CA	Indians
Modesto Central Catholic	CA	Raiders
Napa	CA	Indians
Napa Justin Siena	CA	Braves
Newhall William Hart	CA	Indians
Newman Orestimba	CA	Warriors
Oakland McClymond	CA	Warriors
Oroville Las Plumas	CA	Thunderbirds
Palm Springs	CA	Indians
Porterville Monache	CA	Marauders
Red Bluff Mercy	CA	Warriors
Richmond Salesian	CA	Chieftains
Ripon	CA	Indians
Riverside Norte Vista	CA	Braves
Riverside Sherman Indian	CA	Braves
Roseville Adelante	CA	Warriors
Sacramento Hiram Johnson	CA	Warriors
Salinas Palma	CA	Chieftains
San Andreas Calaveras	CA	Redskins
San Diego Clairemont	CA	Chieftains
San Jacinto Noli Indian	CA	Braves
San Jose Yerba Buena	CA	Warriors
Sanger	CA	Apaches
Santa Fe Springs	CA	Chiefs
South San Francisco	CA	Warriors
Tehachapi	CA	Warriors
Tollhouse-Sierra	CA	Chieftains
Tomales	CA	Braves
Torrance West	CA	Warriors
Tulare	CA	Redskins
Vallejo	CA	Apaches
Westlake Village	CA	Warriors
Winterhaven San Pasqual	CA	Warriors
Winters	CA	Warriors
Yucaipa	CA	Thunderbirds
Anton Arickaree	CO	Indians
Arvada	CO	Reds
Aurora WC Hinkley	CO	Thunderbirds

School	State	Team Name
Calhan Ellicott	CO	Thunderhawks
Campo	CO	Warriors
Colorado Springs Cheyenne Mtn	CO	Indians
Colorado Springs Roy Wasson	CO	Thunderbirds
Eaton	CO	Fighting Reds
Frederick	CO	Warriors
Grand Junction Central	CO	Warriors
Kiowa	CO	Indians
La Veta	CO	Redskins
Littleton Arapahoe	CO	Warriors
Loveland	CO	Indians
Montrose	CO	Indians
Mosca Sangre de Cristo	CO	Thunderbirds
Saguache Mountain Valley	CO	Indians
Sanford	CO	Indians
Strasburg	CO	Indians
Weldona Weldon Valley	CO	Warriors
Westminster	CO	Warriors
Yuma	CO	Indians
Collinsville Canton	CT	Warriors
Danielson Killingly	CT	Redmen
Deep River Valley	CT	Warriors
Derby	CT	Red Raiders
Enfield	CT	Raiders
Farmington	CT	Indians
Glastonbury	CT	Tomahawks
Guilford	CT	Indians
Hebron Rham	CT	Sachems
Manchester	CT	Indians
Meriden Wilcox	CT	Indians
Newington	CT	Indians
North Branford	CT	Thunderbirds
North Haven	CT	Indians
Oakdale Montville	CT	Indians
Watertown	CT	Indians
West Hartford Conard	CT	Chieftains
West Hartford NW Catholic	CT	Indians
West Hartford William Hall	CT	Warriors
Wilton	CT	Warriors
Windsor	CT	Warriors

School	State	Team Name
Woodbury Nonnewaug	CT	Chiefs
Anacostia	DC	Indians
Frankford Indian River	DE	Indians
Bradenton Southeast	FL	Seminoles
Callahan West Nassau	FL	Warriors
Century Northview	FL	Chiefs
Chiefland	FL	Indians
Defuniak Springs Walton	FL	Braves
Fort Lauderdale Cardinal Gibbons	FL	Redskins
Fort Walton Bch Choctawhatchee	FL	Indians
Gibsonton East Bay	FL	Indians
Grand Ridge	FL	Indians
Immokalee	FL	Indians
Jacksonville Baldwin	FL	Indians
Jacksonville Terry Parker	FL	Braves
Jupiter	FL	Warriors
Keystone Heights	FL	Indians
Lake Worth Santaluces	FL	Chiefs
Lakeland Lake Gibson	FL	Fighting Braves
Lakeland Sonrise Christian	FL	Seminoles
Largo Osceola	FL	Warriors
Miami Carol City	FL	Chiefs
Miami Westminster Christian	FL	Warriors
Monticello Aucilla Christian Acad	FL	Warriors
Orlando Boone	FL	Braves
Pensacola Christian	FL	Warriors
Sanford Seminole	FL	Fighting Seminoles
Tallahassee FSU School	FL	Seminoles
Tallahassee James Rickards	FL	Redskins
Tampa Chamberlain	FL	Chiefs
Venice	FL	Indians
Albany	GA	Indians
Atlanta Cross Keys	GA	Indians
Calhoun Gordon Central	GA	Warriors
Canton Cherokee	GA	Warriors
Canton Sequoyah	GA	Chiefs
Chatsworth Murray County	GA	Indians
Cleveland White County	GA	Warriors
Columbus Kendrick	GA	Cherokees
Dahlonega Lumpkin County	GA	Indians

School	State	Team Name
Donalsonville	GA	Indians
Eastman Dodge	GA	Indians
Fairburn Creekside	GA	Seminoles
Folkston Charlton County	GA	Indians
Fort Oglethorpe	GA	Warriors
Franklin Heard County	GA	Braves
Hiawassee Towns County	GA	Indians
Irwinton Wilkinson County	GA	Warriors
Kennesaw North Cobb	GA	Warriors
LaGrange Acad	GA	Warriors
Louisville Jefferson County	GA	Warriors
Milledgeville Baldwin	GA	Braves
Ocilla Irwin County	GA	Indians
Peachtree City McIntosh	GA	Chiefs
Pembroke Bryon County	GA	Redskins
Powder Springs Mc Eachern	GA	Indians
Rome Armuchee	GA	Indians
Savannah Bible Baptist	GA	Braves
Savannah Jenkins	GA	Warriors
Sharpsburg East Coweta	GA	Indians
Social Circle	GA	Redskins
Summerville Chattooga	GA	Indians
Tallulah Falls	GA	Indians
Toccoa Stephens County	GA	Indians
Vidalia	GA	Indians
Watkinsville Oconee County	GA	Warriors
Aiea	HI	Na Alii
Hilo Waiakea	HI	Warriors
Honolulu Kamehameha	HI	Warriors
Kapaa	HI	Warriors
Bellevue Marquette Catholic	IA	Mohawks
Calmar South Winneshiek	IA	Warriors
Camanche	IA	Indians
Centerville	IA	Big Reds
Cherokee Washington	IA	Braves
Clarksville	IA	Indians
Corning	IA	Red Raiders
Elkader Central	IA	Warriors
Forest City	IA	Indians
Hastings Nishna Valley	IA	Blackhawks

