Scheduled for Oral Argument on December 10, 2004

COPY

IN THE

United States Court of Appeals

FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT

03-7162

PRO-FOOTBALL, INC.,

Plaintiff-Appellee,

—v.—

SUZAN S. HARJO; RAYMOND D. APODACA; VINE DELORIA, JR.; NORBERT S. HILL, JR.; MATEO ROMERO; WILLIAM A. MEANS; MANLEY A. BEGAY, JR.,

Defendants-Appellants,

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICAN INDIANS; NATIONAL INDIAN EDUCATION ASSOCIATION; NATIONAL INDIAN YOUTH COUNCIL; TULSA INDIAN COALITION AGAINST RACISM, INTERFAITH CONFERENCE OF METROPOLITAN WASHINGTON,

Amici Curiae for Appellant.

ON APPEAL FROM THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

BRIEF AND ADDENDUM OF AMICI CURIAE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICAN INDIANS, NATIONAL INDIAN EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL INDIAN YOUTH COUNCIL, AND TULSA INDIAN COALITION AGAINST RACISM IN SUPPORT OF APPELLANTS

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CERTIFICATE AS TO PARTIES, RULINGS AND RELATED CASES

Pursuant to D.C. Circuit Rule 28(a)(1), amici curiae National Congress of American Indians, National Indian Education Association, National Indian Youth Council, and Tulsa Indian Coalition Against Racism hereby certify:

(A) All parties, and amici appearing before the district court and in this Court are listed in the brief for Appellants, Suzan Shown Harjo, et al.

(B) References to the rulings at issue appear in the brief for Appellants.

(C) Prior to review before the District Court, this case was before the Trademark Trial and Appeal Board of the United States Patent and Trademark Office as Cancellation No. 21,069, Harjo v. Pro-Football, Inc. This opinion is available at 50 U.S.P.Q.2d 1705 (TTAB 1999) and 1999 WL 375907 (TTAB 1999).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CERTIFICATE AS TO PARTIES, RULINGS AND RELATED CASES i

TABLE OF CONTENTS ii

TABLE OF AUTHORITIES iii

STATEMENT OF INTEREST OF AMICI CURIAE 1

SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT 4

ARGUMENT 5

I. The "Redskins" Name And Imagery Are Patently Disparaging To Native Americans 5

A. The Historical Meaning of "Redskins" 5

B. Pro-Football's Use of Disparaging "Redskins" Imagery 9

C. The Native American Community Has Long Attempted To Eradicate The Use of Sports Names Such As "Redskins" 16

D. Scores Of Universities, High Schools, And Elementary Schools Have Discontinued The Use Of Native American Mascots 22

E. Surveys Have Shown That A Substantial Composite Of Native Americans Find "Redskins" Offensive 24

II. Native Americans Are Harmed By The Continued Use Of Demeaning Names Such As "Redskins" 26

III. The Native American Community Should Not Be Penalized For Not Having Taken Legal Action Against The "Redskins" Trademarks Until This Lawsuit 30

CONCLUSION 34

CERTIFICATE OF COMPLIANCE 35

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* Pursuant to D.C. Circuit Rule 28(a)(2), amici curiae state that this brief relies equally on the authorities listed herein.

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STATEMENT OF INTEREST OF AMICI CURIAE

On April 7, 2004, and over the objection of Pro-Football, the Court granted the four Native Organizations leave to participate in this action as amici curiae.

The National Congress of American Indians ("NCAI") is the oldest and largest national intertribal organization. Established in 1944, it represents a majority of American Indian tribes, nations and pueblos, as well as Alaska Native villages.[1] Its mission is to inform the public and advocate before the federal government on tribal self-government, treaty rights, and a broad range of policy issues affecting tribal governments and communities. NCAI has a membership of 244 federally recognized tribes and represents 72 percent of all enrolled tribal members. The combined enrollment of NCAI's member tribes is 1,223,783.

The National Indian Education Association ("NIEA") is the largest Native American education association. Established in 1969, NIEA is dedicated to (i) enabling Native learners to become contributing members of their communities; (ii) promoting Native control of educational institutions; and (iii) improving educational opportunities for Native Americans.

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[1] In the continental United States, NCAI's membership is 205 out of 327 federally recognized tribes, or 62%. Including Alaska, where many tribes do not participate in NCAI because of their relatively small sizes, NCAI's total membership is 244 tribes of the 556 federally recognized tribal governments.

The National Indian Youth Council ("NIYC") is the largest national organization representing Native American youth. Founded in 1961, NIYC is dedicated to: (i) revitalizing pride in Native American youth; (ii) safeguarding Indian cultural traditions; and (iii) instilling decision-making and problem-solving skills based on those traditions.

The Tulsa Indian Coalition Against Racism ("TICAR") is a broad-based coalition founded by American Indians from the 39 Indian Nations in Oklahoma. TICAR was organized around the issue of eliminating the "Redskins" name and images from the Union Public Schools in Tulsa, Oklahoma.

These organizations represent a broad cross-section of Native Americans and have a history of involvement in educational, cultural and policy issues affecting the Native American community. As a result, they can speak authoritatively about the negative impact that racially-based Indian mascots and imagery have on Native Americans. Their perspective is particularly important in light of the following statement about Petitioners made by Pro-Football's counsel during the summary judgment hearing and highlighted by the District Court in its Opinion, Pro-Football, Inc. v. Harjo, 284 F. Supp. 2d 96, 135 (D.D.C. 2003) (emphasis added):

> Do these seven petitioners strongly believe that our famous football team mark Washington Redskins is disparaging? Apparently. That's fine. They have an opinion, ***but they are representing themselves and no one***

> ***else.*** There are 2.41 million Native Americans in this country, Your Honor. There are over 500 Native American tribes. So I ask, can petitioner's opinions, no matter how stridently held, be extrapolated to even one additional Native American by some method acceptable in a courtroom?

This brief will demonstrate that Native Organizations representing a broad range of Native American tribes and individuals support the views of the Petitioners. Contrary to Pro-Football's contention, Petitioners' views can in fact be "extrapolated" to the Native American community as a whole. As demonstrated below, that community finds Pro-Football's REDSKINS mark and imagery disparaging, offensive and racist.

SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT

The Native American community supports cancellation of the REDSKINS mark because it is disparaging to Native American people. The mark is rooted in the darkest chapters of the nation's colonial history – namely, Native American genocide and the barbaric practice of scalping. The continued use of this mark together with its corresponding imagery perpetuates the worst stereotypes of Native Americans. Native Americans have for decades opposed use of names such as "Redskins" in American culture, particularly in connection with sports teams; these protests have already led numerous schools to eliminate the use of Native American mascots. As a result of this very public effort, Pro-Football has long been on notice that its REDSKINS mark is offensive to Native Americans.

At the time the challenged marks were first registered in 1967, Native Americans were embroiled in major legal battles against federal "termination" policy that made a trademark challenge at that time impractical, if not impossible. Inasmuch as Pro-Football's disparagement of Native Americans constitutes a continuing wrong – a wrong that has become more and more indefensible over time – there is no reason in law or policy for the District Court's finding that Petitioners' challenge is barred by laches.

ARGUMENT

I. THE "REDSKINS" NAME AND IMAGERY ARE PATENTLY DISPARAGING TO NATIVE AMERICANS

A. The Historical Meaning of "Redskins"

One popularly-held belief about the origin of the term "Redskins" is that Native Americans were so nicknamed by early American settlers and trappers because of the color of their skin.[2] This on its face is demeaning. As Native American Tim Giago notes:

> As far as I can determine, there is only one species of human beings . . . that have sports teams named after the color of their skin – the American Indian.[3]

Historically, however, the term is far more sinister. As Native American Tina Holder notes, the term actually derives from the barbaric practice of scalping[4]:

> The term came from the bloody mess that one saw when looking at the scalp... thus the term "red"...skin because it was the "skin" of an "animal" just like the others that they had...so, it became "redskins". So, you see when we see or hear that term... we see the bloody pieces of scalps that

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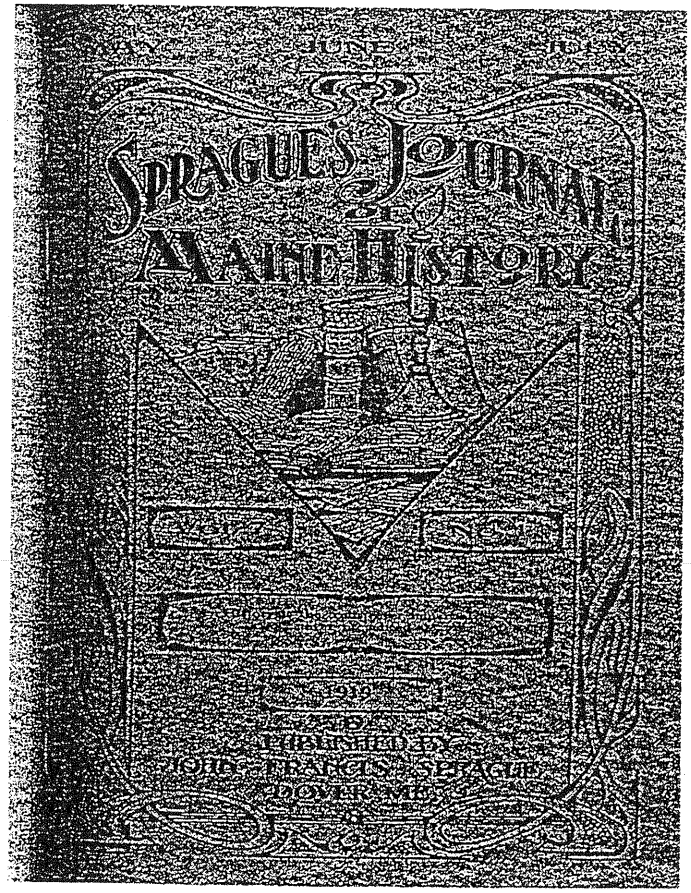
[2] WEBSTER'S NEW TWENTIETH CENTURY DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE 1513 (2d ed. 1977) ("so called from the reddish or coppery color of the skin"). (AD-2).

[3] LARRY LIPMAN, *Are tomahawks, war chant racist?*, COX NEWS SERVICE, Oct. 9, 1991. (AD-3).

[4] "Removal of all or part of the scalp, with hair attached, from an enemy's head." BRITANNICA CONCISE ENCYCLOPEDIA, *at* http://www.britannica.com/ebc/article?eu=403190 (last visited June 22, 2004). (AD-4).

> were hacked off of our men, women and even our children...we hear the screams as our people were killed...and "skinned" just like animals.... you can safely say that the term is considered extremely offensive.[5]

European settlers encouraged the scalping of Native Americans by offering payments of bounties.[6] A 1755 Proclamation encouraged scalping as a means of providing valid "evidence" of having killed a Native American[7]:



[5] MASCOTS – REDSKINS ORIGIN OF THE TERM, *at* http://www.aics.org/mascot/redskins.html (last visited July 25, 2004). (AD-5).

[6] GEORGE A. BRAY III, SCALPING DURING THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR, *at* http://earlyamerica.com/review/1998.scalping.html (last visited July 8, 2004). (AD-9).

[7] JOHN FRANCIS SPRAGUE, *A Proclamation – Indians*, 7 SPRAGUE'S JOURNAL OF MAINE HISTORY 47 (May June July 1919). (AD-17).

A PROCLAMATION

Whereas the Tribe of Penobscot Indians have repeatedly in a perfidious manner acted contrary to their Solemn Submission unto his Majesty long since made and frequently renewed.

I have therefore at the desire of the House of Representatives with the Advice of his Majesty's Council thought fit to issue this Proclamation and to declare the Penobscot Tribe of Indians to be Enemies, Rebells and Traitors to his Majesty King George the Second. And I do hereby require his Majesty's Subjects of this Province to Embrace all opportunities of pursuing, captivating, killing and Destroying all and every of the aforesaid Indians.

And whereas the General Court of this Province have Voted that a bounty or Incouragement be granted and allowed to be paid out of the public Treasury to the Marching Forces that shall have been employed for the Defence of the Eastern and Western Frontiers from the first to the twenty-fifth of this Instant November—I have thought fit to publish the same and I do hereby Promis that there shall be paid out of the Province Treasury to all and any of the said Forces over and above their Bounty upon inlistment, their Wages and Subsistance the Premiums or Bounty following viz.

For every Male Penobscot Indian above the Age of twelve years that shall be taken within the Time aforesaid and brought to Boston Fifty Pounds.

For every Scalp of a Male Penobscot Indian above the age aforesaid brought in as Evidence of their being killed as aforesaid Forty Pounds.

For every Female Penobscot Indian taken and brought in as aforesaid and for Every Male Indian Prisoner under the Age of twelve Years taken and brought in as aforesaid Twenty five Pounds.

For every Scalp of such Female Indian or Male Indian under the Age of twelve years that Shall be killed and brought in as Evidence of their being killed as aforesaid, Twenty Pounds.

Given at the Council Chamber in Boston this third day of November 1755 and in the twenty ninth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the second by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith.

By his Honour's Command, S. PHIPS.[1]
J. WILLARD, Secry.
God save the King.

Resolved That there shall be allowed and paid out of the Public Treasury to any Number of the Inhabitants of this province, not in the pay of the Government, Who shall be disposed to go in quest of the Indian enemy, & shall before they go signify in Writing to the Chief Military Officer of Yr. part of the Province from which they shall go, their Intentions, with their

(1) Spencer Phips was then Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Mass. Bay and was acting governor at this time.

In 1960, the WASHINGTON POST invoked this meaning of the term when it reported that "the Redskins celebrated a gala home opener on an otherwise

drab day by convincingly ***scalping*** the Dallas Cowboys, 26-14."[8] Even today, this connection between Redskins and scalping lives on. See AD-22 to 36 (newspaper headlines).

This association between scalping and "Redskins" was brought to Pro-Football's attention on October 8, 1993, when the Otoe-Missouria Tribe of Indians wrote to Jack Kent Cooke, the former owner of the Washington Redskins, and explained:

> The term "redskins" is out of a period when there was a bounty on the heads of Indians, and they were scalped. . . . It is a period in our history that every American should be ashamed of and the continued use of such a derogatory and offensive term is an abomination.
>
> * * *
>
> Therefore, Mr. Cooke, despite your insistence to the contrary, there is no pride or honor associated with the name.[9]

Regardless of Pro-Football's claim that the team was named after an Indian coach,[10] in the eyes of Native Americans, the media, and the public,

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[8] JACK WALSH, *Redskins Finally Win One, 26-14*, WASH. POST, Oct. 10, 1960, at A14. (AD-19).

[9] Letter of 10/8/93 from Otoe-Missouria Tribe to J.K. Cooke. (AD-37); see also 1993 Redskins protest letters (AD-38 to 39).

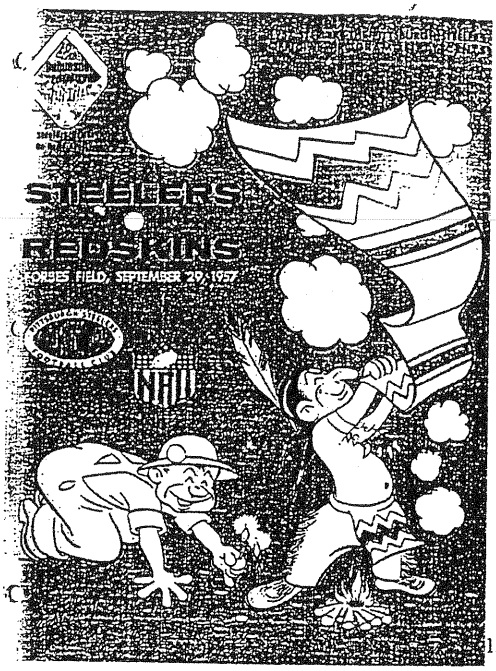
[10] Recent research on the history of "Lone Star" Dietz reveals numerous inconsistencies that cast doubt on his purported Native American heritage. See LINDA M. WAGGONER, *The Legacy of Coach Lone Star Dietz and the Washington Redskins or Reclaiming James One Star* (unpublished manuscript) (AD-40 to 50).

"Redskins" and scalping go hand-in-hand. This is why, as Ojibway Indian Fred Veilleux explains,

> The Washington Redskins are the worst . . . There is nothing more disrespectful or demeaning than to call an Indian redskin. It would be like calling a black man a nigger.[11]

B. Pro-Football's Use of Disparaging "Redskins" Imagery

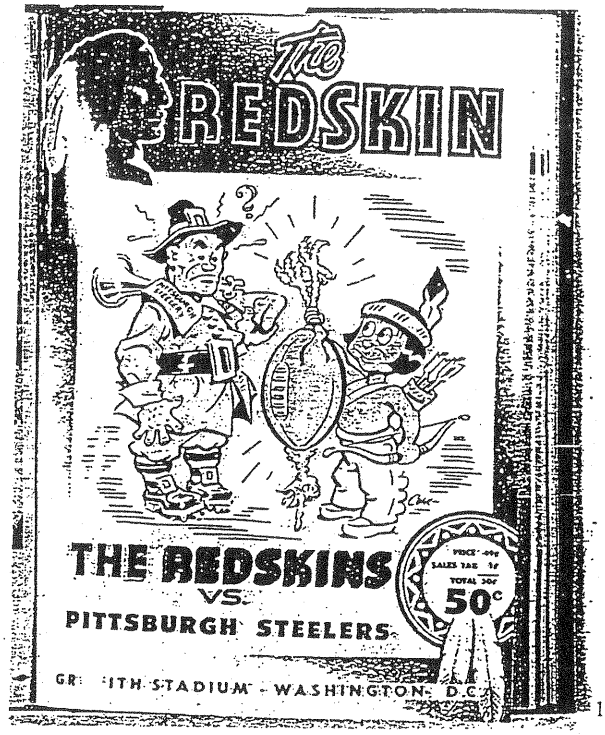
Pro-Football's REDSKINS mark is not used in a vacuum. To the contrary, it has been broadly used by Pro-Football, as well as the media, in connection with disparaging imagery. The following images demonstrate why Redskins-related depictions of Native Americans are the pinnacle of insult:



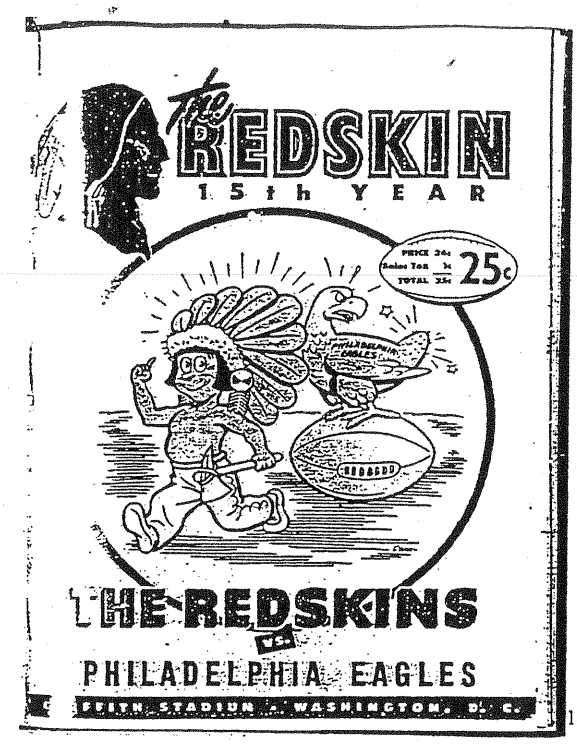
[12]

[11] DON BOXMEYER, *Humboldt urged to leave Indians in peace*, ST. PAUL-PIONEER PRESS DISPATCH, Nov. 29, 1987. (AD-51).

[12] Cover page from 9/29/57 game program. (AD-52).



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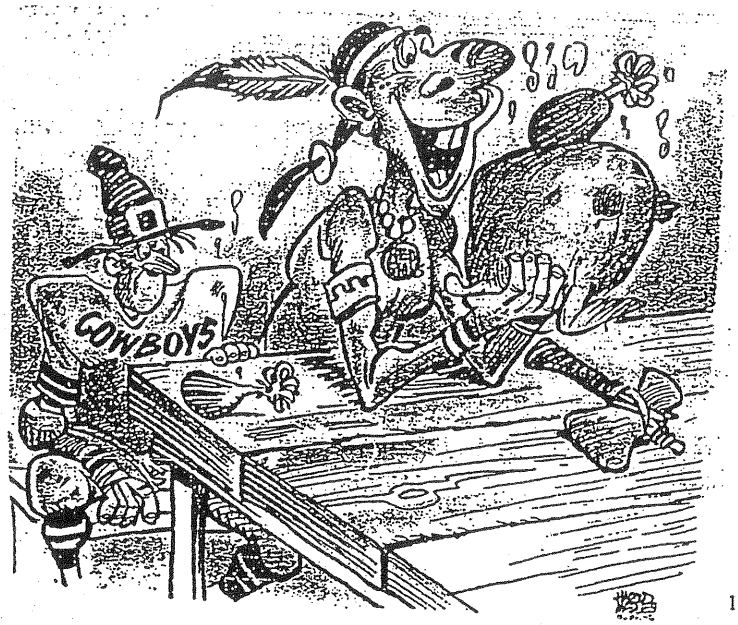


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[13] Cover page from THE REDSKIN game program. (AD-53).

[14] Id. (AD-54).



15



Heap, Heap Hooray! for Redskins

A set of talented Redskin backs ease up in their practice for the Bears to don tribal headpieces and have some fun. Left to right, Sammy Baugh, Dick Todd, Frank Filchock and Andy Farkas

16

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15 Cartoon from FORT-WORTH STAR TELEGRAM, Nov. 21, 1979. (AD-55).

16 *Heap, Heap Hooray!*, ASSOC. PRESS. (AD-56).



Star SPORTS

THE EVENING STAR A-17
Washington, D. C., Tuesday, September 22, 1959

Named yesterday as a publicity aide for the Redskins was Joan Adams, shown wearing the appropriate headdress as she posed in the club's office after being introduced to the press. Auburn-haired Miss Adams, a former Miss Nevada and second-runnerup in the Miss Universe contest, has been hired to decorate luncheons, television shows and other occasions on behalf of Washington's pro football club.—AP Photo.

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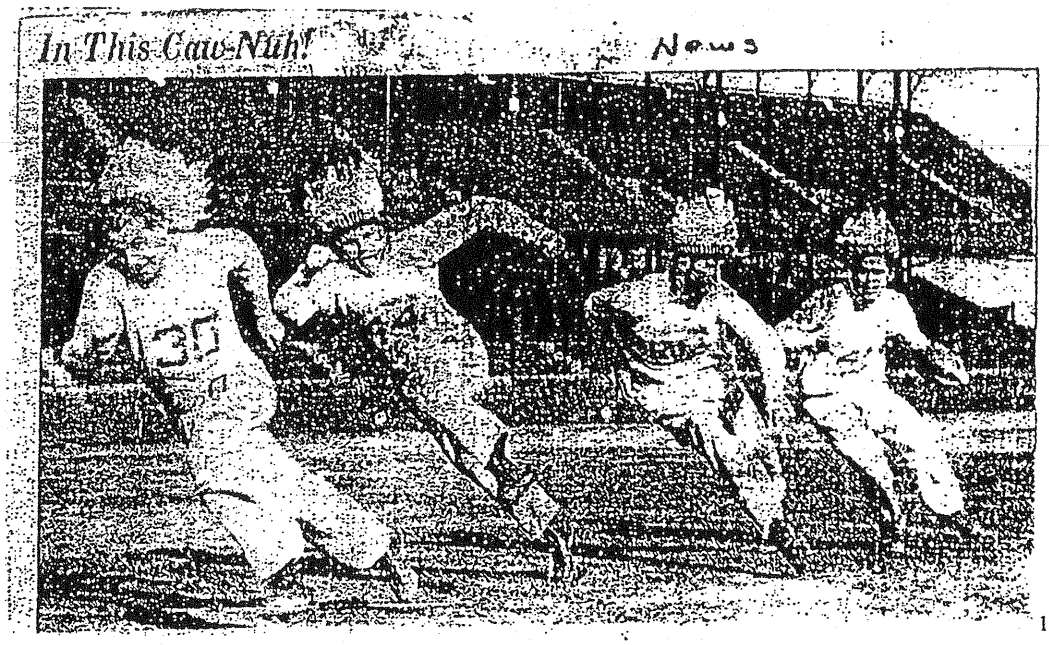
[17] *Joan Adams*, WASH. EVENING STAR, Sept. 22, 1959. (AD-57).



Chief Fan

Chief Zee is the undisputed leader of the Washington Redskins cheering section. Garbed in American Indian attire and filled with Redskin zeal, Chief Zee visited Great Times last week, spreading his enthusiasm and shedding some light on on the 'Skins' biggest fan.

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[18] *Chief Fan*, GREAT TIMES, Aug. 25, 1983. (AD-58).



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Paul Mikellides, left, Doros Mylonas and Ylangos Mikellides, all of Washington, found plenty to cheer about Sunday in Minneapolis — and their team's 37-24 drubbing of the Buffalo Bills in the Super Bowl hadn't even begun.

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[19] *In this Caw-Nuh!*, WASH. DAILY NEWS. (AD-59).

[20] Photo of Redskins fans, 1992. (AD-60).

[21] Photo of Redskins fans, VIRGINIAN-PILOT, Jan. 27. 1992. (AD-61).



The Indian Girl cheers on the Redskins during their opening game. 22

In these pictures, fans wear the traditional Native American feathered bonnet, which "has a special significance to American Indians – much like the crucifix to Catholics . . . People wouldn't condone that kind of behavior if it was a crucifix being waved around."[23] Other symbols co-opted by Pro-Football and its fans also have religious meanings. For example:

> Eagle feathers play an important role in the spirituality of Native Americans. Faces are painted in a sacred way. The pipes known to the white man as "peace pipes" are known to most Indians who use them as part of their spirituality as sacred pipes.[24]

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[22] Photo of Redskins fan, METROPOLITAN TIMES, Sept. 5, 1994. (AD-62).

[23] AMY BROOKE BAKER, *Redskins won? Not if this group has anything to say about it!*, CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, Feb. 5, 1998. (AD-63).

[24] TIM GIAGO, *Sham rituals mock religion*, USA TODAY. Oct. 23, 1991, at 6C (AD-64); see also TEAM SPIRITS 7 (C. Richard King & Charles Fruehling Springwood eds., 2001) (AD-65 to 67).

Although they may be doing so inadvertently, many Redskins fans are making a mockery out of Native American religion.

C. The Native American Community Has Long Attempted To Eradicate The Use of Sports Names Such As "Redskins"

Attempts to convince Pro-Football to change the name of its team predate Petitioners' cancellation petition by more than two decades. As early as 1971, John Parker, a Choctaw working for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, argued that the team "should change the name." In an article in a local newspaper, he argued that:

> It [Redskins] lacks dignity, a haphazard slang word that refers to Indians in general but on a lower scale. It is the white people's way of making a mockery, like they used to do to the blacks in the South.[25]

In 1972, the Native American community officially contacted the Washington Redskins. Harold Gross, the Director of the Indian Legal Information Development Service, sent a letter to Edward Bennett Williams, then President of Pro-Football, explaining:

> Born at a time in our history when the national policy was to seize Indian land and resources, and hunt down Indian people who stood in the way, the term "Redskin" has been perpetuated through such media as western movies and television. Most often, the term is coupled with other

[25] TOM QUINN, *Redskins*, WASH. DAILY NEWS, Nov. 5, 1971. (AD-68).

> derogatory adjectives, as "dirty Redskin" or "pesky Redskin" which is used interchangeably with the word "savage" to portray a misleading and denigrating image of the Native American.[26]

He added that Native American sports imagery

> perpetuates stereotypes in which American Indians are seen as participating in scalp taking, war-whooping, and expressing themselves in ungrammatical grunts, ughs and other tontoisms.[27]

In 1972, Russell Means, a Sioux Indian, filed a $9 million libel suit against the Cleveland Indians; he announced that the New American Indian Movement was also considering a suit against the Washington Redskins.[28]

At about the same time, a consortium of Native American organizations, including the NCAI, issued five "Recommendations to the Washington, D.C. Professional Football Team." The Recommendations asked, *inter alia*, that "the derogatory racial epithet 'Redskins' be withdrawn."[29] Further amplifying the Native American position, the NIYC sent a separate letter to the Washington Redskins in 1972 and explained that "Redskin" is a racial slur.[30]

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[26] Letter of 1/18/72 from H.M. Gross to E.B. Williams, at 1. (AD-69).

[27] Id. at 2. (AD-70).

[28] *'Redskins' Target of Movement*, WASH. EVENING STAR, Jan. 19, 1972. (AD-72).

[29] LEON F. COOK, *et al.*, *Recommendations* . . . (AD-73).

[30] Letter of 3/29/72 from R. Aguilar to Washington Redskins. (AD-74).

In July 1972, Comanche Billy Kevin Gover wrote the team to explain why the term is "offensive . . . and shows little human interest or taste." Mr. Gover pointed out that teams named

> San Francisco Chinks, New York Jews, Dallas Wetbacks, Houston Greasers, and the Green Bay Crackers . . . would be very offensive to many people, just as Redskins is offensive to myself and others.[31]

Similarly, in 1988, Phil St. John, a Sioux Indian and founder of the Concerned American Indian Parents, sent the following poster, designed to highlight the racist nature of Native American mascots, to Jack Kent Cooke[32]:

HOW WOULD YOU LIKE IT?



Maybe now you know how Native Americans feel!
Concerned American Indian Parents [33]

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[31] Letter of 7/18/72 from B.K. Gover to E.B. Williams. (AD-75).

[32] TONY KENNEDY, *Nickname Crusade*, ASSOC. PRESS, Jan. 15, 1988. (AD-76).

The Redskins' participation in the Super Bowl in 1988 and 1992 led to additional high-publicity protests. During the 1988 championship game, Fans Against Indian Racism sponsored a banner flown above the Redskins' stadium demanding:

> MAKE WASHINGTON AMERICA'S TEAM.
> CHANGE THE NAME.[34]

On November 3, 1991, a group of Native Americans Indians staged a protest at RFK Stadium against the Redskins' team name.[35] The 1992 Super Bowl prompted four days of actions by approximately 3,000 Native Americans and their allies.[36] That year, the NCAI issued another statement against the Redskins:

> The National Congress of American Indians . . . finds the use of the name "Redskins" offensive and go on record opposing demeaning and degrading the honor and integrity of the first Americans – the Indian people.[37]

The Association on American Indian Affairs also issued a resolution in 1992 which provided that:

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[33] Poster by Concerned American Indian Parents. (AD-79).

[34] MARK GROSSMAN, *'Redskins' irks Indians; protests planned*, FAIRFAX JOURNAL, Jan. 21, 1988, at A1. (AD-80).

[35] ELMER SAVILLA, *Real Indians need to tackle mascot issue*, LAKOTA TIMES, Jan. 21, 1992, at A5. (AD-82).

[36] MARGARET COHEN, *Indian mascot protest starts*, RAPID CITY JOURNAL, Jan. 24, 1992. (AD-83 to 84); ERIC HAASE, *3,000 Rally Against Racist Mascots*, LAKOTA TIMES, Jan. 28, 1992, at B1. (AD-85 to 92).

[37] BUNTY ANQUOE, *'Redskins' new site on Interior land*, LAKOTA TIMES, Jan. 21, 1992. (AD-94).

> AAIA joins with those who object to the "Tomahawk Chop," and the use of the "Redskins" nickname . . . . an outright pejorative of the type that no other ethnic or racial group would be subjected to in 1992.[38]

Likewise, NIEA sent a letter to the City Council explaining that the insult of the Redskins went beyond the name itself, but also to "fans in the stadium . . . acting out the worst possible Indian stereotypes."[39]

The NCAI issued a statement in January 1993, when it adopted a "Resolution in Support of the Petition for Cancellation of the Registered Services Marks of the Washington Redskins AKA Pro-Football Inc." In this resolution, NCAI explained that:

> [T]he term REDSKINS is not and has never been one of honor or respect, but instead, it has always been and continues to be a pejorative, derogatory, denigrating, offensive, scandalous, contemptuous, disreputable, disparaging and racist designation . . . and continues to be . . . damaging to Native Americans.[40]

In June 1993, the NCAI adopted another resolution condemning "the racist and condescending attitude of team owners, colleges and high schools, which continue to demean the members of our Nations."[41]

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[38] AVIS LITTLE EAGLE, *Mass protest planned for 'Redskins' game*, LAKOTA TIMES, Sept. 1992. (AD-96).

[39] BUNTY ANQUOE, *D.C. Council to consider 'Redskins' protest*, LAKOTA TIMES, Mar. 4, 1992, at 1. (AD-97).

[40] NCAI RESOLUTION EX DC-93-11 (Jan. 18-19, 1993). (AD-98 to 99).

[41] NCAI RESOLUTION MID-GB-93-58, *at* http://www.aics.org/NCRSM/id39_m.htm (last visited June 22, 2004). (AD-100).

In September 1997, the Alliance Against Racial Mascots ("ALLARM") – established in 1996 to abolish racial mascots, logos and team names in the Los Angeles Unified School District – succeeded in convincing the school district to eliminate "Indian" mascots in all district schools.[42] That same year, the NCAI reaffirmed its support for Petitioners' TTAB cancellation petition.[43]

Today, the California legislature is on the verge of approving a bill sponsored by ALLARM to eliminate "Redskins" from all California schools for athletic names, mascots, and nicknames. The Bill recognizes the "derogatory and discriminatory nature of such names and mascots, and the barrier that they create to equality and understanding." On June 9, 2004, the Bill was passed 7-1 by the Senate Education Committee.[44]

In light of this history of public protest, Pro-Football's argument that, prior to the cancellation petition, it was unaware of the possibility of a challenge to its mark is totally disingenuous.

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[42] ALLARM HOMEPAGE, *at* http://www.allarm.org/mission.html (last visited July 18, 2004). (AD-101).

[43] AMERICAN INDIANS AND SPORTS TEAM MASCOTS: A TIMELINE OF CHANGE, *at* http://www.ncai.org/main/pages/issues/other_issues/documents/mastimeline.htm (last visited July 19, 2004). (AD-105).

[44] AB 858 ASSEMBLY BILL – BILL ANALYSIS, THIRD READING, *at* http://info.sen.ca.gov/pub/bill/asm/ab_0851-0900/ab_858_cfa_20040630_102527_sen_floor.html (last visited July 18, 2004). (AD-108 to 112).

D. Scores Of Universities, High Schools, And Elementary Schools Have Discontinued The Use Of Native American Mascots

In 1968, the NCAI began a campaign to address the issue of Native American stereotypes in print and other media.[45] Since then, numerous schools and universities have changed their Native American sports team mascots:

- 1969: Dartmouth College changed the school's "Indians" nickname to "Big Green."[46]
- 1970: The University of Oklahoma retired its Indian-themed "Little Red" mascot.[47]
- 1972: Stanford University changed its Indian mascot to the Cardinals.[48]
- 1978: Syracuse University eliminated its Indian-themed "Saltine Warrior" mascot.[49]
- 1995: St. John's University changed its mascot from the "Redmen" to the "Red Storm."[50]

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[45] A TIMELINE OF CHANGE, supra. (AD-103).

[46] Id.

[47] OU VISITOR CENTER, *at* http://www.ou.edu/visitorcenter/vc_past.htm (last visited July 28, 2004). (AD-120 to 121).

[48] STANFORD FACTS 2004, *at* http://www.stanford.edu/home/stanford/facts/athletics.html (last visited July 19, 2004) (AD-115); STANFORD UNIV. NEWS SERVICE, Dec. 8, 1979 Release. (AD-116).

[49] SU MASCOTS, *at* http://www.syr.edu/aboutsu/memorabilia/mascot.html (last visited July 19, 2004). (AD-117 to 119).

[50] A TIMELINE OF CHANGE, supra. (AD-105); RICK TELANDER, *Time's right for Illiniwek to dance off into sunset*, CHICAGO SUN-TIMES, Oct. 20, 2000. (AD-123).

In all, more than 150 schools at all levels have chosen to rename their sports teams to remove references to Native Americans.[51] Many have specifically discontinued the use of "Redskins" as a name and/or mascot:

- Central High School, Grand Forks, North Dakota (1991)[52]
- Naperville Central High School, Ilinois (1992)[53]
- Arvada High School, Colorado (1993)[54]
- Miami University of Ohio (1994)[55]
- Southern Nazarene University, Oklahoma (1998)[56]
- Scarborough High School, Portland, Maine (2001)[57]
- Hiawatha High School, Kansas (2002)[58]
- Marshall High School, Michigan (2002)[59]

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[51] AMERICAN INDIAN SPORTS TEAM MASCOTS homepage, *at* http://aistm.org/trailblazers.htm (last visited July 17, 2004) (collecting list of approximately 150 institutions that have changed team names). (AD-127 to 136).

[52] *Journalist unprepared for reservation visit*, THE FORUM, Nov. 20, 1991, at A5. (AD-137).

[53] ERIC ZORN, *In pros or preps, 'Redskins' a slur*, CHICAGO TRIBUNE, May 21, 1992. (AD-138).

[54] A TIMELINE OF CHANGE, supra. (AD-105).

[55] JENNIFER E. MARKIEWICZ, *'Redskins' banned by University Senate*, MIAMI STUDENT, Apr. 13, 1993, at 1 (AD-139); A TIMELINE OF CHANGE, supra. (AD-105).

[56] A TIMELINE OF CHANGE, supra. (AD-106).

[57] GREGORY KESICH, *Sports teams down to wire on nickname. . .*, PORTLAND PRESS HERALD, Jan. 20, 2001, at 1B. (AD-140).

[58] COURTLAND MILLOY, *Redskins' Name as Unbearable as Their Record*, WASH. POST, Dec. 2, 2002, at B1. (AD-144).

[59] CHRIS SPRINGSTEEN, *Marshall opts out of nickname: Civil rights case settlement approved*, BATTLE CREEK ENQUIRER, Sept. 24, 2002. (AD-146).

- Tulare Union High School, California (2004).[60]

E. Surveys Have Shown That A Substantial Composite of Native Americans Find "Redskins" Offensive

In a 2002 survey conducted by Sports Illustrated magazine, respondents were asked "whether the use of Native American team names and mascots contributes to discrimination against Indians." On the specific question of whether Pro-Football should change its name, 29% of the Native Americans responded in the affirmative.[61] This number is only slightly lower than the results of the Ross survey, which found that 36.6% of Native Americans find the word "redskins" offensive. Pro-Football, Inc. v. Harjo, 284 F. Supp. 2d 96, 110 (D.D.C. 2003).

In trademark infringement cases involving surveys of likelihood of confusion, response rates showing as low as 8.5% to 12% confusion are sufficient to require the defendant to change its mark. See Mutual of Omaha Ins. Co. v. Novak, 836 F.2d 397, 400-401 (8th Cir. 1987) (10-12%); Goya Foods, Inc. v. Condal Distribs., Inc., 732 F. Supp. 453, 456-57 (S.D.N.Y. 1990) (9%); Grotrian, Helfferich, Schulz, Th. Steinweg Nachf. v. Steinway & Sons, 365 F. Supp. 707, 716

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[60] JAKE HENSHAW, *'Redskins' votes goes against school*, VISALIA TIMES-DELTA, June 10, 2004. (AD-150).

[61] S. L. PRICE, *The Indian Wars*, SPORTS ILLUSTRATED, Mar. 4, 2002, at 69, 72 (AD-157 and AD-160). 40% of Native Americans living on reservations responded affirmatively. Id.

(S.D.N.Y. 1973), modified on other grounds, 523 F.2d 1331 (2d Cir. 1975) (8.5%); Jockey Int'l, Inc. v. Burkard, 185 U.S.P.Q. 201, 205 (S.D. Cal. 1975) (11.4%). Similarly, the TTAB has accepted response rates as low as 11% as evidence of confusion. See McDonough Power Equip., Inc. v. Weed Eater, Inc., 208 U.S.P.Q. 676, 684 (TTAB 1981).

If trademark law requires a defendant to change its mark because 10% of the relevant consumers are confused as to the origin of defendant's product, surely a defendant whose mark demeans 30% or more of all Native Americans should be required to choose a different mark.

II. NATIVE AMERICANS ARE HARMED BY THE CONTINUED USE OF DEMEANING NAMES SUCH AS "REDSKINS"

The District Court never addressed the psychological hardship that racist and demeaning mascots cause Native Americans. In 1999, the Society of Indian Psychologists issued a "Statement on American Indian Sports Mascots"; this statement encouraged schools that use Indian sports mascots to retire them because:

> Stereotypical and historically inaccurate images of Indians in general interfere with learning about them by creating, supporting and maintaining oversimplified and inaccurate views of indigenous people and their cultures. When stereotypical representations are taken as factual information, they contribute to the development of cultural biases and prejudices[].[62]

> Native American mascots dehumanize and mythologize real people.

As the Washington Post reported more than a decade ago:

> [T]he problem with the name "Redskins" for a sports team is that it perpetuates the crippling myth that Native Americans – their lands, their cultures, their sovereign powers, their very existence – are relics of the past . . . . Painted images on helmets or grass fields link Indians with our imaginations, [a]nd in our imaginations, their existence, their problems, and our complicity in them disappear.[63]

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[62] SOCIETY OF INDIAN PSYCHOLOGISTS, *Statement on American Indian Sports Mascots*, Jan. 27, 1999, *at* http://www.geocities.com/indianpsych/mascots.html (last visited July 8, 2004). (AD-247 to 249). See also AMERICAN COUNSELING ASSOC., *Resolution: Opposition to Use of Stereotypical Native American Images as Sports Symbols and Mascots, 2001*, *at* http://aistm.org/2001aca.htm (last visited July 17, 2004). (AD-246).

[63] EDWARD LAZARUS, *Redskins: What's in the Name*, WASH. POST, Jan. 14, 1992. (AD-161).

As Native American Richard MacPhie explains:

> The widespread indifference towards Native American concerns boils down to this: to many Americans, Indians are not real people. We're considered novelties and mascots for others. Many defend the names of their teams by instructing us that we are to feel honored because Indian names enshrine the virtues of brave and fearless warriors. Well, we don't want to be known as brave and fearless warriors. We want jobs so we can feed our kids. Any behavior that furthers murky stereotypes about our heritage hurts us in that pursuit.[64]

The harm caused by these symbols was further explained by Native American spokesperson Charlene Teters in a documentary broadcast nationally on PBS in 1997:

> These symbols do nothing to help us remember Indian people, but add another layer of misinformation. We have to continue to peel away all these layers of misinformation of who we are in order for people to see us for who we really are.[65]

Mr. MacPhie similarly points out that:

> We are in an ongoing struggle to find our place and to be accepted as a people who matter, worthy of respect from those around us, and worthy of self-pride. These priorities are shoved aside by teams with stereotype mascots and by the unthinking behavior of their fans.[66]

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[64] RICHARD MACPHIE, *We Are Not Extras: A Native American Perspective on the Morality of Indian Mascots*, COLORS (Jan./Feb. 1992), at 14. (AD-164).

[65] Videotape: IN WHOSE HONOR: AMERICAN INDIAN MASCOTS IN SPORTS (New Day Films 1997), at 18:58. (Physical Exhibit).

[66] MACPHIE, supra, at 14. (AD-164).

The correlation between demeaning names and mascots and psychological harm to Native American people is clear:

> Indians have the USA's highest rates of alcohol-related deaths and suicide. But these are related issues – suicide and alcoholism speak to the problem of poor self-image. And Indian self-esteem is precisely what's at stake when a white guy in war paint prances at football games.[67]

As one observer wrote in the WASHINGTON POST 16 years ago:

> It hardly enhances the self-esteem of an Indian youth to always see his people – himself – represented as a cartoon character. And, as always, the caricature is suggestive of battle, of violence – of the Indian warrior, the brave, the chief, the warpath, the beating of tom-toms.[68]

The U.S. Civil Rights Commission has recognized the pernicious effect of Indian names and mascots. In 2001, the Commission called for an end to the use of Native American images and team names by non-Native schools. As the Commission explained:

> These references, whether mascots and their performances, logos, or names, are disrespectful and offensive to American Indians and others who are offended by such stereotyping. They are particularly inappropriate and insensitive in light of the long history of forced assimilation that American Indian people have endured in this country.

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[67] ERIK BRADY, *Indians: A people, not a nickname*, USA TODAY, Aug. 15, 1988, at 1C. (AD-167 and AD-170).

[68] RICHARD COHEN, *Redskin Reservations*, WASH. POST, Apr. 17, 1988. (AD-171).

> These Indian-based symbols and team names are not accurate representations of Native Americans. Even those that purport to be positive are romantic stereotypes that give a distorted view of the past. These false portrayals prevent non-Native Americans from understanding the true historical and cultural experiences of American Indians. Sadly, they also encourage biases and prejudices that have a negative effect on contemporary Indian people. These references may encourage interest in mythical "Indians" created by the dominant culture, but they block genuine understanding of contemporary Native people as fellow Americans.[69]

In Brown v. Bd. of Educ. of Topeka, 347 U.S. 483, 494-95, n.11 (1954), the United States Supreme Court recognized that racial discrimination can cause lasting psychological damage. In this case, cancellation of the REDSKINS mark would repair some of the harm already inflicted on Native American self-esteem by decades of exposure to demeaning names and mascots. As Tim Giago has thoughtfully explained:

> How does one measure self-respect and self-esteem? When Rosa Parks refused to move to the back of the bus, did it help the black economy or solve all of their problems? No. But it gave blacks a small victory in restoring self-respect and self-esteem. Simply put, Indians are human beings, not mascots.[70]

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[69] STATEMENT OF U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS ON THE USE OF NATIVE AMERICAN IMAGES AND NICKNAMES AS SPORTS SYMBOLS (2001), *at* http://www.usccr.gov/press/archives/2001/04160/st.htm (last visited July 25, 2004). (AD-172).

[70] TIM GIAGO, *American Indians Aren't Mascots; Drop nicknames,* THE SALT LAKE TRIBUNE, Mar. 29, 1994, at A11. (AD-174).

III. THE NATIVE AMERICAN COMMUNITY SHOULD NOT BE PENALIZED FOR NOT HAVING TAKEN LEGAL ACTION AGAINST THE "REDSKINS" TRADEMARKS UNTIL THIS LAWSUIT

In applying laches in support of Pro-Football, the District Court noted that in 1967, the year it registered the first REDSKINS mark, "the NFL was still a nascent industry." Pro-Football, 284 F. Supp. 2d at 143. What the District Court failed to recognize was that, in 1967, the Native American political and civil rights movements were also in their nascent stages.

The 1960s and 1970s were a period of great political turmoil for Native Americans. In the 1950s, the federal government sought to terminate Native Americans' special legal status, dismantle their reservations and tribal governments, and assimilate them into the rest of society by transferring federal responsibility and jurisdiction to state governments and relocating Native Americans from reservations to urban areas. From 1954 to 1962, statutes authorized the termination of 109 Native American tribes, bands, or rancherias. About 12,000 Native Americans lost their tribal affiliations, and 2.5 million acres of Native American land lost protected status during that time.[71]

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[71] JACK UTTER, AMERICAN INDIANS – ANSWERS TO TODAY'S QUESTIONS 399 (2d ed. 2001). (AD-177 to 178).

Termination did not live up to its promise of reducing federal expenditures. Instead, it left Native Americans confused and without local services. In most cases, termination led to poverty, unemployment, land losses, and great resentment in the Native American community. By 1969, one in three Native American families was living below the poverty threshold; of Native American families living on reservations, 57 percent lived in poverty.[72] Despite the fact that termination lasted only until 1988, it induced fear in Native America and threatened its very well-being.[73]

In 1961, Native American activists expressed their distress in a "Declaration of Indian Purpose", a statement of concerns and recommendations presented to President Kennedy.[74] The Declaration outlined the major concerns of Native Americans, including economic development, physical health, welfare assistance, housing, education, and return of Indian lands.[75]

In 1969, the Alcatraz-Red Power Movement engaged in a series of protests against the great political, cultural, and economic disadvantages that Native Americans continued to encounter. Native Americans from different tribes united

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[72] RONALD L. TROSPER, *American Indian Poverty on Reservations*, in CHANGING NUMBERS, CHANGING NEEDS: AMERICAN INDIAN DEMOGRAPHY AND PUBLIC HEALTH 172-78 (Gary D. Sandefur et al. eds., 1996) (AD-182).

[73] THOMAS W. COWGER, THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICAN INDIANS – THE FOUNDING YEARS 123-24 (1999). (AD-191 to 192).

[74] Id. at 139-40. (AD-193 to 194).

[75] DECLARATION OF INDIAN PURPOSE (1961). (AD-195).

in the movement and advocated a common national agenda of self-determination.[76] The 1960s and 1970s also saw massive protests for the assertion of rights over ancestral lands and treaty-based fishing rights; these events were often accompanied by arrests and violence.[77] As evidenced by the number of protests that Native Americans staged in the 1960s and 1970s, Native Americans faced an almost insurmountable number of problems during that period. As such, 1967 was an impractical, if not impossible, time for the Native American community to direct its attention to cancellation of a single football team's trademark.

It is perplexing that the District Court rested its decision so heavily on the doctrine of laches. In everyday trademark cases, where the only public policy issue at stake is consumer confusion, the courts have generally held that laches only bars damages or an accounting of profits; laches generally does not bar injunctive relief against ongoing infringement. Kellogg Co. v. Exxon Corp., 209 F.3d 562, 568 (6th Cir. 2000) (laches precludes recovery of damages but not injunctive relief); Sara Lee Corp. v. Kayser-Roth Corp., 81 F.3d 455, 461 (4th Cir. 1996) (laches is "sparingly applied where . . . plaintiff seeks only equitable relief"); Univ. of Pittsburgh v. Champion Prods., Inc., 686 F.2d 1040, 1043-45 (3d Cir. 1982) (university's 45-year delay in bringing suit did not bar injunctive relief); James

[76] AMERICAN INDIAN ACTIVISM: ALCATRAZ TO THE LONGEST WALK 9-10 (Troy Johnson, *et al.*, eds., 1997). (AD-252 to 253).

[77] Id. at 17-18. (AD-254 to 255).

Burrough Ltd. v. Sign of Beefeater, Inc., 572 F.2d 574, 578 (7th Cir. 1978) (laches will not necessarily prevent plaintiff from obtaining injunction and/or damages for period after filing of suit).

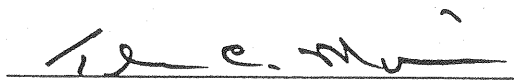
In sum, in the commercial realm, when the only policy interest at stake is consumer confusion, courts frequently enjoin the use of infringing marks despite several years' delay in filing suit. There is no basis for applying a more rigorous standard of laches to cases in the social/political realm, where the policy interests at stake are disparagement and offensiveness of a mark to an entire ethnic group.[78]

[78] Cf., Neighbors of Cuddy Mtn. v. U.S. Forest Serv., 137 F.3d 1372, 1381-82 (9th Cir. 1998) (concluding that laches is no bar to environmental litigation brought in the public interest to protect old-growth forests).

CONCLUSION

The Court should reverse the lower court and uphold the TTAB's decision. To do otherwise would give the imprimatur of federal approval to Pro-Football's use of a racist and defamatory mark.

Respectfully submitted,



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CERTIFICATE OF COMPLIANCE

1. This brief complies with the type-volume limitation of Fed. R. App. P. 32(a)(7)(B) because this brief contains 4262 words*, excluding the parts of the brief exempted by Fed. R. App. P. 32(a)(7)(B)(iii).

2. This brief complies with the typeface requirements of Fed. R. App. P. 32(a)(5) and the type styles requirements of Fed. R. App. P. 32(a)(6) because this brief has been prepared in a proportionally spaced typeface using 14-point Times New Roman font.

Dated: August 11, 2004

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* Pursuant to the Court's Order of April 7, 2004, the amici curiae Native Organizations and Interfaith Conference of Metropolitan Washington have agreed to file separate briefs and share the 7,000 word limit.

ADDENDUM

INDEX OF ADDENDUM TO BRIEF

PAGE

Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary of the English Language (2d ed. 1977)..... AD-1

Larry Lipman, *Are tomahawks, war chant racist?*, Cox News Service, Oct. 9, 1991 ..... AD-3

Britannica Concise Encyclopedia, *at* http://www.britannica.com/ebc/article?eu =403190..... AD-4

Mascots – Redskins Origin of the Term, *at* http://www.aics.org/mascot/redskins.html AD-5

George A. Bray III, Scalping During the French and Indian War, *at* http://earlyamerica.com/ review/1998.scalping.html AD-7

John Francis Sprague, *A Proclamation – Indians*, 7 Sprague's Journal of Maine History (May June July 1919)..... AD-14

Jack Walsh, *Redskins Finally Win One, 26-14*, Wash. Post, Oct. 10, 1960 ..... AD-19

Tom Yorke, *Colts Are Scalping Redskins at the Gate*, Wash. Daily News, May 23, 1961. (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 11.047)..... AD-22

Redskins Scalped, Wash. Post, Aug. 17, 1965 ..... AD-23

Skins Scalp Giants, 23-7, Daily News (N.Y.), Nov. 8, 1965. (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 11.054)..... AD-24

Dave Brady, *Redskins Scalp 49ers, Plan Cowboy Ambush*, Pro-Football Weekly, Nov. 23, 1967. (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 11.057)..... AD-25

Redskins Scalp Army Gridders. (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 11.005)..... AD-26

PAGE

'Skins Scalp Yanks, 17 to 14. (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 11.007)..... AD-27

Hugo G. Autz, *College Stars Give Redskins Scalping, 27-7.*
(TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 11.008)..... AD-28

John E. McNab, *'Skins After Dummy's Scalp in Next Session.*
(TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 11.009)..... AD-29

Dave Slattery, *GP's Set to Scalp if His Redskins Don't.*
(TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 11.011)..... AD-30

Tom Friend, *Another Scalp for Redskins*, Wash. Post,
May 17, 1988..... AD-31

Mick Luckhurst, *American Football: Scalping Fear for*
Redskins, Sunday Telegraph (London), Nov. 3, 1991..... AD-33

Coach Scalped As Redskins Wield Axe, Newcastle Herald,
Dec. 6, 2000..... AD-35

Letter of 10/8/93 from Otoe-Missouria Tribe to J.K. Cooke..... AD-37

Letter of 10/8/93 from S. Metz to J.K. Cooke..... AD-38

Letter of 11/93 from R. Cullen to J.K. Cooke..... AD-39

Linda M. Waggoner, *The Legacy of Coach Lone Star Dietz*
and the Washington Redskins..... AD-40

Don Boxmeyer, *Humboldt Urged to Leave Indians in Peace*,
St. Paul-Pioneer Press Dispatch, Nov. 29, 1987..... AD-51

Cover page from 9/29/57 game program (Steelers v. Redskins)..... AD-52

Cover page from "The Redskin" game program (Redskins v. Steelers).
(TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 15.015)..... AD-53

PAGE

Cover page from "The Redskin" 15th Year game program (Redskins v. Eagles). (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 15.008) AD-54

Cartoon: Fort-Worth Star Telegram, Nov. 21, 1979. (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 16.023) AD-55

Photo: *Heap, Heap Hooray! for Redskins*, Assoc. Press. (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 12.006) AD-56

Photo: *Joan Adams*, Wash. Evening Star, Sept. 22, 1959. (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 12.026) AD-57

Photo: *Chief Fan*, Great Times, Aug. 25, 1983. (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 13.005) AD-58

Photo: *In This Caw-Nuh!*, Wash. Daily News. (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 12.008) AD-59

Photo: *Champions bar . . .*, 1992. (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 13.014) AD-60

Photo: *Paul Mikellides, et al.*, Virginian-Pilot, Jan. 27, 1992. (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 13.015) AD-61

Photo: *The Indian Girl Cheers on the Redskins . . .*, Metropolitan Times, Sept. 5, 1994. (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 13.017) AD-62

Amy Brooke Baker, *Redskins Won? Not if This Group has Anything to Say About It!*, Christian Science Monitor, Feb. 5, 1998 ..... AD-63

Tim Giago, *Sham Rituals Mock Religion*, USA Today, Oct. 23, 1991. (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 20.041) AD-64

Team Spirits (C. Richard King & Charles Fruehling Springwood eds., 2001) AD-65

Tom Quinn, *Redskins*, Wash. Daily News, Nov. 5, 1971. (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 18.001) AD-68

PAGE

Letter of 1/18/72 from H.M. Gross to E.B. Williams. (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 32.007) AD-69

'Redskins' Target of Movement, Wash. Evening Star, Jan. 19, 1972. (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 32.008) AD-72

Leon F. Cook, *et al.*, *Recommendations to the Washington, D.C. Professional Football Team.* (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 32.005) AD-73

Letter of 3/29/72 from R. Aguilar to Washington Redskins. (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 32.011) AD-74

Letter of 7/18/72 from B.K. Gover to E.B. Williams. (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 32.002) AD-75

Tony Kennedy, *Nickname Crusade*, Assoc. Press, Jan. 15, 1988 ..... AD-76

Poster: *How Would You Like It?*, Concerned American Indian Parents. (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 20.007) AD-79

Mark Grossman, *'Redskins' Irks Indians; Protests Planned*, Fairfax Journal, Jan. 21, 1988. (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 20.015) AD-80

Elmer Savilla, *Real Indians Need to Tackle Mascot Issue*, Lakota Times, Jan. 21, 1992. (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 20.055) AD-82

Margaret Cohen, *Indian Mascot Protest Starts*, Rapid City Journal, Jan. 24, 1992. (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 20.057) AD-83

Eric Haase, *3,000 Rally Against Racist Mascots*, Lakota Times, Jan. 28, 1992. (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 20.061) AD-85

Bunty Anquoe, *'Redskins' New Site on Interior Land*, Lakota Times, Jan. 21, 1992. (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 20.054) AD-93

Avis Little Eagle, *Mass Protest Planned for 'Redskins' Game*, Lakota Times, Sept. 1992. (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 20.078) AD-95

PAGE

Bunty Anquoe, *D.C. Council to Consider 'Redskins' Protest*, Lakota Times, Mar. 4, 1992. (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 20.068) AD-97

NCAI Resolution EX DC-93-11 (Jan. 18-19, 1993) AD-98

NCAI Resolution MID-GB-93-58 (1993), *at* http://www.aics.org/NCRSM/id39_m.htm AD-100

ALLARM Homepage, *at* http://www.allarm.org/mission.html AD-101

American Indians and Sports Team Mascots: A Timeline of Change, *at* http://www.ncai.org/main/pages/issues/other_issues/documents/mastimeline.htm AD-103

AB 858 Assembly Bill – Bill Analysis, Third Reading, *at* http://info.sen.ca.gov/pub/bill/asm/ab_0851-0900/ab_858_cfa_20040630_102527_sen_floor.html AD-108

Stanford Facts 2004, *at* http://www.stanford.edu/home/stanford/facts/athletics.html AD-114

Stanford Univ. News Service, Dec. 8, 1979 Release AD-116

SU Mascots, *at* http://www.syr.edu/aboutsu/memorabilia/mascot.html AD-117

Vistor Center, at http://www.ou.edu/visitorcenter/vc_past.html AD-120

Rick Telander, *Time's Right for Illiniwek to Dance Off into Sunset*, Chicago Sun-Times, Oct. 20, 2000 ..... AD-123

American Indian Sports Team Mascots, Trailblazers, *at* http://aistm.org/trailblazers.htm AD-127

Journalist Unprepared for Reservation Visit, The Forum, Nov. 20, 1991 ..... AD-137

PAGE

Eric Zorn, *In Pros or Preps, 'Redskins' a Slur*, Chicago Tribune, May 21, 1992 ..... AD-138

Jennifer E. Markiewicz, *'Redskins' Banned by University Senate*, Miami Student, Apr. 13, 1993 ..... AD-139

Gregory Kesich, *Sports teams down to wire on nickname. Scarborough residents may pick from five choices to end a process that has exasperated some students*, Portland Press Herald, Jan. 20, 2001 ..... AD-140

Courtland Milloy, *Redskins' Name as Unbearable as Their Record*, Wash. Post, Dec. 2, 2002 ..... AD-143

Chris Springsteen, *Marshall Opts Out of Nickname: Civil Rights Case Settlement Approved*, Battle Creek Enquirer, Sept. 24, 2002 ..... AD-146

Jake Henshaw, *'Redskins' Votes Goes Against School*, Visalia Times-Delta, June 10, 2004 ..... AD-150

S. L. Price, *The Indian Wars*, Sports Illustrated, Mar. 4, 2002 ..... AD-153

Edward Lazarus, *Redskins: What's in the Name*, Wash. Post, Jan. 14, 1992. (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 20.052) AD-161

Richard MacPhie, *We Are Not Extras: A Native American Perspective on the Morality of Indian Mascots*, Colors (Jan./Feb. 1992) AD-162

Erik Brady, *Indians: A People, Not a Nickname*, USA Today, Aug. 15, 1988 ..... AD-166

Richard Cohen, *Redskin Reservations*, Wash. Post, Apr. 17, 1988 (TTAB Petitioners' Ex. 20.023) AD-171

PAGE

Statement of U.S. Commission on Civil Rights on the use of Native American Images and Nicknames as Sports Symbols (2001), *at* http://www.usccr.gov/press/archives/2001/04160/st.htm AD-172

Tim Giago, *American Indians Aren't Mascots; Drop Nicknames,* Salt Lake Tribune, Mar. 29, 1994 ..... AD-174

Jack Utter, American Indians – Answers to Today's Questions (2d ed. 2001) AD-175

Ronald L. Trosper, *American Indian Poverty on Reservations,* 1969-1989, in Changing Numbers, Changing Needs: American Indian Demography and Public Health (Gary D. Sandefur et. al. eds. 1996) AD-182

Thomas W. Cowger, The National Congress of American Indians – The Founding Years (1999) AD-189

Declaration of Indian Purpose (1961) AD-195

American Counseling Association, *Resolution: Opposition to use of stereotypical Native American Images as sports symbols and mascots, 2001* AD-246

Society of Indian Psychologists, *Statement on American Indian Sports Mascots* (1999) AD-247

Alcatraz to the Longest Walk (Troy Johnson, et al. eds. 1997) AD-250

Videotape: In Whose Honor: American Indian Mascots in Sports, by Jay Rosenstein (New Day Films 1997) (Physical Exhibit)

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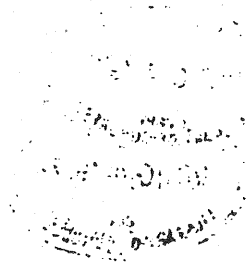
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ILLUSTRATED THROUGHOUT

COLLINS WORLD

1977



rē-di-rec'tion, *n.* a redirecting.

rē-dis-būrse', *v.t.* to repay or refund.

rē-dis'çount, *v.t.* in banking, to discount again; to subject to a second discount: said of commercial paper.

rē-dis'çount, *n.* 1. a rediscounting. 2. [*usually pl.*] rediscounted commercial paper.

rē-dis-seīze', *v.t.* to disseize again or anew.

rē-dis-seī'zin, *n.* in law, a disseizing or being disseized a second time.

rē-dis-seī'zŏr, *n.* a person who disseizes lands or tenements a second time, or after a recovery of the same from him in an action of novel disseizin.

rē-dis-trib'ūte, *v.t.* to distribute again; to deal back again.

rē-dis-tri-bū'tion, *n.* a dealing back, or a second distribution.

rē-dis'triçt, *v.t.* to divide into new districts, especially in order to reapportion electoral representatives; to make a new arrangement of the districts of.

rē-di'tion (-dish'un), *n.* return. [Obs.]

red-i-vī'vus, *a.* [L.] brought to life again; restored.

red'kneeș (-nēz), *n.* a plant, smartweed.

red lead (led), red oxide of lead, Pb_3O_4, derived from massicot, used in making paint, in glassmaking, etc.; minium.

red lead ŏre, a mineral, crocoite, a red chromate of lead: also called *red lead spar*.

red'legș, red'leg, *n.* 1. any of various birds; as, (a) the redshank; (b) the turnstone, *Strepsilas interpres*; (c) the red-legged partridge of Europe. 2. a plant, the bistort.

red'-let'tĕr, *a.* happy; memorable; as, a *red-letter* day.

red-letter day: a fortunate, happy, or auspicious day: so called because the holy days, or saints' days, were marked on the old calendars with red letters; a day of notable events or occurrences; a day to be remembered in a special manner.

red light (līt). 1. a danger signal. 2. a signal used to bring trains, automobiles, etc. to a stop; stop light.

red'-light' dis'triçt, a section of a town or city in which there are many houses of prostitution: so called because, formerly, it was customary to display a red light above the doors of such houses.

red'ly, *adv.* in a red manner; with a red color.

red mō-roç'çŏ, a plant, the pheasant's-eye.

red'mouth, *n.* a fish, the grunt.

red'nesa, *n.* the quality of being red; red color.

red'ō-lence, red'ō-len-cy, *n.* the quality or state of being redolent; sweet scent; fragrance.

red'ō-lent, *a.* [L. *redolens, redolentis*, ppr. of *redolere*, to emit a scent; *red-*, *re-*, and *olere*, to smell.] 1. sweet-smelling; fragrant. 2. smelling (*of*); as, *redolent of* flowers. 3. suggestive (*of*).

rē-dŏu'ble, *v.t.*; redoubled (-bld), *pt., pp.*; redoubling, *ppr.* [Fr. *redoubler*.] 1. to make twice as much or twice as great; to increase two-fold. 2. to repeat; to do or say again. 3. to echo or re-echo. 4. to refold; to double back. 5. in bridge, to double the doubled bid of (one's opponent).

rē-dŏu'ble, *v.i.* 1. to become twice as great or twice as much. 2. to re-echo; resound. 3. in bridge, to double a bid that an opponent has already doubled.

rē-dŏu'ble, *n.* in bridge, a redoubling.

rē-doubt' (-dout'), *v.t.* to regard with fear; to dread. [Rare.]

rē-doubt', *n.* [Fr. *redoute*; It. *ridotto*; ML. *reductus*, a refuge, orig. pp. of L. *reducere*.] 1. in military science, (a) a temporary outlying fortification or breastwork, used to secure hilltops, passes, or the flanks of entrenchments; (b) in permanent fortifications, a breastwork surrounded by a parapet and dominated by guns from the heavier fortifications behind it. 2. a stronghold.

rē-doubt'à-ble, *a.* [OFr. *redoutable*, from *redouter*, to fear or dread; L. *re-*, again, and *dubitare*, to doubt.] 1. formidable; that is to be dreaded; terrible; fearsome. 2. deserving of respect; as, a *redoubtable* opponent.

rē-doubt'à-bly, *adv.* in a redoubtable manner; so as to be redoubtable.

rē-doubt'ed, *a.* formidable; redoubtable. [Archaic.]

rē-doubt'ing, *n.* honor; reverence. [Obs.]

rē-dound', *v.i.*; redounded; *pt., pp.*; redounding, *ppr.* [Fr. *redonder*; L. *redundare*, to overflow; *red-*, *re-*, and *undare*, to surge, swell, from *unda*, a wave.] 1. to have a result or effect (to the credit or discredit, etc. of someone or something); as, this work will *redound* to his credit. 2. to come back; to react; to recoil (*upon*): said of honor or disgrace. 3. to flow back, as waves. [Obs.] 4. to be redundant; to overflow. [Obs.]

rē-dound', *n.* 1. a coming back by way of consequence; return; result; requital. 2. reverberation; rebound. [Rare.]

red'ŏur, *n.* violence. [Obs.]

rē-dout', *n.* a redoubt. [Obs.]

red'ŏw-ą, *n.* [Fr., from Bohem. *rejdowák*, a kind of dance, from *rejdowati*, to turn.] 1. either of two ballroom dances of the 19th century, one form of which resembles the polka, but is of a more lively nature, the other form resembling the waltz. 2. the music for either of these.

red'pōll, *n.* [*red* and *poll* (the head).] 1. any of a number of finches of the genus *Acanthis*, the males of which usually have a red patch on the head. 2. any of several other birds, as (a) the European linnet; (b) the redpoll warbler, *Dendroica palmarum*.

rē'draft (*or* rē-draft'), *n.* 1. a second or later draft or framing, as of a legislative bill. 2. a draft on the drawer or endorser of a protested bill of exchange, for the amount of the bill plus charges and costs.

rē-draft', *v.t.* to draft anew or again.

rē-drąw', *v.t.*; redrew, *pt.*; redrawn, *pp.*; redrawing, *ppr.* to draw again; to make a second draft or copy of.

rē-drąw', *v.i.* to draw a new bill of exchange, as the holder of a protested bill, on the drawer or endorsers.

rē-dress', *v.t.* to dress again: variously applied; as, to *re-dress* a wound; to *re-dress* a doll.

rē-dress', *v.t.*; redressed (-drest), *pt., pp.*; redressing, *ppr.* [Fr. *redresser*, to straighten.] 1. to correct and compensate for, as evils, abuses, afflictions, etc. 2. to correct; to remedy, as a fault. 3. to compensate; to make amends to. 4. to adjust; as, *redress* the balances. 5. to place upright; to erect. [Obs.]

rē-dress', *v.i.* to rise again to an erect position. [Obs.]

rē'dress (*or* rē-dres'), *n.* 1. compensation; satisfaction, as for a wrong done. 2. a redressing. 3. reformation; amendment. [Obs.] 4. one who or that which redresses. [Obs.]

Syn.—remedy, relief, amends, compensation, reparation.

rē-dress'ăl, *n.* redressment.

rē-dress'ĕr, rē-dres'sŏr, *n.* one who redresses.

rē-dress'i-ble, *a.* capable of being redressed, relieved, or indemnified.

rē-dress'ive, *a.* affording or giving relief; tending to redress. [Rare.]

rē-dress'less, *a.* without relief; incapable of being redressed; irremediable. [Rare.]

rē-dress'ment, *n.* the act of redressing; redress; redressal.

red rib'bŏn, same as *band fish*.

red'-rōan, *a.* red with a thick sprinkling of gray or white: said of horses.

red'rob'in, the wheat rust, *Puccinia graminis*.

red'rŏot, *n.* any of several plants, as (a) New Jersey tea, *Ceanothus americanus*; (b) stoneweed, *Lithospermum tinctorium*; (c) *Lachnanthes tinctoria*, a herbaceous plant of the bloodwort family having a red root, sword-shaped leaves, and orange-yellow flowers; (d) bloodroot.

red rust, a fungous disease appearing on the leaves and stem of growing grain.

red'sĕar, *v.t.* to break or crack when too hot, as iron under the hammer; to be red-short. [Obs.]

red'seed, *n.* small crustaceans, as copepods, etc., which float near the sea surface and are eaten by various fishes.

red'shank, *n.* 1. any bird of the snipe family belonging to the genus *Totanus*, so called from its red legs. *Totanus calidris* is about 11 inches long, lives in the British Isles all the year, but is known also as a summer bird of passage in the most northern parts of Europe and Asia, occurring in winter as far south as India. The spotted redshank, *Totanus fuscus*, visits Great Britain in spring and autumn on its migrations north and south.



SPOTTED REDSHANK (*Totanus fuscus*)

2. the fieldfare, *Turdus pilaris*. 3. a Highlander: so called in derision of his bare legs.

> A generation of Highland thieves and *redshanks*. —Milton.

red-shāre', *a.* red-short. [Obs.]

red'-shŏrt', *a.* brittle when red-hot: said of iron or steel with too much sulfur in it.

red-shŏrt'ness, *n.* the quality of being brittle when red-hot: said of certain kinds of iron.

red'sideș, *n.* a small cyprinoid American fish, *Notropis ardens*; the redfin.

red'skin, *n.* a North American Indian: so called from the reddish or coppery color of the skin.

Red Stăr, an international organization having for its objective the humane treatment of animals: it had its inception in Switzerland.

red'stărt, *n.* [*red* and *start* (from AS. *steort*), tail.] 1. a small, handsome, singing bird, *Ruticilla phœnicura*, belonging to the warbler family, *Sylviadæ*, nearly allied to the nightingale, but having a more slender form and bill, a reddish tail, and a peculiar darting flight. It is widely diffused over Europe, Asia, and the north of Africa. It is found in almost all parts of Great Britain as a summer bird of passage. It has a soft and sweet song, which is continued during the breeding season far into the night. The black redstart, *Ruticilla tithys*, is distinguished from the common redstart by being sooty-black on the breast and belly where the other is reddish-brown.



REDSTART (*Ruticilla phœnicura*)

2. an American fly-catching warbler, red, black, and white, a small bird of the family *Muscicapidæ*, or flycatchers, common in most parts of North America.

Also called *redtail, firetail, fireflirt*, and *brantail*.

blue-throated redstart; same as *bluethroat*.

red'strĕak, *n.* 1. a sort of apple so called from its red streaks. 2. cider pressed from redstreak apples.

red'tāil, *n.* 1. the red-tailed hawk or buzzard, *Buteo borealis*, of North America: also called *hen hawk*, and *red-tailed buzzard*. 2. same as *redstart*.

red'-tāiled', *a.* having a red tail, as various birds. *red-tailed hawk*; same as *redtail*, sense 1.

red'-tāpe", *a.* of, pertaining to, or characterized by red tape, or official routine, formality, delay, etc.; as, *red-tape* statesmen.

red tāpe, [after the tape commonly used to tie official paper.] 1. official forms and routines. 2. rigid application of regulations and routines, resulting in delays and exasperations in getting business done.

red'-tāped' (-tāpt'), *a.* pertaining to or affected by red tape.

red"-tāp'ĕr-y, *n.* same as *red-tapism*.

red"-tāp'işm, *n.* the system of red tape or excessive official routine; strict or punctilious adherence to official formalities.

red"-tāp'ist, *n.* 1. one employed in a public office who ties his papers with red tape; hence, a mere government clerk.

NL Championship

Are tomahawks, war chant racist?

Many Native Americans believe Indian nicknames, fan rituals are demeaning

By Larry Lipman
COX NEWS SERVICE

Washington — The Braves have won their division, the Seminoles are ranked No. 1 and the Redskins are undefeated. Only the Indians are in the cellar.

Teams with the names and images of Native Americans are dominating college and professional football and major league baseball. Their millions of fans and sellout crowds who apply "warpaint" to their faces and brandish foam-rubber tomahawks are ecstatic.



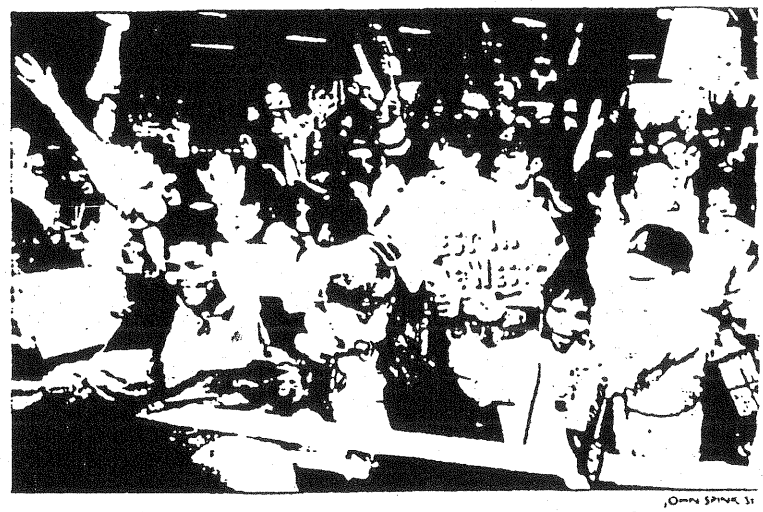
But some of the real Indians aren't too pleased.

"It's clearly offensive. Any understanding of Native American people as modern people is obstructed by these symbols," said Don Messec, coordinator of anti-defamation activities for the National Congress of American Indians.

Messec has been drafting a policy statement the congress is scheduled to consider at its December meeting "that says we believe these [Indian names and symbols] to be derogatory, demeaning and destructive to native culture, and we want them eradicated."

Most Americans today would be outraged by a team whose name or symbol evoked images of blacks eating watermelons — a common stereotype used earlier in this century — yet stereotypical depictions of Indians by college and professional sports teams are "not just tolerated, it's considered acceptable," Messec said.

Tim Giago, editor-in-chief and publisher of the Lakota (N.D.) Times, wrote in a recent editorial: "As far as I can determine, there is only one species of human beings . . . that have sports teams named after the color of their skin — the American Indian.



JOHN SPINK, St

Atlanta Braves fans jam Concourse B at Hartsfield Airport in a show of support as th NL West champions depart for Pittsburgh Tuesday afternoon.

Follow the Braves

Want to see the Atlanta Braves-Pittsburgh Pirates NL Playoff opener up close? Club America Vacations will transport 162 "toma-hawkers" Braves' fans to Pittsburgh for today's game. Trip includes roundtrip airfare and transportation to and from the game. Flight leaves Atlanta at 3 p.m., returns at 1 a.m. For reservations call Trips Unlimited (404) 872-8747

cause of the large Asian population there.

Controversy over Indian names for sports teams is not new. In 1972, Stanford University changed the name of its teams from the "Indians" to the "Cardinal." During the past two years, there have been protests at the University of Illinois, where the "Fighting Illini" mascot "Chief Illiniwek" dresses in full Indian regalia

scalping

Britannica Concise Article

Removal of all or part of the scalp, with hair attached, from an enemy's head.

