

# **American Indian Physical Education And Health Traditions and Contributions**

by  
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## **Biographical Sketch of the Author**

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# AMERICAN INDIAN PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND HEALTH TRADITIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

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## INTRODUCTION

For a moment, think about the images your mind holds of traditional American Indian life and individuals. Visions of longhouses, tipis and stone cities, of horses, canoes and totem poles. Images of hard-working men and women defending their homes and loved ones, gathering herbs and roots, farming, hunting and fishing, scraping hides, making tools and weapons and art, quilling fine dress clothes, telling stories, bearing and raising children. Shamans. Songs, drums and dances. Women and men discussing the concerns of the day, leading their communities. Images one after another.

Think beyond the limits of what the words above suggest. Do you see any of the many aspects of American Indian life that most movie and television images of Indians leave out of the picture(s)? In particular, do you see many images of the American Indian as athlete, as lover of games and sports of many kinds?

Sports and games are a universal aspect of human cultures, as much as art, literature, science, economic activities and the inner life of the thoughts and emotions. American Indians, like all other peoples, love to play and enjoy the exhilaration of exerting the capacities of the human body to the utmost in competition with others.

Explore American Indian traditions and look upon the present-day realities of our way of life and you find sports and games occupying a prominent place. This essay is devoted to the athletic and health contributions of American Indians to world culture. It offers a look at the place and meaning of physical fitness, health, dance, sports and games in American Indian life.

Let's begin at the heart. What significance do sports and games have for Indian people? Certainly sports and games have long been appreciated by American Indian people for their value in meeting the purposes of what is now called physical education – the building of perceptual and motor skills as well as strength, endurance and flexibility in action.

These skills and capacities can be enjoyed for themselves, but are particularly valuable when transferred to meeting the mundane challenges of life. Traditional cultural activities involved Indians in the practical matters of farming and child-rearing, in hunting and warfare, in making clothing, household furnishings and tools, and in traveling afoot, on horseback or by canoe. All of these activities call upon and develop human skills, strength and endurance. All are forms of physical education as much as are sports or conditioning regimens.

The extraordinary exertions involved in healing the sick and penetrating the mysteries of life and the cosmos call for strength and stamina. The challenges facing the shaman and healer are best met by those whose bodies and minds are in harmony and tuned for endurance, quick responses and decisive actions.

Outside the continuing practices and concerns of traditional life, modern American Indians best meet the stresses and challenges of contemporary life when the body is fit and healthy, the senses alert and attuned to all that is happening.

American Indian views of the world generally assert that all of life is interconnected. Each being and activity has its place in the Medicine Wheel of existence and, by virtue of its nature and relationship to the rest of the cosmos, carries influence and what Indian people refer to as power.

Dr. Joseph Oxendine (Lumbee) has offered us a clear statement about sports and physical education in American Indian life. He explains in the following passage from

his recent book, **American Indian Sports Heritage**, that sports and games are important and are linked to everything else, just as the philosophy of the Medicine Wheel suggests:

Non-Indian literature, folklore, and traditions among today's Indians show unmistakably that sports were steeped in tradition and intimately related to all phases of life, especially to ceremony, ritual, magic, and religion. Investigation reveals, furthermore, that although many of these activities began as religious rites and evolved into sports over time, they nevertheless retained their connections to customs and traditions. Consequently, sports were never viewed as addenda to more serious aspects of life but as an integral part of it.<sup>1</sup>

We will see illustrations of these ideas at several places below in the discussion of American Indian sports.

### **Stewart Culin's Typology of American Indian Games and Sports**

In the last decade of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th, a scholar of games named Stewart Culin became interested in a project proposed by Frank Cushing of the Smithsonian Institution. These two men were going to make a comparison of the games of the Western and Eastern Hemispheres, searching out parallels and differences. When Cushing's ill health prevented him from pursuing his part of this collaborative effort, Culin set about the task of learning about the games and sports of American Indians.

He spent about 16 years in the effort, reading the accounts of explorers and missionaries, soldiers and Indian agents, and eventually spending six years in visiting reservations to gather information firsthand.

The result was his report to the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1902. This report was first published in 1907 and has since been reprinted under the title **Games of the North American Indians**.<sup>2</sup> This book is the most comprehensive study of American Indian games to date. It covers in detail the equipment and manner of play of sports

and games practiced by Indians in the United States and Canada, with incidental mentions of some games played by the Maya and by Indians in Mexico. Most of the games are traditional. Culin also clearly notes where newly adopted European games were being played by Indians at the time he did his research.

Culin went beyond merely cataloging the sports and games of native North America. He performed a comparative analysis which enabled him to draw the conclusion that the great majority of American Indian recreations fall into just a few major categories, each with several types of games or sports. Each type had many local variations, but Culin's analysis led him to argue that the archetypal games were fundamentally few in number. The variations appeared to be due to local differences in climate, available materials for equipment, or pre-existing cultural traditions into which the games were fit as they were spread from tribe to tribe over the generations.

Culin's categories were 'games of chance', 'games of dexterity', 'minor amusements' including many children's games, 'unclassified games' played by only a few tribes, 'games derived from Europeans', and 'running races'.<sup>3</sup>

Types of games of chance include dice games and several kinds of guessing games. These include stick games, hand games, four-stick games, and the game of moccasin, also called the 'hidden bullet' game.

Types of games of dexterity include archery, snow-snake throwing, hoop-and-pole games, ring and pin games, and several kinds of ball games.

The ball games Culin was aware of include racket games (lacrosse in various forms), shinny (a predecessor of field and ice hockey), double ball, ball racing, football games (not the same as American-style football), hand-and-foot ball, tossed ball, foot-cast ball, juggling, and the 'hot ball' game.

Among Culin's 'minor amusements' not covered in this essay, he listed games including shuttlecock (like ping-pong and badminton, although played without a table or

net), tipcat, quoits (knocking over a small target with thrown stones), stone-throwing for distance, shuffleboard (played on ice among the Lakota), jackstraws, swings, stilts, tops, bull-roarers, buzzes, popguns, bean shooters, and cat's cradle. Of these games and pastimes, tops and cat's cradle games appear to have been the most widely distributed.

Because Culin's compact analytic scheme is well suited to the purposes of this essay, its major components have been borrowed for the structure of the discussion in the sections below on Games and Sports. Readers who are interested in the details of the activities or in the differences between versions of the games as played in various tribes are advised to refer to Culin's extensive (800+ pages) tome.

For the benefit of those readers who may not have the opportunity to examine the original, I take the liberty of presenting here an extensive quotation from Culin, in which he states his summary of conclusions about North American Indian sports and games:

(1) That the games of the North American Indians may be classified in a small number of related groups.

(2) That morphologically [pertaining to form] they are practically identical and universal among the tribes.

(3) That as they now exist [1907], they are either instruments of rites or have descended from ceremonial observances of a religious character.

(4) That their identity and unity are shared by the myth or myths with which they are associated.

(5) That while their common and secular object appears to be purely a manifestation of the desire for amusement or gain, they are performed also as religious ceremonies, as rites pleasing to the gods to secure their favor, or as processes of sympathetic magic, to drive away sickness, avert other evil, or produce rain and the fertilization and reproduction of plants and animals, or other beneficial results.

(6) That in part they agree in general and in particular with certain widespread ceremonial observances found on the other continents, which observances, in what appear to be their oldest and most primitive manifestations, are almost exclusively divinatory.<sup>4</sup>

Note that what Culin, a non-Indian expert on European and Indian games, says

about the spiritual and ceremonial aspect of American Indian sports is just about the same as what Oxendine, an Indian expert on Indian sports, has to say on the subject.

What this traditional Indian connection between spirituality and sports means today varies more than it once did. It may or may not mean much to young boys with a basketball shooting hoops at the tribal gymnasium or on a school play field. It may still mean everything to the runners, young and old alike, who stride from the Hopi mesas or out on the hills and prairies of the Great Plains while greeting the dawn. Like much else in American Indian life, the cultural changes of the past five centuries have transformed but not destroyed some of the elements of the traditions of sport in the lives of the People.

## **AMERICAN INDIAN GAMES**

This section spotlights what Stewart Culin called the 'games of chance' and some of the 'minor amusements' traditionally played by Indians in North America. The former were, and still are, principally games where a set of objects are manipulated to confuse the opposing player as to the true location of one or more marked objects in the set. The skill of guessers in intuiting the outcome of the manipulation was matched against the skill of the manipulators in physically and spiritually misdirecting their opponents.

The games of chance provide a focus for a favorite passion of many American Indians, that of wagering on one's skills in the match. The bone games and dice games are felt by Indian players to be primarily a contest of intuitive skills. The 'minor amusements' category of games includes many forms of toy play which might often involve competitive matches of skills in using the toy items, such as tops or bull-roarers.

Teachers interested in learning the details of these games, particularly the styles of play objects or the manner of play that might be distinctive to a particular tribe, are urged to consult Culin's book, using the tables on his pages 36-43 as an index to locate

the desired information. Here, I simply present general information about the nature of the games and their associated equipment.

### **Dice Games**

Dice games were extremely common, indeed nearly universal among American Indians. Culin reported such games in 130 tribes he studied and noted that they did not appear absent from any tribe. Dice games involved a throw of the dice by each side, with the higher score winning a counter. Dice might be thrown by hand against a stone or hide, simply dropped, or shaken about in a basket.

Culin believed that the basic dice game may have originated among American Indians in play for the possession of valued arrows, noting that arrows were actually used as counters by some tribes. Others used sticks marked in the same way as the shafts of arrows in that they bore the owner's or maker's distinctive marks. A game of dice would end when one player or side won all the counters.

The playing objects, or dice, were of a great many forms – stones, beans, fruit pits, marked sticks, bones, animal teeth, grains of corn, or shaped stone and pottery disks were all used. Indian dice were two sided, one side being marked and the other plain. Sometimes one of the dice would be specially and differently marked on both sides, and the score of the thrower would be augmented depending on which of the sides turned up on the throw.

Different tribes used various numbers of dice; usually the game was played with more than two. It was common to throw four dice, each representing one of the four sacred directions, but some games were played with as many as nine dice.

Both men and women played dice, but usually games were segregated by sex. In those tribes where the game of dice have ceremonial and divinatory functions, as at Zuni Pueblo where the game is sacred to the War God, the men alone play in the ceremonial games.<sup>5</sup>

### **The Stick Game**

In stick games, a bundle of sticks or small cylinders of wood or reeds are manipulated in the hands. One hand will hold an odd number of sticks or have one stick that is distinguished by a small, concealable mark. The guessing opponent tries to intuit which hand of the manipulator will have the odd number of sticks or the marked stick.

A correct guess wins a stick as a counter and turns the role of manipulator over to the successful guesser. A wrong guess loses a counter, and the game is played until one player or team of players has won all the sticks. Spectators to a stick game usually join in by placing side bets with each other either for or against a guesser.

On the West Coast, players would sometimes hide the manipulated sticks under a pile of shredded cedar bark.

Culin noted a range in the number of sticks from 10 to over 100. Often these playing sticks would be painted or carved with marks identical to those used to designate ownership of arrows. Unlike the dice games, which are usually played in silence, the stick game is accompanied by chants and songs (often magical) and/or drumming.<sup>6</sup>

My personal experience in stick games only confirms what generations of Indian players have known – the match of skills between manipulator and guesser, combined with the power of the chants and drum, and augmented by the excitement of complex patterns of wagering, makes the stick game exciting and engrossing. Children quickly learn this game and are fond of it.

### **The Bone Game or Hand Game**

The hand or bone game is played in a manner similar to the stick game. In the bone game, one or two pairs of small, cylindrical bone pieces are manipulated and the guesser tries to intuit which hand holds the unmarked piece of the pair. The marked

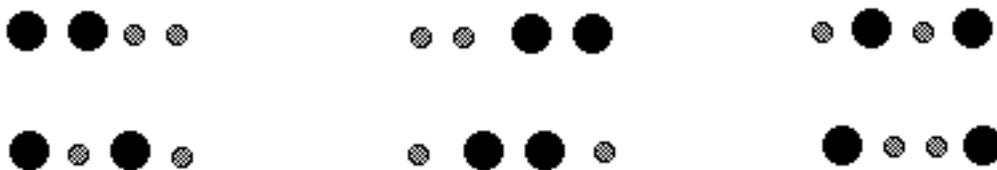
piece can be carved, painted or have a leather thong tied around its middle. These marks are often in pairs of bands; the marked bone is called the 'woman' bone. The unmarked piece is referred to as the 'man' bone.

