

Representations of Sport in the *Indian School Journal*, 1906-1913

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After Europeans arrived in the western hemisphere, they spent centuries attempting to assimilate Native people. One means of “civilization” was through education and sport at boarding schools. The Indian School Journal (ISJ), written and published at the Chillico Indian School in what is presently the state of Oklahoma, was a prominent journal of its day and, from 1906 to 1913, included articles about students’ sports participation. These articles reflected certain themes. Girls’ sport received a surprising amount of coverage given how little middle-class educators of the era supported it. The articles reinforced arguments made by other scholars about the significance of sportsmanship, amateurism, and racial pride. The ISJ articles suggested firm support for all these ideals. They also emphasized the significance of the social aspect of sport as an opportunity to reconnect with and to make new friends.

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WHEN EUROPEANS ARRIVED IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE in the fifteenth century, they encountered the indigenous population, and a battle of cultures and assimilation began that would rage through, in many ways, to the present day. The European settlers in the United States in particular were convinced that education was one of the most efficient ways of assimilating Native Americans (or “Indians” as they were referred to throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries) into their culture—a culture that the European invaders considered vastly superior to and more civilized than the Native cultures that had flourished for millennia.¹

Two key components of the education and assimilation that the European descendants provided were organized sport and industrial education. The two would intersect in the publication of the *Indian School Journal (ISJ)*, published by one of the Indian boarding schools sponsored by the U.S. federal government. The students and staff who wrote and published the *ISJ*, particularly between 1906 and 1913, included stories about their school’s sports teams. In this article the *ISJ* and sport are contextualized in the broader history of U.S. Indian education and the *Journal* is situated in its home school. Different themes in the sports articles that appear in this time period in the *Journal* are examined and the way in which these themes support and challenge some of the patterns of Indian school sport identified by other scholars is also explored.

Indian Education in the U.S.

Europeans had been attempting and failing to educate and assimilate Native Americans into European cultures, traditions, and beliefs long before the United States existed as a country. With European beliefs came European religion, specifically Christianity. The Europeans considered the indigenous populations of the Americas to be uncivilized because they did not share European religion, education, or culture; as a result, Native people became the subject of plans for eradication, removal, or at best, acculturation. Education was closely linked to religion. Early settlers and priests were convinced that educating individual Natives would cause Christianity to spread even faster because they thought Indians educated in the Western European tradition would accept European religion and culture more readily and make admirable home-grown missionaries themselves.² Catholic and other Christian missionaries would continue to attempt to link education, conversion, and civilization in what would become the U.S. but usually without much success. For example, Christian missionaries reported as early as 1634 about their difficulties in convincing the “barbarians” of the New World of the importance of strict discipline and the wonders of corporal punishment for children.³

After the American Revolution in 1776, the new U.S. government continued the effort to tie together education and assimilation, making a range of treaties with different tribes. Many of those treaties promised, among other things, either money or teachers to help train Native American youth in European languages and trades. For example, the 1794 treaty with the Oneida, Tuscarora, and Stockbridge tribes provided for “employing one or two suitable persons . . . to instruct some young men of the three nations in the arts of the miller and sawyer.”⁴ The 1803 treaty with the Kaskaskias promised to pay up to one hundred dollars a year for seven years for a priest who would instruct “as many of their children as possible in the rudiments of literature.”⁵ By the end of the nineteenth century

the U.S. Senate would approve almost 400 treaties, with educational provisions in 120 of them. The trade was almost always Indian land for a white⁶ education, although the U.S. government would renege on many of those treaties. As a result of federal government treaties and the efforts of the missionaries, by 1822 fourteen schools with over 500 Indian students were located along the country's east coast.⁷ This number would continue to increase as white Americans grew in population and displaced more and more Native Americans.

The most concerted and successful effort to educate and thus "civilize" the Indians, however, would begin in the 1870s. Although many white Americans believed that Indians were incapable of being educated, in the years after the Civil War reformers optimistically believed that education was the solution to what was commonly referred to as "the Indian Problem." In 1873, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (the Bureau of Indian Affairs was an agency of the U.S. federal government) suggested that "any plan for civilization which does not provide for training the young is short sighted and expensive. . . . Four or five years of this appliance of civilization cures one-half of the barbarism of the Indian tribe permanently."⁸ Thirty years later, a subsequent Indian Affairs commissioner would similarly write "to educate the Indian . . . is to preserve him from extinction."⁹ Education, according to the white reformers, would speed up the process of assimilation and would most efficiently teach Native Americans the more "civilized" virtues of white society. Without full assimilation, many reformers feared that Native Americans would be annihilated to protect white society.

From the 1880s through to the 1950s, essentially two kinds of schools were available to Native Americans. Many schools were on-reservation day schools, which tended to be run by one of three groups: the federal government's Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), privately funded Christian missionaries (the U.S. federal government stopped funding religiously-sponsored Indian schools in the late nineteenth century), or occasionally the tribal leaders themselves. The other schools were off-reservation boarding schools, inspired by the success of U.S. Army Lieutenant Richard Henry Pratt, who had experimented with education and discipline on Indian prisoners of war in Florida in 1874-1875. He taught the men English and Christianity, cut their hair, and balanced their education with work. After the war, he and twenty-two of his former prisoners of war continued their white education while housed at Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute. The BIA was so impressed that in 1879 it funded Pratt's new school: Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania. Carlisle's goal was to "kill the Indian and save the man." Pratt did this by cutting the students' hair short, giving them uniforms, forming military companies, and prohibiting the use of any language but English. The school taught them Christianity and a trade. Pratt also taught the boys sports. Carlisle became a model for Indian education, and by 1898 the BIA-sponsored twenty-five off-reservation boarding schools.¹⁰

Sports and the Indian Boarding Schools

Sports were important aspects of the Indian boarding schools in general, and several scholars have explored that intersection. Benjamin Rader examined the 1926 Homecoming Game at Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, when the school's football team beat

the Bucknell College team 36-0 in its new 10,500-seat stadium. Rader argues that the event, which featured traditional *powwow* experiences in addition to the football game, allowed the Indians to revisit their cultural identities and to demonstrate symbolically their resistance to white society.¹¹ John Bloom's book, *To Show What an Indian Can Do* (2000), supports this notion that sport provided Native American students with an opportunity to subtly resist their school leaders' assimilationist efforts. Bloom explored how sport provided students with a sense of community, dignity, and accomplishment.¹² Challenging this resistance argument, Linda Peavy and Ursula Smith described the success of a girls' basketball team from Fort Shaw Indian Boarding School in western Montana when they traveled to St. Louis for the 1904 World's Fair and lived in the Model School, playing any team who cared to challenge them. Peavy and Smith maintain that the girls' presence and decorum at the fair helped show fairgoers that Indians were not "savages."¹³