It is best known as a practice of North American Indian warfare. At first confined to eastern tribes, it spread as a result of bounties offered by the French, English, Dutch, and Spanish for the scalps of enemy Indians and sometimes of enemy whites. Many American frontiersmen and soldiers adopted the custom. Among Plains Indians, scalps were taken for war honours, usually from dead enemies, although some warriors preferred a live victim. The operation was not necessarily fatal, and some victims were released alive.

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Back to top

http://www.aics.org/mascot/redskins.html

MASCOTS - Redskins origin of the term

The Term Redskin

Dear Editor; It was brought to my attention that some were asking if the term "redskin" was really offensive to Indians and that they would like to hear from us on this subject. Well, here you are...I am Blackfoot, Cherokee and Choctaw...and yes, the term is extremely offensive to me. Let me explain why. Back not so long ago, when there was a bounty on the heads of the Indian people...the trappers would bring in Indian scalps along with the other skins that they had managed to trap or shoot. These scalps brought varying prices as did the skins of the animals. The trappers would tell the trading post owner or whoever it was that he was dealing with, that he had 2 bearskins, a couple of beaver skins...and a few scalps. Well, the term "scalp" offended the good Christian women of the community and they asked that another term be found to describe these things. So, the trappers and hunters began using the term "redskin"...they would tell the owner that they had bearskin, deer skins....and "redskins." The term came from the bloody mess that one saw when looking at the scalp...thus the term "red"...skin because it was the "skin" of an "animal" just like the others that they had...so, it became "redskins". So, you see when we see or hear that term...we don't see a football team...we don't see a game being played...we don't see any "honor"...we see the bloody pieces of scalps that were hacked off of our men, women and even our children...we hear the screams as our people were killed...and "skinned" just like animals. So, yes, Mr./Ms. Editor...you can safely say that the term is considered extremely offensive.

In Struggle,
Tina Holder
Mesa, Az.

Proclamation issued in 1755

Given at the Council Chamber in Boston this third day of November 1755 in the twenty-ninth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Iceland, King Defender of the Faith.

By His Honour's command
J. Willard, Secry.
God Save the King

Whereas the tribe of Penobscot Indians have repeatedly in a perfidious manner acted contrary to their solemn submission unto his Majesty long since made and frequently renewed.

I have therefore, at the desire of the House of Representatives ... thought fit to issue this Proclamation and to declare the Penobscot Tribe of Indians to be enimies, rebels, and traitors to his Majesty. And I do hereby require his Majesty's subjects of the Province to embrace all opportunities of pursuing, captivating, killing, and destroy all and every one of the aforesaid Indians.

And wereas the General Court of this Province have voted that a bounty.... be granted and allowed to be paid out of the Province Treasury.... The premiums of bounty following viz:

For every scalp of a male Indian brought in as evidence of their being killed as aforesaid, forty pounds.

For every scalp of such female Indian or male Indian under the age of twelve years that shall be killed and brought in as evidence of their being killed as aforesaid, twenty pounds.

Please feel free to comment or ask questions about this issue. You can contact me at;
Mike@AICS.ORG

BACK

HOME

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Scalping During The French And Indian War

By George D. Bray III

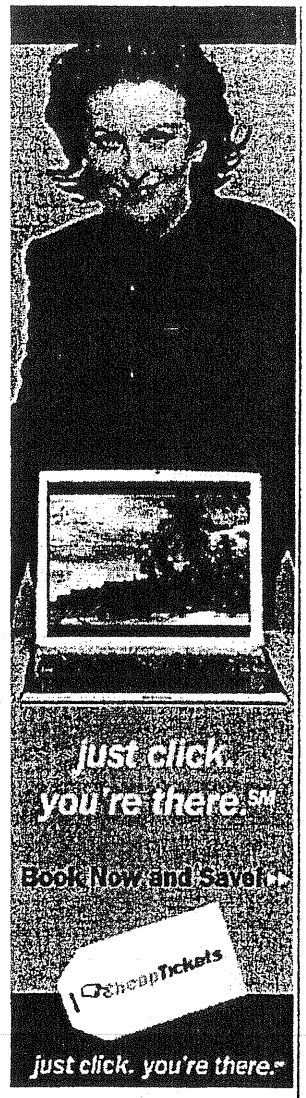
The French and Indian War (1754-1760) is replete with incidents of scalping by French, English and Native American combatants. Newspapers, diaries, journals, and other period sources all document these occurrences.



"The Death of Jane McCrea" by John Vanderlyn

Scalping, of course, predated the mid-eighteenth century. Historical records, archaeology, and other sciences strongly indicate the practice originated among certain Native American tribes.1 A French soldier, identified by the initials J. C. B., related in his memoirs that "this horrible custom was practiced by these savages alone, and sprang from their own barbarism, for it seems never to have existed in any other nation, not even among nations, who, like them, have never received any idea of civilized life."2

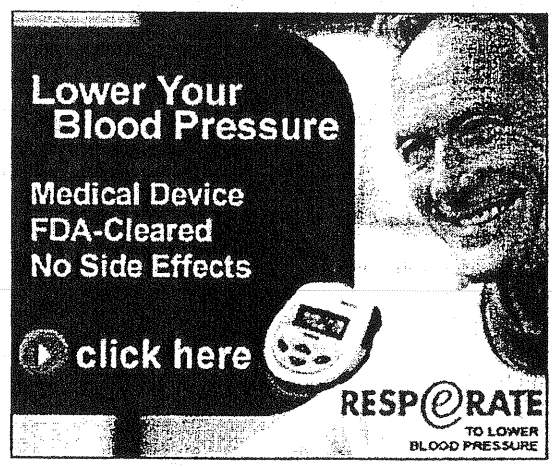
This soldier also described how the act was executed. "When a war party has captured one or more prisoners that cannot be taken away, it is the usual custom to kill them by breaking their heads with the blows of a tomahawk . . . When he has struck two or three blows, the savage quickly seizes his knife, and makes an incision around the hair from the upper part of the forehead to the back of the neck. Then he puts his foot on the shoulder of the victim, whom he has turned over face down, and pulls the hair off with both hands, from back to front . . . This hasty operation is no sooner finished than the savage fastens the scalp to his belt and goes on his way. This method is only used when the prisoner cannot follow his captor; or when the Indian is pursued . . . He quickly takes the scalp, gives the deathcry, and flees at top speed. Savages always announce their valor by a deathcry, when they have taken a scalp . . . When a savage has taken a scalp, and is not afraid he is be ing pursued, he stops and scrapes the skin to remove the blood and fibres on it. He makes a hoop of green wood, stretches the skin over it like a tambourine, and puts it in the sun to dry a little. The skin is painted red, and the hair on the outside combed. When prepared, the scalp is fastened to the end of a long stick, and carried on his shoulder in triumph to the village or place where he wants to put it. But as he nears each place on his way, he gives as many cries as he has scalps to announce his arrival and show his bravery. Sometimes as many as 15 scalps are fastened on the same stick. When there are too many for one stick, they



decorate several sticks with the scalps."3

An English captive, Thomas Gist (son of the famous Christopher Gist), wrote in his journal on September 14, 1758, that his captors "began to scrape the flesh and blood from the scalps, and dry them by the fire, after which they dressed them with feathers and painted them, then tied them on white, red, and black poles, which they made so by pealing the bark and then pain(t)ing them as it suited them."4 Captain John Knox, of the 43rd Regiment, mentioned in his journal finding "a scalp, which I suppose to have been a child's, with fine hair, en papillate; it was about the size of a large saucer stretched on a hoop, and the flesh-side painted" the following year.5

Another Frenchman, Captain Pierre Pouchot, of the Bearn Regiment, and commandant at Fort Niagara most of the war, recounted in his memoirs how the Native American would scalp his foe. "As soon as the man is felled, they run up to him, thrust their knee in between his shoulder blades, seize a tuft of hair in one hand &, with their knife in the other, cut around the skin of the head & pull the whole piece away. The whole thing is done very expeditiously. Then, brandishing the scalp, they utter a whoop which they call the 'death whoop'. . . If they are not under pressure & the victory has cost them lives, they behave in an extremely cruel manner towards those they kill or the dead bodies. They disembowel them & smear their blood all over themselves."6



An account of attack near Lake George, in 1759, illustrates Pouchot's observations. On July 2nd, "16 of the Jersey Blues were sent without the camp to gather a little brush for the General's Baker, but were not an hour gone before they were surprized in sight of the camp by a party of the enemy, consisting of about 240, who killed and scalped six, wounded two, took four prisoners, and only four of the whole party escaped. They shewed themselves plainly to the whole Army after they got the scalps, gave a hollow, and then made off to their Battoes, which were not more than two miles from the Head of the Lake. A large party was ordered out after them, but in vain. They butchered our people in a most shocking manner, by cutting pieces of flesh out of their necks, thighs and legs."7

While Europeans did not originate scalping, they did encourage its spread through the establishment of bounties. J. C. B. writes that "the French and English were accustomed to pay for the scalps, to the amount of thirty francs' worth of trade goods. Their purpose was then to encourage the savages to take as many scalps as they could, and to know the number of the foe who had fallen."8

The French paid virtually nothing for scalps, preferring to purchase prisoners that they would at times send back to their families or utilize for prisoner exchanges. Father Pierre Joseph Antonie Roubaud, missionary to the Abenaki at St. Francis, obtained a scalp from one of his warriors to redeem an infant from a Huron captor. The priest then reunited him with his parents.9

The English, however, passed acts through their colonial assemblies. Even before war was declared, on June 12, 1755, Massachusetts Governor William Shirley offered £40 for Indian male scalps and £20 for female scalps.10 The following year, on April 14, Pennsylvania Governor Robert Hunter Morris "declared war and proclaimed a general bounty for Indian enemy prisoners and for scalps." The bounties to be paid were £130 for a male scalp and £50 for a female scalp.11

J. C. B. also mentioned that "to increase the compensation received for scalps, they got the idea of making them of horsehide, which they prepared in the same way as human scalps. The discovery of this fraud was the reason they were more carefully inspected before a payment was made. Consequently, the French and English finished by giving only a trifling amount in the form of presents."12

The employment of bounties posed other problems as well. Edmund Atkins, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern Colonies, wrote a very revealing letter to Maryland Governor Horatio Sharpe from Winchester on June 30, 1757. In it he explains that "large publick Rewards for Scalps given by Provincial Laws to Indians, are attended with very pernicious Consequences to his Majesty's Service."13

Atkins substantiated his remarks by relating "two fresh Instances" that had come to his attention. The first involved a single Chicasaw (an ally to the English) "who was coming up this Way with the Cherokees, was killed by them when asleep; and a single Creek in their Company had like to have shared the same fate. As no Cause of Quarrel is pretended the Motive could only be in their Scalps. Those Cherokees carried the Chicasaw's Scalp with them out to War, towards Fort Du Quesne, & brought it back again; and it is now hanging exposed in publick . . . made into two Scalps, among the Scalps of their Enemies."

The second incident also involved the Cherokees who targeted a Meherrin Indian who they "fixed their Eyes on . . . and determined to kill him for his Scalp." Atkins was "obliged to take Measures to have him guarded safe home. Should he be killed, there would be another National Quarrel with the Tuskeroras."14 Such occurrences jeopardized the Native American alliances with the British Crown.

Another interesting aspect of this lucrative act was also introduced by Atkins; that of dividing single scalps. He also added "the Cherokees in particular have got the Art of making 4 Scalps out of one man killed. Here are now 20 Scalps hanging out to publick View, which are well known to have been made out of 5

Frenchmen killed."15 The French likewise were aware of this. Louis Antoine de Bougainville, aide-de-camp to the Marquis de Montcalm, recorded in his journal under the date of July 24, 1757, that "the English had eleven men killed and four wounded, two of whom since died of their wounds. The Indians, however, brought back thirty-two scalps; they know how to make two or even three out of one."16

Scalps were also used for decoration. Father Roubaud, remarked about the French allied Native Americans "engaged in counting the number of barbarous trophies - that is to say, the English scalps - with which the canoes were decorated" after the massacre of New Jersey soldiers on Lake George in July, 1757.17 It was at St. Francis, two years later, that Major Robert Rogers "found . . . hanging on poles over their doors, etc. about 600 scalps, mostly English."18

Scalps could also be used to replace the dead. Atkins explained that the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern Colonies, Sir William Johnson, gave no reward for scalps. "The Warriours fitted out by him to War, deliver to him at their Return all that they bring back; and he afterwards presents them to the Relations of such as lose their Lives in Battle."19 After being presented with four French scalps by a Stockbridge Mohegan in 1758, Johnson offered all of them to replace Indians who had been killed; one being for his friend, the Mohawk chief, King Hendrick killed at the battle of Lake George, September 8, 1755.20 Johnson also wrote in 1772 that the Native Americans considered scalping to be "a National Act and Declaration of War."21

Some military commanders apparently did not endorse scalping. Atkins said he was "well assured Lord Loudoun detests that practice, and that the French General Moncalm in Canada does the same."22 During his 1759 campaign against Quebec, General James Wolfe issued orders at Montmorency, July 27, prohibiting "the inhuman practice of scalping, except when the enemy are Indians, or Canad(ian)s. dressed like Indians."23 In contrast, however, after the capture of an "Indian who murdered John McMichael, a sutler, last January, betwixt Fort Stanwix and Harkiman's" was captured, he "was shot . . . by Order of the General (Amherst), and was afterward scalped."24

The final aspect of scalping that is of interest is that of the large number of persons who actually survived the experience. Many think, as Montcalm wrote in a letter, that it was "an operation from which you usually die, as is (only natural and) proper."25 However, this was not the always the case. Weyman's New York Gazette, for July 30, 1759, carried an article proclaiming that "as a proof that many persons have survived after being scalped, we can assure our readers, that four Highlanders are lately arrived from America, in order for admission into Chelsea Hospital, who had been scalped and left for dead."26 Sir William Johnson's brother, Warren, declared in his journal on April 12, 1761, that "there are many instances of both men and women recovering after being scalped." He also confirmed scalps were pulled "off from the back of the head."27

In closing, I will cite several examples of cases where individuals, both men and women, survived the ordeal. Each case is interesting and gives insight into the horrors faced by these unfortunates, as well as others who did not survive.

The New York Mercury reported that about June 8th, 1759, "two of our battoes were attacked on their way up the Mohawk's River, by a party of the enemy, . . . The same party a day or two after scalped a woman, and carried off a child and a servant that were in company, between Fort Johnson and Schenectady; the woman lived 'til she got into Schenectady, tho' in great agony."28

The same paper, the same year, carried the news that on June 22nd, "about 6 o'Clock, a party of French and Indians appeared at Conagohary, consisting of about 30; They attacked the house of one Peter Mardil, killed a girl, and carried off two men, two women, and two negroes, prisoners: They were immediately pursued by about 50 of the Militia, who came up with and attacked them 12 miles above Fort Hendrick, when the Indians immediately killed their white prisoners, but the negroes escaped: Our people beat off the Indians, and found one woman, and tho' scalped, is likely to recover."29 Here we note also the practice Atkins spoke of where when under pressure, the Native Americans would execute their prisoners.

A fascinating scalping incident occurred as the siege of the English forts at Oswego, NY, were about to commence. In May, 1756, French allied Indians skulked about the forts to inflict what casualties they could. Stephen Cross, a shipbuilder from Massachusetts, records on May 25th that "one of our soldiers came in from the edge of the woods, where it seems he had lain all night having been out on the evening party the day before and got drunk and could not get in, and not being missed, but on seeing him found he had lost his scalp, but he could not tell how nor when, having no others around. We supposed the Indians had stumbled over him in the dark, and supposed him dead, and taken off his scalp."30 Patrick Mackeller also mentioned the incident in his journal and added "he afterwards recover'd."31

One final remarkable account is found in the New Hampshire Gazette. It relates a scalping incident that occurred on August 8th, 1758, near Fort Anne, NY, involving Rogers' Rangers. The harrowing experience of Lieutenant Peter Wooster of Captain David Baldwin's Company of Colonel Nathan Whiting's Second Connecticut Regiment is reported as follows:

"Lieutenant Wooster of the Connecticut Forces, who was wounded in Rogers' skirmish, is yet alive and likely to recover, no pains being spared to effect it, as the surgeons are extremely fond of making a cure of so extraordinary a case, which is this, he being in the front with Major Putnam, or not far in his rear, the enemy fired upon him, 8 bullets lodged in him, 3 of which are taken out; he had also three wounds by a tomahawk, two of which were on his head, and the other in his elbow, his head was flayed, almost the hair part off. He was sensible all the while the enemy were scalping him, and finding him wounded in so many places he could

not run, and the enemy close upon him, he fell on his face and feigned himself dead, and no doubt but the enemy thought he actually was; however they gave him two blows on his head, but not so hard as to deprive him of his senses, and then scalped him, during all which time he made not the least resistance."32

Note: The author wishes to thank René Chartrand for his assistance in preparing this article.

[top]

ENDNOTES

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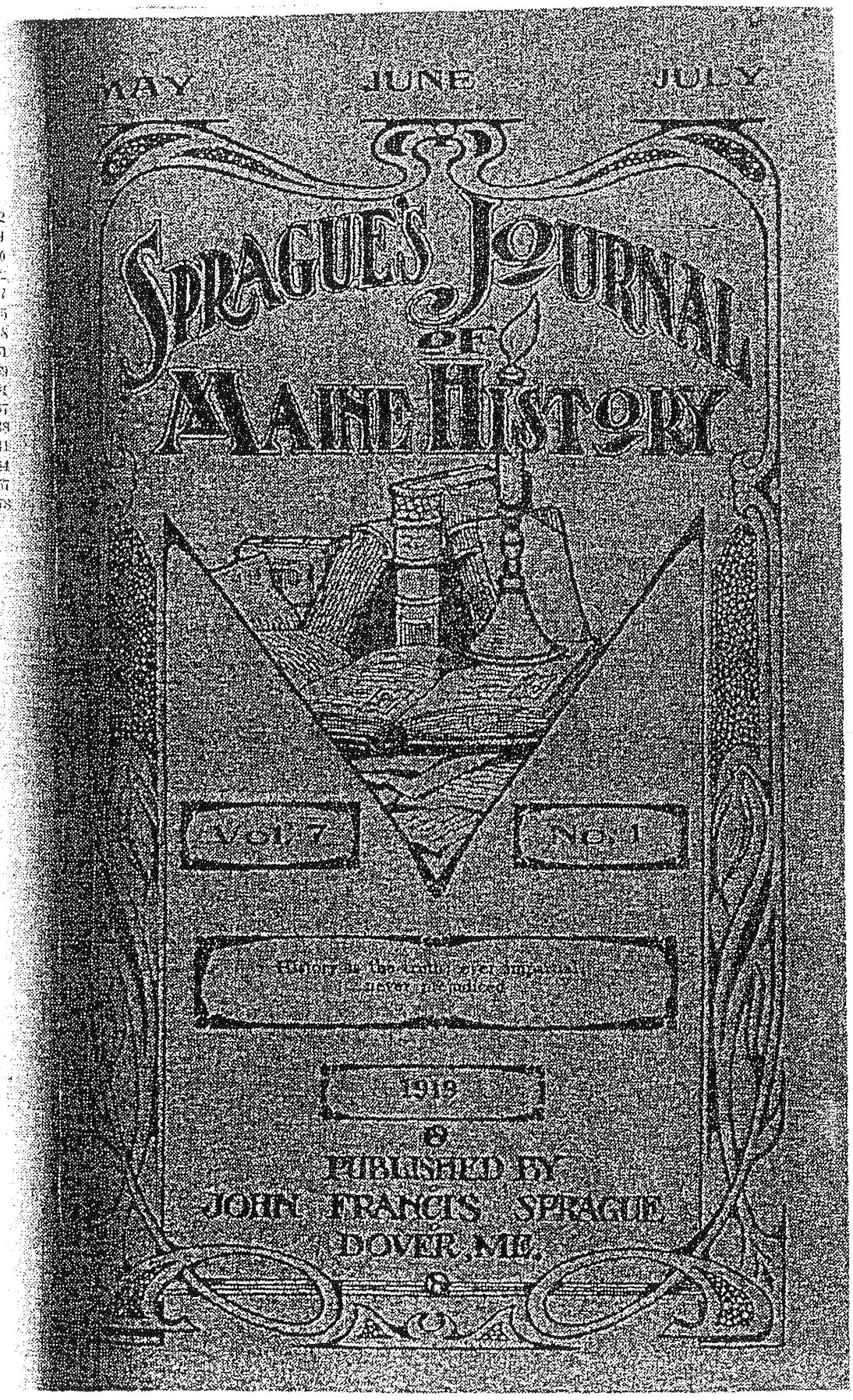
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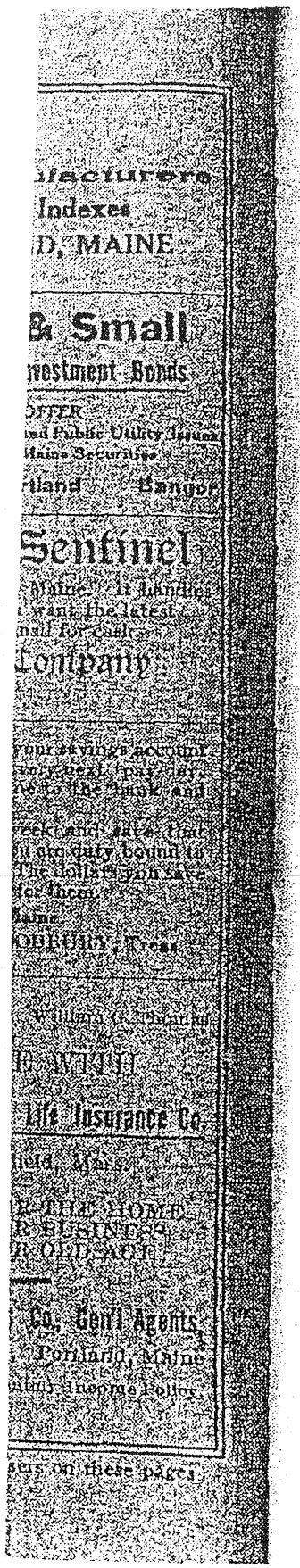
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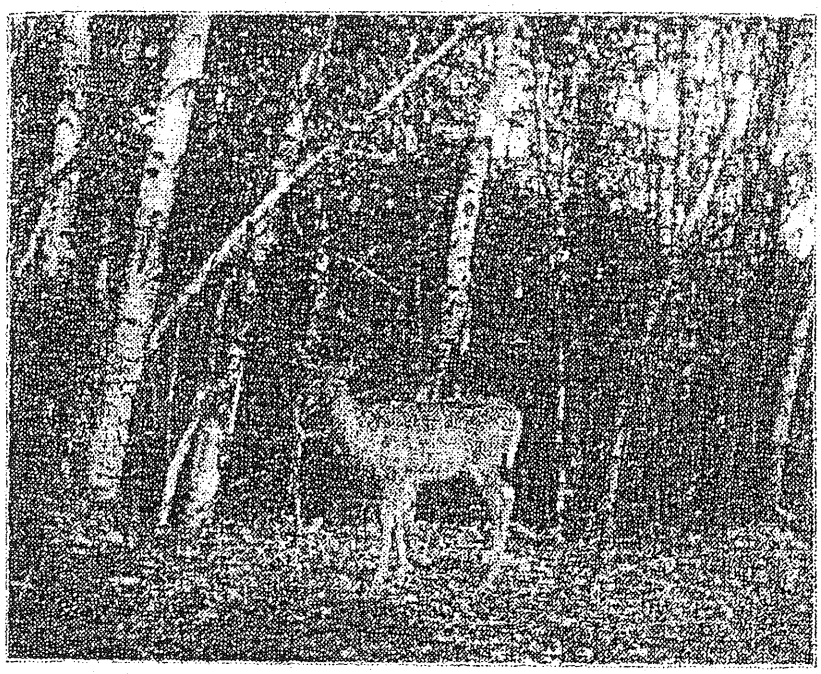
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CONTENTS

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
Sir William Phips	3
The Little Towns, poem	19
Documentary	20
Norway Notes	28
Colonel Arthur Noble	37
Gorham in the Days of the First School Teacher	40
Revolutionary Pensioners in Maine	35
Something About Artemus Ward	46
Berlin Voters in 1831	47
Queen Anne's Mouse	48
Massachusetts Governors	41
Foxcroft Academy Students in 1830	43
Proclamation regarding Penobscot Indians	47
Savings of Subscribers	48
Browsings in the Editor's Library	49
Notes and Fragments	52

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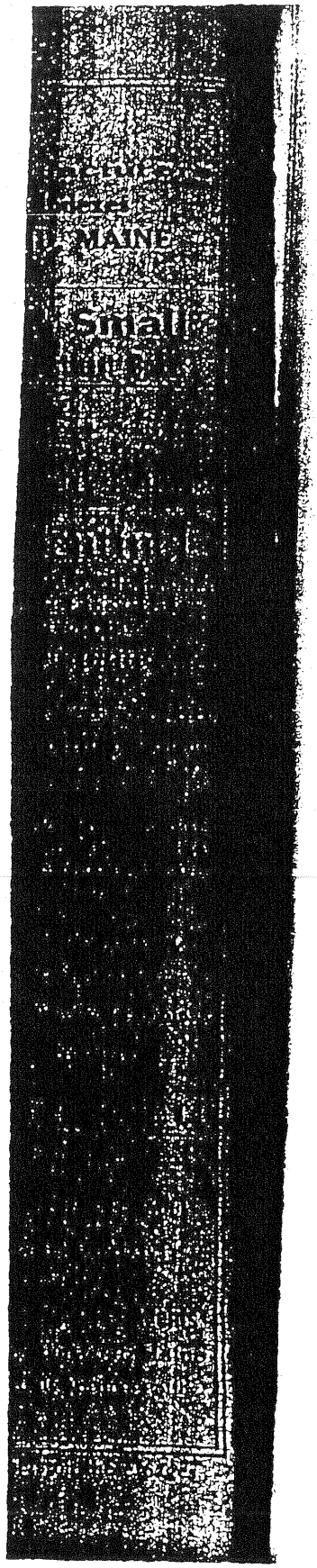
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CONTENTS 1

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
Sir William Phips	3
The Little Towns, poem	19
Documentary	20
Norway Notes	24
Colonel Arthur Noble	27
Gorham in the Days of the First School Teacher	29
Revolutionary Pensioners in Maine	35
Something About Artemus Ward	40
Berlin Voters in 1831	42
Queen Anne's Moose	42
Massachusetts Governors	44
Foxcroft Academy Students in 1840	45
Proclamation regarding Penobscot Indians	47
Sayings of Subscribers	48
Browsings in the Editor's Library	49
Notes and Fragments	55

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A PROCLAMATION

Whereas the Tribe of Penobscot Indians have repeatedly in a perfidious manner acted contrary to their Solemn Submission unto his Majesty long since made and frequently renewed.

I have therefore at the desire of the House of Representatives with the Advice of his Majesty's Council thought fit to issue this Proclamation and to declare the Penobscot Tribe of Indians to be Enemies, Rebells and Traitors to his Majesty King George the Second. And I do hereby require his Majesty's Subjects of this Province to Embrace all opportunities of pursuing, captivating, killing and Destroying all and every of the aforesaid Indians.

And whereas the General Court of this Province have Voted that a bounty or Incouragement be granted and allowed to be paid out of the public Treasury to the Marching Forces that shall have been employed for the Defence of the Eastern and Western Frontiers from the first to the twenty-fifth of this Instant November—I have thought fit to publish the same and I do hereby Promis that there shall be paid out of the Province Treasury to all and any of the said Forces over and above their Bounty upon inlistment, their Wages and Subsistance the Premiums or Bounty following viz.

For every Male Penobscot Indian above the Age of twelve years that shall be taken within the Time aforesaid and brought to Boston Fifty Pounds.

For every Scalp of a Male Penobscot Indian above the age aforesaid brought in as Evidence of their being killed as aforesaid Forty Pounds.

For every Female Penobscot Indian taken and brought in as aforesaid and for Every Male Indian Prisoner under the Age of twelve Years taken and brought in as aforesaid Twenty five Pounds.

For every Scalp of such Female Indian or Male Indian under the Age of twelve years that Shall be killed and brought in as Evidence of their being killed as aforesaid, Twenty Pounds.

Given at the Council Chamber in Boston this third day of November 1755 and in the twenty ninth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the second by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith.

By his Honour's Command, S. PHIPS.[1]

J. WILLARD, Secry.

God save the King.

Resolved That there shall be allowed and paid out of the Public Treasury to any Number of the Inhabitants of this province, not in the pay of the Government, Who shall be disposed to go in quest of the Indian enemy, & shall before they go signify in Writing to the Chief Military Officer of Yt. part of the Province from which they shall go, their Intentions, with their

..... 57
..... 28
—
..... 85

(1) Spencer Phips was then Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Mass. Bay and was acting governor at this time.

AD-18

06/22/04 TUE 15:37 FAX 002

names the following Bounty Vizt. For every Indian Enemy that they shall kill and produce the Scalp to the Gov. & Council in Evidence, the Sum of three hundred Pounds.

For Every Indian Enemy they shall Captivate & deliver to the Governor & council, the Sum of Three hundred and Twenty pounds.

Also,—Voted, That the same allowance be made to private Persons who shall captivate or kill any of the Indian Enemy which is made to soldiers on the Frontiers of the Province.

From Documentary History of Maine (Baxter Mss. Vol. 24, p. 63).

Sayings of Subscribers

William N. Titus, Lawyer, Alna, Maine:

Sprague's Journal of Maine History is a work that will always be appreciated. It takes an important place in preserving the history of Maine, and will be of priceless value to generations to come.

Charles M. Starbird, Danville, Maine:

I have every number of the last volume of the Journal, and have profited much from reading them. Number three was of special interest to me. The lives of eminent Maine men are of worth to all and a valuable contribution to the history of the state.

S. P. Crosby, St. Paul, Minn:

I read and reread the brief biographies of three Chief Justices of Maine—Appleton, Peters, and Savage—all of whom I had the honor and pleasure of knowing. All were great jurists and noted gentlemen. And the Flagg historic article relating to the War of 1812 and the conduct of the British while in Bangor, make one think of the outrages of the Germans in Belgium—only a smaller scale.

There is some special history at the time of the Barn Raising of the "long barn" now standing upon the old Crosby Homestead in Atkinson Maine. This event would sometimes be mentioned by the older settlers of Piscataquis, when I was a boy. The late Major Isaac Blethen once told me that he was present upon that happy occasion, "with more than three hundred others," it being a large gathering for that time. It was no doubt a good old time for those days, and I believe my grandfather said "it took one whole barrel of New England rum—with head out—and each happy-go-lucky fellow could help himself." Not so much temperance then in Maine—or elsewhere—as now.

The barn was erected, I should estimate, between 1825 and 1830, perhaps earlier. And sometime in the early 80's—1880-81-82—the Bangor Commercial dug up or found somewhere quite a full account of this Crosby Raising and published the same. I read it casually at the time, and recall that at the banquet held after the frame was in place, a poem was read by some one present, which was very appropriate to the occasion. And this was published in full in the Commercial in the early 80's.

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Redskins Finally Win One, 26-14

Related Items
Redskins Section
NFL Section

By Jack Walsh
Washington Post Staff Writer
Monday, Oct. 10, 1960; Page A14

Those who have been maintaining the Washington Redskins wouldn't win a game this season were proven irrefutably wrong at Griffith Stadium yesterday. The Redskins won one.

With quarterback Ralph Guglielmi returning to action and awakening a hitherto slumbering offensive unit, the Redskins celebrated a gala home opener on an otherwise drab day by convincingly scalping the Dallas Cowboys, 26-14.

Before a paid audience of 21,142, Guglielmi directed the Redskins to two touchdowns and four field goals. Mississippi rookie Bob Khayat was doing more kicking than the customers did early in the game. Khayat connected on boots from 38, 29, 15 and 10 yards.

Two touchdowns may not sound like a lot, but they equalled the Redskins' output in their last five games when they were adding to the 12-game losing streak they snapped yesterday.

Overshadows of LeBaron
Passing for 237 yards on 10 completions in 16 throws, Guglielmi was setting his pro high mark. And he emerged the victor over Eddie LeBaron, in whose smaller shadow he stood in thre previous Redskin seasons.

For Dallas, LeBaron completed 21 of 37 for a respectable 296 yards but was hurt by interceptions. Two led to Khayat 3-pointers and the last put Dallas out of business.

LeBaron did outpitch the Goog in touchdowns, 2 to 1. His first was a 32-yarder to end Frank Clarke. The former Cleveland Brown scored an unbalanced touchdown. He took the ball on about the Redskin 20 where Ben Scotti and Billy Brewer became tangled. Clarke fell away from them and somehow managed to keep his feet. Hit inside the 10 by Jim Crotty, Clarke again did a grand job of not falling on his face until he crossed the goal line.

2-Inch Record
LeBaron's second six-pointer may have had significance. The

smallest man in pro football completed the shortest pass in NFL history. It was from the 2-inch line to former Maryland star Dick Bielski, all alone in the end zone. Twice previously, the Redskins line held the Cowboys from the one.

In the league book, a 4-inch Cecil Isbell to Don Hutson pass in a 1942 Green Bay-Cleveland game is billed as the shortest scoring aerial.

LeBaron's 2-incher came early in the fourth quarter and cut the Redskin lead to 19-14. Eddie set it up with king-sized gainers, a 41-yarder to Jim Doran and a 23-yarder to Billy Howton, a couple of fine veteran receivers.

That's when Guglielmi really asserted himself in a sort of "anything you can do, I can do better" manner. The Goog hit roommate Bill Anderson for 28 yards to the Dallas 38. Then he fired a fast pitch down the sidelines that rookie Sam Horner made a fine grab of at the two.

Johnny Olszewski went in standing for the 26-14 clincher.

It wasn't all a Guglielmi show. Fullback Don Bosseler and halfback Dick James showed that a two-week rest had restored them to health and both turned in spectacular long-gaining plays that were helpful, to say the least.

Rod Breedlove, Marylander the San Francisco team let go after drafting him No. 3, got Washington off on the right foot in the first period. He intercepted a LeBaron pass in the flat and dashed 32 yards to the Dallas 10.

Washington had to settle for Khayat's 15-yard field goal.

Guglielmi, who hadn't appeared in a game since Aug. 14 because of a severe knee injury, began hearing some boos from an unusually unfeeling Washington crowd.

Butler Intercepts

They grew in intensity after LeBaron's pitch to acrobatic Clarke put Dalas in front, 7-3. Apparently hungry for a victory, the crowd didn't appreciated it when Guglielmi had a pass intercepted at the Dallas 5 by Bill Butler after Pat Heenan recovered a Dallas-touched punt on the Cowboy 18.

Guglielmi came back with a 50-yard silencer on a fine assist from Bosseler. They hard-running fullback took a screen pass that looked like an impromptu affair and raced to the Dallas 7. Bosseler had good downfield blocking and tackle Ray Lemek led him on his sortie.

James, co-captain for the day, was all alone at the goal line on the next play and Goog threw to him for the touchdown that gave Washington a 10-7 lead it never relinquished.

Before the first half ended, Gary Glick picked off a LeBaron pass that bounced off Doran. Guglielmi passed 41 yards to Jim Podoley to set up Khayat's 29-yarder.

38-Yarder by Khayat
In the third period, Khayat went up to the 38-yard range after Bosseler cleverly went 28 yards on a third down trap play up the middle. Guglielmi, running out of bounds earlier, fooled the Cowboys completely by rolling out around his right end and going 16 yards to the Dallas 21. A penalty pushed them back more than Dallas.

James, who just missed getting loose on a kickoff return, did some more fancy work late in the third period. He took a swing pass from Guglielmi and scampered 36 yards to the Dallas 22. En route he had to hurdle a fallen teammate and latch on to the ball he bobbled momentarily.

Horner took an 11-yard pass to the six but Dallas held and forced the Skins to settle for Khayat's closest shot, the 10-yard field goal.

Then LeBaron and Guglielmi swapped fine passing performances that swept their teams goalward.

Guglielmi and the Redskins had the last word. Now all they have to do is take on the unbeaten New York Giants in their Yankee Stadium opener next Saturday.

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Back to the top

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REDSKINS AREA PRO TEAMS COLLEGES HIGH SCHOOLS LEAGUES & SPORTS COLUMNISTS FEATURES SPORTS INDEX

wp yellowpages

FANS' STOCK IN TRIBE IS UP, BUT . . .

Colts Are Scalping Redskins at the Gate

By TOM YORKE

It was not without a touch of envy that Redskins president George Marshall mentioned that the Baltimore Colts have sold 43,000 season tickets for 1961.

These are all renewals, Marshall pointed out yesterday. "They're just getting started on their new customers."

The Redskins, whose pros out of recent years has been somewhat inferior to that offered by their Baltimore cousins, have 16,439 persons lined up for each of their games in the new 50,000 seat D. C. Stadium starting this fall.

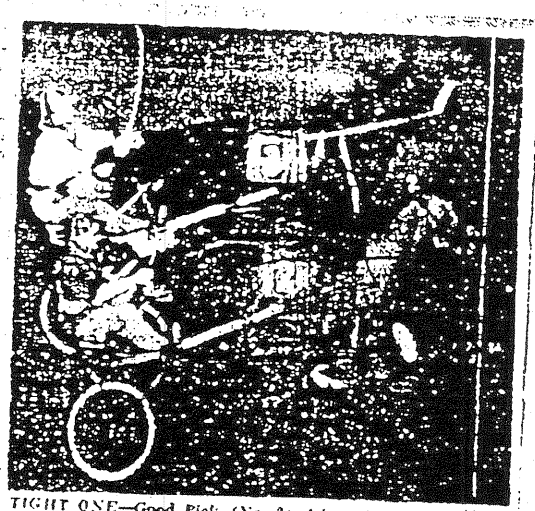
"Our target is still 25,000 season tickets, and I think we'll sell more," opined general manager Dick McCann. "Barring, of course, a complete collapse in training camp or in the pre-season."

While 16,439 doesn't match 43,000, there has been no collapse in fans' support of the Redskins. Season ticket sales are five weeks ahead of last year.

The deluxe new stadium, signing of top draft choices and the hope that maybe coach Bill McPeak can pull off what his predecessors failed to do—win consistently—apparently are what it takes to make the faithful forget what the Tribe has been in recent years.

* * *

Two rookies, Jim Fifed and Bob Federspiel, featured signed contracts yesterday. Fifed, a 6-foot 2, 240 pounder from Colorado State who was the Redskins' 11th draft pick in 1959, spent a week in training camp last season before leaving for personal reasons.



TIGHT ONE—Good Pick (No. 2) driven by Bill Fleming, barely noses out Dave Leguin's Colonel Dell in the eighth race at Rosecroft Raceway last night. The winner returned a $7.60 win mutuel.

At the time, Fifed was considered a cinch to make the club as No. 2 center. He also plays linebacker.

Federspiel, a 6-1, 195 pound end from Columbia who signed as a free agent is rated a good receiver.

* * *

Redskin draftees Norman Snead (Wake Forest quarterback), Joe Rutgens (Illinois tackle) and Jim Kerr (Penn State halfback) still have Navy's Joe Bellino and Fred Dietz in the All American Bowl in Buffalo, N. Y. June 22.

* * *

Washington, meanwhile, is running into difficulty with its all-star game, tentatively scheduled for Jan. 7 in D. C. Stadium. The national organization which had first crack at sponsoring the college game here has not yet voted to back it.

Sports Attractions Inc. is prepared to fall back on private backers but reportedly has other organizations who are interested in underwriting the game.

THE WASHINGTON POST
Wednesday, June 14, 1961 C3

Redskins Sign Kansas' Schick

The Redskins, who missed signing only one of their top draft choices, yesterday announced reception of the contract of Dale Schick [illegible] pick.

Schick, 6-01, 205 pounder who led Kansas last season [illegible] considered as a [illegible] prospect by the [illegible] and the father [illegible] says Schick is a [illegible] Lawrence, Kansas [illegible] the university [illegible] top rookie who got [illegible] choice John [illegible] tackle who

AD-22

S_0004204

Redskins Scalped
The Washington Post, Times Herald (1959-1973); Aug 17, 1965; ProQuest Historical Newspapers The Washington Post pg. C1

Redskins Scalped

CHICAGO (UPI)—The Chicago Bears whipped the Washington Redskins, 73-0, in the National Football League's 1940 championship game.

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FINAL

DAILY NEWS

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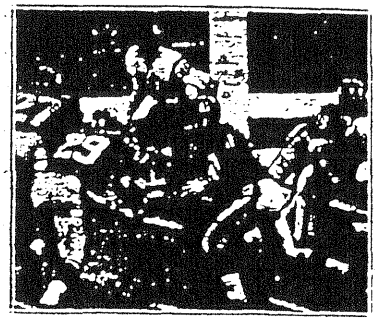
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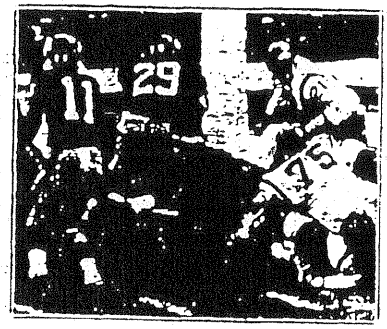
SKINS SCALP GIANTS, 23-7

JETS TOPPLE CHIEFS, 13-10

—Stories pages 52, 53



1—QB Earl Morrall hands off to Mercein (29)



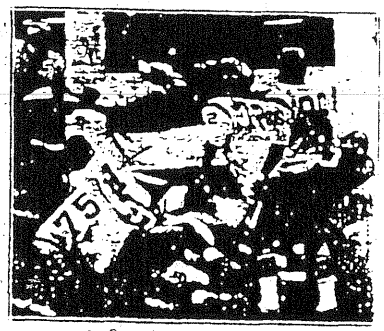
2—Chuck finds a hole towards paydirt . . .



Catchy. [illegible] Frankie [illegible] Giants as all alone as he [illegible] Earl Morrall [illegible] in the first quarter. Joe's [illegible] lies weren't enough.



3—Redskin defenders send him flying



4—Over the sprawled bodies . . .

Grass is Greener on Other Side

One of the Baby Bulls who have been rushing themselves into the hearts of Giant fans, Chuck Mercein showed his forte in the second quarter of yesterday's game at Yankee Stadium against the Redskins with a nifty journey for TD (see sequence). But the Skins ended up with the last laugh, beating locals 23-7. See [illegible] upper right.

—Story on page 52



5—And the Baby Bull is in, feet skyward, for his second NFL score.

GRID SCORES

NFL

Harjo, et al. v. Pro-Football, Inc. Case No. 21,069

Petitioners' Ex. 11.054

S_0004275

PRO FOOTBALL WEEKLY • NOVEMBER 23, 1967 •

Redskins Scalp 49ers, Plan Cowboy Ambush

By DAVE BRADY

WASHINGTON — The Washington Redskins are going to Dallas Sunday merely convinced they can dethrone their 31-28 upset of the Cowboys after finally breaking, on November 12, the fourth-quarter jinx which had been bound-ing them since losing to the Cowboys in Washington on October 8.

That began a five-game streak in which the Redskins did not win a game and fell three full games behind Dallas in the Capitol Division pennant race.

For the effort Vince Lombardi gained, the Redskins did not have a safe lead in the fourth quarter last Sunday, but held off the San Francisco 49ers by seven points to score a 21-20 triumph before a sold-out crowd of 55,000 in Kezar Stadium. The Football Weekly cam[illegible] a single show time[illegible] Washington [illegible] Redskins [illegible] Bradshaw [illegible] Sunday.

Sam Huff, who sat out the game on arrival with a severely sprained ankle, also might have



REDSKIN Charley Allen coughs up football after crunching tackle by 49er Clark Miller. San Francisco recovered the fumble but left the game. 31-28.

(UPI Compho)

had something to do with the Redskins' meeting [illegible] best for players, but Tuesday is give them a chance to get [illegible] off their chests.

The Redskins' organization had been stirred at losing fullback Charley Harraway off the cab League as the Green Bay Packers, who claimed the ex-cel contract. Harraway had been given by the New York Giants. The Redskins protested to Commissioner Pete Rozelle but expected to get nowhere with it.

THE COWBOYS organized them very unhappy earlier in the season when the Redskins put in a claim for defensive back Dick Smith, who had been put on waivers. Rated as injured by Dallas

[illegible] the Cowboys for [illegible] the Redskins [illegible] Thomas Lawhorn Dawson [illegible] day workout. The Cowboys [illegible] counted on celebrating the [illegible] Eastern Con[illegible] title [illegible] the guy who is expected to steam up the Cowboys again [illegible] Washington halfback Jim [illegible] passing to a California receiver Jerry Smith, who caught seven touchdown throws against the Redskins [illegible] beating the Skins [illegible]

THE TRIUMPH restored the Redskins' faith in themselves and the boys [illegible] against the tough Cowboys. Devi[illegible] Sam Huff [illegible] Baltimore [illegible] 20-[illegible] and earned [illegible] Redskins [illegible] 31-28. Dallas [illegible] victory over the Skins [illegible] A Dallas pass by the Redskins [illegible] gave the Cowboys a 17-3-0 [illegible]

[illegible] out the Dallas lead over the Redskins (3-1-1) to two games.

Only one team, the St. Louis Cardinals, had been able to smother the Redskins' passing game. The short, punishing [illegible] halted seven critical Dallas drives after [illegible] critical throw, but of the fourth [illegible] was Jurgensen's arrows which were [illegible] an afternoon when split end Charley Taylor [illegible] his receiver did not even [illegible] A well-rested Jurgensen [illegible] should enable Taylor to [illegible] lenge the Cowboys' defense.

[illegible] instead of the Redskins blowing the game against San Francisco, it was the 49ers rendering 14-0, 21-17, and 28-24 leads the final five the fourth quarter.

A second 48-yard field goal [illegible] attempt by Mingo at the end of the third quarter was [illegible] wide [illegible] but carried the Redskins [illegible] better than 4 yards when it went out of bounds on the 49ers three-yard line.

The resulting good field position enabled the Redskins to go ahead 24-21 in the fourth quarter when Jurgensen's 16-yard scoring pass to running back Allen.

THE 49ERS gave it one more [illegible] drive, going 68 yards on [illegible] 31-yard [illegible] by Brodie, a 9-yard pass [illegible] Kilmer [illegible] ally against the Redskins and a yard passer by Willard for [illegible] 28-24 edge.

But the Redskins departed [illegible] other old script by going [illegible] for a vital first down [illegible] by Jurgensen to Taylor and Smith [illegible] Hauss made the 21-[illegible] minutes, while the 49ers [illegible] their only 6-4 record [illegible] The Cowboys 17-3-0 [illegible] Dallas [illegible]

Harjo, et al. v. Pro-Football, Inc. Case No. 21,069

Petitioners' Ex.

S_0004323

Redskins Scalp Army Gridders

(Continued From 1st Sport Page)

Sammy shuffled off another throw to Todd—a real chuck this time of 30 yards, putting the Redskins on the Army 16. Dick Todd was called upon for another catch and Baugh for another pass and as Wilbur Moore blocked out Jap Davis, Todd put on the speed steam for the touchdown. There were 20 seconds to go to finish the third period when the Redskins made this thrust and Patterson added the extra point making the score: Redskins 23, Army 13.

Washington finished that third period and completed nine out of 13 passes.

After Kimbrough had thrown the ball away on what was intended to be a lateral in the fourth, Hoerr, the Redskins' Dick final three points. Kimbrough recovered Dawn's fumble on the Army 32. That called for another field goal and it was the turn of Masterson to do the honors.

Right through the [illegible] which by the way [illegible] goal line for this [illegible] who was [illegible] college [illegible].

[illegible] was on the 26 and the [illegible] 32 yards away. That [illegible] the score 26 to 13 and, as [illegible] Army threw [illegible] that [illegible] the remaining minutes of the [illegible] Army uncorked a passing attack that got [illegible] Bob Pugh [illegible] the [illegible] and Ollie Hinton. Don Peel and Texas A. & M.'s Will Dawson [illegible] the [illegible]. The Soldiers got down to the Redskin's 35 yard line on this thrust, but [illegible] bogged down there. The Redskins stiffened their defenses and the Soldiers actually began to move backward. With one minute left to play, Herman Rohrig was thrown for an eight-yard loss and Pugh was smeared back to the Army 43 where the Redskins took the ball on downs.

The game, the first of a series the All-Army team will play with National League clubs throughout the country, was for the benefit of Army Relief.

ARMY GRIDS SHOW PLENTY OF SPIRIT

Despite its defeat, the Army had plenty of spirit as the team prepared to detrain for Denver where a second contest will be played with the Chicago Cardinals next Sunday.

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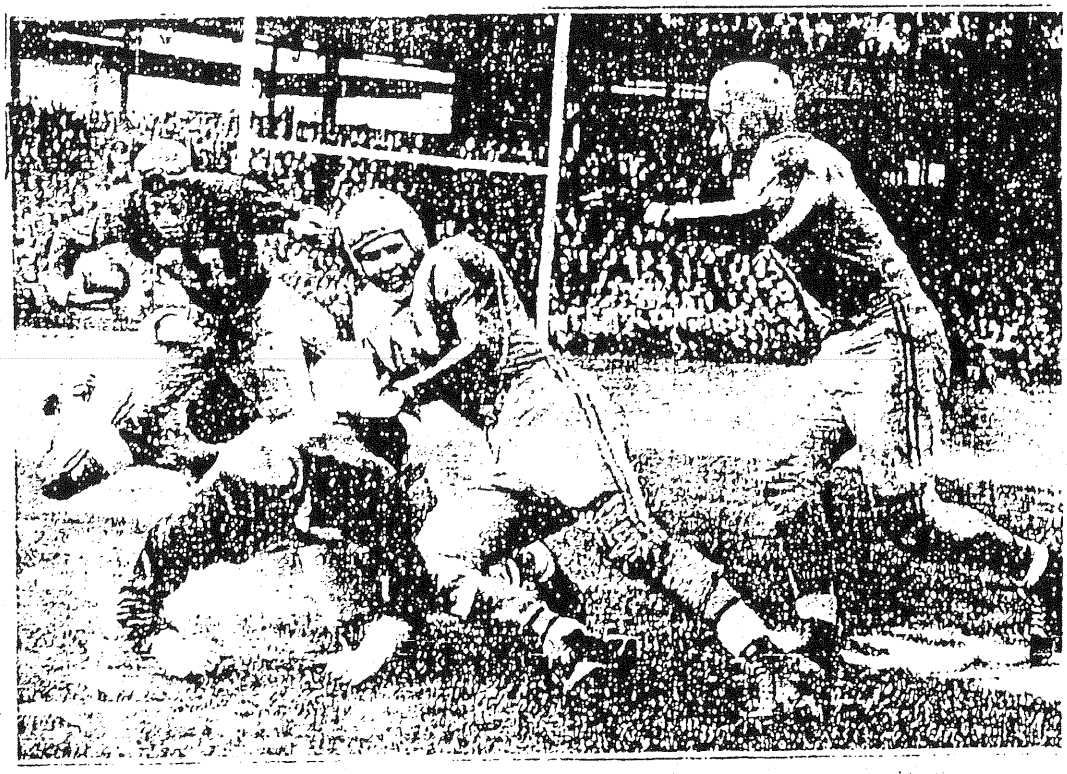
Red:

Score
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Pro-Football, Inc.
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Petitioners' Ex.

S_0003993

'SKINS SCALP YANKS, 17 TO 14



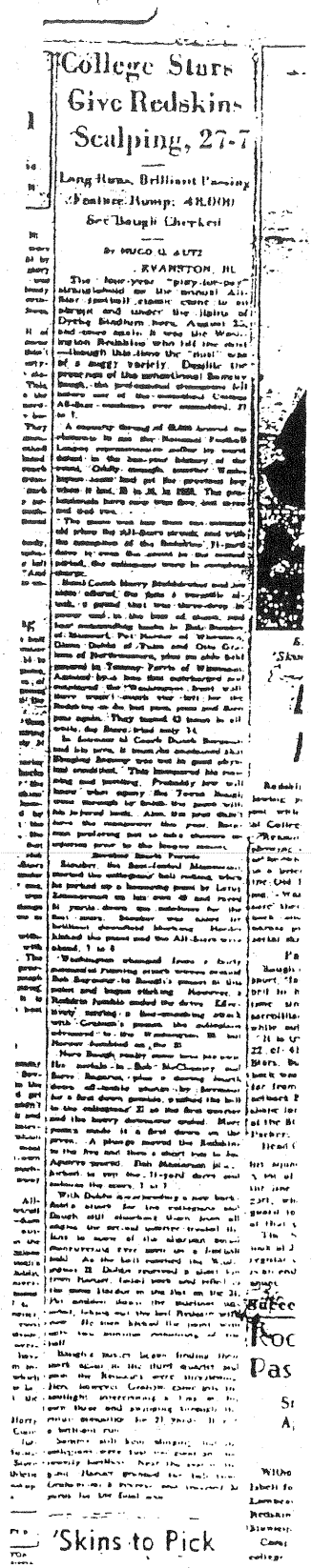
No Baugh or Bagarus—But Plenty of Dick Todd!



Skins Should Add

Harjo, et al. v.
Pro-Football, Inc.
Case No. 21,069
Petitioners' Ex.

S_0004023



College Stars Give Redskins Scalping, 27-7

Long Runs, Brilliant Passing Feature Romp; 48,000 See Tough Contest

By HUGO U. SAUTZ

EVANSTON, Ill.

'Skins to Pick

Harjo, et al. v. Pro-Football, Inc. Case No. 21,069 Petitioners' Ex.

11-008

S_0004031

Skins After Dummy's Scalp in Next Session

By JOHN E. McNAB

Thirty-four Redskins don pads for the first time tomorrow as they begin dummy tackling practice on a ground softened up with sawdust.

Hard ground around the Georgetown University field has had the players complaining of sore feet, and Coach Dud DeGroot blames this for delay in the training schedule. Once it is remedied he will be putting the boys thru charging plays in which solid footwork is necessary.

SQUAD IN GOOD SHAPE

Beyond the sore feet, the team is in good shape with only minor ailments bedeviling the squad. Mendel Zickafoose appeared yesterday with his left leg well taped from ankle to knee due to a strained muscle and Vito Amanis still has a sore foot tramped on in a Saturday scrimmage.

Backfield men ran themselves into the ground again yesterday as they perfected timing and ball-handling on sweeps and passes. Line Coach Tuffy Edwards at the same time was pressing his three teams of linesmen thru their basic plays as Tom Miller and Joe Aguirre accustomed themselves to the plays.

Rumors of Coach Dud DeGroot's possible departure for a coaching berth with his old alma mater, Stanford, in California, interested DeGroot, who pointed out that Stanford will be without a team this year.

Redskins' Moore, Ed Merkle Sign

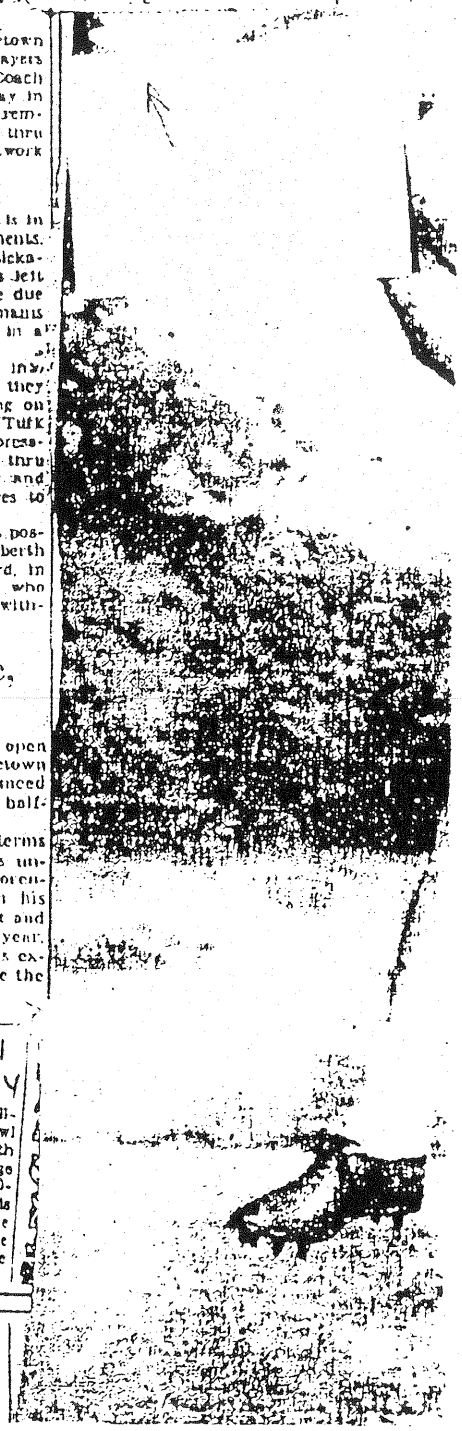
The Redskins, who will open training Monday at Georgetown University, yesterday announced the signing of Wilbur Moore, halfback, and Ed Merkle, guard.

The pair's coming to terms leaves only two 'Skin players unsigned, Joe Aguirre and Al Fiorentino. Aguirre is "frozen" in his defense job on the West Coast and is not expected to play this year. Fiorentino is in the city and is expected to come to terms before the opening workout.

Siegfried of Duke Bowl Team Joins Redskins

Winston Siegfried, regular fullback on Duke's 1941 Rose Bowl team, yesterday signed to play with the Redskins. Now at Bainbridge Naval Training Station, the 190-pound ball toter is awaiting his honorable discharge. He may leave with the squad on its three-game trip starting tomorrow if his release comes through in time.

Redskins Get Miller In Deal With Eagles



Harjo, et al. v. Pro-Football, Inc. Case No. 21,069 Petitioners' Ex.

S_0004015

figure that if they can stop Philadelphia, or even hold them to a couple of touchdowns, that the Skins will have a good chance of winning.

To date, the Skins have the finest defensive record of any team in the

GPs Set to Scalp if His Redskins Don't

News 10/23

By DAVE SLATTERY

EN ROUTE TO MILWAUKEE WITH THE REDSKINS, Oct. 24—This has been a very quiet trip. With the exception of one skull session, the players have spent their time sleeping, reading or playing a quiet game of bridge. Even such jolly characters as John Adams and Tom Farmer have kept their pet tricks and jokes under wraps.

After last week's debacle, this Redskin team is on a one-day reprieve. They must defeat the Packers tomorrow, a trick they haven't been able to pull off since 1943, or face the full-blown wrath of owner George Preston Marshall.

Altho it is impossible to decide which is the more dangerous, neither prospect is calculated to produce a feeling of joy and good fellowship among those concerned.

The Packers, scorched themselves two weeks ago by their owner, who fined the entire team a week's pay for loafing, are in a nasty mood. Although they have won two ball games since the ax fell, it is reported that the players' credit in Green Bay hock and entertainment stores is still far from what it was in the pre-fine days.

As for Mr. Marshall, he just doesn't like losing teams, and he doesn't intend to keep supporting one. And while it is highly improbable that he would pull a Lambeau and fire the squad, there will certainly be some changes made if his boys don't snap out of it tomorrow.

The most overlooked angle about tomorrow's game: A Redskin win coupled with a Bears' victory over the Eagles and Philadelphia has never beaten Chicago would send one not to well-regarded team into first place in the Eastern Division.

Harjo, et al. v.
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5/17/88 Wash. Post E01
1988 WL 2052551

The Washington Post
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Tuesday, May 17, 1988

SPORTS

Another Scalp For Redskins

Tom Friend

Washington Redskins Coach Joe Gibbs kept his word, which is why he couldn't keep his hair.

In a pep talk before last season's playoffs, Gibbs promised to let safety Alvin Walton give him a Mohawk haircut if the Redskins won the Super Bowl. They made Gibbs pay last Saturday, at the conclusion of minicamp.

"But no Mohawk," Gibbs said before entering Walton's "barber shop." "Either shave it all off or give me a flattop."

Walton, apparently quite nervous, let tackle Mark May do the honors, shaving the flattest of flattops. Walton did Gibbs' sideburns and left a duck tail on the back. Gibbs has since shaved off the duck tail.

"I made a commitment, and I figured if I didn't live up to it, I'd never hear the end," Gibbs said afterward, peering out from under a baseball cap.
TABULAR OR GRAPHIC MATERIAL SET FORTH IN THIS DOCUMENT IS NOT DISPLAYABLE

PHOTO,,Andres Alonso For TWP Caption: Joe Gibbs.

---- INDEX REFERENCES ----

NAMED PERSON: JOE GIBBS; ALVIN WALTON; MARK MAY

ORGANIZATION: WASHINGTON REDSKINS

KEY WORDS: SUBJECTS: COACHES, MANAGERS, ETC.; HAIR; PRO SPORTS; FOOTBALL

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NEWS SUBJECT: SPORTS & RECREATION; FASHION (SPT FSH)

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11/3/91 Daily Telegraph (London) 34
1991 WL 3158755

The Sunday Telegraph London
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Sunday, November 3, 1991

American Football: Scalping fear for Redskins

Mick Luckhurst

AS ONLY one team in NFL history has ever had a perfect year, winning every game including the Super Bowl in one season, history is against Washington Redskins repeating the feat.

The Miami Dolphins won all 14 regular season matches plus three in the play-offs in the 1972 season as they were crowned NFL champions. The Redskins, who have won their eight games to date, have a 16-match schedule and history can be a powerful opponent.

I believe that today's game against Houston Oilers will be as big a test as Washington will face this year. The match is being called Super Bowl XXV1/2, a possible rehearsal for the real thing in Minneapolis in January.

Much depends on how Warren Moon, Houston's quarterback, performs. The one time he disappointed this year the Oilers lost 24-20 to New England. If Moon can get Houston on the scoreboard early to neutralise the home crowd, the Oilers have a good chance of success.

If Washington have a weakness it is their secondary, the last line of defense, which is not quite up to the standard of the rest of the unit despite the presence of Darryl Green, who is among the best cornerbacks in the NFL.

No team has the array of receivers that Houston boast and if Moon can find his men, Washington could struggle. But the question being asked around the League is not so much whether the Redskins will win today, but can they stay unbeaten?

Of the Redskins' remaining eight opponents, only Houston and Dallas have winning records at present.

Yet such is the competitiveness of the NFL that the old cliche about there being no easy games is never more applicable than in this League.

Washington are a good, solid all-round team backed by a fanatical crowd and coached by Joe Gibbs, whose preparation adds a new dimension to the word meticulous.

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In pre-season he had his defense 'playing' his offense, who used the sort of plays Houston favour.

Gibbs, who has been known to sleep in his office two nights a week such is his self-imposed workload, is so professional that he won't allow his players to think of a perfect record, whatever the media and fans are saying. In his 10 seasons the Redskins have averaged 11 victories a year, including the playoffs and their 66-21 home record in that period is the best in the NFL.

If all things are equal the supporters in RFK will give the Redskins the edge. They are the noisiest, most fervent fans I have ever heard outdoors - only New Orleans Saints, who play in a dome, have supporters who rival those of Washington.

Mark Rypien is beginning to come of age as a quarterback and Washington have won 21 of the last 25 games in which he has started. He isn't yet in the great category but he gets the job done and has shown he can find a way to win.

Washington have an outstanding running-back in Erbest Byner and a fine prosect in Ricky Ervins, while wide receiver Art Monk is still as effective as anyone in his position in his 13th year as a professional.

Meanwhile,I was in Phoenix last week and spoke to Stan Gelbaugh, the London Monarchs quarterback. Gelbaugh played for the Cardinals against Minnesota last Sunday and completed three of five passes.

As back-up to Tom Tupa he was delighted just to have a chance for some NFL action but said how much he wanted to return to help the Monarchs defend their title.

TODAY: San Francisco at Atlanta, Cleveland at Cincinnati, Detroit at Chicago, Green Bay at New York Jets, Houston at Washington, Miami at Indianapolis, New England at Buffalo, New Orleans at Los Angeles Rams, Pittsburgh at Denver, Phoenix at Dallas, Tampa Bay at Minnesota.

TOMORROW: New England at Denver.

---- INDEX REFERENCES ----

Language: EN
SOURCE REGION: UK

Word Count: 640

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12/6/00 Newcastle Herald 81
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Wednesday, December 6, 2000

Sport

Coach Scalped As Redskins Wield Axe

ASHBURN: Washington Redskins football coach Norv Turner was fired yesterday after failing to live up to Super Bowl expectations with the most expensive team in NFL history.

Turner was dismissed by owner Dan Snyder one day after a 9-7 loss to the New York Giants.

It was the fourth loss in five games for the Redskins (7-6) and third straight at home, and it moved a team with championship aspirations precariously close to elimination from the race for the play-offs.

'This is not something that was on the agenda,' Snyder said.

'This is more change that we need. It's all about winning football. It's not personal.'

Fiery passing-game coordinator Terry Robiskie was named interim coach, a stark change of pace from the analytical Turner.

In his first meeting with the team, Robiskie made an impassioned speech and received a standing ovation.

'Terry is blunt and to the point,' defensive end Kenard Lang said.

'He's like a stick of dynamite: he's going to make something happen.'

Snyder said defensive coordinator Ray Rhodes, the former head coach at Philadelphia and Green Bay, was not interested in the job.

Robiskie began by apologising to the fans for the team's record, then vowed to make it better.

---- INDEX REFERENCES ----

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(405) 723-4540 Law Enforcement Office
(405) 723-1958 Police Unit
(405) 336-3016 Head Start Program
(405) 336-3039 Social Services
(405) 723-4426 Tribal Court
FAX (405) 723-4273

October 8, 1993

Jack Kent Cooke
Washington Football Team
P.O. Box 17247
Dulles International Airport
Washington, DC 20041

Dear Jack Kent Cooke:

The Washington Redskins must go!

No, not the team, but the name, which is totally demeaning of Native Americans and reinforces a negative stereotype that is unjust and unwarranted.

The term "redskins" is out of a period when there was a bounty on the heads of Indians and they were scalped. Eighty cents for a man's skin, 60 cents for a woman's skin and 20 cents for a child's skin. It is a period in our history that every American should be ashamed of and the continued use of such a derogatory and offensive term is an abomination.

Ben Nighthorse Campbell, the only Native American in the U.S. Senate, says that "the name Redskins carries the same negative connotation as some terms that blacks and whites find offensive. The word brings to mind a negative image of uncivilized persons and has no positive meaning."

Therefore, Mr. Cooke, despite your insistence to the contrary, there is no pride or honor associated with the name. The controversy is something that will not go away, will not disappear until the term "redskin" is banished from our vocabulary. You want to see a new stadium erected, but first you must erect a standard of racial justice and drop the name.

Sincerely,

OTOE-MISSOURIA TRIBE OF INDIANS

Post-it™ brand fax transmittal memo 7671	# of pages ▸
To JACK KENT COOKE	From OTOE-MISSOURIA TRIBE
Co. OWNER	Co. INDIAN TRIBE
Dept: WASHINGTON FOOTBALL TEAM	Phone # JOHN HOPPER
Fax # 703-729-7611	Fax # 405-723-4273

HONOR

October 8, 1993

Jack Kent Cooke
Washington Redskins
P.O. Box 17247
Dulles Int'l Airport
703/478-8900 Telephone
703/729-7611 Mr. Cooke's Personal Fax
703/729-7605 Main Fax Line

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Salt River Pima Maricopa
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Principal Chief
Elmer Manatowa
Sac and Fox Nation – OK

Purcell Powless
Ret. Chairman of
Oneida Nation – WI

Dear Mr. Cooke:

The Washington Redskins must go!

The professional football franchise is a source of pride for the city of Washington D.C., but the nickname "Redskins" is offensive to all Americans, particularly indigenous peoples.

The demeaning logo reinforces a negative stereotype that is unjust and unwarranted. The term "redskin" is a painful remnant of a period when there was a bounty on the heads of Indian people: eighty cents for a man's skin, sixty cents for a woman's skin, and twenty cents for a child's skin. Continued use of this ugly and demeaning term is an abomination.

Ben Nighthorse Campbell, the only Native American in the U.S. Senate, says that "the name Redskins carries the same negative connotation as some terms that black and whites find offensive. The word brings to mind a negative image of uncivilized persons and has no positive meaning."

Despite your insistence to the contrary, there is no pride or honor associated with the name. This issue will not go away until the nickname and logo of your football team are changed. Before you erect a new stadium, erect a standard of racial justice and change the name.

Sincerely,

Sharon Metz

Sharon Metz
Executive Director

Honor Our Neighbors
Origins and Rights, Inc
2647 North Stowell Ave
[illegible]
[illegible]

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Sincerely,

Howard P. Marsh Center for the Study of Journalistic Performance

The Legacy of Coach Lone Star Dietz and the Washington Redskins

or

Reclaiming James One Star

Linda M. Waggoner

Copyright © 2004 Linda M. Waggoner

Pine Ridge
So Dak.
Jan. 29 1914.

[De]ar sir.

Please Iwant you todo little thing for me. I like know where is one star or lone star i think name is james one star or lone star. he left the oglala reservation many years he is going to school. some where i think go to carlisle ind sch.
and he never get home and last iheard he was outto soldier some wherebut i heard come back to school again
he only got one sister lives so she like to know where is he now. i think he is 40 or over years old by this time iwant you to do that right the away and you let me know you try to finde out please.

your truly
Chas Yellow Boy

Long ago a boy was born in the western territory of the Dakotas. His name was James One Star, though how he came by this name is no longer known. It may have been given to him when he was born, along with a traditional Oglala birth order name. It may have been a sacred clan name, bestowed upon him by his elders, marking the onset of an early manhood. Perhaps it was only his "English" name, appropriated to him by U. S. officials so he could be easily identified on tribal rolls. Since the name of his father is unknown, this name indicates a close relationship with the boy's maternal uncle, who was known simply as "One Star."

The elder One Star portrayed a Plains Indian warrior in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show. While attending the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, he met a young man and was compelled to tell him about his nephew, James One Star. Maybe there was something about the young man that touched One Star, allowing his words to flow freely from his heart. He began to share the sadness and loss he felt, because his beloved nephew had been missing for over ten years. Dietz, athletic in spirit and imaginative by nature, was mesmerized by the gentle warrior's romantic tale. As a result of this fateful meeting, James One Star would begin to fade into oblivion, and in his place, "Lone Star" Dietz was born.

But what's in a name, really? Aren't "One Star" and "Lone Star" nearly interchangeable? Charles Yellow Boy wanted to believe they were. In fact, in 1914 when he wrote to the Superintendent of the Carlisle Indian and Industrial School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, he thought maybe the two names identified the same man. He hoped to tell Sally Eagle Horse her brother was alive. After all, from the Lakota language, *Wicarhpi Isnala*, can be translated as either "One Star," "Only Star," or "Lone Star"—though in the idiom of American English, a "Lone Star" to all appearances outshines them all.

In order to reclaim James One Star, it's essential to examine the legacy of the man who virtually replaced him, William Henry Dietz (1884-1964), alias "Lone Star." Though dead for

forty years, Dietz is currently at the center of a controversy where names are significant. Officially, the conflict began in 1992 when seven American Indians, headed by well-known Cheyenne writer and activist, Suzan Shown Harjo, confronted the Washington Redskins football franchise, requesting that it cancel six of its trademarks in lieu of the Lanham act, which prohibits the registration of names that are "disparaging, scandalous, contemptuous or disreputable." The defense, Redskin's owner, Pro-Football Inc., answered the charge with the counterclaim that the name was not disparaging but "honorific" to Native Americans and further added that it "would face massive financial losses if it lost the exclusivity of the brand it had marketed for 36 years." In April of 1999 the Trademark Trial and Appeal Board ruled for the plaintiffs, agreeing to cancel the trademark, but pending appeal.

When the decision was made, a satisfied Harjo exclaimed, "the judges agreed with us that the R-word never was honorific and is not . . . now." But the victory for Harjo's and Native America was short lived. The club's current owner, Daniel Snyder, immediately appealed the decision and defended the team's name by revealing its "honorific" tribute to an Oglala Sioux from the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, none other than William "Lone Star" Dietz.

In *Indian Country Today* Harjo stated that as soon as the appeal was filed, the team "lawyers trekked out to South Dakota in a modern-day version of the white man trading trinkets for Manhattan. The chief-makers gave away jerseys, jackets and hats sporting the team's name and asked for signatures on a paper saying the R-word is an honor." The 1999 ruling was overturned last fall, though not as a result of the field trip to Pine Ridge. The Washington team is to remain racially and offensively *red-skinned*—at least that's how those opposed to the name hear it.

But the team representatives perceive the name differently. For them "Redskins" is more than skin-deep; it is deeply nostalgic. And team nostalgia is a common sentiment invoked in the many "Indian" mascot and sport team name disputes, as shown in the "Factual Background" for the appeal made by the attorneys for Pro-Football Inc.

> On or about July 8, 1932, George Preston Marshall, along with Vincent Bendix, Jay O'Brien, and Dorland Doyle, purchased a then-inactive Boston National Football League franchise. Within the year, his co-owners dropped out and Mr. Marshall was left as the sole owner of the franchise. The Boston team played the 1932 season in Braves Field, home of Boston's then-National baseball team, and like the baseball team, were known as "The Braves." On or about July 8, 1933, Mr. Marshall officially changed the name of his franchise from the "Boston Braves" to the Boston Redskins." Mr. Marshall chose to rename his franchise the Redskins in honor of the team's head coach, William "Lone Star" Dietz, who was a Native American.

U. S. District Judge Colleen Kollar-Kotelly nullified the Trademark Trial and Appeal Board's decision last fall. According to the *Washington Post*, "she threw out a federal board's 1999 decision to cancel six highly lucrative Redskins trademarks. She said she was not opining on whether the word 'redskin' was insulting or not but concluded that the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office's board had relied upon partial, dated and irrelevant evidence submitted by the activists." Specifically, her 83 page report states:

> There is no evidence in the record that addresses whether the use of the term "redskin(s)" in the context of a football team and related entertainment services would be viewed by a substantial composite of Native Americans, in the relevant time frame, as disparaging. . . . This is undoubtedly a 'test case' that seeks to use federal trademark litigation to obtain social goals. The problem, however, with this case is evidentiary. The Lanham Act has been on the books for many years and was in effect in 1967 when the trademarks were registered. By waiting so long to exercise their rights, Defendants make it difficult for any fact-finder to affirmatively state that in 1967 the trademarks were disparaging.

Yet there was no acknowledgement that the American Indian Movement wasn't even established until 1968. Was the civil rights group born a year too late or could it be that derogatory name-fixing was not an initial priority? After all, it takes a while to get people who have been oppressed to understand what, in fact, are their civil rights. Look how many years it took feminism to transform "girls" to "women." Look how many years it took their mothers to hyphenate their married names. Look how many years it took so many of them to become judges.

Judge Kollar-Kotelly's decision embraced as "fact" the team's propaganda that the late Coach Lone Star Dietz was Native American and the team was named in his honor. As a result, virtually all media coverage of the event noted the link between the team's name and its Native American patron saint. This emphasis panders to an already polarized national discourse, in which so-called "political correctness" is pitted against good old American team spirit, freedom of speech, and corporate America. Yet how much less were Natives able to "exercise their rights" when Lone Star Dietz was a player and then assistant coach for "Pop" Warner at the Carlisle Indian and Industrial school (1911-1914)? During this time, the popular Carlisle "Indians" were often referred to as "Redskins." The "homage" paid to Dietz (and, thus, the argument goes, to "Native Americans") was surely connected to Dietz's affiliation with the Carlisle Indian school team. It seems that the nostalgia of Dietz for Carlisle's "Redskins" was passed on to Pro-Football, Inc.'s nostalgia for a beloved "Native American" coach. And this latter passing on is as strategic a move as any "pass" planned in a football team's huddle. Harjo's group has not given up, though, and the case is now on appeal.

But the story of how the Boston Braves became the Washington Redskins, or how Lone Star Dietz, himself, was once a Carlisle "Redskin" obfuscates a more intimate story of Anglo-America's tendency to fetishize skin color because "difference" is threatening. In fact, there is much more to this story than a simple, though derogatory, name can contain. But isn't that the problem? Translation always entails a negotiation. Names are not only translated cross-linguistically, but also cross-culturally, and in these translations something is always lost, and something is always changed. The question is, who is reading or hearing the name? Are "One Star" and "Lone Star" really the same name? Can "Redskins" be disparaging to some, and honorific to others?

Returning to the story of Lone Star Dietz will not answer such important questions. But it will answer others. It's important to note that the life story of Dietz was added to the academic canon of Native American history, art, and ethnology by the late John C. Ewers (1909-1997), former ethnologist for the Smithsonian Institute. In 1977 *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* published a biographical essay on Dietz, written by Ewers. This is still considered the authoritative scholarly work on Dietz and may be where most of the "facts" about him derive today. Since, according to the Smithsonian Institute, Ewers should be considered "one of the nation's foremost scholars in the ethnology of the Plains Indians and the history of the West," there seems to be no reason to question this article, which is titled, "Five Strings to His Bow: The Remarkable Career of William (Lone Star) Dietz."

The Ewers article tells of Dietz's early childhood, his marriage, and, the "five strings to his bow," which are his accomplishments as artist, athlete, actor, teacher and football coach. Unfortunately, though the article is misleading and the supporting research Ewers undertook to produce it is incomplete. For the sake of space, here's some of what is NOT true about Ewers' "Lone Star" Dietz: 1) There is absolutely no proof he was an Oglala Lakota; 2) He did not attend Chilocco Indian school before arriving at Carlisle (he went to Macalester College in St. Paul, Minnesota, and Friends University in Wichita, Kansas); and 3) Dietz's romantic story about his birth and childhood in South Dakota (which Ewers' quotes verbatim) was entirely fabricated. Though Dietz may have had Native ancestry (but it may be impossible to prove whether he did), he was a posing as "Indian," and needing an origin story to make himself appear authentic, he created one.