School	State	Team Name
Indianola	IA	Indians
Keokuk	IA	Chiefs
Keosauqua Van Buren	IA	Warriors
Marion	IA	Indians
Mason City	IA	Mohawks
Missouri Valley	IA	Big Reds
Montezuma	IA	Braves
Moravia	IA	Mohawks
New Hampton	IA	Chickasaws
Osceola Clarke	IA	Indians
Oskaloosa	IA	Indians
Pocahontas	IA	Indians
Rockford	IA	Warriors
Sac City	IA	Indians
Seymour	IA	Warriors
Sigourney	IA	Savages
Spirit Lake	IA	Indians
Victor H-L-V	IA	Warriors
Walnut	IA	Warriors
Wapello	IA	Indians
Waukon	IA	Indians
West Point Marquette	IA	Warriors
Whiting	IA	Warriors
Boise	ID	Braves
Buhl	ID	Indians
Driggs Teton	ID	Redskins
Fort Hall Sho-Ban	ID	Chiefs
Harrison Kootenai	ID	Warriors
Meridian	ID	Warriors
Nezperce	ID	Indians
Pocatello	ID	Indians
Preston	ID	Indians
Riggins Salmon River	ID	Savages
Salmon	ID	Savages
Shoshone	ID	Indians
Altamont	IL	Indians
Annawan	IL	Braves
Antioch	IL	Sequoits
Athens	IL	Warriors

School	State	Team Name
Aurora Waubonsie Valley	IL	Warriors
Aurora West	IL	Blackhawks
Brimfield	IL	Indians
Cahokia	IL	Comanches
Carlyle	IL	Indians
Casey-Westfield	IL	Warriors
Chicago Calumet	IL	Indians
Chicago Hyde Park	IL	Indians
Chicago Lane	IL	Indians
Chicago Luther South	IL	Braves
Collinsville	IL	Kahoks
Crete-Monee	IL	Warriors
Dakota	IL	Indians
Des Plaines Maine West	IL	Warriors
DuQuoin	IL	Indians
East Dubuque	IL	Warriors
East Peoria	IL	Raiders
Gilman Iroquois West	IL	Raiders
Granite City	IL	Warriors
Jacksonville IL Visually Impaired	IL	Warriors
Johnston City	IL	Indians
Joy Westmer	IL	Warriors
Kankakee	IL	Kays
Lawrenceville	IL	Indians
Lemont	IL	Injuns
Lewistown	IL	Indians
Mackinaw Deer Creek	IL	Chiefs
Marengo	IL	Indians
Mascoutah	IL	Indians
Meredosia-Chambersburg	IL	Indians
Midlothian Bremen	IL	Braves
Minooka	IL	Indians
Momence	IL	Redskins
Morris	IL	Redskins
Morrisonville	IL	Mohawks
Mt. Zion	IL	Braves
Neoga	IL	Indians
Nokomis	IL	Redskins

School	State	Team Name
Patoka	IL	Warriors
Pawnee	IL	Indians
Payson-Seymour	IL	Indians
Pecatonica	IL	Indians
Peoria Woodruff	IL	Warriors
Pittsfield	IL	Saukees
Pontiac	IL	Indians
Prophetstown	IL	Prophets
Quincy Notre Dame	IL	Raiders
Rockton Hononegah	IL	Indians
Sandwich	IL	Indians
South Holland Thornwood	IL	Thunderbirds
Steeleville	IL	Warriors
Sterling	IL	Golden Warriors
Stockton	IL	Blackhawks
Streator Woodland	IL	Warriors
Sullivan	IL	Redskins
Trenton Wesclin	IL	Warriors
Tuscola	IL	Warriors
Urbana University	IL	Illineks
Warren	IL	Warriors
Watseka	IL	Warriors
Wayne City	IL	Indians
West Chicago Wheaton Acad	IL	Warriors
Winnebago	IL	Indians
Wolf Lake Shawnee	IL	Redskins
Anderson	IN	Indians
Bicknell North Knox	IN	Warriors
Bloomfield Eastern Greene	IN	Thunderbirds
Borden	IN	Braves
Brownstown Central	IN	Braves
Bunker Hill Maconaquah	IN	Braves
Danville Community	IN	Warriors
Decatur Bellmont	IN	Braves
Denver North Miami	IN	Warriors
Evansville Harrison	IN	Warriors
Farmersburg North Central	IN	Thunderbirds
Fort Wayne Blackhawk Christian	IN	Braves
Fort Wayne North Side	IN	Redskins
Gary Calumet	IN	Warriors

School	State	Team Name
Gas City Mississinewa	IN	Indians
Gaston Wes-Del	IN	Warriors
Goshen	IN	Redskins
Hammond Bishop Noll	IN	Warriors
Indianapolis Brebeuf Jesuit	IN	Braves
Indianapolis Emmerich Manual	IN	Redskins
Indianapolis Warren Central	IN	Warriors
Knox	IN	Redskins
Lynnville Tecumseh	IN	Braves
Marshall Turkey Run	IN	Warriors
Milan	IN	Indians
Monticello Twin Lakes	IN	Indians
Muncie Cowan	IN	Blackhawks
Portage	IN	Indians
Scottsburg	IN	Warriors
Selma Wapahani	IN	Raiders
Sheridan	IN	Blackhawks
South Bend St. Joseph's	IN	Indians
St. John Lake Central	IN	Indians
Sullivan	IN	Golden Arrows
Syracuse Wawasee	IN	Warriors
Terre Haute South Vigo	IN	Braves
Topeka Westview	IN	Warriors
Trafalgar Indian Creek	IN	Braves
Union City	IN	Indians
Valparaiso Morgan Township	IN	Cherokees
Wabash	IN	Apaches
Waldron	IN	Mohawks
Washington	IN	Hatchets
Westville	IN	Blackhawks
Whiteland Community	IN	Warriors
Winamac Community	IN	Warriors
Woodburn Woodlan	IN	Warriors
Andale	KS	Indians
Argonia	KS	Raiders
Atchison	KS	Redmen
Bern	KS	Indians
Bonner Springs	KS	Braves
Bushton Quivira Heights	KS	Thunderbirds
Clearwater	KS	Indians