A group of pointed sticks is used for the counters in this game. These are customarily thrust in the ground between the two players or sides during play. The counters number from five on up, with a dozen being commonly used.

As in the stick game, a correct guess causes the bones to change sides, while an incorrect guess gives a counter to the side of the manipulator. A guess is indicated by thrusting out an arm, palm outstretched, to point to the left or right hand side of the manipulator, whichever the guesser believes holds the unmarked bone. Special gambling songs or chants are usually sung by the members of the manipulator's team. Each member of the team takes turns as manipulator in rotation as the bones pass back and forth between the sides.<sup>7</sup>

#### Four-Stick Games

A few tribes, among them the Klamath, Paiute, and Modoc of Oregon, play a game called the four-stick game. In this game, two large-diameter and two small-diameter sticks are used, each about a foot long. They may be decorated by painting, charring, or by wrapping with leather. The larger-diameter sticks are often tapered at the ends. These sticks are manipulated and placed side-by-side under a blanket or large, flat basket. The object for the opposing side is to guess which of the six possible patterns or configurations the sticks will be in, as shown in cross-section below:



The six possible arrangements of the playing pieces in the four-stick game.

A correct guess results in the turnover of the sticks. An incorrect guess, depending on which configuration is laid out, results in the loss of zero, one, or two counter sticks. Usually six counter sticks are used and these start the game in the possession of the side that guesses first. As they are won and lost, they are thrust into the ground in front of the winning side. The guess is indicated by various combinations and motions of the index and middle fingers, and this varies somewhat between the tribes that play this game.<sup>8</sup>

### Ring and Pin Games

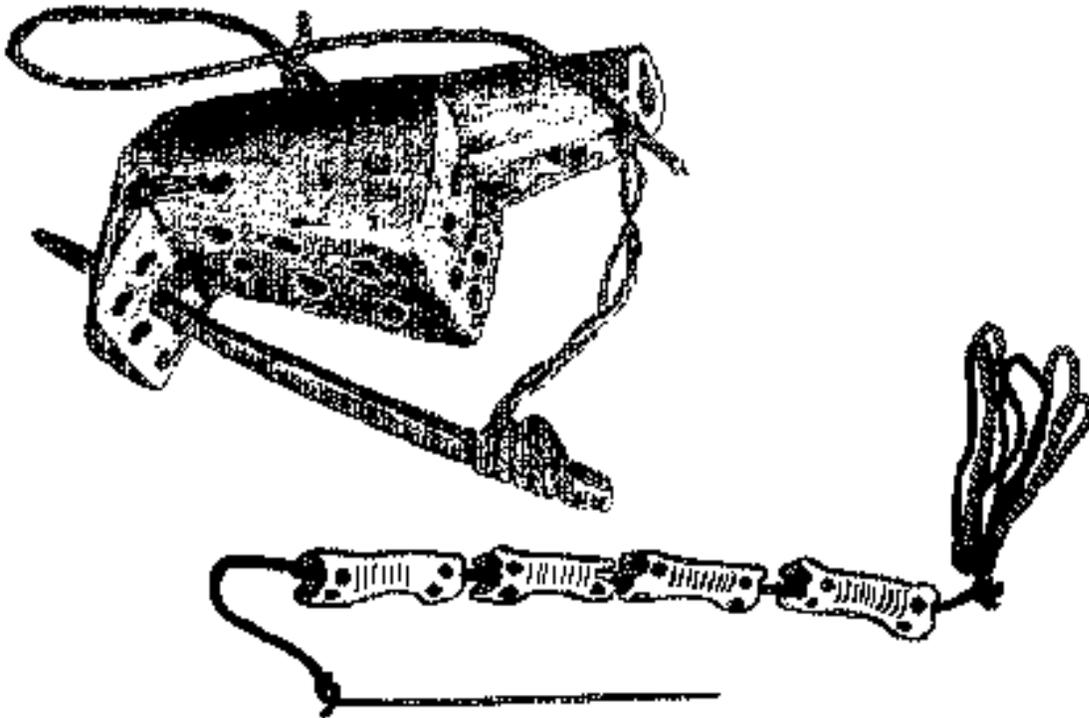
While Culin classified the ring and pin game under his category of 'games of dexterity' along with other activities that seem to meet a definition of 'sports', it is considered here because it was typically played by a single person, or by several individuals taking turns. Ring and pin was most often played by women and girls. Culin thought that this game was a modified form of the hoop and pole field sport, described below. He compared it to the European game of 'cup and ball', which it resembles.

In the ring and pin game a thin bone or wood pin or a needle is used to transfix a small target or targets to which it is attached by a thread or thong. The hand holds the pin and flips the target up by the thong; the player then tries to pierce one or more of the targets.

The targets are made of a great variety of materials. Small bones were often strung along the body of the cord, and an end target usually completed the toy. The end targets had many forms and much variability in material. Some were a flap of leather with holes, or a carved piece of bone or ivory with holes. Some end targets were wrapped bundles of grass or a large tuft of fur.

The small bones along the body of the cord were frequently marked and pierced with holes, and were scored differently depending on their position on the cord or which

hole of the bone was transfixed. Two examples of ring and pin game equipment are illustrated below.



Upper left: Cumberland Sound Inuit ('Eskimo') ring and pin toy representing a polar bear.  
Lower right: Grosventre ring and pin toy of deer bones with beaded loop end targets.  
Drawn from illustrations in Stewart Culin, **North American Indian Games**.

### **The Moccasin or Hidden Bullet Game**

The last of the major types of North American Indian games of chance is the moccasin or 'hidden bullet' game. This game is ordinarily played by men. Four hollow canes, wooden tubes, cups, or moccasins are used. In one of these the manipulator hides a small cylinder, stone, or bean, or, after Contact, a small ball or bullet. Some tribes in the Southwest use mounds of sand or tubes filled with sand in place of the moccasins.

A correct guess by the manipulator's opponent in the game turns over the side

hiding the 'bullet', while an incorrect guess costs the opponent's team a counter, of which there can be from 20 to 104, depending on the tribe.

The ceremonial content of this game is revealed in the reference via the four moccasins to the sacred Four Directions or to the Twin War Gods and their female counterparts. Among the Hopi, this game and its implements are associated with a story about the origins of the priests of the Flute Society.<sup>9</sup>

## **AMERICAN INDIAN SPORTS**

Among the American Indian 'games of dexterity' categorized by Stewart Culin are a number which meet a modern dictionary definition of the term 'sport'. These are activities requiring a great deal of physical skill or prowess, often involving whole-body exertion and considerable endurance, and usually involving organized one-on-one or team competitions. Some of these have been adopted by non-Indians and are played today as clearly recognizable sports in a modern sense.

I've chosen to omit discussion of such athletic activities as swimming and wrestling, since these were practiced much as elsewhere in the world. I haven't discussed American Indian contributions to competitive rodeo due to a lack of good information on individual participants. (However, I note here that Indians have been involved in all the major competitive rodeo events, the clowning, and of course, the 'Indian pageants' at rodeos, today's version of the 19th century 'Wild West' shows which featured American Indian performers so prominently.) I also do not discuss here transportation-related activities like snowshoeing, canoeing and kayaking, as these are touched on in the Science essay.

For information on those American Indian sports which have been adopted and played as modern sports, as well as about the contributions of American Indians to non-

native sports, I gratefully acknowledge my debt to Dr. Joseph Oxendine's excellent volume.

Before proceeding to the story of American Indian contributions in particular sports, I would like to point out a very significant Indian technical contribution which has affected and shaped a great many sports now played around the world.

This is the discovery of vulcanized rubber and its development into a wide range of products, an achievement documented in the Science essay. Cured or vulcanized rubber was called caoutchouc by the Quechua-speaking Indians of the Andes. What I want to mention here are two American Indian inventions made of cured rubber that have had a profound impact on modern sports.

The first is the invention of the rubber ball. Several varieties of rubber balls were in use in South America, Mesoamerica, the American Southwest, and on the islands of the Caribbean before Contact. These balls quite astonished the first European to see them – Columbus himself mentioned them in his journal, saying that they acted “as if they had been alive.”<sup>10</sup>

Of the many sports that owe a great deal to the lively characteristics of solid and laminated rubber balls or balls that are based upon an inflated rubber bladder, we can name soccer, American-style football, basketball, golf, volleyball, tennis, handball, and the many schoolyard sports and games that are played in the United States with the ubiquitous maroon-colored playground ball. A host of other modern sports also owe much to rubber used in forms other than that of a ball. Examples are the puck used in ice hockey, the hoses and wetsuits of SCUBA diving, or the tires of the vehicles used in motorsports.

The second contribution I have in mind is the invention of the rubber-soled shoe by Indians in South America.<sup>11</sup> Consider the ubiquity of such shoes around the world

today, especially in sports and sports-influenced fashions. [For that matter, the 20th century American detective novel would also lack a familiar element without the colorful term 'gumshoe' for the protagonist.] Rubber-soled shoes have become the normal and expected footwear in basketball, tennis, running, yachting, and a host of other modern sports.

### **Archery**

A sport of great antiquity throughout the world, archery provided the basis for a variety of games played by American Indians in much of North America. The exception was the area of central and southern Mexico (and Central America as well), where the bow was little used.

Culin notes that simple shooting at a target was practiced by relatively few tribes. More common were games where arrows were shot or thrown for distance or to come closest to a mark made by another arrow. A variant of this latter activity was to shoot in an attempt to cross the shafts of arrows tossed or shot.<sup>12</sup> Another favorite game was to see who could get the most arrows into the air at the same time, as the artist George Catlin observed among the Mandan in North Dakota.<sup>13</sup> As in the majority of traditional American Indian sports, all of these archery games were usually enlivened by wagering.

In the 20th century, Joe Thornton of the Cherokee Nation was an outstanding individual and team archer in national and world competition. He won several major championships in the 1960s and 1970s. His achievements are detailed in the section on Modern Sports Stars and in the Chronology (Appendix A).<sup>14</sup>

### **Ball Racing**

This sport involves foot racers kicking (or flipping with the toes or the top of the bare foot) an object around a track or along a cross-country course. Use of the hands is forbidden. The objects used in ball racing vary from stone, leather, or wood balls to

wooden cylinders or stone rings in the Southwest. The Shoshone-Bannock are said to have formerly used an inflated bovine bladder.

The ball race was most common among the tribes of the desert Southwest and parts of the Great Basin. It was also played by a few tribes in California and northern Mexico according to Stewart Culin.<sup>15</sup>

Ball races were played by all ages and both sexes with some variation from tribe to tribe, as is usual. The game could be played casually, or in formal, inter-village competition accompanied by the usual wagering. Races could be run between individual champions or between teams.

One 19th century observer of the ball race among the Tarahumara of northern Mexico reported a total course length of 21 miles for one race, which was completed in two hours, twenty-one seconds! He reported other courses ranging from 3 to 12 miles per lap, with the runners and their managers agreeing to race lengths from 5 to 20 laps. Tarahumara teams consisted of from 4 to 20 runners per side.<sup>16</sup>

Ball racing equipment has been found in many of the abandoned villages of the Southwest, so the sport is of some antiquity. Culin says that the game was among those sacred to the Zuni War God, and that the balls or cylinders are used in a number of ceremonies among several of the Southwestern tribes.<sup>17</sup> Matilda Cox Stevenson, a 19th century ethnographer who lived among the Zuni, reported that two ball race games were played annually for sacred purposes connected with rain ceremonies, with other ball races being permitted at other times for simple sport.<sup>18</sup>

### Double Ball

Double ball is an interesting game that traditionally was played almost exclusively by Indian women.<sup>19</sup> It was known by names that make this fact plain, such as 'the maiden's ball play' or 'the women's ball game'.