What is verifiable is that a twenty-three year old Dietz enrolled at Pennsylvania's Carlisle Indian Industrial School in the fall of 1907, just a year after his future Winnebago wife, Angel DeCora, was hired to pioneer the school's first Native American art program. Carlisle school forms that Dietz filled out state that he was born on August 17, 1884 to Julia One Star, a deceased

"half-blood" Oglala Sioux and William Dietz, a "white" man. A one-fourth quantum of "Indian blood" was sufficient to meet Carlisle school entry requirements, but why and how Dietz ended up there is a mystery. Not only was he over age at the time of his enrollment, but he had already attended college, and Carlisle, along with providing industrial training, could only offer about a tenth-grade academic education. One draw may have been Pop Warner's football team, which was becoming quite popular. Another attraction may have been romance. Dietz had met DeCora at the same place he had met One Star—the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, where they both contributed artwork to the fair's Indian Industrial School exhibit.

Less than three months after Dietz enrolled at Carlisle, he was sent on a three-month "outing" to take art classes at the Academy of Industrial Design in Philadelphia. On the eve of 1908, he and DeCora secretly married. By April he was "discharged" from the school to become his wife's assistant in the art department, a position he maintained until he resigned in 1915. His student status, however, was miraculously restored when he became a starter for the football team during the 1911 and 1912 seasons.

Glenn "Pop" Warner coached Carlisle's team for all but three seasons from 1899 through 1914, appointing Dietz to be his assistant during his last two seasons. But in those two seasons the school was under Congressional investigation—with some of the focus on the football team's financial accounting. When Warner decided it was time to leave Carlisle, Dietz did too, and accepted a coaching job at the University of Washington in Pullman in 1915. In January of 1916 his underdog team, the Cougars, played and beat Brown University at the Rose Bowl in Pasadena, California, and thus, Dietz was on his way to becoming, as Ewers claims, "one of the country's most successful coaches in the period between the two World Wars."

Still, the primary contribution Dietz made while at Carlisle was his artwork. He was a prolific illustrator, a skilled craftsman, and a talented designer. The quality of his work particularly helped bring national attention to the publications produced by Carlisle's Indian press. According to Ewers, "Lone Star's designs featured human beings in action, as had the traditional narratives earlier generations of Sioux artists had painted on buffalo robes. But his works revealed a skill in rendering three-dimensional forms on a two dimensional surface and an understanding of perspective that was lacking in the flat works of Nineteenth Century Sioux artists."

Besides his handsome features and his charismatic personality, his artistic talent drew "Billie" Dietz to Angel DeCora; but it was football, it seems, that would finally pull them apart. She did not follow him out west, and he divorced her for abandonment on November 30, 1918 (just two months before she died). DeCora dreamed of leaving the Indian Service to collaborate

on artistic projects with her husband, but he continued to participate in Carlisle's football program year after year, until he got the coaching job at Pullman.

The Dietzes were one of the few married couples teaching at Carlisle, and appeared to have been very popular role models for the Indian students. Initially they were a good match, because, besides their shared interest in art, Dietz liked to deal with the public, while his wife was more modest and retiring—though she was a sought-after public spokesperson for the preservation of "Native Indian art" (as she called it) until her death on February 6, 1919.

In 1912 a feature article, titled, "How Art Misrepresents the Indian," appeared in the well-circulated *Literary Digest*. "The story of Lone Star and his wife, Angel DeCora" was said to be "full of romantic interest," and the pair of "educated Indians" was portrayed as fashionably primitive, highly attuned to the natural world, and inherently artistic as befitted their "race." Although the article centers on Dietz's claim that only one artist was capable of authentically representing "the Indian"—Frederick Remington—the most interesting segment of the piece (and the one quoted in "Five Strings to His Bow") is about Dietz himself:

> Forty years ago a young German, a civil engineer, was a member of a party of surveyors laying out the line of a railroad over the plains. The party was attacked by Red Cloud and its camp was besieged. Day by day the supply of provisions grew less. Finally, the young German determined on a course so bold that none of his companions dared accompany him.
>
> Alone, without arms, and with a few days' rations, the engineer set out toward the Indian camp. He was captured and taken before the chief. While his captors introduced him with mutterings he stept forward with outstretched hand toward the chief.
>
> His plan worked. The chief met his captive with the trust that the civil engineer displayed. A lodge was assigned to the white man and he took an Indian woman as his wife. Altho United States troops put an end to the Indian uprising and rescued the other engineers of the party, the young German remained with Chief Red Cloud's tribe and his Indian wife gave birth to two children. The second child, a boy, was named *Wicarhpi Isnala*, or Lone Star.
>
> After he had grown wealthy as a trader and agent between the Indians and the whites the engineer left the tribe and returned to his home in the East. Here he found an old sweetheart, whom he married. After five years he returned to the Indians and took away from the tribe his son, Lone Star, who, a boy of eight years, entered a school in the East, overcame the handicaps of strange language, and was graduated from a high school at eighteen.

The irony in this story is not only did "Art Misrepresent the Indian," but Lone Star also took quite a bit of artistic license in misrepresenting himself! Always a showman, Dietz loved being in the spotlight and was prone to embellish his accomplishments. Still, he was a multi-talented phenomenon. He raised prize Russian Wolfhounds, sang for the glee club, loved acting, appeared in silent movies, wrote plays, and had a successful coaching career until 1942, when he retired to an unprofitable career in commercial art. Ewers deemed Dietz "the most able Plains Indian illustrator of his generation."

But Dietz was not a Plains Indian, and Ewers, "one of the nation's foremost scholars in the ethnology of the Plains Indians and the history of the West," should have noticed that the childhood story Dietz provided for "How Art Misrepresents the Indian" does not match the historical timeline of the Lakota people, let alone the historical timeline of his real family. He was born far too late for the "uprisings" surrounding the Bozeman Trail led by Red Cloud, or any of the outbreaks related to the transcontinental railroad surveys through Lakota territory, not to mention the invasion of the Black Hills by miners and the final, so called, "breaking of Sioux resistance" in 1877. All these events had been well over by 1884, the year of Dietz's birth. Even the last transcontinental line of the Northern Pacific had been completed by 1883, two years after Chief Sitting Bull had returned from his Canadian exodus to find himself an ironic/iconic guest of honor at the opening ceremonies—and still Dietz had not yet been born!

Dietz never lived in South Dakota. He grew up in Rice Lake, Wisconsin, at least from infancy if not from birth. Census records, newspapers, court documents, and a birth certificate confirm this. Although his father was a German American, he had never worked as a civil engineer. He was the Village Marshall of Rice Lake when his son was born. There is some possibility that Dietz had Native ancestry through his mother, but she was not an Oglala woman or named Julia One Star, as he claimed. Regardless of his biological origin, however, culturally speaking, the highly imaginative and creative William Henry Dietz was raised as a typical Euro-American boy who might have been, as a family member confided, teased for "looking Indian."

But none of this is really a crime. What is criminal is that "Lone Star" Dietz created himself from the traces of the missing Oglala man, James One Star. One Star was born about 1872 (in time for the outbreaks), grew up on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, was taken to Carlisle Indian school in 1889 (the year of the Ghost Dance Revival), enlisted in the army at "Carlisle, Pa." on August 9, 1892, and disappeared when he was discharged in Alabama on September 15, 1894.

On February 1, 1919 (just five days before DeCora died) the Associated Press reported that "the Indian coach" was a "Teuton." Dietz was indicted for falsifying his draft registration in

claiming he was "One Star," a Pine Ridge allottee who had non-citizen Indian status, making him exempt from military service. A newspaper excerpt from the trial tells how it all began:

> Before going to Carlisle, he visited St. Louis at the time of the World's Fair, and met an Indian there who told him that he was undoubtedly One Star, his mother being Julia One Star. He got into correspondence with Sally Eagle Horse, who had a brother, One Star, who had left home when 16 years of age, and had never been heard from again. So he decided to take the name of Lone Star, it meaning the same as One Star.

During the trial, the prosecution called the Oglala "sister" Dietz claimed was his own. Through an interpreter, Sally Eagle Horse confirmed she had not heard from James One Star for nearly 30 years—just before he entered the army after leaving the Carlisle in 1892. She further testified that her brother had a scar on his forehead where he was hit with an axe, his ears had been pierced, and he had different features. No, Lone Star Dietz was not her brother. The two other witnesses from Pine Ridge agreed and believed Dietz was really a "white man," even though he had collected two annuity payments in 1916 meant for James One Star.

Yet this was probably not just because he needed the money. 1916 was the year of his team's highly publicized victory at Pasadena's Rose Bowl, after which a St. Paul, Minnesota, newspaper report asked how could Dietz be "Indian" when he was "German" when he had attended college in St. Paul. Maybe Dietz panicked and applied for James One Star's annuity, so his existence would be recorded. The day he was indicted he stated: "If they want the truth as to whether I'm an Indian they can look me up in the records of Pine Ridge, Dakota Indian reservation, or at Carlisle where I played football."

Military records show that the family of James One Star feared he had died during the Spanish American War, and in 1908 had also inquired about his whereabouts. Both the Secretary of the Association of Indian Rights, M. K. Sniffen, and Richard Henry Pratt, Carlisle Indian School's founder, wrote to the War Department. The answer to these queries indicate that One Star did not seem to benefit from his Indian education at Carlisle, where Pratt supported the principle, "Kill the Indian in him and save the Man." James One Star was dishonorably discharged two years after his enlistment, primarily because his military commander decided he was "a worthless drunkard." There is no known record of his whereabouts since then.

In 1914 Charles Yellow Boy inquired again (as shown earlier). But Moses Friedman, superintendent of Carlisle Indian school, received his letter right at the onset of the Congressional Investigation. This was not a good time for Friedman, who was in the hot seat for incompetence and fraud. His reply to Yellow Boy was brief. James One Star died in Cuba. The family should write to the War Department for the details. But there is absolutely no evidence for this

conclusion; War Department records do not support it. Perhaps, the Superintendent wanted to protect the family from the humility of a dishonorable discharge. Or he simply did not take the time to research the case.

In the end no one seemed to care about Sally or her missing brother or the many lies Dietz told. They only tried to determine whether or not Dietz was "part Indian"—and it seems any "part" would do. As one newspaper reported, the testimony Dietz's white mother gave, "reads like a novel." She testified that "Billy" had been substituted about a week or two after she gave birth to a stillborn child on August 17, 1884, and her own mother, Leanna Barry, agreed. Barry claimed that the elder Dietz convinced his wife to take in a baby he had fathered with a woman from "the Sioux and Chippewa tribe," she guessed. "You see Rice Lake was wild then and everything was woods and brush, and full of Indians."

Other testimony, however, did not support the women's story. A neighbor swore she saw Mrs. Dietz the day before and the day after she gave birth to a child who grew up to be Willie Dietz. And a Rice Lake newspaper from August 1884 reported that the elder Dietz was passing out cigars to his friends at his home the day after the alleged stillbirth, contradicting Barry's testimony that no one came around for a couple of weeks to see the new baby. The elder Dietz would have been pretty cruel to pass out cigars the day after his wife lost a baby, not to mention passing them out days before he had allegedly convinced her to take in his illegitimate child. Whether or not he was this unfeeling, the prosecution tried to prove that if Dietz had "Indian" ancestry, it had come from his white mother, one way or another.

Dietz stated the story his mother and grandmother told was true. He testified that he did not find out about his "real" mother until overhearing an argument between his parents when he was sixteen. Racialist confusion likely led to a hung jury. What did it mean in 1919 to be an "Indian"? For most, it was a racial classification with distinct biological attributes that were universally applicable to all in the race. Culture? What did that have to do with anything? Still, in January of the next year a judge convicted Dietz and sent him to jail for 30 days. But despite the conviction, Dietz continued to perpetuate the lie, claiming he had been "persecuted." He remained Lone Star Dietz, Oglala son of Julia One Star, on his social security form in the 1940s, in magazine and newspaper interviews, in confidences between friends.

In 1964 Dietz died a poor man in Reading, Pennsylvania, where he had for several years coached the Albright College Football team. And to honor this "foot ball hero and teacher" with "high moral character," Albright's "Varsity Club" paid most of his medical expenses before he died. They also purchased a plot and headstone for him in Reading on which they had inscribed the name "Lone Star."

Although James One Star has been forgotten, his removal has not been without effect, as evidenced by the current court battle. It's strange that no one seems to remember how residents of Pine Ridge had denied Lone Star's claim to James One Star's identity years ago. Today the only criticism against the claim has been whether or not Lone Star had lived long enough with the Oglala to claim their heritage. As Harjo herself has written: "Dietz had a Sioux mother, but was raised by his German father's family, far to the east of Sioux country. His first contact with Indians was in his late teens in the federal boarding school in Carlisle, Pennsylvania."

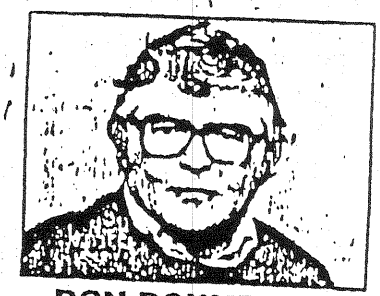
Well, he surely did not live with the Oglala (a division of the western Sioux) for any length of time, and he was twenty-two when he entered Carlisle. But there were *eastern* Sioux, particularly "mixed-blood" Dakota, and there were Ojibway from Lac Court Oreilles reservation, and Ho-chunk who inhabited areas in and around Rice Lake, Wisconsin, when Dietz was a boy. His father even had unearthed Indian graves on their property when "Billy" was a toddler. As his grandmother kept reiterating, "Oh, everything was full of Indians. . . . There were several tribes there." Even if Dietz did *not* have American Indian ancestry, his "first contact" occurred well before he reached Carlisle. As his grandmother explained, "Willie was so Indian in the mind," he sometimes "run along" with "Indian women." Perhaps, his father did too, perhaps not.

But what about James One Star? Even some people at Pine Ridge, it seems, have been misled by a name, forgetting that their real brother never returned home. Have they also been blinded by Lone Star's legacy? Or did they forget their history and James One Star's story, because it was all too painful to remember?

It's time to reclaim the Native boy, though he did not make the transition easily from the plains of South Dakota to a boarding school in Pennsylvania that sought to "kill the Indian in him." It's time to reclaim the young Lakota warrior, though he did not find honor or display valor in his Anglo-America's military. It's time to reclaim the lost Oglala man, who died an unceremonious, and, perhaps, an unlamented death. It's time to reclaim James One Star and bring him home, if not in body, then in spirit—and if not in spirit, then in name. It's not surprising that the Washington Redskins are inspired by a misnomer, a fake and a fraud. What is surprising is that James One Star has been forgotten, and we have not seemed to notice. Though the *Indian* in him was saved to become a *Lone Star,* the Man that he became simply vanished.

St. Paul-Pioneer Press Dispatch Sunday, November 29 1992

Humboldt urged to leave Indians in peace



DON BOXMEYER

There's a guy around who'd like to change the nickname of Humboldt High School's athletes from the Indians to something else. Anything else.

Aw, come on. Humboldt athletes have been the Indians since 1909, or thereabouts. It's a fine nickname because it conjures up images of swift and strong warriors, courage and honor in battle, and grace and dignity in defeat.

Then I met Phil St. John, the Sioux Indian whose mission it is to have not only schools, but professional athletic organizations as well, stop using native Indian names and symbols for their nicknames and mascots.

So what's the big deal? People who call their teams the Indians or the Chiefs or the Braves are not making fun of Indians. They call themselves Indians for the same reason they don't call themselves the Wimps or the Worms. It has to do with pride and all those other manly virtues.

And, St. John said, it has to do with brutality, with scalping, killing, burning and all the other terrifying stereotypes of Indian history.

"An 8-year-old child could lose all the pride he's learned at home by seeing some cheerleader running around at a pep rally with feathers in his hair, with a painted face and carrying a hatchet," he said.

St. John is a social worker at a community health clinic in Minneapolis. His successful efforts earlier this year to get the nickname for Southwest High

And he's not through yet, because at least 50 Minnesota high schools have native Indian nicknames or mascots.

Why is he stirring up all this? Doesn't he realize that use of an Indian nickname is a gesture of respect?

And then he quietly suggests some alternatives. What if they were called the Highland Park Jews? Or the Central Negroes? You can take it from there because the possibilities are endless: The Honkies, the Chinks, the Polacks ...

"The Washington Redskins are the worst," said Fred Veilleux, an Ojibway Indian and clinic colleague of St. John's. "There is nothing more disrespectful or demeaning than to call an Indian a redskin. It would be like calling a black man a nigger."

"As I was growing up in South Dakota," St. John said, "the lowest thing that an Indian could call a white man was 'trash,' and that was the equivalent of 'redskin.' Yet, you don't see any teams with the nickname 'Trash.' "

It's at its worst at homecoming with Indian nicknames to scalp, burn or otherwise brutalize the opposition.

"The University of South Dakota (players) are known as the Fighting Sioux," Veilleux said. "An opponent's homecoming slogan came out 'Sioux Suck!' "

A couple of months ago, St. John contacted Humboldt High School about his desire to have the school drop its Indian nickname.

So far, according to Humboldt Principal John Ettlinger, the possibility of a change has been discussed in social studies classes and before the student council and a community advisory group. It is being considered by the urban affairs department of the school district. And Humboldt students are encouraged to talk about alternatives.

"We have 70 native Americans in the school," Ettlinger said, "400 Hispanics, about 100 Asians and 50 blacks. This is truly a multicultural school. We want to hear from the students about what they would like to do."

What he is hearing so far from the native Indians, he said, is that they favor a change. While he did not say it directly, I think that if John Ettlinger were a betting man, he'd bet on a nickname change.

It's time, Humboldt. It's time.

Kelly Services Holiday Open House

Tuesday, December 1
10:00 am - 6:00 pm



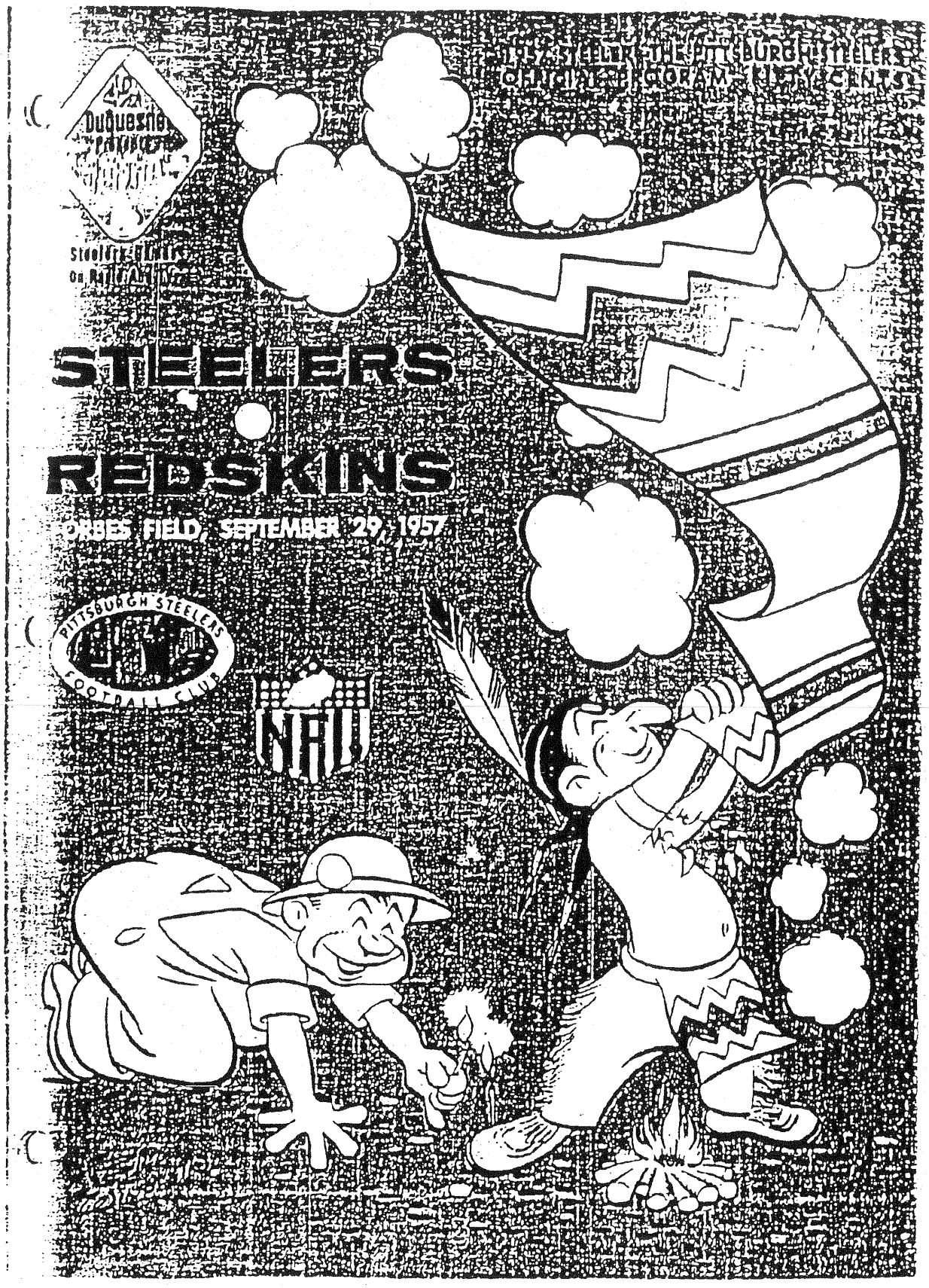
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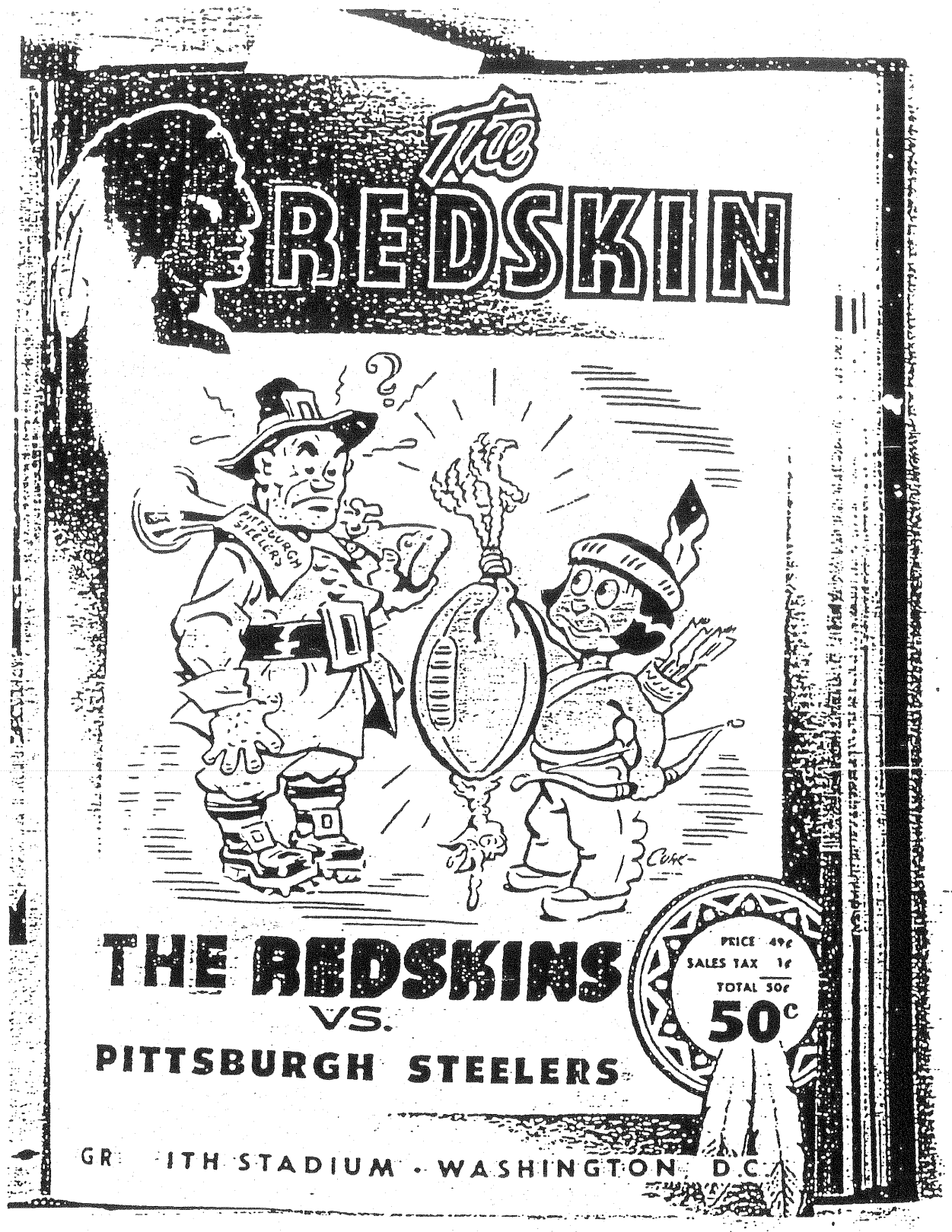
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Case No. 21,069
Petitioners' Ex.
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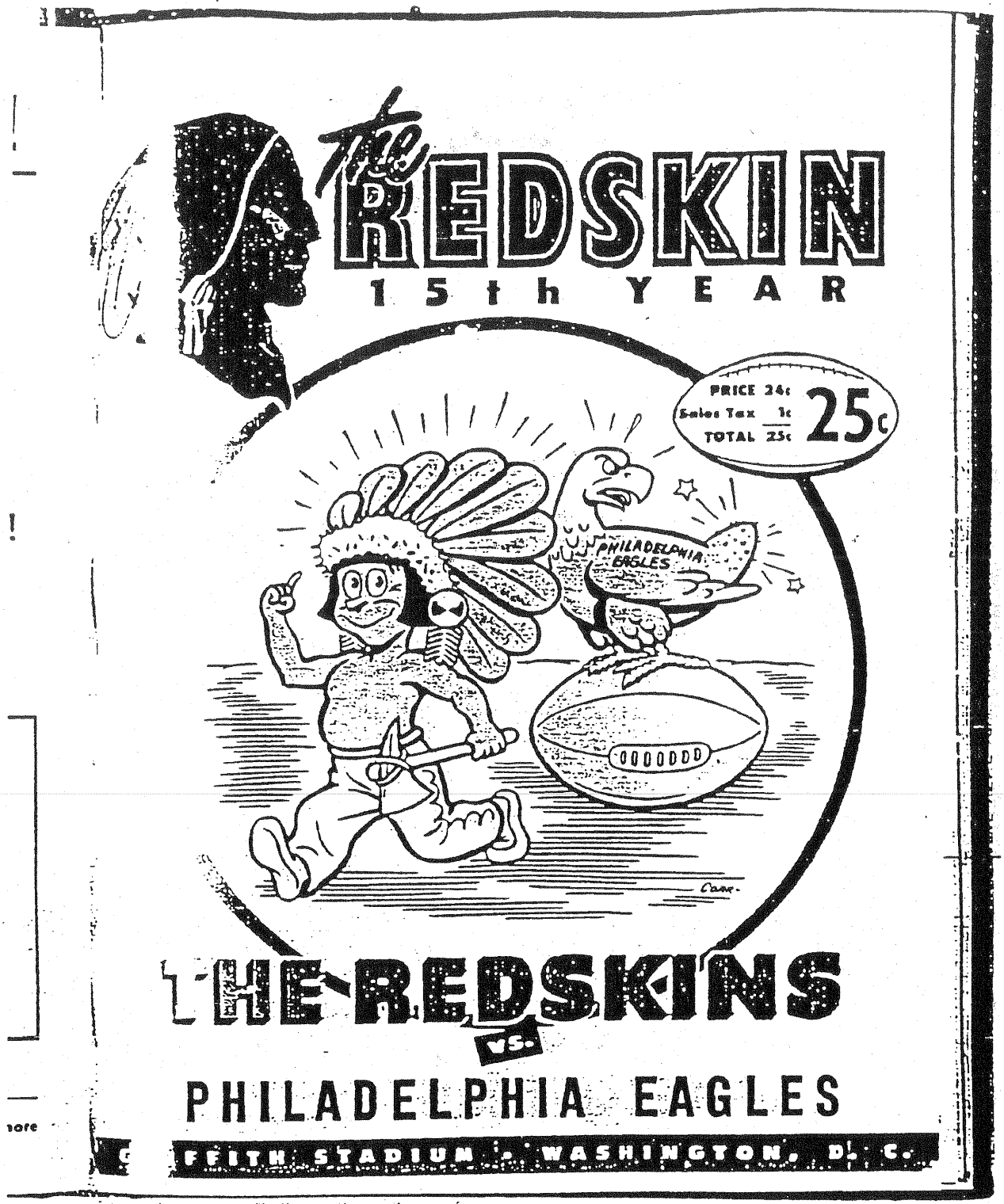

STEELERS
REDSKINS
FORBES FIELD, SEPTEMBER 29, 1957
PITTSBURGH STEELERS
FOOTBALL CLUB



Harjo, et al. v.
Pro-Football, Inc.
Case No. 21,069
Petitioners' Ex.

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Harjo, et al. v.
Pro-Football, Inc.
Case No. 21,069
Petitioners' Ex.

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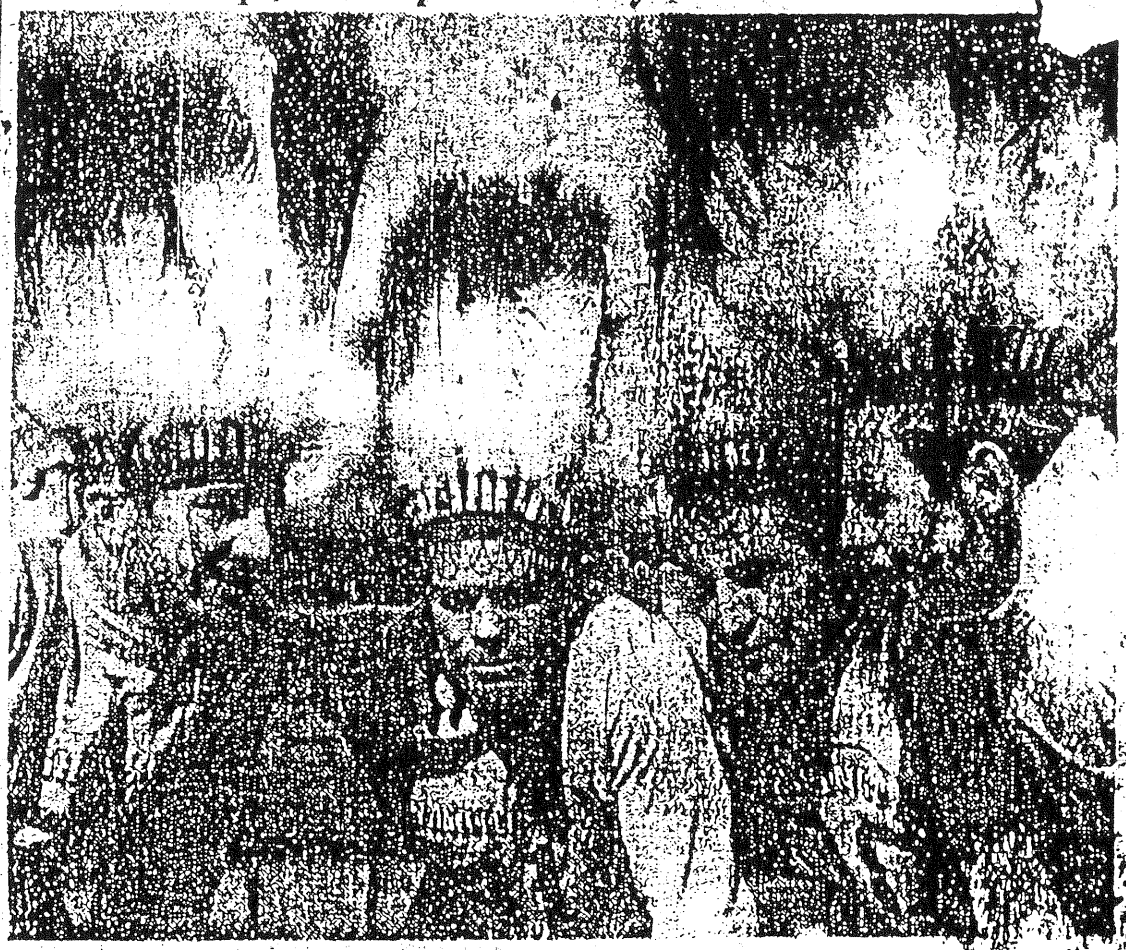
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14A FORT WORTH STAR-TELEGRAM WEDNESDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 21, 1979

viewpoints

Heap, Heap Hooray! for Redskins

Post



Associated Press Photo

A set of talented Redskin backs ease up in their practice for the Bears to don tribal headpieces and have some fun. Left to right, Sammy Baugh, Dick Todd, Frank Filchock and Andy Farkas

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Harjo, et al. v.
Pro-Football, Inc.
Case No. 21,069
Petitioners' Ex.

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Star SPORTS

THE EVENING STAR A-17
Washington, D. C., Tuesday, September 22, 1959



Named yesterday as a publicity aide for the Redskins was Joan Adams, shown wearing the appropriate headdress as she posed in the club's office after being introduced to the press. Auburn-bred Miss Adams, a former Miss Nevada and second-runnerup in the Miss Universe contest, has been hired to decorate luncheons, television shows and similar occasions on behalf of Washington's pro football club.—AP Photo.

Harjo, et al. v.
Pro-Football, Inc.
Case No. 21,069
Petitioners' Ex.

12.026

9/23/57 STAR

The Chief of Victory

By Jane Cook

Associated Newspapers Staff Writer

He came in the door dripping fringe, trailing feathers and weilding a colorful spear. Upon locating the nearest Dallas fan, he aimed the spear at her, "Still want to root for Dallas?" he asked her.

Zema Williams, "Chief Zee," calls himself the Redskins' Number One Fan.

"I keep the crowd flowing," he says. He means that he keeps it stirred up. "Adults come to see the football players and kids come to see Chief Zee," he laughs.

He practices a little magic, a few illusions. Judging by the crowd reaction in the Great Times offices, he's a big hit in the bleachers.

"I once took a real hog to a game in Minnesota just to rile up the fans," he muses.

"I'd say that mainly I'm a crowd pleaser. You know, I tease people in a good natured way, especially if they don't have on Redskin colors—things like that." He spends about 80 percent of his time in the stands

He's basking in the Redskins' Super Bowl victory. "For the first three years that I cheered for the 'Skins, it was with both fingers crossed, hoping for the big victory. Now I just show up and crowds go crazy. It's great being number one."

The Chief has been appearing at games since 1978. He first showed up at a Cowboy game with a head bonnet. Then, friends and fans got together and got him a costume.

On August 20, he's getting something new, and he's excited. He's being presented with a burgundy buckskin authentic Indian costume, complete with full headdress.

"To go with that," he adds, "I'm gonna get a Super Bowl ring when the Redskins win again in '84." A button on Chief Zee's jacket spells RESPECT. "That's what I'm going to donate to the Smithsonian when we win," he says.

Besides attending all the home games and most out-of-town games, Chief Zee makes personal appearances in increasing numbers. He took part in the Reston Festival in May, riding with Grand Marshal Mark Moseley. He appeared this summer at the Special Olympics awards in Alexandria.

The fourth of July was a big day at the Loudoun Campus of the Northern Virginia Community College with Chief Zee's antics. This fall, he plans to make appearances at high school games in Fairfax and Montgomery counties.

Chief Zee pulls out a little bag containing a voodoo doll, stuck full at the moment with pins on a spot labeled "wax." That's to jinx the Cowboys, he says.

He brings out four blue marble-shaped stones that no one is allowed to touch, only look at. These, he says are our good luck, our guarantee of winning.

As Chief Zee catches his breath a minute and starts to take his leave, he does one last magic trick. He stands at the front door and levitates his moccasins about two inches off the floor.

To applause, he leaves, having pleased the crowd again.



Chief Fan

Chief Zee is the undisputed leader of the Washington Redskins cheering section. Garbed in American Indian attire and filled with Redskin zeal, Chief Zee visited Great Times last week, spreading his enthusiasm and shedding some light on on the 'Skins' biggest fan.

AD-58

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Barjo, et al. v. Pro-Football, Inc. Case No. 21,069 Petitioners' Ex. 13.005

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In This Caw-Nuh!

News



Harjo, et al. v.
Pro-Football, Inc.
Case No. 21,069
Petitioners' Ex.

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Hard stuff in Tampa, the Manly Mounds

similiar," said Raiders linebacker Rod Martin. "But I think the only

Harjo, et al. v.
Pro-Football, Inc.
Case No. 21,069
Petitioners' Ex.

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Harvest boon? Scientists plant scallops in Bay, hoping to create new product/D1

The Virginian-Pilot

MONDAY
JANUARY 27, 1992

Serving southeastern Virginia and northeastern North Carolina

127th Year, No 48

50 CENTS

Redskins leave no doubts



Paul Mikellides, left, Doros Mylonas and Yiangos Mikellides, all of Washington, found plenty to cheer about Sunday in Minneapolis — and their team's 37-24 drubbing of the Buffalo Bills in the Super Bowl hadn't even begun.

Buffalo fits the Bill as victim of 37-24 rout



BOB MOLINARO
AT THE SUPER BOWL

MINNEAPOLIS — A coach's personality isn't changed by a Super Bowl victory.

"It was just one of those days for us," said the Redskins' Joe Gibbs.

Just one of those days. Gibbs wouldn't say it, but somebody should: The Redskins' 37-24 victory over the Buffalo Bills was just another one of those great days in a great season.

The final score doesn't begin to tell of the whipping the Redskins handed out. Or of the joy they provided their faithful.

Redskins fans sitting in one corner of the end zone at the Metrodome sang themselves hoarse on choruses of "Hail to the Redskins," belting out the lyrics a cappella when the recorded music cut off.

The fans were celebrating the greatest of years by a team that isn't supposed to have an abundance of great players.

The decisiveness of the Redskins' victory will probably be met with stubborn surprise by people who insist that the new champs have no great players other than cornerback Darrell Green.

This notion is repeated by the media, and by the Skins players themselves, so that, by now, it is generally accepted as gospel. But is it really possible to put together a great season without at least a handful of great players?

For now, the point is moot. This team went though the season without a letdown, without a controversy, with hardly a close game.

Great? The Redskins were great at winning big.

Because the Super Bowl is equal parts circus and sport, there is a chance that football fans who don't [illegible] back Thurman Thomas misplaced his helmet. By the end of the first half, Buffalo had lost its head.

What was it that Bills Coach Marv Levy said to the man in the striped shirt as he ran off the field at halftime? It looked like, "You've been bought!"

Apparently, Levy was upset that the officials hadn't dropped a few more flags in favor of Buffalo. Later, he had the class to acknowledge that the officials' judgment "didn't affect the game one iota."

Neither did the play of Thomas and Bruce Smith. The most outspoken players during Super Bowl Week were strangely silent during the game. The dudes with the 'tudes, as they were being called, were barely factors.

Said Thomas: "To be honest, I'm still in dismay."

To be honest, the Bills were in disarray. Sunday was just another one of those days for the Redskins. Another day when the Redskins were bedrock-solid. When they were better prepared than their opponent. Smarter and tougher, too.

Will this Super Bowl be the game that introduces Rypien as one of the NFL's key players? Let somebody [illegible] to tell the world now that Rypien

Harjo, et al. v. Pro-Football, Inc.
Case No. 21,069
Petitioners' Ex.
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AD-61

Cover Story

Movable feasts

Redskins fans bring party to parking lots at RFK

By Lorraine Woellert
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The smell of burning charcoal and lighter fluid fills the air a mile from RFK Stadium. A little closer and that scent mixes with that of barbecue sauce and roasting hot dogs.

It's just after 10 a.m. on a brilliant day, and those happy aromas float over from the stadium toward the 14th Street Bridge, which is lit up with a slow-moving line of red brake lights.

But this is no typical workday gridlock. It is Sunday morning, and these people are going to The Game.

That game would be the Washington Redskins vs. the Seattle Seahawks, the season opener, Norv's big debut — and what could be the first of the last at RFK Stadium before the team moves to a new facility in suburban Maryland.

But before a new and promising Redskins lineup can take the field, some special fans slowly wind their way to the RFK parking lot for some fun and games of their own.

"I've never seen a line that long this early," says Jim Beissner, a fan from Prince William County who had bleu-cheese burgers sizzling on the grill at 10:30 a.m., 2½ hours before game time.

Mr. Beissner is a Redskins tailgater, a breed of fan whose devotion for the team spills out of the stadium and into the parking lot. There it is manifested in helmet-shaped bibachins, burgundy-and-gold folding chairs and back-slapping good times.

The fans are there before every home game, in the rain and snow, and on the most perfect of days, like yesterday, under crystal skies and cool breezes.

"This is almost as much fun as the game," says Betty Baker, a real estate agent from Alexandria who, with Mr. Beissner, Sandy Lenihan and Theresa Metz was toasting the Redskins with Bloody Marys while their burgers were grilling.

Tailgate parties aren't new and aren't unique, but they're given special attention at RFK — this is tailgating with a mission.

Forget parking-lot picnics at the Gold Cup steeplechase, where tweed blazers hobnob in little circles to sip mimosas and and silently compare the cost of their spreads.

Redskins tailgaters wear T-shirts, eat red meat and holler their hearts out — all in the name of The Team.

"They have a very nice tailgating party," says Paul Taylor, a Seattle Seahawks fan who, with 29 friends and relatives, flew in from around the country to watch his brother, Dean Wells, play against the Redskins.

But even for an NFL player like Mr. Wells, it's tough getting enough tickets for any game at RFK, where saying a Redskins game is sold out is like saying the Capital Beltway is bad during rush hour — there's just no need to remind anyone.

"It took him a whole week of begging" to get the tickets, said Mr. Taylor.

Joan Edwards didn't have to beg for her seats to the game. She bought season tickets 30 years ago as a Christmas gift for her husband, Tommy.

The accompanying tailgate party yesterday was an afterthought.

"It just gets kind of bigger and bigger," Mrs. Edwards says, surveying the 14 cars and half-dozen tables piled with fried sandwiches, hot dogs, raw vegetables and potato salad.

Party regulars include Adele and Nadine Smith of Arlington. If there can be celebrity Redskins fans, these identical twins are it.

They wear matching hats, matching shirts, matching shorts and matching Redskins earrings — little gold helmets.

After 20 years of tailgating with the Edwards, Adele Smith has tailgating down to a simple science — "You've got to bring some food," she says.

The idea of setting up barbecues in a parking lot and serving drinks out of a car trunk only caught on at RFK in the last couple decades. Before that, Ms. Smith says, most die-hard fans took a shuttle bus or the subway to the stadium, bypassing the parking lot altogether.

The asphalt affair began in earnest in the mid-1970s, Ms. Smith says, after coach George Allen took the team to Super Bowl VII. The Redskins lost, but the fans walked away with a new tradition.

Now the South-Edwards affair gets bigger every year. And when snow covers the parking lot in the winter, they don't stay away. They simply turn out en masse to shovel a space and spread green indoor-outdoor carpeting over the snow.

Tailgaters in the old days would bring sandwiches. Now there's homemade chili in crock pots, steaks and baked potatoes and even venison stew.

"Back then the grills were too big to carry," says Cari Pottenger, who drove three hours from Halifax, Pa., to watch her Redskins.

But beyond the portable grills and Redskins napkins, there's a point here somewhere for the hordes of fans who come out for the game hours before the kickoff.

"Yeah, if you don't get here early, you don't get a place to park," says Hughie Kelly, a Southeast.

Or maybe it's the long lines of traffic that still winds its way along Interstate 295 toward RFK four minutes after kickoff. What those fans sit in their cars, the Redskins score what will be their only touchdown of the game.

It will be a long afternoon for the home team, as they suffer a 28-7 drubbing at the hands of the Seahawks. And that makes the score in the parking lot a bit lopsided, but just as dressy. Tailgaters | Other Fans 0

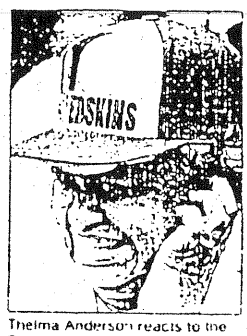


From left, brothers Dave, Mark, Jim and Steve Kinsey practice their cheers at RFK.

Photos by Carl Juste/The Washington Times



The Indian Girl cheers on the Redskins during their opening game.



Thelma Anderson reacts to the Redskins' poor performance against the Seattle Seahawks.

Harjo, et al. v.
Pro-Football, Inc.
Case No. 21,069
Petitioners' Ex.

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Redsk[illegible]s won? Not if this grou[illegible] has anything to say ab[illegible]t it!

By Amy Brooke Baker
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Boston

Many sports fans might be pleased with the Washington Redskins' Super Bowl performance last weekend, but some are not so pleased with the team's name.

Led by Washington business consultant Chris Burke, a group of Redskins fans are working to influence a change in the team's name by petition and publicity.

"The team itself is a great Washington institution. [But] its name is offensive and derogatory," he says.

So Fans Against Indian Racism – whose approximately 50 members are not American Indians – has written to Redskins management and flown banners over the playoff and Super Bowl games to publicize its concern. "We are offering to raise $1,000 for a 'new name' contest," Mr. Burke says.

The group's efforts are being echoed as far away as Minneapolis, where activists – Concerned American Indian Parents – are working for similar change.

With the help of a jarring poster and the support of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the group of parents has already persuaded a Minneapolis school to change its team name from Indians to Lakers.

Organizer Phil St. John says the group's goal is to put a resolution before all Minnesota schools to keep American Indian names out of school sports. The parents then hope to establish an Indian education program to prevent stereotyping.

Mr. St. John, a Sioux Indian from South Dakota, says team names have a greater effect than one might think. "Jack Kent Cooke says they use the name out of respect," he says, citing a letter he got from the Redskins owner. "And maybe names like Braves or Warriors do [have positive connotations]. But the antics don't stop."

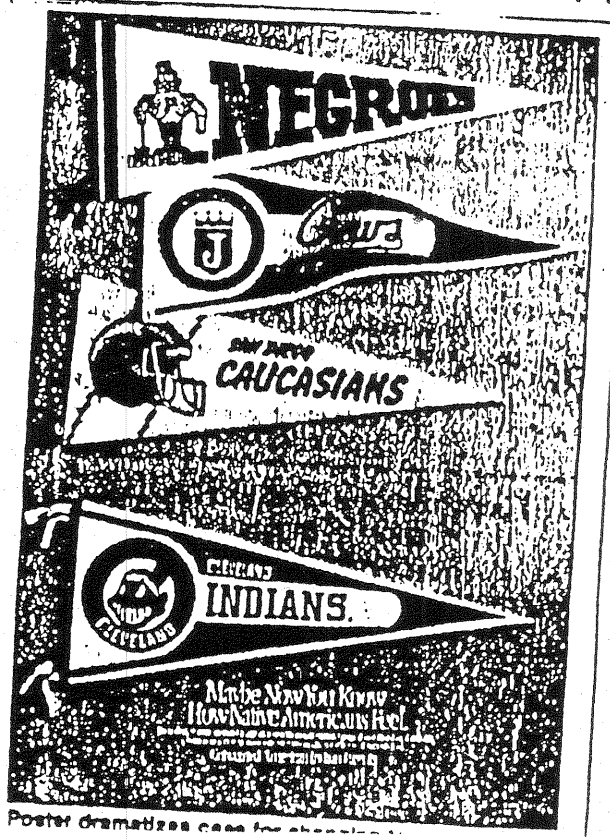
He points to mascots and enthusiastic fans who dress as American Indians, whoop, dance, and wear war bonnets. "The war bonnet has a special significance to American Indians – much like the crucifix to Catholics," St. John says. "People wouldn't condone that kind of behavior if it was a crucifix being waved around."

Efforts to reach a representative of the Redskins for comment on this story were unsuccessful.

Burke acknowledges that this is not the first time activists have worked to change Indian-related team names. Different groups have raised the issue periodically, particularly in the mid-1970s, when several college teams were persuaded to choose different titles.

But Burke suggests those movements did not last, "because of a lack of effective, strategic organization. We intend to work behind the scenes in a quiet, professional way." He says his group's efforts of the past six months have drawn the interest of several congressmen and the support of the National Congress of American Indians.

"This may not be an earth-shaking issue," he says, "but it's an embarrassing and, at times, disgusting display of ignorance, and we intend to change it."



Poster dramatizes case for changing

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
NATIONAL

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1988

Barjo, et al. v. Pro-Football, Inc.
Case No. 21,069
Petitioners' Ex.
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AD-63

133

WHAT'S IN A NICKNAME?

Native Americans say teams turn people into mascots

By Valerie Lynn Dorsey
USA TODAY

In Washington, some fans of the National Football League's Redskins wear warpaint and feathers.

In Atlanta, home of the Braves, Tallahassee, Fla., home of the Florida State Seminoles, and Kansas City, home of the Chiefs, fans support their sports teams with a chant and the "tomahawk chop."

"We are being used as mascots just like goats," said Tim Giago, publisher of the *Lakota Times*, the USA's largest independently owned Native American newspaper based in Rapid City, S.D. "We are human. (Washington owner) Jack Kent Cooke says he is honoring us with the name."

Sports teams — from high school to professional — provide excitement for fans, big salaries for pro athletes and school-community unity.

Sports also can provide mascots and symbols that are degrading and offensive to the various ethnic communities that make up the USA.

"There is a lot of ignorance going around," said Wayne Duchenseux, president of the National Congress of American Indians. "They are definitely derogatory and are denoted to mean savage. It's a good old tradition to say the folks that ain't WASP (white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant) should be happy to be talked about at all."

Some images, such as rebels and confederates, symbolize bigotry to African-Americans. For Native Americans, some names, including Redskins and Redmen, are racist.

The Washington Redskins are the only professional team named after a skin color.

John Kent Cooke, executive vice president of the Washington team, said the name was not intended to offend anyone.

"If there are some people offended by the name, I'm sorry about that," Cooke said. "Very rarely do we get someone complaining. It's the team that is important and we have been here so long (since 1937) and we have a good history.

"It (name) represents what's good about the NFL. You ask anyone on the street during the fall what holds this area together and they will say the Washington Redskins."

Florida State, ranked No. 1 in the USA TODAY/CNN College Coaches' Poll, made an effort not to insult Native Americans by consulting Seminole Indians before creating its mascot, Chief Osceola, in 1978.

Chief Osceola, before each home game, rides an Appaloosa horse named Renegade to midfield and plants a 10-foot flaming spear into the ground.

"I met Howard Tommy, Seminole Chief in Florida, and told him what I wanted to do," said creator Bill Durham of Tallahassee. "He gave us their blessing and the ladies designed the costume. The only thing we have changed is to add a wig."

Some schools have changed their mascots, such as Eastern Michigan from the Hurons to the Eagles last year despite alumni threats to end financial support.

Others refuse to let go.

In 1989, most Minnesota school districts with such nicknames rejected or ignored a state Board of Education request to change. Only 12 of 54 complied.

Dr. Ronald L. Quincy, executive director of the Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change in Atlanta, says it's important for teams to consider changing nicknames considered offensive by some.

"The idea in racial indicators suggest a diminution of one race of people or group over another," he said. "It's unnecessary to demean and embarrass individuals and groups of people."

Origins might surprise you

Curtiss Seymore was taken aback when he learned the nickname of his new high school's team was the Tarbabes — pronounced "TAR-babies."

"I questioned it," said Seymore, an African-American and the athletic director at Compton (Calif.) High. "But after I found out the history, I didn't have a problem with it."

Compton was once the lower school for a junior college whose nickname was the Tartars — a type of warrior. The high school became the Little Tartars, or Tarbabes. Such a name was used as a racial epithet from Uncle Remus tales.

"We are going to survey the kids and come up with a new name," said assistant principal Ernest Webb.

More names:

▶ Rochester (N.Y.) East High Crimsons. Although the symbol is an eagle, there is talk of eliminating "Crimson."

▶ Pittsburg (Calif.) Downs. According to town lore, a student with a stutter and a gait reminiscent of Elmer Fudd referred to the team mascot, but it came out "Ducks."

▶ Wahpeton (N.D.) Sharp. The name was changed last June to Huskies after 60 years as "great as more school spirit."

▶ Point Pleasant (W.Va.) Big Blacks. Football coach Steve Ballard says they got the name from a sportswriter in the 1920s when the team wore all black.

Sham rituals mock religion



COMMENTARY
By Tim Giago

RAPID CITY, S.D. — Indians as mascots have been a point of contention for many years among Native Americans. Most of our ranting and raving has fallen on deaf ears.

Suddenly, as the Atlanta Braves fought their way to a trip to the World Series, other voices picked up our indignant shouts and this issue has taken on national stature.

The sham rituals, such as wearing feathers, smoking so-called peace pipes, beating tomtoms, fake dances, horrendous attempts at singing Indian songs, the so-called war whoops and the painted faces address more than the issues of racism. They also are direct attacks upon the spirituality of the Indian people.

Suppose a team such as the New Orleans Saints decided to include religious rituals in their halftime shows in keeping with their name.

For instance, the Saints fans decided to emulate Catholicism as part of their routine. What if they carried crosses, had a mascot dressed like the Pope, spread ashes on their foreheads and displayed enlarged replicas of the Holy Communion sacramental bread while drinking from chalices filled with wine?

Eagle feathers play an important role in the spirituality of Native Americans. Faces are painted in a sacred way. The pipes known to the white man as "peace pipes" are known to most Indians who use them as part of their spirituality as sacred pipes.

Because the treaties signed between the sovereign Indian nations and the U.S. government were so sacred and so important to the Indian nations, the signing was usually attended by the smoking of a sacred pipe. The gesture intended to show the document signed was a sacred one and would be treated as such.

There is a national insensitivity when it comes to the religious beliefs, values and culture of the American Indian.

The Christian Bible says, "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." Would God-fearing Christians use sports mascots that would insult any other minority religious group?

If not, then why in the world would they do this to the indigenous peoples of the Western Hemisphere?

Tim Giago is the publisher of the Lakota Times, the USA's largest independently owned Indian newspaper, based in Rapid City, S.D.

Rebel flag reminds some of troubled past

By Valerie Lynn Dorsey
USA TODAY

The team nickname Rebel coupled with a Confederate flag can become a torch that ignites feelings.

"In the South, there is a strong memory of past events that are alive now," said Bill Ferris, executive director for the Center for Study of Southern Culture at the University of Mississippi. "In the flag, you have the image that evokes for blacks the world of slavery and for whites, the world of plantations and wrestling with being on the losing side."

The 1990-91 Clell Wade directories of high schools listed 191 schools with the Rebel nickname. Two Division I college teams — Mississippi and Nevada-Las Vegas — have Rebel mascots.

"That flag is a battle flag, and in many ways it's a desecration to use it on a sports field," Ferris said. "If you believe in old Southern values, that flag should not be confused with a sports events."

Where it has been used, Ferris said, there has been tension.

"It symbolizes all the trauma and racism that had gone on before," said Gale A. Hansberry, executive director of the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life & History.

Last summer, the local NAACP petitioned the District 5 School Board for a change in the Rebel mascot at Duncan (S.C.) James F. Byrnes High School. The school kept the Rebel name but changed the team logo to a lance with "Rebel" written above.

Meetings before the decision produced strong emotions.

▶ "To remove the Rebel, a Southern symbol of honor, independence and courage, will show that we — black and white — are not worthy of the time-honored principles and values that these soldiers fought and died for." — Ruth Bragg.

▶ "The Rebel flag represents slavery to black people. We don't need anything to remind us of where we were and what we used to be." — Rev. Leon Rector Jr.

"There's no place for those (names) in athletic competition," said Dr. Robert L. Quincy, executive director of the Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change in Atlanta. "Why not use nicknames that relate more to the competitive spirit rather than drawing back on the dark history of our country?"

Last June, 32 members of the University of Mississippi Faculty Senate called for the elimination of the Confederate flag as a school symbol during athletic events. However, members of the school's Phi Kappa Tau fraternity still wave the flag at games.

"There are individuals who wave the flag, but it's not a fraternity thing," fraternity president Kevin Patterson said.

Randy Baldwin, an African-American who played at Mississippi for three years, was not bothered by the symbol.

"I was oblivious to everything except my goals," he said.

However, Ferris added, "In many ways the flag holds us prisoner to the past. At a time we need to be dealing with global issues, we are talking about things 150 years ago."

NICKNAMES ACROSS THE USA

A state-by-state look at team nicknames that

Noble Hawks Hospitals, Owensboro Daviess County Navigators; Hazard Mt C Hospital.

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[illegible] School, Sunset Hills South County Technical Redskins Carondelet, R-1 Bengals; Savannah

Bishop Scully Blackbirds Mehlville Central Cougars Rochester East Rebels; Grant Hack South Parish A P W Central Redmen;

bury Shelbyville Indians; Conneaut Land Connellsville Conneaut Valley Devildogs Conemaugh Township [illegible]

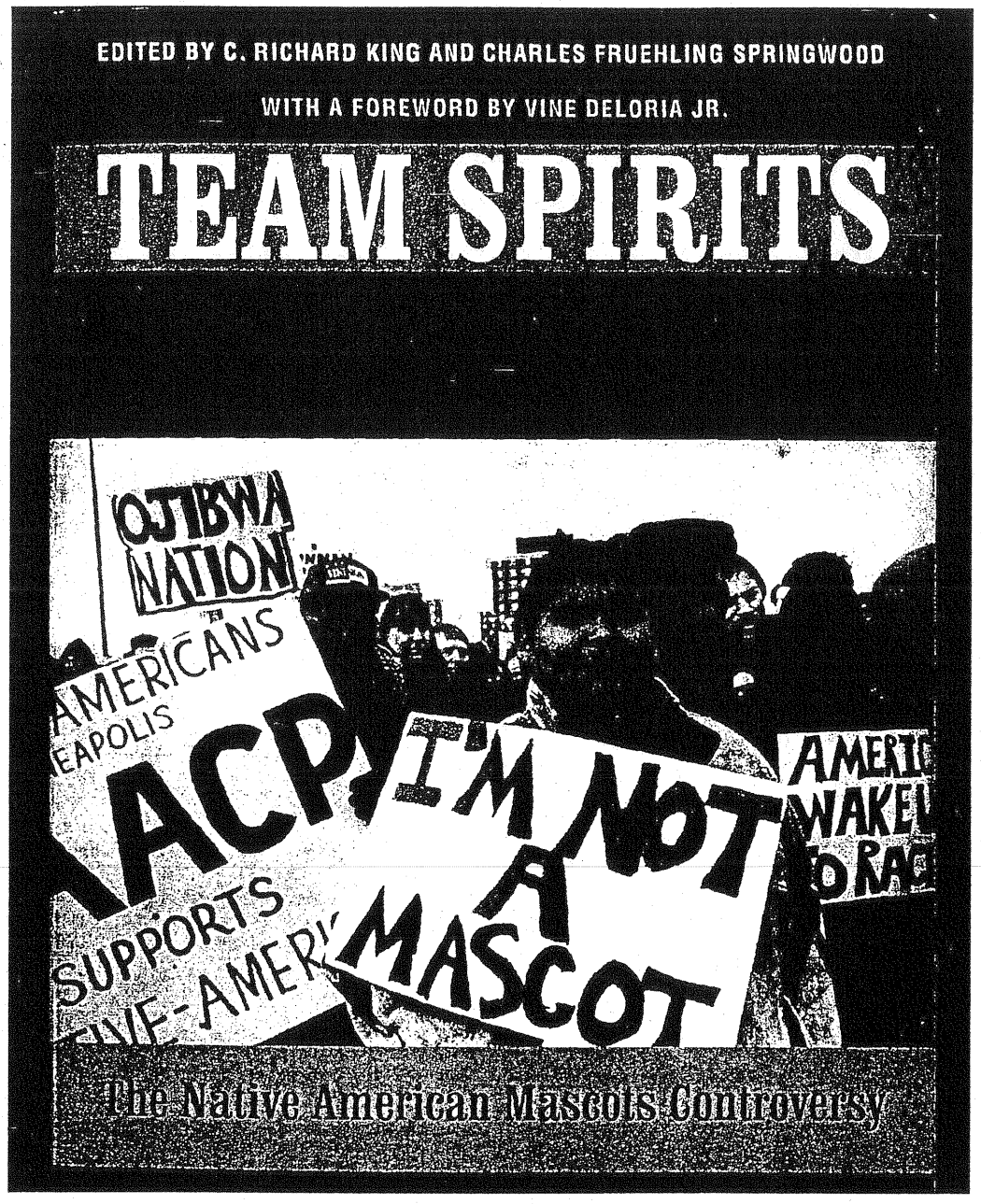
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Pro-Football, In
Case No. 21,065
Petitioners' Ex

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WITH A FOREWORD BY VINE DELORIA JR.
TEAM SPIRITS
OJIBWA NATION
AMERICANS
EAPOLIS
ACP
SUPPORTS
I'M NOT A MASCOT
The Native American Mascots Controversy

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understanding of signifying practices as *modes of power* to control space, style, and value and, broadly, to *name* emerges as paramount. As Jordan and Weedon (1995:11–15) have argued, colonial relationships are usually enacted by a series of signifying "regimes of naming," such as the power to label or define a group of people in official discourse, as in the figure of the wild Indian, the female hysteric, the African American "mammy"; the power to mimic, as in playing Indian and blackface performances; and the power to tell a story from one's own perspective, such as Thanksgiving.

Native American mascots perpetuate inappropriate, inaccurate, and harmful understandings of living people, their cultures, and their histories (Banks 1993; Churchill 1994; Davis 1993; Frazier 1997; Gone 1999; Jackson and Lyons 1997; King 1998; King and Springwood forthcoming; Pewewardy 1994; Slowikowski 1993; Springwood and King forthcoming; Vanderford 1996; Wenner 1993). Through fragments thought to be Indian – a headdress, tomahawk, war paint, or buckskin – Native American mascots reduce them to a series of well-worn clichés, sideshow props, and racist stereotypes, masking, if not erasing, the complexities of Native American experiences and identities. Halftime performance, fan antics, and mass merchandizing transform somber and reverent artifacts and activities into trivial, shallow, and lifeless forms. Indeed, Native American mascots misappropriate sacred ideas and objects, such as the headdress war bonnet, relocating them in sacrilegious contexts. They misuse and misunderstand the elements of Native American cultures and their symbolic meanings. Importantly, since many Euro-Americans encounter Native Americans *only* as mascots and moving images, these unreal Indians materialize the most base images of Native Americans, presenting them as warriors battling settlers and soldiers, noble savages in touch with nature, uncivilized barbarians opposing the civilized and ultimately triumphant advance of Euro-America.

The Washington Daily News, Friday, November 5, 1971 SPORTS

"For a lot of Indians the name Redskin is roughly equivolent to Darky. It depends on how it's used. The worse thing about it, it keeps the cheap stereotypes of the Indian in circulation."—Richard LaCourse, Yakima Indian

REDSKINS

REDNECKS

TOM QUINN

IMAGINE THE Syracuse University Orangemen called instead the Syracuse Kikes. The football players have little cash registers painted on the sides of their helmets. When the team wins, the student body stands up and shouts in unison, "Such a deal!"

Repugnant? Cruel anti-semitism? What, then, would be the reaction if, say, for just one game Ole Miss called its teams The Darkies and dressed its cheerleaders up like Aunt Jemima shuffling to a motown version of "Old Black Joe?"

That could be a mockery, eh?

Team nicknames are one of the most casual traditions in American sports. Usually, such names are chosen to add color to competition and most are based on animals or mythical figures like Vikings, Giants, Pirates. Some of the newer names understandably identify with technology: i.e., the New York Jets, Baltimore Bullets.

Except in one case that has repeated itself as often as history itself, no one picks on an ethnic minority for his mascot. And that one exception is the American Indian. Right now in the racially tense 1970s it seems perfectly acceptable to have teams known as the Bucks, Braves, Chiefs, Indians, Warriors or, ahem, the Washington Redskins.

"For a lot of Indians the name 'Redskin' is roughly equivalent to 'Darky,'" explained Richard LaCourse, a Yakima Indian from the state of Washington who is the D.C. correspondent for the American Indian Press Association. "It depends on how it's used. The worse thing about it, it keeps the cheap stereotypes of the Indian in circulation."

The term does not particularly bother LaCourse who, like many Indians interviewed on the subject yesterday, prefers to believe the whiteman simply knows not what he does. John Parker, however, a Choctaw from Oklahoma who works for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, was indignant. "They should change the name," he said. "It lacks dignity, a haphazard slang word that refers to Indians in general but on a lower scale. It is the white people's way of making a mockery, like they used to do to the blacks in the South."

Parker would prefer to see the Washington football franchise look for a name from Indians who really lived in the area, like the Piscataways who had a village along the Potomac approximately where today the George Washington Parkway spreads its blacktop belly.

Laura Whitehorn, a Seneca from New York, recently went to the Washington Redskins ticket office at 1813 H St. nw, the walls of which are adorned with photographs of "Famous Western Chiefs." She felt like a florist in a shop of plastic flowers. "It makes me personally very angry and I would rather they not use the name Redskins," Miss Whitehorn said, "but the offense is very subtle."

SHE SAID OTHER minorities such as blacks, Jews and Italians have taken advantage of growing national sensitivity toward minorities to demand respect. "All it left is the Indian," she said, "and this problem is beginning to stand out like a sore thumb." She recently convinced a local car dealer that an advertisement advising cheats "to bring the whole tribe to the Happy Hunting Ground for cash" was not in good taste. Highest they didn't really realize what the Happy Hunting Ground meant to the Indian," she said.

There was commotion recently at the University of Oklahoma to get rid of its mascot, an Indian called "Little Red." That movement, the natives of the Indian, said LaCourse, gave the impression the Indian should be "cute and nice and not make trouble," an attitude so demeaning it sounds like a Women's Lib group.

And once one begins to look around seriously, humiliations like these are apparent everywhere. The insignia for the Cleveland Indians is a red-faced, cross-eyed Indian with a big nose. Count up all the insipid Indiana shows you've seen with an Indian theme. They aren't tributes; they're innocent little insults and they hurt.

GARY POUFAULTTY, a board member of the American Native Embassy in D.C., is a Comanche from Oklahoma who would like to name his own football team "Honored White Trash" in retaliation. "When I was teaching here in Dallas once, the Cowboys were my team until one day a guy who obviously knew I was an Indian got behind me and started ranting about how the Cowboys were beating the team they were playing worse than the Cowboys used to beat the Indians. I just had to move away," Poufaulty said.

Alvin M. Josephy Jr., who has written a number of books on Indians and most recently published a magazi-

The Redskins

tion of Indian thought called "Red Power," blames the situation on whiteman ignorance. "These put-downs of Indians in sports are consistent with all the ignorant stereotypes of Indians that engulfed themselves in other facets of our society," Joseph said. "Every minority has had to overcome similar stereotypes. But Indians are a very small minority. They are so ignored in our histories that ceretain stereotypes are just about our only contact with them."

Joseph refers to that smallest of minorities in America, only 770,000, with a 40 per cent unemployment rate. The average age of the American Indian is 17.

"Get that average age down right, you know, and understand that the young Indian is becoming the militant Indian," said Poufaulty who was sipping a beer under a sign that said "NIXON IS A VANISHING AMERICAN" at the Indian bar called Tom Jones Pub near Washington Circle.

ONE SUCH YOUNG Indian was in a nightclub near the Tom Jones Pub last week when the featured singer there decided to "dedicate this one to the Redskins across the street." The Indian jumped to his feet and yelled, "I ain't no motherfuckin' Redskin, Indy. I'm an Indian."

So take into consideration that the Washington Redskins football team was founded for whitemen by George Marshall, a whiteman who successfully kept blackmen from playing for him until the last decade. Even today the non-whites participate on the team but not in the ownership nor the operation of the Redskins. And they perform for the predominately white 33,042 at RFK in predominately black Washington, D.C.

In view of this, perhaps the Washington franchise should yield to the dignity of the American Indian and change its nickname from "Redskins" to the more appropriate "Rednecks".

JURGENSEN: 'Ready When Needed'

after 1st half

"When the time comes that ... after missing eight weeks with ... indicated Jurgensen would be ... or more than twice as many ... way also is passing ... a fractured left shoulder. ... set for the year. ... yards as Sonny Jurgensen running ... He has Tommy Mc...

Harjo, et al. v.
Pro-Football, Inc.
Case No. 21,069
Petitioners' Ex.

S_0004380

18.001

INDIAN LEGAL INFORMATION DEVELOPMENT SERVICES
Suite 112 (202) 483-4533
1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036
Harold M. Gross, Director

January 19, 1971

Mr. Edward Bennett Williams
Attorney at Law
839 - 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Harjo, et al. v.
Pro-Football, Inc.
Case No. 21,069
Petitioners' Ex.

Dear Mr. Williams: 33.007

Knowing your public career to reflect concern for the rights of the oppressed, I write to ask you to consider a matter wherein such rights conflict with your own financial interests.

On behalf of my immediate colleagues, all of whom are American Indians, I ask you to consider the effect that the use of the derogatory racial epithet "Redskins" as a team nickname for the Washington Professional Football team has upon them, and other American Indians, as well as upon non-Indians.

To make the matter clearer, I ask you to imagine a hypothetical National Football League, in which the other teams are known as the New York Kikes, the Chicago Polocks, the San Francisco Dagoes, the Detroit Niggers, the Los Angeles Spics, etc.

Such a league would shortly be out of business, since the number of people properly outraged by such ethnic slurs would be sizeable enough to force its closing. Yet the term "Redskin" is no less stereo-type provoking and no less insulting to American Indians than the others which I have used solely to make my point. Hopefully, the test for continued use of such terms is not solely determined by economics - by the number of people offended or by the dimension of the protest. Hopefully, rather, a test of moral sensitivity and good judgment can be made to apply.

Born at a time in our history when the national policy was to seize Indian land and resources, and hunt down Indian people who stood in the way, the term "Redskin" has been perpetuated through such media as western movies and television. Most often, the term is coupled with other derogatory adjectives, as "dirty Redskin" or "pesky Redskin" which is used interchangeably with the word "savage" to portray a misleading and denigrating image of the Native American.

It is only with a sense of shame or moral outrage that any sensitized adult can look back on the incredibly misleading and racist characterizations that books we all read as children use to portray American Indians.

The attitude exemplified by these characterizations was in keeping with the national policy which believed that the best thing for the American Indian, who was seen as an "ignorant savage" was to "Christianize" or "civilize" him, or else destroy him. One must wonder what Christ would have thought about the crimes committed in his name.

WC0028

While this policy has, in recent years, been cast in softer forms, coercive assimilation has almost always been the official policy of the United States toward American Indians - a policy which the American Indian community has steadfastly rejected. Only in the past few years has the government begun to recognize the basic folly of its policy of cultural genocide.

Given an Indian culture which in the face of these oppressive policies has survived, one must face the offense created by using a racial slur to designate a professional athletic team, particularly one which is widely travelled, nationally viewed on television, and very popular in its home community.

Not only does such a name plant the seeds and reinforce the notions of racism in our society in subtle but significant ways, but also there are numerous secondary effects resulting from maintaining this team nickname:

For one, the trappings that go with such a nickname do further injustice to Indian people. For example, the chorus-line of well-meaning but decidedly misguided young ladies, with artificial braids, who perform at "Redskin" games represent a masterpiece of racial insensitivity, performing a cruel mockery of Indian religious dances.

For another, the fact of the team's popularity leads to other numerous instances in which other local firms pick up on the theme and spread it in their own advertising - - thus, Woodward and Lothrop congratulated the "Redskins" in a Washington Post ad for a meritorious, if losing effort against Dallas,"even if we lost a little scalp out West", a comment which for Indians can only be a grim reminder of the days when their scalps were hunted for bounty under governmentally approved policies.

All of this imagery perpetuates stereotypes in which American Indians are seen as participating in scalp taking, war-whooping, and expressing themselves in ungrammatical grunts, ughs, and other tontoisms.

Unfortunately, many of the 25 million Americans who watch televised professional football know nothing more about American Indians than the falsities which these unfortunate stereotypes project.

Even the fact that "Redskins" has been the nickname of the Washington franchise for many years is a poor argument for its retention. Professional team owners have been notoriously slow in recognizing the social consequences of their practices. Not until 1947 was the first black man allowed to play major league baseball, and considerably later, the owner of the Washington Senators was still notorious for keeping his team lily -white.

A number of the long-held assumptions and practices of our society are undergoing the process of reexamination and change, a process necessary if this society is to survive. No longer can this form of stereotyped abuse go unprotested.

As a fan of the Washington football team, who applauded with enthusiasm the exploits of this year's team, I ask that I and my friends be spared the dishonor, and others be spared the disservice, that retention of this derogatory name and its trappings continues.

As one seriously concerned man to another, I ask for your attention, consideration and response, in a spirit of conciliation. But I think I can assure you that this matter will not just go away.

I await your response with considerable interest.

Very truly yours,

Harold M. Gross

The Evening Star
Sports
BUSINESS, FINANCE
COMICS—FEATURES

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WASHINGTON, D. C., WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 19, 1972

'Redskins' Target of Movement

A movement to halt the "defamation of the American Indian" with the nicknaming of sports teams apparently is gaining momentum across the country. The Washington Redskins have been named as one of the targets.

Russell Means, a Sioux Indian who is leading the movement, announced in Cleveland yesterday that he will visit Washington this week to see what he can do about the situation.

Means filed a $9 million libel suit yesterday against the Cleveland Indians baseball club and said he plans similar action against the Atlanta Braves.

He sued the Cleveland team for use of "Chief Wahoo," a caricature of an Indian, as the team's symbol, calling it "libelous, slanderous and clear defamation of the American Indian." In addition to damages, the suit asks for an injunction against further use of the symbol.

Means also said the New American Indian Movement is considering a suit against the Washington Redskins, the Kansas City Chiefs of the National Football League and the Golden States (San Francisco) Warriors of the National Basketball Association.

Several colleges apparently will be asked to change their sports team nicknames, too, including Stanford (Indians), Utah (Redskins), Miami of Ohio (Redskins) and St. John's of New York (Redmen).

As for the Washington Redskins, the movement suggests that "insult is added to injury" when the Redskins are sometimes referred to as "the 'Skins."

The "Chief Wahoo" symbol, Means said in his suit, perpetuates stereotypical thinking about the American Indian, inducing a mocking, scornful attitude towards Indians on the part of the community.

To illustrate stereotypical thinking, Means, the national coordinator of the New American Indian Movement, said, "What if the Atlanta Braves were called the Atlanta Germans and after every home run a German dressed in military uniform began hitting a Jew over the head with a baseball bat? What would German Americans and Jewish people have to say about that?

"Or what if it were the Cleveland (Washington or Kansas City) Negroes and a black man came trotting out to the center of the field and did a soft-shoe dance routine?"

"Well, the Indian is tired of this label that depicts him to the larger segment of American society as something to be laughed at and not taken seriously and therefore not due respect," Means said.

WC0026

Harjo, et al. v. Pro-Football, Inc. Case No. 21,069 Petitioners' Ex. 32.008

AD-72

RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE WASHINGTON, D.C. PROFESSIONAL FOOTBALL TEAM

FROM: Leon F. Cook, President, National Congress of American Indians
Mrs. LaDonna Harris, President, Americans for Indian Opportunity
Marold M. Gross, Director, Indian Legal Information Development Service
Hanay Geiogamah, Director, Youth Programs - Bureau of Indian Affairs
Laura J. Wittstock, Editor, Legislative Review
Dennis J. Banks, National Director, American Indian Movement
Richard V. La Course, Washington correspondent, American Indian Press Association

1. That the derogatory racial epithet "Redskins" be withdrawn as a team nickname for the professional football team of Washington, D.C.

2. That all commercial promotion and advertising of the team through the use of Indian-stereotyped images and language cease immediately.

3. That the ownership of the team actively open a campaign to seek a new name to replace the currently unacceptable one.

4. That all current "entertainment activities" such as half-time performances, garb and performance of cheerleaders as well as the team song be revised immediately.

5. That the Washington team actively encourage other professional sports organizations to cease the use of similar stereotyped degredation of America's Indian peoples.

Harjo, et al. v.
Pro-Football, Inc.
Case No. 21,069
Petitioners' Ex.

32.005

WC0017

March 29, 1972

To: Washington Redskin Football Team

From: Ron Aguilar, President, Washington Chapter
National Indian Youth Council

I don't see why it is so hard for people to understand why the word "Redskin" is a racial slur, therefore degrading. This fact is established by the everyday racism towards my people. Even your history books showed this. Regardless of whether the word insults ten of us or ten thousand of us that is not the point.

This is a moral issue. We say to you now that the word "Redskin" is a racial epithet and want your team to discontinue its use.

We are a proud and noble race. This is known and will continue to be shown.

You are seeing it today.

Ron Aguilar

Ron Aguilar

Harjo, et al. v.
Pro-Football, Inc.
Case No. 21,069
Petitioners' Ex.

32.011

WC0020

July 16, 1972

Mr. Edward Bennett Williams
21000 Hill Building
839 17th Street NW
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Williams,

Since you continue not to believe that the term "Redskins" is not offensive to anyone, let me make this clear: The name "Redskins" is very offensive to me and shows little human interest or taste.