The Carlisle football team has garnered the most attention from sports scholars. David Wallace Adams argues that Richard Henry Pratt, the dictatorial superintendent, was unable to control the meanings that journalists, spectators, and players read into the school's football games. Pratt had anticipated that the sight of his Indians competing against some of the best U.S. college teams would promote his assimilationist views; instead, viewers and participants experienced the games very differently. Journalists and white spectators saw the games as reenactments of the savage frontier wars, and players enjoyed the game and the chance to beat white athletes.¹⁴ Michael Oriard, on the other hand, argues that the media representation of the Carlisle football team was more complicated. Oriard found that the daily (white) press mixed racism, racial stereotypes, and straight reporting when covering Carlisle football. Sometimes press coverage used racist language like "redskin" and "paleface" and at other points the sportswriter described the Indians as "naturally" better athletes than their white opponents. Repeatedly, however, the press seemed surprised by the sportsmanship of the Carlisle team; when confronted with poor officiating, the Indians simply ignored it and continued play without complaint.¹⁵

Although each scholar has explored a different component of sport at the Indian boarding school, they agree on several key points. The primary purpose of sport at the schools was to promote physical health. The schools had long had problems with diseases, especially tuberculosis, that spread rampantly through the tight quarters of the students' dormitories. Best medical practices at this time recommended physical activity in general and outdoor activity more specifically to combat disease.¹⁶

In addition to protecting the child's physical health, sport at the boarding schools, just as in white America in the Progressive era, was assumed to help build moral character by instilling discipline, hard-work, and sportsmanship, especially for the young men. Superintendent Pratt of Carlisle School, in particular, championed the belief that sport was an opportunity to show the white community that Native Americans were more than savages and were capable of being good sportsmen and competitive with white people at their own games.¹⁷ Pratt was especially concerned about the sportsmanship issue; when his students asked him to reinstate football after a two-year hiatus prompted by a serious injury to a player, Pratt consented only after the players agreed "to play fair straight through, and if the other fellows slug you will in no case return it. Can't you see that if you slug, people who are looking on will say, 'There, that's the Indian of it. . . . They are savages.'"¹⁸

The Fort Shaw Superintendent seemed to share the conviction that if white people could see his students, either at games, at the Model School at the World's Fair, or at Fort Shaw in Montana, they would learn that the products of Indian boarding schools had been assimilated into white culture. For example, the girls' basketball team was a way of educating white society about Native Americans, of proving they were not savages.¹⁹

These scholars also agree that sports at the Indian boarding schools could be a point of pride for the students. Students and athletes were proud of their success and their efforts on the sporting fields and that pride was in part about their race, about their ethnic identity. This racial pride complicates the conviction that white leaders held about Indian education—that their boarding schools were helping to assimilate Native American youth.

Chilocco and the *Indian School Journal*, 1906-1913

The Chilocco Indian School was established in 1884. The federal government purchased over 8,000 acres of land from the Cherokee Indian tribe and initially encouraged Cherokee children to enroll in the industrial program and board at the school. By 1906, the school had 700 to 800 students in grades 1 to 12 (the oldest students were about twenty to twenty-one) from about forty different tribes located in and around Indian Territory (in what is now the state of Oklahoma).²⁰ Although the *ISJ* never reported a gender breakdown of the school, graduation notes from 1907 and 1909 indicate a roughly equal number of male and female graduates.²¹

Chilocco was part of a huge outreach by the U.S. federal government to provide an education for Indians modeled after the white educational system. The Indian Commissioner's Report of 1907 noted that the federal government had appropriated over \$4 million on Indian education alone in the 1908 fiscal budget and over \$10 million for the entire BIA budget. Like many other BIA schools, the mission of Chilocco was to "graduate Indian young men and women with well-formed characters, as well qualified as possible—industrially, mentally, and morally—for successful competition with the youth of any race or color."²²

Like many of the boarding schools, half the day was spent in academic instruction and the second half in vocational training and work time. Boys did primarily agricultural work while girls did domestic arts because the BIA believed these were the professions for which Native Americans were most suited.²³ Chilocco grew a variety of crops, and the boys tended a beef and dairy herd of about 1,000 cattle. In addition to agriculture, the school had several trade opportunities for the boys in programs such as blacksmithing, carpentry, shoe-making, tailoring, stone- and brick-laying, and electrical engineering. The girls were taught domestic arts like sewing, dressmaking, cooking, and nursing. The school emphasized that it focused on instruction and did not profit from the students' labors but admitted that nothing went to waste. For extracurricular activities, the school was proud not just of its athletics but of its military drill team and its musical groups.²⁴

Chilocco also had a well-stocked print shop and became the publisher of the *ISJ*. The print shop was the largest one in any of the Indian schools, the school having taken to heart the advice of the superintendent of Indian schools from 1898 through 1910, who believed that a print shop would help teach language and writing skills as well as serve as a trade for the boys.²⁵ Between November of 1906 and May of 1913, *ISJ* was a monthly

publication of about seventy-five to one hundred pages, with contributors and reports from many of the 173 other Indian boarding schools in fifteen states, reflecting their enrollment of over 21,000 students.²⁶ Although little is known about the significance of *ISJ* to the Indian boarding schools generally, it seems to have been one of only about three journals of the era to focus on Native Americans. *The Native American, Devoted to Indian Education* was published from about 1900 through 1931 at the Phoenix Indian School, and *The Red Man: An Illustrated Magazine Printed by Indians* was published from 1909 through 1917 at the Carlisle School in Pennsylvania.²⁷

The information about sports in the *ISJ* focused on but was not always limited to Chilocco teams, which (like many of those from the Indian schools) were nicknamed the “Indians.” Chilocco students and staff wrote some of the reports on the Chilocco teams, while others were excerpted from papers of the schools and communities of the opposing teams. Articles from other sources were often appropriately cited in the *ISJ*, but determining staff versus student authorship of Chilocco’s own articles is impossible. Many were unsigned, although others were given a by-line, usually with the author’s name and tribal affiliation, indicating at least that the authors were Native American. Some stories were by “Students” and several had the by-line “Theo. Edwards, Chippewa.” Theodore Edwards is identified in one issue as a graduate of the printing department.²⁸ Many of the staff were Native American, and some, including George Bent, the assistant football coach and assistant disciplinarian in this time period, were graduates of Chilocco.²⁹ Bent himself authored several articles.