Double ball has many mythic associations. Culin reported that the Wichita have a

story called 'The Seven Brothers and the Woman' telling how a woman escaped pursuit by a group of men by means of throwing her double ball into the air and then magically going up with it. Several other Wichita stories recount similar feats. This was made possible because the ball was a gift to women from the Moon, who taught them how to use it for traveling.<sup>20</sup>

The equipment used in double ball consists of a throwing stick and two buckskin balls attached by a thong about a foot and a half in length, or of two cylindrical pieces of wood similarly joined. In some tribes, the buckskin ball is "shaped like a dumbbell" with a connecting yoke rather than a thong, as Oxendine describes it. Either form of leather ball can be stuffed with hair, grass, sand or other material.<sup>21</sup>

The balls typically are around three or four inches in diameter, while the wood cylinders are somewhat larger.<sup>22</sup> The throwing stick (almost always just one, except among the Lakota, who used two according to George Catlin) can range between two and six feet in length. It is usually made of a slender willow branch that has a slight kink at the working end. This kink can be supplemented by a small notch to aid in ball control when used by inexperienced players.<sup>23</sup>

In play, a woman uses her stick to catch up the double ball by its thong. She then hurls the ball down the playing field toward her goal, passing it to other players on her side as required. Opponents attempt to block the progress of the ball by snaring it in mid-air. The playing fields have dimensions similar to those of lacrosse as described below, except that the goal posts or markers are placed somewhat wider apart at 12 to 15 feet.<sup>24</sup>

As in lacrosse, a great deal of running and physical contact and blocking are involved in a double-ball game, and descriptions of play make it clear that the sport is a very vigorous one, played with great seriousness by the women.<sup>25</sup>

Also like lacrosse, double ball had a spiritual aspect, particularly for women. Its gift

from the Moon ('Bright Shining Woman') has already been mentioned in connection with Wichita legends. Witnessing the game could also lift the spirits and help heal women suffering from various complaints, as was reported by a visitor to the Missisauga Ojibwe in Ontario in the middle of the 19th century.<sup>26</sup> Culin reported in 1902 that the game at that time lacked the elaborate and lengthy ceremonial aspects of lacrosse. He thought that double ball may once have been more like lacrosse in that respect.<sup>27</sup>

### **Football (Indian Soccer)**

Indian football was a game more resembling modern soccer than American-style football. It was played mainly by tribes in the Northeast, principally among the Micmac, Massachuset, Narragansett and the tribes of the Powhatan Confederacy. It is also common among the Inuit throughout the Arctic. Stewart Culin also found a few instances of the game in the west among the Skokomish, Paiute (including a Paiute group Culin refers to as 'Mono' from their residence in the area of Mono Lake in eastern California), Washoe and Achomawi tribes.<sup>28</sup>

The ball used in American Indian football tends to be quite small. Culin reported examples ranging from about one and a half inches up to five inches in diameter. The game was formerly played barefoot on sandy beaches among the eastern tribes, on a field up to a mile in length. Goalposts mark the ends of the field but no goalie guards them.

The ball is put into play by an umpire. Players cannot touch the ball with the hands. Among the Inuit, a type of whip is frequently used to help propel the ball. A great latitude is allowed in blocking the movements of other players, but the standards of personal sportsmanship are quite high and tripping or kicking at the feet of other players is reportedly uncommon.<sup>29</sup> The football game can be played among any combination of the sexes; even children can be a part of the teams.<sup>30</sup>

### Hand-and-Foot Ball

A widely-distributed women's game called hand-and-foot ball is played with a leather ball that was struck down by a hand and kicked back up with a foot. Often a leather thong is attached that was held or wrapped around a few fingers, but this is not used to play the ball, only to control it in event of a miss. The scoring is done about the same as in the modern children's game of paddle-ball, with a count made of each completed return.

Culin reported that one woman at a time played in most tribes, the exception being among the Inuit, where two to four women might play simultaneously.<sup>31</sup> In one such Inuit variant of this game, four women stand in a square, passing a pair of hand-and-foot balls back and forth between partners with the side making the most successful passes winning.<sup>32</sup>

### Hoop and Pole

According to Culin, nearly all tribes north of Mexico play hoop and pole. The equipment takes a great variety of forms. Essentially, a stone ring, wooden hoop lashed with rawhide, or other material formed into a disc, usually with a central hole, is rolled along the ground as a moving target. Players then shoot at the hoop with arrows or throw poles, spears, or arrows at it as it rolls along.

Many tribes once used a form of hoop with a network of lacing across the central hole, somewhat like the lacing on a snowshoe. Culin reports that scoring varies depending on which hole in the webwork is transfixes by the pole. Among the variations on this style are lacings in the form of four radial spokes representing the Four Directions, or lacings supporting beads or a smaller, central ring. Again, scoring depends upon which opening or bead was hit by the pole or arrow.

Hoop and pole traditionally was exclusively a male game. In some cases, as among the nations of the Iroquois Confederacy, hoop and pole was played between

champions of different villages. It was most often played by two opponents on level ground; some tribes maintained specially prepared playing fields for this sport. Culin says that the Mandan made smooth wooden decks up to 150 feet long along which to roll their hoops, while the Muskogee ('Creek') built enclosed courts with sloping sides.<sup>33</sup>

Some of the fields were aligned with two of the cardinal directions, incorporating the spiritual significance of those directions into the game. Another spiritual element of the sport lay in the identification of the hoop's webbed lacing with the web of Spider Grandmother, a most significant figure in the mythology of many Southwestern tribes. The form of the equipment used in this sport was also incorporated by some medicine men of Great Plains tribes into healing rituals. The hoops in such cases were painted in colors corresponding to those of the Four Directions. Four darts, each in one of the sacred colors, were used with the hoop. A chant invoking the power of the time of day corresponding to each direction and color would be sung as the hoop and related darts were laid down in a sacred pattern in the lodge of the sick person. At completion of the chants, the hoop and darts would be taken to a high place to be left as an offering to the mysterious powers that were invoked to help in the cure.

Symbolic versions of the hoop and pole, or actual gaming equipment, are also used today in ceremonials among the Navajo and as a part of the Sun Dance among some tribes on the Great Plains.<sup>34</sup>

### **Lacrosse and Related Racquet Sports**

Lacrosse is the American Indian sport which has received widest adoption by non-Indians. It is played today in a form that is only slightly altered from the original. Dr. Oxendine asserts that it was far and away the most popular game among Indians north of Mexico.<sup>35</sup> In what is now the U.S. and Canada, the game was traditionally played virtually everywhere but in the Southwest.<sup>36</sup>

Lacrosse is the official national sport of Canada, as proclaimed by an Act of

Parliament on January 1, 1859.<sup>37</sup> Lacrosse gained the status of a National Collegiate Athletics Association championship tournament event in the United States in 1971.<sup>38</sup>

Lacrosse was traditionally played with a single, long-handled (about five feet) racquet of wood with the working end usually consisting of a small-diameter hoop or open crook that was netted with thongs of rawhide or other suitable cord. Among the Iroquois and some other Northeastern tribes the hoop took an elongated, teardrop form. This is the model for the lacrosse racquet used in the modern form of the game.

The tribes of the Southeast (the largest of which are the Seminole, Choctaw, Creek, Chickasaw and Cherokee) in recent centuries played a variant of lacrosse using two shorter-handled rackets. The racquet was used to volley and pass a small ball of around three or four inches in diameter. The ball was generally either a hard knot of wood that had been carved into a sphere, or a leather bag tightly stuffed with grass or hair. The ball was never touched with the hands when in play.

Each opposing team had a goal at opposite ends of the playing field that usually consisted of two uprights up to 25 feet in height and about six feet apart, often with a horizontal crossbar lashed in place. A ball hurled through or against the uprights was scored as one point by elders serving as judges.

The playing fields had no set size and could vary in length from about 300 yards for a small game up to a half-mile. Professor Oxendine notes reports of traditional playing fields as much as two miles in length. Field width is reported to be about 200 yards. These dimensions were reduced and standardized by most tribes during the latter part of the 19th century as more non-Indians began learning and playing lacrosse.<sup>39</sup>

Lacrosse was played in all seasons and could even be played on ice, as shown in a painting by Seth Eastman done in 1852.<sup>40</sup> There tended to be preferred playing

seasons in different regions, and most playing seasons seem to have been adjusted to the slack periods in a particular tribe's cycle of hunting or farming.<sup>41</sup>

A game of lacrosse could be gotten up within a tribe or village on fairly short notice, but games between tribes or villages required negotiations between leading players on the opposing teams. Arrangements for such games might be made several months in advance.<sup>42</sup>

In either event, tradition called for a preliminary ceremony involving songs, prayers and dances in full playing regalia. The spectators, mostly women and children, lined up on the sides of the field and danced in the ceremony as well. The wagering usual in Indian sports and games was also arranged in these preliminaries. All this usually took place throughout the evening and night prior to the actual game.

An illustration of one large lacrosse game taken from a George Catlin painting is shown below.



After a detail from a painting by George Catlin, as used on the cover of the Dover edition of Stewart Culin's **Games of the North American Indians**.

Teams could consist of as few as a dozen players per side up to several hundred.<sup>43</sup> George Catlin, a U.S. artist who traveled and painted extensively among Indian tribes in the 1830's, reported witnessing the game illustrated above being played among the Choctaw. It involved six to seven hundred players between the two teams.<sup>44</sup> The game itself had an indeterminate time frame and would be played until one side

scored a predetermined number of points, usually from 12 to 100.

Lacrosse was traditionally played predominantly by men and boys. Stewart Culin notes that women and men played together only among the Santee Dakotas. In such games, which were played for fun and to balance tensions between the genders within the community, the men's advantages in size and strength were offset by being outnumbered five to one by the women.<sup>45</sup> Professor Oxendine mentions that women played against each other among the Choctaw, where the women's competition was held immediately after the completion of the men's game. The Choctaw women played with the same seriousness and intensity as the men.<sup>46</sup>

Traditionally, the sport of lacrosse has been one component of certain important healing rituals among American Indians. Dr. Oxendine reported a conversation about this aspect of the game that he had in 1986 with Oren Lyons, a former All-American goalie on the Syracuse University lacrosse team. Lyons, who now holds the post of a traditional Faithkeeper of the Onondaga (one of the Six Nations of the Iroquois), affirmed that the sport retains its spiritual importance among the Iroquois. He says that friends of a sick person will still organize a game and its associated ceremonies for that person's benefit. The patient will be brought to the sidelines to receive the honor and well-being that the game bestows.<sup>47</sup>

In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, some European-Americans began to learn lacrosse and participate in the native games, particularly the French Canadians. In 1839, the Montreal Canada Club was established among them to promote the game. Standardized rules were adopted in 1867, the same year that the National Lacrosse Association of Canada was founded and an Iroquois team traveled to England and Scotland to introduce the game there.

Today, lacrosse is played as a varsity sport by both women and men in more than

a hundred colleges and twice that number of high schools in the U.S. The NCAA holds annual national collegiate lacrosse championships, as was mentioned earlier.<sup>48</sup>

Lacrosse is also played internationally, with world championship matches held every four years between national teams. The Iroquois Nationals team, representing the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy, rejoined international competition in 1990 after having been barred as a national representative team early in the 20th century. As a sign of the recent increase of international respect for the sovereignty of Indian nations, the Iroquois Confederacy was also selected in 1990 as the host nation for the world lacrosse championship to be held in the year 2002.<sup>49</sup>

### **Pok-ta-pok or Tlachtli**

The ritual ball game of pok-ta-pok (a nice onomatopoeic name, also spelled pok-a-tok by some scholars) was played throughout Mesoamerica by the Maya, Toltec, Mixtec, Aztec and their neighbors. Their northern trading partners among the Mogollon and Hohokam cultures in the American Southwest also played pok-ta-pok.<sup>50</sup>

The sport is of great antiquity, being known from pottery figurines of the players and their equipment. The earliest of these figurines date from around 1200-900 B.C. and were found in a village called Tlatilco in the Valley of Mexico.<sup>51</sup> The name pok-ta-pok comes from the Maya. The sport was called tlachtli by the Nahuatl-speaking Toltec and Aztec.<sup>52</sup>

Pok-ta-pok was played on a hard-surfaced court shaped like a serifed capital letter I, with raised spectator stands on either side of the court (along the stem of the I). The illustration on the next page shows the remains of the pok-ta-pok ballcourt in the Mayan city of Copán on the western border of present-day Honduras.