I am a Comanche Indian from Oklahoma. Indians are having enough trouble trying to erase misconceptions about themselves without having to be hit in the face with it every day in the form of a football team or baseball team.

If you think you are preserving our culture or your history, then may I suggest a change? To live up to your name, your team would field only two men to the opponents eleven. Your player's wives would be required to face the men of the opposing team. After having lost every game in good faith, you would be required to remain in RFK stadium's end zone for the rest of your life living off what the other teams had left you. (Which wouldn't be much.)

Since you would probably find this as distasteful as 500,000 Indians do, I would suggest a change in name. In sticking to your ethnic theme, I would suggest the Washington Niggers as a start. After all, Washington does have the greatest number of Blacks per capita than any other city in the U.S. (That is, cities with N.F.L. teams of course.) This would start a fantastic trend in the league. We would soon be blessed with the San Fransisco Chinks, New York Jews, Dallas Wetbacks, Houston Greasers, and the Green Bay Crackers. Great, huh?

Mr. Williams, these would be very offensive to many people, just as Redskins is offensive to myself and others. You can take a stand that would show you and the team as true believers in civil rights, or you can continue to carry a name that keeps alive a threatening stereotype to Indian people. People, Mr. Williams. We don't want the Redskins!

WC0004

Harjo, et al. v.
Pro-Football, Inc.
Case No. 21,069
Petitioners' Ex.

32.002

Sincerely Offended,

Billy Kevin Lopez

Westlaw. factiva

1/15/88 Associated Press (Pg. Unavail. Online)
1988 WL 3763111

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Friday, January 15, 1988

Nickname Crusade

TONY KENNEDY

(AP) _ Team names like the Washington Redskins and Cleveland Indians have no more place in sports than would the San Diego Caucasians or Kansas City Jews, says a group fighting Indian references it considers racist.

Concerned American Indian Parents is distributing 1,000 posters featuring pennants for the fictitious teams. The poster, which also pictures an authentic Cleveland Indians pennant, is designed to raise awareness of the issue by offending people, said Phil St. John, leader of the Minneapolis-based group.

"To most people Indian nicknames are disconnected from being racist," St. John said. "They can't talk about the pain because they don't feel it."

The posters were created by Minneapolis-based Martin-Williams Advertising Inc. and funded in part by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Copies have been circulated around the country and mailed to team owners, including the Redskins' Jack Kent Cooke.

St. John mailed a letter to Cooke on Thursday pleading for a change in the Redskins' name. A change in the name of the National Football League team would be an enormous catalyst for widespread change, St. John said.

The team name is "racist, derogatory and demeaning to the American Indian," he wrote. He compared it to racial slurs for blacks and Mexicans which "would be totally unacceptable to the American people" as team names.

"I have no comment," Cooke said in a telephone interview from Los Angeles.

Other names the group would like to see changed include the Kansas City Chiefs, Atlanta Braves, Chicago Blackhawks, St. John's Redmen and North Dakota Fighting Sioux.

They and others at all levels of sports reinforce the stereotype of the savage Indian, said Roy James Roberts, a member of the year-old group that has about 25 members.

"It's always the image of war-like Indians," said Fred Veilleux, another

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member of the group. "We weren't the aggressors."

Veilleux said Indian-derived team nicknames foster a "cowboy mentality" that Indians were "savage aggressors of good white Christians who crossed the West in wagon trains taming the wild."

Before tackling major league teams, St. John lobbied Southwest High School in Minneapolis in May to change its nickname from Indians to Lakers, for the city's many lakes.

The idea came to him at a basketball game at which he and his 8-year-old son sat near a white fan who was dressed as an Indian warrior.

"He didn't want to look over there because he was ashamed of that," St. John said of his son.

He said the incident reminded him of his youth in Sisseton, S.D., where "being Indian was held against you."

After three months of meetings and explaining his request to faculty, students and parents, the school changed its nickname to the Lakers.

"It just did not make sense that you could choose a race of a people to be a mascot or a nickname for a school," said Harlan Anderson, Southwest's principal.

Anderson said there was little resistance to the change, partly because the school had backed away from Indian symbols after receiving similar complaints in the late 1970s.

Critics argue that Indian-derived nicknames glorify the heritage of American Indians, calling to mind strength, athletic prowess and bravery.

But St. John argues that fans of opposing teams use racist slogans such as "scalp the Indians" and burn Indians in effigy. Once, on national television, an announcer previewing a Washington Redskins game opened with a warning that the Redskins were on the "warpath" and that their opponents should "circle the wagons" and protect their women and children, St. John said.

"It just goes on and on and that's what it leads to," St. John said. "A person can deal with the positives, but it goes further than that."

---- INDEX REFERENCES ----

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HOW WOULD YOU LIKE IT?



Harjo, et al.
Pro-Football,
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20.007

Maybe now you know how Native Americans feel!

Concerned American Indian Paren

15(

live a more spiritual life.

"It was beginning to happen a number of years ago, but it has increased remarkably in the past few years," said Irma Stockton, secretary to the Committee on Preparation for Min-

Please see CAREER, A6



The Rev. Charles Hubbard preaches at Christ United Methodist Church at Lorton Elementa

Harjo, et al. v. Pro-Football, Inc. Case No. 21,069 Petitioners' Ex.

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11/21/88

'Redskins' irks Indians; protests planned

Fairfax Journal

By MARK GROSSMAN
Journal staff writer

American Indians find the Redskins offensive and it's not offensive stars Doug Williams, George Rogers or Gary Clark that make the team that way.

It's their name.

If the team's fans were true fans, they would demand a switch in the team's name, say members of Fans Against Indian Racism.

"It's an objectionable name. It's harmful. It's a negative symbol," said Chris Burke, a longtime fan who founded FAIR.

"You have to like the team to want the best for them," he said. "We have a great team; now we need a great name."

To grab attention, the group spent $350 Sunday to have a small plane tow a banner



above Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Stadium during the NFC championship game.

"Make Washington America's Team. Change The Name," said the banner that circled the stadium as the Redskins stopped a late rally by the Minnesota Vikings and won a trip to the Super Bowl.

Before Sunday's protest, team officials and the Federal Aviation Administration tried to persuade pilots not to tow the banner, said Dave Perko, general manager of Vienna-based Aero Associates Inc. Aero made the banner and hired a Baltimore pilot to haul it.

Perko said pilots were telephoned by FAA officials in an attempt to find out who was towing the banner. The FAA officials asked pilots to contact the Redskins organization if they had agreed to fly the banner, according to Perko.

"I was supposed to get a call (from federal officials), but I didn't," Perko said. "But for the pilots who were contacted, it was veiled intimidation. They (Redskins) made an errand boy out of the FAA."

Austin Gibson, president of Rainbow Aerial Ads in Upper Marlboro, Md., was one of the pilots who received a call Friday from federal officials.

"I've been in aviation since the '60s and I've never had a call like that," Gibson said. "She (federal official) wanted me to get in contact with the president of the Redskins, before I told her I wasn't flying the plane.

"The way I understood it, she was calling on behalf of the Redskins management. They seemed to think it (the banner) would be derogatory and they wanted to talk (pilots) out

Please see PROTEST, A6

OUTSIDE

Highs in low 30s

TONIGHT: Mostly clear, lows in the mid-20s, W winds 10 mph. FRIDAY: Partly cloudy, highs in the low 30s, NW winds 10-20 mph. Today's records: high 70 (1959), low -4 (1885).



INSIDE

STILL WAITING

Afghanistan's King Zahir awaits recall from exile in Rome/A2

HAIR TACTICS

What your tresses really tell others about yourself/B1



Hair dos:B1

BIG PITCH

Foreign trade zone at Dulles touted to N.Va. execs/A8

UP A NOTCH

2 Rumanian runners add spark to Mobil 1 Invitational/C1

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PROTEST from A1

of it. I didn't like the implied intimidation."

Telephone calls were made to "six or seven pilots," said Kathleen Bergen, an FAA spokeswoman.

"The director of marketing for the Washington Redskins did call us and ask for assistance," Bergen said. She said federal officials at Washington Dulles International Airport "told the banner (fliers) to get in touch with the Redskins."

"There was nothing inappropriate about it. We do not intimidate people at all. We were merely providing a service to the Redskins."

Bergen telephoned to provide information a second time. She said the calls to the pilots were made primarily to find out how much traffic would be over the stadium Sunday and, secondarily, to tell pilots who might be flying the banner that the Redskins organization would like to be contacted.

Donnie Tuck, Redskins' director of public relations, said the organization didn't mean to intimidate anybody by seeking federal assistance in locating the banner pilot.

"We wanted to find out what was transpiring with the plane," Tuck said. "The FAA would know who was flying the plane."

Tuck would not provide a reason for the organization's interest in the identity of the pilot.

Burke called the actions of the FAA and the Redskins organization "hardball, if not dirty pool."

"I wonder who at the FAA has season tickets? I certainly think it is inappropriate. Government resources are for government projects," Burke said.

Burke met Wednesday with Russell Sacks of the National Congress of American Indians to map future protest strategy.

Sacks, a legislative assistant, said he is upset with the football team's name, too.

"The name of the Redskins is blatantly racist," he said. "Ever since the Redskins have been around, locals have become used to the name. It's become second nature when, in fact, it violates the Indian sensitivity."

Burke said that not only is "Redskins" blatantly racist, but also the name perpetuates myths about American Indians, provides nega images of them and leads to low esteem among American Ind children.

Fairfax County Supervisor Mar Pennino, D-Centreville District, owns season tickets for Redsk games, said the protest is wrong.

"Someone is oversensitized o nothing," said Pennino, who was Sunday's game but didn't see t banner.

"It's (Redskins) not meant to mean anything. It's meant to say t Indians have a place in our histor Pennino said.

But Burke said he will meet wi two national American Indian grou to map a further protest strategy.

Burke, who is a Washington bus ness consultant, said another prote is being planned for the Super Bowl

Tuck said the team name wa switched from Braves to Redskins 1937 after the team moved to Wash ington from Boston. He said the pro tests will be futile.

"I don't think the Redskins intenc to change the team name. The Redskins point of view is that there is no racial slur intended with the name Redskins," Tuck said.

But Burke vowed to continue.

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'The devil made me do it'

To the Editor:

Upon a mountaintop sat five men. He had come for a report on the accomplishments of their races.

The black man stood up and gave his report: "We were taken from our homelands in chains by the white man. We were forced to work the land they stole from the red man. After generations of enslavement, they finally freed us. We are now making a way for ourselves in America. Some of us are some of the wealthiest people, we also have political and religious leaders. And although we still work for the white man, at least now we get paid. We feel we are just as good as the white man" and with that, he sat down.

Next it was the yellow man's turn: "We are a meek race," he began. "After our country's morale was destroyed by the white man's bombs, we came to a decision. We would hit the white man where it would hurt him most, his wallet. We have worked long and hard, and now we own a lot of his companies and real estate. We will soon become the wealthiest race on the planet. And we owe it all to the greed of the white man."

Then the white man stood up in anger. He opened up his briefcase and pulled out his report. He said: "We are the most intelligent of all the races You created. If it wasn't for us this country would still be covered with grass, instead of cities. Before we came here the heathen red man worshiped the sun, sky, even the earth, he even treated the animals as equals. If they were more intelligent and business minded, they could have been the wealthiest race even known. But look at them, surviving on handouts from the government, waiting for promises to be fulfilled. What a laugh! We're not stupid enough to give back land worth billions. And as for us enslaving the black man, if it wasn't for us, they would still be in Africa, begging for the right to be a you... We bombed the yellow man into the 20th century. So these two races owe the white race for their prosperity. Only the red man's way of life kept him from joining us. But that's his loss."

"Now red man, it's your turn." After shaking his hand he began: "We are still living in the country in which our race began! We never worshiped but respected all that you created. If the white man had not come, we would probably have just now invented the wheel, which would not hold a candle to the invention of the bomb. So who is intelligent: the man who can see the future and thus preserve it, or the man who can't see and will destroy it? We would rather be rich in spirituality than wealthy materialisucally." Then he sat down.

The Man stood up and said: "I gave to all races a religion, a place to live, and laws to live by. I also made a promise that if all this was done, that you would be given a place in my homeland. Would you all stand up.

"You," he said, pointing to black man, "you are in a position to help your people who are starving and dying daily. But you've turned your back on your homeland, your roots, and your religion. By doing so you've turned your back on me.

"And you — when your country was bombed, instead of turning to me, you vowed to destroy the white man financially.

"And now you, it seems every time something bad happens, it's the white man, who causes it. You broke every commandment, destroyed the earth, and committed genocide on races, all in the name of Christianity. Take a good look at me white man for you will never see me again. Here comes a man who I'm sure you will recognize. You all go with him. . . except you."



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Real Indians need to tackle mascot issue



BY ELMER SAVILLA

A View From The East

WASHINGTON — On Saturday, Jan. 4, I went again to RFK Stadium with a small group to peacefully demonstrate against the use of the pejorative term "Redskins" by the Washington professional football team.

It was a cold, dreary, and rain-soaked day. It's fairly easy to stage a protest on a warm and sunny day, but on a day like this only the faithful and committed come out. And so it was that 12 dedicated American Indians stood in the cold rain to carry our message to the mostly white American Redskins fans.

It is, of course, part of the territory that one also endure the vulgar and disgusting comments from these "sportsminded" people. These fine and civilized Christian people said things like, "What are you damn Indians doing on Redskins territory?" and "You f---ing Indians should leave the Redskins alone", and this was the tame stuff.

A few weeks ago a young college girl who volunteered to help us was told by one sports fan, "Get out of my face or I'll kill you."

I can now appreciate the abuse the Wisconsin Chippewa endured in their efforts to uphold their treaty fishing rights. I ask you, "Is America a great country, or what?" Maybe we should all go back to where we came from.

The first protest demonstration here was Sunday, Nov. 3. At least 50 Indians came out for that one, and on the following Sunday, on a bitterly cold day with a windchill temperature of 5 below zero, we were all out again and almost froze our backsides off.

But will you believe that from the start there has only been two people from a federally recognized tribe taking part? Most of the Indians are from the Maryland tribe of Piscataway, who do not enjoy any privileges members of a federally recognized tribe do. I admire these eastern Indians who have no benefits to take for granted. They come out, they say "because we are Indian and we care."

There are, in the Washington area, at least 2,500 American Indians from federally recognized tribes. They are students, consultants, tribal lawyers, congressional staffers, for Indian organizations or the many federal agencies. One thing they have in common is that many were hired under the Indian preference provisions, and no doubt all got their education and degrees from an Indian scholarship program, which their fathers and grandfathers before them had to fight hard to get.

It should be payback and appreciation time for them. They should now do their part in the protection and advancement of Indian causes.

Yet I have asked many of them to participate in these Indian causes, and I have heard a lot of excuses. The most common is, "I would really like to help, but I work for the BIA/IHS/federal government, and I am not allowed to do that." Pure hogwash. The Hatch Act restricts only lobbying and certain partisan political activity. They know that just as surely as they know the quitting time, how much sick leave and vacation time they have, and exactly how much overtime pay they will get on the next payday.

There are many young Indians in this town who have never lived on a reservation and have no idea of how hard it is to grow up there and yet will take a know-it-all attitude about Indian programs with no appreciation for where these programs came from — and yes, I know there are people like that on many reservations, too. I recently talked to a Kiowa lady and she said she favored taking money from the Redskins team instead of protesting. Am I the only one who sees something wrong in that attitude?

I recently received a call from a non-Indian in Massachusetts. A teacher at a local high school, he has been campaigning, with the only two Indian students, to remove the school mascot — a big-nosed, fierce looking Indian called "Red Raider." The school principal and school board have refused to do so and the teacher and two students have been subjected to much verbal abuse and taunting. He wanted to know how to get help from other Indians. I had to tell him "I wish I knew." As long as so many don't mind being made fun of, abused, or insulted, this will all continue.

It does take perseverance and commitment to change things, and success comes slowly. Just this week a group of Indians in Iowa, succeeded in convincing a local high school to do away with their Indian name and mascot. Three cheers to them.

The "mother of all demonstrations" is planned to take place during the Super Bowl game in Minneapolis in late January and most demonstrations around the country seem to be merely "tune ups" for that one. If you're nearby at that time, please stand and be counted.

The National Congress of American Indian passed a resolution at its recent San Francisco convention that would establish an office to take on the task of heading up efforts to remove or change the negative caricatures and names [illegible] teams.

This would be a fine gesture (the resolution) but it will be ineffective if individual Indians still refuse to get involved. It gives them an excuse to not be involved by saying "we gave the job to NCAI, let them do it." As a matter of fact, last fall, NCAI was unwilling to get "officially" involved in the protests. Two volunteers, Don Messic and Charlene Teters, were told "go ahead, but keep our name out of it."

Ms. Teters, who is a Spokane from eastern Washington, twice has singlehandedly caused two caricatures to disappear here. One was the mascot of the Redskins, a black man dressed in buckskin and feathers and seen frequently on national TV. After tangling with Ms. Teters, he has not been seen publicly since. The other incident also involved a black man, also dressed as a "Chief." He told Ms. Teters that he was dressed that way to sell souvenirs and that he didn't care if he insulted Indians as long as his "bottom line" (money) came in from his sales. He claimed that he had a law degree from Harvard and was a professional businessman and that he had a right to be dressed "this way." Ms. Teters berated him in front of the TV cameras and he hasn't come back after she told him that "You are the reason that I am insulted."

If more of the male Indian leaders had the courage of Charlene Teters, we would not be in so much danger of losing the fight for tribal sovereignty. Now, by mandate, NCAI can get involved and so should the rest of Indian country.

Let's have no more talk of taking money for insults from the professional sports industry! Let's not endure the racial insult from local high schools and colleges. Sure, there are other issues to be concerned about, but they are being addressed, too. Will the real American Indian please stand up?

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AD-82

Indian mascot protest starts

By Margaret Cohen
Medill News Service

WASHINGTON - Capitalizing on the national attention to this weekend's Super Bowl, Indian leaders and activists began "four days of actions," protests and marches in Minneapolis on Thursday to oppose the use of Indian names as mascots.

"We no longer want to be mascots for America's fun and games," Clyde Bellecourt, national director of the American Indian Movement, said in a phone interview.

The Washington Redskins, a target of the protests, play the Buffalo Bills in Super Bowl XXVI in Minneapolis on Sunday.

The protesters call for the elimination of all Indian names, logos, themes, chicken feathers, pseudo Indian attire, "cheap Hollywood chants" and tomahawk chops. In addition to forming a National Coalition on Racism in Sports & the Media, organizers plan to develop a strategy of legal and legislative remedies to deal with the problem in sports.


Bellecourt


Salway

Indians from around the country are participating in the first national summit meeting on the issue and in protests that will culminate in an all-day rally at the Metrodome Sunday.

Tim Giago, editor-in-chief and publisher of the Rapid City-based Lakota Times, delivered the summit's keynote address Thursday. Bellecourt said these issues had been on AIM's agenda since its formation in 1968 but that the American public refused to take the matter seriously. Protesters say the use of Indian names as mascots spreads falsehoods about Indian culture and takes lightly things that are sacred to the Indians.

Bellecourt blasted the name "Redskins" as "the most derogatory, depraved name of all the sports teams in the United States.

"They wouldn't dare call them the Washington Blackskins or the Washington Yellowskins," he said. Bellecourt said Redskins owner Jack Kent Cooke countered that his team's name was not racist.

"He even argues that he is honoring Indian culture," Bellecourt said. "How are you honoring Indian people with a tomahawk in one hand and a can of beer in the other?"

Cooke was unavailable for comment, but an October USA Today article quoted him as saying: "If there are some people offended by the name, I'm sorry about that. Very rarely do we get someone complaining. It's the team that is important and we have been here so long (since 1937) and we have a good history."

Harold Salway, president of the Oglala Sioux Tribe at Pine Ridge and Chairman of the United Sioux Tribes, said his tribe supported the protesters in their fight against Indian mascots.

"They're defaming our integrity," Salway said. "Our true culture, identity, heritage is not taken into consideration."

Oglala member Birgil Kills Straight said using Indians as mascots was dehumanizing.

"We're treated as if we're no longer a people. As if we no longer exist."

But even among Indians, the issue is divisive. Norman Wilson, vice president of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe said he didn't see what all the fuss is about.

"I don't see any reason to get so excited about it," he said. "Those issues are just a waste of our time. Let's worry about drugs, alcohol abuse on our reservations.

"That's what we should be concerned about."

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Bellecourt Salway

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"That's what we should be concerned about."

RCJ 1-27-92



AP Photo

Super Bowl protest: American Indians protest outside the Metrodome in Minneapolis Sunday before the start of Super Bowl XXVI between the Washington Redskins and the Buffalo Bills. Native American groups oppose Washington's use of the Redskins name. Washington beat Buffalo, 37-24. See more on the game on page B4.

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January 28, 1992 ©The Lakota Times 1992 Standing up for the Peoples' right to know Volume 11 Issue 31 75¢



INSIDE

INSIDE: 'Many Winters' Special edition honoring the elderly



SECTION B

New Todd County Middle School opens

See page B6



SECTION C

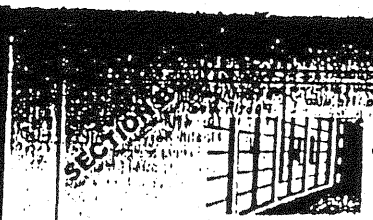
3,000 protest at Super Bowl



MINNEAPOLIS — About 3,000 people circled the Hubert H. Humphrey Metrodome on Jan. 26 to protest the use of Indian names and [illegible]

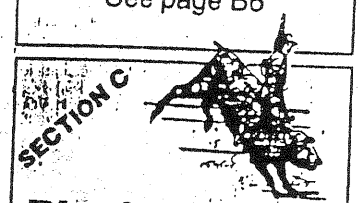
Eric Hasse/Times Correspondent

Barjo, et al. v. Pro-Football, Inc.
Case No. 21,069
Petitioners' Ex. 500009
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New Todd County Middle School opens

See page B6



Black Hills Stock Show adds more Indian events

See page C1

Around The World

Sen. Wellstone officially joins mascot recall

WASHINGTON — Another U.S. senator joined the most recent battle to halt the use of Indian nicknames and mascots.

Minnesota Sen. Paul Wellstone added his official support to the war against racism in a Jan. 21 letter to National Football League Commissioner Paul Tagliabue.

"A large number of my constituents feel very strongly that it is inappropriate for sports teams to be nicknamed after American Indians. They feel that these nicknames exploit Indians and lead to stereotypes and false impressions which do not help us appreciate and understand the rich cultural diversity in which we live. I share these feelings," he wrote.



Eric Hansen/Times Correspondent

MINNEAPOLIS — About 3,000 people circled the Hubert H. Humphrey Metrodome on Jan. 26 to protest the use of Indian names and symbols as mascots for professional sports teams. The mostly non-Indian crowd marched one mile to the Super Bowl match between the Washington "Redskins" and the Buffalo "Bills." The peaceful protest marked the finale of a four-day conference and rallies creating the National Coalition on Racism in Sports and the Media. The coalition brought together groups representing Indians, Afro-Americans, Jewish people, Christian churches and others. The American Indian Movement organized a two-day conference with a variety of speakers calling for an end to mascot racism. Most of the events remained non-violent and without problems, but one protest at a university basketball match ended in the arrest of four people. See stories and photos on Pages B1-3.

Education conference a success

Delegates gain one voice, one drum beat

By Bunty Anquoe
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Despite the conspicuous absence of President Bush, participants at the White House Conference on Indian Education worked hard to develop action plans to make positive changes in Indian education.

The 234 official delegates, intent on improving the quality of life for American Indian children, worked almost around the clock mapping strategies for educational improvements.

"Honoring Tradition, Inspiring Change" was the theme of the three-day conference last week which drew nearly 1,000 participants, including delegates, tribal leaders, educators, parents, congressional representatives and other interested observers.

The education colloquium was established by federal law and one-third of the delegates were selected by the White House, the Senate or the House of Representatives. An advisory committee was appointed last year to compile concerns and recommendations from Indian country.

The conference, distinguishing itself from other meetings and conventions, did not focus on problems. Attention concentrated on action plans and positive reforms to better serve American Indian students.

Delegates were assigned to working groups to address 11 topics formulated by the advisory committee prior to the conference. The 11 groups worked long hours and drafted more than 100 resolutions that were acted upon by the full assembly.

Issues included: establishment of an independent board of Indian education, native languages and culture; delivery of services to Indian communities; literacy and academic achievement; alcohol and drug-free schools; exceptional education; readiness for school; school structure,; higher education; native and non-native school personnel; and adult education.

Greater tribal and community involvement, the preservation of language and culture, and increased funding through existing and new legislation, emerged as the pervasive themes in all topics.

The ground-breaking conference featured Manuel Lujan, secretary of the Interior, Lamar Alexander, secretary of education, and several members of Congress as speakers.

Here are selected highlights:

Where is George?

Offended at the absence of President Bush, about 50 tribal leaders and educators braved icy temperatures last Friday to stage a protest at the White House itself.

Delegates and observers alike criticized the "education president" for his absence at the

Please see Education/A2

Fort Peck tribes seek new districting

By Iris Altrunner
Special to the Times

POPLAR, Mont. — The ... one legislative district.

Montana's constitution directs the redrawing of legisla... five district boundaries after ...

The Fort Peck tribes are working with the American Civil Liberties Union to develop ... individuals they believe best represent their interests.

Redistricting requirements ...

24 miles on the western border and two communities on the east are excluded from the ...

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Section B

FOCUS/PINE RIDGE & ROSEBUD

3,000 rally against racist mascots

Story and Photographs by Eric Haase
Times Correspondent

MINNEAPOLIS — Protesters, nearly 3,000 strong, marched on Super Bowl Sunday to denounce the use of Indian mascots for sports teams.

They walked in solidarity behind the staff and to the steady beat of the drum, a coalition of Native American groups, civil and human rights organizations, students, church groups, and concerned citizens carried their signs of protest down the snow-rimmed streets.

They were spread out across the west-bound lane for nearly six blocks, chanting in the near-freezing weather "The chop stops here!" and "Hey, hey, ho, ho, racist mascots got to go."

The Super Bowl crowd was already entering the stadium as the non-violent march arrived at the Hubert H. Humphrey Metrodome. The protestors circled the stadium, a drum group of high school youth and young men led, singing out the American Indian Movement anthem.

Spectators watched and photographed the scene, some with jaws dropped, not sure what to make of the situation. Limousines arrived. Others walked by with a cool indifference carrying their $150-a-seat tickets in their fur coats.

Some Washington fans paraded their disrespect, decked out in face-paint and chicken feathers, revealing insensitivity. Others, with malicious intent, already tuned for the game, tauntingly cursed over the police barricade of protection.

ly 40 organizations or local chapters — from the American Indian Movement, to the National Congress of American Indians, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League, National Organization of Women, the American Jewish Committee, United Auto Workers Local 879, the United Church of Christ and the International Indian Treaty Council.

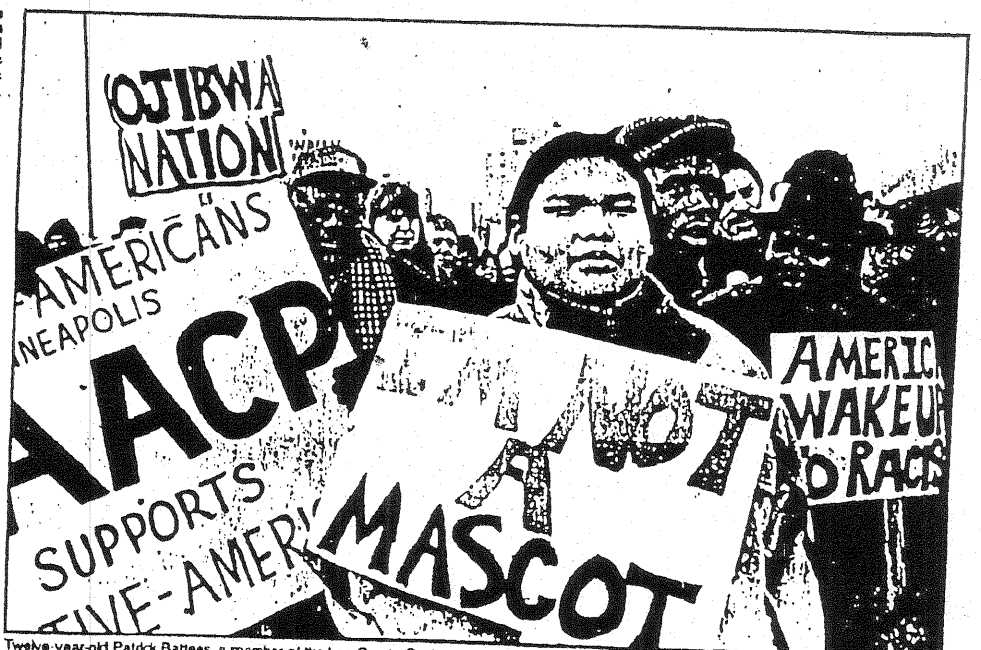
The coalition united a variety of voices in the Native American community. Tim Giago, publisher of the *Lakota Times*, a long time AIM critic joined the conference.

"I feel humble being up here," he said. "We are allowed to have our differences, but on an issue of national importance, we as Indian people, no matter what tribe we're from, we must unite.

"What I find most frustrating is the massive ignorance out there. How do we get through to those people? There is this feeling that this is a new issue with us. Yet people like Phil St. John, Clyde Bellecourt and Russell Means have been spea' 'g about these things for 20 years ... more. It's nothing new. It's just that no one was listening.

"Where was the media when Stanford changed their name from Indians to Cardinals, or when Dartmouth removed their Indian mascot?

"The media is like a herd of sheep. It wasn't until they thought the Atlanta Brave 'tomahawk chop' was something cute that all of a sudden they converged on an issue that



Twelve-year-old Patrick Battees, a member of the Lac Courte Oreilles Tribe, stands with nearly 600 people at the Peacemaker Center for a prayer ceremony and a call to action before the protest against Indian sports mascots. In the left background is Matthew Little, president of the Minneapolis branch of the NAACP

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ference carrying their $150 a seat tickets in their fur coats.

Some Washington fans paraded their disrespect, decked out in face-paint and chicken feathers, revealing insensitivity. Others, with malicious intent, already tuned for the game, tauntingly cursed over the police barricade of protection.

The protestors gathered around a *tipi*, and they spoke from a raised platform. Clyde Bellecourt, the national director of AIM, led the rally.

"The Redskins name is the most derrogatory, depraved name in sports history, and that is the name that has got to go immediately," he said.

"We have a John Wayne mentality that exists across America today on our sports fields.

"It is a high-tech massacre when 60,000 non-Indian people are painting their faces up and calling it war paint. No spiritual leader ever told me about war paint. We have certain dyes we use for ceremonial purposes. We don't run around with war paint on and wearing chicken and turkey feathers of our sacred war bonnets of our sacred chiefs, our great leaders. We don't do that."

Later, his brother, Vernon, took over the microphone and he and more than a dozen speakers spoke to the passing crowd, trying to enlighten them on racist stereotypes, mascots, movies and historical accounts. They talked about treaty rights, jurisdiction and self-determination.

Elders and grandchildren stood in the crowd. Among them was Bea Swenson, a 63-year-old Ojibway grandmother of three from the White Earth Reservation. Her sign read, "Native Grandmothers Against Racism."

"It is always hopeful to me when people get together for a good cause," she said. "I know things will change. Somehow you know they will when you see the determination in these people. We are taking part in a great struggle."

As the rally continued, Joyce Becenti, a member of the Lac Courte Oreilles tribe and an administrative assistant at the Ojibway School in Hayward, Wis., talked about bringing six students 150 miles for the protest.

"It is good for the kids to see Indian activists," she said. "They know they can be a part of the change, and they know they have the opportunity and the intelligence to make these changes. It is good to say you are against something, and to walk with a sense of pride, and fearlessness against it."

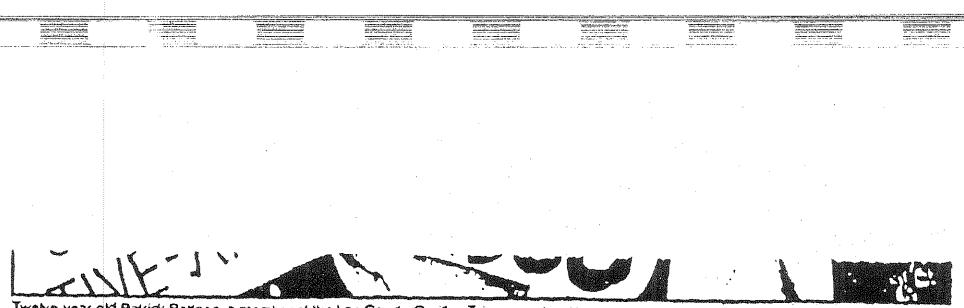
As night fell, and America's musical

"The media is like a herd of sheep. It wasn't until they thought the Atlanta Brave 'tomahawk chop' was something cute that all of a sudden they converged on an issue that we have been talking about for over 20 years.

"They did it because they thought it was something cute. But Matthew Little, president of the Minneapolis chapter of the NAACP, also spoke in solidarity.

"We give more and more lip ser- "Hollywood has perpetuated the noble savage, and so do the newspapers and textbooks. It is a shame in the public schools today that the used, and they are understood that way by the public," he continued. "To the fans, this is what the Redskins and the Chiefs represent

"My grandmother was a story-teller and my uncle as well as my grandfather was a spiritual leader," she began. "I came from a place that



Twelve-year-old Patrick Barlees, a member of the Lac Courte Oreilles Tribe, stands with nearly 600 people at the Peacemaker Center for a prayer ceremony and a call to action before the protest against Indian sports mascots. In the left background is Matthew Little, president of the Minneapolis branch of the NAACP.



Hey, hey, ho, ho, Indian mascots got to go! shouts Clyde Bellecourt, national director of the American Indian Movement.



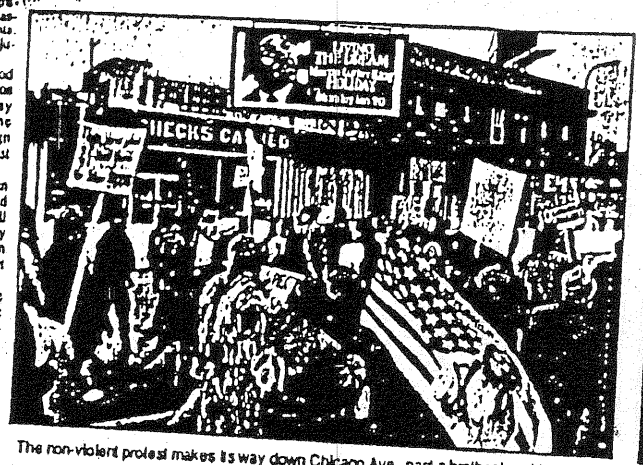
The non-violent protest makes its way down Chicago Ave., past a brother in spirit.



The young singers came from different drums to lead the procession around the Metrodome as the AIM anthem rang out. For the singers from Heart of the Earth School, it was the first song they learned, and they sang it that day with passion.

AD-88

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As night fell, and America turned into the game, most protesters continued their vigil. And they spoke of continuing their effort, and building onto the new coalition.

Minneapolis police reported no serious incidents and no arrests during the Sunday protest nor at a protest at the NFL Alumni Player banquet at the Hyatt Regency Friday night. Four people were arrested at a Saturday protest during a University of Minnesota-University of Illinois basketball game.

The National Coalition on Racism in Sports and the Media was formed after a two-day conference at Augsburg College on Jan. 23 and 24.

The coalition supporters of nearwe have been talking about for over 20 years.

"They did it because they thought it was something cute. But they didn't take it a step further, and also understand they were finally providing a forum and platform for us to stand up and educate America.

"If non-Indian America doesn't understand it is disrespectful to use Indians as mascots, as Bill Means of the International Treaty Rights Council said, they'll never understand the larger issues. ... They have to first learn a very simple word, and that is 'respect.'

"They have to respect us as human beings before they can learn the things we stand for. That is the important issue here.

We have to keep pounding it into the American media that we are not mascots, we are human beings."

Matthew Little, president of the Minneapolis chapter of the NAACP, also spoke in solidarity.

"We give more and more lip service to the idea of multi-culturalism in America, and at the same time we can glorify and cheer the actual trashing of a people's culture," he said.

Gaiashkibos, chairman of the Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwe Nation of Wisconsin and president of National Congress of American Indians, also spoke.

"The issue of stereotypes and racism is not something in vogue. We as young Indian people growing up, when we went to the movies, we were looking for heroes, and we had to choose between the cowboy and Indian. It was a difficult choice because in those days, we'd had no Indian actors representing us.

"Hollywood has perpetuated the noble savage, and so do the newspapers and textbooks. It is a shame in the public schools today that the same history is being taught that has been taught for over a century in this country. ... We have to rewrite the history.

The international news media gathered for the State of the League address Friday, and NFL Commissioner Paul Tagliabue explained the league's position on the mascot issue.

"The American Indian Movement, lead by Clyde Bellecourt, expresses one point of view. There are many Indian groups that express opposing points of view," he said.

"We think these names have acquired a unique and special meaning in the context in which they are used, and they are understood that way by the public," he continued. "To the fans, this is what the Redskins and the Chiefs represent.

"To some fans, maybe the name has a, ah, connotation of something that has to do with quality, such as courage, bravery, strength and so on.

"We think these are positive. We've made our views known and we've listened to the other side which are really quite diverse."

Other panelists spoke of personal experiences in fighting the mascot issue.

Charlene Teeters of the Spokane Nation is the Racial Justice Coordinator for NCAI, and as a student at the University of Illinois-Champaign, she worked to have the mascot, fictional "Chief Illiniwek" changed.

"My grandmother was a storyteller and my uncle as well as my grandfather was a spiritual leader," she began. "I came from a place that was very nurturing and I felt very positive about who I was a native person.

"I lived in a community with many Native American people. I never had to define who I am and why I believe this and so forth.

"But then I went to the University of Illinois, where I was one of three students out of 38,000, 90 percent white.

"I found myself in a place where I had to constantly define who I am and why. It was a strange place as a native person. Everybody was wearing Chief Illiniwek paraphernalia on

Continued on Next Page

Harjo, et al. v.
Pro-Football, Inc.
Case No. 21,069
Petitioners' Ex.
20.062

Focus



A woman calling herself Princess Redskin, a regular at Washington home games, tells the media her grandfather was a Cherokee. "They shouldn't get so upset," she said of the protestors. "I'm out here for a good time and I'm not going to let them ruin my fun." The Princess, wearing a full-length imitation headdress, posed with Redskin fans as she made her way to the ticket line. Alicia Stands, a student from Minneapolis and a Dakota from Devil's Lake, bore witness to an ancient cultural pride in her statement against Columbus. "She says she's Indian," Miss Stands said of Princess Redskin. "But if she was, she wouldn't be doing this."



Gaiashkibos, chairman of the Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwe Nation of Wisconsin and newly elected president, National Congress of American Indians.

'The issue of stereotypes and racism is not something in vogue. We as young Indian people growing up, when we went to the movies, we were looking for heroes, and we had to choose between the cowboy and Indian. It was a difficult choice because in those days, we'd had no Indian actors representing us.'

Gaiashkibos



Tim Giago, founder and publisher of the Lakota Times, kicked off the protests with a keynote address Jan. 23.

'What I find most frustrating is the massive ignorance out there. How do we get through to those people? There is this feeling that this is a new issue with us. It's nothing new. It's just that no one was listening.'

Tim Giago



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Fred Veilleux of Concerned American Indian Parents has filed a civil rights complaint against the Atlanta Braves baseball team, which is being investigated by the Office of Civil Rights in Washington, D.C.



Charlene Teeters, Racial Justice Coordinator for the National Congress of American Indians, displays a roll of designer toilet paper adorned with Chief Illiniwek, the University of Illinois mascot for 60 plus years.



Matthew Little, president of the Minneapolis chapter of the NAACP, listens to Charlene Teeters' testimony. Mr. Little promised to urge the national office of the NAACP to pass a resolution actively supporting the protest of Indian mascots.

Protesters rally

Continued from B1

sheets, on their butts, on their cars, on diaper bags and on toilet paper."

She pulled out a roll of toilet paper with a Chief Illiniwek symbol on each sheet, and she continued in a voice changed by emotion.

"I came from a community that was very nurturing," she said. "I felt strong about who I was as a native person. To go to a place where they use this." She held up the roll of toilet paper.

"No other race of people is used for a sports team identity. We are used as play things. This dehumanizes us. There is no question about it.

"I worked very hard to instill in my two kids pride about who they are. They are traditional dancers, and they started dancing as soon as they could walk. That was very important to me.

"I felt they could make it through this process because they have a strong sense about who they are, but we went to the game because they became enthralled by that team like every other young person at their school.

"At the game, it was even more uncomfortable to be in that setting with all those sports fans because then you have to deal with people who are drinking and putting on face paint and so forth.

"As Indian people, you sit there conditioned to tolerate it, but when the mascot came out there and started doing his dance, I saw my children physically sink in their seats.

"My son who was 15 started to laugh, you know the way you try to laugh when you are the butt of a joke, you try to laugh along so no one knows you are offended and hurt by it.

"He tried to laugh, but he couldn't. My daughter who was 12 was very embarrassed. What I witnessed was a blow to their self-esteem. ... and religious beliefs as Indian people and I could not tolerate it anymore.

"To reduce the victims of genocide to a mascot or a stereotyped symbol is wrong, and it is just plain immoral. This is not a Native American issue. Don't sit around and wait for Native American people to tell you what to do. If you are an anti-racist, find out how you can challenge this in your own community.

"I know we're making progress when we're off the sports page and on the front page. The reason they ask: 'Aren't there more important issues?' is to trivialize this. I say to them, racism is never trivial, and it is the responsibility of all of us to address it."

Another parent who has been fighting the mascot issue is Fred Veilleux who, with Phil St. John, is a member of the Concerned American Indian Parents Against Racism in Sports. Since 1987 the group has worked to pursuade Minnesota high schools to change their Indian mascots.

Mr. Veilleux said 20 out of 50 high schools have changed their mascots voluntarily. "It is an example how people can change their view through education and educating the educators on this position," he said.

"That was in '88 and '89. When the World Series came here, we looked at the legal remedy to show the discrimination by singling out Indian people in the category of mascot.

"I went to Game Five of the World Series where the Atlanta crowd was doing this mass mockery of Indian people and culture.

"It cost me $300 to get a Greyhound ticket and it took me 30 hours to get down and back.

"While riding in the bus, I reviewed the case of Sambo's restaurants that occurred in Rhode Island called Sambo's. In Rhode Island they were successful in getting these restaurants to change their names.

"Basically they were successful in changing it based on the public accommodations act, which states that — no individual will be denied equal access, equal utilization and equal and full enjoyment of a public place because of their race, color, creed or origin.



Michael Haney (seated, center), Second Chief of the Newcomer band of the Seminole Nation in Oklahoma, explains that the eagle feather headdress is a sacred item reserved for respected leaders. Mr. Haney has filed a human rights complaint with the Office of Civil Rights against the Kansas City Chiefs football team. Vernon Bellecourt (left) and his brother Clyde (right) expose the poster of the Kansas City Chiefs, entitled "The Tribe." Phil St. John, founder of Concerned American Indian Parents, is seated at right.

redskin, n. *Often Offensive*, a North American Indian. {red+skin}

The Random House Dictionary of the English Language

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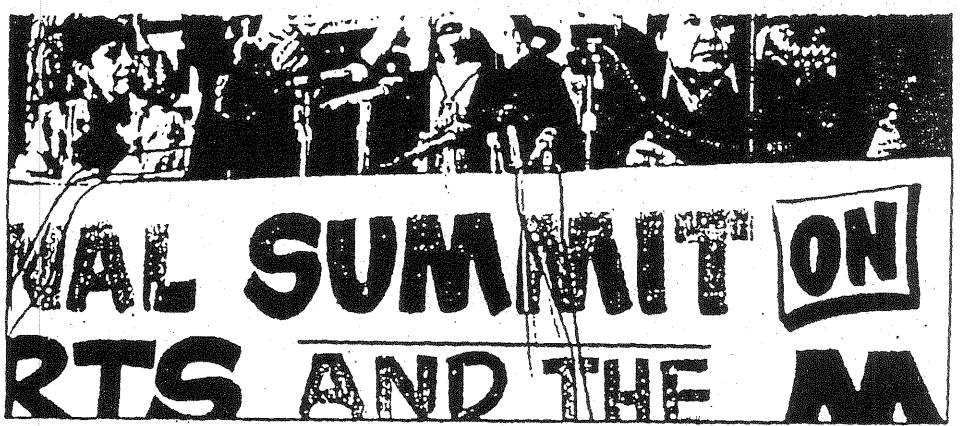
Mr. Veilleux warned that Indian people, though they understand the symbols they use for teams, must also be careful.

"Indian people have a right to self-identify themselves. An Indian school wants to use some symbol of Indian culture to identify themselves, and that is up to them to make that choice, but they need to

'No other race of people is used for a sports team identity. We are used as play things. 'This dehumanizes us. There is no question

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AL SUMMIT ON RTS AND THE M

Michael Haney (seated, center), Second Chief of the Newcomer band of the Seminole Nation in Oklahoma, explains that the eagle feather headdress is a sacred item reserved for respected leaders. Mr. Haney has filed a human rights complaint with the Office of Civil Rights against the Kansas City Chiefs football team. Vernon Bellecourt (left) and his brother Clyde (right) expose the poster of the Kansas City Chiefs, entitled "The Tribe." Phil St. John, founder of Concerned American Indian Parents, is seated at right.

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"He tried to laugh, but he couldn't. My daughter who was 12 was very embarrassed. What I witnessed was a blow to their self-esteem. ...

"Then I knew I couldn't sit back and tolerate it anymore because it was physically hurting these young people. I felt I had instilled in them who they are. What is that doing to other kids out there — the urban kids that are not as connected with our culture. Those are the ones we are losing in the schools, those are the ones committing suicide. Those are the ones we are losing on a daily basis. To me it really hit home about what this is all about.

"It was an attack on our identity and all the native American people to tell you what to do. If you are an anti-racist, find out how you can challenge this in your own community.

"I know we're making progress when we're off the sports page and on the front page. The reason they ask: 'Aren't there more important issues?' is to trivialize this. I say to them, racism is never trivial, and it is the responsibility of all of us to address it."

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"I went to Game Five of the World Series where the Atlanta crowd was doing this mass mockery of Indian people and culture.

"It cost me $300 to get a Greyhound ticket and it took me 30 hours to get down and back.

"While riding in the bus, I reviewed the case of Sambo's restaurants that occurred in Rhode Island, where some black people about 10 years ago took issue with a restaurant called Sambo's.

"To my understanding, Sambo was a book written 90 years ago and used in elementary schools. It was a caricature of a black child, and basically it told a children's story of him playing with lions and tigers.

"What happened as a result of that book being used in elementary schools was that the white kids called all the black kids Little Black Sambo. ... Here you had this restaurant called Sambo's. In Rhode Island they were successful in getting these restaurants to change their names.

"Basically they were successful in changing it based on the public accommodations act, which states that — no individual will be denied equal access, equal utilization and equal and full enjoyment of a public place because of their race, color, creed or origin.

"So in reviewing that law, I thought we had a really good case. Recently I was told by a lawyer that sports stadiums do fall under a public accommodation.

"(At the game) I had a sign that said, 'American Indians are people, we are not mascots for America's fun and games. We deserve respect.'

"... I was spit on, I was called 'chief' and 'Cochise'. Someone hit my sign with a toy tomahawk. People booed and jeered as I walked behind home plate. They called me names and told me to get a job.

> **redskin**, n. *Often Offensive.* a North American Indian. [red+skin]
>
> The Random House Dictionary of the English Language

He said he filed a complaint the next day with the Justice Department, "stating that my human and civil rights had been violated under the public accommodations.

"They sent it to the D.C. office which is now determining whether or not I have a case. The last time I talked to the lawyer that was assigned was two months ago. I haven't heard from him since."

Mr. Veilleux warned that Indian people, though they understand the symbols they use for teams, must also be careful.

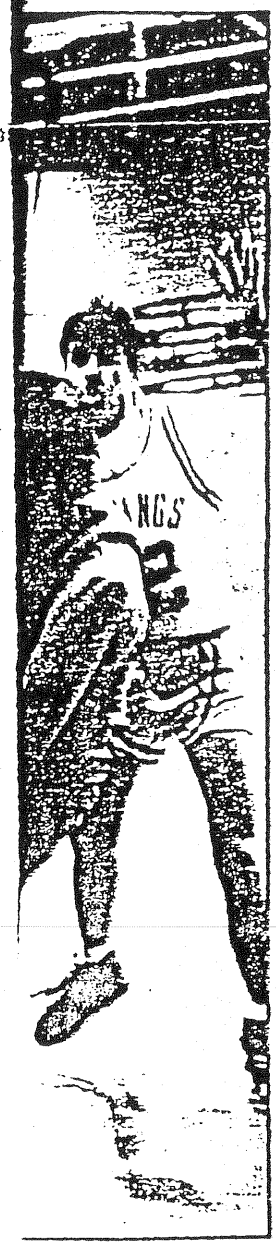
"Indian people have a right to self-identify themselves. An Indian school wants to use some symbol of Indian culture to identify themselves, and that is up to them to make that choice, but they need to realize that when that Indian school plays against a non-Indian school in a basketball or football game, that non-Indian school, those students, their parents and their community again sees the Indian image attached to the category of mascot. ... This allows the opposing team to put up banners that say, 'Kill the Chieftains,' 'Massacre the Chieftains.' They might make a button that says, 'Let's hang the Chieftans.'

"So you don't want to put any race in the category of mascot because of what the potential can happen. Especially not a race that has been historically oppressed in this country, and with the race relations the way they've been and still are, although things are getting better, you are perpetuating this form of discrimination."

> 'No other race of people is used for a sports team identity. We are used as play things.
>
> 'This dehumanizes us. There is no question about it.'
>
> Charlene Teeters

AD-92

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Jerry Reynolds/Times Staff
Falcons' fast-paced, see-
story and more pictures,

esses Today

December 1990. In February and March they published two editions on the Persian Gulf War and began publication as

'Redskins' new site on Interior land

By Bunty Anquoe
Times Washington Bureau

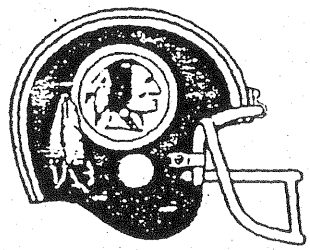
WASHINGTON — Indian tribes may finally have found a chink in the armor of Jack Kent Cooke, owner of the Super Bowl - bound Washington Redskins.

The site of the team's proposed new stadium is on Department of Interior land and any land transfer must be approved by Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan, said Bob Walker, department spokesman.

"If we don't approve it, he doesn't build it," Mr. Walker declared. "His only option is to build in northern Virginia."

Mr. Cooke has consistently refused to consider changing the name of his team despite vociferous calls from Indian tribes and organizations for him to do so.

Most Indian groups consider the team moniker racist and demeaning. Mr. Cooke has refused to meet with tribal representatives to discuss the issue that has become a heated debate with many sports teams who use Indian-oriented mascots and nicknames.



Washington "Redskins" team logo.

"The National Congress of American Indians reminds the Secretary of the Interior of the trust responsibility that exists between the U.S. government and the Indian

Please see Cooke/A2

JTPA funds endangered

By Bunty Anquoe
Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Department of Labor has drafted a proposal that would eliminate two-thirds of the tribal grantees under the Jobs Training Partnership Act.

The Native American Programs Advisory Committee met at Labor Department headquarters last week to consider a discussion paper proposing several changes in the regulations governing Indian JTPA programs. The committee rejected the suggested restrictions that include banning new grants of less than $200,000 and potentially phasing out all existing Indian grantees with allocations below that level.

An internal Labor Department work group developed the discussion paper that outlines objectives for JTPA programs and emphasizes long-term employability.

Other proposed options would tighten program participant eligi-

Please see JTPA/A2

Kansas' Finney signs a Kickapoo compact

By Joan Morrison

Scherer, mayor of Hiawatha.

Harjo, et al. v. Pro-Football, Inc.
Case No. 21,069
Petitioners' Ex.
20.054
500006

policy and subsequent court deci- [illegible] before the U.S. Supreme Court)

Cooke: it's Interior land

FROM A1

nations across this country," according to a statement by the executive committee of NCAI.

"It is our understanding that the National Football League — the owner of the 'Redskins,' Jack Kent Cooke — is requesting transfer of Department of Interior land. ... The National Congress of American Indians ... finds the use of the name 'Redskins' offensive and go on record opposing demeaning and degrading the honor and integrity of the first Americans — the Indian people," the committee wrote.

Mr. Walker said that negotiations are at an early stage and that nothing has yet been submitted by Mr. Cooke in writing.

The "Redskins" 30-year lease on the current stadium expired last year and the team is operating on a one-year extension.

The Interior Department turned the property over to the city in the 1970s, Mr. Walker said, and also owns the Langston golf course on which the proposed parking site overlaps.

"James Ridenour at the National Park Service is in charge of the negotiations," he said.

Redskins spokesman Tom Sullivan said the organization is not close to finalizing plans for the new stadium and no real developments will occur until after the Super Bowl.

The organization has been in several disputes with the city over the percentage of minority hiring and whether the city will share in parking revenues.

Steve Emery, Cheyenne River Sioux tribal attorney, said, "the Washington Redskins racist nickname demeans Indian people. The Secretary of the Interior must not approve any transfer of land unless the organization agrees to change its name."

JTPA: fund cuts eyed

FROM A1

bility by requiring that at least 90 percent of participants be economically disadvantaged and that over half have at least one DOL-defined "barrier to employment."

Richard Gilliland, deputy administrator, called the proposals "a major shift in policy in terms of quality standards."

"We're going to serve fewer people and the system has [illegible]

tribal lands are governed under a different law than the General Allotment Act.

"This leaves open the question of whether it makes any difference

Judge w SRST lic

By Avis Little Eagle
Times Staff

FORT YATES, N.D. — A hearing to decide if due process rights of several tribal members was violated by tribal council action last month will be decided in tribal court Jan. 16.

Chief Judge Rochelle Lawrence will preside. The court action was initiated by four tribal liquor license holders who were denied their licenses at a Dec. 17 tribal council meeting. The tribal council denied the licenses in an effort to combat the abuse of alcohol and other effects of alcohol use on the reservation.

Bob Wefeld, a Bismarck Attorney representing the liquor establishments said, "We brought an action — a summons and complaint against the tribe. My clients are seeking relief from the tribe for a violation of the Indian Civil Rights Act."

William Perry, a Washington attorney for the tribe said the tribe has an obligation [illegible]

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ier page C 1

oud students
econciliation
ee page C 3

d The World

-House
ttee backs
Crazy Horse

TON — The House-Senate ommittee has approved an ie Treasury appropriations bill the marketing of the "Original h Liquor."

ing of Brooklyn, which mar- bottle of malt liquor, already e the matter to court, should

Mark Rolman, an attorney has said that the amendment al.

ent, sponsored by Sen. Tom)., prohibits the Bureau of o and Firearms from allowing label containing the name date of enactment, but allows e its existing stock.

eople top list
related deaths

(P) — American Indians and re three times more likely to s than other Americans be- mited access to emergency riving habits, federal health

ampaign by the Navajos, one es, is helping reduce auto-re- id deaths, the Centers for aid last week.

orted that 57.5 per 100,000 a Natives are killed in auto trast, the death rate from au- ther Americans is 19.5 per

often live in rural areas, a Natives don't always re- mergency care after an auto

Please see Accidents/A2

40

Sept. 25. For more on the game, see page A8

Los Angeles Times

Angeles Riots, as expected to begin Monday and end

Please see Tax/A2

Mass protest planned for 'Redskins' game

By Avis Little Eagle
Times Staff

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — A planned publicity blitz between the Kansas City Chiefs and the Washington Redskins will be topped with a mass protest by the American Indian community here during the Nov. 15 football game.

The National Coalition on Racism in Sports and Media scheduled a conference to be held Nov. 12, 13 and 14, leading up to the Nov. 15 game.

Clyde Bellecourt, National founder and director of the American Indian Movement, said the conference is intended to make a tremendous impact on

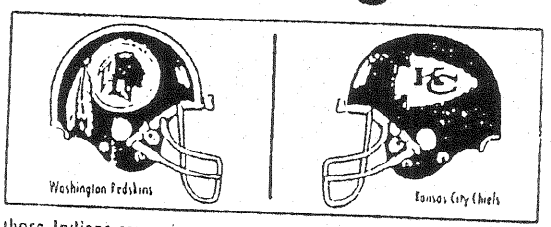
> 'Redskins' ... is an outright pejorative of the type that no other ethnic or racial group would be subjected to in 1992. Yet once again, Indians are supposed to be different — somehow.'
>
> — AAIA Resolution

the fight against American Indian names, symbols and logos being used for America's fun and games.

Charlene Teeters is a co-chair of the conference. Mrs. Teeters has been heralded in the Indian community for her feisty fight to get the University of Illinois to stop degrading the Indian community by using its "Chief Illiniwek" mascot.

Mr. Bellecourt said the protest will be kicked off by a major protest in Denver on Oct. 12, when a big Columbus Day parade will be held. Russell Means, director of the Colorado AIM, filed a petition asking that the parade to honor Columbus not be held out of respect for Indian nations who survived his genocidal onslaught.

The mayor of the town turned down the petition. Mr. Bellecourt said he has heard that the Italian community and members of the Ku Klux Klan have joined hands and said, "No way those Indians are going to stop this parade."



Gearing up for the protest, a public forum designed to unite the African-American and American Indian communities was held in Lawrence, Kans.

The rap group Public Enemy spoke to students and parents before their concert at the University of Kansas. Michael Haney, second chief of the Seminole Nation of Oklahoma said the event was the largest peaceful gathering of the two ethnic groups in Lawrence's history. More than 300 people attended.

Please see Protest/A3

Clinton courts Indian vote

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. — For once, a presidential candidate seems to be taking the Indian vote seriously.

Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton's savvy campaign strategists think Indian voter support could be a way to further erode the traditionally Republican stronghold in western and southwestern states.


Clinton

"In some states, the Indian vote will undoubtedly make the difference between a Clinton victory and loss," said Betsy Wright, a top campaign aide.

About 50 Indian leaders and political activists met with Mr. Clinton's senior campaign staff, including communications director George Stephanopoulos, on Sept. 25 to strategize on ways to get out the Indian vote.

The Clinton camp told tribal officials the Indian vote could be a crucial swing vote in states like Montana, Oklahoma, New Mexico, South Dakota, Oregon, Washington and North Dakota, said Kevin Gover, an Albuquerque-based attorney.

SPECIAL FEATURE

"In New Mexico, about 12 percent of the voting age population are Indians and in Montana, there's an estimated 30,000 voting-age Indians — an 8 percent margin which could be key in a tight race," he said.

South Dakota State Sen. Paul Valandra attended the confab and said the Clinton staff "gave us the red carpet treatment" and confided inside campaign strategies.

The five-hour meeting dived into Indian policy issues and the Indian position paper Mr. Clinton released at the Democrat National Convention is being revised to better reflect the concerns of tribes, Mr. Gover said.

Mr. Valandra said the exchange was very productive. "We discussed policy matter such as sovereignty, health care, housing, and justice sytems," he said. "I was really impressed with the idealism and sincerity in his campaign staff."

Ms. Wright called the meeting an "invaluable" opportunity to listen to what real Indian policy concerns are.

"None of us have ever had the opportunity before to meet with so many Indian leaders and to get a first-hand understanding of Indian issues," she said. "The bad experiences tribes have had with the federal government is really a tremendous example of the need for change, for an improved government-to-people relationship."

A Clinton administration would give tribes a voice in policy making, she said.

"This is a marked contrast with the Bush administration which has ignored the needs of entire segments of the American population," she added.

The Times is NOW...

See Editorial — page A 4

Barjo, et al. v. Pro-Football, Inc. Case No. 21,069
Petitioners' Ex. 20.078

500062

AD-95

...rotest: 'Redskins' vs. 'Chiefs'

FROM A1

Rap group members spoke on issues such as education, racism, drugs and teen pregnancy. The event was co-sponsored by the KU Black Student Union, the American Indian Movement and the Black Teachers and Staff at Lawrence Public Schools as well as the group's Public Enemy's staff.

Topics of the forum included the controversial quincentennial celebration of Columbus Day.

Public Enemy's lead singer, Chuck D, said celebrating Columbus Day was like having a Hitler Day, because American Indian groups credited Columbus with the genocide of several American Indian tribes.

Mr. Haney spoke about the recent lawsuit filed against the Washington Redskins by the National Coalition on Racism in Sports and the Media. He said mainstream America must heighten its sensitivity.

In other battles against the use of American Indians as mascots, the Association on American Indian Affairs passed a resolution against the stereotyping of Native Americans in printed material and through the use of offensive mascots.

The association is a nationwide non-profit citizens' organization founded in 1923 to assist American Indian and Alaska Native communities in their efforts to achieve full economic, social and civil equality.

The resolution reads in part: "The AAIA has long taken a strong position against the stereotyping of Native Americans in printed materials and through the use of offensive mascots.

"In the past, AAIA staff reviewed education materials to ensure that they provide fair and balanced treatment of American Indians. The Association has vocally objected to advertising which portrayed American Indians in a stereotypic and derogatory light.

"One example was a Virginia Slims 'You've come a long way, baby' advertisement that featured a totem pole made up of women with a professional woman at the top and 'squaws' at the bottom.

"It has also participated in efforts to eliminate offensive athletic team names and mascots which negatively portray and denumanize Native Americans. AAIA staff worked with the University of Illinois students who objected to Chief Illiniwek, a white man who comes out in full headdress, buckskin and moccasins while the fans chant 'Chief; Chief' for the University of Illinois 'Fighting Illini' sports teams.

"The feathers and other paraphernalia that mascots and fans wear on such occasions are often crude imitations of the most sacred objects that even few Native Americans earn the privilege of wearing these sacred objects signify the most cherished values and traditions that hold together the very fabric of Native culture," the resolution says.

"The representation and use of such sacred materials by sports teams mocks Native Religions, and the people themselves. One can make an analogy to the offense Roman Catholics would feel at the sight of fans throwing Holy Rosaries or waving Crucifixes at that team mascot dressed to imitate Jesus or a particular saint.

"For these reasons, AAIA joins with those who object to the 'Tomahawk Chop,' and the use of the 'Redskins' nickname. Such antics and logos perpetuate widely held stereotypes of Indian people based upon Disney cartoons and Hollywood movies.

"In the case of the term "Redskins," that term is an outright pejorative of the type that no other ethnic or racial group would be subjected to in 1992. Yet once again, Indian are supposed to be different — somehow.

"Indian people are not supposed to be affected by these public displays of fake Indian people acting like clownish cartoon-like characters or 'uncivilized savages.'

"We at the AAIA urge the Atlanta Braves and the Washington Redskins, and other teams across the country with less notoriety, to change their names where offensive. We also urge them to cease activities that perpetuate negative stereotypes of Native Americans."

The resolution goes on to denounce the use of the Crazy Horse name to sell the Crazy Horse Malt Liquor.

"The association recognizes that the memory of Crazy Horse, a Minneconjou Sioux spiritual leader who was undefeated in battle is cherished and honored by many Native Americans.

"Crazy Horse deserves a legacy of respect and reverence. It is especially repugnant to see his name associated with an alcoholic beverage when this substance was used as a form of chemical warfare against Native Americans.

"... We at AAIA strongly protest the use of the name of Crazy Horse by the Hornell Brewing Company, as marketed and distributed by Ferolito, Vultaggio and Sons of Brooklyn, New York.

"We join others in demanding the immediate recall of this product and any other which insults and degrades Native Americans," the resolution concludes.

Candlelight vigil planned for Oct. 5

PIERRE — The annual Speak Out and Candlelight Vigil will be held on the steps of the South Dakota State Capitol building in Pierre. A Nauonal Day of Unity as part of Domestic Violence Awareness Month will be held at 5 p.m. on Oct. 5.

The ceremony will include an opening prayer and remarks by Tillie Black Bear, founding mother and former chair of both the South Dakota and national Coalitions Against Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault.

Other speakers include the South Dakota Coalition's Co-Chairs, Sue Schultz, director of Crisis Intervention Services, Sturgis, Karen Artichoker, director of White Buffalo Calf Woman's Society, Mission and Attorney General Mark Barnett.

The candlelight vigil will then be held to mourn those who have lost their lives this year, to celebrate those who have survived and made new lives for themselves. Candles will be provided.

Everyone is then invited to share a meal, provided by the Missouri Shores Women's Shelter, at the Lutheran Memorial Church on the west side of the Capitol.

For more information, call (605) 698-3947.

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See OST General Election Special on Page C1

the LAKOTA TIMES

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Harjo, et al. v. Pro-Football, Inc. Case No. 21,069
Petitioners' Ex.
20.068

D.C. council to consider 'Redskins' protest

By Bunty Anquoe
Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The District of Columbia Council was to consider a resolution March 3 urging a name-change for the Washington Redskins.

"This is simply the right thing to do," said Councilman Bill Lightfoot, author of the resolution. "The nickname is racially insensitive to the feelings of Native Americans."

Mr. Lightfoot sent a letter to team owner Jack Kent Cooke Feb. 25 describing the resolution.

Although a resolution has no force of law, it would enable the D.C. Council to take a stand on what has become an issue of heated debate with many sports teams who use Indian-oriented mascots and nicknames.

Mr. Cooke has consistently refused to consider changing the name of his football team despite vociferous calls from Indian tribes and organizations for him to do so. He has been quoted as saying, "there's nothing wrong with the name 'Redskins.'"

Most Indian groups consider the term "Redskins" racist and defamatory. At least one other D.C. Council member agrees.

"This is one of those cases that if we want to show a sign of respect to a people, we ought to change the name," said Councilman Jim Nathanson. "The name reflects all of the old negative images of Indians."

The National Indian Education Association sent a letter Feb. 26 to John A. Wilson, council chairman, in support of the resolution.

"The use of Indian mascots and names derogatory to Indians for sports teams is counter to our efforts to improve self-esteem among Native people," wrote Loren Stiffarm, NIEA president.

The insult goes beyond the name itself, Mr. Stiffarm said. "We see fans in the stadium and on the streets acting out the worst possible Indian stereotypes, including the use of objects such as Pipes, which are an integral part of our religious ceremonies.

"We are incredulous of the response of Jack Kent Cooke and others who says they mean the term 'redskin' to be considered an honor to Indian people. If we are offended, then we are offended, and it is gross paternalism for Mr. Cooke and others to say, in effect, they know what is best for Indian people."

The Morning Star Foundation and the National Congress of American Indians planned to hold a press conference before the meeting to urge the council's support. Among those at the conference were to be Suzan Shown Harjo, president and executive director of the Morning Star Foundation and Raymond D. Apodaca, governor of the Pueblo of Isleta del Sur and Albuquerque Area vice president for the NCAI.

"As a sports fan," Ms. Harjo said, "I would love to join with others to support the construction of a new sports stadium for Washington. But to spend millions of dollars to build a stadium on district and federal lands for a team called the most derogatory name in the English language for our people is, at best, an unworthy use of public lands."

Mr. Lightfoot also said the resolution probably would be controversial because of current negotiations with Mr. Cooke for a new stadium.

"But it's the morally correct thing to do," he said. "The team would be no less successful, or bring us no less pride, if its nickname were changed."

Mr. Stiffarm said the Super Bowl champions could send an important message by recognizing that all people should be treated with dignity.

"The way to send that message is to change the name of the team," he said.

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AD-97

National Congress of American Indians

Est. 1944

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RESOLUTION NO. EX DC-93-11

RESOLUTION IN SUPPORT OF THE PETITION FOR CANCELLATION OF THE REGISTERED SERVICES MARKS OF THE WASHINGTON REDSKINS AKA PRO-FOOTBALL INC.

WHEREAS, the American Indian and Alaska Tribal Governments and people have gathered in Crystal City, Virginia, of the Washington, D.C. area, for the 1993 Executive Council Meeting of the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) in order to promote the common interests and welfare of American Indian and Alaska Native peoples; and

WHEREAS, NCAI is the oldest and largest intertribal organization nationwide representative of and advocate for national, regional, and local tribal concerns; and

WHEREAS, NCAI has read and understands the Cancellation Petition Filed on September 10, 1992, before the Trademark Trial and Appeal Board--attached as Exhibit A; and

WHEREAS, NCAI is familiar with the Registered Service Marks of the Washington Redskins and the context in which those marks are used by the Washington Redskins football organization--attached as Exhibit B; and

WHEREAS, the term REDSKINS is not and has never been one of honor or respect, but instead, it has always been and continues to be a pejorative, derogatory, denigrating, offensive, scandalous, contemptuous, disreputable, disparaging and racist designation for Native American's and

WHEREAS, the use of the registered service marks identified in Exhibit B to this resolution by the Washington Redskins football organization, has always been and continues to be offensive, disparaging, scandalous, and damaging to Native Americans.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the NCAI hereby issues its support of the cancellation petition attached as Exhibit A to this resolution, filed on September 10, 1992, by petitioners Suzan Shown Harjo (Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma), Vine Deloria, Jr., (Standing Rock Sioux), Raymond D. Apodaca (Ysleta del Sur Pueblo), Norbert S. Hill, Jr. (Oneida Tribe of Wisconsin), Manley A. Begay, Jr. (Navajo Nation), William A. Means (Oglala Sioux Tribe of

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Harjo, et al. v.
Pro-Football, Inc.
Case No. 21,069

Petitioners' Ex.

144

Pine Ridge), and Mateo Romero (Cochiti Pueblo), against the registered marks identified in Exhibit B to this resolution.

CERTIFICATION

Rachel A. Joseph, Recording Secretary

Adopted by the Executive Council during the Executive Council Meeting, January 18-19, 1993, Crystal City, Virginia.

RESOLUTION MID-GB-93-58

National Congress of American Indians (Est 1944)

Adopted by the Executive Council at the Mid-Year Meeting of the National Congress of American Indians, June 28-30, 1993.

Denouncement of the Use of any American Indian Name or Artifice Associated With Team Mascots by any Professional/Non-professional Sport Teams

WHEREAS, the American Indian and Alaska Tribal Government and people have gathered in Green Bay, Wisconsin for the Mid-Year Meeting of the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) in order to promote the common interests and welfare of American Indians and Alaskan Native peoples; and

WHEREAS, NCAI is the oldest and largest intertribal organization representative of and advocate for national, regional, and local tribal concerns; and,

WHEREAS, the NCAI condemns the racist and condescending attitude of team owners, colleges and high schools, which continue to demean the members of our Nations; and,

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the NCAI denounces the use of any American Indian name or Artifice associated with Indian mascots; and,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the NCAI calls upon all reasonable individuals in decision making positions to voluntarily change racist and dehumanizing mascots

CERTIFICATION

(Signed)

S. Diane Kelly, Recording Secretary



ALLIANCE AGAINST RACIAL MASCOTS (ALLARM)

// updated: 15-June-04 //

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OUR MISSION

The Alliance Against Racial Mascots (ALLARM) is seeking the elimination of American Indian mascots, logos, team names and nicknames in all California schools and educational institutions. We began our work in 1996 in an effort to abolish racial mascots, logos and team names in the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD). In September of 1997 as a result of our efforts, the LAUSD board voted to eliminate "Indian" mascots in all district schools. ALLARM was formalized in November 2000, and began its efforts to eliminate such mascots in all California schools.

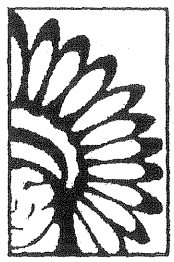
In March 2001, ALLARM participated in a letter writing campaign to the United States Commission on Civil Rights asking for support on the issue. On April 13, the USCCR made a formal statement denouncing the use of Indian mascots in schools. More recently, we filed complaints with the California Department of Motor Vehicles, which resulted in the revocation of all personalized license plates with the racial epithet, "REDSKINS," or any spelling variation thereof.

In 2002, we sponsored legislation to eliminate racial mascots in California public schools. Assembly Bill 2115 (Goldberg) received extraordinary grassroots support and was approved by three separate committees, before being debated and voted down on the floor of the Assembly. On February 20, 2003 AB 858 was introduced to the California State Legislature. It was Goldberg's and ALLARM's second attempt at passing legislation of this kind. AB 858 successfully passed out of two committees and earned the support of the California Nations Indian Gaming Associatoin (CNIGA). On June 15, 2003, AB 858 fell four votes short of passage.

The bill was taken up for reconsideration by the California State Assembly and on January 29, 2004 a revised version of AB 858 passed with 42 "aye" votes, 20 "noes" and 17 absetentions. On June 9, 2004 AB 858 passed out of the Senate Education Committee with 7 "ayes" and 1 "no" vote. The bill continues to make its way through the California State Senate.

ALLARM is a statewide coalition formed by The National Conference for Community and Justice and the Southern California Indian Center. Member organizations include: Advocates for American Indian Children, American Indian Movement, Anti-Defamation League/A World of Difference, California Democratic Party Native American Caucus, California Indian Professors Association, Center for Law in the Public Interest, Committee For Native American Rights, Korean Youth and Community Center, Leadership Development in Interethnic Relations (LDIR), MALDEF-Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, The Juaneño Band of Mission Indians Acjachemen Nation Tribal Council, Soboba Band of Luiseno Mission Indians of the Soboba Reservation.

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AMERICAN INDIANS

AND

SPORTS TEAM MASCOTS

A TIMELINE OF CHANGE

1968

- The National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) beings campaign to address stereotypes found in print and other media.

1969

- American Indian activists at Dartmouth College successfully change the school's "Indians" nickname to "Big Green".
- Oklahoma State retires its "Little Red" mascot.

1970

- Protests against the Cleveland "Indians" professional baseball team's use of the "Chief Wahoo" mascot occur in Cleveland, Ohio.

1971

- Marquette University changes its "Indian" related nicknames and mascots.

1972

- A petition filed by American Indian students at Standford University results in the school

dropping its "Indian" sports team nickname and logos.

1979

- Syracuse University ends the use of its "Saltine Warrior" mascot.

1988

- The Michigan State Civil Rights Commission issues a report on nicknames, logos and mascots depicting American Indian people in Michigan education institutions.
- The Minnesota State Board of Education issues a resolution stating that "the use of mascots, emblems, or symbols depicting American Indian culture or race is unacceptable" and encourages all districts to immediately begin the removal of such mascots, etc.

1989

- Charlene Teters, an American Indian graduate student attending the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, initiates efforts to eliminate that school's "Chief Illiniwek" mascot.

1991

- The Nebraska Commission on Indian Affairs requests 27 public schools in that state to end their use of American Indian mascots and nicknames.

1992

- The Portland Oregonian announces it will no longer use the terms "Redskins" and other American Indian related terms in print. Radio stations WASH and WTOP in Washington, DC also adopt similar policies.

1993

- During its Executive Council Winter Session, the National Congress of American Indians issues its support for the cancellation petition against the Washington Redskins trademark.
- During its Mid-Year Conference in Green Bay, Wisconsin, the National Congress of American

Indians denounces the use of any American Indian name or artifice associated with team mascots.

- Arvada High School, near Denver, Colorado, drops its "Redskins" sports team nickname.

1994

- The State of Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction issues a directive "strongly urging" all Wisconsin schools using American Indian related mascots to discontinue such uses.

1995

- St. John's, the largest Catholic university in the United States, changes its "Redmen" nickname to "Redstorm".

1996

- The University of Tennessee at Chattanooga ends the use of its "Chief Moccanooga" mascot.
- Miami University of Ohio drops its "Redskins" nickname.
- The Toronto Bluejays triple-A farm team in Syracuse, NY, acknowledges concerns express by the community and changes its nickname from "Chiefs" to "Skychiefs".
- Hull Western Christian school in Hull, Iowa, is honored by the Sioux City Human Rights Commission for retiring the school's "Indians" mascot and logo.
- Adams State University in Alamosa, Colorado changes its mascot from an "Indian" to a Grizzly.

1997

- During its Mid-Year Conference in Juneau, Alaska, the National Congress of American Indians reaffirms its support for the cancellation petition filed before the Trademark Trial and Appeal Board calling for an end to the register service marks of the Washington Redskins.
- The Board of Education for the Los Angeles, California consolidated school district moves to eliminate "Indian" related mascots from four schools in its jurisdiction.
- During its Annual Convention in Sante Fe, New Mexico, the National Congress of American Indians commends the L.A. Board of Education for leading the way for other school districts to respect native culture and promote positive images of American Indian people.
- The minor league Canton-Akron Indians rename themselves the Akron Aeros and boost their

merchandise sales from $60,000 to $1.2 million, the largest merchandise income of any minor league team.

1998

- Yakima College in Washington State honors the concerns expressed by the American Indian community and elects to retire the schools race-related mascot.
- The first national Conference on the Elimination of Racist Mascots is held at the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana.
- A federal judge upholds the L.A. Board of Education's 1997 decision to eliminate several "Indian" related mascots and nicknames from its district.
- The New York State Education Department launches an investigation of the use of American Indian mascots by New York's schools to determine if their use is offensive and should be stopped.
-
- Southern Nazarene University, a small Christian school in Bethany, Oklahoma, retires its "Redskins" nickname in favor of "Crimson Storm".