School	State	Team Name
Council Grove	KS	Braves
Glasco	KS	Warriors
Grinnell	KS	Warriors
Hays	KS	Indians
Hoxie	KS	Indians
Kiowa South Barber	KS	Chieftains
Larned	KS	Indians
Leoti Wichita County	KS	Indians
Liberal	KS	Redskins
Little River	KS	Redskins
Manhattan	KS	Indians
Marion	KS	Warriors
Medicine Lodge	KS	Indians
Osage City	KS	Indians
Oswego	KS	Indians
Peabody-Burns	KS	Warriors
Pomona	KS	Indians
Powhattan Kickapoo	KS	Warriors
Pratt Skyline	KS	Thunderbirds
Saint Francis	KS	Indians
Saint Paul	KS	Indians
Satanta	KS	Indians
Shawnee Mission North	KS	Indians
Smith Center	KS	Redmen
Tecumseh Shawnee Heights	KS	Thunderbirds
Tonganoxie	KS	Chieftains
Towanda Circle	KS	Thunderbirds
Wamego	KS	Red Raiders
Wichita North	KS	Redskins
Columbia Adair County	KY	Indians
Covington Holy Cross	KY	Indians
Cumberland	KY	Redskins
Dry Ridge Grant County	KY	Braves
Eminence	KY	Warriors
McDaniels Bethel Christian	KY	Braves
Morganfield Union County	KY	Braves
Mount Sterling Montgomery Cty	KY	Indians
Richmond Madison Central	KY	Indians
Somerset Pulaski Southwestern	KY	Warriors
Amite	LA	Warriors

School	State	Team Name
Anacoco	LA	Indians
Baton Rouge Istrouma	LA	Indians
Elton	LA	Indians
Gray Bourgeois	LA	Braves
Jackson	LA	Chiefs
Lake Charles Washington Magnet	LA	Charging Indians
Metairie East Jefferson	LA	Warriors
Minden Glenbrook	LA	Apaches
Natchitoches Central	LA	Chiefs
Negreet	LA	Indians
Oakdale	LA	Warriors
Reeves	LA	Raiders
Ringgold	LA	Redskins
Saint Joseph Tensas Acad	LA	Chiefs
Shreveport Fair Park	LA	Indians
Sibley Lakeside	LA	Warriors
Tioga	LA	Indians
West Monroe West Ouachita	LA	Chiefs
Amesbury	MA	Indians
Athol	MA	Raiders
Baldwinville Narragansett	MA	Warriors
Billerica	MA	Indians
Bolton Nashoba	MA	Chieftains
Brookline	MA	Warriors
Cambridge Matingnon	MA	Warriors
Canton Blue Hills	MA	Warriors
Dalton Wahconah	MA	Warriors
Dighton Bristol Co Agricultural	MA	Chieftains
Fiskdale Tantasqua	MA	Warriors
Foxboro	MA	Warriors
Grafton	MA	Indians
Hanover	MA	Indians
Hyannis Barnstable	MA	Red Raiders
Melrose	MA	Red Raiders
Middleboro	MA	Sachems
Millis	MA	Mohawks
Montague Turners Falls	MA	Indians
Natick	MA	Redmen
Needham St Sebastians Country	MA	Arrows
North Brookfield	MA	Indians

School	State	Team Name
Northborough Algonquin	MA	Tomahawks
Pittsfield Taconic	MA	Braves
Quincy North	MA	Red Raiders
Saugus	MA	Sachems
Seekonk	MA	Warriors
Shelburne Falls Mohawk Trail	MA	Warriors
South Dartmouth	MA	Indians
Springfield Commerce	MA	Red Raiders
Tewksbury	MA	Redmen
Topsfield Masconomet	MA	Chieftains
Upton Nipmuc	MA	Warriors
Wakefield	MA	Warriors
Ware	MA	Indians
Watertown	MA	Raiders
Wayland	MA	Warriors
Webster Bartlett	MA	Indians
West Newbury Pentucket	MA	Sachems
Winchester	MA	Sachems
Wrentham King Philip	MA	Warriors
Baltimore Edmondson-Westside	MD	Redskins
Baltimore Notre Dame	MD	Indians
Baltimore Roland Park Country	MD	Reds
Boonsboro	MD	Warriors
Havre de Grace	MD	Warriors
Mardela Springs	MD	Warriors
Morganza Chopticon	MD	Braves
North East	MD	Indians
Oxon Hill Potomac	MD	Braves
Pocomoke City	MD	Warriors
Poolesville	MD	Indians
Reisterstown Franklin	MD	Indians
Salisbury Wicomico	MD	Indians
Dyer Rock Southern Aroostook	ME	Warriors
Fort Kent	ME	Warriors
Newport Nokomis	ME	Warriors
Old Town	ME	Indians
Sanford	ME	Redskins
Skowhegan	ME	Indians
Wells	ME	Warriors
Wiscasset	ME	Redskins

School	State	Team Name
Athens	MI	Indians
Auburn Bay City Western	MI	Warriors
Bad Axe	MI	Hatchets
Belding	MI	Redskins
Bloomfield Hills Brother Rice	MI	Warriors
Brownstown Woodhaven	MI	Warriors
Camden-Frontier	MI	Redskins
Canton	MI	Chiefs
Capac	MI	Chiefs
Cheboygan Area	MI	Chiefs
Chesaning	MI	Indians
Clinton	MI	Redskins
Clinton Township Chippewa Valley	MI	Big Reds
Dearborn Edsel Ford	MI	Thunderbirds
DeTour	MI	Raiders
Dowagiac Union	MI	Chieftains
Escanaba	MI	Eskimos
Fife Lake Forest Area	MI	Warriors
Gladstone	MI	Braves
Glen Arbor Leelanau School	MI	Thunderbirds
Grass Lake	MI	Warriors
Hartford	MI	Indians
Kinde North Huron	MI	Warriors
Lansing JW Sexton	MI	Big Reds
Lowell	MI	Red Arrows
Manistee	MI	Chippewas
Marquette	MI	Redmen
Milan	MI	Big Reds
Morley Stanwood	MI	Mohawks
Muskegon	MI	Big Reds
New Boston Huron	MI	Chiefs
Newberry	MI	Indians
Okemos	MI	Chieftains
Paw Paw	MI	Redskins
Pontiac Central	MI	Chiefs
Port Huron	MI	Big Reds
Remus Chippewa Hills	MI	Warriors
Sandusky	MI	Redskins
Saranac	MI	Redskins
Saugatuck	MI	Indians