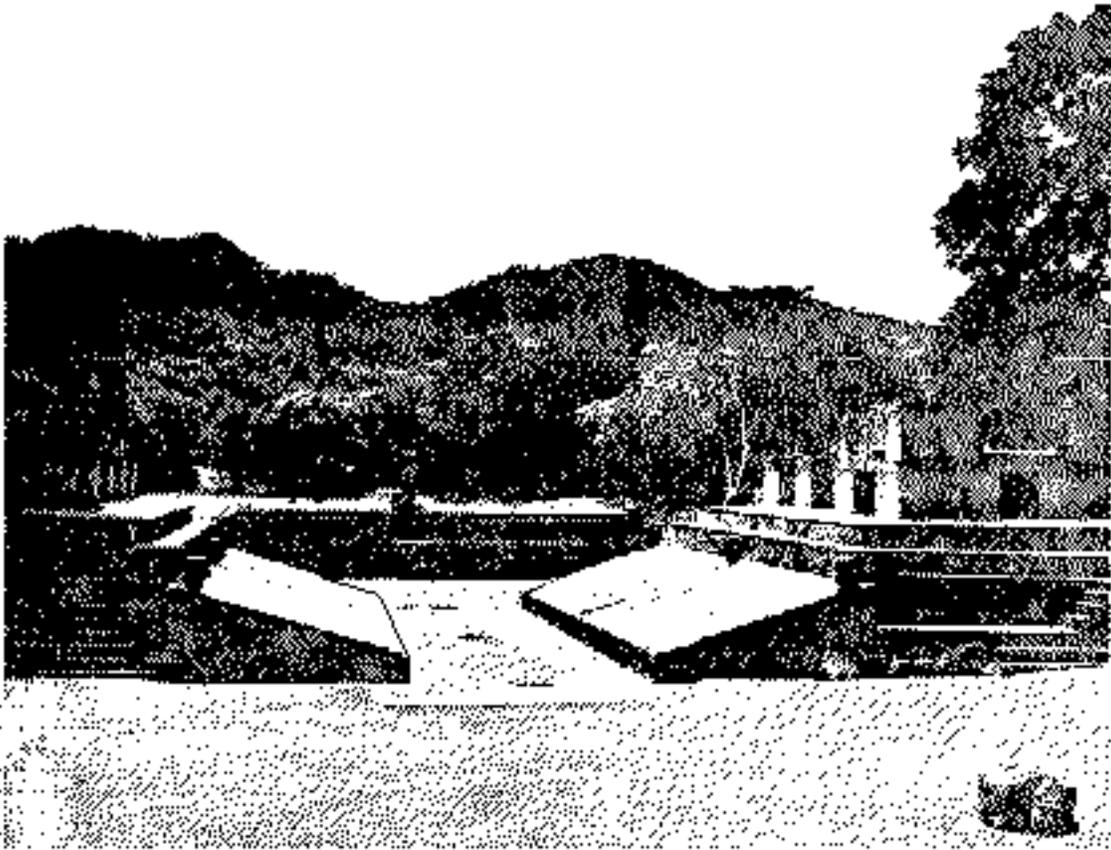


Illustration of a pok-ta-pok ballcourt in Copán, from a photograph in Charles Gallenkamp, **Maya**.

In pok-ta-pok, a heavy, solid rubber ball was kept in play between two teams of up to five players or between individual opponents. Players could strike the ball with any part of the body except the hands and feet. A bulbous or winged wooden yoke strapped about the waist was also used to 'bat' the ball with a quick rotation of the hips. The contestants usually wore helmets and padded armor (including arm, knee and shin pads), since the heavy ball could inflict serious, even fatal damage at the high speeds it attained.

The ball was shot in an attempt to put it through a hole in a stone disk that often was mounted in the center of the court. Some courts had a pair of disks mounted opposite each other on the walls that formed the lowest course of the spectator stands.

On older courts the scoring rings were set at a height of 15 feet or more, but this was lowered in the construction of newer courts.<sup>53</sup> The first goal scored won the game on the older courts, but several goals were required on the courts with lower goals.<sup>54</sup> A count of scored goals would then be kept by thrusting hachas (stylized, thin ritual axe-heads) into the ground on the side corresponding to the scoring team.<sup>55</sup>

Pok-ta-pok was systematically suppressed by the Spanish after their arrival in the Western Hemisphere.<sup>56</sup> This was principally due to the important cultural role of the traditional religious ceremonies associated with the game. Actually, the game is probably better understood as an integral part of the ceremonies rather than the reverse. The early colonial Catholic religious authorities were generally opposed to the practice and expression of any indigenous religious beliefs. Colonial administrators, anxious to suppress traditional sources of Indian cultural cohesion, assisted the priests in crushing pok-ta-pok. What little is known of the ceremonies suggests that they were concerned with both divination and the re-enactment of mythic conflicts.<sup>57</sup>

The geographic range in which the game was played fell entirely within the area of the Spanish Conquest. As a consequence of its suppression, pok-ta-pok has been little known in recent centuries and its ceremonies are very poorly understood today.

### **Native Olympics**

The Native Youth Olympics and the World Eskimo-Indian Olympics are modern annual events featuring competitions in traditional American Indian and Inuit sports and games for Native young people. A number of public schools, particularly those with Johnson-O'Malley Indian Education Act programs, have incorporated the Native Youth Olympics format into their physical education activities and classes.<sup>58</sup> Among the traditional-style sporting events of the World Eskimo-Indian Olympics, in addition to sports discussed elsewhere in this essay, are the one-and-two-foot kick and the Alaskan-style high kick competitions, arm pulls, and seal hop competitions.<sup>59</sup>

## Running

Dr. Oxendine devotes a chapter of his book **American Indian Sports Heritage** to American Indian achievements in footracing and other aspects of running. The record is a remarkable one having deep roots in Indian economics, social organization and religion. In 1981, Peter Nabokov's book **Indian Running** documented the former secret running societies among the Chemehuevi in California, the Mesquakie ('Fox') in Iowa, the Iroquois Nations in New York, and other tribes in Central and South America.<sup>60</sup> What follows are some notable examples of this heritage of American Indian running.

The Inca of Peru made excellent use of their extensive highway infrastructure (see the description of this impressive high-altitude network in the Science essay) by employing a system of specially trained runners known as chasquis. Operating out of relay posts called tambos that prefigured those of the 19th century American transcontinental Pony Express and stage routes, the chasquis carried messages between cities at rates often unmatched by modern postal services using land routes in the same area.

For example, teams of chasquis relayed messages between the Inca capitol of Cuzco in Peru and their northern center of Quito, Ecuador in only five days. To do this, they covered a distance of 1,230 miles, averaging nearly 250 miles a day in altitudes as great as 15,000 feet.<sup>61</sup> They also were able to relay fresh seafood from the Peruvian coast to the royal Inca apartments in Cuzco, a distance of over 250 road miles with an elevation gain from sea level of 11,150 feet.<sup>62</sup>

Other running feats of American Indians entered the records of European conquerors in the early decades of Contact. For example, Hernán Cortés recorded that Moctezuma Xocoyotzin was informed of the arrival of Cortés' ships on the Mexican

coast within 24 hours of that event. The messenger relays covered 260 miles into the Mexican highlands to perform this service.<sup>63</sup>

James Adair, an Irish trader among the Choctaw around the time of the American Revolution, reported that a chieftain named Red Shoes set out on foot in pursuit of a mounted French horse thief and ran him down in about fifteen miles.<sup>64</sup>

Joseph Oxendine relates a number of similar accounts from the 19th century, witnessed by European-American observers among tribes in several parts of the North American continent. Among these is a report made by Ernest Thompson Seton in the 1880s, who asserted that

The Arizona Indians are known to run down deer by sheer endurance, and every student of Southwest history will remember that Coronado's mounted men were unable to overtake the natives when in the hill country, such was their speed and activity on foot.<sup>65</sup>

In 1928, William Meyers reported that the Tarahumara of northern Mexico provided a runner to the Mexican government for service as mail carrier between the towns of Batopilas and the state capitol of Chihuahua. This runner regularly crossed over 500 miles of desert plains and mountains every week. Meyers also stated that he knew of a Hopi messenger who covered 120 miles through similar terrain in 15 hours.<sup>66</sup>

Tribes frequently met to stage sprints and endurance races against each other, with the customary ceremonials, wagering and socializing. Both sexes competed, frequently in open meets against each other, often with multiple heat races. Runners trained carefully for such meets, sometimes training with weights carried for weeks before a race. Many tribes maintained prepared tracks or cross-country courses for the running of these races. The Crow, Jicarilla Apache, Pima and Mandan are the examples mentioned by Oxendine.<sup>67</sup>

Among the best known and well-documented of American Indian competitive

runners in the 19th century was Louis 'Deerfoot' Bennett, a Seneca who achieved fame as a professional runner in the 1860s. Bennett ran against the best professionals of his day in both the United States and England with great success, as was recorded in the London *Times*. His career has been reported in detail in a magazine article by Dr. John Lucas.<sup>68</sup>

Another 19th century Indian runner, less well-known but documented in reports by Lieutenant Luther North of the U.S. Army, was Kootahwe Cootsoolelrhoo La Shar, also called 'Big Hawk Chief'. Big Hawk Chief was a Pawnee scout awaiting discharge from service after the Army's 1876 campaign against the Lakota and Cheyenne. He became the first man to run a sub-four-minute mile as measured by stopwatches and steel tapes to verify time and distance. He did this twice in front of Lt. North and other witnesses at Sydney Barracks in Nebraska, achieving a best time of 3 minutes, 58 seconds.<sup>69</sup> This time was better than the 'official' record set three-quarters of a century later by England's Roger Bannister.

In the early part of the 20th century, Indians competed frequently and with great success in modern track meets and distance events organized by non-Indians. In 1907, an Onondaga named Tom Longboat won the Boston Marathon with a new record time.<sup>70</sup> Louis Tewanima, a Hopi student at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania, won the New York Half-Marathon in 1911. Tewanima went on to take the silver medals in both the 5,000 and 10,000 meter runs at the 1912 Olympics in Stockholm.

At that same Olympiad, Tewanima's Carlisle classmate Jim Thorpe (Sauk and Mesquakie – Potawatomi) earned a place among history's legendary athletes by winning the gold medals in both the decathlon and pentathlon. In the decathlon, Thorpe won first place in the 1,500 meter run, took third in the 100-meter sprint and fourth place

in the 400-meter run event. In the pentathlon, he posted a total score that has never been equaled and won first place in the 200 meter sprint and the 1,500 meter run.<sup>71</sup> His other victories and places in the non-running events of the decathlon and pentathlon are mentioned in the Chronology.

Later in the 20th century, Ellison Brown, a Narragansett who was given the nickname 'Tarzan' by the sporting press, twice dominated the Boston Marathon with victories in 1936 and 1939. Brown was a member of the 1936 U.S. Olympic team. In a notable feat that same year, he won two marathon events run on successive days! More recently, Oglala Lakota track great Billy Mills became the first U.S. citizen ever to win the 10,000 meter event in the Olympics, triumphing in the 1964 Games in Tokyo.<sup>72</sup>

In a book mentioned at the beginning of this section, Peter Nabokov gave an account of the 1980 reenactment by Pueblo runners of the crucial feat of their predecessors during the successful 1680 revolt against Spanish domination. The colonial officials were informed of the plan of Popé's revolt (see the Chronology of the Social Sciences essay) just a few days before the pre-arranged date of the uprising by all the pueblos in the New Mexico–Arizona region. In an emergency response to the betrayal, the community leaders sent out runners to all the pueblos ordering the date to be moved forward.

The commemorative run in 1980 duplicated the 375-mile leg between Taos, New Mexico and the Hopi villages on Second Mesa in Arizona.<sup>73</sup> Several other long-distance commemorative runs, including cross-continental relays by American Indian runners from many nations, have taken place since.