Sources:

Robert Eurich, www.geocities.com/~earnestman/1indexpage.htm , Wisconsin Commission on Indian Affairs, and
Indian Country Today.

SENATE RULES COMMITTEE
Office of Senate Floor Analyses
1020 N Street, Suite 524
(916) 445-6614 Fax: (916)
327-4478

AB 858

THIRD READING

Bill No: AB 858
Author: Goldberg (D)
Amended: 6/30/04 in Senate
Vote: 21

SENATE EDUCATION COMMITTEE : 7-1, 6/9/04
AYES: Alarcon, Alpert, Chesbro, Karnette, Romero, Scott, Vincent
NOES: Denham
NO VOTE RECORDED: Vasconcellos, McPherson, Sher, Speier, Vacancy

SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE : Senate Rule 28.8

ASSEMBLY FLOOR : 43-23, 1/29/04 - See last page for vote

SUBJECT : California Racial Mascots Act: athletic team names and mascots

SOURCE : Author

DIGEST : This bill prohibits public schools from using the term Redskins for school or athletic team names, mascots, or nicknames beginning January 1, 2006.

ANALYSIS : Under current law, it is the policy of the State of California to afford all persons in public schools, regardless of their sex, ethnic group identification, race, national origin, religion, mental or physical disability, equal rights and opportunities in the

CONTINUED

educational institutions of the state, and to prohibit acts contrary to this policy.

Current law also requires that no person shall be subjected to discrimination on these bases in any program or activity conducted by an educational institution that receives, or benefits from state financial assistance.

Current law states that a local school district governing board has general control of and responsibility for all aspects of the interscholastic athletic policies, programs, and activities in its district. Current law also provides that no voluntary interscholastic athletic association, of which any public school is a member, shall discriminate against, or deny the benefits of any program to, any person on any basis prohibited by the state's policy to afford all persons in public schools, equal rights and opportunities in the educational institutions of the state.

This bill prohibits public schools from using the term "Redskins" for school or athletic team names, mascots, or nicknames beginning January 1, 2006. In addition, the bill:

1. Exempts a school located within "Indian country", as defined by specified federal law, from the bill's provisions, provided that the tribe having regulatory jurisdiction over the territory within the school's enrollment boundaries has authorized the use of the team name, mascot, or nickname, as specified.

2. Authorizes a school to continue to use uniforms or materials bearing the term "Redskins" purchased prior to January 1, 2006, if the following requirements are met:

   A. The school selects a new school or athletic team name, mascot, or nickname.

   B. The school refrains from purchasing or acquiring, for purposes of sales or distribution:

      (1) Any uniform that includes or bears the term "Redskins." (The bill provides that, prior to January 1, 2008, a school using uniforms that bear

the term "Redskins" may purchase or acquire a number of uniforms equal to up to 20 percent of the total number of uniforms used during the 2005-06 school year for the purposes of replacing damaged or lost uniforms.)

      (2) Any yearbook, newspaper, program or other similar material that bears the prohibited term.

C. Refrains from purchasing or constructing a marquee, sign, or other new or replacement fixture that includes the prohibited term.

3. Prohibits the State Board of Education from waiving the provisions of the bill.

4. Makes a variety of legislative findings and declarations regarding the derogatory and discriminatory nature of Native American/American Indian athletic team names, mascots, and nicknames, and the barrier that these create to equality and understanding.

Comments

Need for the bill . According to the author's office, the use of the derogatory term "Redskins" as a team name that singles out Native Americans is inconsistent with the requirement that public schools in California provide educational opportunity to all students regardless of race, ethnicity, or national origin. On April 13, 2001, the United States Commission on Civil Rights issued a statement on the use of Native American images and nicknames as sports symbols. In its statement, the Commission called for an end to the use of Native American images and team names by non-Native schools. Among other things, the Commission noted, "When Indian imagery was first adopted for sports mascots it was not to offend Native Americans. However, the use of the imagery and traditions, no matter how popular, should end when they are offensive."

Local control . Current law affords local school district governing boards general control over all aspects of their interscholastic athletic policies, programs, and activities. Arguably, decisions regarding athletic teams

names, nicknames or mascots falls within the local board's authority and local governing boards (as in the case of the Los Angeles Unified School District) can and do take steps to prohibit the use of Native American mascots and names as appropriate to their local communities. The author's office contends, however, that the decision to change is often preceded by a lengthy, costly and divisive local debate where Native American children and parents are often the targets of blame and harassment and school and district administrators are caught in the middle.

Schools affected . According to the author's office, this bill's provisions affect only five schools: Calaveras High School in San Andreas, Chowchilla Union High School, Colusa High School, Gustine High School, and Tulare Union High School.

Prior legislation . AB 2115 (Goldberg, 2002) prohibited all public schools, community colleges, the California State University, and the University of California from using specified American Indian tribal names for schools, athletic team names, mascots or nicknames. The bill failed passage on the Assembly Floor.

FISCAL EFFECT : Appropriation: No Fiscal Com.: Yes Local: Yes

SUPPORT : (Verified 6/23/04)

Alliance Against Racial Mascots
Alliance for Human Rights
Alliance of Native Americans of Southern California
American Civil Liberties Union
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO
American Indian Child Resource Center
American Indian Movement - OH, KY
American Indian Recruitment Project, University of California, Los Angeles
American Indian Student Association, University of California, Los Angeles
American Sports Institute
Americans for Indian Opportunity
Asian Pacific American Legal Center of Southern California

Associated Student Body of Hoopa Valley High School
BRIDGE Indian Training Trust Fund
California Federation of Teachers
California Indian Education Association
California Labor Federation
California Nations Indian Gaming Association
California School Employees Association
California Teachers Association
Californians for Justice
Capitol Area Indian Resources, Inc.
Chinese for Affirmative Action
Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles
Coyote Valley Tribal Council
Dry Creek Rancheria Band of Pomo Indians
El Dorado/Amador Counties Indian Education Project
First Nations Tribal Family Center, Incorporated
Fontana Native American Indian Center
Foothill Indian Education Alliance, Inc.
Hoopa Valley Tribal Council
Jewish Community Relations Council
Juaneno Band of Missino Indians
Kalpulli Inc. Projects, California State University, Northridge
Lambda Letters Project

Local Indians For Education, Inc.
Lone Pine Indian Education Center
Los Angeles City/County Native American Indian Commission
Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund
Museum of Tolerance
National Conference for Community and Justice
National Indian Education Association
Native Nations Law and Policy Institute, University of California, Los
Angeles
News from Native California
Osa Center for Indian Education
Oyate
Public Advocates, Inc.
Resources for Indian Student Education, Inc.
San Francisco Unified School District
Sierra Nevada Native American Council, Inc.
Southern California Indian Center
TRIAD - Team Response: Indians Against Defamation
Tribal Law and Policy Institute

OPPOSITION : (Verified 6/23/04)

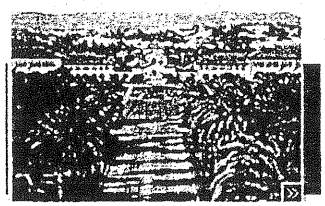
City of Arcadia
Congressman Devin Nunes
Gustine Unified School District Board of Education
Santa Rosa Rancheria Tachi Tribe
Tulare Improvement Program
Tulare Union High School

ASSEMBLY FLOOR :
AYES: Berg, Bermudez, Calderon, Chan, Chavez, Chu, Cohn, Corbett, Diaz, Dutra, Dymally, Firebaugh, Frommer, Garcia, Goldberg, Hancock, Jerome Horton, Jackson, Kehoe, Koretz, Laird, Leno, Levine, Lieber, Longville, Lowenthal, Montanez, Mullin, Nakano, Nation, Negrete McLeod, Nunez, Oropeza, Pavley, Reyes, Ridley-Thomas, Salinas, Simitian, Steinberg, Vargas, Wiggins, Wolk, Yee
NOES: Aghazarian, Bates, Bogh, Campbell, Cox, Daucher, Dutton, Harman, Haynes, Shirley Horton, La Malfa, La Suer, Liu, Maldonado, Maze, Mountjoy, Pacheco, Plescia, Richman, Runner, Samuelian, Strickland, Wyland
NO VOTE RECORDED: Benoit, Canciamilla, Cogdill, Correa, Houston, Keene, Leslie, Maddox, Matthews, McCarthy, Nakanishi, Parra, Spitzer, Wesson

NC:mel 6/29/04 Senate Floor Analyses

SUPPORT/OPPOSITION: SEE ABOVE

**** END ****



Stanford Facts 2004

Cardinal Athletics

Stanford promotes excellence in both academics and athletics. Stanford has won the Director's Cup, which honors the most successful program in NCAA Division I sports, the last nine years. In 2002-03, Stanford won two NCAA team championships and had 13 teams in the top five and 24 in the top 10. Thirty-four athletes and coaches also represented Stanford at the 2000 Olympic Games in Sydney. Stanford offers about 300 athletic scholarships. About 800 students participate in intercollegiate sports.

The athletic department draws from an endowment of approximately $370 million and had an annual operating budget in 2002-03 of $45 million. Stanford employs some 80 coaches and assistants. Ten current coaches have led their teams to one or more NCAA titles. Stanford maintains 1 million gross feet of indoor facilities and 94 acres of outdoor fields. Among Stanford's facilities are the 6,786-yard Stanford Golf Course; the 7,391-seat Maples Pavilion, with one of the finest basketball surfaces in the world; the 4,000-seat Sunken Diamond; the 14-court Taube Family Tennis Stadium; the 2,500-seat, four-pool Avery Aquatic Complex; and the 85,500-seat Stanford Stadium, the largest privately owned college football facility in the United States.

The Department of Athletics offers 34 varsity sports -- 18 for women, 15 for men and one coed -- plus 19 club sports. In addition, more than 9,000 students, faculty and staff participate each year in one of 37 intramural sports. Each quarter, approximately 2,000 students enroll in 85 physical education courses, which include 20 different activities. Call (800) STANFORD.

Women's Varsity Sports	Men's Varsity Sports
Basketball	Baseball
Crew	Basketball
Cross Country	Crew
Fencing	Cross Country
Field Hockey	Fencing
Golf	Football
Gymnastics	Golf
Lacrosse	Gymnastics
Lightweight Rowing	Soccer
Sailing	Swimming and Diving
Soccer	Tennis
Softball	Track and Field
Swimming and Diving	Volleyball
Synchronized Swimming	Water Polo
Tennis	Wrestling
Track and Field	
Volleyball	
Water Polo	

Coed Varsity Sport: Sailing

Home of Champions

Total National Championships: 95

Total NCAA Championships (NCAA rank): 85 (No. 2)

Total Men's NCAA Championships: 56 (No. 3)

Total Women's NCAA Championships: 29 (No. 1)

Total Individual NCAA Championships: 376 (No. 1)

NCAA Team Championships Since 1990: 45 (No. 1)

NCAA Team Championships Since 1980: 68 (No. 1)

Olympic Medals 1976-2000

	Gold	Silver	Bronze
2000	4	3	3
1996	16	1	1
1992	10	4	5
1988	8	6	3
1984	5	8	1
1976	5	2	0

The Cardinal

Cardinal has been the color of Stanford athletic teams since 1892. In 1930, Stanford officially adopted the Indian symbol and nickname for its teams. In 1972, the Indian mascot was dropped at the request of American Indian students, and the color cardinal was adopted as the name of Stanford athletic teams.

Back to Stanford Facts 2004

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STANFORD UNIVERSITY NEWS SERVICE
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305
(415) 497-2558

FOR INFORMATION CONTACT: Bob Beyers

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

STANFORD—

The National Indian Education Association unanimously supports Stanford's elimination of the Indian mascot.

Meeting in Denver, Colorado, the NIEA General Assembly Wednesday, Nov. 5, urged alumni associations and other influential organizations to take a firm stand against efforts to reinstate Indian mascot symbols.

The student caucus took similar action Tuesday, Dec. 4.

Approximately 300 persons backed the resolutions, without dissent.

"The stereotyping of American Indian people via Indian mascots promotes a Hollywood stereotype, thus camoflaging problems encountered by Indians and hindering [their] advancement," the NIEA declared.

"it is dehumanizing and inappropritae to use a racial group as a mascot. . . .

"When many people see a race as a sybmol for sport and entertainment, they fail to perceive the human side of that race and fail to understand the socioeconomic problems, the traditional life styles, and the religious practices of this race as being authentic. . . .

"The desecration of American Indian traditional dress and dance is a mockery to religious practices. Indian students at [Stanford] are offended because they have been raised to have deep respect for their tribal ceremonies."

Pro-Indian mascot organizations "disrupt the academic environment," interfering with the studies of Indian students, and "disrupt the social environment," causing stress among students, the NIEA added.

"Despite the fact that [Stanford] has officially discontinued use of the stereotyped image of a race as a mascot, some vocal, unofficial organizations external to the school persist in trying to revive it as a symbol."

It applauded the University administration's continued efforts to resist these groups. Stanford officially dropped the Indian mascot in 1972.

Those attending the NIEA from Stanford included graduate students Hartman Lomawaima and Wayne Johnson, and Sophomore Karen Atkinson. "We didn't want to mandate what other schools do," Johnson said. He noted that interest in Stanford was strong among prospective graduate students at the convention.

EDITORS: Johnson may be contacted directly at 497-9368 or 497-2733.

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facts

chronology

- 1870-1905
- 1906-1930
- 1931-1950
- 1951-1960
- 1961-1970
- 1971-1995

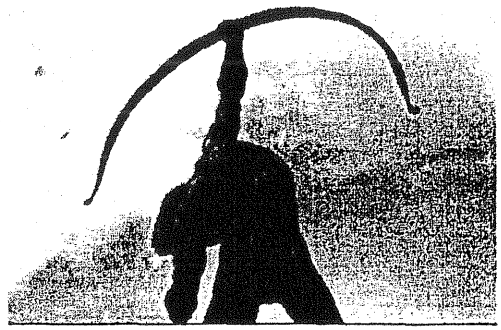
institutional facts and figures

memorabilia

- legacy of number 44
- su mascots
- su seal
- su songs
- why orange?

su mascots

The Saltine Warrior, an Indian figure named Big Chief Bill Orange, was born in a hoax published in *The Syracuse Orange Peel,* October 1931. The remains of this 16th century Onondagan chief were supposedly found in the excavations for the new women's gymnasium in 1928.



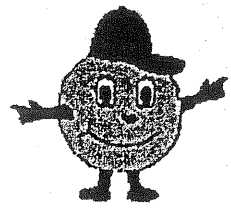
In 1951, the Senior Class commissioned a statue of the Saltine Warrior to be placed near the "discovery site." The students of the famous Croatian sculptor and SU faculty member, Ivan Mestrovic, competed for the honor. The winner was Louise Kaisch who arranged for a member of the Onondaga Nation to pose for her statue. The Saltine Warrior, cast in bronze, was moved several times, at last finding a resting place on the south-east corner of the quadrangle, next to the Shaffer Art Building.

In the mid-1950's, the father of a Lambda Chi Alpha fraternity brother owned a cheerleading camp. He made a Saltine Warrior costume for his son to wear at S.U. football games. Thus began a nearly forty-year tradition of Lambda Chi brothers serving as S.U.'s mascot. In 1990 however the University opened up the mascot traditions to the entire student body (*Daily Orange*, February 22, 1990).

In 1978, the members of a Native American student organization headed a protest against using the Saltine Warrior as an athletic mascot. Onondagan Chief Oren Lyons, a 1958 alumnus and former SU lacrosse star, explained that it's "all in the presentation...The thing that offended me when I was there was that guy running around like a nut. That's derogatory" (*Daily Orange*, March 23, 1976, p. 5). The Saltine Warrior was subsequently "sidelined" and a contest for successor ensued (*Daily Orange*, February 12, 1978).

Briefly in 1978 a Roman-style gladiator reigned over the sites of

sports battles, but he was soon both laughed and booed off the fields. It was prophetic of his career that in his initial appearance the SU football team lost, 28-0, in a contest against the Florida State Seminoles.



In the following years proposals and attempts at mascots included Egnaro the Troll, a Superman-like figure, and a man in an orange tuxedo. An Orange "with appeal" was introduced in ca. 1980 (*Daily Orange*, April 4, 1980). Eric Heath, an SU cheerleader, is credited with designing and crafting the first costume for the rotund and fuzzy Orange.

By 1984, the search for a proper successor to the Warrior had become both widely known and somewhat desperate. *Sports Illustrated* described a parade of potential replacements for the beloved and fearsome Saltine mascot: the Dome Ranger ("an insurance agent in an orange cowboy outfit and blue mask"), Dome Eddie ("a gnat-like figure in Orange sweats with Elton John glasses and an incandescent wig"), Beast from the East (an electric-green monster), and The Orange (a "juiced-up, bumbling citrus fruit from which two legs protrude.), whose popularity took on a life of its own.

The mascot was known as "The Orange" until 1990 when the name Otto first came into use. According to Mitch Messinger, "92, G'93, the first Orange costume was dubbed "Clyde" by the Lambda Chi Alpha brothers, and the second called "Woody". In 1990 a third costume was being produced and needed a name. The cheerleaders were at Cheerleading Camp in Tennessee that summer and narrowed the field down to two potential names - Opie or Otto. Figuring the name Opie would lead to the inevitable rhyme with 'dopey', they settled on Otto. Later that fall word got out that the cheerleaders were calling the latest mascot costume Otto and the name stuck.

The issue of an official mascot came to a head in February 1995 when Chancellor Shaw appointed an 18-member committee of students, faculty and staff to recommend a logo and mascot, primarily in support of the athletics program. In the Fall the Committee, which had narrowed the mascot possibilities to a wolf, lion or the unofficial Orange, recommended adopting a wolf as the University mascot. A successful campaign was organized by the students who act as the Orange, and in early December Chancellor Shaw named the Orange, popularly known as "Otto", as the official Syracuse University mascot. Shaw stated that he was convinced that the majority opinion on and off campus favored the Orange, and that with the Orange the University retains a unique position in college athletics (*Daily Orange*, Dec. 5, 1995).

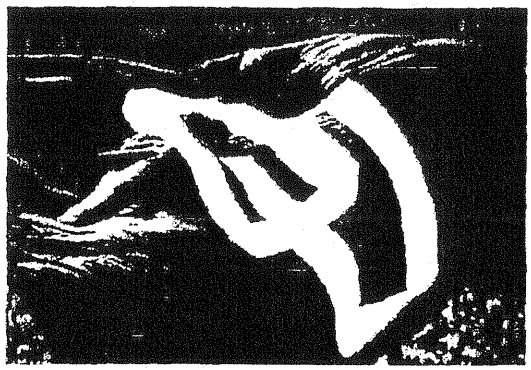
The official two-dimensional form of the Orange was established by community vote during the spring of 1997.

The Orange has prevailed to this day, as SU fans know well. The warm and wooly interior of The Orange's costume is inhabited

sequentially in any one year by from two-to-six students who audition for the honor of entertaining SU fans. Beloved especially by the under-six crowd, the friendly and cheerful Orange has performed well enough in recent years to lead the Orangemen to many successful seasons, and through national television to become a recognizable symbol of SU's sports prowess.

Visitor Center Our Past

How do traditions begin, what is a "Sooner", and why is there a "schooner" on OU's campus. Much of college life is surrounded by traditions - the history of yesterday linked to today. University traditions help to develop a sense of loyalty through the years; when you return to campus as an alumni, some things will have remained the same.



The Colors

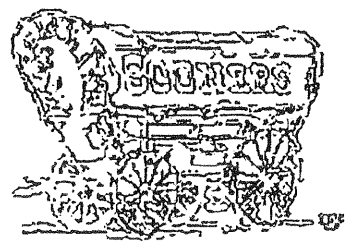
In the fall of 1895, Miss Mary J. Overstreet, the first female faculty member, and Dr. James Buchanan served on a committee that selected "crimson" and "corn" as the official OU colors, but local merchants had difficulty determining the color of "corn" for merchandise. Very quickly the colors evolved to officially be crimson and cream and later began to include red and white as well. That same year, OU Oratorical Society students proudly displayed the colors for the first time and chanted the new university yell, *Hi Rickety! Whoop-te-do*, at a contest in Guthrie, then the state capitol.

O-K-L-A-H-O-M-A
Our chant rolls on and on!
Thousands strong Join heart and song
In alma mater's praise
Of campus beautiful by day and night
Of colors proudly gleaming red and white
'Neath a western sky OU's chant will never die
Live on University

Listen

The Chant

Since 1938, the OU Chant has been part of OU football pre-game activities. It was written by Jessie Lone Clarkson Gilkey, who directed the OU girl's glee club from 1936 to 1938 and in 1937 was voted Outstanding Faculty Woman.



The Mascots

"Mex," was a brown and white terrier who served as OU's mascot for 9 years(1919-1928). Mott Keys found him in Mexico while serving in the Mexican War. Mex lettered in every OU sport and lived at Kappa Sigma Fraternity. The University closed for his funeral on May 2, 1928.

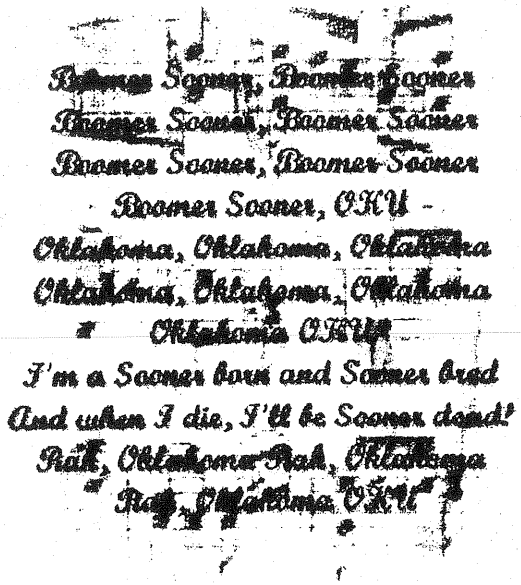
On April 17, 1970, President Hollomon banished "Little Red", the unofficial OU mascot who danced



at football games. Although never the official OU mascot, the Indian dancer had become a traditional part of the games since the 1940s.

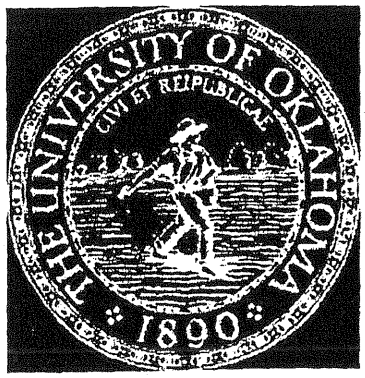
Sooner Schooner was introduced in 1964, but did not become the official mascot until 1980. The horses that pull the Sooner Schooner are "Boomer" and "Sooner".

The Sooner Schooner is a Conestoga, or covered wagon, reminiscent of the mode of travel used by pioneers who settled in Oklahoma. The Schooner ventures onto Owen Field in a triumphant victory ride after OU scores. The schooner is well recognized by the college football fans across the country and makes regular appearances at university functions.

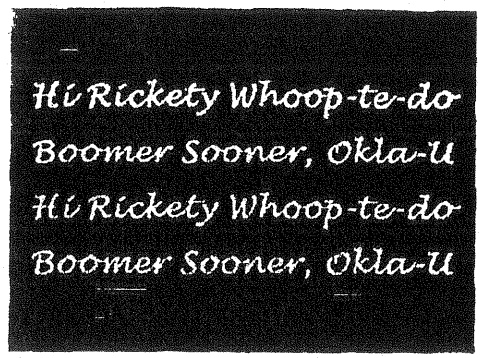

Boomer Sooner, Boomer Sooner
Boomer Sooner, Boomer Sooner
Boomer Sooner, Boomer Sooner
Boomer Sooner, OKU -
Oklahoma, Oklahoma, Oklahoma
Oklahoma, Oklahoma, Oklahoma
Oklahoma OKU
I'm a Sooner born and Sooner bred
And when I die, I'll be Sooner dead!
Rah, Oklahoma Rah, Oklahoma
Rah, Oklahoma O.K.U.

Boomer Sooner
Boomers were those who by constant agitation tried to bring about the opening of Oklahoma to settlers before 1889, and Sooners were the settlers who slipped in to stay before the gun was fired. In 1905, Arthur.M.Alden, a student in history and physiology, wrote the lyrics to the university's "Boomer Sooner," borrowing the tune from Yale's "Boola-Boola" but improvising on the words. A year later an addition was made to it from North Carolina's "I'm a Tarheel Born" and the two combined form the university's battle song of today.

listen



The Seal
President Boyd, OU's first president, wanted an official seal. The idea came from a chapel talk he made on the parable of the man sowing seeds. George Bucklin drew the design, a sketch of a sower with his bag of seeds. The Latin motto, "Civi et Reipublicae," furnished by Professor Paxton translated to "For the citizen and the state".



Listen

The Yell

In the fall of 1895, the first football game and first oratorical contest were held. It became necessary to formulate a yell. A number of University students formerly from Southwest Kansas College at Winfield, and members of the Sigma Nu fraternity suggested the original yell.

Because it was hard to yell continuously and some felt it should be patterned after the Kansas yell, which would be short, appropriate and easy to give, a different version was presented and adopted.

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Friday, October 20, 2000

SPORTS

Time's right for Illiniwek to dance off into sunset

Rick Telander

This is what other schools have done:

Dartmouth changed its nickname from "Indians" to "Big Green."

Marquette changed from "Warriors" to "Golden Eagles."

Stanford changed from "Indians" to "Cardinal."

Dickinson State (N.D.) changed from "Savages" to "Blue Hawks."

Siena College (N.Y.) changed from "Indians" to "Saints."

St. John's (N.Y.) changed from "Redmen" to "Red Storm."

Miami of Ohio changed from "Redskins" to "RedHawks."

Southern Nazarene (Okla.) changed from "Redskins" to "Crimson Storm."

Oklahoma City changed from "Chiefs" to "Stars."

Eastern Michigan changed from "Hurons" to "Eagles."

Adams State (Colo.) changed from "Indians" to "Grizzlies."

Seattle University changed from "Chieftains" to "Redhawks."

There have been many other colleges, high schools, grade schools and clubs that have changed their sports nicknames in recent years from something based on American Indian ethnicity to something less offensive.

Less offensive to whom?

Well, to a growing number of Native Americans, for a start, those whose likenesses, names, movements or images have been usurped by various institutions

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and used as athletic rallying points.

There are others, too, who are offended by the nicknames.

Mostly they are people who have been able to put themselves at least hypothetically in an American Indian's shoes and feel the embarrassment that comes from being objectified, turned into a simplistic, one-dimensional cutout and used like a talisman for a football, basketball or hockey team.

And then there is Chief Illiniwek, who is certifiably three- dimensional.

The Chief is the dancing mascot for the University of Illinois, and lately he has been under fire for being a symbol that needs to be retired, just like blackface and the Confederate flag.

The issue is coming to a head at the U. of I., as the university's trustees peruse a study on Chief Illiniwek compiled by former Cook County Judge Louis Garippo.

In the study, the conflict is drawn up in all its seeming simplicity.

On one hand, there are people like Michael Haney of the American Indian Arbitration Institute, who says, in essence, just get rid of the Chief and the Indian references and everything is fine.

"We realize it's been 500 years (of Indian oppression)," Haney says in the report. "We realize that the University is a slow learner."

Then there is U. of I. history professor John A. Lynn, who asks, if Chief Illiniwek is retired, "Whose victory would it be?"

He explains that "if the use of tribal names is objectionable, then much of the map of the United States will have to be scrapped. No more Kaskaskia, Oswego, Peoria, Sauk Village, or for that matter, Illinois itself."

The Chief has been around for 74 years and thousands of Illinois grads see him as a symbol of their youth and the special years they spent at the Urbana campus. They do not see him as racist, demeaning or even antiquated.

But perhaps that is because they simply cannot understand.

A people that has been subjugated, conquered or brutalized is far different from the people who did the winning.

Native Americans are similar in ways to the Aboriginal people of Australia, who were thrown off their land or denied ownership by the white settlers several hundred years ago and only now are seeking their rightful place in society.

So if there is no problem calling Notre Dame's teams the Fighting Irish, it is only because the Irish in this country have achieved a proper and full investment in the United States and no longer feel oppressed or powerless or even ridiculed.

Not so with American Indians.

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Indeed, it is foolish for non-Indians to argue about the dignity of an Indian symbol.

It is a tautology: if Indians say Chief Illiniwek is demeaning to them, then he is.

The U. of I. conducted an opinion poll on the matter and the response shows just how odd public feeling remains.

Student respondents voted to retain the Chief by more than a 2-to- 1 margin. University employees want to retain the Chief by almost the same margin. Almuni want him by a 7-to-1 ratio. Illinois residents want him by a 10-to-1 margin, while the public thinks he should be retained by slightly less than a 2-to-1 ratio.

Only the faculty at U. of I. think the Chief should go. Their vote: more than 2-to-1 against.

Maybe that is because the faculty is composed of bleeding heart, politically-correct dreamers.

Or maybe it is because teachers can better sense an injustice, even one that does not have its roots in malice or exploitation.

Things change.

There are fewer than 100 American Indians at the nearly-40,000 enrollment state school.

And maybe Chief Illiniwek doesn't bother all of them.

But the mascot should be phased out, carefully, so as not to hurt feelings.

The thing is, it will happen sooner or later.

Count on it.

---- INDEX REFERENCES ----

KEY WORDS: COLLEGES; UNIVERSITIES;

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TRAILBLAZERS

This page is dedicated to those whose wisdom, courage, leadership, and vision have provided a meaningful step toward a better educational system and society.

All of the following have either completely retired their "Indian" symbols, mascots, and nicknames or retained a generic nickname (like "Raiders") and eliminated references to Indigenous Peoples. As a work in progress, this list is far from complete and suggested additions to this tribute page may be sent for consideration to AISTM.

Adams State University, Alamosa, Colorado

Afton School District, Afton, New York

Akron Aeros (Minor league baseball team) - **Akron, Ohio**

Amery High School, Amery, Wisconsin

Arcadia High School, Arcadia, Wisconsin

Arlington School, St. Paul, Minnesota

Arrowview Middle School, San Bernadino, California

Arvada High School, Arvada, Colorado

Ascher Silbertstein Elementary School, Dallas, Texas

Baldwin-Woodville High School, Baldwin, Wisconsin

Birdie Alexander Elementary School, Dallas, Texas

Bird Island School District, Bird Island, Minnesota

Birmingham High School, Van Nuys, California

Bloomer High School, Bloomer, Wisconsin

Bloomington High School, Bloomington, Illinois

Blacksburg High School, Blacksburg, Virginia
(Indians mascot scheduled to be phased out by June/2003)

Blacksburg Middle School, Blacksburg, Virginia

Bold Public Schools, Bird Island, Minnesota

Brainerd Public Schools, Brainerd, Minnesota

Brandon High School, Brandon, Minnesota

Burnsville Eagan Savage School District 191, Burnsville, Minnesota

Butterfield Public Schools, Butterfield, Minnesota

Caledonia School, Caledonia, Minnesota

California State University, Stanislaus, California
(Retired "Indian" logo and retained "warrior" nickname)

Canajoharie High School, Canajoharie, New York

Centennial School, Centennial, Minnesota

Chemeketa Community College, Salem, Oregon

Clear Lake High School, Clear Lake, Wisconsin

Colgate University, Hamilton, New York

Cumberland College, Williamsburg, Kentucky

Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire

Denison University, Granville, Ohio

Dickinson State, Dickinson, North Dakota

Durham franchise in the summer collegiate Coastal

Durham franchise of the Coastal Plain League, Durham, North Carolina

(The Coastal Plain League is a summer collegiate league that features players of the Atlantic Coast Conference and Southeastern Conference.)

Eastern Michigan University,Ypsilanti, Michigan

Eastern Washington University, Cheney, Washington

East Hill Elementary School, Canajoharie, New York

Edwin J. Kiest Elementary School, Dallas, Texas

Eladio R. Martinez Elementary School, Dallas, Texas

Encina High School, Sacramento, California

Enumclaw Junior High School, Enumclaw, Washington

Flintstone Elementary School, Oxon Hill, Maryland

Fremont High School, Sunnyvale, California

Frontier High School, Deerfield, Massachusetts

Fulda Public Schools, Fulda, Minnesota

Gardena High School, Gardena, California

Germantown High School, Germantown,Wisconsin

Grafton High School, Grafton,Wisconsin

Grand Forks Central High School, Grand Forks, North Dakota

Grand Rapids Public Schools, Grand Rapids, Minnesota

Hartwick College, Oneonta, New York

Harvest Park Middle School, Pleasanton, California

Hendrix College, Conway, Arkansas

H. Grady Spruce High School, Dallas, Texas

Hiawatha Elementary School, Hiawatha, Kansas

Hiawatha High School, Hiawatha, Kansas

Hiawatha Middle School, Hiawatha, Kansas

Hudson High School, Hudson, Wisconsin

Hull Western Christian School, Sioux City, Iowa

Illinois Valley Community College, Oglesby, IL

Independence High School, Independence, Wisconsin

Indian Bend Elementary School, Phoenix, Arizona

Irondequoit High School, Rochester, New York

James Martin High School, Arlington, Texas

Johnson Junior High School, Cheyenne, Wyoming

Juniata College, Huntingdon, Pennsylvania

Kenyon - Wanamingo Schools, Kenyon, Minnesota

Keuka College, Keuka Park, New York

Kiel High School, Kiel,Wisconsin

La Crosse Central High School, La CrosseWisconsin

Lake Holcombe High School, Lake Holcombe, Wisconsin

Lancaster High School, Lancaster, Wisconsin

L.O. Donald Elementary School, Dallas, Texas

Long Prairie Public Schools, Long Prairie, Minnesota

Lowell High School, San Francisco, CA

Lowell Scott Middle School, Boise, Idaho

Luling Elementary School, Luling, Louisiana

Madelia High School, Madelia, Minnesota

Marathon High School, Marathon, Wisconsin

Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Marshall High School, Marshall, Michigan

Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts, North Adams, Massachusetts

Meadowdale High School, Lynnwood, Washington

Medford High School, Medford, Wisconsin

Miami University of Ohio, Oxford, Ohio

Milaca Public Schools, Milaca, Minnesota

Millard South High, Omaha, Nebraska

Milton High School, Milton, Wisconsin

Montbello High School, Denver, Colorado

Montevideo Public Schools, Montevideo, Minnesota

Monticello Public Schools, Monticello, Minnesota

Morningside College, Sioux City, Iowa

Mountain Empire Junior-Senior High School, Pine Valley, California

Naperville Central High School, Naperville, Illinois

Neillsville High School, Neillsville, Wisconsin

Niskayuna School District, Niskayuna, New York

New Lebanon Central School District, Lebananon Springs, New York

Newtown High School, Sandy Hook, Connecticut

Niles West High School, Skokie, Illinois

Norwood Central Public Schools, Norwood, Minnesota

Oklahoma City University, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Onamia Public Schools, Onamia, Minnesota

Osceola High School, Osceola, Wisconsin

Ossining High School, Ossining, New York

Owatonna Public Schools, Owatonna, Minnesota

Owen-Withee High School, Owen-Withee, Wisconsin

Park High School, Cottage Grove, Minnesota

Parsipanny High School, Parsippany, New Jersey

Penfield High School, Penfield, New York

Pequot Lakes Public Schools, Pequot Lakes, Minnesota

Petrova Elementary School, Saranac Lake, New York

Port Edwards Elementary School, Port Edwards, Wisconsin

Quinnipiac University, Hamden, Connecticut

Rialto Middle School, Rialto, California

Rice Lake High School, Rice Lake,Wisconsin

Rickards High School, Tallahassee, Florida

Roy Jr. High School, Roy, Utah

Sacketts Harbor School District, Sacketts Harbor, New York

Sagamore Hills Elementary School, Atlanta, Georgia

Sam Houston High School, San Antonio, Texas

Saranac Lake High School, Saranac Lake, New York

Sauk Rapids-Rice Public Schools, Sauk Rapids, Minnesota

Scarborough High School, Scarborough, Maine

Seattle University, Seattle, Washington

Serrano Middle School, San Bernadino, California

Sequoyah Elementary School, Dallas, Texas

Seymour High School, Wisconsin

Shakopee Public Schools, Shakopee, Minnesota

Shawano High School, Shawano,Wisconsin

Shawsville High School, Shawsville, Virginia

Shawsville Middle School, Shawsville, Virginia

Sheboygan South High School, Sheboygan, Wisconsin

Shippensburg University, Shippensburg, Pennsylvania

Siena College, Loudonville, New York

Simpson College, Indianola, Iowa

Southern Nazarene University, Bethany, Oklahoma

Southern Oregon University, Ashland, Oregon

Southeastern Community College, West Burlington, Iowa

Southwestern College, Chula Vista, California

Springfield College, Springfield, Massachusetts

Stanford University, Stanford, California

Saint Mary's University of Minnesota, Winona, Minnesota

St. Bonaventure University, St. Bonaventure, New York

St. Clair Public Schools, St. Clair, Minnesota

St. John's University, Jamaica, New York

Syosset High School, Syosset, New York

Syracuse Sky Chiefs (Minor league baseball team) - Syracuse, New York

Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York

Tamalpais High School, Mill Valley, CA

University High School, Los Angeles, California

University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma

University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts

University of Massachusetts, Lowell, Massachusetts

University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, Chattanooga, Tennessee

Verona High School, Verona, Wisconsin

Wabasha-Kellogg Public Schools, Wabasha, Minnesota

Waconia Public Schools, Waconia, Minnesota

Wadena - Deer Creek Public Schools, Wadena, Minnesota

Walker Public Schools, Walker, Minnesota

Washington Elementary School, Bloomington, New York

Washington High School, Sioux Falls, South Dakota

Washington Middle School, La Habra, California

Westbrook Public Schools, Westbrook, Minnesota

West High School, Oshkosh, Wisconsin

Westhill High School, Syracuse, New York

West St. Paul Public Schools, Mendota Heights, Minnesota

Wheaton High School, Wheaton, Minnesota

W.H. Gaston Middle School, Dallas, Texas

William Anderson Elementary School, Dallas, Texas

Winnetka Elementary School, Dallas, Texas

Wisconsin Rapids High School, Wisconsin

Yakima Valley Community College, Yakima, Washington

American Indian Sports Team Mascots

American Indian Sports Team Mascots
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Journalist unprepared for reservation visit

Grand Forks, N.D. (AP)

A Yugoslavian journalist who recently visited a North Dakota Indian reservation says she was not prepared for what she saw and learned.

Indians are the "trauma of America," said Ranka Ivelja of Slovenia. "They are a black hole in American history."

Ivelja said her impression of the Indians after visiting the Turtle Mountain Reservation is that they do not believe in themselves.

"This is a social disease that occurs because of the stereotyping effect" by non-Indians, Ivelja said. "(Indians) are not strong enough to disbelieve it."

"Maybe the young people can make up for the past mistakes ... even if it's only symbolically," she said. This would acknowledge the injustices done to Indians and start the healing process, she added.

Indians have the right to demand satisfaction for past mistakes, she said, and they have done this in Grand Forks by voicing their objections to the use of the Redskin name at Central High School.

"Changing the Redskin name was symbolically repairing past damage," Ivelja said.

The journalist came to the United States excited to learn about the Indian culture. But while being briefed in Washington, D.C., Ivelja said she was advised not to ask Americans about Indians, because it is a sensitive subject for many people.

But Ivelja said she couldn't contain her curiosity. When she arrived in Grand Forks, she made arrangements to visit the reservation.

"I didn't know they still lived on reservations," she said. "I thought reservations would be historical sites more than anything else."

Ivelja compared tribal government to communism, something she's very familiar with.

Harjo, et al. v. Pro-Football, Inc.
Case No. 21,069
Petitioners' Ex.
20.045
110091

AD-137

Chicago Tribune Thursday, May 21, 1992

Section 2 ★



Eric Zorn

In pros or preps, 'Redskins' a slur

Any hopes that Naperville Central High School officials might have held out that their ugly little Redskin problem was going to slink away if they just ignored it are gone. An informal citizen protest against the racial epithet the school uses as a nickname for its athletic teams is gathering momentum in the face of administrative inaction.

And now, look out, the movement has an acronym.

It all started in early 1990 when Randi Nott, then 36, a software engineer at Bell Laboratories in Naperville who lived down the street from the high school, saw a videotape of a Nov. 25, 1989, WBBM-Ch. 2 panel discussion that included James Yellowbank, coordinator of the Indian Treaty Rights Committee in Chicago. Yellowbank was explaining his opposition to the Chief Illiniwek mascot at the University of Illinois, but it occurred to Nott that most of what he was saying applied just as forcefully to the Redskin mascot, whose portrait she saw every day on the stadium at the school.

At first, she said, she thought she was probably the only person in all of Naperville to feel this way—that if "redskin" is a profoundly insulting term to Native American people, then the school should not use it, even if the intent is to honor and not offend.

And let there be no doubt that "redskin" is a vile word. Contemporary dictionaries acknowledge it as a disparaging and offensive slang term. Yellowbank, who belongs to the Winnebago nation, said his people widely consider it to be the worst of the slurs directed at Native Americans.

Yellowbank, 44, said he still feels the sting of hearing "redskin" directed at him when he was growing up in a predominantly white, rural community in central Wisconsin. "I have never heard it used in a good context," he said. "It conveys both hatred and ridicule."

Those who fancy themselves funny and original like to leap into the argument right about here and say such things as, "What about the name of the San Francisco 49ers? Shouldn't we get rid of that in deference to the descendants of prospectors?"

The printable answer to this piling-on trivialization of Native American concerns is no, in part because 49ers as well as Vikings, Pirates, Saints and the like have not been widely disrespected and abused in this country, and in part because no serious objection to these names has yet arisen.

Nott said many friends and neighbors asked her, "What's the big deal?" when she told them of her mounting outrage over Naperville Central's long-standing mascot. Sensing the issue would be touchy, she approached school officials quietly at the start of the 1990-91 school year and received an audience with student government leaders. But word of the meeting reached the local papers and turned the Redskin question into a nine-month public wrangle marked on both sides by passionate letters to the editor and speeches to the school board.

At the core of the anti-Redskin forces were Nott and a group of colleagues at Bell Labs that included Dennis White, an Ojibwa Indian whose daughter had attended Naperville North. They and other residents who surfaced to Nott's surprise battled the sentiments of traditionalists and of defenders such as Principal Tom Paulsen, who did not respond to requests for comment this week but told the Tribune in 1990, "We do not portray [the Redskin] in a derogatory way. We feel it is appropriate."

After the District 203 board announced in the spring of 1991 that it would not act to change the mascot, the issue looked dead. But Nott, who has been so transformed by her fight that she's now studying part time for a graduate degree in Native American culture, quickly appealed to the Illinois State Board of Education to take a position.

The state school board kick-started the controversy again when, after apparently long deliberations, it sent a non-binding recommendation to District 203 last month strongly urging a change in the Naperville Central mascot. Several members of the local clergy and the Du Page County NOW echoed the call, as did the Tribune, which editorialized, "There is no way to make [the name Redskins] respectful."

The District 203 board, however, hasn't yet even discussed the matter again, according to board secretary Wanda Jones. She said it may make the agenda next month.

Monday, the protesters adopted the name Citizens Against Racial and Ethnic Slurs (CARES). Ten sympathizers rose during the open-comment portion of the school board meeting to decry the lack of action, hint that a civil rights suit may be on the horizon and remind trustees yet again of the intolerance, bigotry and contempt that is inextricably linked with the word "redskin" no matter how the school or students may intend it.

Ignorance of the pain and insult was a good excuse for many decades. Indifference today is not.

Harjo, et al. v. Pro-Football, Inc. Case No. 21,069

Petitioners' Ex.

20.076

500903

two more wins.

see page 12

research on author Frank Marshall Davis.

see page 2

voted to raise parking meter rates.

see page 3

Wednesday: Remorse and regret engender feelings of penance and deep, overwhelming contrition.

The Miami Student

The oldest college newspaper in the United States, established 1826

Tuesday, April 13, 1993 Miami University Oxford, Ohio

Harjo, et al. v. Pro-Football, Inc. Case No. 21,069
Petitioners' Ex. 20.085
AD-139
50195?

Redskins' banned by University Senate

A little advice for student renters



STUDENT photo by Ben Issacs

Jim Gibson, left, of the Oxford Tenant's Organization, goes over legal rights of student renters at a recent seminar. Story, page 3.

Proposal forbids use in any publication, Moves to Risser, Trustees for approval

Jennifer E. Marklewicz
staff writer

University Senate passed Senator Britton Harwood's proposal yesterday 39-4 to forbid the use of the word "Redskins" as a name for any Miami University athletic team in any publication over which the Board of Trustees has control effective July 1, 1994.

Student Senator Stan Smith urged Senate to look at the issue with a different perspective.

"It is important to address the concerns of minorities as a whole on this campus and to understand the ramifications this vote will bring," Smith said.

Paul Ingrum, physical education and health department, also spoke on behalf of the proposal, questioning what the University is doing to increase cultural diversity on campus.

"Out of 17,955 students only 16 are American Indians—that's .0009 percent of the Miami student population," Ingrum said. "Obviously our rhetoric exceeds our committment to recruitment and diversity," he said.

Peter W. Rose, department of classics, spoke at the April 5 meeting urging the Senate to take up the resolution, to debate it fully, and to vote on its merits—without regard to any timetable suggested by President Risser's letter.

Harwood also addressed the Senate, stating that even if it never offended American Indians the use of the word "Redskins" by the white majority in this country would still be objectionable.

"The word identifies people simply by a feature irrelevant to any work they might do or other social contribution they might make," Harwood said.

Other Senators spoke up saying that it simply is not acceptable now to utilize the term "Redskins" in connection with the University.

Harwood stated in a memo to Senate that the rationale behind such a proposal is that Miami University has adopted a statement "asserting respect for human diversity" seeking to challenge "the existence and effects" on campus "of racism, sexism, ageism, homophobia, religious intolerance, and other forms of invidious prejudice."

Harwood's resolution will now be forwarded to the President and Miami's Board of Trustees for approval.

Westlaw.

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1/20/01 Portland Press Herald 1B
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Portland Press Herald
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Saturday, January 20, 2001

LOCAL & STATE

Sports teams down to wire on nickname Scarborough residents may pick from five choices to end a process that has exasperated some students.

GREGORY KESICH Staff Writer

School Board members will make another -- they hope final -- attempt to name the town's sports teams, which have been nameless since September.

Scarborough's long-time nickname, **Redskins**, was eliminated because the term is considered offensive to Native Americans.

"Titans" was selected by students and other residents in November. But that name was rejected by the School Board a month later because it derives from characters in Greek mythology who killed their young, and because board members feared the name would make a too-easy target for off-color humor.

This time, the board has five approved names and will put them up for a vote next week. The choices are:

Mariners

Red Hawks

Red Storm

Seahawks

Storm

Middle school and high school students will be polled on Jan. 29. Any other resident who wants to vote may do so at any school Jan. 29- 31. The winner will be declared at the School Board's meeting Feb. 1 and will become the new nickname immediately.

That won't be soon enough for Ashley Merrick, a junior who plays on the girls' basketball team.

"We kind of look like idiots because we have no name," she said. "At Kennebunk the other day, the announcer said, 'the Scarborough Woolly Mammoths.' . . . People

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ask us, 'Who are you guys? What's your name? What's your mascot?' "

Having been involved in the debate over "**Redskins**," the School Board wanted to move cautiously in choosing a new name, said board Chairwoman Deborah Jackson. A few parents told the board that soon after the name Titans was announced, jokes based on the first three letters of the name were already circulating.

Aside from its troubling mythological origin, the name Titans had no local connection, Jackson said.

A committee narrowed the list of possibilities to five names the board could accept. "We'd like to think that we are pretty safe," Jackson said. "None of them are derogatory to anyone. Two of them are birds of prey; we do have a historical connection to shipbuilding; and we do get hit with some pretty good storms."

She added that no disrespect was intended when "**Redskins**" was selected in the 1930s, but cultural sensitivity grew over time. The town has no way of knowing whether a new name could take on added meanings in the future.

Travis Lamontagne, another junior at Scarborough High School, said "Titans" won a majority of the votes from students and the community, so it should be the new nickname. He thinks School Board members were wrong to reject the choice.

"There is nothing offensive about it," he said. "I think the only ones they listen to are themselves."

Lamontagne is a member of the Student Council, which conducted the vote in November. He said that after the School Board rejected "Titans," the council stopped participating in the process.

"No one really cares any more," he said. "They're sick of all the hassle."

Andrew Dolloff, Scarborough High's principal, said it was a mistake to hold a vote on the names without getting the School Board's approval first.

He said that most people at the high school now have other things on their minds and are ready to put the issue behind them.

Michael Aucoin, a senior, agreed. "It's kind of gone a little overboard," said Aucoin, who has played on nickname-less soccer and basketball teams this school year. "It's just been going on too long."

Staff Writer Gregory Kesich can be contacted at 791-6336 or at:

gkesich@pressherald.com

---- INDEX REFERENCES ----

NAMED PERSON: JACKSON, DEBORAH

NEWS SUBJECT: English language content (ENGL)

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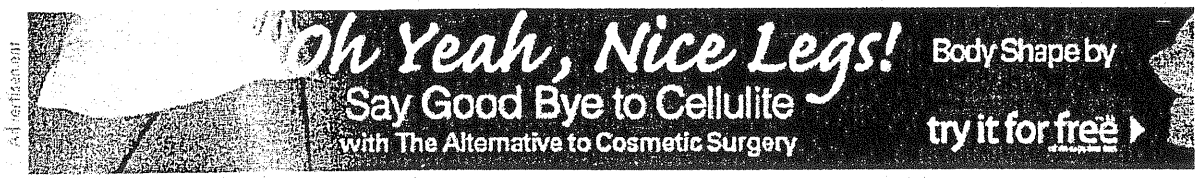
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Redskins' Name As Unbearable As Their Record

By Courtland Milloy
Monday, December 2, 2002; Page B01

"Cowboys Skin Redskins

for Thanksgiving"

-- Headline in the

Taipei Times last week

You had to go a long way from Washington to read about the local football franchise in such a raw way. But there it was, in Taiwan: unvarnished, racist Wild West Americana, the cultural roots of the Washington-Dallas rivalry.

Washington's newspapers used to print words like "scalped" and "skinned alive" to describe what the hometown team did to losing opponents. But such references are rare these days, and not just because the home team hasn't been on much of a winning streak lately.

The little games we play -- toning down words, replacing images of Indian heads on helmets with arrowheads, pretending that the team's name means "courage" and has nothing to do with American Indians, as owner Dan Snyder

— Revisiting Wash

Courtland Milloy wants you! After 27 years as a r and columnist for The Wa: Courtland Milloy is retraci revisiting many of the pec about and updating their : more.

Video: Revisiting Washingt

— Searching Fo

Courtland Milloy would lik following people for an up stories. Can you help? E-r milloyc@washpost.com

• In 1991, 27-year-old La raising his nine children al Farms. (Read the column. now?

• In 1994, Skylar Byrd, a Banneker High, and David junior at Wilson High, ear scores on the PSAT. (Rea Where are they now?

• In 1987, Tyrone Ford wa "Gospel Wonder Boy," wh starting to get mixed up v crowd. A few years later, of stealing Mayor Marion I (Read the column.) Where

• In 1991, Eric Hale, then School Without Walls, was young Shakespearean act Washington. (Read the co

does -- suggests a gradual, if still reluctant, realization that there is something wrong with using "Redskins" as a moniker.

So far, more than 22 institutions throughout the United States -- mostly elementary, junior and senior high schools -- have stopped using the name, according to American Indian Sports Team Mascots, a group that monitors such name changes.

More than 140 institutions and organizations have stopped the use of other American Indian nicknames, according to the group, and at least 80 organizations are working to eliminate all such insulting names.

Last year, Hiawatha (Kan.) High School ended its decades-long tradition of being the "Redskins" and became "Redhawks." The Hiawatha Board of Education had voted the name out after holding several community forums.

"All of this had been hanging over our heads for a while, and students were becoming uncertain about what was appropriate and what was not," recalled David Fitz, Hiawatha's assistant principal and athletics director. "Once, they made a mascot costume of an Indian with a big nose and had to get rid of it. Then there were some things about the cheers that we wouldn't allow."

At the forums, residents spoke out passionately, pro and con.

"There were some individuals from the various tribes who took exception," Fitz said. "Although we have a small Native American population in the school system itself, the consensus of the school board was that if anything was offensive to them, it's not good to continue."

After students came up with a new name, Fitz said, "True supporters backed them, and morale went up a bit."

Washington, with its peculiar mix of Southern defiance and Northern arrogance, has proved to be a much harder case. For who dares to tell the most powerful people in the most powerful place on Earth what to do?

You'd think that having such a bad attitude would warrant a more appropriate team name. Say, the Washington Predator Drones. Have that mascot circling FedEx Field during a game and victory is assured.

But, alas, the very notion of changing the name because American Indians want respect on their own terms is beyond comprehension for many.

"I hope you'll believe me when I say I think of a courageous warrior when I think of the Washington Redskins," a reader wrote at the beginning of the football season. " 'Redskin' is not a derogatory word to many of us. I, for one, hope the team never changes its name."

Another reader wrote: "As a child, I can remember playing cowboys and Indians and wanting to be called a Redskin. At the time, I did not think it was a

is he now?

• In 1992, budding songw
Burns, 15, lost his songbo
fire. (Read the column.) V
these days?

• In 1994, 7-year-old Brai
shopping with his mom at
when he witnessed a man
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idea where he is?

— A Look Back at Jan



January
How hav
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put-down but rather something to be proud of. I feel that is true today."

Such sentiments, no matter how well meaning, disregard the feelings of American Indians. And since when does not intending to insult someone make the insult okay?

Deadskins. Bedsprings. Possums (stink at home, die on the road). Almost any name would be less offensive.

If, however, "Redskins" is here to stay, as Dan Snyder insists, at least take the American Indian out of it. Keep the name, but paint a redskin potato on those helmets.

After all, they can be fried by Cowboys, scalloped by Eagles, mashed by Giants and even skinned themselves.

E-mail: milloyc@washpost.com

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Tuesday, September 24, 2002

Marshall opts out of nickname

Civil rights case settlement approved

By Chris Springsteen
The Enquirer

MARSHALL -- The Marshall school board has removed the high school's Redskin nickname for the second time in seven months.

It took four votes on three options and two hours of deliberation, including one hour of public comment, but the Marshall Board of Education found a way to address a civil rights complaint and the nickname controversy.

The school board voted 6-1 to accept a proposed settlement to a civil rights complaint, which includes discontinuing use of the school's Redskin nickname for two years unless it is found to not create a hostile learning environment by the Michigan Civil Rights Commission or an appellate court.

Discussion of the nickname can be continued after the two-year period is over.

Trustee Sam Ramon cast the lone dissenting vote.

The motion to approve the settlement originally was defeated with a 4-3 vote, with Trustees Paul Beardslee and Janice Darling and Secretary Robert Lyng supporting it. After a 10-minute recess, the board reconvened and Vice President Joe Hibler, President Jeff Albaugh and Trustee Carlton Stanley voted in favor of the measure.

"I have never thought and will continue not to think that there is a permanent settlement of this situation," Albaugh said. "I do not believe there is a single solution that has been voiced or has come forward or that the board has developed that would be able to settle this once and forever. I think this settlement of the civil rights complaint is in the best interest of the school district."

Other terms of the settlement include:

- The understanding that a mascot has not been used and will not be used;

- Not using a nickname at all for two years;

- Continuing to use the logo in a respectful manner, including its removal from the gymnasium floor and placing a plaque under the logo describing its historic nature;

- Taking reasonable measures to ensure there will be no retaliation against any student regardless of whether the student is for or against the nickname;

- Holding a voluntary forum by the Civil Rights Commission for staff members;

- Including a mutual release clause, which would make it impossible for either of the two entities to sue each other in the future.

Becky Rocho, a resident of the Marshall school district, made a tearful plea to the board to end the nickname controversy forever instead of delaying it for two years.

"We're not making a good decision by putting this off for two years," Rocho said. "We need to end this -- we've got families against families, kids against parents and business leaders against school board members. This is not the way a community is supposed to work.

"Try to remember when you were kids on a playground. If you said something that hurt somebody, someone came up to you and said, 'Don't do that anymore.' And now people have come up and said, 'This hurts me,' and so you shouldn't do it anymore."

Trustees also had the option to address the use of the nickname and the resulting lawsuit in three other ways, including:

- Continue to use the Redskin nickname and school logo and refuse to defend against the civil rights complaint;

- Sanction the use of the nickname and vigorously defend the use of it;

- Reinstate the February 2002 decision to retire the nickname.

If the board chose either of the options regarding continued usage of the nickname, it would have cost the district $10,000 to $40,000 in legal fees. It is unknown how much the district, which is in the second year of a two-year deficit reduction plan, already has paid in legal fees.

Ramon proposed the board vote to defend the use of the nickname, a move which would cost the district $30,000 to $40,000, but that was defeated by a 4-3 vote with Ramon, Hibler and Stanley in favor of it.

Beardslee said he was not in favor of getting into a legal fight over the nickname.

"It's been said that litigation is a machine that you go into as a pig and come out as sausage," he said. "It's just a nickname. There is not a clear majority on either side of this, but there is a clear majority that wants this over with."

After both of the two first motions failed, Darling suggested the board reinstate the February retirement of the nickname, but that was defeated 5-2. Beardslee and Darling voted in favor of it.

In Marshall, the question of whether the nickname is derogatory to American Indians most recently was brought up in 2000 and in April 2001 the school board decided it would look into a possible name change.

A task force organized by Battle Creek's W.J. Schroer Co. to research the use of American Indian sports team mascots was formed later that year at the request of the school board. It held its first meeting in mid-August 2001.

The task force's findings were presented at the Jan. 14 school board meeting. At the Jan. 28 meeting, a petition with more than 2,500 signatures to hold a community advisory vote was brought by a group attempting to stop the name change. The board on Feb. 11 voted 5-2 against the advisory vote and retired the Redskins name by the same margin.

Four of the five board members who voted to retire the name were recalled in June, because, according to the petition language, they would not hold an advisory vote, and the fifth was voted out of office.

The remaining two board members, Albaugh and Lyng, decided in June to postpone the retirement of the nickname by a 2-1 vote, with the outgoing member, then-President Darlene Neidlinger, voting against the motion.

The school board was advised in July by its attorney that it did not have the authority to hold an advisory vote.

Although three of the four members who voted against the settlement -- Hibler said he voted in favor of it "regretfully and painfully" -- changed their votes, Ramon held his position.

"We didn't bring this issue, the previous board brought us to this point," Ramon said. "I don't think it's good for the district to appease a complaint. I think that opens the door for other complaints to come forth."

Chris Springsteen covers Marshall. He can be reached at 966-0676 or at csprings@battlecr.gannett.com

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'Redskins' vote goes against school

Tulare Union supporters travel to Sacramento to fight for high school's mascot

By Jake Henshaw
Sacramento Bureau

SACRAMENTO -- With an overflow audience watching, including 15 people from Tulare Union High School, the Senate Education Committee Wednesday banned the use of the name "Redskins" as a school mascot in California.

If the ban finally is enacted, Tulare Union would have to drop its "Redskin" mascot after Jan. 1, 2006, though the school could continue to use old athletic and band uniforms until they are replaced.

The controversial issue prompted a sometimes heated and even tearful two-hour debate, with supporters of the ban arguing that the name "Redskins" is offensive and opponents saying its use is a tribute to Native Americans.

"It feels like I'm still being treated as a savage" by the use of "Redskin" mascots, said Melissa Hernandez, 21, a student at California State University, Sacramento, who identified herself as a member of the Ohlone and Apache, which is based in the Monterey area.

"We believe the use of the Redskin mascot ... honors the original citizens of California," Howard Berger, Tulare Union principal, said.

The ban on the use of Redskins is the latest restriction proposed by Assemblywoman Jackie Goldberg, D-Los Angeles, in her measure Assembly Bill 858.

In her 3 1/2-year campaign, Goldberg began by proposing to ban a whole range of names by use in colleges as well as elementary and secondary schools.

But she was only able to get the bill through the Assembly after narrowing it to apply only to Redskins used by public schools, a term that she argued is the most offensive single term.

While acknowledging that the term has more than one origin and meaning, she said it strongly identified with the practice of the Army paying bounty hunters for Indian scalps.

"It is not a term of endearment," Goldberg said. "It is not a term of respect."

Only five California schools use Redskins as a mascot name, Goldberg said. In addition to Tulare, they are Calaveras High School in San Andreas, Chowchilla Union High School, Colusa High School and Gustine High School.

AB858, which next goes to the Senate Appropriations Committee, would allow schools to continue using uniforms or materials with the name Redskins after Jan. 1, 2006, if the schools select a new mascot name and doesn't use the banned name in yearbooks, newspapers and signs.

The debate took place in a room where supporters of the bill, many wearing T-shirts saying "I am not a mascot," outnumbered opponents from Tulare Union and Gustine high schools, some wearing school shirts and jackets.

Proponents of AB858 said the bill was designed to phase out the use of Redskins at minimal cost. They said it's time to end the use of a name that opens Native-American children to abuse at sporting events and elsewhere.

"Why is it that our children have to be called a slur in this day and age?" asked Eugene Herrod, a member of the board of the Southern California Indian Center. "It boggles my mind."

Opponents said the choice of a mascot should be a local decision, that the name Redskins doesn't discriminate against anyone and that the money spent making a switch could better be spent on school programs and classrooms.

"State officials should be working hard to pass a budget, not looking for ways to usurp more control over local matters," Tulare County Supervisor Connie Conway wrote in a letter presented to the committee along with statements from other local public officials and private groups.

Both sides attempted to invoke the backing of regional tribal leaders, but none was present.

The debate also prompted an exchange between Sen. Roy Ashburn, R-Bakersfield, who opposed the bill, and Sen. Richard Alarcon, D-Los Angeles, who supported it.

"If anybody is offended by it [use of Redskins], we should root it out," Alarcon said.

"Who are you to judge what word is offensive?" retorted Ashburn.

Kathi Hernandez, a 1986 Tulare Union graduate who is now assistant band director, said she "could understand where they [the bill's supporters] are coming from.

"I think I would be offended if there was a school called the wetbacks because I am Hispanic," she continued, but then added, "it hurts when the other side is saying hurtful things about our school."

Jillian Paredes, 16, of Tulare who is Tulare Union student body president, speculated that the larger turnout by the bill's supporters may have helped their cause.

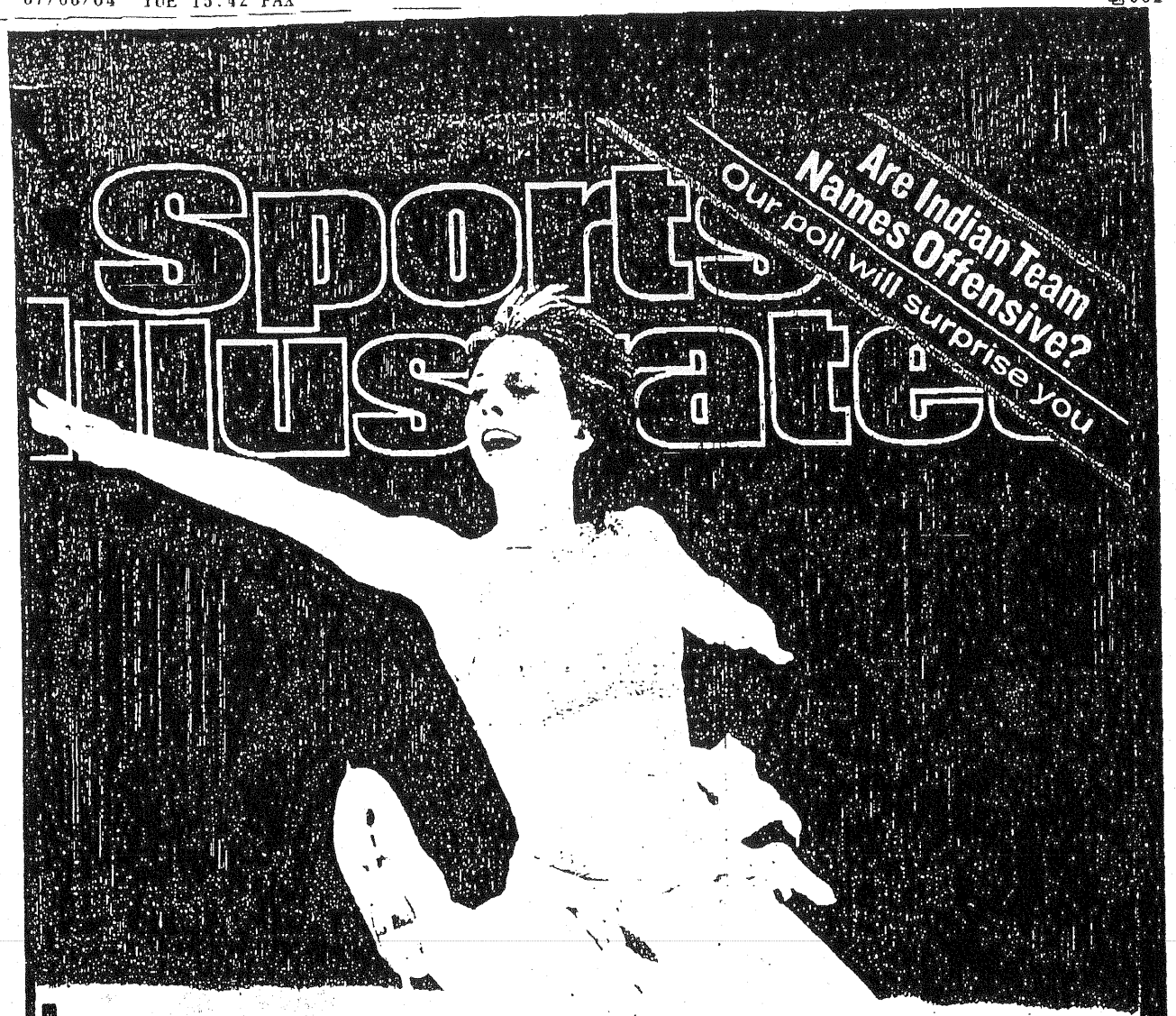
"It's so sad that [the Capitol is] so far away from home and I know people who wanted to come but we're limited," said Paredes, who will be a senior in the 2004-05 school year.

Email this story

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Leaps and Bounds

Sarah Hughes Pulls a Stunning Upset

How the U.S. Built an Olympic Juggernaut

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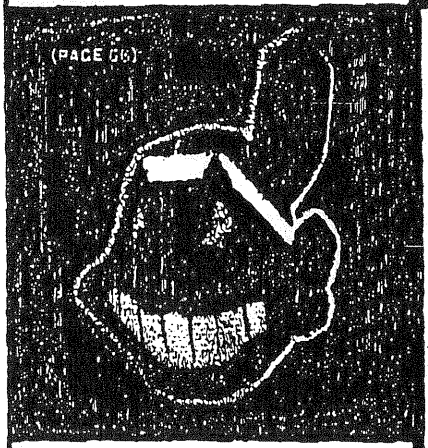
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The Lineup



Olympics 2002

32 Gold Rush

America's record medal haul in Salt Lake was largely the result of years of planning, tons of money and some fresh faces—and races—on the U.S. team
BY S.L. PRICE

42 The Great Ones

Wayne Gretzky's handpicked team gave Canada the gold it craved in a tournament that showcased hockey at its best
BY MICHAEL FARBER

46 Golden Gates

Smiling Janica Kostelic gave Croatia something to grin about with her dominating four-medal skiing performance
BY TIM LAYDEN

48 Head Turner

Skating with confidence and joy, Sarah Hughes soared from fourth place to gold and became the new queen of the ice
BY E.M. SWIFT

Pro Basketball

56 Sweet Excess

The NBA's highest-scoring team, the Mavericks, added more firepower, including Nick Van Exel (31), in a seven-player deal
BY JACK McCALLUM

Baseball

60 Stoop to Conquer

After eight years in the bushes, Dodgers catcher Paul Lo Duca wants to prove his first season in the majors was no fluke
BY PHIL TAYLOR

Departments

8 Leading Off
14 Letters
17 SI View
Steve Rushin's Air and Space
The Week in Television
Multimedia
23 Scorecard
Snowboard revolution
Naming rights gone wrong
Put some whiz into your game
Martina and Sergio
30 Faces in the Crowd
88 The Life of Reilly

Inside . . .

76 College Basketball
80 The NBA
86 College Hockey

Cover

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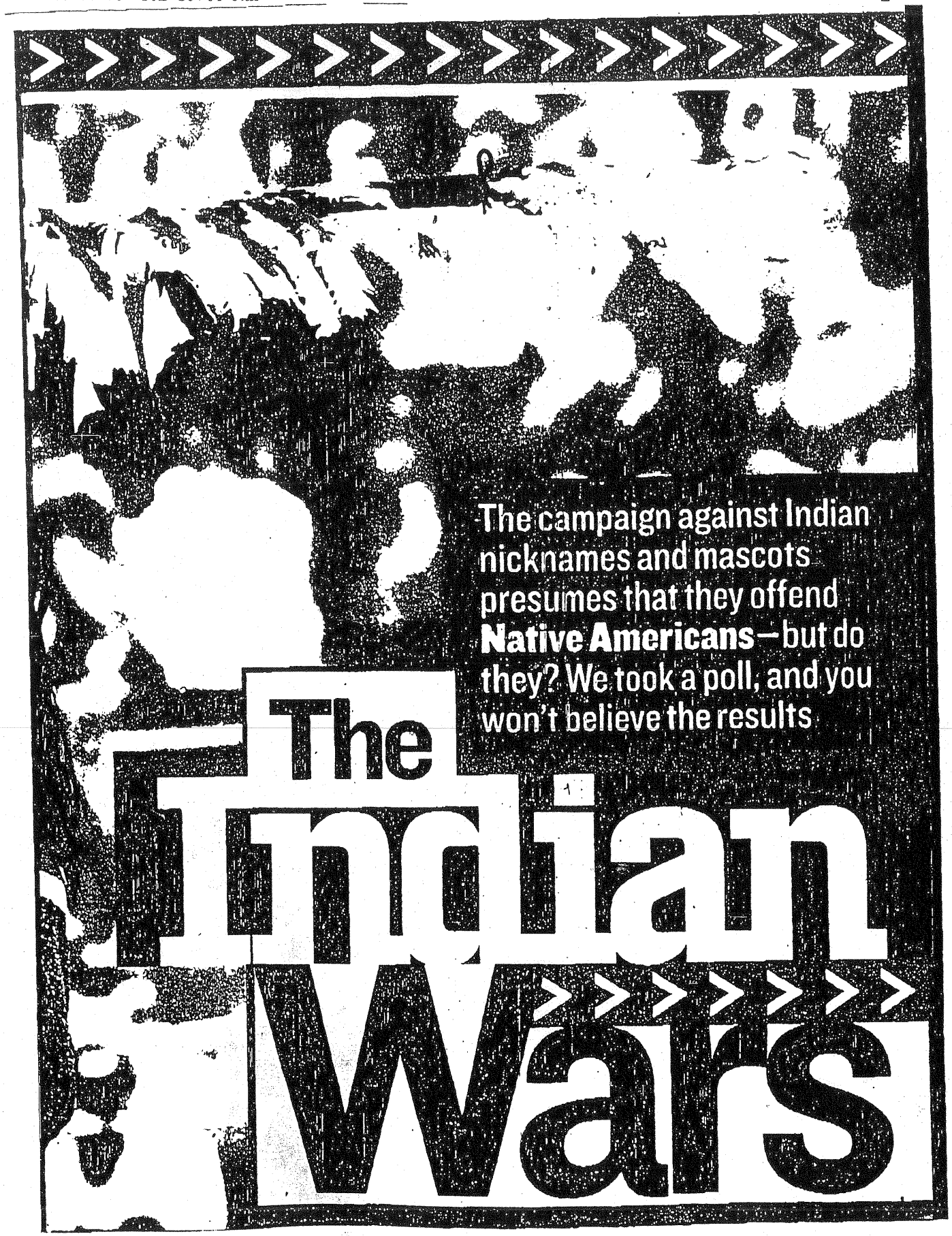
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Special Report

66 The Indian Wars

The campaign against Indian nicknames and mascots presumes that they offend Native Americans—but do they? BY S.L. PRICE



The campaign against Indian nicknames and mascots presumes that they offend **Native Americans**—but do they? We took a poll, and you won't believe the results

The Indian Wars

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Indian Nicknames

BY S.L. PRICE

SOLVE THIS word problem: Billy Mills, the former runner who won the gold medal in the 10,000 meters at the 1964 Olympics, is on a commercial airliner hurtling somewhere over the U.S. It is August 2001. Because Mills's father and mother were three-quarters and one-quarter Native American, respectively, he grew up being called *half-breed* until that was no longer socially acceptable. As sensibilities shifted over the years, he heard a variety of words and phrases describing his ethnic background, from Indian to Sioux to Native American to the one with which he is most comfortable, the age-old name of his tribal nation: Lakota.

Mills is sitting in first class. A flight attendant—the words *steward* and *stewardess* are frowned upon today—checks on him every so often. The man is African-American, the preferred designation for his racial background; before that, society called him *black* or *colored* or *Negro*. The man is friendly, doing his job. Each time he addresses Mills, he calls him Chief. Mills doesn't know if the flight attendant realizes that he is Lakota. Maybe he calls everyone Chief. Maybe he means it as a compliment. Mills motions him over.

"I want to tell you something," Mills says. The man leans in. "I'm Native American, and you calling me Chief, it turns my stomach. It'd be very similar to somebody calling you Nigger."

The flight attendant looks at Mills. He says, "Calling you Chief doesn't bother *me* . . . Chief."

Who is right and who wrong? Whose feelings take precedence? Most important, who gets to decide what we call one another?

If you've figured out an answer, don't celebrate yet. The above confrontation is only a warmup for sport's thorniest word problem: the use of Native American names (and mascots that represent them) by high school, college and professional teams. For more than 30 years the debate has been raging over whether names such as Redskins, Braves, Chiefs and Indians honor or defile Native Americans, whether clownish figures like the Cleveland Indians' Chief Wahoo have any place in today's racially sensitive climate and whether the sight of thousands of non–Native Americans doing the tomahawk chop at Atlanta's Turner Field is mindless fun or mass bigotry. It's an argument that, because it mixes mere sports with the sensitivities of a people who were nearly exterminated, seems both trivial and profound—and it's further complicated by the fact that for three out of four Native Americans, even a nickname such as Redskins, which many whites consider racist, isn't objectionable.

Indeed, some Native Americans—even those who purportedly object to Indian team nicknames—wear Washington Redskins paraphernalia with pride. Two such men showed up in late January at Augustana College in Sioux Falls, S.Dak., for a conference on race relations. "They were speaking against the Indian nicknames, but they were wearing Redskins sweatshirts, and one had on a Redskins cap," says Betty Ann Gross, a member of the Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux tribe. "No one asked them about it. They looked pretty militant."

Gross's own case illustrates how slippery the issue can be. She grew up on a reservation in South Dakota and went to Sisseton High, a public school on the reservation whose teams are called the Redmen. Gross, 49, can't recall a time when people on the reservation weren't arguing about the team name, evenly divided between those who were proud of it and those who were ashamed. Gross recently completed a study that led the South



White mischief The tomahawk chop, done here at Turner Field, is one of the fan rituals whose appropriateness has been widely debated.

Polls Apart

SI polled Native Americans and sports fans in general on the use of Indian nicknames, and got some surprising answers



ALTHOUGH MOST Native American activists and tribal leaders consider Indian team names and mascots offensive, neither Native Americans in general nor a cross-section of U.S. sports fans agree. That is one of the findings of a poll conducted for SI by the Peter Harris Research Group. The pollsters interviewed 351 Native Americans (217 living on reservations and 134 living off) and 743 fans. Their responses were weighted according to U.S. census figures for age, race and gender, and for distribution of Native Americans on and off reservations. With a margin of error of ±4%, 93% of the Indians said that professional teams should not stop using Indian nicknames, mascots or symbols, and 79% of the fans agreed with them. Surprisingly, there is a greater divergence of opinion between Native Americans who live on reservations and those who don't. Sixty-seven percent of Indians on reservations do not object to the use of Indian images, against 87% of those off the reservations. When pollsters asked about the Washington Redskins, they found no great resentment toward the name. Instead, they again found agreement between Native Americans and fans (69% of the former and 74% of the latter do not object to the name) and less agreement between Indians on and off reservations (57% and 72%, respectively). Other results appear in the boxes that follow. —*Andrea Woo*

Asked whether the use of Native American team names and mascots contributes to discrimination against Indians, respondents said:

	TOTAL FANS %	TOTAL INDIANS %	INDIANS LIVING ON/OFF RESERVATION ON %	INDIANS LIVING ON/OFF RESERVATION OFF %
Contributes to discrimination	12	23	45	17
Does not contribute	88	75	53	81
Undecided	0	2	2	2

Asked what they thought of the tomahawk chop at Atlanta Braves games, respondents said:

	TOTAL FANS %	TOTAL INDIANS %	INDIANS LIVING ON/OFF RESERVATION ON %	INDIANS LIVING ON/OFF RESERVATION OFF %
Like it	28	28	11	33
Find it objectionable	21	23	39	18
Don't care	51	49	46	49
Undecided	0	1	4	0

Asked their opinions of team nicknames derived from other ethnic groups—Celtics, Fighting Irish, Ragin' Cajuns, Flying Dutchmen—respondents said:

	TOTAL FANS %	TOTAL INDIANS %	INDIANS LIVING ON/OFF RESERVATION ON %	INDIANS LIVING ON/OFF RESERVATION OFF %
Like them	49	25	16	27
Find them objectionable	4	12	14	12
Don't care	47	62	68	60
Undecided	0	1	2	1

Source: Peter Harris Research Group, Inc.