School	State	Team Name
Shelby Township Utica	MI	Chieftains
Tawas Area	MI	Braves
Tecumseh	MI	Indians
Tekonsha	MI	Indians
Walled Lake Western	MI	Warriors
White Cloud	MI	Indians
White Pigeon	MI	Chiefs
Ypsilanti	MI	Braves
Ashby	MN	Arrows
Benson	MN	Braves
Esko	MN	Eskimos
Grand Rapids	MN	Thunderhawks
Mahnomen	MN	Indians
Menahga	MN	Braves
Montevideo	MN	Thunderhawks
Orr	MN	Braves
Pipestone	MN	Arrows
Red Lake	MN	Warriors
Sleepy Eye	MN	Indians
Warroad	MN	Warriors
Wheaton	MN	Warriors
Winthrop G-F-W	MN	Thunderbirds
Adrian	MO	Blackhawks
Albany	MO	Warriors
Alma Santa Fe	MO	Chiefs
Arnold Fox	MO	Warriors
Bismarck	MO	Indians
Cainsville	MO	Redmen
Chilhowee	MO	Indians
Elsberry	MO	Indians
Hallsville	MO	Indians
Hayti	MO	Indians
Independence Fort Osage	MO	Indians
Jackson	MO	Fighting Indians
Joplin McAuley Catholic	MO	Warriors
Kahoka Clark County	MO	Indians
Kaiser School of the Osage	MO	Indians
Kansas City St Pius X	MO	Warriors
Kennett	MO	Indians
Kingdom City North Callaway	MO	Thunderbirds

School	State	Team Name
Osceola	MO	Indians
Pacific	MO	Indians
Perryville St Vincent	MO	Indians
Puxico	MO	Indians
Raytown Blue Ridge Christian	MO	Warriors
Russellville	MO	Indians
Saint Charles West	MO	Warriors
Saint Joseph Central	MO	Indians
Saint Louis Jennings	MO	Warriors
Sainte Genevieve Valle Catholic	MO	Warriors
Savannah	MO	Savages
Seneca	MO	Indians
Sikeston Scott County Central	MO	Braves
Smithville	MO	Warriors
Springfield Kickapoo	MO	Chiefs
Strafford	MO	Indians
Tarkio	MO	Indians
Theodosia Lutie	MO	Indians
Vandalia	MO	Indians
Wentzville Holt	MO	Indians
Winfield Lincoln County	MO	Warriors
Ackerman	MS	Indians
Arcola Deer Creek	MS	Warriors
Biloxi	MS	Indians
Biloxi Diberville	MS	Warriors
Byhalia	MS	Indians
Choctaw Central	MS	Warriors
Clinton	MS	Arrows
Corinth	MS	Warriors
Ellisville South Jones	MS	Braves
Fulton Itawamba Ag	MS	Indians
Hattiesburg Oak Grove	MS	Warriors
Hazlehurst	MS	Indians
Iuka Tishomingo	MS	Braves
Louisville Nanih Waiya	MS	Warriors
Okolona	MS	Chieftains
Pelahatchie	MS	Chiefs
Pontotoc	MS	Warriors
Senatobia	MS	Warriors
Senatobia Magnolia Heights	MS	Chiefs

School	State	Team Name
Smithville	MS	Seminoles
Tylertown	MS	Chiefs
Webb West Tallachatchie	MS	Choctaws
Yazoo City	MS	Indians
Arlee	MT	Scarlet Warriors
Brockton	MT	Warriors
Browning	MT	Running Indians
Fairview	MT	Warriors
Hays Lodge Pole	MT	Thunderbirds
Heart Butte	MT	Warriors
Hot Springs	MT	Savages
Kalispell Flathead	MT	Braves
Lodge Grass	MT	Indians
Poplar	MT	Indians
Pryor Plenty Coups	MT	Warriors
Red Lodge	MT	Redskins
Ronan	MT	Chiefs
Savage	MT	Warriors
Asheville Clyde Erwin	NC	Warriors
Belmont South Point	NC	Red Raiders
Charlotte West Mecklenburg	NC	Indians
Cherokee	NC	Braves
Elon College Western Alamance	NC	Warriors
Goldsboro Eastern Wayne	NC	Warriors
Hickory St Stephens	NC	Indians
Hookerton Mt Calvary Christian	NC	Warriors
Lenoir West Caldwell	NC	Warriors
Louisburg	NC	Warriors
Manteo	NC	Redskins
Mount Gilead West Montgomery	NC	Warriors
Mount Holly East Gaston	NC	Warriors
Robersonville Roanoke	NC	Redskins
Statesville West Iredell	NC	Warriors
Tarboro North Edgecombe	NC	Warriors
Weaverville North Buncombe	NC	Blackhawks
Belcourt Turtle Mountain	ND	Braves
Bottineau	ND	Braves
Bowbells	ND	Eskimos
Carson	ND	Chieftains
Fort Totten Four Winds	ND	Indians

School	State	Team Name
Fort Yates Standing Rock	ND	Warriors
Mandan	ND	Braves
Mandaree	ND	Warriors
Parshall	ND	Braves
Roseglen White Shield	ND	Warriors
Selfridge	ND	Chieftains
Solen	ND	Sioux
Warwick	ND	Warriors
Westhope	ND	Sioux
Wyndmere	ND	Warriors
Ansley	NE	Warriors
Arapahoe	NE	Warriors
Battle Creek	NE	Braves
Bellevue East	NE	Chieftains
Bellevue West	NE	Thunderbirds
Broken Bow	NE	Indians
Crofton	NE	Warriors
Fullerton	NE	Warriors
Harrison Sioux County	NE	Warriors
Loup City	NE	Red Raiders
Macy Omaha Nation	NE	Chiefs
Minatare	NE	Indians
Neligh-Oakdale	NE	Warriors
Niobrara Santee	NE	Warriors
Ogallala	NE	Indians
Pawnee City	NE	Indians
Ponca	NE	Indians
Red Cloud	NE	Warriors
Schuyler	NE	Warriors
Springview Keya Paha County	NE	Indians
Tecumseh	NE	Indians
Wahoo	NE	Warriors
Weeping Water	NE	Indians
Winnebago	NE	Indians
Yutan	NE	Chieftains
Manchester	NH	Little Green
Alton Prospect Mountain	NH	Apaches
Belmont	NH	Red Raiders
Colebrook Acad	NH	Mohawks
Hampton Winnacunnet	NH	Warriors