### **Shinny**

An activity that enjoyed wide popularity and distribution among tribes in North America was shinny. This Indian sport strongly resembles (and is thought to have

inspired) the modern games of field hockey and ice hockey.<sup>74</sup> It was and is played on both earth and ice surfaces. Shinny is principally played by women, but it is also sometimes played by men and mixed or opposing sex groups.<sup>75</sup>

As in lacrosse, the ball is not touched with the hands. Instead, it is batted through the air with a playing stick or is kicked with the feet. The stick used was about three feet in length, give or take a foot, and was curved and often enlarged at its working end.<sup>76</sup> The ball was similar to that used in lacrosse in materials and ranged in size between a golf ball and a baseball.<sup>77</sup>

Field size also was similar to lacrosse, with lines gouged into the ground or ice at each end to serve as goals, sometimes with goal posts or other markers at each end. Team size was also about like lacrosse, perhaps not so large on the high end of the range.<sup>78</sup> When played on ice, skates were not used.

While shinny is a formalized game, it lacks much of lacrosse's profoundly spiritual and ceremonial character.<sup>79</sup> Stewart Culin reported in 1902 that the Makah of northwestern Washington state did play shinny as a ceremonial game after the capture of a whale, a spiritually important animal to these whaling people. They used a whale bone as the ball.<sup>80</sup>

### **Snow-Snake**

Culin classified under the title of 'snow-snake' a variety of games played by many (mostly northern) tribes using a javelin, dart or pole. This was thrown horizontally and low to skim across snow- or ice-covered ground or frozen lake and river surfaces. Some tribes gouged out a grooved track in the snow or ice into which the 'snakes' were hurled.

The javelins or darts used in this sport are often up to ten feet in length, carefully polished, and often carved with a slightly bulbous head. Some, like those of the Lakota on the Pine Ridge Reservation, are carved in a flattened form. The darts are

sometimes made of carved bone, fitted with two 'tails' made of thin sticks terminated with a feather.

The game of snow-snake is usually played by teams, and sometimes by individual opponents. The snake that travels furthest on each round of throws wins a point for that side.<sup>81</sup>

### **American Indian Participation in Modern Sports**

Professor Joseph Oxendine dedicates a significant portion of his 1988 book **American Indian Sports Heritage** to an examination of the place of American Indians in modern sports. He notes that Indian participation and achievement in organized sports competition reached a high point in the first three decades of the 20th century and then declined considerably thereafter.<sup>82</sup> Oxendine argues that several factors operated to produce this situation.

One very significant factor in the prominence of American Indian athletes at the highest levels of competition early in the century was the existence of strong, national-caliber athletic programs at several of the Indian boarding schools in the United States. Prominent among these were the sports programs at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in the late 1890s through to about 1915 and those at Haskell Institute/Junior College in the 1920s and '30s.<sup>83</sup>

Although these schools did not have the academic status of four-year colleges, they competed against the teams of the major universities with spectacular success for many years. Their programs fostered the amateur and professional careers of many American Indians in the sports of baseball, football, track and field, basketball, lacrosse, boxing and several minor sports. However, these traditions were ended or curtailed after about two decades of excellence in both cases.

Carlisle, established during 1879 at an old military post in Carlisle, Pennsylvania by Captain William Pratt, had the purpose of accelerating the acculturation of American Indian youth to European-American cultural norms. It was the first of the modern era's federal Indian boarding schools. Run on a military training model, it soon developed a strong program of athletics. The best-known of Carlisle's stars was the great Jim Thorpe (Sauk and Fox – Potawatomi), but there were many others. The most prominent of them are discussed in the Chronology.

However, abuses of discipline and financial irregularities in the programs administered by coach Glenn 'Pop' Warner led to student leaders and others calling for Congressional investigations in 1914. The situation resulted in a rapid decline in the quality of the athletic program at Carlisle and the school itself was closed by the government in 1918.<sup>84</sup>

Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas (a Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding school which achieved junior college status briefly in the mid-1920s through to 1932 and then again in recent decades), has been home to outstanding collegiate-level programs in track and football. The success of the Haskell teams in the 1920s led to the school being dubbed the 'New Carlisle of the West'.<sup>85</sup> However, school and BIA officials eventually voiced concern about the potential for the "overemphasis" of athletics that had damaged Carlisle.

In 1932, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs issued orders removing the Institute's junior college status and prohibiting further participation in 'big-time' collegiate athletic competition.<sup>86</sup> Reduced to a high school-level program, Haskell Institute continued to field strong football teams. They were undefeated in 1944 and lost only one game in 1946.

Haskell, like Carlisle, produced many outstanding individual athletes. Among them

were national Golden Gloves boxing champion Chester Ellis (Seneca) in 1939. Another was track star Billy Mills, who led his Haskell track team to the Kansas state high school championship in 1956 and went on to become an Olympic gold medalist as noted above in the section on running. The careers of other Haskell sports greats are mentioned in the Chronology.

Since the days of the Carlisle and Haskell programs, none of the Indian community colleges (some two dozen strong by the beginning of the 1990s) or four-year schools (Cherokee Indian Normal School later known as Pembroke State University in North Carolina, Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl University in San Diego and the new Northwest Indian College on the Lummi reservation in Washington state) have competed in the major college athletic conferences. This limits the exposure and experience of Indian athletes at many of these colleges. Indian athletes and teams are still often champions at the high school-level, however. For example, Indian reservation high school teams won 10 Class A, B, and C state basketball championships in the state of Montana between 1980 and 1990.<sup>87</sup>

Oxendine points out that another cause of recent declines in American Indian sports prominence is that opportunities for Indian students to enroll in mainstream colleges were limited for many years. This was due to prohibitive state laws, discriminatory admissions procedures, the relative poverty of a majority of Indian students, and the low academic qualifications of many graduates of boarding schools and impoverished reservation schools. These factors kept the proportion of Indian students enrolled in major universities well below the proportion of Indians in the general population of the U.S. for many decades and they have not achieved proportional representation yet.<sup>88</sup>

Dr. Oxendine believes that together, these circumstances have contributed to a

reduction in the opportunities for young Indian athletes in the United States to gain entry into 'big time' professional sports from college level programs.

Other factors have also operated to limit the opportunities for American Indian youth to enter high-level athletics since the 1930s. As one example, sports clubs of the type common in major cities have been relatively unavailable to Indians, especially those on reservations. These clubs often provide early training for those sports such as gymnastics, tennis, or swimming in which top-level athletes these days tend to reach peak performance levels in the teen-age years.

Exceptions to this generalization are basketball in the U.S. and ice hockey in Canada.<sup>89</sup> Many reservation communities in the United States have basketball teams at several age levels from youth through seniors. These teams principally compete against each other in all-Indian leagues and tournaments at state, regional, and national levels. Only a few Indian athletes have gone on to the NBA from these reservation clubs. However, the system of ice hockey clubs in Canada has helped a larger number of young Indian players to gain the skills that enable them to enter the National Hockey League.<sup>90</sup>

The social circumstances of reservation and urban Indian students are factors which can also restrict their opportunities for entry into professional sports. High dropout rates, ranging from 25-70 percent in many communities, limit Indian student athletes' access to training. These dropout rates have been tied to a number of causal factors, including family instability, alcohol and drug abuse, peer pressures not to excel or to join the partying scene, and the desire of many reservation youth to stay at home and contribute to their communities rather than to leave for college or big-league professional life.

Billy Mills, the Oglala Olympic gold medalist, told Indian students at a 1990 youth

conference in Portland, Oregon, that his friends were often a great obstacle in his training days. They wanted him to drink and party with them. His commitment to his Olympic aspirations cost him acceptance among his peers for many years. Similarly, Dr. Oxendine reports in his book that many capable athletes interviewed at Haskell Junior College in 1984 did not plan to go on to compete at four-year colleges or in professional leagues because “our best friends hold us back.”<sup>91</sup>

Perhaps a story that has gone around Indian Country for a while will help make this aspect of the Indian social scene evident in Indian terms. It is sometimes called ‘The Crabs in the Bucket’ and goes like this:

One morning, an Indian and a white man were walking along a beach at low tide, wading in the water collecting crabs. Each had a five-gallon bucket into which he put the crabs he found. As they worked their way together down the beach, the crabs in the white man’s bucket began to climb out and drop back into the water unnoticed. By the time they got to the end of the beach a couple of hours later, the Indian’s bucket was nearly full of crabs, while only a few remained in the bottom of the white man’s bucket.

“I don’t understand it!” said the white man. “I know I picked up about the same number of crabs you did. How come your bucket’s full and mine’s almost empty?”

“Well,” replied the Indian, “it’s because these are Indian crabs. You see, your crabs, when you throw each one in the bucket, they start scrambling around and some of them find a way to hook onto the top of your bucket and climb out. But when I throw a crab in my bucket, the other Indian crabs grab hold of it on the shell, or a leg or somewhere. They hold on to each other, and they say to each other ‘You ain’t gettin’ out of here unless we all do.’”

Teachers, coaches and counselors should be aware of this aspect of Indian socialization and consciously work with their Indian students to help turn this kind of peer pressure around. Otherwise, it is likely that the under-representation of American Indians in the higher levels of sports and other areas of achievement will continue.

### Modern Indian Sports Stars

Despite limited opportunities and social pressures against 'standing out', a number of American Indian athletes have had outstanding careers in professional and collegiate sports since the 1930s. Mention is made of a few of them below. Details of their achievements and those of other notable Indian athletes in recent decades can be found in the Chronology in Appendix A.

Allie Reynolds and Gene Locklear had impressive careers in professional baseball. Reynolds, a Creek pitcher for the Cleveland franchise and the New York Yankees, twice led the American League in strikeouts, earned run average and shut outs. He was voted the outstanding male athlete of the year in the U.S. in 1951.<sup>92</sup> Locklear, a Lumbee, played in the American League on several different teams in the 1970s after twice winning minor league Most Valuable Player awards on the Cincinnati Reds' farm clubs.<sup>93</sup>

Jessie Renick, Choctaw, made an illustrious contribution to the United States' Olympic basketball tradition as captain of the 1948 gold medal-winning team. Renick was also twice on the AAU All-American team. He posted an astonishing 153-9 record as player-coach in three years with a minor league professional basketball team in the late 1940s and early '50s.<sup>94</sup>

George 'Army' Armstrong, Ojibwe, had a 21-season career with the Toronto Maple Leafs ice hockey franchise from 1951 to 1972. His statistics include a record of 292 goals and 476 assists, and he was team captain during twelve of those years.<sup>95</sup>

Billy Mills, Oglala Lakota, is the preeminent American Indian distance runner of the modern era. His greatest sporting achievement was his come-from-behind win of the gold medal in the 10,000 meter event at the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, the first time an U.S. runner had ever won the event. He also set a world's record for the six-mile run a year

later.<sup>96</sup> Today, Mills travels the country giving inspirational workshops to young American Indian people on the importance of hope, determination and effort in their lives. He is now much respected in Indian Country for his continuing achievements. In 1983, Hollywood created a film about his life entitled *Running Brave*, starring Robbie Benson as Billy Mills.

Joe Thornton, Cherokee, began excelling in national and international archery competition at the age of 45 when he won the world championship in Oslo, Norway in 1961. He placed second in the world in 1963 and 1965. He led the U.S. team to world team championships in 1967 and 1971 and was U.S. national champion in 1970.<sup>97</sup>

During the 1960s and '70s, Kitty O'Neil, Cherokee, was a top competitor first in women's diving and then in water-skiing events. She overcame deafness, injuries and crippling illnesses along her way in a career that inspired many handicapped athletes in America. She was the AAU 10-meter diving champion in 1963 and placed eighth in women's diving at the 1964 Tokyo Olympics.

After recovering from an attack of spinal meningitis, she turned to motorsports competitions. O'Neil set a women's world water-skiing speed record in 1970. She then went on to compete against the men in both dune buggy and motorcycle classes in some of North America's toughest off-road racing events. After 1974, she began working in the film industry as a stunt woman, and continued to excel in motorsports competition. O'Neil set the women's world land speed record in 1976, driving a rocket-powered car to a mark of over 512 miles per hour on a desert course in Oregon.<sup>98</sup>

Jack Jacobs, Creek, and Alex 'Sonny' Sixkiller, Cherokee, set high standards as quarterbacks in collegiate football. Jacobs, playing for the University of Oklahoma in 1939-41, set a school punting record in 1940, averaging 47.8 yards per kick. Sixkiller, who played for the University of Washington, was the top collegiate passer in 1970, averaging 227 yards per game. Both men went on to professional football, where

Sixkiller's career was cut short by injuries. Jacobs, on the other hand, played in many consecutive seasons for the Green Bay Packers and the Washington D.C. franchise in the NFL, and then joined the Canadian Football League. He led the Winnipeg Blue Bombers to the finals for the league championship (the Grey Cup) in 1950 and 1953.<sup>99</sup>

### **Modern Organized Indian Sports**

Native cultural traditions and tribal institutions began to revive during and after the 1960s in the U.S. and Canada. During that time Indians created a number of modern organizations dedicated to American Indian sports. The Native Youth Olympics program has already been mentioned as one example.