Dakota state government to change the names of 38 places and landmarks around the state, yet she has mixed feelings on the sports issue. She wants Indian mascots and the tomahawk chop discarded, but she has no problem with team names like the Fighting Sioux (University of North Dakota) or even the Redskins. "There's a lot of division," Gross says. "We're confused, and if *we're* confused, you guys should be really confused."

Indeed, a recent SI poll *(charts, above)* suggests that although Native American activists are virtually united in opposition to the use of Indian nicknames and mascots, the Native American population sees the issue far differently. Asked if high school and college teams should stop using Indian nicknames, 81% of Native American respondents said no. As for pro sports, 83% of Native American respondents said teams should not stop using Indian nicknames, mascots, characters and symbols. Opinion is far more divided on reservations, yet a majority (67%) there said the usage by pro teams should not cease, while 32% said it should.

"I take the middle ground," says Leigh J. Kuwanwisiwma, 51, director of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office in Kykotsmovi, Ariz., and an avid devotee of the Atlanta Braves. "I don't see anything wrong with Indian nicknames as long as they're not meant to be derogatory. Some tribal schools on Arizona reservations use *Indians* as a nickname themselves. The Phoenix Indian High School's newspaper is *The Redskin*. I don't mind the tomahawk chop. It's all in good fun. This is sports, after all. In my living room, I'll be watching a Braves game and occasionally do the chop."

Native American activists dismiss such opinion as misguided ("There are happy campers on every plantation," says Suzan Harjo, president of the Morning Star Institute, an Indian-rights organization based in Washington, D.C.) or as evidence that Native Americans' self-esteem has fallen so low that they don't even know when they're being insulted. American Indians—unlike, say, the Irish



Brave new world In 1972, Stanford teams, which were formerly called the Indians, became the Cardinal, with a tree for a mascot.

Catholics who founded Notre Dame and named its teams the Fighting Irish—had no hand in creating most of the teams that use their names; their identities were plucked from them wholesale and used for frivolous purposes, like firing up fans at ball games.

"This is no honor," says Michael Yellow Bird, an associate professor of social work at Arizona State. "We lost our land, we lost our languages, we lost our children. Proportionately speaking, indigenous peoples [in the U.S.] are incarcerated more than any other group, we have more racial violence perpetrated upon us, and we are forgotten. If people think this is how to honor us, then colonization has really taken hold."

Regardless, the campaign to erase Indian team names and symbols nationwide has been a success. Though Native American activists have made little progress at the highest level of pro sports—officials of the Atlanta Braves, Chicago Blackhawks, Cleveland Indians and Washington Redskins, for example, say they have no intention of changing their teams' names or mascots—their single-minded pursuit of the issue has literally changed the face of sports in the U.S. Since 1969, when Oklahoma disavowed its mascot Little Red (a student wearing an Indian war bonnet, buckskin costume and moccasins), more than 600 school teams and minor league professional clubs have dropped nicknames deemed offensive by Native American groups.

What's more, the movement continues. On Jan. 9 the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments, which represents 17 local governments in D.C., southern Maryland and northern Virginia, voted 11–2 to adopt a resolution calling the Redskins name "demeaning and dehumanizing" and asking team owner Dan Snyder to change it by next season. A week earlier former Redskins fullback Dale Atkeson had been told by the California Department of Motor Vehicles to remove his vanity plates reading 1 REDSKN. The word *Redskin* was banned on plates by the DMV in 1999.

"We consider ourselves racially sensitive," says D.C. council member Carol Schwartz, who introduced the resolution against the

SINCE 1969, MORE THAN



Redskins, "yet in this one area we are so hypocritical. Since when is a sports team's name more important than the sensitivities of our fellow human beings? For decades we had the Washington Bullets, and [owner] Abe Pollin on his own changed the name [in 1997, because of the high murder rate in D.C.]. Guess what? The world did not stop spinning. Why we would keep this racist term is beyond me."

While those who support names such as Seminoles (Florida State) and Braves can argue that the words celebrate Native American traditions, applying that claim to the Redskins is absurd. Nevertheless, Redskins vice president Karl Swanson says the name "symbolizes courage, dignity and leadership and has always been employed in that manner"—conveniently ignoring the fact that in popular usage dating back four centuries, the word has been a slur based on skin color. Swanson trots out research that traces the term *redskin* to Native Americans' custom of daubing on red paint before battle. Many experts on Native American history point out that the red paint was used not for war but for burial, and that the word *redskin* was first used by whites who paid and received bounties for dead Indians. "If you research the origin of *redskin*, no one would want that associated with his team," says pro golfer Notah Begay III, who is half Navajo and half Pueblo. "Trading-post owners used to offer rewards for Indian scalps. Signs would say something like, 'Redskin scalps, worth so much.' "

However, what's most important, Swanson counters, is intent: Because the Redskins and their fans *mean* nothing racist by using the nickname, it isn't racist or offensive. "This has been the name of our organization for 70 years," Swanson says. "We

believe it has taken on a meaning independent of the word itself—and it's positive."

Not so, says Harjo: "There's no more derogatory word that's used against us, about us, in the English language. Even if it didn't have such heinous origins, everyone knows that it has never been an honorific. It's a terrible insult."

Harjo is not alone in her thinking. A slew of dictionaries agree that *redskin* is contemptuous, and so do Native American academics, nearly every Native American organization and three judges on the U.S. Trademark Trial and Appeal Board. In April 1999, responding to a lawsuit brought by Harjo and six other Indian leaders, the board stripped the Washington Redskins of federal protection on their seven trademarks. If the decision stands up under appeal, the team and the NFL could lose an estimated $5 million annually on sales of licensed merchandise.

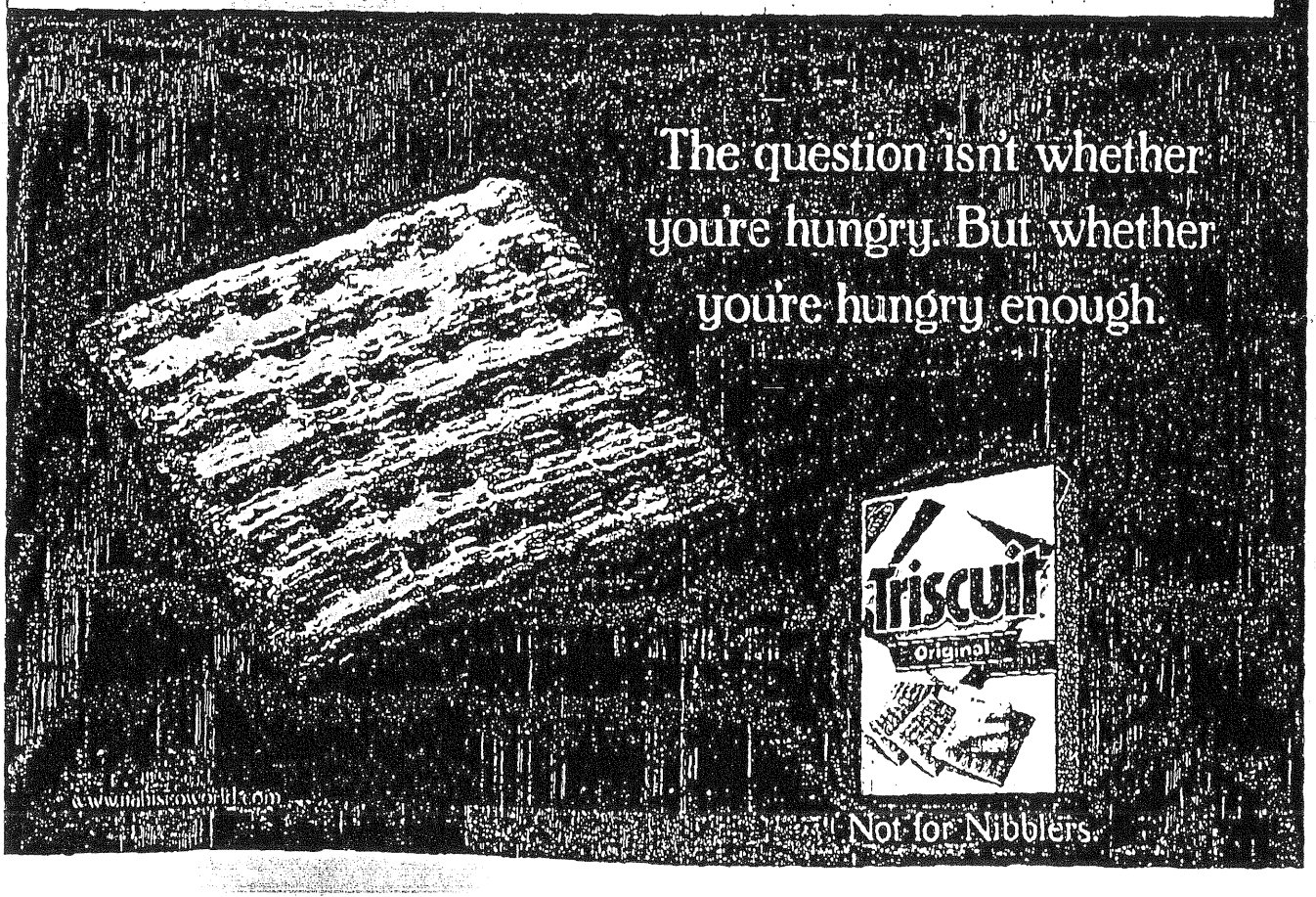
Even though no team name is under more sustained attack, there's evidence that for the Redskins, a name change would be good for business. In 1996, after much pressure from alumni threatening to withdraw their financial support, Miami (Ohio) University acceded to the Miami tribe's request that it change its team names from Redskins to Redhawks. The following year alumni gave a record $25 million to the school. "Someday it will change," Miami spokesman Richard Little says of the Washington Redskins name. "And you know what? There'll still be a football team there, and there'll still be those ugly fat guys in dresses cheering for it."

Swanson says the vast majority of Redskins fans like the name, and indeed, beyond the protests of politicians, there's no groundswell

600 SCHOOLS AND MINOR LEAGUE PRO TEAMS HAVE DROPPED NICKNAMES DEEMED OFFENSIVE BY NATIVE AMERICAN GROUPS

of outrage against it in D.C. In a city so racially sensitive that an aide to mayor Anthony Williams was forced to resign in 1999 for *correctly* using the nonracial term *niggardly*, there's nothing hotter than the mass pilgrimage of 80,000 fans to Landover, Md., on Sundays in autumn to sing *Hail to the Redskins* at FedEx Field. Williams mentioned changing the name at a press conference once, but "no one really paid attention," says his aide Tony Bullock. "It's not something that anyone is really talking about." Nevertheless, Bullock says, "the mayor believes it is time to change the name."

That the name is offensive to Native Americans is easy for non-





Horsetailers Many teams have retired their dancing, whooping Native American mascots, but Illinois' Chief Illiniwek marches on.

Natives to presume. It resonates when an Olympic hero and former Marine Corps captain such as Mills, who speaks out against Indian names and mascots at schools around the country, insists that a team named Redskins in the capital of the nation that committed genocide against Native Americans is the equivalent of a soccer team in Germany being called the Berlin Kikes. Says Mills, "Our truth is, *redskin* is tied to the murder of indigenous people."

Colville Confederated Tribes in Washington State who lives on the tribes' reservation. "A few elders find it offensive, but my mother loves the Redskins."

Only 29% of Native Americans, and 40% living on reservations, thought Snyder should change his team's name. Such indifference implies a near total disconnect between Native American activists and the general Native American population on this issue. "To a lot of the younger folks the name Redskins is tied to the football team, and it doesn't represent anything more than the team," says Roland McCook, a member of the tribal council of the Ute tribe in Fort Duchesne, Utah.

The Utes' experience with the University of Utah might serve as a model for successful resolution of conflicts over Indian nicknames. Four years ago the council met with university officials, who made it clear that they would change their teams' name, the Running Utes, if the tribe found it objectionable. (The university had retired its cartoonish Indian mascot years before.) The council was perfectly happy to have the Ute name continue to circulate in the nations' sports pages, but council members said they intended to keep a close eye on its use. "We came away with an understanding that as long as the university used the Ute name in a positive manner that preserved the integrity of the Ute tribe, we would allow the use of the name and the Ute logo [two eagle feathers and a drum]," says McCook. Florida State, likewise, uses the name Seminoles for its teams with the express approval of the Seminole nation.

Like the Ute tribe, most Native Americans have no problem with teams using names like Indians and Fighting Illini—or even imposed names like Sioux. "People get upset about the Fighting Sioux, but why?" Gross says. "We're not Sioux people, anyway. The French and the Ojibway tribe gave us that name, and they're our hereditary enemies. We're not braves, and we're not really Indians. I know the history. For me those names are not a problem." Many Native Americans are offended, however, by mascots such as Illinois's Chief Illiniwek and others that dress up in feathers and so-called war paint. "Just do away with the imagery—the dancing, the pageantry," says Gross.

THERE'S A NEAR TOTAL DISCONNECT BETWEEN INDIAN ACTIVISTS AND THE NATIVE AMERICAN POPULATION ON THIS ISSUE

Somehow that message is lost on most of Mills's fellow Native Americans. Asked if they were offended by the name Redskins, 75% of Native American respondents in SI's poll said they were not, and even on reservations, where Native American culture and influence are perhaps felt most intensely, 62% said they weren't offended. Overall, 69% of Native American respondents—and 57% of those living on reservations—feel it's O.K. for the *Washington Redskins* to continue using the name. "I like the name Redskins," says Mark Timentwa, 50, a member of the

Which brings us to the point at which the word problem becomes a number problem. Say you are a team owner. You kiss Chief Wahoo goodbye. Stop the chop. Dump the fake Indian garb, the turkey feathers and the war paint. Get rid of, say, the Redskins name because it's got a sullied history and just sounds wrong. Rename the team the Washington Warriors—without the Indian-head logo—and watch the new team hats and jackets hit the stores. Money is going to pour in, you see, and someone will have to count it. □

THE WASHINGTON POST 1/14/92

Harjo, et al. v. Pro-Football, Inc. Case No. 21,069 Petitioners' Ex. 20.052

Edward Lazarus

Redskins: What's in the Name

The argument is at least 20 years old, at least as old as the 1970s, when Native American students successfully demanded that Dartmouth College stop using the name "Indians" for its sports teams. But the battle to end the use of Indian-based nicknames, insignia and rallying cries has never raged more fiercely. Recently the nation debated the "Tomahawk Chop" of which Atlanta Braves fans had become so enamored. Indian leaders deplored the chop and organized protests. President Carter did the chop and deplored it. Today, and for as many weekends as they last in the playoffs, the issue will be whether the Washington Redskins should change their name.

I grew up with the Redskins. When I was a boy, Ken Houston beat the Cowboys by stopping their bronco-busting, chaw-chewing fullback, Walt Garrison, just short of the goal line. George Allen called his ill-fated Nixon-inspired reverse against Miami in the Super Bowl. And Charlie Taylor raced for a touchdown despite a broken ankle. I spent countless hours reliving these plays or pretending I was Larry Brown (No. 43), sweeping left, then right across playground fields. These plays, these dreams, these affections live in my memory.

I also grew up with Indians. When I was a boy, tribal leaders from across the country would come to my house to seek advice from my father. Senecas, Tuscaroras, Blackfeet, Sioux—they would sit in our living room talking about the hardships of reservation life or just telling stories. I spent countless hours watching my father defend Indian rights in court, or before Congress. Inspired by this childhood, I wrote a book about the Sioux Nation and their struggles, military and legal, against the United States.

So where do I side in this conflict of passions? The choice is not difficult. The name "Redskins" should go. This is not because the name is insulting or demeaning. Indeed, the name is intended to conjure up images of positive, albeit aggressive, attributes: ferocity, courage, strength, pride. Nor must the name be changed because it perpetuates some modern-day stereotype—the notion that Indians today are still "savages" looking for the next wagon train to loot.

Rather, the problem with the name "Redskins" for a sports team is that it perpetuates the crippling myth that Native Americans—their lands, their cultures, their sovereign powers, their very existence—are relics of the past; that they are like Trojans, Spartans, Buccaneers, Pirates, 49ers, Vikings—heroes or villains to be studied as history, and history alone. Painted images on helmets or grass fields link Indians with our imaginations. And in our imaginations, their existence, their problems, and our complicity in them disappear.

But Indians, Redskins, Native Americans, whatever the name, are not extinct, not legends. On reservations and in urban centers throughout the country, they struggle to find a separate and distinct place for themselves in the racial maelstrom of American society. Everywhere they struggle against grinding poverty and the social and cultural destruction that the advancing American frontier left in its wake. These contemporary Indians, sentient not symbolic, cry out to end their status as the invisible, ignorable among us. That is a cry we must heed.

The proof that we should honor Indian demands about our sports imagery lies in the very nature of the argument. After all, what today is the issue of Native American rights that commands our greatest interest? It is a matter of names and logos, a matter of symbolism only. No former presidents (much less sitting ones) address the desperate conditions in Indian country. No national headlines apprise us of renewed assaults on Indian religious freedom or tribal autonomy. Rather, the headlines are all of Tomahawk Chops, "Dances with Wolves" or the merits of Columbus's voyage—symbols, fairy tales and ancient imaginations to our present consciousness. And, so, let us ponder a new name for the Redskins, and let's change the name of the game as well.

The writer, a Washington native, is the author of "Black Hills/White Justice: The Sioux Nation Versus the United States, 17 to the Present."

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We Are Not Extras

A Native American Perspective on the Morality of Indian Mascots

A father of two expresses why he isn't "honored" when sports fans of teams with Native American mascots show their "respect" for Indian people.

by Richard MacPhie

The Superbowl is here, capping off a spectacular stretch of sporting events hosted by the Twin Cities and Minnesota. We had the U.S. Olympic Festival, Special Olympics, Stanley Cup Finals, and we still have the college basketball Final Four to go. But for those of us who love baseball, the 1991 World Series was the sweetest Twin Cities event... well, since the 1987 World Series.

The '91 Series had lots of memorable moments and was hailed as one of the greatest Series ever: seven games, five one-run games, three extra-inning games, a Kirby Puckett game-winning homer, and Jack Morris throwing a 10-inning shutout to win it all. Wow!

Unfortunately, one more thing made the series memorable, too. Atlanta fans took a fancy to the "tomahawk chop," which, if you don't remember, is done by robotically moving the arm to and fro in a gesture that is supposed to represent the Braves hacking their opponents into submission. Frankly, I thought the gesture looked pretty stupid. But what made the chop noteworthy was its social ramifications — the inherent mocking of Native American culture, followed by more mocking of the Native Americans who raised their voice in protest.

Yesterday's news, you say? The protests at the World Series were only part of an on-going drive to have sports teams drop offensive and outdated Indian names. Cleveland still has Indians, Chicago has Blackhawks, Washington Redskins, Kansas City Chiefs, and Atlanta the Braves. Native Americans would like to see these names and insulting behavior changed. But come opening day, 1992, it's a fair guess that the Braves will still be cheered by a stadium full of tomahawk-choppers.

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It's not really the chop that's so offensive. As Chip Wadena, president of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, put it, "It's just their version of Minnesota's Homer Hanky." The tomahawk chop has no redeeming historical foundation. Just look at the source: Deion Sanders — a speedy two-sport athlete with a severely inflated ego and an embarrassingly low batting average.

Several years back, Deion attended Florida State University, where "Seminoles" is the school nickname, and where allegedly the tomahawk chop was born. From Florida State, Sanders was drafted to play football for the Atlanta Falcons and baseball for the New York Yankees. When poor performance prompted his departure from the Big Apple, the Atlanta Braves decided to make him the all-around Atlanta athlete and signed him to a contract. One day last summer, as Deion was mucking around the outfield at Atlanta, he saw some old school buddies from Florida State. He acknowledged their presence with the tomahawk chop. That whole section of the stands responded, and soon all Atlanta was chopping.

Throughout the controversy in the fall, not only did "Neon Deion" (that's what he calls himself) not show any remorse for introducing derogatory racial behavior to baseball, he was exceedingly proud of doing so. By the way, Deion Sanders is black.

For Native Americans, the tomahawk chop became a token for many kinds of behavior that offends. "Stop the chop" means stop chanting and dancing. It means stop wearing traditional dress "just for fun." It means stop war-painting your kids and breeding a whole new generation of disrespect. And, yes, "Stop the chop" means it's time to rethink the wisdom of hanging Native American monikers on sports teams.

Some Indians are outright offended by the names alone. Others don't mind the names so much, but are offended by the derogatory behavior associated with them. Inane war-whoops, fake dancing, the bastardization of traditional dress? Yes, that's offensive. And once it's established that fan behavior is wrong (it is), then the Indian nicknames behind the behavior must be wrong too.

Franchises, teams and their fans freely admit that mascot names are chosen for their imagery. Some teams pick indigenous wildlife such as Blue Jays or Cardinals. Others pick names to reflect local industry, such as Packers, Steelers

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or Oilers. Some go with ferocious predators like Bengals, Tigers, Lions and Bears. And then there are the image names of nasty people perceived as ruthless: teams like Raiders, Vikings, Buccaneers and of course Indians.

When Indians are lumped together with animals and bad-doers, is it any wonder we become offended? Indians are not images. We're not wildlife, nor are we ruthless warriors; and being Indian is not an occupation. We are a people who would like to function without silly imagery cluttering and clouding us in our daily affairs, whether looking for new jobs or new friends.

In this country today, it is illegal to have kids pray in school. The simple act of allowing a child to bow his or her head for a moment of silence is considered by some an insensitive display of religion. But show a bunch of boozing fans on television, with a beer in one hand and a rubber tomahawk in the other, and that's considered a cute and charming display of fan support.

The widespread indifference towards Native American concerns boils down to this: To many Americans, Indians are not real people. We're considered novelties and mascots for others. Many defend the names of their teams by instructing us that we are to feel honored because Indian names enshrine the virtues of brave and fearless warriors. Well, we don't want to be known as brave and fearless warriors. We want jobs so we can feed our kids. Any behavior that furthers murky stereotypes about our heritage hurts us in that pursuit.

Moreover, the "honor" that people imagine they confer is not for the Indian they pass on the street. It's for some fictitious storybook figure, standing nobly on a hilltop, full of nature's wisdom, skillful in the ways of paddling canoes without making ripples. As Indians try to march forward with society, stereotypes like these lock us into the past.

One day during the World Series, Indians were peacefully protesting outside the Metrodome in Minneapolis. A large gaggle of Braves fans came by, decked out in skins and feathers. Rather than extend their supposed "respect" to the real Indians there, this group of tomahawk-choppers sauntered by with smug faces as they whooped, taunted and chopped. These are the types who, before a news camera, will say in innocent tones, "Gosh, I don't know why they're upset. We do this 'cause we respect Indians, and this is our way of honoring them."

Why do these people need to articulate for us what constitutes an honor and what doesn't? Our protest is not a proposal for debate; it's a statement. "Don't tread on our culture." When others respond by trying to speak for us, they underscore the perception that we're not real people: Non-real people need real people to think on their behalf.

For the life of me, I cannot figure out why people would knowingly (and they do know) engage in behavior that offends and insults another group, all in the name of sports. Don't get me wrong, I love sports. Rather than argue with tomahawk-choppers, I would just as soon write on the merits of National League vs. American League rules. Want to know how to execute a hit-and-run? Or why outfields play shallow when the winning run is on third with less than two outs? I'll write about those, too. Native Americans love sports just as much as non-natives, and nobody last fall was trying to rain on the Braves parade.

What we want is a little perspective. The reasonable person weighs the relative values of things in life and prioritizes accordingly. For the modern American Indian what's important is gaining a foothold in society. We are in an ongoing struggle to find our place and to be accepted as a people who matter, worthy of respect from those around us, and worthy of self-pride. These priorities are shoved aside by teams with stereotype mascots and by the unthinking behavior of their fans.

To these teams and their fans Indians are buffoons to be cartooned — non-people who just don't matter. We object. Our heritage and bloodline are not props for arbitrary and derogatory amusement. We are not extras in everybody else's play of life. We are persons of humor and intelligence. We want to raise our kids with a healthy sense of pride in their heritage as they smoothly assimilate into the mainstream. Indian nicknames and simplistic characterizations serve only as refreshers of prejudicial thinking that holds us back.

Maybe you have to be Indian to understand some things completely. If you're Indian, many non-Indians feel no inhibition in calling you "Chief," "Tonto," or "Squaw" to your face. If you kick back and enjoy a beer in public, you're immediately seen as an alcoholic.

Some Atlanta fans whined that Indians have "no right" to tell them they can't chop. Rights are funny. They don't mesh neatly like cogs in a smoothly running machine — they often collide and conflict with the rights of others. A person's right to swing his fist through the air stops where another person's nose begins. And the right of fans to cheer on their team stops when it hits wrongly at another group of people.

In Minnesota, the big argument in

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defense of Indian-name teams comes from Scandinavians, some of whom claim that by Indian logic they are entitled to be offended by the team name "Vikings." Scandinavians, Indians and everyone else know that these folks aren't really offended. The real Vikings were a culture so far back in history that their image is almost one of mythology. If it were not for the Vikings football team, scant few people would have a clue as to what a Viking was. Nobody carries stereotypes of modern-day Nords wearing horns and plundering villages.

Besides, blond-haired, blue-eyed people with names like Peterson and Erickson are thriving just fine in this society. They are more than able to weather jocular references to millenium-old images.

Not so with the modern American Indian. Events such as the Trail of Tears in 1830 and the Wounded Knee massacre in 1890 resonate in the pages of recent history. There are people alive today who were born while Indians were still being rounded up and deposited on reservations. From a historical standpoint, these wounds are still far too fresh to treat the Native American experience as an abstract tidbit of forgettable history. Most people acknowledge that Indians had almost everything taken from them, but few seem to understand that mockery of our cultures and traditions just continues the taking. Subtly, but for sure, it steals what we value.

It would be easy to focus solely on Anglo-Saxon prejudice and bigotry. But many Atlanta fans tomahawk-chopping and mocking Indians to their faces were African American. It was indeed disturbing to see members of the most vocal minority group, one that decries racism almost daily on television, engaging in behavior damaging to another racial minority.

It would also be unfair to point a finger only at insensitive non-liberals. Ted Turner, Jane Fonda and Jimmy Carter were tomahawk-chopping right there with the rest. Ted claimed it "was all much ado about nothing." Jane renounced her chopping before the Series, but surreptitiously chopped anyway. Former President Carter shrugged and toothily proclaimed it was "no big deal." When the vanguards of the left can't act in a sensitive and responsible manner, it is all the more difficult to convince the guy and gal on the street that they should.

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On the other hand, Twin Cities talk-show host and self-proclaimed Republican, Dark Star, argued fiercely on behalf of the Native American perspective during the week of the World Series. Clyde Bellecourt, a leader of the protest, says he's personally received moral support on this issue "from across the board." In short, the mascots, the chop and other offenses are not a liberal vs. conservative issue. What is at stake is a fundamental and traditional value in our society: respect for the religion and culture of others.

Though professional teams are being somewhat stubborn, there has quietly been a wave of high-school and college teams dropping their Indian names and adopting, for lack of a better expression, regular names. The general managers and owners of pro teams claim they can't change because of "decades of tradition." How ironic. We Indians also speak of tradition. But centuries of American Indian blood, sweat, and tears far outweigh decades of Cleveland Indian hits, runs, and errors. The appeals to "sports tradition" are absurd.

The Portland Winter Hawks, a minor-league Oregon hockey team, were all set this past November to distribute toy tomahawks and start "chopping" as a new tradition for their franchise. However, in the wake of the protest by Native Americans at the World Series, the team's manager of marketing, Mark Miller, dropped the plan. "It's not worth offending anyone," he said.

The marketing manager had it right. But his clear simple concept — "It's not worth offending anyone" — seems difficult for some to grasp. Otherwise, how could an overt and damaging racist name like "Redskins" survive?

Perhaps the real answer came clear when members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) met with Braves officials in Atlanta last November. AIM was in search of positive signs that the team might consider changing its name. But the Braves reply was that they're "hot" right now and that any name or image change would be foolish, if for no other reason than the loss of income from souvenir and sales tied in with the mascot logo.

At least the Braves people were honest about it. But it is truly sad that once again the financial gain and enjoyment of others come at the expense of Native American values and wishes. Ignoring and trampling Indian culture helped "win the west," but that was last century. Sports teams must realize that as time marches on, some things once considered O.K. by majority culture become outdated travesties instead. Separate restrooms and drinking fountains for blacks and whites are an example. Another is the anachronistic idiocy of Indian team names. One day Americans will wonder why, in those progressive 1990s, teams didn't change their names without hesitation. Until then, Indians will continue the protest, not for the sake of political correctness, but in order to correct a moral wrong.■

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SPORTS

Indians: A people, not a nickname

Erik Brady

When the Cleveland Indians beat the Texas Rangers 3-0 Sunday, almost no one gave a second thought to the Indians' 73-year-old team name.

But imagine the outrage if they were known as the Cleveland Negroes or Cleveland Caucasians instead.

Farfetched? Yes. Offensive? Very. That's precisely the point: Native Americans see Indian names for sports teams as inherently racist, too. But when they speak up, most of the rest of us laugh it off as oversensitive nonsense.

''The problem is deadly serious,'' says Suzan Harjo, executive director of the National Congress of American Indians. ''These names serve to diminish an entire people."

Look around the ranks of pro sports teams. Football has its Washington Redskins and Kansas City Chiefs, baseball its Cleveland Indians and Atlanta Braves. Hockey has its Chicago Blackhawks, basketball its Golden State Warriors.

That's only the beginning. Hundreds of high schools and colleges have Indian names - Indians, Braves, Blackhawks, Chiefs, Warriors, Redskins, Redmen, Fighting Sioux, Savages, Seminoles, Sycamores, Apaches, Hurons, et al.

The cumulative effect is to desensitize the rest of us. How could it be so wrong when there are so many - and they've been with us so long? Why, Cleveland's baseball team has been the Indians since 1915.

''Racism is still racism, even when it is institutionalized," says Onondaga Indian Oren Lyons, a professor of American history at the University of Buffalo. ''Maybe especially when it is institutionalized."

Indian names for sports teams are by now an institution. Indians and Warriors are among the top 10 most-used college mascots. The other eight are birds of prey or wild animals.

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''The educated white man of the 16th century engaged in a philosophical argument about whether Indians were really human beings with souls,'' Harjo says. ''It appears some still think we are not exactly people."

Sioux Indian Phil St. John bitterly recalls a high school basketball game he and his 8 year-old son attended last year. ''There was a white student dressed as an Indian warrior with a fringe vest and painted face,'' St. John says. ''My son looked away in shame. I knew I had to do something."

And he did. St. John formed a local group called Concerned American Indian Parents, who lobbied Minneapolis' Southwest High School to change its nickname. Three months later, Southwest's Indians metamorphosed into Lakers.

But if a Minneapolis high school can't be the Indians, how can the town's pro football team be the Minnesota Vikings?

''The ancestors of the Norse fighting men we call Vikings still exist, but vikings do not,'' Harjo says. ''But Indians do still exist. Many of us still wear the same dress and have the same beliefs. To use our tribal dress and sacred rites at football games is to say that our way of life, like the Vikings', is gone. It's as though we have only a past - no present and no future."

Samantha Thorpe's future is bright. The great-great niece of football legend Jim Thorpe is a sophomore at Indiana (Pa.) University, where she is a catcher on the women's softball team - the Indiana Indians. That name bothers her.

''It'd be nice if the name could be changed quietly,'' she says. ''I just wish I could explain it so people could understand why those names are wrong."

St. John knows her frustration at having to explain. ''Most people don't connect Indian nicknames with racism,'' he says. ''They can't talk about the pain because they don't feel it."

Not all Indians feel it. Wallace C. Wilson is one-quarter Cherokee, yet figures the name Redskins ''is a part of Americana." Besides, he says, there are more important issues to worry about.

Indians have the USA's highest rates of alcohol-related deaths and suicide. But these are related issues - suicide and alcoholism speak to the problem of poor self-image. And Indian self-esteem is precisely what's at stake when a white guy in war paint prances at football games.

Yet because of limited resources, the more pressing issues are fought first. ''If you need to water the cornfields but there is a bear at the back door, you take care of the bear first,'' Lyons says. ''That does not mean watering the fields is not an important, life-giving function."

Stanford University and Dartmouth College retired their Indian nicknames in the early 1970s - a time when the country's consciousness had been raised by the civil rights movement of the 1960s. Later, Syracuse University sent away its Saltine Warrior mascot and replaced him with a whimsical Orange. Now ''Orangemen" refers to fruit, not skin color.

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But there has been little change in colleges since. What's more, no pro team ever has bowed to name-change pressure. And it doesn't appear likely any of them will very soon.

''There's not a single, solitary, jot, tittle, whit chance in the world,'' Redskins owner Jack Kent Cooke says. ''I like the name, and it's not a derogatory name."

''Not to him,'' Harjo says. ''How dare a rich, white male presume to tell us what is and isn't derogatory? The term 'Redskin' is an epithet - invented by whites as an insult to Indians. All Indian nicknames are an effront, but Redskins most of all."

Cooke is not the only one around Washington who can't see that. When Washington Post columnist Richard Cohen wrote that Redskins is a racist name that begs for change, the fan reaction was violent and swift-.

''I got phone calls and letters calling me an atheist, a communist and a sexual pervert,'' Cohen says. ''I don't want to overstate this. In terms of volume, I've gotten more calls on other subjects. But in terms of vehemence, I've never seen anything like this. It was as though I had personally insulted the Pope."

Some zealous fans argue that Indian-derived nicknames glorify the heritage of American Indians - calling to mind strength, athletic prowess and bravery.

''It's fine to say we are a brave and heroic people,'' St. John says. ''But that's not how it comes out. We're caricatured as a war-like people, shooting arrows at white Christians crossing the West in wagon trains."

Not so many years ago, if an executive called his secretary a girl, rather than a woman, few noticed. When that happens now, though, a silent alarm rings in listeners' heads.

''But when you hear Washington Redskins or Cleveland Indians, that alarm doesn't ring,'' Harjo says. ''Those names are socially acceptable. Washington Blackskins would not be, but somehow Redskins is. People say, 'Oh, that's different.' I ask: 'How? Tell me how that's different.' And nobody can."

CUTLINE:SINCE 1915: Cleveland Indians logo for 73 years.
TABULAR OR GRAPHIC MATERIAL SET FORTH IN THIS DOCUMENT IS NOT DISPLAYABLE

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Indians: A people, not a nickname

Harjo, et al. v. Pro-Football, Inc. Case No. 21,069 Petitioners' Ex. 20.025

By Erik Brady
USA TODAY



SINCE 1915: Cleveland Indians logo for 73 years.

When the Cleveland Indians beat the Texas Rangers 3-0 Sunday, almost no one gave a second thought to the Indians' 73-year-old team name.

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Please see COVER STORY next page ▶

COVER STORY

What's in a name?

Continued from 1C

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Indian names for sports teams are by now an institution. Indians and Warriors are among the top 10 most-used college mascots. The other eight are birds of prey or wild animals.

The absurdity comes to the fore in the 16th century rage and philosophical argument about whether Indians were really human beings with souls, Harjo says. "It appears some still think we are not exactly people."

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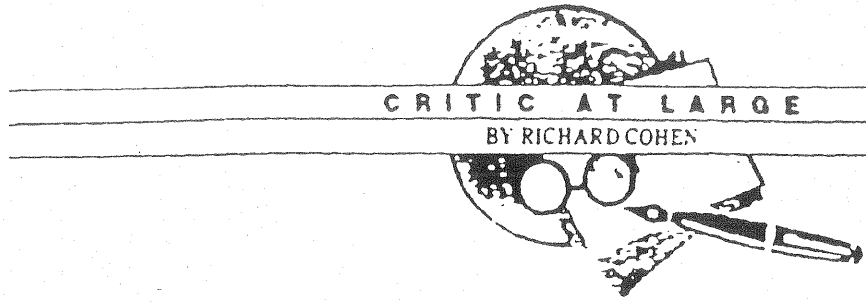
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CRITIC AT LARGE

BY RICHARD COHEN

Redskin Reservations

Harjo, et al. v.
Pro-Football, Inc.
Case No. 21,069
Petitioners' Ex.

20.023

Welcome football fans! This is Richard Cohen, reporting live from Robert F. Kennedy Stadium, where today—at last!—we bring you the Pro Bowl. We have players here from all the teams—the New York WASPs, the Detroit Ay-rabs, the Los Angeles Hispanics, the Chicago Blackskins, the Miami Hymies, the Boston Harps, the Cincinnati Krauts and, of course, that home-town favorite, that passion of presidents and senators, bureaucrats and journalists . . . the Washington Redskins. What a day!

But even before we begin, fans and real Americans, we have a really unusual pre-game show for you. Washington has gone all out for this one and, sparing no expense, has flown in all the team mascots.

From the Detroit Ay-rabs, we're going to see a man dressed as a caricature of an Arab, in flowing robe and headdress. He will enter RFK Stadium on a camel. Can you believe that?! The Miami Hispanics will provide a woman wearing a hat made of fruit. The Chicago Blackskins are sending a Sambo character who will devour an entire watermelon; the Hymies will feature a man dressed as a Hasidic Jew who will pray or something ("What do those people do, Frank?"); the WASPs are sending "Muffie," a woman in a Lilly Pulitzer outfit who does nothing but eat watercress sandwiches; the Harp mascot is a florid-faced tenor who'll sing "My Wild Irish Rose"; and the Krauts will provide a fat fellow wearing a spiked World War I helmet who will play "Ach, du Lieber Augustin" on a tuba. Ya, ya, vot a day we haff for you!

As for the Redskins, they will, of course, have their usual guy from Hyattsville dressed up as an American Indian—war bonnet, buckskin outfit and all. Golly gee, fellow fans and lovers of kitsch, there is almost no ethnic group that will not be offended, that will not be caricatured.

Silly? Ridiculous? Offensive? Tasteless? All of those things? Absolutely. But with one exception—the Washington Redskins—all the other teams and their mascots are figments of my (sick?) imagination. The Redskins, though, really have named themselves after an ethnic group, and they really do have a mascot, that silly "chief" that American Indians find both belittling and offensive. Of course, other sports organizations have taken Indian names—the Chicago Blackhawks, the Cleveland Indians, the Atlanta Braves and the Kansas City Chiefs. Indians have their quarrel with them, too. But no other team has a name that is also an epithet: *Redskin!* If you quarrel with the notion that Redskin is an epithet, consider walking up to an American Indian and saying "Hi, Redskin!" The response could well be a punch in the mouth.

It is the considered view of Jack Kent Cooke, though, that *he* will determine what is and what is not offensive to American Indians. A sensitive man, a man steeped in cultural and social anthropology, the owner of the Redskins has based his judgment on his personal preference: "I like the name, and it's not a derogatory name." That settles that. It usually does when you're rich.

But there are several things to consider. First and foremost is the plight of the American Indian. More than underclass blacks, more than illegal immigrants, more than any group, they are America's untouchables. The statistics are staggering. Indians have the highest suicide rate of all Americans. Their alcohol-related deaths are 459 percent higher. The number of accidents is 155 percent higher. Diabetes, 107 percent higher. Homicide, 51 percent higher. If the Redskins really wanted to portray the American Indian, their "chief" would be a broken-down, sick old man.

Of course, there are many reasons for this sad state of affairs—not the least of them being the one-time policy of the government to destroy Indian culture and religion. But one current-day factor has to be self-image. Suicide, alcoholism and a tendency toward irrational violence are not the hallmarks of a people with a healthy self-image. It hardly enhances the self-esteem of an Indian youth to always see his people—himself—represented as a cartoon character. And, always, the caricature is suggestive of battle, of violence—of the Indian warrior, the brave, the chief, the warpath, the beating of tom-toms. For the young Indian—for the Indian of any age—none of this has anything to do with the present, but only with the Indians' futile fight to hold on to what was once theirs.

The National Congress of American Indians has asked the Redskins to change their name. That polite request has been rebuffed by the haughty Cooke. Other teams, though, have bowed to Indian wishes. The Dartmouth Indians are no more. The Stanford Indians are gone, too. "Little Red" is no longer the University of Oklahoma's mascot, just the way pancake-mix packages no longer sport stereotypical images of blacks. Little by little, we have learned that the pride of whole peoples is not a toy.

Alas, there are few American Indians in the Washington area, so they have no clout. So I turn to the people who do—the celebrities who stock the owner's box at Redskins games. Would Cooke's Jewish guests attend if the team were called the Hymies? Would Marion Barry try to work out a stadium deal for a team whose name offended his race? The answer in both cases is no. It's time the Redskins changed their name. A rose by any other name would smell as sweet, but a team that insists on retaining an offensive name just plain stinks. ■

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2001 NEWS RELEASES, PRESS ADVISORIES AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

STATEMENT OF U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS ON THE USE OF NATIVE AMERICAN IMAGES AND NICKNAMES AS SPORTS SYMBOLS

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights calls for an end to the use of Native American images and team names by non-Native schools. The Commission deeply respects the rights of all Americans to freedom of expression under the First Amendment and in no way would attempt to prescribe how people can express themselves. However, the Commission believes that the use of Native American images and nicknames in school is insensitive and should be avoided. In addition, some Native American and civil rights advocates maintain that these mascots may violate anti-discrimination laws. These references, whether mascots and their performances, logos, or names, are disrespectful and offensive to American Indians and others who are offended by such stereotyping. They are particularly inappropriate and insensitive in light of the long history of forced assimilation that American Indian people have endured in this country.

Since the civil rights movement of the 1960s many overtly derogatory symbols and images offensive to African-Americans have been eliminated. However, many secondary schools, post-secondary institutions, and a number of professional sports teams continue to use Native American nicknames and imagery. Since the 1970s, American Indian leaders and organizations have vigorously voiced their opposition to these mascots and team names because they mock and trivialize Native American religion and culture.

It is particularly disturbing that Native American references are still to be found in educational institutions, whether elementary, secondary or post-secondary. Schools are places where diverse groups of people come together to learn not only the "Three Rs," but also how to interact respectfully with people from different cultures. The use of stereotypical images of Native Americans by educational institutions has the potential to create a racially hostile educational environment that may be intimidating to Indian students. American Indians have the lowest high school graduation rates in the nation and even lower college attendance and graduation rates. The perpetuation of harmful stereotypes may exacerbate these problems.

The stereotyping of any racial, ethnic, religious or other groups when promoted by our public educational institutions, teach all students that stereotyping of minority groups is acceptable, a dangerous lesson in a diverse society. Schools have a responsibility to educate their students; they should not use their influence to perpetuate misrepresentations of any culture or people. Children at the elementary and secondary level usually have no choice about which school they attend. Further, the assumption that a college student may freely choose another educational institution if she feels uncomfortable around Indian-based imagery is a false one. Many factors, from educational programs to financial aid to proximity to home, limit a college student's choices. It is particularly onerous if the student must also consider whether or not the institution is maintaining a racially hostile environment for Indian students.

Schools that continue to use Indian imagery and references claim that their use stimulates interest in Native American culture and honors Native Americans. These institutions have simply failed to listen to the Native groups, religious leaders, and civil rights organizations that oppose these symbols. These Indian-based symbols and team names are not accurate representations of Native Americans. Even those that purport to be positive are romantic stereotypes that give a distorted view of the past. These false portrayals prevent non-Native Americans from understanding the true historical and cultural experiences of American Indians. Sadly, they also encourage biases and prejudices that have a negative effect on contemporary Indian people. These references may encourage interest in mythical "Indians" created by the dominant culture, but they block genuine understanding of contemporary Native people as fellow Americans.

The Commission assumes that when Indian imagery was first adopted for sports mascots it was not to offend Native Americans. However, the use of the imagery and traditions, no matter how popular, should end when they are offensive. We applaud those who have been leading the fight to educate the public and the institutions that have voluntarily discontinued the use of insulting mascots. Dialogue and education are the roads to

understanding. The use of American Indian mascots is not a trivial matter. The Commission has a firm understanding of the problems of poverty, education, housing, and health care that face many Native Americans. The fight to eliminate Indian nicknames and images in sports is only one front of the larger battle to eliminate obstacles that confront American Indians. The elimination of Native American nicknames and images as sports mascots will benefit not only Native Americans, but all Americans. The elimination of stereotypes will make room for education about real Indian people, current Native American issues, and the rich variety of American Indian cultures in our country.

American Indians Aren't Mascots; Drop Nicknames

By Tim Giago (Nanwica Kciji)
INDIAN COUNTRY TODAY

RAPID CITY, S.D. — The radio and television personality Larry King once wrote: "The best way to measure a team's nickname is to ask yourself: 'Would you name it that if it were just starting out?'

"In other words, would you call a team the Redskins or the Redmen? Hardly. So change it now — only because it's right."

In fact, some teams are changing their nicknames, including two prominent college basketball teams — St. John's (Redmen) and Marquette (Warriors). Both are in the process of changing nicknames, and presumably mascots. Nevertheless, long after March Madness has ended, the nation will still be watching the Indians, the Braves, the Chiefs and the Redskins.

Is this right?

Those of us who have ventured into the turbulent waters of questioning the use of American Indians as mascots for America's fun and games have discovered hell hath no fury like that of a fanatic sports fan. When I wrote an article for *Newsweek* magazine the week of the Super Bowl held in Minneapolis featuring the Washington Redskins, the editor chose the unfortunate headline, "I hope the Redskins lose." The intent of the column was to educate white and black America to the way Indians feel about being used as mascots.

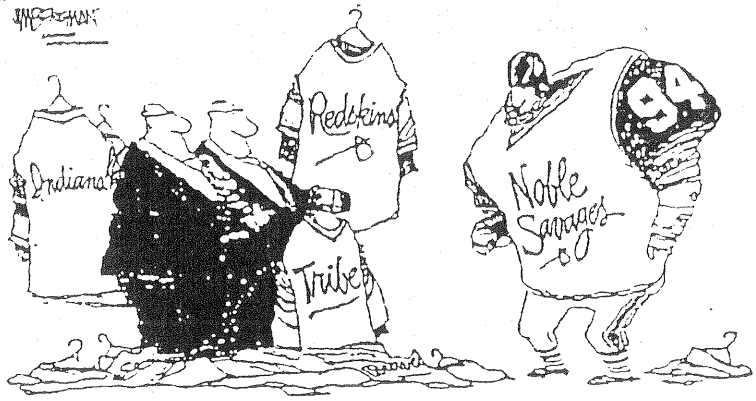
In the aftermath, I received some of the worst hate letters I have ever received. The mildest insult was that I was trying to be politically correct. No! I was trying to be racially correct, and there's a big difference.

"It's a tradition" or "it's honoring us" are no longer valid arguments. Comparisons to the use of Steelers, Cowboys or Packers as good reasons to use Indians as mascots insults our intelligence. Steelers, Cowboys and Packers are not an ethnic minority.

The biggest argument is: What about the Minnesota Vikings or the Irish of Notre Dame? When is the last time you saw a genuine Viking? They are historical references that no longer exist. Indians do.

The Irish were named from within by the early Irish priests and bishops. Although Notre Dame is a Catholic university, you do not see students using the pope as a mascot nor do you see the fans in the stands attempting to imitate characteristics of the Irish.

"Redskins" is a word that should remind every American there was a time in our history when America paid bounties for human beings. There was a going rate for the scalps or hides of Indian men, women and children. These "redskins" trophies could be sold to most frontier trading posts. Along with coon skins, beaver skins and bear skins, the selling of "redskins" was also profitable.



"I still don't think we've quite got it, sir . . . "

On a recent talk show, I spoke with a young lady who had been a cheerleader for a team called the "Indians." She said, "When I put on my feathers and war paint, donned my buckskin and beads, I felt I was honoring Indians." I asked her, "If your team was called the African Americans and you painted your face black, put on an Afro wig and donned a dashiki and danced around singing songs and making noises you thought to be African, would you be honoring blacks?" Her answer was "No! Of course not. That would be insulting to them." End of discussion.

Go to a Kansas City Chiefs football game or to an Atlanta Braves baseball game and watch the fans instead of the game. You will see everything Indians hold sacred insulted. The tomahawk chop means "kill them." The smirking faces painted in Dayglo colors tells us that our spiritual application of paint is fair game for sports fans. The turkey feathers protruding from their heads insult another spiritual practice of most Plains Indians. The eagle feather is sacred. It is given to the recipient in a religious ceremony, usually to honor, to thank, or to bless.

Suppose the New Orleans Saints used real saints as mascots, or used the crucifix to do the "chop," or wore colorful religious attire in the stands? Suppose Kansas City changed its name to the Kansas City Jews, Kansas City Blackskins or Kansas City Latinos? This simply would not happen, you say? Then, why is it all right to use American Indians as mascots and to insult our way of life and our religion in the process?

There are those who realize that Indians are politically and numerically weak, and they try to help. The Portland *Oregonian* will not allow words considered to be racist, such as Redskin, to be used in the newspaper. The Minneapolis *Star Tribune* recently dropped the use of all Indian nicknames. A couple of radio stations, including one in Washington, will not use words they consider to be racially insulting on the air. A number of high schools and colleges have dropped mascots that insulted Indians.

As American Indians find the formats to air their grievances realistically and intelligently, a number of white and black Americans are listening. They are allowing us to present our viewpoint. They are seeing things through our eyes.

Even when they hear the other tired arguments that Indians have more important things to worry about or that there are some Indians who don't mind, they have come to understand that the vast majority of Indians do take exception to being used as mascots. Two hundred years of tradition does not make using Indians as mascots right.

How does one measure self-respect and self-esteem? When Rosa Parks refused to move to the back of the bus, did it help the black economy or solve all of their problems? No. But it gave blacks a small victory in restoring self-respect and self-esteem.

Simply put, Indians are human beings, not mascots.

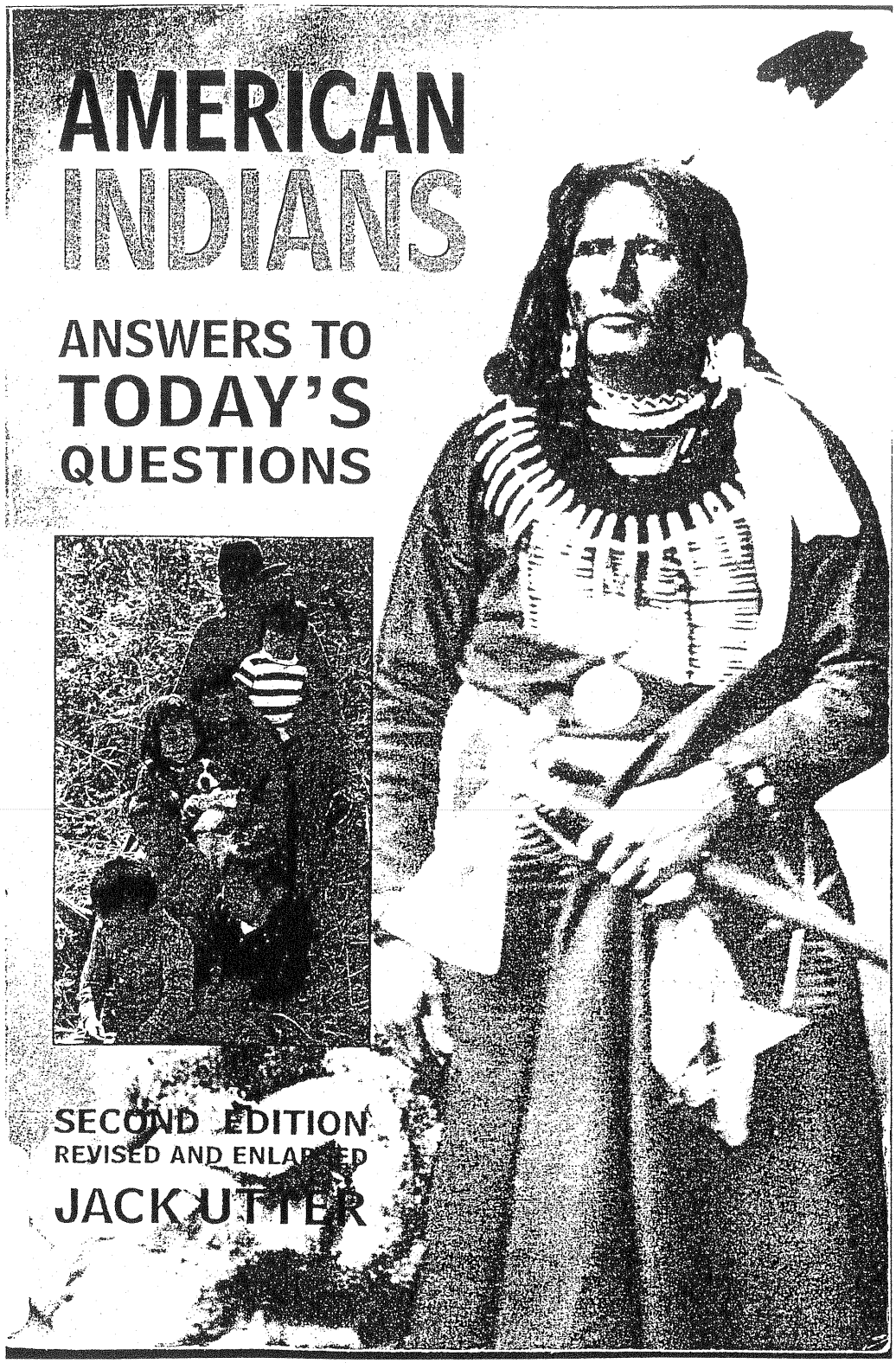
The media will always find those Indians who don't mind being mascots. Most of them have been totally assimilated into the mainstream. They have lost their language, culture and traditions. In other words, they have become Americanized. They are in dire need of learning about their traditional values and we are attempting to educate them.

With more news people lending their voices to continued Indian efforts to be heard, we believe the battle will be won. Perhaps we will never educate the Jack Kent Cookes or the Ted Turners, but we will take the small victories as they come.

As Larry King said, " . . . only because it's right."

Tim Giago is editor-in-chief and publisher of *Indian Country Today*, a national weekly newspaper on American Indian issues. His Lakota name, Nanwica Kciji, means "Stands Up for Them."

EXHIBIT "B"


AMERICAN
INDIANS
ANSWERS TO
TODAY'S
QUESTIONS
SECOND EDITION
REVISED AND ENLARGED
JACK UTTER

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AD-177

stated, the policy goal of HCR 108 was to end the federally recognized status of Indian tribes and their trust relationship with the United States "as rapidly as possible." Many of the policy's naive but sometimes well-intentioned supporters were convinced they were finally going to solve "the Indian problem" through yet another form of forced assimilation—making the Indian people become just like "other citizens."

Approximately 100 Indian tribes, bands, and rancherias were thus "terminated," i.e., their official recognition as tribes ended; their special relationship with the federal government ended; they were fully subjected to state laws; and their lands were converted to private ownership, being sold in most instances. Stated another way, between 1953 and 1968 the U.S. terminated the legal existence of just over 100 tribes. After termination, these former tribes' members were no longer legally considered to be "Indians" under most, but not all, U.S. laws.

With no formalized tribal organization, tribal lands, federal health care services, BIA education programs, or other benefits (except for frequently inadequate investments or short-lived monetary settlements), these people were set adrift. Generally, the results were disastrous.

Government enthusiasm for termination began to wane in the late 1960s. Many of the terminated tribes then began scratching and clawing their way back up through the bureaucracy to "recognized" status. The Ponca Tribe of Nebraska is among the terminated tribes to regain federal recognition. This occurred on October 31, 1990—only 37 years after the termination resolution was passed by Congress!



B-12. ***What is the President's official policy toward American Indian tribes?***

First, some background. Presidents historically played a much more direct and active role in Indian affairs than is the case today. Nonetheless, in modern times the president does set the tone of the administration. If the president is perceived as being favorable toward Indian causes, as was President Lyndon B. Johnson, then the

AD-178

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financial costs of achieving slow progress toward assimilation were viewed as excessive.

Criteria began to be developed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to identify Indian tribal groups that could be removed from Federal aegis. The theory was that some tribes were sufficiently acculturated and that the federal protective role was no longer necessary. But another development of the same period suggests a less benign interpretation of events—some 133 separate bills were introduced in Congress to permit the transfer of trust land from Indian ownership to non-Indian ownership. There was also pressure to terminate particular tribes, such as the Klamaths, who possessed valuable timber resources, and the Agua Caliente, who owned much of the area in and around Palm Springs, California. In 1949, the Hoover Commission (although not established to deal with Indian issues) recommended the full and complete integration of Indians into American society.

In 1953 Congress officially adopted a policy of termination, indicating that its goal was: "as rapidly as possible, to make the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to other citizens of the United States, [and] to end their status as wards of the United States" (House Concurrent Resolution 108). Federal Indian policy became a three-pronged program of: (1) termination of tribes over which federal responsibility was thought unnecessary, (2) transfer of federal responsibility and jurisdiction to state governments (e.g., under Public Law 280), and (3) physical relocation of Indian people from reservations to urban areas.

The three-pronged policy was aggressively carried out by Dillon Myer, former director of detention camps for Japanese Americans, who became the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1950. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, which had been a target of congressional criticism in 1943, grew in budget and staff as it administered terminationist policies. Between 1954 and 1962, statutes were passed authorizing the termination of 109 tribes, bands, or Indian rancherias. Most of those affected were small bands on the West Coast, but two sizable tribes, the Klamaths and Menominees, were also terminated. In all, approximately 12,000 individual Indians lost tribal affiliations that included political relationships with the United States. Approximately 2.5 million acres of Indian land were removed from protected status.

AD-179

Self-Determination: After 1960

The foundations of the self-determination era can be traced back to the presidential election campaign of 1960 (Sanders 1985). Candidates John Kennedy and Richard Nixon both pledged there would be no change in treaty or contractual relationships without tribal consent. They also declared there would be protection of the Indian land base, credit assistance, and encouragement of tribal planning for economic development.

The newly-elected President Kennedy further promised the inclusion of Indians in legislative programs for segments of the nation's population that were depressed and impoverished. He also appointed Stewart Udall as Secretary of the Interior, and Udall promptly commissioned a task force on Indian affairs. The task force recommended a shift away from termination of the federal trust relationship and toward the development of human and natural resources in Indian country (Cohen 1982).

Kennedy's promise of Indian inclusion in social programs only began to take shape in a substantial way during President Johnson's administration. Johnson's "Great Society" programs made Indians an integral part of the expanding human concern of the times (Deloria and Lytle 1983). In 1968, President Johnson proposed

> . . . a new goal for our Indian programs: A goal that ends the old debate about "termination" of Indian programs and stresses self-determination; a goal that erases old attitudes of paternalism and promotes partnership self-help. (p. 336)

Also in 1968, the Indian Civil Rights Act was passed—the first major piece of legislation enacted during the post-termination era that dealt specifically with Indian matters. Although the Act received mixed reviews, the relevant and significant part of it prohibited states from assuming jurisdiction over Indian country, under Public Law 280, without first obtaining tribal consent (Deloria and Lytle 1983).

President Johnson came close to being the first federal official to formally repudiate the termination policy. It didn't happen under his administration, however. It was President Nixon, in a speech on July 8, 1970, who said:

> This policy of forced termination is wrong. . . . The special relationship between Indians and the Federal government is the

AD-180

> result . . . of solemn obligations which have been entered into by the United States Government. . . . To terminate this relationship would be no more appropriate than to terminate the citizenship rights of any other American. . . . Self-determination among the Indian people can and must be encouraged. . . . This, then, must be the goal of any new national policy toward the Indian people. . . . (p. 564–567)

President Nixon reinforced his message by declaring that it was necessary to strengthen Indian autonomy without any threat of ending federal concern and federal support. He asked Congress to repeal House Concurrent Resolution 108, passed in 1953, which embodied the termination mentality. Ironically, it took Congress 18 more years to *officially* repeal the resolution. This was accomplished through the addition of the following short paragraph to section 5203 of the Tribally Controlled Schools Act of 1988.

> (f) TERMINATION.—The Congress hereby repudiates and rejects House Concurrent Resolution 108 of the 83rd Congress and any policy of unilateral termination of Federal relations with any Indian Nation.

Nixon also made a number of specific legislative recommendations. Following upon his urgings, along with those of growing numbers of Indian activists, traditional tribal leaders, and an American public that was reawakening to Native needs, a flurry of Indian legislation was passed into law in the 1970s.

Several pieces of legislation among the many passed during this period are notable because they are indicative of the change in federal policy from the days of termination. The Indian Education Act of 1972 set a statutory foundation for more comprehensive funding of Indian education and greater focus on Indian education at the local level (Sanders 1985). The act provided for special training programs for teachers of Indian students, for fellowships for students in certain fields of study, and for basic research in Indian education (Deloria and Lytle 1983). Not a panacea for the many problems in Indian education, it was a start in the right direction.

A second and very significant statute is the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975. It is often referred to in Indian country as "638" legislation, because it was passed as Public

AD-181

Law 93-638. Through grants and contracts, the act, as amended, encourages tribes to assume responsibilities for federally funded Indian programs formerly administered by employees in the Departments of Education, Interior, and Health and Human Services. Tribes decide if they wish to participate in a particular program. If they do, then funds and management decisions are subject to tribal control. This is similar to the ways other local governments participate in federal revenue sharing programs. It means that participating tribal governments can now control their own housing, education, law enforcement, social service, health, and community development programs (American Indian Lawyer Training Program 1988; Cohen 1982; Kelly 1988; O'Brien 1989).

In 1978, Congress enacted two additional laws of major significance. The Indian Child Welfare Act addressed the long-standing problem in which as many as a third of Indian children were taken from their natural parents and adopted out to non-Indian parents pursuant to state adoption and guardianship laws. This act provided that many adoption and guardianship cases were to take place in tribal court, and it established a preference for Indian guardians over non-Indian guardians when Indian guardianship cases were heard in state courts. The second law, the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA), while much less successful in its implementation, nonetheless recognized the government's obligation to maintain tribal cultural existence. Its language specifically recognized the importance of traditional Indian religious practices. Furthermore, it directed that all federal agencies were to make sure that their policies do not interfere with the free exercise of Native religions (American Indian Lawyer Training Program 1988; O'Brien 1989; Unger 1977).

The self-determination movement was accelerated through a series of decisions by the Supreme Court in the 1970s and early 1980s. The Court emphasized "Indian sovereignty" and the inherent power of tribes to assert their economic, political, and cultural authority in appropriate areas (Kelly 1988). (See, for example, *McClanahan v. Arizona State Tax Commission* 1973, *Santa Clara Pueblo v. Martinez* 1978, and *Merrion v. Jicarilla Apache Tribe* 1982.) Other sovereignty-related cases, however, limited tribal powers in various areas, such as law enforcement, regulation of hunting and fishing by non-Indians on non-Indian land within reservation boundaries (if no significant

AD-182

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8

American Indian Poverty on Reservations, 1969-1989

Ronald L. Trosper

INTRODUCTION

This chapter uses census data to describe changes in poverty and income on 23 Indian reservations over a 20-year period, 1969-1989. The principal conclusion is that the percentage of American Indian families living in poverty fell significantly in the 10-year period 1969-1979, but that these gains were eroded over the subsequent decade. In 1969, approximately one in three American Indian families was living in poverty throughout the nation. By 1979, this fraction had fallen to just less than one in four. Beginning around 1980, however, the position of many American Indian families deteriorated, so that by 1989, the number of American Indian families in poverty had risen to 27 percent.

On the 23 reservations for which we have 20 years of data, the pattern was similar. In 1969, 57 percent of the families on these reservations were below the poverty threshold. By 1979, this number had fallen to 43 percent. In the next decade, poverty increased, and in 1989 over half of the American Indian families on these reservations were in poverty. Although the reservations began the period with large differences in pov-

I would like to thank the staff of the Institute for Native Americans at Northern Arizona University, Bill Hildred for discussions on gaming, Michael Yellow Bird and other participants in the workshop for helpful comments, the anonymous reviewers, and the National Indian Policy Center for 1980 and 1990 census data extracts in its Indian Country Data System.

AD-183

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erty rates and levels of income, the broad trend described above affected nearly all of them. Family poverty rates decreased on all but 2 of the 23 reservations in the first decade, and increased on all but 3 in the second decade. Other measures of well-being, such as per capita income, median family income, the unemployment rate, and the labor force participation rate, followed similar patterns. Casual observation suggests that these trends parallel trends in real federal expenditures on Indian reservations.

DATA

The national censuses of 1970, 1980, and 1990 allow comparisons over time using data that were collected in a relatively consistent manner for 23 reservations. The 1970 census subject report on American Indians (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1973) determined the selection of reservations for comparison in the present analysis. Although later census data provide extensive coverage of reservations, the data in the 1970 census are essential if one wishes to examine changes over time. Comparisons are made for two measures of income, two measures of poverty, and two measures of labor market conditions. Median family income and per capita income, converted to 1989 dollars using the consumer price index, allow for a comparison of changes in income levels. The U.S. Bureau of the Census held the definition of poverty constant in real terms over the 20-year period, and the percentages of families and individuals in poverty provide evidence of changes in the living standards of the poorest Indians. While incomplete as measures of economic activity, the unemployment rate and the labor force participation rate both provide a glimpse of the condition of labor markets.[1]

DESCRIPTIVE RESULTS

Table 8-1 provides national data on the key measures for all Americans, whites, blacks, and American Indians. For median family income, changes for the total U.S. population, for whites, and for blacks are similar. Median family income increased about 5-6 percent for each of the

[1]The 1980 census provided a special survey of Indians. Because the questions used in the special survey of reservations to collect income data were not the same as those used in 1970 and 1990, data for 1980 in this paper come from the state reports, which are consistent with the other two censuses, rather than from the special report on Indian reservations, which is not. A reader cross-checking the data for 1980 provided in this paper with those provided for 15 reservations in Snipp (1989) will find that the numbers are different for this reason.

AD-184

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TABLE 8-1 National Data on American Indians Compared with Whites and Blacks

	Median Family Income in 1989 dollars			Percentage Change	
Population	1969	1979	1989	1969-1979	1979-1989
Total U.S.	31,863	33,404	35,225	0.05	0.05
Whites	33,095	34,944	37,152	0.06	0.06
Blacks	20,158	21,129	22,429	0.05	0.06
American Indians	19,377	23,017	21,750	0.19	−0.06

	Per Capita Income in 1989 dollars			Percentage Change	
Population	1969	1979	1989	1969-1979	1979-1989
Total U.S.	10,429	12,240	14,420	0.17	0.18
Whites	11,011	13,095	15,687	0.19	0.20
Blacks	6,040	7,623	8,859	0.26	0.16
American Indians	5,226	7,844	8,328	0.50	0.06

	Percent of Families in Poverty		
Population	1969	1979	1989
Total U.S.	10.7	9.6	10.0
Whites	8.6	7.0	7.0
Blacks	29.8	26.5	26.3
American Indians	33.3	23.7	27.0

SOURCES: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1972, 1983, 1993b). All dollar values are adjusted by use of CPI-U (Consumer Price Index, All Urban Consumers) from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, reported in Table 8-4.

decades. Indians show a dramatic difference: an increase of 19 percent for the first decade and a decline of 6 percent for the second. These trends are even more dramatic for per capita income, also shown in Table 8-1. The total U.S. population had an increase of 17 percent for the 10 years between 1969 and 1979 and of 18 percent in 1979–1989. Indians had a 50 percent increase in the first decade and only a 6 percent increase in the second.

A similar pattern exists for the percentage of families in poverty. Changes are relatively small for the total U.S. population, for whites, and

AD-185

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TABLE 8-2 Summary of Results for 23 Reservations

	Number of Reservations			
	1970-1980		1980-1990	
	Improved	Deteriorated	Improved	Deteriorated
Median family income (+)	21	2	1	22
Per capita income (+)	23	0	5	18
% of families in poverty (–)	21	2	3	20
% of persons in poverty (–)	21	2	2	21
Unemployment				
Male	9	14	1	22
Female	9	14	6	17
Labor force participation (+)				
Male	21	2	10	13
Female	22	1	11	12

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census: (1973, 1983, 1993a, 1993b, 1993c); Stinson and Plantz (1986).

for blacks. All groups show a decrease in poverty from 1969 to 1979, most dramatically American Indians. But *only* Indians had a major increase in poverty rates in the second decade.

Table 8-2 presents summary results for the 23 reservations for which data are available for 1970, 1980, and 1990. For each of the measures of Indian income and poverty, it gives the number of reservations for which the measure improved or deteriorated from 1970 to 1980 and 1980 to 1990. Nearly every reservation had an increase in income and a decrease in poverty during 1970-1980 and a decrease in income and an increase in poverty in 1980-1990. As shown in Table 8-3, although 5 reservations had an increase in per capita income in the second decade, 2 of these 5 had an increase in poverty rates among families during that same time.

The patterns for unemployment and for labor force participation are not as dramatic as for income and poverty, but are similar: more improvements in the first decade of comparison than in the second. Unemployment among men and women increased on 14 reservations during the period 1970–1980. Unemployment among men increased on 22 reservations in the decade 1980–1990 and among women increased on 17 of the

TABLE 8-3 Poverty and Income on Selected Reservations, 1969-1989

Name of Reservation	Percent of Families Below Poverty Threshold			Percent Change		Per Capita Income in 1989 Dollars			Percent Change	
	1969	1979	1989	1969-1979	1979-1989	1969	1979	1989	1969-1979	1979-1989
Blackfeet Reservation	47.8	29.2	45.7	-0.39	0.57	3612	5523	4718	0.53	-0.15
Cheyenne River Reservation	54.8	47.5	57.2	-0.13	0.20	3050	4299	4077	0.41	-0.05
Crow Reservation	40.0	29.6	45.5	-0.26	0.54	3223	5050	4243	0.57	-0.16
Eastern Cherokee Reservation	52.2	31.6	30.0	-0.39	-0.05	3435	5142	6382	0.50	0.24
Flathead Reservation	32.4	34.4	31.8	0.06	-0.08	5027	5248	6428	0.04	0.22
Fort Apache Reservation	53.3	39.7	49.9	-0.25	0.26	2911	3873	3805	0.33	-0.02
Fort Peck Reservation	46.7	26.8	41.8	-0.43	0.56	3857	5481	4778	0.42	-0.13
Gila River Reservation	58.6	44.4	62.8	-0.24	0.41	2701	4037	3176	0.49	-0.21
Hopi Reservation	61.8	51.0	47.7	-0.17	-0.06	2768	4210	4566	0.52	0.08
Laguna Pueblo	24.4	11.6	27.7	-0.52	1.38	4469	7416	6085	0.66	-0.18
Menominee Reservation	38.0	14.9	48.8	-0.61	2.27	3585	5333	4738	0.49	-0.11
Navajo Reservation	62.1	47.3	54.2	-0.24	0.15	2578	4049	3817	0.57	-0.06
Northern Cheyenne Reservation	39.8	41.7	46.4	0.05	0.11	3834	4213	4479	0.10	0.06
Papago Reservation	78.1	49.5	62.8	-0.37	0.27	1954	3639	3113	0.86	-0.14
Pine Ridge Reservation	54.3	48.4	59.5	-0.11	0.23	3462	3705	3121	0.07	-0.16
Red Lake Reservation	43.0	26.3	50.3	-0.39	0.91	3379	6886	4287	1.04	-0.38

AD-186

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AD-187

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Laguna Pueblo	24.4	11.6	27.7	-0.52	1.38	4469	7416	6085	0.66	-0.18		
Menominee Reservation	38.0	14.9	48.8	-0.61	2.27	3585	5333	4738	0.49	-0.11		
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Red Lake Reservation	43.0	26.3	50.3	-0.39	0.91	3379	6886	4287	1.04	-0.38		
Rosebud Reservation	62.9	48.3	54.4	-0.23	0.13	2811	4166	4005	0.48	-0.04		
San Carlos Reservation	62.3	45.9	59.8	0.26	0.30	2283	3794	3173	0.66	-0.16		
Standing Rock Reservation	58.3	44.2	54.9	-0.24	0.24	3329	4364	3421	0.31	-0.22		
Turtle Mountain Reservation	50.2	37.7	53.7	-0.25	0.43	3263	5600	5138	0.72	-0.08		
Wind River Reservation	42.0	35.2	47.8	-0.16	0.36	4040	4891	4340	0.21	-0.11		
Yakima Reservation	45.5	25.4	42.7	-0.44	0.68	3542	6366	4904	0.80	-0.23		
Zuni Pueblo	56.7	41.8	47.4	-0.26	0.13	3253	3542	3904	0.09	0.10		
Joint Use Area						1568						
Maximum in Column				0.06	2.27				1.04	0.24		
Minimum in Column				-0.61	-0.08				0.04	-0.38		
Number Increasing				2	20				23	5		
Number Decreasing				21	3				0	18		
Weighted averages for all reservations	57.3	42.7	51.0			2904	4341	4018				

AD-188

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reservations. Labor force participation improved on most reservations in the first decade (which may have contributed to the increase in unemployment rates during the period), but declined on a majority of reservations in the second decade.

Comparisons of Poverty Rates

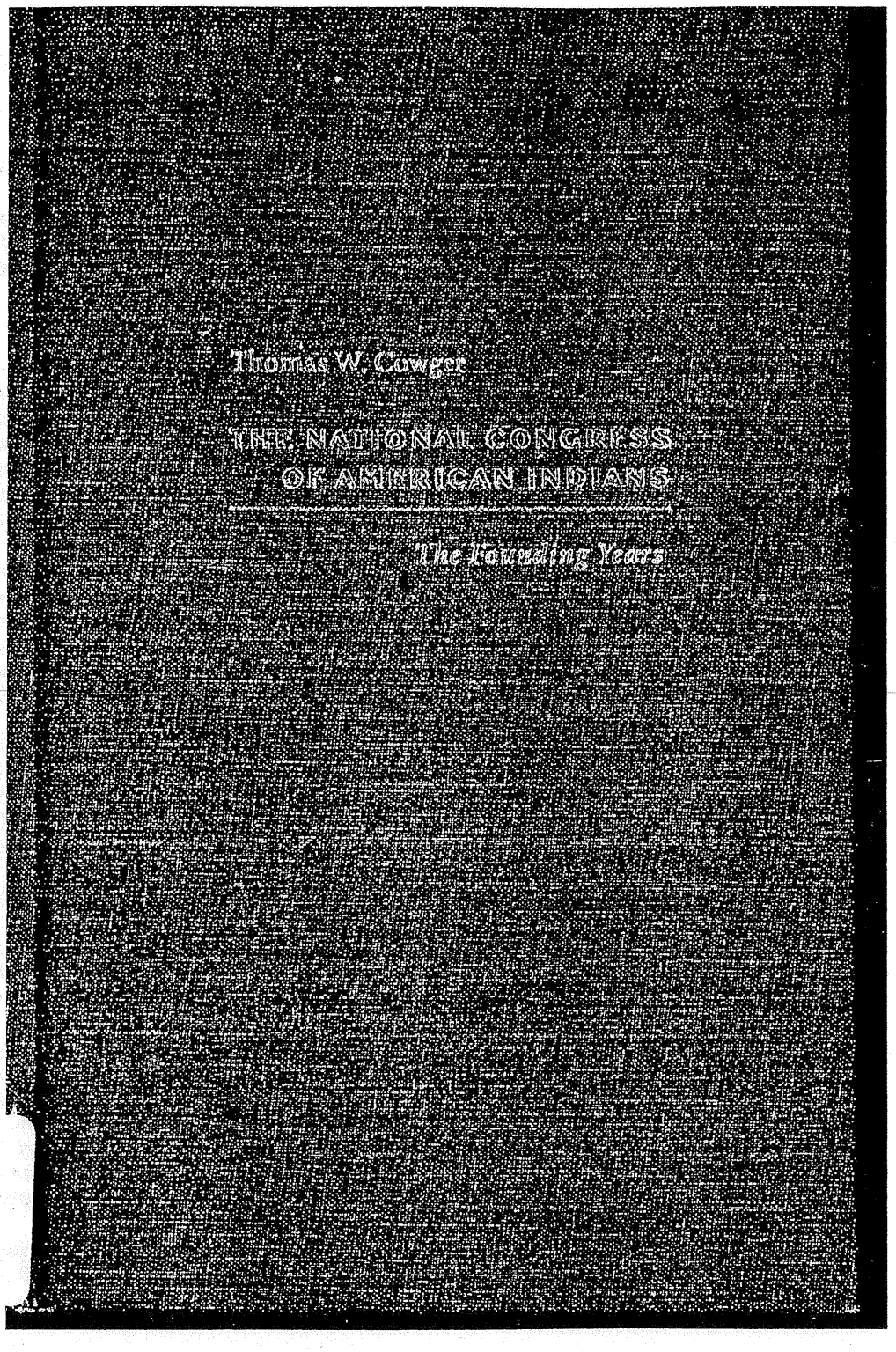
The first five columns of Table 8-3 report changes in the percentage of families in poverty on each of the reservations during the two decades 1969-1979 and 1979-1989. Relative to the national poverty rates of 10 percent in each of the three observation years, Indians were extremely poor. The proportion of all families on these reservations that were in poverty in 1969 was 57 percent; this figure fell to 43 percent in 1979 and rose to 51 percent in 1989.