School	State	Team Name
Kingston Sanborn	NH	Indians
Laconia	NH	Sachems
Merrimack	NH	Tomahawks
Rochester Spaulding	NH	Red Raiders
Wilton Lyndeboro	NH	Warriors
Absecon Absegami	NJ	Braves
Buena	NJ	Chiefs
Englishtown Manalapan	NJ	Braves
Hillsdale Pascack Valley	NJ	Indians
Hopatcong	NJ	Chiefs
Keyport	NJ	Raiders
Lawrenceville	NJ	Big Red
Mahwah	NJ	Thunderbirds
Manasquan	NJ	Big Warriors
Marlton Cherokee	NJ	Chiefs
Medford Lenape	NJ	Indians
Newark East Side	NJ	Red Raiders
Newark Weequahic	NJ	Indians
Newton	NJ	Braves
Oakland Indian Hills	NJ	Braves
Passaic	NJ	Indians
Paulsboro	NJ	Red Raiders
Pennsauken	NJ	Indians
Piscataway	NJ	Chiefs
Rahway	NJ	Indians
Sicklerville Camden Co Tech	NJ	Warriors
Toms River South	NJ	Indians
Warren Watchung Hills	NJ	Warriors
Wayne Valley	NJ	Indians
Weehawken	NJ	Indians
West Caldwell	NJ	Chiefs
Wildwood	NJ	Warriors
Williamstown	NJ	Braves
Bayard Cobre	NM	Indians
Farmington Bible Baptist	NM	Braves
Jemez Pueblo	NM	Warriors
Laguna Tohajiilee	NM	Warriors
Mescalero Apache	NM	Chiefs
Navajo Pine	NM	Warriors
Ruidoso	NM	Warriors

School	State	Team Name
Santa Fe Indian	NM	Braves
Santa Teresa	NM	Warriors
Shiprock	NM	Chieftains
Socorro	NM	Warriors
Zuni	NM	Thunderbirds
Elko	NV	Indians
Indian Springs	NV	Thunderbirds
Las Vegas Western	NV	Warriors
Owyhee	NV	Braves
Afton	NY	Indians
Amenia Webutuck	NY	Warriors
Amityville	NY	Warriors
Avon	NY	Braves
Bohemia Connetquot	NY	Thunderbirds
Boiceville Onteora	NY	Indians
Bradford	NY	Braves
Brentwood	NY	Indians
Brooklyn Canarsie	NY	Chiefs
Buffalo Cheektowaga	NY	Warriors
Buffalo Seneca Vocational	NY	Indians
Buffalo West Seneca West	NY	Indians
Caledonia-Mumford	NY	Red Raiders
Cambridge	NY	Indians
Canajoharie	NY	Redskins
Canandaigua	NY	Braves
Canaseraga	NY	Indians
Candor	NY	Indians
Canisteo	NY	Redskins
Chaumont Lyme	NY	Indians
Cooperstown	NY	Redskins
Corinth	NY	Tomahawks
Coxsakie Athens	NY	Indians
Dix Hills Half Hollow East	NY	Thunderbirds
Elma Iroquois	NY	Chiefs
Floral Park Sewanhaka	NY	Indians
Fonda Fultonville	NY	Braves
Gainsville Letchworth	NY	Indians
Glen Cove	NY	Big Red
Glens Falls	NY	Indians
Groton	NY	Indians

School	State	Team Name
Highland Falls James Oneill	NY	Raiders
Indian Lake	NY	Indians
Islip Terrace East Islip	NY	Redmen
Jamestown	NY	Red Raiders
Katonah John Jay	NY	Indians
Lake George	NY	Warriors
Lancaster	NY	Redskins
Liberty	NY	Indians
Mahopac	NY	Indians
Manhasset	NY	Indians
Marcy Whitesboro	NY	Warriors
Massapequa	NY	Chiefs
Mayville Chautauqua Lake	NY	Thunderbirds
Mechanicville	NY	Red Raiders
Mohawk	NY	Mohicans
Munnsville Stockbridge Valley	NY	Indians
Newark	NY	Reds
Newport West Canada Valley	NY	Indians
Niagara Falls Catholic	NY	Big Red
Nunda Keshequa	NY	Indians
Nyack	NY	Indians
Odessa-Montour	NY	Indians
Old Forge Town of Webb	NY	Eskimos
Oneida	NY	Indians
Oriskany	NY	Redskins
Ossining	NY	Indians
Owego Free Acad	NY	Indians
Oxford	NY	Blackhawks
Philadelphia Indian River	NY	Warriors
Poplar Ridge Southern Cayuga	NY	Chiefs
Ravena-Coeymans-Selkirk	NY	Indians
Rhinebeck	NY	Indians
Richfield Springs	NY	Indians
Ronkonkoma Sachem	NY	Arrows
Salamanca	NY	Warriors
Saranac	NY	Chiefs
Sauquoit	NY	Indians
Schaghticoke Hoosic Valley	NY	Indians
Schenectady Mohonasen	NY	Warriors
Schoharie	NY	Indians

School	State	Team Name
Shelter Island	NY	Indians
Shortsville Red Jacket	NY	Indians
Slate Hill Minisink	NY	Warriors
Stamford	NY	Indians
Stillwater	NY	Warriors
Syosset	NY	Braves
Tonawanda	NY	Warriors
Wantagh	NY	Warriors
Wappingers Falls Roy Ketcham	NY	Indians
Waterloo	NY	Indians
Waterville	NY	Indians
Watkins Glen	NY	Senecas
Weedsport	NY	Warriors
Wells	NY	Indians
Yonkers Roosevelt	NY	Indians
Arcadia	OH	Redskins
Ashland	OH	Arrows
Ashtabula Edgewood	OH	Warriors
Bascom Hopewell-Louden	OH	Chieftains
Bellaire	OH	Big Red
Bellefontaine	OH	Chieftains
Bellevue	OH	Redmen
Beloit West Branch	OH	Warriors
Berea	OH	Braves
Brookfield	OH	Warriors
Bucyrus	OH	Redmen
Caldwell	OH	Redskins
Camden Preble Shawnee	OH	Arrows
Canal Fulton Northwest	OH	Indians
Canal Winchester	OH	Indians
Carrollton	OH	Warriors
Cedarville	OH	Indians
Cincinnati Anderson	OH	Redskins
Cincinnati Country Day	OH	Indians
Cincinnati Indian Hill	OH	Braves
Cincinnati Mc Auley	OH	Mohawks
Cincinnati Norwood	OH	Indians
Cincinnati Winton Woods	OH	Warriors
Circleville Logan Elm	OH	Braves
Columbia	OH	Raiders