Another organization that promotes Indian competition in modern sports is the National Indian Activities Association. Founded in 1974 by Indian sports leaders from around the United States, the NIAA sponsors annual national championships in men's and women's basketball and fast-pitch softball. National and regional Indian golf tournaments including a championship tournament have also been held annually by the NIAA since 1975. Bowling tournaments are the latest addition to the NIAA's schedule of competitions for Indian athletes.<sup>100</sup>

Lacrosse, the sport most widely played by Indians in earlier times, has seen modern international Indian participation by the men's and women's teams known as the Iroquois Nationals. The men's team was established in 1983 by Iroquois community leaders Oren Lyons, Wes Patterson and Sid Jamieson. The Iroquois Nationals team revived an old tradition of touring Iroquois lacrosse teams, some of which repeatedly visited England in the 1860s-1880s to help establish the game there.

The modern Iroquois Nationals team has competed in the Jim Thorpe Memorial Powwow Games, a recent series of events played by international athletes prior to the Olympics. The team has also played in international competitions against national

teams from Great Britain, Australia and the United States.<sup>101</sup>

Joseph Oxendine points out that lacrosse has traditionally been a men's sport among the Iroquois. In keeping with general changes in U.S. society, however, the Iroquois National Women's Lacrosse team was established in 1984. The team initiated organized competition by participating successfully in the Canadian Invitational Women's Lacrosse Championships that year. The Iroquois community has continued to organize and support the women's team ever since.<sup>102</sup>

Indian tennis professionals organized the National Indian Tennis Association in the mid-1970s. The group has held a national-level tournament for Indian tennis players since 1977. Regional groups have also formed to support Indian tennis, among them the Pacific Northwest Indian Tennis Association, established by Matthew Smith (Klamath) in 1989.

Another recent Indian sports organization is the American Indian Athletic Hall of Fame, founded in 1972 and housed at Haskell Indian Junior College in Lawrence, Kansas. This Hall of Fame consists of inductees from U.S. tribes and Alaska Native bands and villages who have won acclaim and had national impact in recognized sports, as well as those who have made a significant contribution to Indian sports as coaches, historians of Indian sports, or supporters of Indian sports institutions. Its inductees include a great many of the great Indian names in U.S. sports of the late 19th and the 20th centuries.<sup>103</sup> The stories of some of them appear in this Essay or in the Chronology in Appendix A. Many members of the American Indian Athletic Hall of Fame have also been inducted into the U.S. and Canadian National Halls of Fame dedicated to their particular sports.

## DANCE

### Traditional American Indian Dance

Where there are American Indians who are involved with the living traditions of their peoples, there is dance. There is song, there is drumming and music. There are the dancers, precisely stepping the rhythms and shaking or sweeping gracefully in the movements that were first taught by animals, spirits and dreams. There is a renewal of the movements that awaken the Indian heart to the truths of Indian identity and its potential. There are audiences appreciative of the gifts given by the dancers, enlivened by being in the presence of something sacred. There is magic and there is transformation.

There, in the powwow, at the rodeos, in the circles of the encampments, in the longhouses, in the modern tribal centers and gymnasias, in front of crowds in the plazas of the pueblos or alone in the woods and deserts, the doing and the witnessing of traditional Indian dance links us in the Circle of Life with all those who have stepped the steps before and all who will do so in the ages to come.

This essential, central expression of American Indian life was officially prohibited in the United States and Canada in the last years of the 19th century and for the first several decades of the 20th. For the most part, the suppression resulted from two major factors. The first was a long standing prejudice against the religious significance of traditional Indian dance on the part of missionaries and government administrators. The second was the fear among European-Americans that dance would lead to another round of combat during the years of the messianic, revivalist Ghost Dance, which has been discussed in some detail in the Social Sciences essay. The prohibition of Indian dancing also was supported by the belief of most government Indian agents and bureaucrats that traditional dancing was a general barrier to the assimilation of Indians

into the dominant European-American culture.<sup>104</sup>

The formal regulations against traditional Indian dancing in the U.S. were adopted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1904; however, Indian Agents on many of the reservations had prohibited public dance decades earlier. A similar situation existed in Canada. For many years, a few exceptions to the prohibitory regulations permitted only older Indians to dance publicly in celebration of non-Indian holidays such as the Fourth of July or Dominion Day.<sup>105</sup>

Still, traditional American Indian dancing continued, in secret, on many reservations and in private Indian homes for decades. Sadly, many dances died out along the way, as the purposes and meanings of these dances died when they were banned from their proper place in public Indian life. Eventually, a sympathetic Commissioner of Indian Affairs named John Collier persuaded Congress to repeal the regulations against Indian dance in the U.S. in 1934; Canada formally abandoned its prohibition in 1951.<sup>106</sup>

One European-American couple, Reginald and Gladys Laubin, contributed to the preservation, recovery and revival of traditional Indian dance in North America during the late years of the government prohibition of this art in the U.S. and Canada. In their book **Indian Dances of North America**, they offered an assessment of the place of dance in Indian life as they had known it as students, participants and teachers:

Observation and study of Indian dances in earlier days might have revealed the very soul of the people, for they were at one and the same time the focal point of all their material culture and the highest expression of their mystical yearnings....The dance was the culmination of all other artistic endeavor and consequently the most important of all, for it combined all other art forms. Music, painting, sculpture, motion, rhythm, color, story, history, legend, poetry, drama - all were included in the dance. A dance of men on earth was a dramatization, a pantomime, of the actions of the spirits above. Life was dancing, dancing was life.<sup>107</sup>

The scope of traditional Indian dance in the Americas is truly huge. There are literally hundreds of different dances, some practiced by only a single tribe, others shared over vast areas. Prior to the cultural damage inflicted through contact with Europeans, there were many thousands more, dances which are now utterly lost to us. Dance was and remains an integral part of many kinds of Indian religious, political, economic and social ceremonials and celebrations, in curing and divination practices, in almost anything that requires the establishment of a proper relationship between humans and other beings.

Today, traditional American Indian dance flourishes among tribes from the Amazon Basin rainforests to the rim of the Arctic Ocean. Among some cultures, such as the Yanomamo of Brazil or the Hopi of Arizona, the traditions of tribal dance persist intact and uninterrupted. Among other tribes and nations, those subject to the suppression of dancing in the period from about 1880 until the mid-1930s (or later, in the case of Canada), traditional dance has been revived with the help of tribal elders, scholars of dance and dancers from other tribes. This was possible because a few of the earlier generation of Indian dancers were able to keep some of the traditions alive, dancing in secret despite the government prohibitions, as mentioned above.

The contemporary revival has restored only a portion of the old dances, however.<sup>108</sup> It has also led to the adoption of some of the surviving dances by tribes that are not known to have practiced them in times before the suppression of Indian dancing. This is very apparent at modern intertribal powwows. For example, dancers from the cultures of the Pacific Northwest in traditional cedarbark capes or button blankets are sometimes seen dancing the Grass Dance of the Great Plains.

The revival of Indian dance in the U.S. and Canada in the past two generations has been fostered by dance clubs and societies on most of the reservations and in

many of the urban Indian communities.<sup>109</sup> This follows a traditional practice, as the great majority of tribes in pre-reservation days had a variety of specialized societies which each practiced dances distinctive to their members.<sup>110</sup>

Some of these societies, as among the Pueblo villages of the Southwest, have continuously held an annual cycle of ceremonial dances for the well-being of their members and crops; indeed, for the sake of the whole world. Others, like the Sun Dance societies among many tribes of the Great Plains, have been revived under the guidance of traditionalist elders after decades of inactivity in the first part of the 20th century. They, too, dance once again for the well-being of all their relations.

Urban Indian communities have also created their own dance societies and hold ceremonial and social dances in the major cities of Canada and the U.S. as a focus for the cultural life of their members. In much of urban Latin America, Indian dancers continue to perform in public celebrations – usually in dances that merge Indian and Christian themes and motifs, but also increasingly reviving the traditional dances of the surviving tribal cultures.

Indian dance has been greatly promoted by the evolution in recent decades of a formalized powwow circuit, with dancers traveling from reservation to reservation or to powwows held at rodeos and at urban Indian celebrations. It has also been furthered by the development of professional Indian dance and theater companies since the 1960s. Prominent among these have been the Cape Fox Indian Dancers and the Naá Kahidi Theater Company from Alaska, the Red Earth Theater Company, and the American Indian Dance Theater group.

The Public Broadcasting System (PBS) in early 1990 produced and aired a one-hour program featuring the American Indian Dance Theater on its occasional series *Dance In America*. The segment features several of the troupe's performance pieces

showing traditional American Indian dance, sometimes blended with modern Indian dance styles and set to traditional music. The performances illuminate several traditional stories from the oral literature or show elements from traditional dance in ceremonial settings. The video of this production is highly recommended for viewing by teachers and students interested in contemporary American Indian dance.

### **Powwows**

The powwow circuit, mentioned above, deserves attention here as it is the major public focus of Indian dance today in Canada and the U.S. A 'powwow' (from an Algonkin word referring to certain traditional Indian doctors and their ceremonials, later changed in meaning to include their dances) is today principally a social event in which several forms of dance are a prominent part.<sup>111</sup>

Most powwows today are annual events in honor of some important happening in an Indian community (graduation of Indian students, honoring Indian veterans, commemorating a treaty anniversary, or observing certain traditional seasonal ceremonials). Some are smaller, special occasions recognizing a family or individual for some worthy achievement. Some powwows are held in association with annual non-Indian celebrations like rodeos or Fourth of July observances; these are usually popular holdovers from the days when these events were the only times Indian dancing was permitted in public.

A powwow typically has a formal structure with a number of conventional components. The people gather at the powwow site from all over, some coming many hundreds of miles to attend. When the time feels right, the person serving as the master of ceremonies alerts everyone that the Grand Entry is about to take place. The dancers and others in traditional regalia who will take part hurry to finish dressing, applying their paint in sacred and traditional designs, adjusting feathers, porcupine hair

roaches, strapping on ankle bells or rattles to accent their dance steps.

When the M.C. calls for the Grand Entry, a procession enters the area of the Dance Circle. It is headed by honored Indian veterans serving as flag bearers and carrying the national flag(s) and the Eagle Staff, the 'flag' of the Indian Nations. Behind them, in order, come the elected tribal princesses, young women of recognized good morals representing the virtues of their nations. Then come the dancers in their groups - men's fancy dancers, women's fancy shawl dancers, men's and women's traditional dancers in strictly traditional regalia, then the younger dancers followed by the children who are entering the powwow life.

The procession circles 'sunwise' (clockwise) to the rhythm of the drum honored by the M.C. to sing in the procession. When the whole group has circled the dance area to the beat and words of a traditional Grand Entry song, the flag bearers come down the center of the circle and all present stand for a traditional prayer, usually offered by an elder speaking an Indian language. This opens the powwow.

According to the Black Hills Powwow Association,

[m]ost dances seen at powwows today are 'social' dances which might have had different meanings in earlier days, but have evolved through the years to the social dances of today.<sup>112</sup>

Songs and dances early in the powwow will often include veterans', flag, and victory songs in honor of the bravery of the People, giving the respect due to the warriors and defenders of our many Nations. These songs are often followed by a Round Dance given to publicly honor some person or group of people, often those who are the focus of the powwow. This dance is open to all present, whether in regalia or not, whether Indian or not. The Round Dance is danced in a large circle with the dancers' step a shuffle moving slowly to their left, circling sunwise. Sometimes after this dance a ceremonial or a give-away is held by an individual or family in someone's honor

or to give thanks for some social or spiritual favor earlier received.