The range of poverty rates across reservations was great in each of the observation years. In all three years, the Laguna Pueblo had the lowest poverty rate: 24 percent in 1969, 12 percent in 1979, and 28 percent in 1989. In accordance with the general pattern, the poverty rate on the Laguna Pueblo fell in 1979 and rose in 1989, in this case to higher than it was in 1969. On some reservations, such as the Eastern Cherokee, the poverty rate in 1989 did not exceed that in 1969.

Although the reservation with the highest poverty rate among families was different in each of the three years, the Papago Reservation appears to have been the poorest reservation overall. In 1969, it had a poverty rate of 78.1 percent, which was exceeded only by that of the Navajo-Hopi Joint Use Area, 79.3 percent. In 1979, the Papago Reservation's poverty rate of 49.5 percent was exceeded by that of the Hopi Reservation, which was 51 percent; the Papago Reservation, however, was second in that year. The Hopi Reservation's increased poverty rate from 1969 to 1979 may have been influenced by the division of the Navajo-Hopi Joint Use Area, which occurred in 1977. In 1989, the Gila River Reservation and the Papago Reservation tied for the highest poverty rate at 62.8 percent.

The pattern of changes among reservations is complicated. The size of some of the changes is most impressive. The Blackfeet had a decrease of 39 percent in their poverty rate from 1969 to 1979, followed by an increase of 57 percent to return the rate nearly to where it started. The Flathead Reservation had a modest increase in its poverty rate from 1969 to 1979, followed by a modest decrease. This rather different pattern may have resulted from a large increase in the rental received by the Salish and Kootenai Tribes from Kerr Dam.

Although 20 reservations experienced an increase in the rate of family poverty from 1979 to 1989, only 10 had an increase over the entire 20 years


Thomas W. Cowger
THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICAN INDIANS
The Founding Years

AD-190

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AD-191

other island leaders, the group toured health centers, educational and vocational facilities, residential areas, industrial plants, and community improvement projects. The AAIA, the NCAI Fund, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, the Office of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and some tribal councils contributed financial and staff support for the trip. Impressed by the success of Puerto Rico, the NCAI hoped Congress would approve an "Operation Moccasin" program.[61] With the backing of Puerto Rican leaders, Representative E. Y. Berry proposed legislation in 1959 to industrialize reservations patterned on Puerto Rico's "Operation Bootstrap." Legislators held hearings in the mid-1960s, but the measure died.[62]

With support and cooperation from the NCAI, in 1950 D'Arcy McNickle also created an adjunct organization called the American Indian Development (AID) to plan Indian community revitalization. Through summer workshops, McNickle hoped to encourage tribal leaders to make their communities economically more self-sufficient. Participants shared common experiences, ideas, and ethnic solidarity. McNickle's health education project at Crownpoint, New Mexico, in 1953–55 was a spinoff of the successes of AID. Paralleling the development of AID was a series of summer workshops for Indian youth in 1955 conducted by the Anthropology Department at the University of Chicago. In 1959 AID took over control of the workshops. Always a supporter of educational activities for Indian youth, the NCAI welcomed and promoted the growth of the workshops. The success of the workshops held by AID shaped the evolution of the Indian youth movements of the 1960s. By providing a forum to discuss Indian affairs, these summer workshops led individuals such as Clyde Warrior, Ponca orator and leader of the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC), to become activists.[63]

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, participants in these youth conferences and other Indian activists highly criticized the termination policy. Termination, not implemented with the care its earlier promoters envisioned and applied with haste and confusion, failed to deliver its promises. Termination did not end the vast outlays of federal funds. Nationally, the policy failed to simplify the administration

AD-192

of Indian affairs or reduce federal responsibilities in relation to the Indians. Instead, the policy left many Indians burdened with inadequate local services and perplexed by new state regulations. In almost all cases, termination produced land losses, poverty, unemployment, and bitter resentment. In the end, policymakers only terminated about 3 percent of the Indian population and withdrew federal trust status from the same percentage of Indian lands. Though the coercive termination of Watkins and his allies was relatively short-lived, the fear of termination plagued all Indians. "Termination," as historian Donald Fixico aptly wrote, threatened to be "an all-inclusive destroyer of Indian life-styles."[64]

In the mid-1950s, flexing its newfound political muscles, the NCAI had made an important stand in the nation's capital. Native Americans had for the first time in their history politically expressed themselves effectively on a national level in a unified voice that echoed throughout the chambers of Congress and elsewhere. Despite competition with the McCarthy hearings in 1954, Indian leaders had successfully made their wishes known. From this time forward, Indian people demanded a larger role in the formulation of Indian policy. In the process Native Americans learned two valuable lessons that would serve them well in the decades to come: the power of the vote and of the media. During the termination era, the NCAI used the classic political weapon of the citizenry in a democracy: the ballot. The vote on local and state levels became an important resource for pursuing Indian goals. The NCAI also showed itself adept at using the media to communicate broad appeals for support. In the turbulent 1960s and 1970s and beyond, Indians took advantage of these resources to force their concerns into the larger public arena. In particular, by recalling past abuses they were using tactics aimed at arousing sympathy.

Perhaps the Indian protests in the mid- to late 1950s were not as dramatic as the black confrontations over civil rights during the late 1950s and early 1960s. While some African Americans may have preferred complete assimilation, most Native Americans did not. Passage of the coercive termination bills threatened to complete the In-

AD-193

drafted the statement of purpose. Walter S. Wetzel opposed the relationship of the NCAI and Tax to the Chicago meeting. Wetzel had continued to blame Peterson, Garry, Rainer, and Wesley for his narrow defeat in the 1959 Phoenix election. Reflecting his disappointment, he failed to support the recommendations of the NCAI leadership. Regarding the draft of the "Declaration of Indian Purpose," he specifically opposed the proposed National Indian Commission, and he worried that nonfederally recognized tribes and urban groups would dominate the AICC meetings and undermine the needs of reservation groups. Under the Indian Reorganization Act, the federal government prescribed rules governing federal recognition of tribal status. Ultimately, the commissioner of Indian affairs determined whether a particular tribe met the guidelines and thus was granted federal recognition and allowed to organize under the IRA. Wetzel also expressed concern that the NCAI was advocating the abolishment of the BIA, which he feared would lead to termination and other harmful policies. Sister Providencia, long-time Roman Catholic missionary to the Blackfeet Nation, who had campaigned for Wetzel's election, also worked to discredit the leaders of the NCAI. To little avail, Wesley appealed for unity and cooperation.[28]

The long-awaited conference convened in Chicago June 13–20, 1961. More importantly, the delegates represented a wide range of Indians: federally and nonfederally recognized tribes, conservatives and liberals, urban and reservation, young and old, educated and uneducated. As anticipated by AICC planners and NCAI leaders, the conference resulted in the much discussed and revised "Declaration of Indian Purpose," the dynamic statement of Indian concerns and recommendations. Reflecting the conference emphasis on Indian sovereignty and the preservation of Indian identity, the document began:

> We, the Indian people must be governed by principles in a democratic manner with a right to choose our way of life. Since our Indian culture is threatened by the presumption of being absorbed by the American society we believe we have the responsibility of preserving our precious heritage. We believe that the Indians must provide the adjustment and thus freely advance with dignity to a better life.[29]

AD-194

If it accomplished nothing else, the AICC, the largest intertribal gathering in decades, generated public and Indian interest in Indian affairs. In mid-August 1961, an AICC delegation, led by Robert Burnette, who became executive director in 1962, presented a specially bound edition of the "Declaration of Indian Purpose" to President Kennedy at the White House. Kennedy called the abstract "a very useful reminder that there is still a good deal of unfinished business." John Rainer and Robert L. Bennett, later Indian commissioner during the Johnson administration, claimed, however, that the document that came out of the conference was too advanced and complicated for most Indians to understand. "The problem with D'Arcy McNickle [author of the document]," Rainer maintained, "was that he was so highly intelligent and thereby way ahead of our time. The other Indians would not understand what he meant by a statement, you know. It took them ten years to catch up with what D'Arcy was trying to say."[30]

Nevertheless, McNickle and the "Declaration of Indian Purpose" had promoted an Indian consciousness and expressed the need for Indians to confront federal policy on their own terms. Inadvertently, the conference led to the emergence of a powerful new Indian protest movement that rivaled the NCAI. Initially, NCAI invited many Indian college students to serve as pages, but they insisted on entering the debates. Following the AICC, these students, dissatisfied with the moderate direction of the AICC, rose to challenge the NCAI and older tribal leaders. Convening in Gallup, New Mexico, later in the summer of 1961, they formed the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC). Impatient with the pace of change and with the methods of the NCAI, the NIYC advocated greater militancy and quickly became a major player on the Indian political scene.

Tired of what they perceived to be NCAI tribal leadership's unwillingness to confront major issues in Indian affairs, the new group brought a confrontational style to Indian politics. Strongly influenced by the Civil Rights movement, NIYC leaders adopted activist rhetoric and identified with reservation Indians. "We are not free," NIYC president Clyde Warrior argued. "We do not make choices. Our

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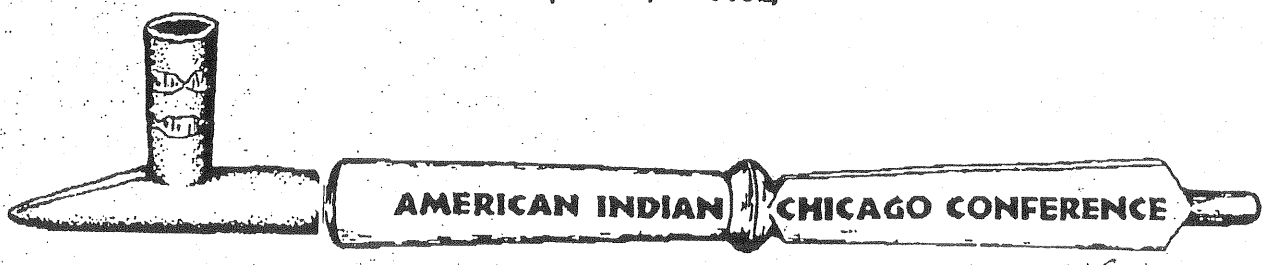
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The Voice of the American Indian

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DECLARATION OF INDIAN PURPOSE

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

JUNE 13–20, 1961

HBC
76-1652

THE AMERICAN INDIAN PLEDGE

1. We are steadfast, as all other true Americans, in our absolute faith in the wisdom and justice of our American form of Government.

2. We join with all other loyal citizens of our beloved country in offering our lives, our property and our sacred honor in the defense of this country and of its institutions.

3. We denounce in emphatic terms the efforts of the promoters of any alien form of government to plant upon our shores or within any of our institutions the ideology or way of life which inflicts slavery, trial and punishment without the sanction of a jury, denies free speech, abhors free choice of religious worship, or through force and fear threatens the peace and safety of mankind.

4. At this critical hour of human history the American Indians arise as one in pledging to the President of the United States and to our fellow citizens our assurance that upon these principles we and our children shall forever stand.

Adopted by the AICC
June 19, 1961



TABLE OF CONTENTS

The American Indian Pledge . . . . . Inside front cover

Introduction . . . . . Page 3

Acknowledgements 3

Statement of Purpose 4

Creed 5

Legislative and Regulatory Proposals 5

- Resource and Economic Development 6
- Health 9
- Welfare 10
- Housing 11
- Education 11
- Law and Jurisdiction 13

Indians to be Served 16

Indians and non-Federal Agencies 18

Concluding Statement 19

Appendix 1 The Recent Record 20

2 Statement on the Menominee Termination Act 32

3 Resolution Concerning Taxation of Restricted Indians Living On Reservation Lands 35

4 Resolution on the Kinzua Dam 37

5 The Alaska Situation 38

6 Resolution on Quechan Water Rights 39

7 Letter Concerning Inter-American Indian Institute 40

8 AICC Indian Registration 41

9 Roster of Committees 47

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INTRODUCTION

The American Indian Chicago Conference originated with Dr. Sol Tax, Professor of Anthropology, University of Chicago, who for many years has devoted a great amount of time to the study of North American Indians and their problems. It occurred to Dr. Tax that this was the appropriate time for Indians on a national scale to voice their opinions and desires. With promises of help from Dr. Nancy Lurie of the University of Michigan, and Robert Rietz, of the Chicago American Indian Center, he asked the University for sponsorship and sought Foundation funds.

The matter was brought to the attention of the annual convention of the National Congress of American Indians in November of 1960, with a proposal to review events which have occurred since the publication of the Meriam Report of 1928 and to bring the review up to date with recommendations for a new improved approach to Indian administration. The N. C. A. I., in conference assembled in Denver, agreed to endorse but did not sponsor the project.

A temporary Steering Committee, composed of Indians only, recommended and held a series of state and regional meetings of Indians preparatory to the Chicago conference. Dr. Tax and his staff of the University of Chicago, acting as a coordinating agency, reproduced the data and opinions and distributed them widely to Indians and the public as the meetings progressed. As a result some 460 Indians of 90 tribes gathered at the University of Chicago where committees began to assemble Indian thinking and to prepare preliminary drafts of a statement for the consideration of the entire conference. This report is the final result and recommendation of that conference.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Indians of North America are deeply sensible of the value of the American Indian Chicago Conference which sat from June 13th to June 20th inclusive.

Also that the conference in which some 90 tribes were represented by over 450 delegates covering an area extending from the Bering Sea in the North, to the Keys of Florida including an area from Mexico, to the eastern shores of Canada, was made possible only because of the personal and financial support of

1. The University of Chicago, its professors and students; the hosts; the Fund for Adult Education; the Emil Schwarzhaupt Foundation; the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthopological Research; the Phelps-Stokes Fund; the Santa Fe Railroad and others providing financial aid in direct gifts and in reduced transportation rates to our delegates;

2. The regional pre-convention groups of friends throughout the nation;

3. Mayor Richard J. Daley of the City of Chicago who proclaimed June 13-20 American Indian Week and all of the city officials whose cooperation afforded us a warm-hearted welcome;

4. The various Indian Tribes whose progressive leaders appreciated the opportunity the occasion offered;

5. The various churches of all denominations who gave both financial and moral support;

6. Friends of Indians as individuals or as associates of organizations who contributed funds and attended the conference as observers and resource people;

7. The members of the several local groups resident in Chicago including University students who volunteered the thousands of hours of time as secretaries, guides, etc. without which no convention can function smoothly;

8. The National Congress of American Indians whose support from the first gave a favorable impulse to this event, and

9. Last but not least do we mention Dr. Sol Tax of The University of Chicago, and Dr. Nancy O. Lurie, his able assistant, and Robert W. Rietz and other associates for their vital direction of the entire project.

To all of these and the many others who rendered essential service, we the members who comprised the American Indian Chicago Conference, give our wholehearted thanks.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

WHEREAS: The American Indian Chicago Conference was conceived and developed by voluntary effort. The steering committee composed of American Indians assisted by the University of Chicago endeavored to secure the interest and support of all American Indians, and

WHEREAS: Interest developed and drew to the conference some 460 Indians representing 90 tribes, and bands throughout the nation.

Therefore: in order to give recognition to certain basic philosophies by which the Indian People live, We, the Indian People, must be governed by principles in a democratic manner with a right to choose our way of life. Since our Indian culture is threatened by presumption of being absorbed by the American society, we believe we have the responsibility of preserving our precious heritage. We believe that the Indians must provide the adjustment and thus freely advance with dignity to a better life. In order to accomplish the general objectives of the creed adopted at this conference, we the Indian People herein assembled adopt as official the report herewith attached this date June 20, 1961.

Mrs. Catherine Preebles
Chairman 6 of General Assembly
On June 20, 1961

Attested to by

D'Arcy McNickle
Chairman, Steering Committee

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CREED

WE BELIEVE in the inherent right of all people to retain spiritual and cultural values, and that the free exercise of these values is necessary to the normal development of any people. Indians exercised this inherent right to live their own lives for thousands of years before the white man came and took their lands. It is a more complex world in which Indians live today, but the Indian people who first settled the New World and built the great civilizations which only now are being dug out of the past, long ago demonstrated that they could master complexity.

WE BELIEVE that the history and development of America show that the Indian has been subjected to duress, undue influence, unwarranted pressures, and policies which have produced uncertainty, frustration, and despair. Only when the public understands these conditions and is moved to take action toward the formulation and adoption of sound and consistent policies and programs will these destroying factors be removed and the Indian resume his normal growth and make his maximum contribution to modern society.

WE BELIEVE in the future of a greater America, an America which we were first to love, where life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness will be a reality. In such a future, with Indians and all other Americans cooperating, a cultural climate will be created in which the Indian people will grow and develop as members of a free society.

LEGISLATIVE AND REGULATORY PROPOSALS

In order that basic objectives may be restated and that action to accomplish these objectives may be continuous and may be pursued in a spirit of public dedication, it is proposed that recommendations be adopted to strengthen the principles of the Indian Reorganization Act and to accomplish other purposes. These recommendations would be comparable in scope and purpose to the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of June 30, 1834, the Act of the same date establishing the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Indian Reorganization Act of June 18, 1934, which recognized the inherent powers of Indian Tribes.

The recommendations we propose would redefine the responsibilities of the United States toward the Indian people in terms of a positive national obligation to modify or remove the conditions which produce the poverty and lack of social adjustment as these prevail as the outstanding attributes of Indian life today. Specifically, the recommendations would:

(1) Abandon the so-called termination policy of the last administration by revoking House Concurrent Resolution 108 of the 83rd Congress.

(2) Adopt as official policy the principle of broad educational process as the procedure best calculated to remove the disabilities which have prevented Indians from making full use of their resources.

It has been long recognized that one Commissioner cannot give the personal attention to all tribal matters which they deserve. He cannot meet all callers to his office, make necessary visits to the field, and give full attention to the review of tribal programs and supporting budget requests. In view of these conditions, we most urgently recommend that the present organization of the Bureau of Indian Affairs be reviewed and that certain principles be considered no matter what the organizational change might be.

The basic principle involves the desire on the part of Indians to participate in developing their own programs with help and guidance as needed and requested, from a local decentralized technical and administrative staff, preferably located conveniently to the people it serves. Also in recent years certain technical and professional people of Indian descent are becoming better qualified and available to work with and for their own people in determining their own programs and needs. The Indians as responsible individual citizens, as responsible tribal representatives, and as responsible Tribal Councils want to participate, want to contribute to their own personal and tribal improvements and want to cooperate with their Government on how best to solve the many problems in a business-like, efficient and economical manner as rapidly as possible.

It is, therefore, recommended that:

1. Area offices be abolished and their authority be given to the agency superintendents.

2. The position of reservation Superintendent be strengthened to permit broader exercise of responsibility and authority to act on significant and important matters of daily operations of Indian problems, preventing undue delays.

3. Position qualifications require the employment of Superintendents with courage and determination, among other qualities, to help with local problems and be willing to make without further referral to higher levels, decisions commensurate with the delegated authorities.

4. The Superintendent be charged with the responsibilities of cooperating with the local tribal governing bodies in developing the Federal Program and Budget for that particular tribe or reservation.

RESOURCE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Due to the wide variation of economic status and geographical location of tribes, the needs of Indians vary. Consequently, it is necessary that careful consideration be given to the needs of each Indian community. Programs that may be good for one tribe of Indians may not necessarily achieve desirable results for another. Proper evaluation of Indian needs requires qualified field personnel who understand Indians, and, equally important, who are understood by Indians. It is the consensus of the delegates to the American Indian Chicago Conference that the following are the needs of the Indian people.

Economic Assistance: There is need for providing economic assistance to Indian tribes and their members by the establishment upon Indian reservations of industries and other activities which will provide employment and otherwise improve the economic status of Indians. Adequate staffing of this industrial development division of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is highly essential.

Legislative assistance including tax inducements, is necessary to accomplish this end. Also, states and other local agencies should be requested to lend encouragement and offer inducements to industries to locate plants and establishment on or near Indian reservations.

Indian participation in development programs: We believe that where programs have failed in the past, the reasons were lack of Indian understanding, planning, participation, and approval.

A plan of development should be prepared by each Indian group, whose lands or other assets are held in trust, whether such lands or assets are fully defined or not; such plans to be designed to bring about maximum utilization of physical resources by the dependent population and the development of that population to its full potential; such plans to be prepared by the Indians of the respective groups, with authority to call upon the agencies of the federal government for technical assistance, and the ultimate purpose of such planning to be the growth and development of the resources and the people;

That requests for annual appropriations of funds be based on the requirements for carrying into effect these individual development plans, including credit needs and capital investment, and the annual operating budget for the Bureau of Indian Affairs to include sufficient funds to cover the costs of preparing plans and estimates similar in operation to a Point IV plan.

That any transfer of services now provided by the United States for the benefit of Indians be jointly planned with the Indians.

Land Purchase Funds: The land purchase funds authorized by the Indian Reorganization Act should again be appropriated on an annual basis, to permit tribes to add to their inadequate land base, to purchase heirship lands and allotments on which restrictions are removed, and otherwise improve their economy.

That a concentrated effort be made to retain, rather than dispose of, Indian lands in order to allow the Indians sufficient economic units upon which to improve their economic conditions; and that administrative regulations and practices be reviewed, modified and amended to bring about such results.

Economic Development and Credit: There is need for adequate revolving loan funds so that the Indian will have full opportunity to take advantage of the potentials of his property.

Conclusion of Projects: Too often both the government and private agencies fail to provide sufficient continuity in funds or personnel to carry a program through to conclusion. Therefore all groups that wish to help Indians should plan to make their help sufficient and available over a long enough period of time to permit the successful conclusion of a project.

Indian Preference in BIA Employment: Preference to Indians in BIA employment should be reinstated and given encouragement. As recently as early 1961 Indian graduates of business schools have been counseled and urged by BIA to go to distant cities to use their newly-acquired training while at the same time BIA clerical positions were open in their home community agencies and were filled by non-Indian, BIA employees' wives or other relatives. Propaganda pressure on Indian graduates to go to distant cities should be stopped.

Force Account Method of Getting Construction Work Done by BIA: As one way of bringing additional employment opportunities to Indian reservations, the BIA should return to the force account method of doing construction work. The present policy of contracting construction jobs has withdrawn from Indians many valuable opportunities for on-the-job training and needed employment. Many persons who lost employment because of this change in policy over the last ten years have often been forced on federal or tribal relief assistance which has resulted in a greater total public burden than in the savings on construction jobs. When contracts for construction

projects are made on reservations they should include stipulations that the resident Indians be given preferential job opportunities and that they be exempt from union requirements to obtain and hold such jobs.

Where certain Indian-owned private businesses exist they too should be permitted on a negotiated contract basis such as dirt moving, construction, surveying etc. when force account is not attempted.

Service Contracts: The policy of contracting with private business to take over such functions as school lunch feeding, laundry and bakery services, and dairying should be discouraged and BIA should conduct these services where feasible as adult training programs.

Relocation Program: The volume of relocatees should not be an objective and large numbers exceed the ability of the relocation staff. The number should be determined not only by the job market, but by the ability of the office to provide continuing services to relocatees. Relocation personnel should be trained to give each client their utmost attention, and should not be under the pressure of large numbers.

Statements to Indians being relocated of what they will need, what services are available, how long they may have to wait for a job, that there may be periods of unemployment, etc., should be more clearly stated to the relocatee. A written statement should be given to each relocatee of his rights and privileges. Qualification of the proposed relocatee should indicate possible success of relocation effort.

The temporary housing for new families should be improved. At the time of arrival, there is the greatest sense of strangeness. And, the temporary housing should be as cheerful and as good as possible.

Welfare provisions for relocatees should be greatly increased. They are still inadequate to the needs of many families due to periodic unemployment. It is a waste of money to pay the way out for an Indian family only to have them return because of inadequate finances, or inadequate preparation. The Program should provide for adequate financial assistance to relocatees until such time as they are eligible for assistance from local agencies.

Self-relocated Indians should be provided employment aid by the Relocation Office.

Federal assistance in purchasing homes in the area should be made by a group which is independent of the Bureau. Indians elected from the area should be represented on this body. General publication should be made of financial transactions of relocation services.

BIA should re-cast the Relocation Program to include an adult education program. Counting success or failure in terms of those who stay relocated should be discontinued. The BIA should immediately review its program of financial assistance to take into full account the varying eligibility requirements for welfare assistance and other services by the several states and counties. Within reasonable limits relocatees should get their transportation paid to return home when adjustments to urban life prove too difficult; this would also serve to force better screening before relocatees are sent away from home, and sinking into the slum areas to live.

Job Opportunites: It is recommended that a special conference be held of federal and state employment agency personnel to develop employment opportunites for Indians, and to consider the particular problems of Indians in employment. Means should be provided by the federal and state governments to act upon the recommendations of such conference, enacting protective laws or measures as needed.

HEALTH

Federally provided health services for Indians began in the early 1800's under the War Department. The services passed from military to civilian jurisdiction in 1849 when Indian Affairs were transferred to the newly created Interior Department. Approximately two dozen of the treaties written during the 1800's committed the Federal Government to provide health services for certain tribes. Most of these treaties stipulated that such services would be provided for definite periods of time ranging from 5 to 20 years. Nevertheless, by 1900 a precedent had been established for continuing services to certain tribes under the so-called "gratuity appropriations".

The Bureau of Indian Affairs retained this responsibility until July 1, 1955, when it was transferred, by act of Congress to the U. S. Public Health Service in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Although the Indian health program has been transferred to U.S.P.H.S., this does not relieve the Federal Government, in general, and the BIA in particular, from fulfilling their moral and/or legal responsibilities in providing adequate and improved health services.

American Indians are citizens of the states in which they live, as well as citizens of the United States. Therefore they are entitled to a variety of health services through the programs of state, county and private agencies, but this fact is often not known to the Indians, and apparently it frequently is not known to the agencies that administer these programs. County, state and private agencies have patently discriminated against Indian citizens and refused them services on the grounds that Indians are the responsibility of the Federal Government. The Federal Government and the U.S.P.H.S. have the responsibility to provide more adequate services, to educate the other agencies and to insist that they provide those services, willingly adequately, and conscientiously. In this connection, this conference urges that U.S.P.H.S. resume responsibility for deciding eligibility for health services in the various states where the experience of leaving this to the state has been unsatisfactory and contrary to the policy as enunciated by U.S.P.H.S.; that it should be at least as liberal, if not more so, as the BIA had been in providing health services. County and state welfare authorities have often been miserly as well as discriminatory in granting eligibility for Indian health services. This may be due in part to slow administrative reimbursements to local private hospitals. Red tape for approval of payments should be minimized. (In some states it is reported that the welfare authorities have gone so far as to force Indians to dispose of their small land-holdings in order to qualify for welfare benefits and corresponding services.)

Some of the major factors contributing to Indian health problems today include isolation and dispersion of population; poor housing and sanitation; inadequate economic base; lack of acquaintance with accepted health practices and services; lack of employment; inability to develop existing resources. All contribute to living standards that are not conducive to good mental or physical health. Most illnesses and one-fifth of the deaths among Indians can be prevented. The average age at death in the Indian population is 40 years compared to 62 years for all races. The death rate for Indian infants is twice as high as compared to infant mortality in the general population. Fifty-two of every 1,000 Indian babies born alive die before reaching their first birthday, compared to 26 in the general population.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. Health Education

   A. Stress preventative medicine

   B. Promote maternal and child care and nutrition

C. Provide adult education relating to individual health, home, community, sanitation, nutrition, and housing.

2. Indian health services and eligibility for services should be based on Indian health needs and the availability of resources to provide health services, and not on title to land on which the Indian people live. This means that reservation, non-reservation, and off-reservation Indians should be included.

3. Health centers and hospitals near Indian communities must be maintained. The locations of new hospitals must be determined by joint decision of Indian and health authorities.

4. Dental services must be resumed and expanded.

5. Roads to facilitate emergency field services must be improved.

6. Field health services must be expanded. Many Indian reservations and communities are divided into small rural settlements and require more field nurses and physicians. The practice of using two-year draft doctors in Indian hospitals for internee training should be improved.

7. Where contracts are in force or contemplated with public and private hospitals and physicians, provisions must be made clear to these agencies that funds will be withheld unless terms and conditions are met in full.

8. Rehabilitation programs, school health programs, and clinics should be set up and properly maintained.

9. Problems in alcoholism must receive special attention.

10. Mental health programs should be initiated and properly supervised by qualified physicians in that field.

WELFARE

Because withdrawal of the United States Public Health Service in various areas has caused hardship to many Indians, an overall review and revision of the United States Welfare Policy should be made. Also it is important that reservation, non-reservation, off-reservation, and all other classifications of Indians be provided with adequate welfare benefits, and such legislation changes as may be necessary, be enacted.

Some states and counties are reluctant to help Indians because of their status as Indians or because of their living on non-taxable lands. They feel that Indian welfare is the responsibility of the federal government. Some counties, since they were not advised of transfers of services from federal to state government, find themselves confronted with financial responsibilities they cannot afford.

Many Indian people, due to unavoidable circumstances, are unable to maintain a decent and healthful standard of living and assistance may be denied because of the differing county eligibility requirements with respect to residency, land status or other income. Furthermore, many Indians are reluctant to seek aid because of the red tape and rigid welfare requirements and also because of the unfavorable Indian attitude of the welfare personnel.

Many needy Indians are excluded from the surplus food commodity program because they do not have the required storage facilities. Coordinated federal, state, and

county planning to provide storage facilities would permit these families to participate under this program; Indians in need of food are not able to finance such requirements. The surplus food commodity program should include a nutritional diet.

We urge the Bureau of Indian Affairs to obtain information on national norms of need (net income against size of family), a basic standard as to the definition of need, and the income needed to provide reasonable subsistence; that definition of need and, income be flexible enough to allow changes commensurate with rising costs of living. Should state and county welfare assistance programs not meet this minimum, then a federal grant of Indian assistance should be established in these cases.

Such grants will be considered sufficient when, if added to the county or state contribution, they would permit a reasonable subsistence compatible with health, well-being and decency. Such a plan of standardized norms will act as a safeguard against discrimination by welfare officials.

Private and non-governmental organizations providing services and relief should report to welfare offices so as to prevent duplication and provide a better distribution of the aid given from all sources.

HOUSING

The Indians aspire to possess good homes no less than do their neighbors. Some Indians are living in tarpaper shacks, wigwams, and homes without sanitary facilities, plumbing and running water, and in some areas condemned slums or company hovels.

These recommendations, predicated upon serious emergency conditions requiring immediate consideration and action, also look toward a continuing improvement in Indian living conditions.

In order to promote and protect the general welfare of the Indians, it is necessary that the Federal Government assist in providing improved home conditions in all communities where Indians live, by:

1. Removing unsanitary and substandard conditions through more generous and flexible interpretation of the Federal housing laws.

2. Insisting on the enforcement of existing housing standards. Indians should have equal consideration under existing laws. For example, Public Law 86-121 authorizes the Public Health Service to work with reservation Indians and Alaska Natives in constructing sanitation work, but it excludes Indian residents in towns, cities, and other Indian communities.

3. Extending long term credit at low interest rates to Indian families. Special funds should be made available to build low cost housing units for Indians in industrial areas and Indians residing on non-reservation land.

EDUCATION

We recommend that the task of the Indian Bureau be recognized as primarily educational in the broadest sense of the word. The Meriam Survey of over 32 years ago, is still a valid guide to action in the year 1961. We conceive education not only in terms of classroom teaching, but a process which begins at birth and continues through a life span. Of all the studies, surveys, and research made of Indians, the inevitable conclusions and recommendations are that education is the key to salvation of whatever ills may be, wherever Indians reside.

The first encompassing and formal education provided for Indians was authorized by statutory and treaty arrangements between Indian tribes and the federal government. Some tribes provided for their own school systems, financed out of tribal funds.

It would be well if all our children would avail themselves of academic training, but the truth is that only a few complete secondary schooling. The under-educated are of all ages. Lack of education limits our chances to qualify for skilled occupations. A general upgrading of education for Indians and a determined effort to discover and educate our ablest individuals is essential for all age groups.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

FEDERAL AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS

1. In public schools dropout rates are excessive, especially between the junior and senior high school ages, and attendance records are unbelievably poor. Therefore, proper guidance and supervisory programs must be re-examined and expanded. Where discrimination in public exists against Indian children, we recommend that it be abolished and these children be accepted in any school of their choice.

2. Recent emphasis on transferring Indian students from federal to public schools without careful evaluation of local situations should be discontinued unless after study with the local community it is determined that the transfer would benefit the students academically and socially.

3. Policy determining admission to federal schools must be re-examined and changed. Limiting attendance or reserving for specific tribes fosters discrimination against nearby Indians who need such facilities. Also enrollment of far away students which crowd local students out should be corrected.

When tribes have prior rights to federal schools, by virtue of offset payment, these rights must not be ignored.

Local tribes should be given preference in admission to the schools nearest them; however, when local Indians are accommodated, federal schools should accept all Indian students who wish admittance, regardless of tribe or residence in order to keep facilities operating at maximum benefit.

Since some federal schools have been closed to Indians juvenile delinquency in that area has been a growing problem. While these schools were open this was not the case. Precautions should be taken to prevent children being placed in sub-standard foster homes. It is preferred that they be enrolled in Federal Indian schools. Federal schools must be restored to full curriculum and junior colleges should be established in areas where considerable public and federally operated schools exist. Another federal school should be established to replace the Carlisle School long ago abolished. A federal Indian school should be established for the children of the Eastern region.

In order that good student-teacher and community relationships be promoted, personnel employed to teach in government schools should be selected on a basis of their interest in Indian students, their knowledge of Indian culture, and their willingness to live and participate in local community life. Salaries should be established at levels comparable to local public rates and recruiting and employment should be done in local competition.

Adequate counseling and guidance services should be made available to all Indian students. It is extremely important that Indian students be informed of all the educational opportunities and resources available to them as Indians and as American citizens. Too often Indian young people, capable of doing college work, are

going into vocational training programs because they lack information on finances available to them for college expenses, and they have had little or no counseling help. The teaching and supervisory personnel of the Bureau's education department and vocational training program, the relocation services, and the state education programs must work cooperatively in counseling Indian students. The present grant-aid program, administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, should be expanded to include all American Indian students including the off-reservation and non-reservation and all other Indians having the capacity for college work. Appropriations for the grant-aid program should be greatly increased to take care of the need of all qualified applicants. The present policy limiting grants only to students attending state-supported schools should be revised to enable the students to attend the college or university of their choice.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Vocational training programs should be available to all Indians--to reservation Indians, off-reservation Indians, non-reservation Indians--and any other Indian classification--with no age limit when the applicant qualifies. All vocational trainees coming to relocation areas under the Bureau of Indian Affairs program should be allowed to complete their course with subsistence payments, so long as they are making satisfactory progress. Only accredited schools should be used in the vocational training program.

ADULT EDUCATION

Since the transfer of the Extension Services to states has been unsatisfactory in some areas, a department of extension should be reestablished in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In order to provide more effective educational opportunity, these services should be evaluated and expanded to meet the needs and interests of the people involved.

ON-THE-JOB TRAINING

Provide C.C.C. type on-the-job and on-the-farm training for both adults and youths. A youth conservation corps may help to solve the problem of juvenile delinquency. It would give young people jobs to keep them occupied, spending money, supervision and skills that could be useful on their home reservation or elsewhere.

SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAMS

The school lunch program should be made available to all elementary and secondary Indian students.

SPECIAL CLASSROOMS

Because of the need for special classrooms for the exceptional and retarded children on reservations it is recommended that these be provided.

LAW AND JURISDICTION

In view of the termination policy and particularly Public Law 280, many Indian people have been vitally concerned and fearful that their law and order systems will be supplanted, without their consent, by state law enforcement agencies which, perhaps, might be hostile toward them. In U.S. v. Kagama (1885) 118 U.S. 375, 383, the Court, speaking of Indians, said:

"They are communities dependent on the United States; . . .; dependent for their political rights. They owe no allegiance to the States, and receive from them

no protection. Because of the local ill feeling of the people, states where they are found are often their deadliest enemies. From their very weakness and helplessness, so largely due to the course of dealing of the Federal Government with them and treaties in which it has been promised, there arises a duty of protection, and with it the power."

That statement by the Supreme Court is considered to be as true today as when written.

The repeated breaking of solemn treaties by the United States has also been a concern which is disheartening to the tribes and it is felt that there is no apparent concern by the Government about breaking treaties.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Return of Indian Lands: We urge the Congress to direct by appropriate legislation the return in trust of that part of the Public Domain formerly owned by an Indian tribe or nation which the Secretary of Interior shall determine to be excess and non-essential to the purpose for which such land was originally taken or which was covered by a reversionary clause in the treaty or cession or other lands declared to be surplus to the government's needs. Restore all Indian lands that were consumed by termination policy.

2. Indian Claims Commission: We urge that Congress ascertain the reasons for the inordinate delay of the Indian Claims Commission in finishing its important assignment. The Congress should request the views of the attorneys for the tribes on this in order to balance the views already expressed to Congress by the attorneys for the United States.

The woeful lack of sufficient personnel to handle the case load in the Justice Department, we believe, is the sole cause for the delay, so damaging to the tribes, in expediting the Commission's work.

The law clearly directs that each tribe be represented by counsel and there would seem to exist no possible reason why the Justice Department should not be required to increase its personnel in the Indian Claims Section of the Lands Division to remove this just criticism. Simple justice suggests that this be speedily done or else irreparable damage to the tribes will result. We believe the Congress will want to correct this situation as promptly as possible.

3. Title to Reservations: The Secretary of the Interior, if he has the authority, or the Congress should act to determine the legal beneficiaries of reservations created under the Indian Reorganization Act or other authority for "Landless and Homeless Indians," also reservations established by executive order or prior act of Congress, where the naming of the beneficial users has been left indefinite or ambiguous. As Indians improve such lands, or as mineral wealth or other assets of value are discovered, ownership is in jeopardy unless clearly defined.

4. Submarginal Lands: Submarginal and other surplus lands adjoining or within the exterior boundaries of Indian reservations and purchased for the benefit of the Indians, should be transferred to the tribes under trust.

5. Land Purchase Funds: The land purchase funds authorized by the Indian Reorganization Act should again be appropriated on an annual basis, to permit tribes to add to their inadequate land base, to purchase heirship lands and allotments on which restrictions are removed, and otherwise improve their economy.

6. Voting on the Indian Reorganization Act: Amend the Indian Reorganization Act to permit tribes to vote on its acceptance at any time.

7. Protect Indian Water Rights: Adopt legislation to protect all Indian water rights of Indian reservations against appropriators who, because the government may be negligent in providing for Indian development, are able to establish a record of prior use.

9. Heirship Lands: Adopt a manageable and equitable heirship lands bill.

10. Amend P.L. 280: Amend P.L. 280 (83rd Congress) to require Indian consent to past and future transfers of jurisdiction over civil and criminal cases to the state in which a reservation is located, and to permit such transfers to take place, with Indian consent, on a progressive or item by item basis.

11. Reservation Boundaries: In order that Indian tribes may be properly protected in their reservation and may proceed with the orderly development of their resources, it is recommended that authority, if required, and funds be appropriated for the immediate survey and establishment of reservation boundaries.

TAXATION

Grave concern has arisen as a result of the recent rulings of the Bureau of Internal Revenue which in substance directly violate the solemn treaty obligations made with the American Indian.

In fact, within the past few years, there has been a steady trend by both the federal and state taxing departments to encroach upon the rights of the Indian in the taxing of Indian property.

Recently, the Bureau of Internal Revenue has boldly claimed that it has the right to levy upon and collect income taxes upon income received by Indians which is derived from the sale of livestock grazed upon restricted Indian lands. Already the Internal Revenue Service has levied upon, assessed and collected income taxes upon income received from restricted Indian production.

The taxing department of the federal government has arbitrarily made these rulings which are wholly contrary to the solemn provisions of the treaties made with the American Indian. These rulings have been made and are being enforced notwithstanding the fact that it was never intended that the Indian was to be taxed in any manner upon his restricted Indian lands, or upon the income derived from the same.

In fact the greater amount of Indian lands located in the western part of the nation are dry and arid lands and suitable for grazing purposes only. In other words, the Indian is by nature restricted as to the use of his lands since the same can only be used for grazing purposes.

Therefore, in order to further prevent the establishment of such arbitrary rules of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, and to correct the rules already existing, we deem it necessary that legislation be enacted which will clearly spell out the intent and purposes of the existing treaties and agreements made with Indian tribes. Specifically, a clear statement must be made by law that income received by an enrolled member of an Indian tribe, which is derived from tribal, allotted and restricted Indian lands, whether by original allotment, by inheritance, by exchange or purchase, or as a leasee thereof, while such lands are held in trust by the United States in trust, is exempt from Federal and State income taxes.

TREATY RIGHTS

It is a universal desire among all Indians that their treaties and trust-protected lands remain intact and beyond the reach of predatory men.

This is not special pleading, though Indians have been told often enough by members of Congress and the courts that the United States has the plenary power to wipe out our treaties at will. Governments, when powerful enough, can act in this arbitrary and immoral manner.

Still we insist that we are not pleading for special treatment at the hands of the American people. When we ask that our treaties be respected, we are mindful of the opinion of Chief Justice John Marshall on the nature of the treaty obligations between the United States and the Indian tribes.

Marshall said that a treaty ". . . is a compact between two nations or communities, having the right of self-government. Is it essential that each party shall possess the same attributes of sovereignty to give force to the treaty? This will not be pretended, for on this ground, very few valid treaties could be formed. The only requisite is, that each of the contracting parties shall possess the right of self-government, and the power to perform the stipulations of the treaty."

And he said, "We have made treaties with (the Indians); and are those treaties to be disregarded on our part, because they were entered into with an uncivilized people? Does this lessen the obligation of such treaties? By entering into them have we not admitted the power of this people to bind themselves, and to impose obligations on us?"

The right of self-government, a right which the Indians possessed before the coming of the white man, has never been extinguished; indeed, it has been repeatedly sustained by the courts of the United States. Our leaders made binding agreements--ceding lands as requested by the United States; keeping the peace; harboring no enemies of the nation. And the people stood with the leaders in accepting these obligations.

A treaty, in the minds of our people, is an eternal word. Events often make it seem expedient to depart from the pledged word, but we are conscious that the first departure creates a logic for the second departure, until there is nothing left of the word.

We recognize that our view of these matters differs at times from the prevailing legal view regarding due process.

When our lands are taken for a declared public purpose, scattering our people and threatening our continued existence, it grieves us to be told that a money payment is the equivalent of all the things we surrender. Our forefathers could be generous when all the continent was theirs. They could cast away whole empires for a handful of trinkets for their children. But in our day, each remaining acre is a promise that we will still be here tomorrow. Were we paid a thousand times the market value of our lost holdings, still the payment would not suffice. Money never mothered the Indian people, as the land has mothered them, nor have any people become more closely attached to the land, religiously and traditionally.

We insist again that this is not special pleading. We ask only that the United States be true to its own traditions and set an example to the world in fair dealing.

INDIANS TO BE SERVED

The United States has long followed a policy of turning its back on Indians who are not physically in residence on a federally established reservation. Such a policy fosters the illusion that the Indian population is smaller than it actually is, but

a more serious consequence is that it also perpetuates the illusion that the problem of assisting Indians is less than it is. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has even been known to take credit for those non-assisted Indians as examples of its accomplishment in promoting "assimilation." With the exception of some few individuals, these Indians, as they and their white neighbors know only too well, have not been assimilated; they have only been forgotten.

Even the most cursory examination of the history of these off-reservation or non-reservation Indian groups must reveal how callous and unjust this policy has been in practice.

We cite several general categories of historical development to illustrate the situation in which many Indians find themselves:

Indian families or bands or parts of bands remained in their historic homelands when the main body of the tribe moved, sometimes by force, to a reservation established by treaty, agreement, executive order or Act of Congress. The reasons were various and do not matter at this date, but generally the Indians who remained behind or drifted back did so because (a), the treaty, agreement, or Act of Congress permitted heads of families to take up allotments in their former domain, or (b) band leaders refused to give consent to a treaty or agreement and were in effect cut off from the main body of the tribe.

EXAMPLES: The Winnebago Indians in Wisconsin; Ottawa in Michigan; Pottawatomi in Michigan and Wisconsin; Sioux in Minnesota.

The reservations created for tribes and bands were either totally inadequate as an economic base, or the Indians were permitted and even encouraged to dispose of large segments of an established reservation without taking into account the future land needs of the tribe. The children and grandchildren of these tribes have never had land of their own, except as they have inherited uneconomic fragments, and have no recourse other than to seek employment away from home. Most of the allotted reservations of the Plains states and the Northwest are in these related situations.

The most glaring examples of an inadequate reservation base:

Turtle Mountain Chippewa in North Dakota; Rocky Boy of Montana (landless Chippewa and Cree); Stockbridge and Munsee of Wisconsin; Sauk and Fox of Iowa; Kickapoo, Pottawatomi, Iowa, and Sauk and Fox of Kansas; the Omaha; Ponca, Santee, and Winnebago of Nebraska; the Choctaws of Mississippi; and all the rancherias and missions of California.

A few examples of tribes that were encouraged to share their lands with white settlers which resulted in pauperizing themselves are:

Sisseton Sioux of South Dakota, Fort Totten in North Dakota, and the Chippewa bands of Minnesota.

The relocation program which the Bureau of Indian Affairs has promoted since 1950 continued and indeed expanded the injurious policy of moving Indians prematurely out from under federal responsibility. Inadequate economic opportunities at the local and reservation level make impossible a really free choice, and relocation is often in fact forced; then if trouble comes to the family, the Federal government is no longer responsible.

For all of the above reasons, it is apparent that the whole matter of Indians living away from an established reservation needs to be reviewed by Congress and the American public to determine what programs, what legislation, what private action by churches, citizen groups, or other interested bodies should be taken to correct

the conditions in which Indians live. Mention has not been made in the above categories of the situation of those Indian groups, mostly in the East and the South, for whom no lands were ever reserved under federal law and for whom no federal services have ever been provided. Yet they remain Indian, and they remain isolated.

We say emphatically that problems of health, education, economic distress and social non-acceptance rest as heavily on all the Indians in these categories as they do on the reservation Indians, and possibly more heavily.

Therefore, in all the Recommendations herein, it is to be understood that even where non-reservation or off-reservation Indians are not specified, it is our purpose to insist that their needs be taken into account.

Because of the increasing contact of Indian people with the urban communities, it is important to encourage the development of urban Indian Centers where these are needed. Because of cultural differences between Indian and non-Indian society, these urban centers can function best if their operation is the responsibility of the Indian people themselves. It would be a great error to see these centers as places where things are done to Indians and for Indians "for their own good" as so much of our past Indian affairs have been carried out. In the same way that local reservations and other Indian communities need to retain their autonomy and responsibility, the urban Indian center organization should be in the hands of the Indian people it presumes to serve.

Because of the extreme difficulty in raising necessary funds for such centers, and because this reservation-city movement is a definite part of the general American Indian scene, the urban center should receive adequate subsidy from the federal government. The Indian center should qualify for such grants by meeting the accepted standards of program as set out by their local urban community, and the federal government should not extend its influence and control into such agencies.

INDIANS AND NON-FEDERAL AGENCIES

Local governments, churches, missionary groups, and private organizations have from the early days made important contributions to education, medical care, welfare, and political advancement in behalf of the Indian people. But since the primary and legal responsibility in these matters rested in the federal government, the activities of all other groups have tended to stay on the edge. Universities and scientific organizations interested in the Indian people have tended in the past to confine their studies to theoretical matters, since they were almost never called upon by the federal agency to study and make recommendations on specific problems affecting the Indian people.

It is hoped that in the future there will be more joint undertakings by government and private agencies. Trusteeship responsibility need not be abandoned in order to encourage increased participation by groups and individuals outside of the federal household. And such increased participation can be of great benefit in promoting research in basic problems, in conducting pilot projects to test out practices and methods, and in providing learning situations for the Indian people.

The government either has authority or it should seek legislative authority to contract for services in any and all fields, wherever skills and experience are available and are in need. Work under contract by private agencies can often be carried out in a manner more directly to benefit the Indians, since it is not hampered by the regulatory procedures (red tape) required by government. At the same time, the government should develop standards of performance as a guide to contracting parties.

In the outline of programs for the future listed above, no attempt has been made to indicate specific problems on which agencies outside of the federal government might direct their efforts. Such agencies might well study these suggested programs and discover ways in which their resources and abilities can be utilized in joint efforts with the tribes, the federal government, and other interested groups. The Indian people generally will welcome technical assistance, but to be most useful the offered services should be planned with the Indians and made part of a total program.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT

To complete our Declaration, we point out that in the beginning the people of the New World, called Indians by accident of geography, were possessed of a continent and a way of life. In the course of many lifetimes, our people had adjusted to every climate and condition from the Arctic to the torrid zones. In their livelihood and family relationships, their ceremonial observances, they reflected the diversity of the physical world they occupied.

The conditions in which Indians live today reflect a world in which every basic aspect of life has been transformed. Even the physical world is no longer the controlling factor in determining where and under what conditions men may live. In region after region, Indian groups found their means of existence either totally destroyed or materially modified. Newly introduced diseases swept away or reduced regional populations. These changes were followed by major shifts in the internal life of tribe and family.

The time came when the Indian people were no longer the masters of their situation. Their life ways survived subject to the will of a dominant sovereign power. This is said, not in a spirit of complaint; we understand that in the lives of all nations of people, there are times of plenty and times of famine. But we do speak out in a plea for understanding.

When we go before the American people, as we do in this Declaration, and ask for material assistance in developing our resources and developing our opportunities, we pose a moral problem which cannot be left unanswered. For the problem we raise affects the standing which our nation sustains before world opinion.

Our situation cannot be relieved by appropriated funds alone, though it is equally obvious that without capital investment and funded services, solutions will be delayed. Nor will the passage of time lessen the complexities which beset a people moving toward new meaning and purpose.

The answers we seek are not commodities to be purchased, neither are they evolved automatically through the passing of time.

The effort to place social adjustment on a money-time interval scale which has characterized Indian administration, has resulted in unwanted pressure and frustration.

When Indians speak of the continent they yielded, they are not referring only to the loss of some millions of acres in real estate. They have in mind that the land supported a universe of things they knew, valued, and loved.

With that continent gone, except for the few poor parcels they still retain, the basis of life is precariously held, but they mean to hold the scraps and parcels as earnestly as any small nation or ethnic group was ever determined to hold to identity and survival.

What we ask of America is not charity, not paternalism, even when benevolent. We ask only that the nature of our situation be recognized and made the basis of policy and action.

In short, the Indians ask for assistance, technical and financial, for the time needed, however long that may be, to regain in the America of the space age some measure of the adjustment they enjoyed as the original possessors of their native land.

APPENDIX 1

THE RECENT RECORD

The Meriam Survey And Subsequent Progress

Anyone who has worked in the field of Indian affairs within the last thirty years knows of the so-called Meriam Survey, entitled "The Problem of Indian Administration," prepared by Lewis Meriam and a staff of associates for the Institute for Government Research (Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.). The study was undertaken at the request of Secretary Hubert Work, of the Department of the Interior, and the report was published in 1928.

The study and the findings were truly monumental. The staff of professionally trained investigators produced the first objective, scientific statement of Indian conditions ever attempted. Dr. Meriam was concerned with living people, not with any theoretical reconstruction of their societies. What he and his associates discovered about the conditions of life on Indian reservations and what the Federal and State governments and private organizations were doing or failing to do, shattered the complacency of the American people.

For at least twenty years, the main effort of the administrations in Washington, Republican and Democratic, was to repair the damage that had been done to the Indian people, in accordance with the recommendations of the Meriam report. This effort carried all the way through the Roosevelt administration and half way through the Truman administration, when, for reasons never made clear or justified to the American people, the great reform program was stopped cold.

It is our purpose to examine and expose to public view the decisions and actions which led to the adandonment of this reform program and substituted for it a program of destroying Indian resources, of denying Indian aspirations, and arbitrarily relieving the Federal government of responsibility for specific tribes or in specific areas of interest.

The central finding of the Meriam Survey is stated in the very first sentence of the report:

> "An overwhelming majority of the Indians are poor, even extremely poor, and they are not adjusted to the economic and social system of the dominant white civilization."

The analysis and elaboration of this finding runs to almost 850 pages of text. The staff inquired into and reported on problems of health, education, economic conditions, family and community life and the activities of women, migrated Indians, legal aspects, and missionary activities; and the recommendations covered not only these problem areas but also the broader questions involved in policy determinations, staff and field organization, personnel administration, and statistics and record keeping.

As the report in this one sentence characterized the Indian situation without distortion or over-simplification, so also the report proposed a single principle of action which, if faithfully followed, would in time have discovered solutions to the problems of poverty and lack of adjustment which burdened the Indian people. The principle is expressed variously as:

> "Whichever way the individual Indian may elect to face, work in his behalf must be designed not to do for him but to help him to do for himself. The whole problem must be regarded as fundamentally educational."
>
> Again: "In every activity of the Indian service the primary question should be, how is the Indian to be trained so that he will do this for Himself. Unless this question can be clearly and definitely answered by an affirmative showing of distinct educational purpose and method the chances are that the activity is impeding rather than helping the advancement of the Indian."
>
> Or again: "The fundamental requirement is that the task of the Indian service be recognized as primarily educational in the broadest sense of the word, and that it be made an efficient educational agency, devoting its main energies to the social and economic advancement of the Indians, so that they may be absorbed into the prevailing civilization or be fitted to live in the presence of that civilization at least in accordance with a minimum standard of health and decency."

This principle of action was accepted and made operational in the years immediately following the Meriam survey. Soon after the appointment of Charles J. Rhoades as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, it was announced that educational reform would be the keystone of the new administration. Thus, Secretary Wilbur of the Interior Department stated: "The Indian shall no longer be viewed as a ward of the nation, but shall be considered a potential citizen. As rapidly as possible he is to have the full responsibility for himself.... In order to bring this about it will be necessary to revise our educational program into one of the practical and vocational character."[1]

An immediate effect of these recommendations was an increase in appropriated funds for new facilities, equipment and salaries. Teacher qualifications were brought into line with other school systems; regional conferences of administrative and teaching staffs resulted in greater unity in goals and methods. The boarding schools were limited to older children and emphasis was shifted to vocational training. Community day schools were developed to bring schooling closer to the home and indeed to service the community.

Not until the succeeding Roosevelt administration, however, was this broad educational principle given statutory support and put into full operation. This was made possible by the adoption of the Indian Reorganization Act of June 18, 1934. The new law was aimed at repairing damages wrought in the past as well as opening the way to constructive action in the future.

It was permissive, and as to those tribes which adopted the act by formal vote of their members, it prohibited the individual allotting of tribal lands and it authorized the Secretary of the Interior to return to tribal ownership lands which had been withdrawn for homestead entry but had not been preempted. The Act also authorized an annual appropriation of $2 million to purchase land and add it to the diminished resources of the tribes, and established a revolving credit fund of $10 million (later increased to $12 million), to enable Indians to improve their land holdings and supply themselves with necessary equipment.

1. Quoted in the New York Times, April 17, 1929.

But the real heart and core of the Indian Reorganization Act was the recognition of the inherent right of Indian tribes to operate through governments of their own creation, whether customary or formalized by written documents, and through business corporations which the tribes could create and manage.

In later years when the principle of the educational process came under attack, that attack was centered on the tribal governments and tribal corporations. It was argued that these legal devices hindered the advancement of the Indian people, encouraged them to remain aloof from the main stream of American life, and fostered unrealistic attachment to tradition and to the vanished past. Even while the argument was winning adherents and eventually influenced legislation, the evidence against the argument was taking form in Indian activities all across the country.

The start was slow in many cases, since the written constitutions introduced ideas and procedures which had not been part of customary practice. The idea of majority rule, taken so for granted in Anglo-Saxon governing bodies, was at first a divisive rather than a unifying principle in Indian groups, where action is customarily delayed until all the people are of one mind or at least the dissidents agree to stand aside. Also in the beginning, so accustomed were the tribes to wait on the decision of the federal official, they were reluctant to act on their own and to exercise the powers contained in their covenants. That early period passed, and of course performance under the tribal constitutions and charters varied from tribe to tribe. The tribes that made most effective use of the inherent and conferred powers of their written constitutions became, in effect, operating municipalities, managing property, raising revenue for public purposes, administering law and order, contracting for the services of attorneys and other professional advisers, and promoting the general welfare of the people.

The deeper meaning and purpose of tribal government was perhaps missed or misunderstood by those who argued against the program. The meaning and purpose were educational, in that broad sense used throughout the Meriam survey. Through the machinery of tribal government the Indian people for the first time since the days when they met as camp councils to plan a hunt, or as a council of headmen to meet an emissary from Washington, they could consider their problems together, reach decisions, and live with the results of those decisions. Sometimes the results were disastrous to the careers of individual leaders; the people "turned the rascals out," even as other American citizens were doing in neighboring communities and in the state and nation. But these were lessons learned and it can be said that the Indians for the first time began to have some understanding, through their own experiences, of the mechanics and the political philosophy of American society. Additional proof of the effectiveness of this learning process can be adduced from the manner in which tribal leaders began to travel beyond the borders of their own tribes to join with leaders from other tribes in forming regional, inter-tribal organizations and finally, in 1944, creating a national organization[2] which has won national recognition as the representative voice of the Indian people.

In 1956, the then-Congressman, Lee Metcalf of Montana acknowledged the status of this organization, in saying: "It is heartening to me to know that an organization like the National Congress of American Indians exists and functions. If no such body was in existence the Indians of the United States would be faced today with the necessity of bringing about the formation of an equivalent representative organization."[3]

2. The National Congress of American Indians.
3. In closing banquet address of National Congress of American Indians, 13th Annual Convention, Salt Lake City, 1956

As Indian leaders enlarge their experiences in local and inter-tribal action, they will inevitably move into the county and state political scene and on into national political action. Individual leaders are already participating in the programs of Chambers of Commerce and civic or service committees, winning election as county commissioners and school board members, serving in their state legislatures, and running for and winning seats in Congress.

In spite of this very promising beginning and of the underlying educational principle operating as indecated, the Indian Reorganization Act, and specifically the tribal government program has been under constant attack. Thus, a subcommittee of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, after conducting an investigation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, declared in 1954:

> "The organization of Indians into tribal groups with constitutions and charters derived from the Secretary of the Interior[4] --in numerous instances without affirmative tribal approval or comprehension of what was being undertaken--appears to constitute one of the outstanding legal disabiltiies of Indians at the present time."[5]

It should be emphasized in passing that the Indian Reorganization Act provided specifically for the method of adopting a written constitution, namely "by a majority vote of the adult members of the tribe." Whether or not a question at issue in any election is comprehended, is a subjective judgment which may be raised in any election, local or national. In actuality, every election on a tribal constitution, or charter, or amendments to these documents is preceded by an intensive educational effort.

A more judicious appraisal of tribal self-government was offered in 1948 by the Committee on Indian Affairs of the so-called Hoover Commission.[6] After reviewing the record of things that had worked in the long history of Indian affairs administration, the Commission reported:[7]

> "A third experience that is encouraging is the effort under the Indian Reorganization Act to establish self-government among the Indians. The Act marked the end of the attack on Indian institutions. The attempt to revive ancient institutions in the Twentieth Century, if there was such an effort, was a mistake, as has been noted. But the end of cultral hostilities and the effort to establish self-government in tribal or village communities has been all to the good...There can be no doubt about the soundness of applying the principle of self-government to Indian problems.
>
> "Indian leadership is developing. Indian people are analyzing their problems and assessing their conditions in a realistic way that is very promising. Some of them see very clearly that they could do more for themselves with very reasonable assistance, than Uncle Sam would or could do for them. The dividends from this investment in self-government are

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4. The Subcommittee report is in error at this point, if it intends to say that tribal governments derive their powers from the Secretary of the Interior. The settled law is that the tribal right of self-government is inherent, though it may be limited by specific acts of Congress.
5. Report No. 2680, 83rd Congress, Second Session, September 20, 1954.
6. Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government. Members of the working committee on Indian Affairs were: George A. Graham, Chairman; Charles J. Rhoades; John R. Nichols; and Gilbert Darlington.
7. Report of above committee, p. 26.

just beginning to come in, and there are some real weaknesses in the system as it stands, but Indian self-government is clearly a potent instrument if wisely used."

The Hoover Commission report was even more specific in citing the gains that had been made under the Indian Reorganization Act and in relating these gains to the educational process which concerns us here. Thus, the report stated:

"Tribally owned and controlled economic enterprises are playing a significant part today in the improvement of Indian life. There are tribal(or village) loan funds, herds, forests, range lands, sawmills, fisheries, canneries, stores, marketing cooperatives, and other enterprises.

"The benefits are real and are of at least four kinds. (1) These projects produce revenue which Indians need. In the enterprises involving agricultural resources a modern conservation policy tends to be followed and the assets are growing in value. (2) The enterprises provide employment for Indians. Some, such as sawmills, create a great deal of employment and the income from wages far exceeds the income from dividends (per capita payments). These enterprises are aiding the economic advancement of individual Indians. (3) Tribal loan funds are being used to secure capital--livestock, farm machinery, equipment, boats, fishing gear, trucks--for individual Indians. (They are also being used to further education and provide for home construction and repairs.) The benefits are direct. Other enterprises also are helping Indians to climb a rung or two on the economic ladder. Range units owned by the tribe or by individual Indians are providing the range in which Indian owners graze their livestock. Tribal herds can make available repayment cattle to an individual to get him started in building up a herd of his own. Cooperatives assist individual craftsmen to get materials and market their products at a profit. (4) Not the least of the benefits of these Indian enterprises is the education they provide in present day economic institutions. It would be incomplete, to say the least, to educate Indian property owners without giving them any experience in corporate activity. Corporate organization is as essential for many Indian projects as it is for non-Indian.

"When Indian enterprises were launched, some of them many years ago, they were given very careful supervision. Indian service officials were largely responsible for their success or failure and had to take an active part in management to insure success. Under the Indian Reorganization Act, tribal authorities exercised more discretion but federal supervision was still extensive. Agricultural extension agents, for example, were very active in reviewing applications for loans and in following up to secure payment. Loans were also subject to approval by superintendents. Quite recently federal supervision has been curtailed, the power of tribal authorities to act without approval has been extended and they have found themselves with a much greater share of the responsibility for management."

Other gains under the Indian Reorganization Act contributed to the atmosphere of hopefulness which gradually came to prevail in Indian communities during the New Deal.

Lack of an adequate source of credit and the technical advice needed to use credit effectively were prime reasons for the poverty reported in the Meriam survey. Some meager beginnings in supplying credit had been made in 1908

on a few reservations. The first general appropriation for this purpose was authorized in 1911, in the amount of $30,000.00; and annually thereafter similar small amounts became available. Repayments on these small loans were converted back into the United States Treasury and the money was lost to the credit program, unless re-appropriated. Under this program, government personnel purchased the items for which the money was borrowed, and in effect re-sold the items to the Indians--a procedure that permitted the Indian client scant opportunity to decide the kind, type, or quality of cattle or farming equipment he was acquiring. The Indian, whether he repaid his loan promptly or not, could not be assured of continued financing, since the amount available varied from year to year according to the appropriations made by Congress. Of over $7 million loaned during this earlier period, generally without planning or real participation by the Indian, approximately $500,000 was subsequently cancelled as uncollectable and about $2 million was still owing after ten or fifteen years and would never be collected.[8]

The record of transactions under the Indian Reorganization Act is in striking contrast. Between 1935 and about 1950 a total of $5,500,000 was appropriated, out of a combined authorization of $12,000,000, and to this credit pool Indian tribes added $1,800,000 of their own tribal funds. Since repayments went back into the revolving fund and became available for re-lending, it was possible during this period of years to make loans of approximately $17,000,000, including federal and tribal money.

The primary loan was made by the United States to a tribal corporation, credit association or cooperative group, and these bodies in turn loaned to individuals or tribal enterprises. The tribal corporation or the credit group assumed the responsibility of obtaining repayments, and moreover each client loan was based on careful planning between the tribal lending agency and the client. The individual made his loan purchases, usually on a tribal purchase order, with technical assistance provided as needed by tribal credit committee or the extension agent.

These factors in combination completely changed the credit record. On primary loans from the United States to tribal corporations, credit associations, and cooperative groups, 96.6 per cent had been repaid on their due date by June 30, 1960; 0.5 per cent had been extended; 0.5 per cent had been cancelled; and 2.2 per cent had been declared delinquent. As of June 30, 1960, in re-lending operations conducted by the tribal groups, 92.35 per cent had been repaid, 3.95 per cent had been extended, 1.78 per cent had been cancelled, 1.12 per cent had been declared delinquent, and 0.80 per cent were in process of liquidation. These latter figures do not include the Juneau Area.

The effectiveness of this credit program is reflected by other factors. For example, Indian-owned livestock, between 1932 and 1947, increased from 171,000 to 361,000 head. Total agricultural income to the Indians increased from $1,850,000 in 1932 to almost $49 million in 1947, the latter figure including about $12 million worth of farm products consumed at home. In these years also, Indians increased the acreage of croplands farmed by almost 400,000 acres; likewise they took over the operation of more than 7,000,000 acres of grazing land. These were lands which previously had been farmed or grazed by non-Indians. Indian operations were made possible as credit became available for investments in improvements, equipment, stock, etc.

The Indian Reorganization Act authorized a land acquistion program, through appropriation of funds and through the return to Indian ownership of certain ceded lands. Under this authority lands were acquired for tribes,

8. Taken from Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1948.

bands, and groups of Indians whose land base had been drastically reduced or for whom no land had ever been provided. Plans were also formulated for consolidating scattered tracts of Indian-owned land through purchase, relinquishment, and other arrangements by which key tracts were obtained and blocked out to form economic units. Land was acquired under various authorities and appropriations, as follows:

Indian Reorganization Act funds	395,500 acres
Misscellaneous (gratuity appropriations, cancellation of reimbursable debts, etc.)	334,000 acres
Tribal funds	390,000 acres
Restoration of ceded lands (Sec. 3, Indian Reorganization Act)	965,000 acres
Special legislation (transferring public domain)	1,063,000 acres
Uintah and Ouray legislation	510,000 acres
Puertocito purchase (Navajo)	31,663 acres
Total	3,689,163 acres

These actions, briefly told, grew out of desperate need--but so effective were they that they brought an end to further property losses and even reversed the downward trend of Indian expectations. Then the effort weakened and finally stopped entirely.

The Abandonment of Progress

The lack of continuity in federal Indian policies and programs has done more to discourage Indian effort than perhaps any other aspect of administration. The shifts and reversals and repudiations occur not just every four years with changes in the national administration, but locally every change of a superintendent or other key official at the reservation level results in shifts and changes which after awhile become too bewildering to follow. The tourist who makes a quick trip to an Indian reservation and afterwards writes an article about the "apathetic" and "fatalistic" Indians can have no idea what it means to live in a situation where on twenty-four hour notice one program stops and another starts; one man leaves and another man comes to take his place; or a hospital or school is closed and the substitute institution is fifty or a hundred miles away in a strange community; or the United States decides to build a dam and flood out the homes that people have lived in since before the time of Columbus. The time comes when people give up trying to understand what is happening or to improve the situation in which they live.

This unhappy characteristic of Indian affairs administration is called to attention in the report of the Hoover Commission:9

> "The pessimistic conviction that no reform will be carried to a finish is so deeply embedded in the minds of reservation Indians, that it will have to be dealt with continually and persistently to overcome their

9. Committee on Indian Affairs, Report to Hoover Commission, p. 22.

doubts and maintain their support. The personnel of the Indian Service is also affected by the same doubts.

"Some of the policies written into law in the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 have proved to be effective judged by any standards, yet the support for them has faded out nontheless. The loan program has produced good results and losses have been extremely small. Yet funds have not been made available in sufficient amounts to get the results that are possible. The land purchase program to round out Indian ownerships and establish Indian families on farms and ranches was launched with enthusiasm but it has languished. Today there are partially completed irrigation systems in which the land has not been subjugated, ditches have not been completed, and water has not been brought to the land because of lack of funds. An investment has been made but not been carried to the point where it brings in the full returns. This sort of shiftlessness is not a good example for Indian people whom it is supposed, we are teaching to be good businessmen. On some reservations a number of Indian families had made a good start in the cattle business before World War I. Then policy changed and their stock was sold. Twenty years later it was again the policy to get them established with their own herds. If there are a few skeptics who wonder if the weak support for the present policy does not augur another change, their doubts are understandable."

The closing sentence in the above paragraph, written in 1948 or perhaps earlier, was indeed prophetic. A basic policy change was even then in the making, in fact had been on its way for sometime.

The Indian Reorganization Act had encountered opposition even in its inception. The fact that the legislation in draft form was taken to the Indian people and discussed with them in regional conferences, where suggestion and criticism were invited-- a procedure that never before had been followed in the consideration of Indian legislation--did not silence the attacks. The law, as adopted, was permissive and was made applicable only on those reservations where it was adopted by a vote of the people. Again, an unprecedented procedure, and still the attacks continued.

For most part, this early opposition reflected a misunderstanding of the purposes of the Act. Perhaps it reflected a lack of confidence in the intentions of the government. Another generalization that might be make, after reviewing the testimony in printed hearings, is that the Indians in 1934 were not ready to discuss basic policy reform. Their views had never been sought; it was still rather a rare thing for a tribal delegation to make the long trip to Washington to take sides either for or against proposed legislation.

Beginning in 1928 an investigating subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Indair Affairs held hearings throughout the Indian country and in time gathered mountainous data, consisting principally of complaints against local bureau employees and local conditions. Reports of these hearings were published in due course, on occasion a higher official would be reprimanded, but generally the cause of the complaint remained unsatisfied. The Indians had grown accustomed to inaction.

The Indian Bureau, of course, was vulnerable. The Meriam survey had revealed its many weaknesses, its inadequacies, its bureaucratic callousness to human misery. In the minds of many Indians and many private citizens other than Indians, nothing short of the abolition of the Bureau would accomplish any good. The men who had most to do with Indian policy in the Roosevelt

administration, Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes and Commissioner of Indean Affairs John Collier, had been among the sharpest critics of the Bureau for some years prior to their assumption of office.

The culmination of this early phase of opposition is perhaps reflected in Senate Report No. 310 of the 78th Congress, 1943, which in 33 recommendations would not only eliminate the Indian Reorganization Act but in a matter of three years abolish the Indian Bureau completely.

A more substantial attack on the Bureau of Indean Affairs and its functions was mounted in the 80th Congress. That was the first Congress in more than twenty years in which control had passed to the Republican party and a determined effort was made to reduce expenditures. The executive branch, bureau by bureau, was hailed before appropriate Congressional committees and required to justify operations and costs.

Mr. William Zimmerman, then Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, was called before the Senate Committee on the Post Office and Civil Service and was asked to supply information as to what functions of the Bureau might be discontinued, what field agencies and employees might be eliminated, and what savings might be affected by these actions. The inquiry finally resolved itself into a question of what Indian tribes might be removed from federal supervision and responsibility as a first step toward reducing government costs. The Acting Commissioner, under subpoena, supplied three tribal lists. The first, a short one, indicated tribes from which federal supervision might be removed in the immediate future; the second, tribes from which supervision might be removed in a period of ten years; and a third list naming tribes that would need help and supervision for an indefinite period.

An effort was made to rationalize these divisions by setting up four criteria, roughly: (1) the extent or degree of acculturation of a given tribe; (2) the economic conditions of a tribe, as reflected in available resources; (3) the willingness of a tribe to dispense with federal assistance; and (4) the willingness and ability of the state in which the tribe was located to assume responsibility for the services extended to other citizens of the state. These criteria contained many subjective factors, or they relied on data which actually did not exist. The listing of the tribes in the three categories, accordingly, could be characterized at best as an informed guess. Mr. Zimmerman understood this quite well, but so intent were some individuals in Congress to relieve the government of responsibility with respect to certain tribes and eventually for all tribes that this testimony was used, unfairly and often out of context, as a base from which to launch a new and vigorous attack against the reform programs of the previous twenty years.

In that same 80th Congress (Second Session) the effort of the Department of Interior to recognize and give legal status to the lands claimed and used by the Natives of Alaska came under vigorous attack.

The Treaty of 1867 by which Alaska was acquired from Russia provided that the United States would legislate in behalf of the Natives of Alaska and through such legislation determine the nature and extent of the rights of the Natives in the lands they occupied. Laws passed in 1884 and again in 1891 recognized that the Natives had valid rights in land and prohibited others from going upon or occupying lands in the actual possession of Natives. These were indefinite and inchoate rights which placed the burden of proof upon the Natives. In practice, the Natives gave way and made no effort to protect themselves against intrusion in their trapping areas and in the fisheries in southeastern Alaska.

Secretary of the Interior to designate as an Indian reservation any lands previously set aside for Native use, including in the designation any additional public lands actually occupied by Natives. However the designation would not become final until approved by a vote of the Natives, voting by secret ballot. During the years 1941-44 eight reservations were thus designated, of which six were ratified by the Natives and two were rejected.

The storm broke in 1946, when the Secretary proposed to establish sixteen additional reservations, subject to ratification by the Natives. Amid charges that the Secretary was attempting to turn over the territory of Alaska to the Natives and was blocking settlement and development of the territory's wealth, proposals were offered in Congress to revoke the Secretary's actions in creating the six reservations and to repeal the special Alaska amendment to the Indian Reorganization Act, thus depriving the Secretary of authority to create reservations in the future. These proposals failed, but the discussions centered around them and around Native rights swelled the attack against the government's Indian policy, and specifically against the Indian Reorganization Act.

In an effort to give some guidance to the discussion in Congress, the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1947 offered drafts of legislation which would provide for the creation of tribal corporate enterprises and would empower the tribes to carry on their own business as tribal entities, subject, during an interim period, to the advice and supervision of a local committee consisting of members appointed by the federal government, the state, and the tribe, However, the Congressional committees obviously favored more drastic measures. The tribal corporation approach suggested by the Bureau was ignored and thinking was directed toward liquidating the Indian service primarily by transferring its functions to other already existing agencies of the federal government. Thus, bills were proposed in that 80th Congress to transfer health work to the United States Public Health Service, Indian forestry and extension work to the Department of Agriculture, Indian irrigation to the Bureau of Reclamation, etc.

In a speech before the annual meeting of the Home Missions Council at Buckhill Falls, Pennsylvania, January 6, 1948, the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, William E. Warne, referred to these Congressional developments:

> "Wholesale and indiscriminate relinquishment of federal responsibilities for the protection of Indian property rights is not justifiable, however, and would be dangerous to the Indians. Many critics fail to discriminate adequately between those Indians who have progressed a long way toward assimilation, and those....who have as yet had little opportunity for association with non-Indians. As a matter of fact, it is easy, when discussing Indians in Oklahoma, to be so impressed with the economic and political competence of many representatives of the Five Civilized Tribes as to forget that there are several thousand members of these same tribes isolated in one hundred per cent Indian communities in the eroded Cookson Hills, and in eastern McCurtain County, who speak very little English, and who a few years ago had an average net annual cash income of $54.00 a year."

The trend of Congressional thinking is further indicated in the memorandum of August 5, 1952, addressed by Commissioner Dillon Myer to all Bureau officials, in which the Commissioner wrote:

> "I think it may be fairly said that current Congressional actions with regard to the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Indian appropriations indicate future appropriations will be limited largely to financing items which

will facilitate withdrawal. This approach is already evident to both House and Senate with respect to appropriation of construction funds. Under this condition it is imperative that the Bureau develop and implement programs to assist Indians to become better qualified to manage their own affairs."

This memorandum was not a directive to Bureau personnel to organize programs designed to increase Indian management skills. The real purpose was to urge, on the part of all staff members, greater speed in devising methods and procedures by which the federal government might be relieved of responsibility in the Indian field. Thus, the Commissioner continued in his memorandum:

"Full understanding by tribal membership should be attained in any event, and agreement with the affected Indian groups must be attained if possible. In the absence of such agreement, however, I want our differences to be clearly defined and understood by the Indians and ourselves. We must proceed, even though Indian cooperation amy be lacking in certain cases."

By 1950, when Dillon S. Myer was appointed Commissioner, the policy of rehabilitation and enlargement of physical resources, the advancement of local self-government, the acceptance of educational process as a guide to policy and action--all of which flowed from the recommendations contained in the Meriam report--was scrapped.

Beginning in 1948 the basic land policy of the Bureau was reversed, and instead of acquiring land to add to already inadequate resources, emphasis was placed on the removal of restrictions against sale, thus allowing Indian land to pass out of Indian ownership. In a ten-year period, 1948-57, a total of 2,595,414 acres of individually-owned trust land was removed from trust status, some of it for public purposes. The net acreage removed from trust status and made available for sale was 2,174,518 acres, or more than one-half of the area which had been painstakingly acquired since the enactment of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Moreover, the land was moving out of trust status at an accelerating rate, as indicated by the fact that during the first five years of the period (1948-52) about 805,000 acres were involved, while in the final five-year period (1953-57) about 1,800,000 passed out of trusteeship.[10]

The credit program, which got off to such an encouraging start in the early years of the New Deal, experienced a similar shift of emphasis. Obviously, under a policy of withdrawal and under the compulsion of reduced appropriations, the expedient strategy for the Bureau was to reduce program wherever possible, regardless of the effect this might have on Indian development. A smaller land acreage under trusteeship would reduce the cost of administering it. Credit operations likewise could be reduced by advising Indians to avail themselves of commercial credit sources and by increasing the interest rate on loans from the federal revolving credit fund in order to encourage commercial borrowing. These devices were used, and by July, 1954 the program was practically at a standstill. This is reflected in the fact that at that time the unused cash balance in the loan fund was $5,280,000 or about $836,000 more than the total amount available in 1941.