School	State	Team Name
Columbus Whetstone	OH	Braves
Copley	OH	Indians
Coshocton	OH	Redskins
Cuyahoga Falls Walsh Jesuit	OH	Battling Warriors
Cuyahoga Heights	OH	Redskins
Doylestown Chippewa	OH	Chipps
Fairfield	OH	Indians
Fairview	OH	Warriors
Fort Loramie	OH	Redskins
Fort Recovery	OH	Indians
Fostoria	OH	Redmen
Fostoria St Wendelin	OH	Mohawks
Frankfort Adena	OH	Warriors
Franklin Carlisle	OH	Indians
Girard	OH	Indians
Gnadenhutten Indian Valley	OH	Braves
Goshen	OH	Warriors
Hillsboro	OH	Indians
Huber Heights Wayne	OH	Warriors
Ironton Rock Hill	OH	Redmen
Kansas Lakota	OH	Raiders
Kinsman Badger	OH	Braves
Lakewood St Augustine Academy	OH	Arrows
Latham Western	OH	Indians
Lebanon	OH	Warriors
Lewis Center Olentangy	OH	Braves
Liberty Township Lakota East	OH	Thunderhawks
Lima Central Catholic	OH	Thunderbirds
Lima Shawnee	OH	Indians
Logan	OH	Chieftains
London	OH	Red Raiders
Lore City Buckeye Trail	OH	Warriors
Lucasville Valley	OH	Indians
Mansfield Ontario	OH	Warriors
Mc Dermott Northwest	OH	Mohawks
Mechanicsburg	OH	Indians
Middletown Madison	OH	Mohawks
Mount Gilead	OH	Indians
New Carlisle Tecumseh	OH	Arrows
Oberlin	OH	Indians

School	State	Team Name
Oxford Talawanda	OH	Braves
Parma	OH	Redmen
Pataskala Watkins Memorial	OH	Warriors
Peebles	OH	Indians
Perrysville Louis Bromfield	OH	Braves
Piqua	OH	Indians
Pleasant Hill Newton	OH	Indians
Port Clinton	OH	Redskins
Rittman	OH	Fighting Indians
Riverside Stebbins	OH	Indians
Saint Henry	OH	Redskins
Salineville Southern	OH	Indians
Sardinia Eastern	OH	Warriors
Sherwood Fairview	OH	Apaches
Springfield Northwestern	OH	Warriors
Springfield Shawnee	OH	Braves
Sycamore Mohawk	OH	Warriors
Thompson Ledgemont	OH	Redskins
Tiffin Calvert	OH	Senecas
Toledo St Ursula Academy	OH	Arrows
Toledo Waite	OH	Indians
Utica	OH	Redskins
Wapakoneta	OH	Redskins
Warren Harding	OH	Raiders
Wauseon	OH	Indians
Wintersville Indian Creek	OH	Redskins
Woodsfield Monroe Central	OH	Seminoles
Youngstown Woodrow Wilson	OH	Redmen
Adair	OK	Warriors
Altus Navajo	OK	Indians
Anadarko Riverside Indian	OK	Braves
Apache	OK	Warriors
Arapaho	OK	Indians
Ardmore Plainview	OK	Indians
Asher	OK	Indians
Bluejacket	OK	Chieftains
Broken Bow	OK	Savages
Calumet	OK	Chieftains
Catoosa	OK	Indians
Cherokee	OK	Chiefs

School	State	Team Name
Comanche	OK	Indians
Corn Washita Heights	OK	Chiefs
Dustin	OK	Redskins
El Reno	OK	Indians
Glenpool	OK	Warriors
Haileyville	OK	Warriors
Hammon	OK	Warriors
Idabel	OK	Warriors
Indiahoma	OK	Warriors
Ketchum	OK	Warriors
Kingston	OK	Redskins
Leflore	OK	Savages
Marietta	OK	Indians
Mcloud	OK	Redskins
Norman Little Axe	OK	Indians
Okarche	OK	Warriors
Oklahoma City Capitol Hill	OK	Redskins
Pocola	OK	Indians
Quinton	OK	Savages
Ripley	OK	Warriors
Rush Springs	OK	Redskins
Sapulpa	OK	Chieftains
Seminole	OK	Chieftains
Shattuck	OK	Indians
Smithville	OK	Braves
Stilwell	OK	Indians
Sulphur OK Deaf	OK	Indians
Tahlequah Sequoyah	OK	Indians
Tecumseh	OK	Savages
Tishomingo	OK	Indians
Tulsa Berryhill	OK	Chiefs
Tulsa Central	OK	Braves
Tulsa Daniel Webster	OK	Warriors
Tulsa Union	OK	Redskins
Vici	OK	Indians
Wakita	OK	Warriors
Wapanucka	OK	Indians
Washington	OK	Warriors
Waukomis	OK	Chiefs
Webbers Falls	OK	Warriors

School	State	Team Name
Weleetka Graham	OK	Chieftains
Wetumka	OK	Chieftains
Wynnewood	OK	Savages
Amity	OR	Warriors
Banks	OR	Braves
Beaverton Aloha	OR	Warriors
Drain North Douglas	OR	Warriors
Enterprise	OR	Savages
Lebanon	OR	Warriors
Marcola Mohawk	OR	Indians
Molalla	OR	Indians
Oakridge	OR	Warriors
Philomath	OR	Warriors
Reedsport	OR	Braves
Rogue River	OR	Chieftains
Roseburg	OR	Indians
Salem Chemawa Indian	OR	Braves
Scappoose	OR	Indians
The Dalles	OR	Indians
Warrenton	OR	Warriors
Atglen Octorara	PA	Braves
Bellefonte	PA	Red Raiders
Bessemer Mohawk	PA	Warriors
Bethel Park	PA	Blackhawks
Bristol	PA	Warriors
Brookville	PA	Raiders
Canton	PA	Warriors
Coal Township Lady of Lourdes	PA	Red Raiders
Coal Twnshp Shamokin	PA	Indians
Coatesville	PA	Red Raiders
Conneaut Lake	PA	Indians
Conneautville Conneaut Valley	PA	Indians
Davidsville Conemaugh Twnshp	PA	Indians
Dimock Elk Lake	PA	Warriors
Duncannon Susquenita	PA	Blackhawks
Easton Wilson	PA	Warriors
Elizabeth Forward	PA	Warriors
Elverson Twin Valley	PA	Raiders
Emporium Cameron County	PA	Raiders
Erie East	PA	Warriors