Then follow the cycle of the competitive dances to songs sung and played by the drums each in turn. The term 'drum' here refers to both the instrument and its singers, each drum usually representing a tribal community or urban cultural group. Some of these songs have culturally specific dances associated with them. However, most are usually known as 'intertribals', where a drum is directed to sing a song chosen from a heritage of dance songs nowadays shared by many tribes. The songs may have words, or vocalizations having no meaning, or just the drum rhythms appropriate to a song type – all are songs.

A call from the master of ceremonies announces each drum and its song and which of the different classes of dancers is up to perform. The fancy dancers and traditional dancers usually dance in separate competitions. The competitions are almost always segregated by sex.

The fancy dancers are distinguished from the traditional dancers by costume – a lot of highly colored, synthetic fabrics and dyed feathers are a mark of a fancy dancer – and by the style of the dancing – very fast, highly vigorous moves characterize the fancy dancer. The traditional dancer's costume and regalia is just that – highly traditional and strictly natural. His or her movements by comparison to the fancy dancer's might be described as more dignified and reserved.

There are differences in the dance step styles between men and women dancers, particularly between the men's fancy dancers and the women's shawl dancers. The women's shawl style generally places more emphasis on footwork while male fancy dancers tend to emphasize upper body motion. Precision in all aspects of body control and stepping in precise coordination with the beat of the drum is the aim of competitive dancers, whether female or male.

In shawl dancing, the fringed shawl is usually draped over the woman's shoulders

and her elbows bent akimbo, but it is sometimes held out with straight arms in the fashion of bird wings. The dancer who does this usually spins to give a nice visual effect with the tassels on the shawl flying and whirling about her. Men's fancy and men and women traditional dancers often carry in their hands feather fans or whole bird wings, or short staffs and other regalia appropriate to the style of the costume or dance steps used. These latter are often based on the movements of particular animals or spirits, especially among the men.

A judging committee of experienced dancers and knowledgeable elders watches each competitive dancer carefully, noting appropriateness of regalia, movements, and how accurately the dancers stay on the beat. Individual dancers are also rated for personal style and the manifestation of the spirit of the song in their dancing. The judging is cumulative, since each class of dancer usually gets to perform several times during the powwow. Winners are announced near the end of the powwow. Most big powwows award substantial cash prizes to the dancers judged best in each class; sometimes these awards can go from hundreds of dollars up to several thousand dollars.

There are also often a number of modern-style social dances held in the course of a powwow, dances where couples can dance together and enjoy themselves. Often men and women will exchange bits of costume and dance roles for one dance each, a source of great amusement to everyone (and a reminder of our common humanity). Interspersed with all the competitive and social dances are frequent announcements of upcoming social events, results of raffle drawings held in association with the gathering to raise funds for worthy Indian causes, and other matters of interest to the Indian community.

Commonly there will also be tables around the perimeter of the powwow area or at

one end of it, where Indian artists and craftspeople can display and sell their creations. There, too, buyers can find raw materials such as beads, feathers and other decorative objects to take home and work into their own crafts. A lot of good food is cooked and eaten and many enjoyable meetings and conversations take place in the course of a powwow. Friends and relatives from different communities often stay in touch by meeting at powwows. A powwow is often the largest annual social event in an Indian community – a ‘big time.’

Eventually, the powwow winds down, the last social dance is sung, a closing prayer for everyone’s well-being is said by an elder, the flags and Eagle Staff are marched out, and very happy and tired Indians either return to encampment, motels or homes of friends and relatives until the next day (many powwows are multi-day affairs), head off for home or go on to the next stop on the powwow circuit. Most leave with the feeling of being ‘Indian’ renewed, a good feeling to take out into the world.

### **A Notable American Indian Contribution to Ballet Dance**

In the world of dance, the European form known as the ballet carries a widely-held reputation for being a difficult and demanding style of dance. Its great practitioners have usually been Europeans; it is rare that an American attains much acclaim in international ballet circles. One who did, and who in fact reached the pinnacle of the art, was an American Indian.

Elisabeth Marie Tallchief, a mixed-blood Osage born in 1925, became world-renowned as a ballet dancer in the mid-20th century. Trained to be a pianist as a young girl, she also studied dance in Los Angeles along with her sister Marjorie. There she danced as a member of the Los Angeles Civic Opera Company when she was eleven.

By the time she entered high school in 1939, she and Marjorie were being trained by Madame Nijinska, sister of the Russian ballet great Nijinsky. Nijinska eventually arranged for Betty Marie and Marjorie to study under the choreographer David Lichine,

a man who had danced with Pavlova, the greatest Russian ballerina of her age.

Nijinska debuted Tallchief in a Hollywood Bowl performance of her *Chopin Concerto* in 1940. In 1942, after high school graduation, Elisabeth Tallchief danced in the Judy Garland movie *Presenting Lily Mars*. She then went to New York with the Lichines and prepared to enter the School of American Ballet, whose head was the famous choreographer George Balanchine. However, an opportunity to join the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo on a Canadian tour that fall prevented her entry into the school.

Upon her return to New York, Serge Denham, manager of the Ballet Russe, gave Elisabeth Marie the option of remaining in the troupe of his leading dance company, rather than entering the School of American Ballet. She did so, taking the stage name Maria by which she was known thereafter.

She danced in the corps and in a number of small roles until an injury to one of the troupe's stars, Nathalie Krassovska, opened an opportunity to dance the major role in the *Chopin Concerto* in May, 1943. She remained in the role after Krassovska left for Europe that summer. Her leading debut in New York came at the age of eighteen. Her performances there were critically noted as the opening of the career of a great star.

In 1944, George Balanchine took over direction of the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo and restored its creative reputation, which had begun to suffer in comparison with the American Ballet Theater. Maria had stayed on without a contract, and was cast in increasingly important roles by Balanchine. Her reputation was made as the lead in Balanchine's production of *Le Baiser de la Fée*, based on Hans Christian Andersen's story 'The Ice Maiden.' It was solidified ten days later with her performance in another Balanchine production, *Night Shadow*.

Tallchief and Balanchine married in 1946, shortly after he left the Ballet Russe to found a new company, the Ballet Society. Maria, under contract, remained with the

Ballet Russe through the 1947 season, where, to her dismay, she was being billed as 'the Osage Princess.' (The Osage did not traditionally use titles of nobility.) It was in that year that the company of the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo bestowed the title of ballerina on Maria Tallchief, who thus became the first U.S. citizen in history to be recognized as a world-class ballet dancer.

She joined her husband in France in 1948, where Balanchine was the director of dance at the Paris Opera Ballet. Maria became the first person from the United States to dance at the Paris Opera Ballet in over a century, triumphing again in her role in *Le Baiser de la Fée*. The pair returned to New York later in the season where Balanchine's small company featured Maria in a series of specially-written dramatic dances that did much to establish the popularity of the Ballet Society in New York dance circles. For one of these, *Orpheus*, which she danced with Nicholas Magallanes, Maria was given the annual *American Dance Magazine Award*. After a vacation in Europe, where Balanchine directed Maria's sister Marjorie and her partner George Skibine, the couple returned to New York and Balanchine's troupe was renamed the New York City Ballet Company.

In November of 1949, Balanchine produced Fokine's *The Firebird* with Maria in the lead role. This Russian repertory classic was given a very lavish, Oriental style of staging. Maria drew upon her grandmother's Osage stories about the spirit of fire for the emotional inspiration to create the character of the half-bird, half-woman Firebird. Igor Stravinsky conducted the orchestra for this performance and Maria danced opposite Francisco Marcion. According to reports, after only a week's rehearsal, Maria transformed rather than performed the role. Throughout the season, the house of the New York City Ballet Company was packed and extra performances had to be scheduled, so powerful was Maria's dance. At the close of the season, Maria was invited to dance on tour as a guest with the rival Ballet Theater troupe. They recognized

her as prima ballerina, the highest honor possible in ballet.

Her 1950 season was one of ups and downs. A new work by Balanchine, *The Prodigal Son*, was poorly received in New York. It did better in London, where, by contrast, *The Firebird* was not well liked. This year also saw the breakup of Maria and George's marriage, although she remained with his company. A bright spot was her pairing with André Eglevsky, a major figure in ballet who had danced with the greatest European ballerinas of his generation. The company toured Europe, presenting *Swan Lake* with Maria as the Swan Queen. With Eglevsky as partner, her performances won high acclaim in Switzerland and Holland.

The next few years were the pinnacle of her career. She was honored by the legislature of her home state of Oklahoma, which proclaimed Maria Tallchief Day on June 29, 1953. The Osage tribe held an honoring ceremony for her at her home town of Fairfax. There, they gave her the name Waxthethonba, 'Woman of the Two Standards', also singing a special honoring song just for her. That year, too, she was named 'Woman of the Year' by the National Press Club, earned the Indian Achievement Award, and was named to the Oklahoma Hall of Fame.

Following the end of her second marriage, Balanchine approached her with the offer of the role of the Sugar Plum Fairy in Tchaikovsky's *The Nutcracker*. The Christmas 1954 performance showed a new emotional depth in Maria's dance and confirmed her status as a prima ballerina. She followed this with a national tour with the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo where she was paid the highest salary ever offered to a ballerina up to that time. This tour was the finest of her career, and she was regarded as incomparable by critics and audiences alike.

A third marriage brought a daughter in 1957 and Maria teamed with a new partner, Erik Bruhn. After a short time with the New York City Ballet, the pair toured Europe and

won critical and popular acclaim as the greatest partners in the history of ballet.

Tallchief's later roles became increasingly dramatic, especially the lead in *Miss Julie*, a tragedy. At about this time, Maria's sister Marjorie reached the peak of her own dance career, being named première danseuse étoile with the Paris Opera Ballet company, where she performed from 1957 until 1962.

Maria Tallchief retired as a performing ballerina in 1966 as did her sister. Maria took up work training dancers for the Chicago Civic Opera Company and serving in several civic and Indian organizations. In 1980, she and Marjorie joined to establish the Chicago City Ballet company. Since retirement, Maria has been awarded three honorary doctorates and won recognition from the National Institute of Arts and Letters. She also was selected as one of the Legendary Women of America, and was presented the national Cappezio Dance Award for lifetime achievement in dance.<sup>113</sup>

## AMERICAN INDIAN HEALTH TRADITIONS

In the Science essay, some of the achievements and practices of American Indian medical practitioners are discussed. It is not my intention to repeat what is written there about surgical techniques, psychology and pharmaceutical knowledge. Rather, this section focuses on some traditional American Indian attitudes toward health and traditional practices of living which are seen as promoting good health. What follows are summaries of some of the more widespread attitudes and practices.

At the heart of American Indian health (and most other) beliefs and practices are the concepts of harmony and balance. American Indian philosophy holds that all things in creation are interdependent and interrelated. These holistic beliefs are similar to those held by many other traditional cultures, among them the Taoist philosophy of China, the Hindu philosophy of India, and the world views of Australian aborigines and many African tribal cultures.

A concise statement of what this means can be found in a book by Peggy Beck and Anna Walters entitled **The Sacred - Ways of Knowledge, Sources of Life**:

Through this interdependency and awareness of relationship, the universe is balanced. A concept at the root of Native North American sacred tradition is that all the elements in the universe are paired and balance each other. Too much of one thing can lead to an imbalance. In many cases, healing ceremonies are held in which the source of the imbalance is sought and diagnosed and a rebalancing brought about by various means.<sup>114</sup>

Examples of pairs of 'elements' or aspects of reality that are joined and must be kept in balance in their relationships are maleness-femaleness, light-dark, good-evil, and life-death. An excess of one over the other in these paired principles leads to less than optimal long-term functioning of human biology and society, photosynthetic

processes and vision (not just the ability to ‘look’ at the surface of things but also the ability to ‘see’ the underlying reality), social justice, and organic and spiritual energy potentials, respectively.

In terms of human health, American Indian philosophy holds that balance within and between the pairs of spirit-body and self-others is critical to well-being. Indian practices in the related fields of religion, medicine and what is now called ‘health education’ are aimed at discerning and maintaining harmony between these principles.