The issue of authorship is an important limitation. Beth Haller, a professor of journalism, argues that scholars should be skeptical about the source of their evidence on Indian boarding schools. Based on her examination of the publications of the Carlisle School from 1879-1918, Haller argues that unlike most community publications, the Carlisle papers were not truly the voice of the authors. Instead, because they were school-sponsored publications, the writing reflected the “assimilated mutations of young people forced to learn to be white.”³⁰

Sports in the *ISJ*

Although the lens of the *ISJ* is potentially distorted because of the uncertain authorship of the articles and the possibility of censorship by white supervisors, as well as by the very nature of a boarding school designed to remove the Indian identity of the students, the *ISJ* remains an interesting source of evidence about the representations of sport at the Indian boarding schools and particularly at Chilocco. The *ISJ* was one of the longest running publications about Indian affairs, in print from about 1900 through 1980, and it appears to be one of the only Indian boarding school publications with a national circulation.³¹ The focus here is on the years 1906 through 1913 because sports received the most extensive and consistent coverage in this era; almost every issue included at least one sports article.³² The broader sports coverage may have been because of the interests of the staff of the *ISJ* or because of the international success of Native American athletes at the time. For example, Jim Thorpe, a football star at Carlisle School, starred in the 1912 Olympics in Stockholm and played professional sport thereafter; Louis Tewanima was a two-time Olympian in 1908 and 1912; and Tom Longboat won the Boston Marathon in 1907.³³ Their

successes, and those of other Native American athletes, may have sparked the interest of the sportswriters at the *ISJ*.³⁴

Almost all of the stories were short one- to ten-sentence segments on the different interscholastic and occasionally intramural games. Because Chilocco students were often as old as twenty-one years of age, the school frequently competed against colleges in the school's main varsity sports for boys (football, basketball, baseball, and track and field). Although the stories were mostly about the boys' teams, the girls' teams were not ignored; the girls' basketball team played several games a year against other girls' teams and their scores and successes were noted. One report of a girls' track meet also exists. Although girls' teams may have had more extensive playing experiences, this article is limited to the representations of their games that appeared in the *Journal*.

The *ISJ* also reported intramural and recreational sporting opportunities for the students and staff. Scattered throughout the years of coverage were reports of boys and girls ice skating in the winter³⁵ and playing tennis in the other seasons.³⁶ In the summer, the boys were allowed to swim and to use the diving board.³⁷ The boys also had a cross-country meet linked to their military squadrons,³⁸ and boys and staff participated in the gun club.³⁹ Girls were encouraged to exercise via calisthenics and drill routines.⁴⁰ Furthermore, the *ISJ* linked sport, health, and entertainment. In 1909, the *Journal* published Chilocco's plan to emphasize "physical training and instruction for the entire student body . . . promoting health . . . and at the same time affording much pleasure."⁴¹

Generally the sports reporting of the *ISJ* was upbeat, as seems consistent with other Indian school publications of the day. For example, the *Indian Leader* (the publication of Haskell Indian school in Kansas) was quoted in the *ISJ* describing a track meet between Haskell and Chilocco. The excerpt described a Haskell athlete: "One of the best performers of the Haskell team is the one-legged jumper Gilbeau. His misfortune helps him considerably in jumping, for besides getting used to hopping on one foot, he has less weight to carry over the bar than other jumpers."⁴² The *ISJ*'s choice to reprint the story suggests that the staff believed this to be an inspirational story about doing the best one can under trying circumstances. This positive attitude pervaded the *Indian School Journal*.

Girls' Sport and Gender Differences

Girls at Chilocco, like girls everywhere in that era, had fewer sporting opportunities than the boys because sport at this time was firmly entrenched as a male domain. Many white educators of the era supported female exercise to promote good health but feared sport would make the girls less feminine.⁴³ Chilocco girls did, however (like the girls' team of Fort Shaw, Montana that Peavy and Smith detailed) play varsity basketball, and the team got some coverage in the *ISJ*. That coverage appeared almost monthly during the basketball season from 1906 to 1909, and it usually reported the opponent and the score of the game with a very brief game summary. The games were several times described as "good" and once as "fast and interesting."⁴⁴ In 1907, the *ISJ* reported, "We have a good team and we ought to help cheer them along."⁴⁵ Two weeks later, the girls would defeat the Wellington (Kansas) High School team in Wellington in front of 600 people.⁴⁶ Even a loss by one point to Blackwell High School is described as "a little rough, but exciting."⁴⁷ Whether "rough" referred to the physicality or the sloppiness of play is unclear, but the use

of the word “exciting” reaffirms the *ISJ*'s positive attitude about that game and its overall support of the team.

The girls' basketball team seemed to have great participatory success; for example, during the 1909-1910 season, between thirty and forty girls tried out for the team.⁴⁸ Various articles throughout the years note that they expected success, and in the spring of 1912, they won the newly formed Kay County Girls' Basketball league, which seemed to play 6-on-6. They defeated three other teams to take the inaugural championship.⁴⁹ Their success, however, would not be reflected in extensive coverage in the *ISJ*. In 1912 and 1913, their championship and one doubleheader with the boys would be the only stories about their seasons published in *ISJ*.⁵⁰ About 400 people watched the 1913 doubleheader at Chilocco against Blackwell Baptist College—the girls played “an interesting and exciting game.”⁵¹ Coverage of boys' sports though continued almost monthly.

The article about the March 1908 First Annual Banquet sponsored by the Chilocco Basketball Association seems to suggest that girls' and boys' basketball at Chilocco were both respected. Fannie Miller, a Chippewa, wrote the *ISJ* story about the event at which both the boys' and girls' teams were honored, and the results of their seasons were published. Intriguingly, the list of the teams for both boys and girls listed identical positions: each team had a center, two forwards, two guards, and a substitute.⁵² Although many girls' teams in the country at this time were playing with six players, Chilocco was not (they would add a player on the court within a few years).⁵³ At the banquet, Maude Wade gave a toast on the topic of “Athletics and Gentlemen,” and conversely Louis Paschal toasted the topic of “Athletics and Ladies.”⁵⁴ This equal treatment and equal coverage would not continue. At the spring 1911 Annual Athletic Reception, members of the varsity boys' basketball, baseball, and football teams were awarded “C” parchments. Each of the awardees was listed in the *ISJ*. Although the girls' basketball team was listed in the article by name, no girls were awarded letters. The season records of all four teams, including the girls' basketball team, were published along with team photos of all but the baseball team.⁵⁵

The only reference to a girls' interscholastic game other than basketball came in June of 1908, when the *ISJ* reported that the Y.W.C.A. track meet on May 1, 1908, was “well attended and very exciting.” Phoenix, Chilocco, Carlisle and Haskell Schools all participated, and the schools held a sale of some sort afterward which was reportedly successful but never clearly explained.⁵⁶ As no other sporting-event sales were reported in the *Journal*, perhaps the fundraiser was connected to the Y.W.C.A. or to the multi-school track meet.