School	State	Team Name
Erie Iroquois	PA	Braves
Everett	PA	Warriors
Exeter Wyoming Area	PA	Warriors
Folsom Ridley	PA	Raiders
Glen Rock Susquehannock	PA	Warriors
Harmony Seneca Valley	PA	Raiders
Harrisburg Susquehanna Twnshp	PA	Indians
Harrison City Penn Trafford	PA	Warriors
Imperial West Allegheny	PA	Indians
Indiana	PA	Little Indians
Jermyn Lakeland	PA	Chiefs
Kennett Square Unionville	PA	Indians
Kinzers Pequea Valley	PA	Braves
Langhorne Neshaminy	PA	Redskins
Lehighton	PA	Indians
Lewistown Indian Valley	PA	Warriors
Lititz Warwick	PA	Warriors
McMurray Peters Twnshp	PA	Indians
Meyersdale	PA	Red Raiders
Mifflintown Juniata	PA	Indians
Millersburg	PA	Indians
Monaca	PA	Indians
Montgomery	PA	Red Raiders
Montoursville	PA	Warriors
Morrisdale West Branch	PA	Warriors
Mount Joy Donegal	PA	Indians
Muncy	PA	Indians
Myerstown East Lebanon County	PA	Raiders
New Milford Blue Ridge	PA	Red Raiders
Newtown Council Rock	PA	Indians
Norristown Methacton	PA	Warriors
Pennsburg Upper Perkiomen	PA	Indians
Philadelphia Archbishop Ryan	PA	Raiders
Philadelphia John Bartham	PA	Braves
Philadelphia Roxborough	PA	Indians
Pittsburgh Carrick	PA	Raiders
Pittsburgh North Hills	PA	Indians
Pittsburgh Penn Hills	PA	Indians
Pittsburgh Shady Side Acad	PA	Indians
Sayre	PA	Redskins

School	State	Team Name
Souderton	PA	Indians
Sunbury Shikellamy	PA	Braves
Tionesta West Forest	PA	Indians
Uniontown	PA	Red Raiders
Warfordsburg Southern Fulton	PA	Indians
Wayne Radnor	PA	Raiders
Waynesboro	PA	Indians
Waynesburg Central	PA	Raiders
West Chester WC Henderson	PA	Warriors
West Middlesex	PA	Big Reds
West Sunbury Moniteau	PA	Warriors
Westfield Cowanesque Valley	PA	Indians
Wilkes Barre Elmer Meyers	PA	Mohawks
North Scituate Ponaganset	RI	Chieftains
Bowman	SC	Mohawks
Cheraw	SC	Braves
Fort Mill Indian Land	SC	Warriors
Gaffney	SC	Indians
Gilbert	SC	Indians
Greer Riverside	SC	Warriors
Little River North Myrtle Beach	SC	Chiefs
McCormick	SC	Chiefs
Mount Pleasant Wando	SC	Warriors
North Charleston RB Stall	SC	Warriors
Orangeburg Prep	SC	Indians
Pawleys Island Waccamaw	SC	Warriors
Rock Hill Westminster Christ	SC	Indians
Westminster West Oak	SC	Warriors
Britton-Hecla	SD	Braves
Castlewood	SD	Warriors
Cheyenne-Eagle Butte	SD	Braves
Estelline	SD	Redmen
Flandreau Indian	SD	Indians
Iroquois	SD	Chiefs
La Plant Tiospaye Topa	SD	Thunderhawks
Lower Brule	SD	Sioux
Martin Bennett County	SD	Warriors
Marty Indian	SD	Braves
Pine Ridge	SD	Thorpes
Sioux Falls Washington	SD	Warriors

School	State	Team Name
Sisseton	SD	Redmen
St. Francis Indian	SD	Warriors
Stephen Crow Creek	SD	Chieftains
Wakonda	SD	Warriors
Wakpala	SD	Sioux
Wanblee Crazy Horse	SD	Chiefs
Watertown	SD	Arrows
Woonsocket	SD	Redmen
Athens McMinn County	TN	Cherokees
Cross Plains East Robertson	TN	Indians
Cunningham Montgomery	TN	Indians
Dunlap Sequatchie County	TN	Indians
Elizabethton Happy Valley	TN	Warriors
Greenback	TN	Cherokees
Jackson North Side	TN	Indians
Jasper Marion County	TN	Warriors
Kingsport Dobyns-Bennett	TN	Indians
Kingston Springs Harpeth	TN	Indians
Knoxville South Doyle	TN	Cherokees
Loudon	TN	Redskins
Madisonville Sequoyah	TN	Chiefs
McEwen	TN	Warriors
Memphis Booker T Washington	TN	Warriors
Memphis Central	TN	Warriors
Memphis Craigmont	TN	Chiefs
Murfreesboro Riverdale	TN	Warriors
Nashville Hunters Lane	TN	Warriors
Nashville Montgomery Bell Acad	TN	Big Red
Oneida	TN	Indians
Pikeville Bledsoe County	TN	Warriors
Rogersville Cherokee	TN	Chiefs
Sneedville Hancock County	TN	Indians
Alvarado	TX	Indians
Arlington James Martin	TX	Warriors
Austin Westwood	TX	Warriors
Avinger	TX	Indians
Bonham	TX	Purple Warriors
Booker	TX	Kiowas
Campbell	TX	Indians
Cherokee	TX	Indians