10. The association on American Indain Affairs, in its Newsletter for June, 1955, commented on the situation:

> "What are the reasons for this stagnation? Bureau officials reply blandly that applications for loans are not coming in, and that more and more credit is being obtained from other sources. Both of the answers may be true, but they tell only part of the story. The real reasons seem to be three: (1) Most important is the general understanding by Indians and Bureau employees that the commissioner wants to curtail lending and in time liquidate the revolving fund; (2) A recent change in the regulations, as a result of which loans may be made only for one year, is not understood by Indians and has deterred applications. Indians, knowing that certain projects cannot possibly pay out in less than five years, refuse to make one-year loans, for at the end of each year the burden is on the Indian to prove to Bureau officials that his loan should be renewed for another year; and (3) the last reason is lack of personnel... Determined to unburden the Bureau of agricultural extension services for Indians, the commissioner has been transferring responsibility for these services to states as rapidly as possible through Johnson-O'Malley contracts. The transfer of funds under these contracts has involved the transfer of money appropriated to the Bureau for extension activities plus a substantial sum otherwise available for credit operations. Thus, the Bureau's Branch of Credit is undermanned and immobilized."

Finally, we come to the so-called Termination policy, embodied in House Concurrent Resolution 108 of the 83rd Congress, 1st Sess., adopted August 1, 1953 (text reproduced on page 32), and realize that the effort and high promise of twenty years are abandoned. The basic educational process advocated by the Meriam Survey and implemented and carried forward under the Indian Reorganization Act, is nullified. Instead of social and economic betterment, the Indians are offered homelessness and deeper poverty than any they have known. And to add insult to injury, this is to be accomplished in the name of citizenship!

The first two whereas clauses of this resolution are not only at variance with the facts, they defame the Indian people. Fact 1: Indians are subject to the same laws and are entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as other citizens. Indians are citizens, without any qualifications or limitations. Fact 2: Indians are not, never have been, wards of the United States. The word has been loosely used and widely misinterpreted as a consequence of the trusteeship exercised by the United States over Indian property and of the exclusive jurisdiction exercised by the federal as opposed to state government. Fact 3: The rights and prerogatives of citizenship were conferred upon all Indians born within the United States by the Act of June 2, 1924. Fact 4: The Indians have assumed and do assume their full responsibilities as American citizens, in peace and in war. Like other citizens, they are exempt from certain taxes, and they are also like other citizens in prizing this lawful advantage.

The only apparent purpose of the whereas clauses is to provide a pious motive for the malicious policy enunciated in the body of the resolution. That policy would: (1) withdraw trust protection provided by treaty and statute for Indian lands and other property; (2) discontinue federal services, whether or not local or state governments are prepared or able to provide substitute services, and (3) devise legislative means to nullify treaty and statutory obligations to the Indian people.

When a patient is committed to a doctor's care and the doctor assumes responsibility, a definite relationship is established. The patient is to follow the doctor's advice; the doctor must strive to effect a cure. If, after a period of time, the patient fails to respond to treatment, it is not the doctor's privilege to abandon the patient or take action to hasten the patient's demise.

The Indian people in 1928 were ailing. As the Meriam survey indicated: "An overwhelming majority of the Indian people are poor, etc." In the intervening years, remedial measures were instituted. The patient showed signs of improving. The great war effort interrupted the flow of assistance to Indian communities--as a matter of fact, the Indians contributed heavily to that effort, as members of the armed services and as war industry workers. When the war ended and the Indians returned to their homes, expecting to resume their tribal and individual rehabilitation programe, they found an unwilling physician: a Congress that refused to provide funds for land purchase and development; a Department of the Interior that dried up the credit program.

The Navajo and Hopi Indians were saved by a blizzard that centered national publicity on their poverty. Other tribes, missed by the storms of that dreadful winter of 1947-48, were equally hungry, but the newspapers never discovered their plight.

By August 1953, the healing physician had peeled off his rubber gloves and removed his white gown. Indian reform was dead. The answer to poverty and social and economic maladjustment was termination.

The copy of House Concurrent Resolution 108, 83D is a part of this report.

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 108, 83D CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

Passed August 1, 1953

Whereas it is the policy of Congress, as rapidly as possible, to make the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to other citizens of the United States, to end their status as wards of the United States, and to grant them all of the rights and prerogatives pertaining to American citizenship; and

Whereas the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States should assume their full responsibilities as American citizens: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is declared to be the sense of Congress that, at the earliest possible time, all of the Indians tribes and the individual members thereof located within the States of California, Florida, New York, and Texas, and all of the following named Indian tribes and individual members thereof, should be freed from Federal supervision and control and from all disabilities and limitations specially applicable to Indians: The Flathead Tribe of Montana, the Klamath Tribe of Oregon, the Menominee Tribe of Wisconsin, the Potowatamie Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska, and those members of the Chippewa Tribe who are on the Turtle Mountain Reservation, North Dakota. It is further declared to be the sense of Congress that, upon the release of such tribes and individual members thereof from such disabilities and limitations, all offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the State of California, Florida, New York, and Texas and all other offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs whose primary purpose was to serve any Indian tribe or individual Indian freed from Federal supervision should be abolished. It is further declared to be the sense of Congress that the Secretary of the Interior should examine all existing legislation dealing with such Indians, and treaties between the Government of the United States and each such tribe, and report to Congress at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 1, 1954, his recommendations for such legislation as, in his judgment, may be necessary to accomplish the purposes of this resolution.

Attest:

LYLE O. SNADER,
Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Attest:

J. MARK TRICE,
Secretary of the Senate.

07/12/04 MON 17:19 FAX 035

APPENDIX 2

STATEMENT ON THE MENOMINEE TERMINATION ACT

Written for the AICC
June 8, 1961

Legislative Background

In 1952, the Menominee Tribe had on deposit in the U. S. Treasury an amount in excess of $10,000,000.00. A major portion of this had come from successful culmination of litigation against the United States. Understandably, members of the Tribe wished a per capita payment of some of this substantial amount. At the request of the Tribe, Wisconsin Senators and Congressmen introduced bills to provide for payment of $1,500.00 to each individual member of the Tribe, an amount which would exceed $4,000,000.00.

The bill sponsored by Congressman John Byrnes was adopted by the House of Representatives early in 1953. When it went to the Senate and tribal representatives appeared to testify in support, they were met by considerable reluctance on the part of the Senate Committee. The Senators expressed an opinion that the United States should be relieved of further obligation to continue supervision over the affairs of the Menominees because prior mismanagement had resulted in lawsuits against the United States. They expressed the view that the Menominees should, in order to obtain payment of some of their funds, accept legislation which would terminate the treaty-based obligation of the United States to continue such supervision. The Menominee representatives argued and said their people would not accept such a proposal. At their invitation, Senator Arthur V. Watkins, then Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee, traveled to the Menominee Reservation and talked to a General Council meeting of the Menominee Tribe. As the result, the Menominee General Council approved the principle of "termination".

The Menominee delegates returned to Washington and prepared to agree with Senator Watkins on specific provisions of the legislation. They were not able to do so - they felt Senator Watkins had back-tracked on some of the commitments he made to the Tribe. The Senate passed a bill which was objectionable to the Menominees. Since it varied from the House proposal, it went before a conference committee. Congressmen Byrnes and Melvin Laird of Wisconsin joined to persuade the House of Representatives to reject the conference report.

A new bill was introduced in 1954. Again, it was the subject of numerous hearings before a joint Senate-House committee and was dealt with in many informal conferences involving Menominee representatives, members of Congress and officials of the Department of the Interior. The Menominees still asked for a per capita distribution without termination, but to no avail. Senator Watkins and leading officials of the Department of the Interior informed them that they must accept termination as a prerequisite to obtaining distribution of their funds. They acquiesced and did their best to obtain the provisions which they thought most helpful to the Tribe. The original version of the Menominee Termination Act was passed by both houses of Congress and signed by the President on June 17, 1954.

The Menominees thereafter made several efforts to obtain what they considered more desirable provisions in amendments to the Termination Act. Two of these - in 1956 - provided that the United States would pay some of the costs of termination and would require that the Menominee Forest be operated on the principle of sustained yield. These amendments also provided that the tribe should formulate a proposal for future management of its property. This involved study by some of the best experts available. The State of Wisconsin, acting through its Legislature, had appointed a Menominee Indian Study Committee some time prior thereto.

The Menominee Indian Study Committee utilized the services of a committee 'rom the University of Wisconsin. It did many studies on desirable forms of 'rganization, including local government and business organizations. With the elp of much expert assistance, the Menominee Tribe finally evolved a plan. It ontemplated creation of a separate county consisting of the Menominee Reserva- ion, creation of a business corporation (utilizing a voting trust consisting of our members of the Tribe and three outsiders) and many features involving co- peration with an adjoining county in an effort to minimize the county budget. his required state legislation. After much effort and persuasion, the Legisla- ure of Wisconsin responded by adopting the plan substantially as submitted by he Menominee Tribe.

The need for state legislation, among other things, required additional ime beyond that originally provided by Congress. After considerable indecision, his was approved by Congress in 1958. Even the new date for termination - ecember 31, 1960 - proved difficult to meet. Accordingly, in 1960, the Menomi- ee delegates again made the trek to Washington. As usual, the House Committee as sympathetic but the Senate committee was not. A compromise resulted - the ermination date was extended to April 30, 1961, but additional deadlines were mposed on the Tribe. All of these were met with much difficulty. The Congress id enact amendments which excused the Tribe from paying federal taxes on trans- ers of property required by the Termination Act.

asics of Termination Plan

On April 29, 1961, the Secretary of the Interior, as required by the Menomi- ee Termination Act, published the termination plan in the Federal Register. Wis- onsin's 72nd County - Menominee County - became a reality on May 1, 1961. Its fficials were designated by the Governor after recommendations by the Tribe. lections will be held soon in accordance with the special legislation enacted y the Wisconsin Legislature. All business activities of the former Menominee ribe are now handled by Menominee Enterprises, Inc. As indicated above, the orporate organization utilizes a voting trust. This means that the stock owner- hip of each individual member was assigned to the voting trust composed of seven ersons. The sole function of those persons is to select the original Board of irectors of the corporation and fill vacancies as those occur. The Board of irectors is composed of nine persons, four members of the Tribe and five outsid- rs. All connected with the problems believe that excellent choices have been ade for the voting trust and the Board of Directors. The president of the cor- oration is Mr. Leo Bodine, a former high operating official of Diamond Match ompany. Mr. Bodine has had considerable experience in the timber business, the ajor activity of the Menominee Tribe and Menominee Enterprises, Inc.

Although termination has actually occurred, additional legislation is pending efore the Congress. During April, 1961, the House of Representatives passed a ill which would authorize the Secretary of the Interior to lend, upon adequate ecurity, not to exceed $2,500,000.00 to the new corporation. It would also uthorize expenditure of an amount in excess of $400,000.00 to bring the sanitary acilities within Menominee County up to state standards. In addition, it would uthorize, over a period of five years, grants in excess of $2,000,000.00 to ssist the new county and the new corporation to get started. Much of this is equired by unanticipated expenses growing out of "termination".

The Menominee delegates had requested that the termination date again be ex- ended, but that request was denied by the House Committee and the House of Repre- ntatives. Other than that, those supporting the Menominee cause feel that the reatment at the hands of the House Committee and the House of Representatives was minently fair. But a different climate still prevailed in the Committee on Interior nd Insular Affairs of the Senate. That committee authorized loans not to exceed

$1,500,000.00 and agreed to a grant of over $400,000.00 for construction of adequate sanitation facilities. It has, however, stubbornly refused to agree with the House to provide grants for other termination costs such as tuberculosis care, excess welfare loads, school costs (in lieu of usual federal aids for Indians), and other transitional requirements. The Senate bill was expected to be debated on the floor of the Senate early this month. It is understood that Wisconsin's two Senators, Wiley and Proxmire, are prepared to ask that the Senate reject the bill of its committee and substitute the House version. It is doubtful that this will happen. In that event, it will be necessary that the Senate and House versions be submitted to a conference committee. When that committee reports to both houses, each will have the opportunity to vote on it. Those sympathetic to the Menominee cause, are praying that the House version will prevail.

During the Chicago Conference it was the recommendation of Mrs. Irene Mack and other members of the Menominee Tribe that, should any tribe ever consider accepting termination, they conduct a thorough survey of all of the results, costs and legal implications of this program. They pointed out that only the favorable side was told to the members of their tribe, and that the cost of setting up a county government, the taking of land for highway right of way without remuneration, the cost of maintaining county services formerly paid for by the government were all either not mentioned or only slightly touched upon. The prospect of getting a per capita payment of $1500 looked big to the Indians, many of whom were in poor circumstances, but the losses which they incurred in taxes, and cost of county operation far exceeded any benefits that may have resulted from the termination program. They asserted that they had even had to purchase the land upon which their homes were located from the holding corporation which was set up in conjunction with termination. They therefore wished to go on record as warning all Indians and Indian tribes to beware of termination and not be misled by rosy promises.

APPENDIX 3

RESOLUTION CONCERNING TAXATION OF RESTRICTED INDIANS LIVING ON RESTRICTED LANDS

WHEREAS, there has been introduced in the U. S. Senate, S. 1911, which is a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, to provide that income derived by an Indian from tribal lands or allotted and restricted Indian lands shall not be subject to the income tax; And

WHEREAS, and when, this nation and the various Indian tribes met in formal councils and, into treaty agreements, whereby, and wherein, land cessions and reservations of land unto the various Indian tribes were made and agreed to by this government and the Indian tribes; and where, same were ratified by the U. S. Senate as in other treaties with foreign nations; And

WHEREAS, the legal significance of such agreements so ratified, become under the American Constitution, a part and parcel of the Supreme law of the land. Art. VI, Clause 2, The Constitution. And

WHEREAS, the Courts have held that such action by this nation with the Indian tribes results in the vesting of property right in the Indians; and that Congress or anyone else cannot disturb such vested rights. (Choate v. Trapp, 224 U. S. 665-674,) wherein the Court decided: "There is no question that the government may, in its dealings with the Indians, create property rights which, once vested, even it cannot alter; (citing many cases eliminated here) such property rights may result from agreements between the government and the Indians, whether the transaction takes the form of a treaty or of a Statute is immaterial; the important considerations are that there

should be the essentials of a binding agreement between the government and the Indian and the resulting vesting of a property right in the Indians." Morrow v. United States, 243, Rev. Rep., 854, 846. And

WHEREAS, the government through its Bureau of Internal Revenue has been assessing taxes of every kind and character against the Indians in violation of the prohibitive decisions cited supra; And

WHEREAS, taxes against the Indians both personal and real were never intended nor dreamed of when treaties with the tribes were being negotiated unilaterally by this nation; And

WHEREAS, if taxes were then contemplated the government most assuredly would never have neglected to write such provisions into their treaties, every word of which, the government's treaty commissioners wrote for the acceptance of the Indians; And

WHEREAS, in a parallel case, that of Winter v. United States, 207 U. S. 664, the Supreme Court held: "Ambiguities accruing in the treaties will be resolved from the standpoint of the Indians. And the language used in the treaty should not be construed to the prejudice of the Indians." And

WHEREAS, the Bureau of Internal Revenue has repeatedly forced the Indians all over the Indian Country into the Federal Courts to defend against actions to assess and tax income derived from their restricted property both real and personal. And

WHEREAS, a treaty in point is the Crow Treaty of 1880, ratified by the U. S. Senate in 1882 which provided: "The title to be acquired by us, and all members of the Crow Tribe of Indians shall not be subject to alienation, lease, or encumbrance, either by the voluntary conveyance of the grantee or his heirs or by the Judgment, Order, or Decree of any Court, not be subject to taxation of any character, but shall remain inalienable and not subjected to taxation for a period of 25 years, or until such time as the President may see fit to remove the restrictions, which shall be incorporated in each patent." And

WHEREAS, and regardless of all the foregoing prohibitive court decisions, treaties and acts of Congress directing no taxes against the Indians; the Bureau of Internal Revenue, as stated, has issued at various times bulletins declaring the personal property of the Indians--livestock grazing on restricted lands--is subjected to the income tax law. And

WHEREAS, this Bureau issued Rev. Rule 58-64 Cumulative Bulletin 1958-1, p. 12, as several times, and which ruling held: "income derived from the sale of cattle raised on allotted and restricted Indian lands while such lands are held in trust by the United States, as trustee, under Sec. 5 of the General Allotment Act of 1887, is subject to Federal taxes." And

WHEREAS, there has now, as stated been introduced in the Congress, S. 1911, 87th Congress which is designed to correct and overcome this effort to tax, by the Internal Revenue Service, the Indians, in violation of their treaty agreements and the public policy. And

WHEREAS, such action is most necessary for the protection of their vested rights and economic well being. So now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, by the Chicago Indian Convention assembled this 16th day in the City of Chicago, Illinois, that they (the Indians), hereby, endorse for enactment into law at this session of the Congress, S. 1911 and recommend such

action to the Congress, the President and the Secretary of Interior to assert the power and prestige of their respective offices to this end.

RESOLVED, further, that copies of this resolution be dispatched to the President, the President of the U. S. Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Secretary of Interior.

ADOPTED, in the City of Chicago, Illinois, this 16th day of June, 1961

APPENDIX 4

RESOLUTION ON THE KINZUA DAM

President John F. Kennedy promised American Indians that under his administration "there would be no change in treaty or contractual relationships without the consent of the tribes concerned. No steps would be taken by the Federal government to impair the cultural heritage of any group. There would be protection of the Indian land base . . ."

The construction of the Kinzua Dam in Pennsylvania would violate the oldest United States treaty still in force without consent of the Seneca Nation of Indians.

The Kinzua Dam would seriously impair the Seneca cultural heritage.

The Kinzua Dam would destroy the treaty-protected land base of the Seneca Nation.

An honorable and practical solution is available: an alternative engineering plan which the Corps of Engineers concedes is feasible.

The breaking of Indian treaties and the taking of Indian land concerns all American Indians and all Americans. It is unthinkable that the United States should persist in the construction of a treaty-violating dam without at least the benefit of an impartial evaluation of a well-documented and allegedly far superior alternative.

Therefore, the delegates assembled at the American Indian Chicago Conference call upon the President of the United States to issue an executive order halting construction of the Kinzua Dam pending an impartial, competent comparison of its benefits and total costs with those of the alternative Plan 6, the Conewango-Cattaraugus Plan.

We look to this act of statesmanship as evidence of the new direction in Indian affairs so long overdue, and now promised by the present Administration.

PRESIDENT JOHN F KENNEDY
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON D C

THIS ASSEMBLY OF MORE THAN FIVE HUNDRED INDIAN PEOPLE COMING FROM SIXTY-SEVEN TRIBES OF AMERICAN INDIANS RESPECTFULLY URGES YOU TO GIVE FULL AND CAREFUL CONSIDERATION BEFORE BREAKING THE TREATY OF 1794, AND ALSO GIVE CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO ALL POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES TO THE KINZUA DAM PROJECT ONLY YOU CAN STOP THE UNITED STATES FROM BREAKING ITS SOLEMN TREATY OF 1794 WITH THE SENECA NATION WE JOIN THE SENECA NATION IN THIS FINAL APPEAL THAT THE UNITED STATES HONOR THE TREATY SIGNED BY THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

AMERICAN INDIAN CHICAGO CONFERENCE
BY ANTHONY RIVERS, JR., ACTING CHAIRMAN
JUNE 19TH SESSIONS

APPENDIX 5

THE ALASKA SITUATION

SCHOOLS. There are 43 native schools in Alaska. There are no real problems within the incorporated towns. However, there are dozens of villages wholly native. The Hooper Bay area (Kuskokwim -- Yukon) alone has a population of over 10,000 Eskimos. Many of the federal schools have passed the half century mark and relief is only visible by the large signed on the outhouses -- Boys; Girls. In these areas more than 2,000 children are destined to reach adulthood without one day of school because there is no school either federal or state and the political situation is such that the State will not build the school plants. This is a condition that began in 1884. The state says the fault is with the United States and with that we have to agree. So we asked the Bureau of Indian Affairs to include in its Alaska school budget ample provision for these hapless children.

The secondary schools. The Mt. Edgecumbe federal school is theoretically an occupational school whose curriculum was formerly quite complete for its 600 students. But the boat shop was closed and while the Commissioner was promising continuance, the natives have built scarcely a single one of the 4,000 motor boats that have poured into the area. Two years of the business course were closed and the teacher fired because he fought for his kids. The occupational school at Wrangell has been turned into sort of an orphanage.

We cry for relief and pray that occupational schools of high school rank be reactivated and new ones opened in places accessible to the hordes of children now reaching for the doors of schools long promised but not yet there.

Economy under the I.R.A. Lacking only the capital, the Indians could only work for the outside capital which earned for many years 100% annually on their investment. The natives thought the enactment of the Wheeler-Howard Act would solve their problems since they had all the skills required and also the experience. But the result has been quite opposite and the reasons are: The Indian Board of Directors are mere figureheads. The Indian Office takes an assignment of all the extracted income of the corporation leaving the directors with no cash. Skipping the narration of a sad story, you can form your own conclusion from the fact that our four canneries are almost $4,500,000 in debt. In addition, after 20 years of cannery activity the Bureau has not trained one superintendent or even one book-keeper or cannery watchman. The remedy is to consolidate all the canneries under one board of directors elected by those who contribute services or material, distributing the benefits in proportion to their contributions and to cause the IRA to advance finances as a bank would and in accordance with trade practices, it being understood that the board of directors would employ all administrative and consulting services including accountants and attorneys.

APPENDIX 6

RESOLUTION ON QUECHAN WATER RIGHTS

WHEREAS, the Quechan Tribal Council and Tribe functioning in accordance with Section 16 of the Indian Reorganization Act of June 18, 1934 (48 Stat. 984) as amended by the Act of June 15, 1935 (49 Stat. 378). And

WHEREAS, the Quechan Tribe, as a free Nation, enjoying the right to protect and maintain their inhabitants of their liberty, property and religion, claiming equity as citizens of this great nation, And

WHEREAS, the violation of Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty, guaranteed the rights of the Americans and Indians in the territory acquired by and ceded to the United States, along with supreme water rights, And

WHEREAS, the Quechan Tribe has enjoyed these privileges since time immemorial, And

WHEREAS, the policies set down by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in regard to the irrigation program and general welfare program of the Fort Yuma Indian Reservation exist, And

WHEREAS, the recent recommendations of Master Rinkiff in giving the Quechan Tribe prior rights to the Colorado River water, over opposing suit, And

WHEREAS, the Quechan Tribal Council respectfully uphold the rulings of Master Rinkiff and hold this sacred right to utilize and live and prosper as this has been our God-given right,

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the Quechan Tribal Council petition the American Indian Chicago Conference to declare its voice and guidance in the moral fight and stand to secure and to maintain heritages that have been enjoyed by the Quechan Tribe in keeping our supreme water rights.

ADOPTED June 17 1961

LEROY WARD Leroy Ward
Chairman

LEE EMERSON Lee Emerson
Vice Chairman

QUECHAN TRIBAL COUNCIL

P.O. Box 1169, Yuma, Arizona

ATTEST:

Priscilla Menta
COUNCILWOMAN PRISCILLA MENTA

Edmond Jackson Jr.
COUNCILMAN EDMOND JACKSON JR.

Harold Chaipos Sr.
COUNCILMAN HAROLD CHAIPOS SR.

APPENDIX 7

LETTER CONCERNING INTER-AMERICAN INDIAN INSTITUTE

Dr. Miguel Leon-Portilla
Director Inter-American Indian Institute
Niños Heroes # 139
Mexico, D. F.
Mexico

July 17, 1961

American Indian Chicago Conference
The University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

Dear fellow Americans:

It has been for me both a privilege and a pleasure to have made personal contact with American Indians North of the Latin American border.

In my work with the Inter-American Indian Institute, an inter-hemisphere organization in which the United States and most of the Latin American governments participate I have been made aware of your problems and the many things you have in common with the 30 million Indians who live in the Latin American continent.

Let me express my earnest desire to see closer relations between the Indian peoples of all the Americas, specially in these difficult times, when our peoples ought to share in common ideals and realities.

I would be very much interested in developing concrete ways of collaboration between our peoples to help achieve for all North and Latin American Indians better ways of life in a free society.

Expressing my best wishes for the success of the conference, I remain

Cordially yours,

S/ M. Leon-Portilla
Dr. Miguel Leon-Portilla

At the AICC
Chicago, Illinois

APPENDIX 8

AICC INDIAN REGISTRATION

NAME	TRIBE	HOME ADDRESS
ACKLEY, CHARLES	CHIPPEWA	219 20th AVE. S., MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
ADDISON, CECIL	MOHAWK-CHEROKEE	85 AVON ST., NEW HAVEN, CONN.
ADKINS, CHIEF O. OLIVER	CHICKAHOMINY	RFD 1, BOX 118, PROVIDENCE FORGE, VA.
ADOLPH, VINCENT	COLVILLE	OMAK, WASHINGTON
AIKENS, HANNAH	DELAWARE	4730 BRANDON, DETROIT 9, MICH.
AMES, DONALD	CHIPPEWA	BAD RIVER RESERVATION, WISCONSIN
ANDERSON, JOHN A.	CHIPPEWA	COUDERAY, WISCONSIN
ARCHAMBAULT, JOHN	SIOUX	BULLHEAD, SOUTH DAKOTA
ARCHIQUETTE, OSCAR	ONEIDA	ONEIDA ROUTE 1, WISCONSIN
ARTISHON, GEORGE B.	CHIPPEWA	217 4th AVE. S., MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
ARVISO, VIVIAN	NAVAJO	311 E. PERSHING, GALLUP, NEW MEXICO
ASHLEY, MRS. RACHEL	SIOUX	DENVER, COLORADO
ATALOA	CHICKASAW	1924 N. CATALINA, LOS ANGELES, CAL.
BARSE, REVA C.	SENECA	15036 ROCKWELL, HARVEY, ILLINOIS
BEARSKIN, BEN	WINNEBAGO-SIOUX	452 W. NORTH AVE., CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
BEARSKIN, FREDDIE	WINNEBAGO	452 W. NORTH AVE., CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
BEARSKIN, NORMA JEAN	WINNEBAGO-SIOUX	452 W. NORTH AVE., CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
BEAULIEU, ISAAC	OJIBWA	411 CHAPEL ST., OTTAWA, ONTARIO, CANADA
BEAULIEU, MRS. ISAAC	OJIBWA	411 CHAPEL ST., OTTAWA, ONTARIO, CANADA
BEAVER, FRANK	WINNEBAGO	WINNEBAGO, NEBRASKA
BEHAN, GERALD	SIOUX	2943 N. SHERIDAN RD., CHICAGO, ILL.
BELGARDE, CHARLES	CHIPPEWA	MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA
BELGARDE, MRS. CHARLES	CHIPPEWA	MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA
BELVIN, B. FRANK	CHOCTAW	1819 S. DELAWARE, OKMULGEE, OKLAHOMA
BIG BEAR, WANDA (PRINCESS WHITE BEAVER)	SIOUX	423 E. NORTH ST., INDIANAPOLIS, IND.
BIG JOHN, DOLLI	WINNEBAGO	957 OAKDALE (WEST), CHICAGO 14, ILL.
BILLISON, SAMUEL	NAVAJO	BOX 211, WINDOW ROCK, ARIZONA
BIRD, NATHAN	WINNEBAGO	1872 N. HOWE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
BLACKOWL, BILL	CHEYENNE & COMANCHE	4504 N. RACINE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
BLACKOWL, HELEN H.	WINNEBAGO & CHIPPEWA	4504 N. RACINE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
BLACKSMITH, WILBUR	ROSEBUD SIOUX	ROSEBUD, SOUTH DAKOTA
BLATCHFORD, HERBERT	NAVAJO	BOX 892, GALLOP, NEW MEXICO
BLUE, MRS. PEARL	SIOUX	MORTON, MINNESOTA
BLUEBIRD, NORMA	OGLALA SIOUX	ALLAN, SOUTH DAKOTA
BODAH, MRS. RITA	MENOMINEE	KESHANA, WISCONSIN
BOUNDING ELK, RICHARD	PENOBSCOT NATION	23-G SOUTH APTS., U. OF MAINE, ORONO, ME.
BOUNDING ELK, MRS. RICHARD	PENOBSCOT NATION	23-G SOUTH APTS., U. OF MAINE, ORONO, ME.
BOWANNIE, FRED	ZUNI	BOX 69, ZUNI,NEW MEXICO
BOWEN, RALPH E.	SENECA	BOX 117, REDHOUSE, NEW YORK
BROGH, ZARA CISCOE	HASSANAMISCO	HASSANAMISCO RESERVATION, CRAFTON, MASS.
BROWN, FRITZ E.	QUECHAN	BOX 119, WINTER HAVEN, CALIFORNIA
BROWN, GERALD L.	FLATHEAD	3918 17th STREET, SAN FRANCISCO 14, CAL.
BROWN, FATHER JOSEPH	BLACKFEET	PRYOR, MONTANA
BROWN, JOHN	SEMINOLE	SASAKWA, OKLAHOMA
BUCK, JAKE	CREEK	6941 S. RACINE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
BURGESS, WYNEMA	CREEK	ROUTE 1, BROKEN ARROW, OKLAHOMA
BURKE, BURGESS	PIMA	ROUTE 1, BOX 907X, SCOTTSDALE, ARIZONA
BURNETTE, ROBERT	ROSEBUD SIOUX	ROSEBUD, SOUTH DAKOTA
BUSHYHEAD, DENNIS	CHEROKEE	CLAREMORE, OKLAHOMA
CAIN, EVA B.	WINNEBAGO	SOUTH SIOUX CITY, NEBRASKA
CAMPBELL, NORMAN R.	SIOUX	WELCH, MINNESOTA
CARPENTER, ANSEL	SIOUX	1346 CONN. AVE., N.W., WASHINGTON D.C.
CARSON, FRANK	OTOE' MISSION	2215 N. IONE, SHAWNEE, OKLAHOMA
CAVENDER, MRS. CHRIS	SIOUX	GRANITE FALLS, MINNESOTA
CHAIPOS, HAROLD	QUECHAN	BOX 401, WINTERHAVEN, CALIFORNIA
CHARETTE, MRS. FRANCES	CHIPPEWA	512 N. PLYMOUTH, MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA
CHEW, GERTRUDE	TUSCARORA	SANBORN, NEW YORK
CHEW, SHIRLEY	TUSCARORA	SANBORN, NEW YORK
CHICO, FELIX	PAPAGO	3715 N. HALSTEAD, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
CHOSA, BEN	CHIPPEWA	LAC DU FLAMBEAU, WISCONSIN
CIMINO, PETE	CHIPPEWA	3943 S. DORCHESTER, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
CLEVELAND, STEVE	COLVILLE	BREWSTER, WASHINGTON
COBE, AL	CHIPPEWA	255 S. MARION, OAK PARK, ILLINOIS
CONNORS, FRED	CHIPPEWA	BAD RIVER RESERVATION, WISCONSIN

NAME	TRIBE	HOME ADDRESS
CONROY, HARRY	SIOUX	MARTIN, SOUTH DAKOTA
COOKA, GERTRUDE G.	HOPI-CHEYENNE	KEAMS CANYON, ARIZONA
CORDIER	SIOUX	1646 W. OHIO ST., CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
CORNEILSON, TOM	CHEROKEE & ALGONQUIN	156 WHITEHALL RD., ALBANY, NEW YORK
CORNELIUS, MYRON	ONEIDA	WEST DEPERE, WISCONSIN
CRAIN, ALLAN	SEMINOLE	SASAKWA, OKLAHOMA
CROWE, JACQUELINE	CHIPPEWA	ODANAH, WISCONSIN
CROWFOOT, BULLA	CHEROKEE	1647 N. WELLS ST., CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
CRUTCHER, FLOYD	PAIUTE	BOX 46, MC DERMITT, NEVADA
CUMMINS, JOHN B.	CROW	LODGE GRASS, MONTANA
CUNEY, HAZEL L.	OGLALA SIOUX	3926 W. ST. LOUIS, RAPID CITY, SOUTH DAKOTA
CURRUTH, ALVERTO	COCOPAH	YUMA, ARIZONA
DAILEY, CHARLES	LAGUNA PUEBLO	1505 HOFFMAN DR., N.E., ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.
DAILEY, DEWEY W.	OTOE & MISSOURI	RT. 2 EAST, RED ROCK, OKLAHOMA
DAILEY, TONITA	PUEBLO, SANTA CLARA	1505 HOFFMAN DR., N.E., ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.
DANFOITH, AMY	ONEIDA	ONEIDA RT. 1, WISCONSIN
DANIELS, HARRIET	SIOUX	5477 ELLIS, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
DARDARE, HELEN RUTH	CHOCTAW	2407 BAYOU RD., NEW ORLEANS, LA.
DAUPHINAIS, PEARL	CHIPPEWA	715 26th AVE., S., MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
DAUPHINAIS, VONDA	CHIPPEWA & SIOUX	715 26th AVE., S., MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
DAVID, DOROTHY	STOCKBRIDGE-BRIDGE	WAUWATOSA, WISCONSIN
DAVIDS, ELMER	STOCKBRIDGE-MUNSEE	BOWLER, WISCONSIN
DAVIDSON, JACK	CHOCTAW	BEDOUIN TEMPLE, MUSKOGEE, OKLA.
DECORSE, HENRY	QUECHAN	1302 FIFTH AVE., YUMA, ARIZONA
DECORAH, MRS. MATHILDA	WINNEBAGO	RT. 5, BURLINGTON, WIS.
DECORAH, NATHANIEL	WINNEBAGO	RT. 5, BURLINGTON, WIS.
DECORAH, SYLVIA	WINNEBAGO	348 S. HOMAN AVE., CHICAGO, ILL.
DEER, ALFRED	CREEK	WEWOKA, OKLAHOMA
DEERNOSE, AGNES	CROW	LODGE GRASS, MONTANA
DEERNOSE, DON	CROW	LODGE GRASS, MONTANA
DELONEY, GEORGE C.	CHIPPEWA	3221 N. CLARK ST., CHICAGO, ILL.
DELORIA, FATHER VINE	STANDING ROCK SIOUX	501 N. HURON, PIERRE, S. D.
DE PERRY, GERALD	CHIPPEWA	BAYFIELD, WIS.
DOMINIC, ROBERT	OTTAWA-CHIPPEWA	911 FRANKLIN ST., PETOSKEY, MICH.
DOMINIC, WAUNETTA	OTTAWA	911 FRANKLIN ST., PETOSKEY, MICH.
DOUGLAS, ROBERT	CHEROKEE	VALLEY FORGE MILITARY ACAD., WAYNE, PA.
DOZIER, DR. EDWARD P.	SANTA CLARA PUEBLO	UNIVERSITY OF ARIZ., TUCSON, ARIZ.
DUDLEY, PHILLIP C.	YANKTON SIOUX	RAVINIA, SOUTH DAKOTA
DUFFY, PATRICK	CHIPPEWA	BAYFIELD, WIS.
EAGLE BULL, LLOYD	SIOUX	PINE RIDGE, SOUTH DAKOTA
ECKIWARDY, EMERSON	COMANCHE	CAMERON JR. COLLEGE, LAWTON, OKLA.
ELK, MRS. LOUISE M.	UMATILLA	RTE. 1, BOX 168A, PENDLETON, OREGON
EMERSON, CHRISTINE	QUECHAN	152 WINTERHAVEN, CALIFORNIA
EMERSON, GLORIA	NAVAJO	BOX 23 SHIPROCK, NEW MEXICO
EMERSON, LEE	QUECHAN	WINTER HAVEN, CALIFORNIA
EMERSON, THELMA	QUECHAN	" "
EMERY, CHARLES	SIOUX	CHERRY CREEK, S. D.
EMERY, MRS. CHARLES	SIOUX	" "
ENGLISH, INEZ	CHIPPEWA	2119 SEDWICK, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
ENGLISH, MELVIN	SIOUX	2014 WEST FREEMAN, CLEVELAND, OHIO
ENGLISH, SUSAN	SIOUX	" " " "
ENOS, RAYMOND J.	PIMA	P. O. BOX 1241, SCOTTSDALE, ARIZONA
ESCHIEF, BERNADINE	SHOSHONE-BANNOCK	FT. HALL, IDAHO
ESCHIEF, TOM	SHOSHONE-BANNOCK	BOX 327, FT. HALL, IDAHO
ESTEVAN, FRANK	ACOMA-PUEBLO	BOX 318, SAN FIDEL, NEW MEXICO
ESWONIA, LEROY	MOJAVE	P. O. 2553, PARKER, ARIZONA
EVANS, ERMA	STOCKBRIDGE MUNSEE	1523 N. 27th ST., MILWAUKEE, WIS.
ENZAMNA, CHIEF	CREEK	
FASTWOLF, FRANK	SIOUX	7323 S. SANGAMON, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
FASTWOLF, PHYLLIS	ONEIDA SIOUX	" " " "
FAULKNER, ROSE	CHIPPEWA	3943 S. FRANCISCO, SALEM, OREGON
FEDER, SADIE MRS.	SAC AND FOX	2307 S. WEST 27th ST., OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA
FINLEY, DAN	COLVILLE	INCHELIUM, WASHINGTON
FIRE, JIM V.	ARAPAHO	ELRENO, OKLAHOMA
FISHER, FERN	OTOE MISSOURI	805 SUGAR MAPLE, PONCA CITY, OKLA.
FLETCHER, MILTON	CHEROKEE	566 E. 232, EUCLID, OHIO
FORREST, ERIN	PITTRIVER	BOX 763, ALTURAS, CALIFORNIA
FOSS, MRS. ROSE	CHIPPAWA	3200 PORTLAND, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
FOURSTAR, LESLIE	ASSINIBOINE	FORT PECK, MONTANA
FOX, ROBERT	FORT BERTHOLD	EMMET, NORTH DAKOTA
FRANCISCO, ENOS	PAPAGO	SELLS, ARIZONA
FRAZIER, PHILIP	SIOUX	McLAUGHLIN, SOUTH DAKOTA

NAME	TRIBE	HOME ADDRESS
FRAZIER, SUSIE MEEK	SAC & FOX	McLAUGHLIN, SOUTH DAKOTA
FRECHETTE, JAMES	MENOMINEE	KESHENA, WIS.
FREDERICKS, WHITE BEAR	HOPI	BOX 127, ORAIBI, ARIZONA
FUNMAKER, KENNETH	WINNEBAGO	1802 MOHAWK, CHICAGO, ILL.
FUNMAKER, PAULINE	WINNEBAGO	1659 N. VINE, CHICAGO, ILL.
FUNMAKER, HARRY	WIS. WINNEBAGO	" " "
FUNMAKER, RUBY	SAC AND FOX	1802 MOHAWK, CHICAGO, ILL.
GARRY, JOSEPH R.	COEUR D'ALENE	RTE. 1, PLUMMER, IDAHO
GAY, LEIL	SIOUX	911 E. 140th, CLEVELAND, OHIO
GEORGE, LENORA	CAYUGA	15036 ROCKWELL, HARVEY, ILL.
GEORGE, OSWALD C.	COEUR D'ALENE	RTE. 1, PLUMMER, IDAHO
GERARD, FORREST J.	BLACKFEET	6059 N. 9th ST., ARLINGTON VA.
GILLETTE, BRENDA	GROS VENTRE ARICKRARA	EMMET, NORTH DAKOTA
GILPIN, ALFRED W.	OMAHA	BOX 57, MACY, NEBRASKA
GOETTING, RAY	CADDO	1105 FRANCISCAN, GRANTS, NEW MEXICO
GOETTING MRS. RAY	PUEBLO	" " " "
GONZALES, LEONA	TUSCARORA	MOUNT HOPE ROAD, SANBORN, N.Y.
GONZALES, PRISCILLA	AGUA CALIENTE	PALM SPRINGS, CAL.
GONZALES, RUDY	TUSCARORA	MOUNT HOPE ROAD, SANBORN, N.Y.
GOODHOUSE, LOUIE	SIOUX	FORT COTTON, NORTH DAKOTA
GOOD IRON, ALFREDA	MANDAN	2206 NORTH MILWAUKEE, CHICAGO, ILL.
GOUDY, AL	YAKIMA	YAKIMA, WASHINGTON
GRANT, LEON	OMAHA	FLAGSTAFF, ARIZONA
GREENDEER, FRED	WINNIBAGO	550 WEST MELROSE ST., CHICAGO, ILL.
GREENDEER, GEORGE	ONEIDA-WINNEBAGO	" " " "
GREENDEER, MARY	ONEIDA	" " " "
GROVES, JUANITA (LA ROSE)	UTE	MYTON, UTAH
HALL, JAMES, SR.	GROS VENTRE	NEWTOWN, NORTH DAKOTA
HALL, LELAND	GROS VENTRE	" " "
HARDIN, ROSS E.	PAIUTE	BOX 61 MCDERMITT, NEVADA
HARRIS, MABLE	SAC AND FOX	RTE. 1, STROUD, OKLA.
HART, JOHN A.	CHIPPEWA	LUCK, WISCONSIN
HAWKINS, HANK	SNOHOMISH	11503 87th AVE. SO., SEATTLE 88, WASH.
HAYBALL, A. M.	SHOSHONE	BOX 32, FORT HALL, IDAHO
HAYBALL, NORMAN	SHOSHONE	" " "
HERON, GEORGE	SENECA	RED HOUSE, NEW YORK
HILL, MRS. ELLEN	O'NEIDA	R.R. 1, ONEIDA, WIS.
HOLDING, FRANCES	OSAGE	STAR RTE. B, BOX 1, HOMINY, OKLA.
HOLLOWBREAST, WILLIAM	NORTHERN CHEYNNE	LAMEDEER, MONTANA
HOLSTEIN, DOROTHY	WINNEGABO	2950 NORTH GRESHAM, CHICAGO 18,ILL.
HOLY ROCK, JOHNSON	OGLALA SIOUX	PINE RIDGE, SOUTH DAKOTA
HOMER, PETE, SR.	MOHAVE	PARKER, ARIZONA
HOMERATHA, HORTON	OTOE	1413 SE. 41st, OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.
HOOD, HIAWATHA	YAVAPAI	502 W. OAK, CHICAGO, ILL.
HOPKINS, HARRY	MISSION	BOX 4032, BEAUMONT, CALIF.
HOSAY, ALEXANDER	CHIRICAHUA APACHE	1305 S. 12TH, ST. LOUIS, MO.
HOWARD, J. DAN	SIOUX	MORRISTOWN, S. D.
HOWARD, WILBUR	ARIKARA	ALEXANDRIA, KY.
HUNSINGER, MRS. RUTH	(ROSEBUD) BRULE	2904 38TH ST., RAPID CITY, S. D.
JACKSON, AMBROSE	PIMA	ST.JOHNS MISSION HIGH SCHOOL,LAVEEN,ARIZ.
JACKSON, EDMOND, JR.	QUECHAN	BOX 1745, YUMA, ARIZ.
JACOBS, BLANCHE	STOCKBRIDGE MUNSEE	1242 A WEST WASHINGTON,MILWAUKEE,WIS.
JACOBS, LAWRENCE	STOCKBRIDGE MUNSEE	1214 SO.9TH ST., MILWAUKEE, WIS.
JAKE, YETTA	PIAUTE	CEDAR CITY, UTAH
JAMES, EARL	WASHOE	WOODFORDS, CALIF.
JOHNS, EDITH	WINNEBAGO-NEZ PERCE	2861 NO.BROADWAY,CHICAGO, ILL.
JOHNSON, EVA	MENOMINEE	2638 NO.HALSTED ST., CHICAGO, ILL.
JOHNSON, N. B.	CHEROKEE	OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.
JOHNSON, ROBINSON	WINNEBAGO	1637 W. 51ST ST., CHICAGO, ILL.
JOHNSON, STELLA	WINNEBAGO	1912 NO. FREMONT, CHICAGO, ILL.
JOURDAIN, MRS. C. A.	CHIPPEWA	65 E. FRANKLIN,MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
JOURDAIN, ROGER A.	RED LAKE BAND OF CHIPPEWAS	RED LAKE, MINN.
JOZHE, BENEDICT	APACHE	P.O.BOX 308, APACHE, OKLA.
JUMPING EAGLE, IRVING	OGLALA SIOUX	EAGLE BUTTE, S. D.
KABANCO	POTTAWATOMI	1640 NO. 21ST AVE.,MELROSE PARK, ILL.
KABOTIE, FRED	HOPI	ORAIBI, ARIZ.
KAGMEGA, JAMES	POTTAWATOMI	MAYETTA, KANS.
KATHITHA, PRINCESS -CLARA B.ADDISON	NARRAGANSETT	85 AVON ST., NEW HAVEN, CONN.
KEAHNA, COLUMBUS	MESQUAKIE	806 W. DICKENS, CHICAGO, ILL.
KEAHNA, MRS. COLUMBUS	MESQUAKIE	806 W. DICKENS, CHICAGO, ILL.
KEELER, W. W.	CHEROKEE	1118 DEWEY, BARTLESVILLE, OKLA.
KENNEDY, MRS. DOROTHY	SENECA	IRVING, N. Y.

NAME	TRIBE	HOME ADDRESS
KENNEDY, LA FAYETTE JACK	SENECA	IRVING, N. Y.
KENNEDY, LUCY	WINNEBAGO	WINNEBAGO, NEBR.
KETCHESHAWNO, AMELIA	SAC AND FOX	MC CLOUD, OKLA.
KETCHESHAWNO, SHIRLEY	KICKAPOO	MC CLOUD, OKLA.
KETCHESHAWNO, WILLIE	KICKAPOO	MC CLOUD, OKLA.
KIRK, FRIEDA	KLAMATH	BOX 313, CHILOQUIN, ORE.
KITCHEN, MILDRED	AGUA CALIENTE	PALM SPRINGS, CAL.
LA CLAIRE, LEO	MUCKLESHOOT	710 - 4TH ST., AUBURN, WASH.
LADEAUX, FILMORE	SIOUX	1812 W. ERIE, CHICAGO, ILL.
LA FORGE, ALEX	CROW	LODGE GRASS, MONT.
LA FORGE, MRS. ALEX	CROW	LODGE GRASS, MONT.
LA MERE, ROSALIE	ONEIDA	504 W. 33RD ST., CHICAGO, ILL.
LA MERE, WILLARD	WINNEBAGO	504 W. 33RD ST., CHICAGO, ILL.
LA PEARL, CLEO	ONEIDA	1318 HIGHLAND AVE., BERWYN, ILL.
LA PLANTE, ED	CHIPPEWA	3167 N. 15TH ST., MILWAUKEE, WIS.
LA POINT, PETER	WINNEBAGO	406½ ELIZABETH AVE.S.,ALBERT LEA,MINN.
LA ROSE, STELLA	UTE	ROOSEVELT, UTAH
LASLEY, WALTER G.	SAC AND FOX	51 9TH STREET,OAKLAND 7, CALIF.
LE CLAIRE, PETER	PONCA	FAIRFAX, S. D.
LEWIS, CARL	CHIPPEWA	100 PRICEFIELD RD.,TORONTO,ONT.,CANADA
LEWIS, ROE B.	PIMA	2541 NO. 86TH ST., SCOTTSDALE,ARIZ.
LITTLE LIGHT, EDMUND, JR.	CROW	HARDIN, MONT.
LITTLE SWALLOW, DAVID, SR.	MANDAN	NEWTON, N. D.
LIUZZA, LUCIA FRANCES	CHOCTAW	124 N.JEFF.DAVIS, NEW ORLEANS, LA.
LONETREE, MINNIE	WINNEBAGO	PORTAGE, WIS.
MACK, MRS. IRENE	MENOMINEE	NEOPIT, WIS.
MALLORY, JOYCE	WINNEBAGO	1743 SO. 1ST ST., MILWAUKEE, WIS.
MANDAN, MISS ROSE MARIE	MANDAN	2206 NO.MILWAUKEE AVE.,CHICAGO,ILL.
MANITOWABI, GORDON R.	OTTAWA	3401 NO.HALSTED ST., CHICAGO, ILL.
MANY DEEDS, EMANUEL E.	STANDING ROCK SIOUX	40 W.106TH ST., NEW YORK, N. Y.
MARMON, HARRIETT	LAGUNA PUEBLO	811-3/4 57TH ST.,N.W.,ALBUQUERQUE,N.M.
MARTIN, IRENE	SIOUX	OBERON, N. D.
MARTIN, MR. LARRY	CHIPPEWA	2630½ DU PONT AVE.,N.,MINNEAPOLIS,MINN.
MARTIN, PHILLIP	MISSISSIPPI CHOCTAW	PHILADELPHIA, MISS.
MASQUAS, ALICE KETCHESHAWNO	SAC AND FOX	MC CLOUD, OKLA.
MASSLY, MRS. EVELYN	CHEROKEE	205 NO.TRENTON ST.,ARLINGTON,VA.
MAYNOR, HELEN	LUMBEE	PEMBROKE, N. C.
MAYNOR, LACY W.	LUMBEE	PEMBROKE, NORTH CAROLINA
MAYNOR, OLIVIA	LUMBEE	PEMBROKE, N. C.
MC GEE, WILLIAM	HALIWA	HOLLISTEL, N. C.
MC GHEE, CHIEF CALVIN	CREEK	RT.3,BOX 224,ATMORE, ALA.
MC GHEE, MRS. C. W.	CREEK	RT.3,BOX 224,ATMORE, ALA.
MC GHEE, KATHRYN L.	CREEK	245 AQUAMARINE AVE.,PENSACOLA,FLA.
MC GHEE, OPAL F.	CREEK	245 AQUAMARINE AVE.,PENSACOLA,FLA.
MC KINLEY, HOWARD	NAVAJO	FORT DEFIANCE, ARIZ.
MC KINLEY, HOWARD, JR.	NAVAJO	FORT DEFIANCE, ARIZ.
MC LESTER, BLANCH	ONEIDA	BOX 23, ONEIDA, WIS.
MC LESTER, JUDY	ONEIDA	ONEIDA, WIS.
MC NICKLE, D'ARCY	FLATHEAD	205 DEVON, BOULDER, COLO.
MENTA, PRISCILLA G.	QUECHAN	BOX 391, WINTERHAVEN, CALIF.
MERRIVAL, BARTON	SIOUX	920 LAKESIDE, CHICAGO, ILL.
MEYERS, CHARLES F.	WYANDOTTE	19448 HARTWELL, DETROIT 35, MICH.
MILLER, ARVID, SR.	STOCKBRIDGE-MUNSEE	BOWLER, WIS.
MILLER, HELEN MINER	WIS. WINNEBAGO	3400 ROSE, FRANKLIN PARK, ILL.
MINER, KATE THUNDER	WIS. WINNEBAGO	3400 ROSE, FRANKLIN PARK, ILL.
MOCCASIN, STEVEN	SIOUX	WANBLEE, S. D.
MONCUSE, EDWARD	KEWEENAU INDIAN COM.(CHIPPEWA)	BARAGA, MICH.
MONK, ELIZABETH	AGUA CALIENTE	PALM SPRINGS, CALIF.
MONTURE, ETHEL BRANT	MOHAWK	
MORE, MRS. IRENE	ONEIDA	SEYMOUR, WIS.
MORIGEAU, E. W.	FLATHEAD	POLSON, MONTANA EAST SHORE ROUTE
MULL, MARVIN	SAN CARLOS APACHE	SAN CARLOS, ARIZ.
NAQUIN, ESTHER DOLORES	CHOCTAW	2407 BAYOU RD., NEW ORLEANS, LA.
NARCHO, EUNICE	PAPAGO	TUCSON, ARIZ.
NARCHO, RAY	PAPAGO	TUCSON, ARIZ.
NATANI, MARY	WINNEBAGO	5187 MC ARTHUR BLVD.,N.W.,WASHINGTON,D.C.
NECONISH, BLACKHAWK	MENOMINEE	PHLOX, WIS.
NICODEMUS, LAWRENCE	COEUR D'ALENE	PLUMMER, IDAHO
NINHAM, LEE	ONEIDA	ONEIDA, WIS.
NOBLE, JOAN	UTE	ROOSEVELT, UTAH
NULLAKE, RICHARD	SAC AND FOX	3717 N. FREMONT, CHICAGO, ILL.

NAME	TRIBE	HOME ADDRESS
O'CONNOR, WILLIAM	YANKTON SIOUX	LAKE ANDES, S. D. BOX 781
O'LOUGHLIN, CAROL J.	ONEIDA-MOHAWK	926 E. BROADWAY, CHICAGO, ILL.
OLD COYOTE, LLOYD	CROW	CROW AGENCY, MONT.
OLD PERSON, EARL	BLACKFEET	BROWNING, MONT.
ONEFEATHER, JOE	OGLALA SIOUX	PINE RIDGE, S. D.
ORTIZ, DOROTHY	ACOMA PUEBLO	MC CART'S, N. M.
ORTIZ, FRANK L.	ACOMA	BOX 318 SAN FIDEL, N. M.
OWEN, AMOS A.	SIOUX	WELCH, MINN.
OWL, REV. W. DAVID	EASTERN CHEROKEE (N.C.)	VERSAILLES, N. Y.
OWL, GEORGE A.	CHEROKEE	CHEROKEE, N. C.
OWL, MRS. JANIE C.	SENECA (OKLAHOMA)	VERSAILLES, N. Y.
PAINE, RAVINA	POTOWATAMI	15585 ELEVEN MILE RD., ROSEVILLE, MICH.
PASQUAL, CLAUDIS	ACOMA	BOX 594, GRANTS, NEW MEXICO
PARKER, FRANK W.	SHOSHONE-BANNOCK	BOX 183, FORT HALL, IDAHO
PARNALEE, HOLLY	SCHAGICOOKE	610 CHAPSEY HILL RD., BRIDGEPORT, CONN.
PAUL, WILLIAM, SR.	TLINGIT	1521 16th AVE. E., SEATTLE, WASH.
PEDERSEN, RACHEL	WINNEBAGO	1113 EDGEWATER, SIOUX CITY, IOWA
PETERS, MRS. ELSIE	SIOUX	MORTON, MINNESOTA
PETERSON, HELEN L.	OGLALA-SIOUX	1314 CONN. AVE. N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C.
PETRIE, MRS. FLETA CHILDS	CHEROKEE	6701 S. GRETIER ST., CHICAGO 49, ILL.
PIERCE, EARL BOYD	CHEROKEE	MUSKOGIE, OKLAHOMA
PIETZ, FRANCIS L.	CHIPPEWA	810 LELAND AVE., CHICAGO, ILL.
PIPESTEM, FRANCIS	OTOE-MISSOURI	BOX 35, CHILOCCO, OKLAHOMA
PITTS, PAUL	OSAGE	PAWHUSKA, OKLAHOMA
POOR BEAR, ENOS	OGLALA-SIOUX	PINE RIDGE, SOUTH DAKOTA
PONCHO, ROLAND	ALABAMA-COUSHATTA	1431 W. BARRY ST., CHICAGO, ILL.
POTTS, MARIE	MAIDU	2727 SANTA CLARA WAY, SACRAMENTO, CALIF.
POWER, SUSAN L.	STANDING ROCK SIOUX	423 BLACKHAWK, APT. 5F1, CHICAGO, ILL.
POWLESS, ELI	ONEIDA	3410 S. BELL ST., CHICAGO, ILL.
POWLESS, LOYS	ONEIDA	SEYMOUR, WISC.
PREBBLE, MRS. CATHERINE I.	KANSAS, NEBRASKA, IOWA	RULO, NEBRASKA
PRIETO, DORA JOYCE	AGUA CALIENTE	888 N. SUNRISE WAY, PALM SPRINGS, CALIF.
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APPENDIX 9

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Raymond Enos, Scottsdale, Arizona (Pima) - June 17
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07/12/04 MON 17:26 FAX

052

CO-ORDINATOR'S NOTE

This "Declaration of Indian Purpose" was prepared completely by North American Indians. Many non-Indian friends helped Indians to meet and discuss their problems, particularly in nine regional conferences. The nine generous hosts were:

1. The University of Washington and A.F.S.C. (Dr. Erna Gunther)
2. University of Nevada (Dr. Mary Sellers)
3. Arizona State University (Dr. Robert Roessel)
4. College of Great Falls, Montana (Sister Providencia)
5. University of Nebraska (Dr. Preston Holder)
6. University of Oklahoma (Dr. Norman Chance)
7. Milwaukee Public Museum, and University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee (Dr. Stephen Borhegyi)
8. Haverford College and Indian Rights Association (Dr. Theodore Hetzel)
9. Pembroke State College, N. C. (President Walter Gale)

Without this help, understanding of AICC could never have been achieved in time. Many other organizations helped in a variety of ways; thus, the Episcopal Church financed the travel to Chicago of many Indians and the American Friends Service Committee financed the travel of an Indian regional organizer; and so on.

About 145 non-Indians, mainly scholars and religious and community workers and government personnel, also came to the Conference in Chicago as observers and resource people.

Printed June 26, 1961 — Sol Tax, Co-ordinator

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1126 East 59th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

Prices (postpaid, money in advance):
Single copy..... $ 1.00
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Materials preparatory to the Conference may be purchased while supplies last for $3.00, including Progress Reports 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; Coordinator's reports and letters; Preliminary Statement; and Map of Indians of North America.

RESOLUTION: OPPOSITION TO USE OF STEREOTYPICAL NATIVE AMERICAN IMAGES AS SPORTS SYMBOLS AND MASCOTS

Adopted by Governing Council of the American Counseling Association

November 30-December 2, 2001

WHEREAS, The Mission of the American Counseling Association calls for using the profession and practice of counseling to promote respect for human dignity and diversity; and

WHEREAS, Many Native American students and allies have stated that use of NativeAmerican Imagery as mascots and sports symbols creates a hostile environment for their development and dignity; and

WHEREAS, Many organizations, including the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Education Association, and the National Organization for Women, have called on educational institutions to cease the use of such imagery; and

WHEREAS, Many ACA members work in educational institutions and therefore have opportunities to have an impact on this issue;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Counseling Association disseminate educational materials highlighting the negative consequences of the use of stereotypical Native American images; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Counseling Association support and collaborate with organizations opposing this practice; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Counseling Association encourage its members to work toward elimination of stereotypical Native American images in institutions where they are employed.

The American Counseling Association is the world's largest association representing professional counselors. "The mission of the American Counseling Association is to enhance the quality of life in society by promoting the development of professional counselors, advancing the counseling profession, and using the profession and practice of counseling to promote respect for human dignity and diversity."

Return to Homepage
Return to More Educators' Resources
Return to 2001 Retrospective

Society of Indian Psychologists

About SIP

Membership Information

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Convention Information

Society Leaders

Links

Home

Statement on American Indian Sports Mascots

Read the related story from the APA Monitor

Society of Indian Psychologists
January 27, 1999

We the undersigned members of the Society of Indian Psychologists of the Americas, write this letter in support of "retiring" all Indian personalities as the official symbols and mascots of universities, colleges or schools (and athletic teams). We support doing so because of a variety of concerns related to the ethical practice of psychology. As a professional society of psychologists we operate under these professional ethical guidelines.

We are concerned that the continued use of Indian symbols and mascots seriously compromises our ability to engage in ethical professional practice and service to the campus (delete campus if addressing all mascots) community. We believe that it establishes an unwelcome academic environment for Indian (students, staff, and faculty) and contributes to the miseducation of all members of the (campus) community regarding the cultural practices and traditions of an entire ethnic group. In our view, the use of an historically and culturally inaccurate, stereotypic image undermines the educational experience of all members of the (University) community. It seems especially problematic for those who have had little or no contact with Indian people and their cultures.

Stereotypical and historically inaccurate images of Indians in general interfere with learning about them by creating, supporting and maintaining oversimplified and inaccurate views of indigenous peoples and their cultures. When stereotypical representations are taken as factual information, they contribute to the development of cultural biases and prejudices, (clearly a contradiction to the educational mission of the University.) In the same vein, we believe that continuation of the use of Indians as symbols and mascots is incongruous with the philosophy espoused by many Americans as promoting inclusivity and diversity.

We understand that some affiliated with the institutions having a long history of use of these symbols may have a special attachment to them. We also understand and believe that this attachment may not have been formed out of maliciousness or negative intentions. To the extent, however, that tradition and/or economic issues are major obstacles to change, they should not usurp the principles of a society struggling to put an end to racism. What once may have been a unifying symbols for the various bodies using these symbols has become a source of cross-cultural conflict. In light of all of these factors, we strongly support and encourage the all such entities to develop a new symbol consistent with and contributing to the positive realization of national principles (our educational mission.)

In support of our concern about the ethically problematic nature of this issue for the professional practice of psychology, we cite relevant portions of the "Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct" (American Psychological Association [APA, 1992]) and the "Guidelines for Providers of Psychological Services to Ethnic, Linguistic and Culturally Diverse Populations" (APA, 1992).

Principle D (Respect for People's Rights and Dignity) states:

Psychologists accord appropriate respect to the fundamental rights, dignity, and worth of all people. They respect the rights of individuals to privacy, confidentiality, self-determination, and autonomy, mindful that legal and other obligations may lead to inconsistency and conflict with the exercise of these rights. Psychologists are aware of cultural, individual, and role differences, including those due to age, gender, race, ethnicity, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status. Psychologists try to eliminate the effect on their work of biases based on those factors, and they do not knowingly participate in or condone unfair discriminatory practices.

Principle E (Concern for Others' Welfare) states:

Psychologists seek to contribute to the welfare of those with whom they interact professionally. In their professional actions, psychologists weigh the welfare and rights of their patients or clients, students, supervisees, human research participants, and other affected persons....

When conflicts occur among psychologists' obligations or concerns, they attempt to resolve these conflicts and to perform their roles in a responsible fashion that avoids or minimizes harm. Psychologists are sensitive to real and ascribed differences in power between themselves and others, and they do not exploit or mislead other people during or after professional relationships.

Principle F (Social Responsibility) states:

Psychologists are aware of their professional and scientific responsibilities to the community and the society in which they work and live. They apply and make public their knowledge of psychology in order to contribute to human welfare. Psychologists are concerned about and work to mitigate the causes of human suffering. When undertaking research, they strive to advance human welfare and the science of psychology. Psychologists try to avoid misuse of their work. Psychologists comply with the law and encourage the development of law and social policy that serve the interests of their patients and clients and the public..

In addition, several of the "Guidelines for Providers of Psychological Services to Ethnic, Linguistic and Culturally Diverse Populations" also address our concerns on this issue.

5. Psychologists respect client's religious and/or spiritual beliefs and values, including attributions and taboos, since they affect world view, psychosocial functioning, and expressions of distress.

a. Part of working in minority communities is to become familiar with indigenous beliefs and practices and respect them.

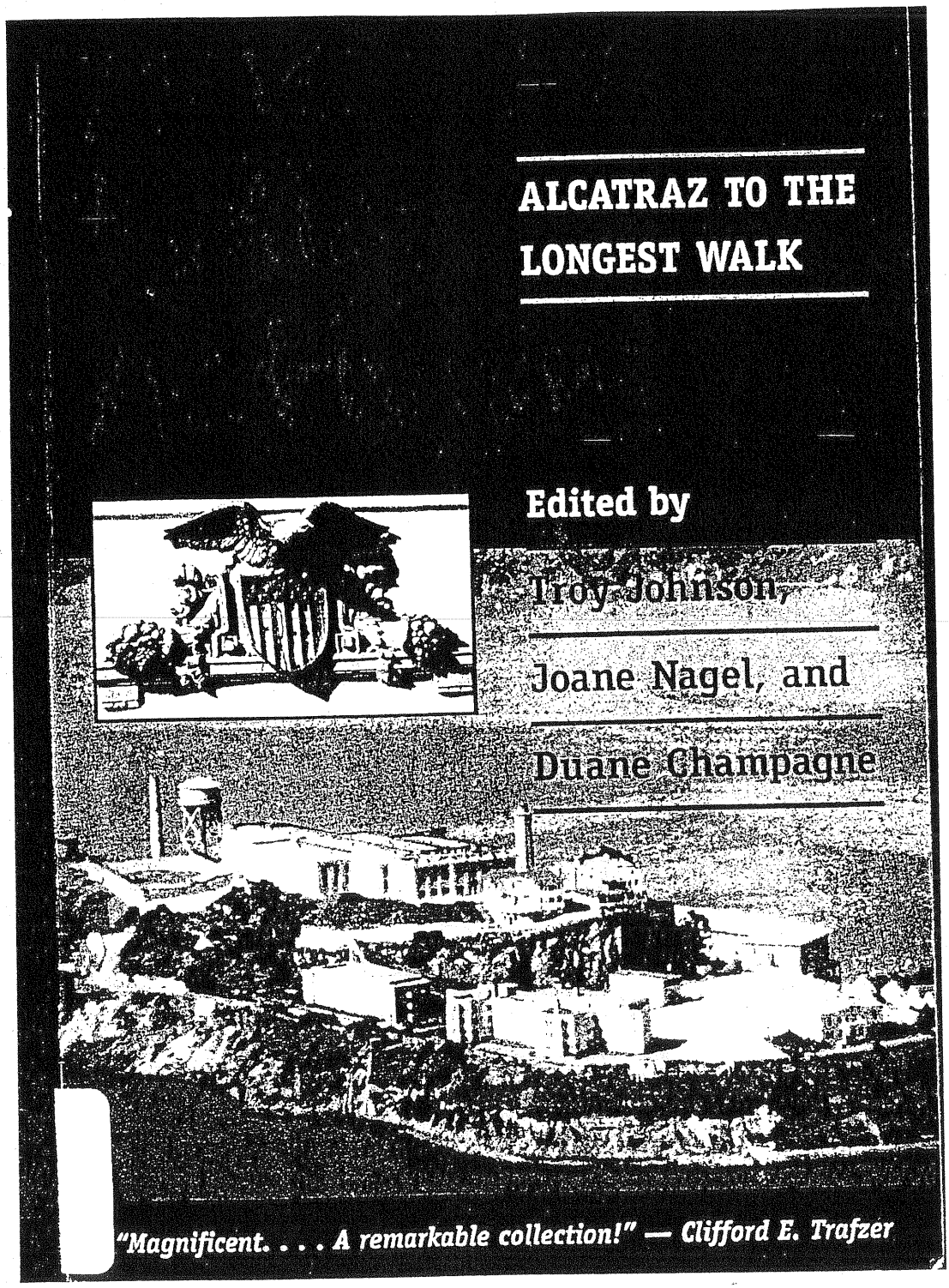
7. Psychologists consider the impact of adverse social, environmental and political factors in assessing problems and designing interventions.

b. Psychologists work within the cultural setting to improve the welfare of all persons concerned, if there is a conflict between cultural values and human rights.

#8. Psychologists attend to as well as work to eliminate biases, prejudices, and discriminatory practices.

a. Psychologists acknowledge relevant discriminatory practices at the social and community level that may be affecting the psychological welfare of the population being served."

We applaud the current efforts across the nation to have this crucial issue raised and addressed in a responsible and productive way. It is our hope this letter contributes to that effort.


ALCATRAZ TO THE
LONGEST WALK
Edited by
Troy Johnson,
Joane Nagel, and
Duane Champagne
"Magnificent. . . . A remarkable collection!" — Clifford E. Trafzer

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AD-252

1

AMERICAN INDIAN ACTIVISM AND TRANSFORMATION: LESSONS FROM ALCATRAZ

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The occupation of Alcatraz Island in 1969–71 initiated a unique nine-year period of Red Power protest that culminated in the transformation of national consciousness about American Indians and engendered a more open and confident sense of identity among people of Indian descent. Between 20 November 1969 and the Longest Walk in 1978, there were more than seventy property takeovers by Indian activists.[1] This series of collective actions is referred to as the Alcatraz–Red Power Movement (ARPM) because it started with—and was modeled after—the Alcatraz takeover. Certainly, many individual Indian people were politically active before and after this period, but what made the movement so powerful were the large numbers of *organized* demonstrations and the property seizures aimed at airing national and local Indian grievances.

The ARPM was predominantly a struggle to secure redress for overwhelming conditions of political, cultural, and economic disadvantage that mirrored the long history of Indian poverty, not only on reservations, but more recently in urban environments. Current theories of social movements focus on situations of group repression or disadvantage while emphasizing elements of individual and group choice, such as active leaders, effectively organized groups, formation of common group and individual interests, and the development of group ideology.[2] Both repressive and voluntarist elements must be analyzed to understand the rise, development, and decline of social movements. Voluntarist elements within the ARPM include charismatic leaders, the legacy of historical Indian resistance and social movements, the tactic of property seizure, a pan-Indian identity, formation of a national activist organization—in this case, the American Indian Movement

AD-253

(AIM)—and a common national agenda of self-determination for Indian people and communities. Other structural and voluntarist elements are situational and have to be understood within the specific historical context. Some of these situational events are the civil rights movement, the Vietnam War protests, widespread student activism, the rise of radical ethnic groups, the reluctance of the federal government to overtly repress social movements during the late 1960s and early 1970s, and the mass media attention heaped on many Indian takeovers, including Alcatraz Island.

Despite its influence, the occupation of Alcatraz Island has largely been overlooked by those who write or speak today of American Indian activism. Much has been written about the battles fought by Indian people for their rights to hunting and fishing areas reserved by treaties in the states of Washington, Oregon, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, as well as about Six Nations efforts to secure guaranteed treaty rights in the northeastern United States and Indian actions protesting the demeaning use of Native American mascots by athletic teams. The 1972 takeover of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) headquarters in Washington, D.C., and the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee are also well known, as is the killing of the young Coeur d'Alene Indian Joseph Stuntz and also the deaths of two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge Reservation in 1975, which resulted in the imprisonment of Leonard Peltier. Yet it was the occupation of Alcatraz Island that launched the greatest wave of modern-day American Indian activism. In the pages that follow, we will describe and analyze the rise, organization, fall, and legacy of the Alcatraz–Red Power Movement.

The Legacy of Native American Activism

The ARPM protests were not unusual in that they were part of a long line of rebellions and social movements among Native Americans as means to resist colonial and U.S. control over their livelihood, culture, government, and resources. To better understand the ARPM, we will compare it with some of the major types of Indian movements occurring throughout history, pointing out similarities, differences, and important continuities.

Religious revitalization movements, numerous in Native American history, have provided spiritual solutions to the conditions of economic marginalization, political repression, and major losses of territory, as well as the ability to carry on traditional life. The more notable movements of this type include the Delaware Prophet (1760–63), the Shawnee Prophet (1805–11), the Winnebago Prophet (1830), the Ghost Dance of 1870, and the Ghost Dance of 1890; but there are also many local and lesser-known movements. In each of these, a prophet relied on ritual knowledge and power to gather

AD-254

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. . . to take up leadership roles in the Mohawk Longhouse."[15] This was largely an attempt by Fadden and other Mohawk to preserve and revive Iroquois lifeways. Seeing the spiritual crisis caused by the death of key elders and noting that many young Indians were moving away from the faith, Benedict and Gambill founded the White Roots of Peace, which was committed to the preservation of tradition by bringing back the Great Binding Law through speaking engagements to Indian and non-Indian communities and school audiences.

As part of this increase in Indian activism in the 1960s, the Taos Pueblo Indians of New Mexico reasserted their claims to ancestral lands. In 1906, the U.S. government had appropriated the Taos Blue Lake area, a sacred site belonging to the Taos Pueblos, and incorporated it into part of the Carson National Forest.[16] In 1926, the tribe, in reply to a compensation offer made by the government, waived the award, seeking return of Blue Lake instead. As a result, they got neither the compensation nor Blue Lake. On 31 May 1933, the Senate Indian Affairs Committee recommended that the Taos Pueblo Indians be issued a permit to use Blue Lake for religious purposes. The permit was finally issued in 1940. On 13 August 1951, the tribe filed a suit before the Indian Claims Commission seeking judicial support for the validity of their title to the lake. On 8 September 1965, the Indian Claims Commission affirmed that the U.S. government had taken the area from its rightful owners. On 15 March 1966, legislation was introduced to return Blue Lake to the Taos Pueblo Indians; however, the bill died without action in the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Subcommittee. On 10 May 1968, House Bill 3306 was introduced to restore the sacred area to the tribe. Although it was passed unanimously in the House of Representatives, it once again died in the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Subcommittee.[17]

The return of Taos Blue Lake became the centerpiece of Indian policy for the administration of Richard Nixon, the incoming president. Two other significant events also had a strong effect on Nixon's developing policy of Indian self-determination. First was the receipt of a study of the BIA by Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., entitled *The American Indian and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1969*.[18] In his report, completed on 24 February 1969, Josephy chastised the federal government for its ineptitude in the handling of Indian affairs. Specifically, he condemned the failure of various presidents to effect any change in the multilayered, bureaucratically inept BIA, the failure of the government's Indian education policy, and the high rates of unemployment, disease, and death on Indian reservations as a result of neglect of Indian people by the federal government. Second was the publication in 1969 of Edgar S. Cahn's *Our Brother's Keeper: The Indian in White America*, a study of the ineptitude of the BIA and an indictment of the BIA for its failure to carry out its responsibilities to the American Indian people.[19] Cahn high-

AD-255

lighted the numerous studies of Indian people, all except one conducted by non-Indians, and stated that "recommendations have come to have a special non-meaning for Indians. They are part of a tradition in which policy and programs are dictated by non-Indians, even when dialogue and consultation have been promised."[20]

Other movements, such as the Alaska Native Claims Movement of 1960–71, raged on. This particular movement consisted of regional coalitions of over two hundred Alaska Native villages joined in a statewide land claims protest. A large land claims settlement was finally negotiated in 1971 whereby the Alaska Natives retained 44 million acres of land and received $962.5 million and other benefits.[21] The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) of 1971 became a model for many struggling indigenous movements around the world.

Indian protests for assertion of treaty-based fishing rights continued throughout the 1960s and early 1970s and were often associated with arrests and violence. In a 1970 protest over treaty fishing rights at Frank's Landing in Washington State, sixty Indians were arrested. SAIA members, led by Janet McCloud, a Tulalip Indian, gathered in Seattle and marched in protest at the federal courthouse. In January 1971, Hank Adams, a former member of NIYC and now a member of SAIA who had participated in a decade of fish-ins, was shot in the stomach by two white sport fishermen as he slept in his pick-up truck. Adams had been tending a set of fish nets for a friend on the Puyallup River. He survived the shooting, but the police, who sympathized with the non-Indian sport fishermen, disputed his account of the incident and did not search for his attackers. In February 1974, a federal judge, George Boldt, ruled in *United States v. Washington* to uphold the treaty rights of Indian people to fish at their usual and accustomed grounds and stations off reservation and "in common with" other citizens.[22]

Self-determination formed the logic for much tribally based litigation, lobbying, and protest action. The outlines of the Indian self-determination policy were formed during the late 1960s, when Zuni Pueblo took advantage of a little-known law to contract BIA services. The Zuni wanted to minimize BIA interference in their community, preferring to manage their own affairs. The success of the Zuni contracting of BIA programs came to the attention of Nixon administration officials, and the new self-determination policy announced in 1970 was based on contracting of federal and BIA services directly to tribal governments. However, the contracting mechanisms for enabling tribal governments to take advantage of the self-determination policy were not worked out until passage of the Indian Self-Determination and Education Act of 1975. Nevertheless, the new policy of self-determination was designed to give Indian people greater control over their communities, tribal governments, and reservation institutions, all of

AD-256

which had been managed by BIA officials since late in the nineteenth century. Although ultimately the effects of the self-determination policy were limited, most Indian communities strongly favored the new policy.

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, Native Americans thus had a rich and long legacy of social movements. Most were tribally centered around treaty or land issues. Others were multitribal, led by groups such as the NCAI and composed of loose coalitions of tribal groups or members allied temporarily to struggle against a common external threat, such as termination. Most Indian social movements revolved around issues of injustice, deprivation, or suppression, something they shared with the Alcatraz–Red Power Movement. The fact that the ARPM relied on a history of past incidents to inform and organize its members and leadership also was not unusual. The ARPM drew selectively on many elements of Indian history, especially symbols of resistance. Geronimo, the Apache leader who fought against U.S. control over reservation communities in the 1880s, was one such symbol for the Alcatraz Island occupiers. Custer's defeat in 1876 was used to symbolize Indian victory and defiance, and the Wounded Knee Massacre in 1890 became a major symbol of Indian repression during the Wounded Knee seizure in 1973.

The ARPM was very different from earlier and contemporary Indian social movements. Its members sought change and inclusion in U.S. institutions while preferring to retain Indian cultural identity. This was a form of nonassimilative inclusion that was not well understood at the time but later helped form the contemporary vision of a multicultural society. The defining characteristics of the ARPM were its emphasis on a supratribal identity and the tactic of property seizure, which was used only sparingly by other Indian social movements. Since most Indian people were repressed and marginalized throughout the 1960s, there was much activism, but nothing of the scale or significance of the Alcatraz–Red Power Movement in terms of tactics, new identity formation, visibility in U.S. society, and bringing attention to Indian issues. So we must look to other issues beyond the legacy of Indian social movements for explaining the rise of the ARPM, its goals, pattern of organization, and tactics, as well as its legacy.

Change and Protest in American Society

The occupation of Alcatraz Island occurred at the height of considerable urban unrest in the United States. To understand both the causes of the occupation and its consequences for American Indian activism, individual ethnic consciousness, and Native American community survival, it is important to recall the atmosphere of the 1960s and the changes underway in U.S. social and political life at the time.