Aside from the fewer column inches that girls' sport received in the *ISJ*, not surprisingly other gender differences are apparent. The girls were treated differently from the boys. For example, the report of a 1908 road trip to Pawhuska, Oklahoma, where the girls' basketball team beat the local high school and the team from the Osage Boarding School, was noteworthy in part because it referred to the chaperone, Mr. Davies.⁵⁷ Later, we learn that Mr. William Davies was the manager of both the boys' and the girls' basketball teams.⁵⁸ When the boys' team traveled, a coach or a manager accompanied them, and while that person no doubt acted as a chaperone, he or she was never described as such. In June of 1909, at the field day held in conjunction with the Commencement festivities, the

boys' baseball game and general athletic and gymnastic games were highlighted, which illustrated the differences in opportunities based on a student's gender. Girls under age fourteen could compete in the 30-yard dash (boys fourteen and under had a 50-yard dash)—the shorter distance and the age limitation for girls were typical of the era. All girls could compete in the 30-yard sack race; girls past puberty were not to get too physical. Boys of all ages could compete in the 100-yard dash, 220-yard dash, 40-yard three-legged race, 30-yard wheelbarrow race, mile relay, and obstacle course as well as a tug of war against the school's employees.⁵⁹

Although their options for participation were limited, girls at Chilocco did have sporting opportunities. The *ISJ* provides early references to girls' sport at the Indian boarding schools, indicating that despite some concerns about female participation in sports among physical education leaders of the day, Chilocco leaders allowed the girls varsity and intramural level competitions, and the *Indian School Journal*, at least, applauded their efforts and shared their successes with all of its subscribers.

However, that media coverage was limited compared to the boys', and the girls' coverage was greatest between 1906 and 1909 with a marked decline after that. This suggests that while the girls at Chilocco may have received more support and more opportunities for athletics than many white physical educators of the day might have encouraged, the support was not without reservation and restriction: the games and sports were different from the boys and the coverage was always less extensive than the boys. The decline after 1909 may have been the result of a change in school or *ISJ* administration or in a shift in the writers' interests, but because of the dearth of materials about how the *ISJ* was produced, this is just speculation. The noted decline in coverage makes the more detailed reporting of 1906 to 1909 that much more intriguing, because the girls' teams did continue to play (as evidenced by the 1911 championship) even without the vocal support of the *ISJ*.

Sportsmanship and Amateurism

As historians Adams, Bloom, and Oriard have emphasized, sportsmanship at the Indian boarding schools was quite important as a way of establishing the Indians' equality to the white man in at least one respect—competitive yet honorable athletes. Leaders of Indian boarding schools believed that whites expected cheating and trickery from their players, and the *ISJ* was quick to offer proof that the assumption of the tricky Indian was wrong. The columns on sports frequently mentioned the sportsmanship of the other team. For example in 1907, after the University of Oklahoma (OU) sent their baseball team to play at Chilocco, the *Journal* reported, "They [OU] put up a nice clean game and played good, quiet ball all the time."⁶⁰ In 1910, when the football team traveled to another Indian boarding school, Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, the game summary in the *Journal* noted that the Chilocco team won a game "free from unnecessary roughness and talk" and commended the crowd for cheering the good play of both teams.⁶¹

The *ISJ* published two letters from opposing coaches commending the Chilocco Indians on their good sportsmanship. After the second-squad played the Logan County High School football team on Thanksgiving in 1906 and the game ended in a 0-0 tie, the Logan County coach sent the Chilocco football coach a note of thanks. Floyd Calvert wrote:

Many of the people here expected to see considerable slugging and the like from your men, but everyone now says that your men were the most gentlemanly set of fellows and played as clean, if not cleaner, than any team that ever came here. Each and every one of your men is a perfect gentleman. They also think a great deal of your [assistant coach George Bent's] decision as referee and umpire.⁶²

In 1909, the *ISJ* responded to a line in the Tonkawa *Chieftain* that stated, with regard to Chilocco's boys' basketball victory over the University of Oklahoma Preparatory School: "None of the rough playing and underhanded tactics which usually goes with the Indians' playing was indulged in." Whether this was a comment about Native Americans or the Chilocco Indians specifically is unclear, but given the reaction of the writers at the *ISJ*, they took it to refer to Native Americans as a whole. Indian school leaders like Superintendent Pratt, as discussed earlier, were convinced that Indian athletes had to be particularly circumspect in their sportsmanship given the white perception that Indians were dangerous "savages." The *ISJ* wrote in response to the *Chieftain* report:

The above general comment we believe is groundless. The Indian is known the country over for his sportsmanship. Whenever he has participated in any form of athletic sports the usual comments of eyewitnesses have been in his favor. The Indian always goes into the game for the sport there is in it. If he wins he rejoices over the victory in the same manner that his white brother does, while if he is defeated he takes it like a man and is willing to acknowledge that he lost because the other man was the better man.

To prove the point, the *Journal* printed a copy of the letter from the president of the Oklahoma University Preparatory School, who wrote: "The basket ball [*sic*] game last Saturday night was a very fine game in every respect. While the victory went to your team, we feel that you earned it justly."⁶³

The *ISJ* was sensitive to issues of sportsmanship, noting in most reports that games were "clean" and commenting on the quality of the officiating. It was also quick to comment when the other team behaved poorly, as indicated by this report on the November 17, 1906, football game where Chilocco played the Kansas City Athletic Club football team in Kansas City. The story complained that the field was:

by far the poorest of any gridiron we have played on this year. The spectators were allowed to run all over the field during the game. . . . The decisions favored K.C.A.C. greatly and much wrangling was engaged in by K.C. at every opportunity. It was easy to see why some teams will not play K.C.A.C. and Chilocco is one team that will not play them again under such conditions.⁶⁴

Amateurism was particularly important at Chilocco, and its mission reflected that commitment: "Base ball [*sic*], foot ball [*sic*], tennis, basket ball [*sic*], etc., are encouraged, but no attempt is made to organize professional teams."⁶⁵ The comment about professional teams was likely made in part to distinguish Chilocco from its rival Carlisle, where there were allegations that Coach Pop Warner paid his players.⁶⁶

A 1908 article suggested that the students and staff at Chilocco should be proud of their amateur athletes and encouraged the Chilocco community to support their football team. The article noted that "the squad numbers thirty braves, and never has there been a more willing squad. With plenty of ginger, speed, and team work, we are going to eclipse the team of '06." It added "come out and cheer the boys. They need the support of every

scholar and employee. They represent Chilocco.” Finally, the article concluded: “It must always be remembered that our ball team is a purely student affair. There is no professional incorporated in it.”⁶⁷ This final dig at those schools suspected of using so-called professional athletes emphasized the importance of the amateur status of the Chilocco team to the *ISJ* staff.

In 1909, after the boy’s team won the Oklahoma basketball championships, the *ISJ* published a section about Chilocco’s commitment to amateurism. The *Journal* announced “no students or assistants are kept at the school for the purpose alone of making the athletic teams strong,” adding that all players needed to maintain “high standards” in both the classroom and in their industrial training to remain eligible. The *Journal* then proclaimed that the Chilocco football team “openly challenges any Indian team not coached by a man paid especially for this work.” The article added that the school had only full-time students playing and the coaches were all civil service employees (because the school was a Bureau of Indian Affairs school, employees worked for the BIA) who volunteered their time as coaches. Finally, after touting Chilocco’s strong baseball, track, football, and basketball teams, the article ended with a warning: “boys athletically inclined should not make a mistake in their choice of schools.”⁶⁸ Implied in the warning is that the suspected professionalism of the other Indian boarding schools would not advance the young athletes as they matured as much as the wholesome, amateur, student-focused approach of Chilocco.