School	State	Team Name
Cleveland	TX	Indians
Comanche	TX	Indians
Corpus Christi Tuloso-Midway	TX	Warriors
Crosbyton	TX	Chiefs
Dallas Lakehill Prep	TX	Warriors
Donna	TX	Redskins
Douglass	TX	Indians
El Paso Coronado	TX	Thunderbirds
El Paso Ysleta	TX	Indians
Fort Davis	TX	Indians
Frankston	TX	Indians
Friona	TX	Chieftains
Ganado	TX	Indians
Giddings State	TX	Indians
Gonzales	TX	Apaches
Grand Prairie South	TX	Warriors
Grand Saline	TX	Indians
Groveton	TX	Indians
Hallettsville Sacred Heart	TX	Indians
Haskell	TX	Indians
Honey Grove	TX	Warriors
Houston Lamar	TX	Redskins
Ingram Tom Moore	TX	Warriors
Iraan	TX	Braves
Jacksonville	TX	Indians
Jourdanton	TX	Indians
Karnack	TX	Indians
Keller	TX	Indians
Lipan	TX	Indians
McAllen Nikki Rowe	TX	Warriors
Miami	TX	Warriors
Morton	TX	Indians
Nevada	TX	Braves
Nocona	TX	Indians
Paint Rock	TX	Indians
Port Neches-Groves	TX	Indians
Prairie Lea	TX	Indians
Price Carlisle	TX	Indians
Quanah	TX	Indians
Riesel	TX	Indians

School	State	Team Name
San Angelo Lake View	TX	Chiefs
San Antonio Antionian College Pr	TX	Apaches
San Antonio Harlandale	TX	Indians
Sanger	TX	Indians
Santa Fe	TX	Indians
Santa Rosa	TX	Warriors
Seminole	TX	Indians
Shiner	TX	Comanches
Stephenville Huckabay	TX	Indians
Stinnet West Texas	TX	Comanches
Tuscola Jim Ned	TX	Indians
Vernon Northside	TX	Indians
Warren	TX	Warriors
Waxahachie	TX	Indians
Winnsboro	TX	Red Raiders
Bountiful	UT	Braves
Cedar City	UT	Redmen
Coalville North Summit	UT	Braves
Escalante	UT	Moquis
Fort Duchesne Uintah River	UT	Warriors
Junction Piute	UT	Thunderbirds
Montezuma Creek Whitehorse	UT	Raiders
Provo Timpview	UT	Thunderbirds
Vernal Uintah	UT	Utes
Arlington Wakefield	VA	Warriors
Chesapeake Indian River	VA	Braves
Chesterfield Matoaca	VA	Warriors
Chilhowie	VA	Warriors
Courtland Southampton	VA	Raiders
Fort Defiance	VA	Indians
Fredericksburg Stafford	VA	Indians
Hampton Kecoughtan	VA	Warriors
Heathsville Northumberland	VA	Indians
Martinsville Carlisle	VA	Chiefs
Mouth of Wilson Oak Hill Acad	VA	Warriors
Olney Nandua	VA	Warriors
Pocahontas	VA	Indians
Powhatan	VA	Indians
Richmond Henrico	VA	Warriors
Richmond Monacan	VA	Chiefs

School	State	Team Name
Ridgeway Magna Vista	VA	Warriors
Rural Retreat	VA	Indians
Stephens City Sherando	VA	Warriors
Suffolk Nansemond River	VA	Warriors
Virginia Beach Kempsville	VA	Chiefs
Wakefield Tidewater Acad	VA	Warriors
Wise JJ Kelly	VA	Indians
Woodbridge Garfield	VA	Indians
Brattleboro Austine Deaf	VT	Arrows
Chester Green Mountain	VT	Chieftains
Danville	VT	Indians
Rutland	VT	Raiders
South Burlington Rice	VT	Little Indians
Swanton Missisquoi Valley	VT	Thunderbirds
Cheney	WA	Blackhawks
Cle Elum-Roslyn	WA	Warriors
Colville	WA	Indians
Kennewick Kamiakin	WA	Braves
La Conner	WA	Braves
Lakewood Clover Park	WA	Warriors
Marysville Pilchuck	WA	Tomahawks
Mattawa Wahluke	WA	Warriors
Moses Lake	WA	Chiefs
Port Townsend	WA	Redskins
Puyallup Chief Leschi	WA	Warriors
Reardan	WA	Indians
Renton	WA	Indians
Rochester	WA	Warriors
Seattle Bishop Blanchet	WA	Braves
Shoreline Shorewood	WA	Thunderbirds
South Bend	WA	Indians
Spanaway Bethel	WA	Braves
Spokane North Central	WA	Indians
Tacoma Mount Tahoma	WA	Thunderbirds
Toledo	WA	Indians
Touchet	WA	Indians
Tumwater	WA	Thunderbirds
Wellpinit	WA	Redskins
Wishram	WA	Indians
Auburndale	WI	Apaches

School	State	Team Name
Baldwin-Woodville	WI	Blackhawks
Baraboo	WI	Thunderbirds
Belmont	WI	Braves
Berlin	WI	Indians
Cornell	WI	Chiefs
Elmwood	WI	Raiders
Fort Atkinson	WI	Blackhawks
Fredonia Ozaukee	WI	Warriors
Gale-Ettrick-Trempealeau	WI	Redmen
Greenwood	WI	Indians
Iola-Scandinavia	WI	Thunderbirds
Kewaskum	WI	Indians
Kewaunee	WI	Indians
Lake Holcombe	WI	Chieftains
Lancaster	WI	Flying Arrows
Menomonee Falls	WI	Indians
Menomonie	WI	Indians
Minocqua Lakeland	WI	Thunderbirds
Mishicot	WI	Indians
Mosinee	WI	Indians
Mukwonago	WI	Indians
Muscoda Riverdale	WI	Chieftains
Muskego	WI	Warriors
Oneida	WI	Thunderhawks
Osceola	WI	Chieftains
Osseo-Fairchild	WI	Chieftains
Potosi	WI	Chieftains
Poynette	WI	Indians
Prairie du Chien	WI	Blackhawks
Rib Lake	WI	Redmen
Seneca	WI	Indians
Shiocton	WI	Chiefs
South Wayne Blackhawk	WI	Warriors
Stockbridge	WI	Indians
Tomah	WI	Indians
Tomahawk	WI	Hatchets
Walworth Bigfoot	WI	Chiefs
Waunakee	WI	Warriors
Weyauwega-Fremont	WI	Indians
Winter	WI	Warriors

School	State	Team Name
Wisconsin Dells	WI	Chiefs
Wonewoc-Center	WI	Indians
Berkeley Springs	WV	Indians
Bridgeport	WV	Indians
Charleston Sissonville	WV	Indians
Dunmore Pocahontas County	WV	Warriors
Hurricane	WV	Redskins
Morgantown	WV	Mohigans
Parkersburg	WV	Indians
Afton Star Valley	WY	Braves
Cheyenne Central	WY	Indians
Cheyenne East	WY	Thunderbirds
Ethlete-Wyoming Indian	WY	Chiefs
Worland	WY	Warriors

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