The emphasis on sportsmanship particularly in the *ISJ* reflects and supports the arguments made by Peavy and Smith about the Fort Shaw basketball team that played at the 1904 World’s Fair. They maintained that the team was sent to the fair to demonstrate how civilized the girls had become through their white-styled education and exposure to sport.⁶⁹ The *ISJ* repeatedly referred to sportsmanship in the same way that Oriard reported how Superintendent Pratt wanted athletics to produce young gentlemen who were not “savages.” Calmness in the face of poor officiating and offensive players and conditions proved that the Indians of Chilocco and other Indian Boarding Schools were more civil than their white counterparts.

Intriguingly, Superintendent Pratt made no mention of the need for amateur athletics, and, not surprisingly, his Carlisle School was always rumored to violate amateurism. The question then arises as to why the *ISJ* placed such a strong emphasis on amateurism. The answer seems linked in part to recruiting students and staff. The Indian Boarding Schools as well as the colleges they played against saw a fair number of student transfers. Various *ISJ* stories report on athletes who played for a different school the previous season.⁷⁰ The emphasis that all coaches and players were just regular staff and students also provides a subtle explanation for any losses the Chilocco teams suffered. The *ISJ* could emphasize the team’s heart when the athletes were recruited to be good students and young gentlemen with an upper-class British attitude towards amateurism. Carlisle, on the other hand, seemed to be promoting sportsmanship within a more working-class professional arena.⁷¹ Chilocco seems to have appropriated amateurism as a point of pride, a point of distinction and uniqueness, and as a selling point for students, athletes, and staff members.

Sport as Social Occasion

Traveling for and participating in sports, as reported in the *ISJ*, were social occasions. Not only were sporting events opportunities to travel to new places, but the games provided the chance to see old friends and acquaintances. Many of the staff and students of the Indian boarding schools had been part of the staff and student body at other boarding schools as well.⁷² Sports offered a chance to visit. When, in November of 1906, the Haskell Institute football team traveled from Texas to Kansas, they spent the night at Chilocco. The *ISJ* reported “we were glad to see them and wish they would come oftener.” The *Indian Leader* (the Haskell school paper), quoted in the same *ISJ* story, reported that the team was “warmly greeted” and noted that many of the players for Chilocco had been players for Haskell in previous years.⁷³ Similarly, in 1908 the *ISJ* reported that, despite losing to the Chilocco football team, “the Osage School opened their doors to us to show us the true Indian spirit towards their visitors. We were given a party. . . . We shall always have a warm spot for our fellow tribesmen.”⁷⁴ In 1910, the boys’ basketball team traveled to Friends University in Wichita, Kansas, and lost by a resounding score of 43-19, but the “warm welcome” they received made the team feel “warm in spirit,” and the *ISJ* reported that the Quakers were “a fine lot of fellows.”⁷⁵ The *ISJ*’s emphasis on hospitality and the kinship between athletes of all races suggests it wanted to show that sport allowed athletes and fans to engage in a social experience beyond competition.

One of the more extensive articles about hospitality was a reprint of the *Tonkawa* (Oklahoma) *News*. Two hundred fans from Tonkawa, which was thirty-five miles away, took a train to attend a football game against Chilocco. The train ride was a four-hour adventure with numerous detours and unexpected delays, but the fans were in fine spirits and enjoyed the mile-and-a-half walk from the train station to the school. Upon their arrival, the football team and school officials were Chilocco’s guests for lunch, and rooters were given coffee and real cream, which was a treat. When Chilocco discovered that some supporters had no lunch, the school gave them some food. After lunch, everyone had a tour of the facilities, and the *News* dutifully reported how impressive Chilocco was. The game followed and the Tonkawa team lost soundly, but the report was upbeat and noted that everyone had a fine time, in part because of their host school’s hospitality.⁷⁶ The *ISJ* reprint of this story has a certain self-congratulatory tone, but it also emphasizes how important it was to Chilocco not just to perform well on the athletic field but to be good hosts to the opposing schools.

The emphasis on the social occasion of sport reflects a nationwide trend of increasing participation and attendance at sporting events. Scholars have described the social interest in sport from Dallas, Texas, to New York City as beginning to cross class lines in this era.⁷⁷ For Chilocco students and staff, as well as other schools, sports were entertainment for both the participants and the spectators, as they were for much of the U.S.

Pride in School and Race

The language of the sports articles in the *ISJ* suggests the possible pan-Indian pride that historians Bloom and Rader attribute to sport. For example, the authors of the sports pieces usually wrote from the fan’s perspective, displaying great pride in “our” athletes:⁷⁸

victories were expected and losses were explained with references to being outsized or justified by emphasizing the team's efforts. In 1906, after the Chilocco football team lost to the Kansas City Athletic Club, the *ISJ* reported that the Kansas City team "outweighed Chilocco from 20 to 35 lbs to the man. It was a game of men pitted against school boys, but there was never a grittier exhibition on any gridiron." Two paragraphs then followed, summarizing the season: "Chilocco should be proud of its record this year. No school has such a remarkable record." The team had won seven games while losing only one and had scored a total of 106 points while only allowing 14. Reiterating Chilocco's commitment to amateurism, the report noted that all the Chilocco players were students.⁷⁹ Similarly, after losing a track meet to Arkansas City High, which was the best team in the state of Kansas, the *ISJ* reported that "we lost on the discus as we have no discus, and so were without practice and therefore lost nine points, this causing our defeat. But we have not lost heart and will try again."⁸⁰ The *ISJ*'s positive description of even the losses emphasizes their pride in their team and school.

Theodore Edwards, the young Chippewa student writer, seemed particularly prone to enthusiastic support for his school's teams. His column in February of 1907 focused exclusively on the intramural boys' basketball program (which he said had a "swift, snappy game") with teams determined by grade level, departments, and occasionally tribe.⁸¹ In March of 1907 he wrote about the "interesting games" of basketball, noting that the Tonkawa, Oklahoma, boys' team invited "five of our basketball braves" for a game but Chilocco won. Edwards commended the play of Charles Riding Up in particular, writing "whenever Chas. gets the ball, just take your pencil and mark down 2 points."⁸² His column in May of that year focused on baseball, and he referred to "the strong team" of Chilocco, noting "it is in splendid shape and some good games are expected."⁸³ Edwards' and his fellow writers' enthusiasm for Chilocco sports may have been school or racial pride or it may have simply modeled the "gee whiz" sports journalism exemplified by Grantland Rice of the early twentieth century.⁸⁴ The *ISJ* frequently reprinted articles from outside sources such as other Indian publications, government publications, and articles from the white press, so Edwards and his fellow writers would have been exposed to a variety of different prose styles from their work with the *ISJ*, to say nothing of any periodical reading they may have done outside the print shop. Given Edwards' frequent columns on sport in the *ISJ* and his enthusiasm, his prose was likely the result of a combination of both pride and modeling.

School pride was invoked as a means of promoting participation, good training habits, and equipment care. When the boys' track team seemed low on participants, the *ISJ* wrote "if you don't want Southwestern College to come up here and scalp us you had better come out and train. . . . All are invited to try out for the team. No one knows what he can do until he tries."⁸⁵ When the boys' track team tried to add more meets in 1911, an article warned "if these meets are arranged our men will have to get down to systematic practice to make a showing. Faithfulness in training, keeping regular hours, and cutting out cigarettes and chewing tobacco, and other bad habits, are absolutely necessary to get in condition to compete."⁸⁶ Even the baseball team faced a call to honor when the team got new uniforms: "it is hoped every man on the team will take pride in keeping his suit in the very best condition."⁸⁷ Pride in the uniforms was likely a reflection of the relatively

austere conditions of the school. The *ISJ* did not report teams getting new uniforms often, suggesting that they were kept for as long as they could be worn.

Pride in school and self are consistently emphasized in the *Journal*, and this poses a complicated question about the role of acculturation. Although Superintendent Pratt of Carlisle school argued that sport at the boarding schools taught young Native Americans to learn to control their tempers when faced with a bad call by an official and to otherwise, as John Bloom wrote, “swallow their ‘Indian’ pride,”⁸⁸ the *ISJ* repeatedly calls on its athletes and its readers to be proud. Although, as discussed earlier, the *ISJ* also felt strongly about good sportsmanship, its sportswriters were not about to abandon their pride; in fact they took pride in their good sportsmanship. This theme supports Bloom’s argument that Indian school sport became a site of racial pride, a celebration of “popular nationalism that showed ‘what an Indian can do.’”⁸⁹

The language of the *ISJ* seems to appropriate certain now-pejorative terms. For example, the stories report that the various Chilocco sports teams were nicknamed the Indians; they describe attempts to “add scalps to the belt” of their “paleface” opponents;⁹⁰ and they sometimes refer to the boys’ teams as the “braves.” Like many sportswriters, the *ISJ* writers used militaristic terms, and perhaps logically used the language present in the frontier wars of the nineteenth century. For instance, in reference to a football victory in 1908, the *Journal* reports that “pigskin chasers journeyed to the Osages’ country in search of scalps, and when we struck the trail and the dust of the battle cleared away, we had the enemy beaten.”⁹¹ Even the girls’ basketball team “captured a few scalps.”⁹² Whether this is a sign of racial pride in appropriating such phrases or an indication that the authors were assimilating white terminology as Beth Haller warns, or both, is unclear.⁹³ It may, however, have been a combination of the two. The writers likely modeled the white sports writing of the era, which would imply a kind of assimilation of white terminology, yet even though they may have assimilated this terminology, their language may well have represented racial pride. The theme of pride in the *ISJ* is too strong to simply dismiss the use of what were likely clichéd phrases at the time as merely assimilations.

Conclusion

Articles in the *Indian School Journal* generally support the arguments that previous scholars have made about the role of sport in the lives of Native Americans but, at the same time, the articles suggest additional themes of interest to their authors and readers. As Bloom argued, the *ISJ* articles reflect a strong sense of racial and school pride—the authors of the articles were proud of their school’s athletic teams and proud that they performed competently and valiantly against all comers, be their opponents white or other Indian schools. The articles also reveal the deeply held belief in sportsmanship that Oriard and Bloom described. The social connections reported in the *Journal* mirror the Homecoming experience at Haskell Institute in 1926 as described by Rader. On the other hand, the *ISJ* articles place far more emphasis on girls’ sport than any scholars, besides Peavy and Smith, have described, and also raise the issue of amateurism to a degree unexplored by previous scholars.

The *ISJ* as a source, however, is significant because it provides the stories of Indian Schools’ sport, especially at Chilocco, from the perspective of a predominantly Native

American press. The *ISJ* seemed happy to find subscribers anywhere, but its emphasis on Indian education and Indian experiences suggest the Chilocco publishers expected an audience sympathetic to those issues. As seemingly the longest running Indian publication of the twentieth century, the *Journal* is a unique source worthy of additional study.

The *ISJ* provides an opportunity to look at how sport was represented in a publication by and for Native Americans and those interested in the Indian boarding school system. In this brief stretch from 1906 to 1913, hardly a journal issue was published without some reference to sport and physical activity at the Indian boarding schools, particularly at Chilocco, the *Journal's* home. Although the authorship and the actual freedom of the press are uncertain, the representations of sport in the *Journal* suggest that sport did play an important role in the lives of the students and staff. The teams and sports may or may not have had the intended effect of "civilizing" young Native Americans, but they did matter to those present at the schools.

Interestingly, the *ISJ* gives more credit and coverage to the girls' sports teams than one might have expected of the era, especially since idealized, middle-class white women of the day discouraged female participation in sport. Although the young women at Chilocco were trained in domestic arts, which would have made them suited for the jobs of wife and mother (if they married well) or of a hired domestic, the leaders of Chilocco at least seem to have envisioned middle-class and not working-class norms as the ideal to which their students should aspire. The *ISJ* repeatedly emphasized middle-class norms and values, reporting regularly on marriages and births among their alumni and staff and the employment of their male graduates. Music and drama, as well as athletics were major parts of Chilocco's education and the *ISJ* reported on those performances in detail.⁹⁴ These middle-to upper-class ideals were also reflected in Chilocco's emphasis on amateurism. The school, unlike some of its counterparts, was strongly opposed to paying athletes and coaches. It wanted its students to play sports and its staff to coach because they loved the game and because of the positive attributes of athletics, not because they were paid to do so.

The school and the publication were proud of their teams' reputation for good sportsmanship, which linked to normative white middle-class values of the era and also displaced the white assumption that Indians were savages. However, these themes, particularly that of pride, are complicated. The *Journal* reflects a pride in self, school, and race that shows up in the reports of the efforts and triumphs of the teams and in the pleasure taken in the social events that surrounded the games. Sport seems to have been one activity where the *ISJ* reports that the students and those involved with the teams were proud to be Indians in every sense of the word. However, that very pride can also be interpreted as assimilationist. The *ISJ* reports with pride its students' success in traditionally white sports and white events, and it approves of their so-called "white" normative behavior in that the teams showed excellent sportsmanship and played by the white man's rules. It seems likely that the *Journal* articles reflect both ideas: the Native American writers were proud of their school, their teams, and their race, but at the same time were becoming assimilated into white culture as the schools had intended. The two are inexorably entwined.



⁹⁴Naming a people who already have a name is complicated and potentially offensive. In this paper, the word "Indian" is used because it was common for the era and because the Native American authors

who wrote in and about this era use that word. I also use the phrases Native American and indigenous or Native people interchangeably and without intent of offense. Additionally my use of the words “civilize” and “educate” are done with every sense of the irony and tragedy of imposing an external, invading culture upon existing ones.

²R.V. Farrell, “The Conquests of Minds: Lessons and Strategies from Latin American Educational History,” *Blackwell E-Journal of Educational History*, <<http://www.cedu.niu.edu/blackwell/ejournal.html>> [4 July 2006].

³Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, *American Indian Education: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 15.

⁴Wilcomb E. Washburn, ed., *The American Indian and the United States: A Documentary History* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1973): 2293, quoted in Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education*, 41.

⁵Washburn, *The American Indian and the United States*, 2310, quoted in Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education*, 41.

⁶The term “white” is used in this article to indicate non-Native, mainstream U.S. society, a society dominated and controlled overwhelmingly by Americans of European descent.

⁷Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education*, 41-43.

⁸Clyde Ellis, *To Change Them Forever: Indian Education at Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893-1920* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 3.

⁹*Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁰Scott Riney, *The Rapid City Indian School, 1893-1933* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 7-9. Scholars like David Wallace Adams have established that the Indian boarding school system did incalculable harm to the young students who were often forcibly dragged to their new home. They suffered from malnutrition and physical abuse as well as suffering the psychological trauma of being separated from their families and their cultures. Many of the youngsters did not survive. David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1995).

¹¹Benjamin G. Rader, “‘The Greatest Drama in Indian Life’: Experiments in Native American Identity and Resistance at the Haskell Institute Homecoming of 1926,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 35 (2004): 429-452.

¹²John Bloom, *To Show What An Indian Can Do: Sports at Native American Boarding Schools* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

¹³Linda Peavy and Ursula Smith, “World Champions: The 1904 Girls’ Basketball Team from Fort Shaw Indian Boarding School,” *Montana* 52 (2001): 2-25.

¹⁴David Wallace Adams, “More Than a Game: The Carlisle Indians Take to the Gridiron, 1893-1917,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 32 (2001): 25-54.

¹⁵Michael Oriard, *Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 233-247.

¹⁶Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do*, 34-35.

¹⁷Adams, “More than a Game,” 26.

¹⁸Oriard, *Reading Football*, 234.

¹⁹Peavy and Smith, “World Champions,” 8.

²⁰“A Pencil Sketch of Our Big School,” *Indian School Journal*, October 1907, p. 16.

²¹“Chilocco Commencement, 1907,” *Indian School Journal*, June 1907, pp. 47-48; “Commencement at Chilocco,” *Indian School Journal*, June 1909, p. 23.

²²“A Brief Description of Our School,” *Indian School Journal*, February 1909, p. 41.

²³K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 11.

²⁴“A Brief Description of Our School,” *Indian School Journal*, February 1909, p. 41.

²⁵Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education*, 99. Although a few authors of articles in the *Indian School Journal* were female, the print shop itself seems to have been populated mostly by boys. The *ISJ*'s description of Chilocco's purpose emphasized traditionally gendered educations: “better instruction for those [boys] who desire shop work cannot be found. . . . Girls in classes of Domestic Science and Domestic Art . . . found time to cultivate the individual garden.” “Chilocco's Policy,” *Indian School Journal*, August 1909, p. 3. A reprint from the Kansas City Star explains that “blacksmithing, carpentry and other trades are taught the boys. . . . An Indian girl graduate from Chilocco knows how to cook, sew, weave, keep house.” “A Pencil Sketch of Our Big School,” *Indian School Journal*, October 1907, p. 16.

²⁶“Some Statistics About Uncle Sam's Schools for Indians,” *Indian School Journal*, March 1908, p. 33. In 1931 the *ISJ* would depart from the monthly format and become a weekly, shorter newsletter focusing almost exclusively on Chilocco.

²⁷“Bibliography of Indian Boarding Schools, Approximately 1875-1940,” <<http://www.asu.edu/lib/archives/boardingschools.htm>> [17 January 2007].

²⁸“The Annual Commencement at Chilocco,” *Indian School Journal*, June 1907, p. 31.

²⁹“The News at Chilocco,” *Indian School Journal*, October 1907, p. 45.

³⁰Beth A. Haller, “Cultural Voices or Pure Propaganda? Publications of the Carlisle Indian School, 1879-1918,” *American Journalism* 19 (2002): 81.

³¹“Bibliography of Indian Boarding Schools,” [5 July 2006]. An internet search suggests no single institution has a complete collection either of originals or of microfiche copies.

³²The research was conducted at the Western Heritage Collection at the University of Oklahoma in 2003. At that time, the Collection had original copies of the *ISJ* beginning in 1906 and running through the 1970s. The research focused on the monthly format of the journal that included information about schools other than Chilocco, thus limiting any overview initially from 1906 to 1931. In 1931, the *Journal* moved to an abbreviated weekly format, resembling more of a newsletter and less of a journal. The focus shifted almost exclusively to stories about Chilocco and its graduates, as compared with the broader, more national focus of the longer monthly format. After reading all the available monthly journals, it was decided to focus on 1906 to 1913 because journals in this time period included more stories about sports than after those dates. Strikingly, there is not one reference to sport in any issue from 1914 on, indicating some sort of change in editorial focus or in the staff writers' interest. Unfortunately, there is no way of knowing what precipitated the sudden dearth of sports coverage.

³³Information on these athletes can be found in Bill Crawford, *All American: The Rise and Fall of Jim Thorpe* (Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley and Sons, 2005); Ward Churchill, “An Historical Overview of Twentieth Century Native American Athletes,” *Indian Historian* 12 (1979): 22-33; and Bruce Kidd, “In Defence of Tom Longboat,” *Canadian Journal of the History of Sport* 14 (1983): 34-63.

³⁴In fact the *ISJ* reprinted a story about Tom Longboat. “Canadian Indian Wins Famous Race,” *Indian School Journal*, January 1909, p. 43.

³⁵For example, see “The News at Chilocco,” *Indian School Journal*, February 1907, p. 43.

³⁶For example, see “The News at Chilocco,” *Indian School Journal*, April 1907, p. 36.

³⁷“The News at Chilocco,” *Indian School Journal*, June 1912, p. 319.

³⁸“Cross Country Run,” *Indian School Journal*, April 1911, p. 53.

³⁹“Chilocco's Annual Picnic,” *Indian School Journal*, June 1907, p. 53.

⁴⁰Photograph, “Chilocco Class in Physical Culture,” *Indian School Journal*, June 1907, p. 43 (girls with dumbbells lined up in ranks); “The News at Chilocco,” *Indian School Journal*, January 1909, p. 54.

⁴¹“Basket Ball Team Wins Oklahoma Championships,” *Indian School Journal*, August 1909, p. 12.

⁴²“A Strong Track Team,” *Indian School Journal*, May 1909, p. 23.

⁴³For a discussion of women's sport history in general in this era see Reet Howell, ed., *Her Story in Sport: A Historical Anthology of Women in Sports* (West Point, N.Y.: Leisure Press, 1982); Allen Guttmann, *Women's Sport: A History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991); and Susan K. Cahn, *Coming on*

Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Women's Sport (New York: Free Press, 1994). These books note that although some exceptional women athletes and some working-class women were participating in sport, middle-class white women were discouraged from participation in what was viewed as an unfeminine activity. Although physical educators called for women to exercise for health reasons, conventional wisdom limited competitive sports to men for fear that sport would endanger women's reproductive health and their feminine beauty.

⁴⁴For examples of "good" see "Chilocco Athletic Notes," *Indian School Journal*, November 1906, p. 56; and "The News at Chilocco," *Indian School Journal*, February 1907, p. 43. For an example of "fast and interesting," see "The News At Chilocco," *Indian School Journal*, February 1907, p. 43.

⁴⁵"The News at Chilocco," *Indian School Journal*, February 1907, p. 43.

⁴⁶Theodore Edwards, "Chilocco Athletic Notes," *Indian School Journal*, March 1907, p. 67.

⁴⁷"The News at Chilocco," *Indian School Journal*, January 1908, p. 52.

⁴⁸"Basket Ball," *Indian School Journal*, December 1909, pp. 51-52. Photographs over the years between 1906 and 1911 suggest that usually about nine or ten girls were on the team. A list of the 1910-1911 girls' basketball team named ten players. "Athletics," *Indian School Journal*, April 1911, pp. 52-53.

⁴⁹"Chilocco Items of News," *Indian School Journal*, June 1912, p. 325.

⁵⁰"Chilocco Items of News," *Indian School Journal*, June 1912, p. 325; "Chilocco v. Blackwell Baptist College," *Indian School Journal*, March 1913, p. 334.

⁵¹"Chilocco v. Blackwell Baptist College," *Indian School Journal*, March 1913, p. 334.

⁵²Fannie Miller, "The Basket Ball Banquet," *Indian School Journal*, March 1908, p. 51.

⁵³The description of the girls' basketball team that won the Kay County league championship lists the players as "two forwards, a center, a side center, and two guards." "Chilocco Items of News," *Indian School Journal*, June 1912, p. 325.

⁵⁴Fannie Miller, "The Basket Ball Banquet," *Indian School Journal*, March 1908, p. 51.

⁵⁵"Athletics: Annual Athletic Reception of the Chilocco School," *Indian School Journal*, April 1911, pp. 51-52.

⁵⁶"From Our Exchanges," *Indian School Journal*, June 1908, p. 45.

⁵⁷"The News at Chilocco," *Indian School Journal*, February 1908, p. 48.

⁵⁸Fannie Miller, "The Basket Ball Banquet," *Indian School Journal*, March 1908, p. 51.

⁵⁹"Commencement at Chilocco," *Indian School Journal*, July 1909, p. 12.

⁶⁰"The News at Chilocco," *Indian School Journal*, May 1907, p. 52.

⁶¹George Bent, "Chilocco's Basket Ball Team," *Indian School Journal*, February 1910, pp. 48-49.

⁶²"Chilocco Athletic Notes," *Indian School Journal*, December 1906, p. 59.

⁶³"Athletics," *Indian School Journal*, March 1909, p. 54.

⁶⁴"Chilocco Athletic Notes," *Indian School Journal*, December 1906, 59.

⁶⁵"A Brief Description of Our School," *Indian School Journal*, February 1909, p. 41.

⁶⁶Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do*, 27-29.

⁶⁷"Athletic Notes," *Indian School Journal*, October 1908, p. 56.

⁶⁸"Basket Ball Team Wins Oklahoma Championship," *Indian School Journal*, August 1909, p. 12.

⁶⁹Peavy and Smith, "World Champions," 19.

⁷⁰"Chilocco Athletic Notes," *Indian School Journal*, November 1906, p. 56; "The News at Chilocco," *Indian School Journal*, June 1907, p. 57.

⁷¹See Tony C. Collins, *Rugby's Great Split: Class, Culture, and the Origins of Rugby League Football* (New York: Routledge, 1998) for a discussion of how Britain's issues with professional and amateur sport resulted in the creation of a separate rugby system in 1895.

⁷²Many members of the staff left one school for another for advancement opportunities or were transferred by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Some of the staff at Indian boarding schools, like football

coach, disciplinarian, and band director George Bent, seem to have been graduates of the boarding school system themselves, but their first positions were usually at different schools. These comings and goings were reported in columns such as "The News at Chilocco," *Indian School Journal*, March 1909, pp. 53-54.

⁷³"Chilocco Athletic Notes," *Indian School Journal*, December 1906, p. 59.

⁷⁴"Athletic Notes," *Indian School Journal*, December 1908, p. 56.

⁷⁵George Bent, "Chilocco's Basket Ball Team," *Indian School Journal*, February 1910, pp. 48-49.

⁷⁶"Chilocco is Visited," *Indian School Journal*, December 1909, pp. 37-38.

⁷⁷See Harry Jebsen, Jr., "The Public Acceptance of Sports in Dallas, 1880-1930," *Journal of Sport History* 6 (1979): 5-19; and Joe Willis and Richard Wettan, "Social Stratification in New York City Athletic Clubs, 1865-1915," *Journal of Sport History* 4 (1977): 189-207.

⁷⁸For an example of the use of "our" team, see "Chilocco Athletic Notes," *Indian School Journal*, November 1906, p. 56.

⁷⁹"Chilocco Athletic Notes," *Indian School Journal*, December 1906, p. 59.

⁸⁰"Athletic Notes," *Indian School Journal*, June 1909, p. 55.

⁸¹Theodore Edwards, "Chilocco Basket-Ball," *Indian School Journal*, February 1907, p. 55.

⁸²Theodore Edwards, "Chilocco Athletic Notes," *Indian School Journal*, March 1907, p. 67.

⁸³"The News At Chilocco," *Indian School Journal*, May 1907, p. 52.

⁸⁴Stanley Walker, *City Editor* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 123. Walker defined the "gee whiz" school of sport journalism as portraying its subjects uncritically and romantically, ignoring any unsavory aspects of the players or the games.

⁸⁵"Chilocco Athletics," *Indian School Journal*, May 1909, pp. 53-55.

⁸⁶"Athletics: Annual Athletic Reception of the Chilocco School," *Indian School Journal*, April 1911, p. 51-52.

⁸⁷"Chilocco Athletics," *Indian School Journal*, May 1909, pp. 53-55.

⁸⁸Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do*, 16.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, 129.

⁹⁰"Athletics," *Indian School Journal*, March 1909, p. 54.

⁹¹"Athletic Notes," *Indian School Journal*, December 1908, p. 56.

⁹²"The News at Chilocco," *Indian School Journal*, February 1908, p. 48.

⁹³Haller, "Cultural Voices or Pure Propaganda?" 65-86.

⁹⁴"Commencement at Chilocco," *Indian School Journal*, July 1909, pp. 7-20.