Since the Indian worldview attempts to be comprehensive and since there is so much diversity among cultures, there are a great many particular practices and beliefs relating to health. Yet there are also a number of common practices based on insights that are widely held among the hundreds of American Indian cultures. Many of these have passed into the health practices of other cultures. What is regrettable is that while non-Indians have adapted some of the best American Indian health practices, the disruption and degradation that has been forced upon Indian cultures has caused many modern Indians to lose, ignore or abandon their own customs in regard to health.

A few of these customs are presented below because of their relevance to modern health education needs and curriculum design.

### **Bathing**

In the middle of the 19th century, it was noted by a European-American physician that

[a]n overwhelming majority of our population seldom bathe at all. Of the efficacy of daily bathing, in the preservation of sound health and a hardy constitution, there can be no doubt; and it is much to be regretted, that the practice cannot be made more general.<sup>115</sup>

In rural parts of America, the custom of bathing remained infrequently practiced by many European-Americans well into the 20th century. The cliché of ‘Saturday night is

bath night' is still familiar to many people, even urban residents who have heard it only through old songs, movies and cartoons. For that matter, this cultural reluctance to bathe is still well-known to many mothers of young boys!

However, for the great majority of American Indian tribes, daily bathing as an aid to good health is an ancient custom. In much of North America, individuals would rise early in the dawn and go to whatever creek, river or lake was nearby to bathe and then dress in preparation for the day.

Among the Inca of Peru, bathing was held in high regard. The engineers of the capital city of Cuzco built numerous artificial fountains and pools for this purpose. Bathing was a preliminary to the ceremonials in which a young girl passed into womanhood and young boys became men among the Inca. Bathing was also a ceremonial part of the annual Inca rites of renewal known as the Situa.<sup>116</sup>

Numerous European-American writers of the 18th and 19th centuries particularly remarked on the Indian custom of a daily bath. They noted the Indians' belief in the healthful benefits of a bath in the nearby rivers and lakes, even in the midst of northern winters. Professor Virgil Vogel, author of **American Indian Medicine**, cites the writings of John Brickell and James Adair in the 18th century and those of Lewis Henry Morgan and John D. Hunter in the 19th century as examples.<sup>117</sup>

Related to this general Indian practice of bathing is the more potent practice of bathing in (and sometimes drinking) the waters of certain mineral or hot springs. Dr. Vogel notes that "[m]ost of the popular spas in America today were used by the Indians in former times."<sup>118</sup>

### Sweat Lodge

The use of steam baths for purification ceremonies and for treatment of many kinds of diseases was nearly universal among the tribes of North America. Sweat baths were used by the Aztec and the Maya. They were common among tribes in Patagonia,

Tierra del Fuego and the Gran Chaco regions of South America.<sup>119</sup> Several types of steam or sweat bath were also used in parts of Africa and among the Pacific Island cultures, but in recent centuries this practice had nearly died out among Europeans with the exception of the Finns, according to Dr. Virgil Vogel.<sup>120</sup>

The curative powers of Indian sweat lodge steam baths were recorded by Europeans as early as the 16th century, among them Father Bernardino de Sahagún, the great Franciscan chronicler of the culture of the Aztec.<sup>121</sup> A member of the Lewis and Clark expedition of the early 19th century, one William Bratton, had been incapacitated for several months due to rheumatism and back pains, but was reported cured by use of a sweat bath and herbs in the Indian manner the explorers had learned on their journey.<sup>122</sup>

One of the principal uses of the sweat lodge is as a purification ceremony in and of itself. It also serves as a preliminary to undertaking many kinds of spiritually delicate tasks such as vision questing or performing medicine ceremonies for a sick person. The configuration of the sweat lodge, its orientation, and the placement and nature of the objects used in the sweat lodge ceremonial are thought to be the representative embodiment of all things in the universe. The sweat lodge is seen as a necessary tool to focus and balance all the living energy of the world. It provides the primary means by which North American Indians can restore themselves and the rest of creation to the proper balance critical to good health.

The manner of these uses and the conduct of the sweat lodge ceremonial are described by Indian authors or informants in a number of modern writings, notably those of Ohiyesa (Dr. Charles Eastman), John Lame Deer, and Nicholas Black Elk, all of Lakota heritage. What they have to say touches on sacred ceremonial practices and so will not be repeated here.<sup>123</sup>

**Vision Questing and Seeking Knowledge**

Another nearly universal practice among American Indians on both continents of the Western Hemisphere is some form of vision questing. This essentially is a personal search for one's relationship to the powers of the cosmos, especially for a particular power that might manifest itself as a spirit or animal helper or as a compelling visionary state into which one learns to enter at will.

Vision questing, when successful, establishes a woman or man firmly in her or his place in life. The vision or helper frequently imparts some gift of power or knowledge that enables a person to take on a new role within their tribe. Often this role involves receiving help from the spirit world or from Mother Earth or the Great Mystery on behalf of others in the tribe or for the tribe as a whole. However, the powers received in a vision are frequently neutral and the bent of an individual's nature determines when and for what purposes they will be used.

Vision questing still goes on, but it is less common today than it once was. It remains an essential means by which American Indian people can establish and restore the balance between themselves as individual beings and the Circle of Life of which they are a part.

Traditional preparations and details of the conduct of a vision quest vary among tribes. There are some common elements that can be mentioned in print. The one who seeks a vision usually does so because he or she feels a need for completion, connection, and balance with the rest of the world. Sometimes the time is fixed by tradition, as when a child enters puberty. When that time comes, the seeker will turn for guidance and assistance to a knowledgeable elder, preferably a medicine person who has long established such a connection.

The elder will help conduct the ceremonies and preparations for the vision quest,

which typically include prayers for clarity, a sweat lodge ceremony, and perhaps the avoidance of certain activities or foods for some time prior to the attempt. The vision quest itself is always done alone, deep in the woods or on some high hill away from other people, usually at a spot where others have had successful quests.

The conduct to be observed while questing varies, but usually involves fasting and staying awake and alert as long as possible over one to four days.<sup>124</sup> The elder who is assisting is away from the site of the vision quest but actively helps by praying and paying attention to the spirit world. Such a one often knows of the success of a quest before the seeker comes back with the news.

Whether successful or not, the quest concludes with further ceremonials to assure the well-being of the seeker and, eventually, a talk with the elder about the vision or lack of one. A person may make many attempts before being successful – an open and pure heart and a sincere wish to know one's relations in the spirit world are necessary but not always sufficient requirements for success in vision questing. A seeker may also undertake additional vision quests after succeeding a first time, perhaps gaining relationships with other powers and spirits.

A person who has learned something of reality, perhaps through a vision quest, or through dreaming – another way in which one learns of his or her relationships to the spirit world – may develop a thirst for knowledge. There are many traditional American Indian ways to pursue knowledge. Some Indian people have learned much and become powerful in following these traditions over the generations. Some of these powerful people have chosen or have been chosen to become the teachers, healers and doctors for their communities.

One thing is emphasized on the occasions when elders discuss these matters with the younger people – knowledge requires silence in the mind. Understanding is what

we humans do when we talk to ourselves in the mind, describing the world and narrowing our focus to just a few things at a time. For knowledge, though, a person must learn time-honored techniques to quiet the talk inside the head and broaden the focus of awareness. Then one waits patiently for the silence to come. What can happen then is suggested by John Lame Deer:

The wicasa wakan [holy man] wants to be by himself. He wants to be away from the crowd, from everyday matters. He likes to meditate, leaning against a tree or rock, feeling the earth move beneath him, feeling the weight of that big flaming sky upon him. That way he can figure things out. Closing his eyes, he sees many things clearly. What you see with your eyes shut is what counts.

The wicasa wakan loves the silence, wrapping it around himself like a blanket – a loud silence with a voice like thunder which tells him of many things. Such a man likes to be in a place where there is no sound but the humming of insects. He sits facing the west, asking for help. He talks to the plants and they answer him. He listens to the voices of the wama kaskan – all those who move upon the earth, the animals. He is as one with them. From all living beings something flows into him all the time, and something flows from him. I don't know where or what, but it's there. I know.<sup>125</sup>

This experience brings real balance to a person. S/he understands in the mind and s/he knows in the silence, and thus the individual becomes a complete human being. Nothing is better for health and well-being, say the elders.

### **Public Hygiene and Sanitation**

Early European explorers and visitors to many of the American Indian cities and villages frequently noted that the standard of public sanitation and personal hygiene was markedly higher than they had known among the settlements of Europe or the towns in European colonies of the Western Hemisphere.<sup>126</sup> Other European-American authors have disagreed, finding the sights and smell of Indian houses and villages unfamiliar and unpleasant to their accustomed tastes. Still, observers from the time of

Bernal Díaz del Castillio (a soldier and historian of the Cortés conquest of Mexico) have often echoed sentiments like these:

...it will be observed by any traveller in Mexico or Central America that the purely Indian villages of considerable size are almost always kept swept and tidy....<sup>127</sup>

and

On all the roads they have shelters made of reeds or straw or grass so that they can retire when they wish to do so, and purge their bowels unseen by passers-by, and also in order that their excrement shall not be lost.<sup>128</sup>

Recent authors, among them the demographics researcher Henry Dobyns, have noted that various agricultural tribes, such as the Timucua of Florida, were careful to conserve or distribute human wastes in the planting fields as a form of fertilizer.<sup>129</sup>

A further instance of American Indian concern for public sanitation and the healthy disposal of human wastes is noted in the Art Essay. There it is reported that the Mayan architects in Palenque devised indoor toilets with running water for flushing.

This kind of care about cleanliness of the villages and cities, considered with the comments made above in the section on bathing, may explain in part why relatively few serious epidemic or infectious diseases were known among American Indians prior to Contact, as compared with cities of the Eastern Hemisphere.<sup>130</sup>

Another public sanitation practice that contributed to the health of many Indian communities was that of periodic or episodic burning of personal effects, such as clothing and (non-metal) utensils. Some tribes, among them the Creek, burned worn out apparel during annual ceremonies connected with the harvest cycle. Many Indian communities in the American Southwest traditionally burned the lodges, personal

effects and clothing of deceased people.<sup>131</sup>

A related practice of various tribes throughout the Americas was cremation of the dead or elevated burial in scaffolds or canoes raised on posts. This hastened the return of the body to Nature, balancing the forces of life and death, and was also believed beneficial to the spirit of the deceased, which would thereby lose its earthly attachments more quickly. These funerary practices tended to help control the spread of disease as well.

### **Drugs and Alcohol Traditional Use versus Abuse**

The final core of traditional Indian health-related practices discussed here concerns the ways in which drug and alcohol use was controlled prior to Contact.

The abuse of alcohol in particular has been a significant health and social problem among Indians ever since their traditional restrictions and taboos concerning its use were deliberately broken down by Europeans. In more recent times, similar problems have resulted from the inappropriate and unsanctioned use of psychoactive drugs.

A complication relating to drug use in Indian society derives from the fact that many American Indian cultures traditionally have sanctioned ceremonial or shamanistic uses for plants that contain a spirit and chemistry that produces beneficial changes in cognition when appropriately used. Some of these traditions have persisted and some have evolved, not always in structured and purposeful ways.

Alcohol was used by many American Indian cultures prior to Contact with Europeans. Still, there were many other Native cultures which were totally unfamiliar with this drug, its effects and limitations, and appropriate customs for its moderate and safe use.

Whether in the Northeast or Canada, on the Great Plains, in the Pacific Northwest or the Arctic villages of the Inuit, many tribes had no tradition of alcohol use at all.

Virtually all were corrupted by unethical traders between about 1650 and 1840.<sup>132</sup> Fur traders and other merchants were not the only European-Americans to take advantage of the inexperience of northern tribes with alcohol; government negotiators in both colonial and post-colonial times have used alcohol unscrupulously to promote land cessions by Indians during treaty making.<sup>133</sup> However, many European-American individuals in government service, in religious missions, and in business recognized the impropriety and deleterious effects of the alcohol trade with the tribes. Many of them made sincere efforts to prevent it.

Other American Indians were already familiar with alcohol in pre-Contact times. Indians in Mexico brewed a wine called pulque from the juices of the maguey plant, a type of agave. The Aztec, in particular, were well aware of the addictive and demoralizing effects of too much consumption of pulque. They outlawed its use by anyone under the age of 60, except in special cases of ceremonial use under the direction of priests. Violation of the prohibition law was punishable by death. This reduced consumption very significantly, although an illicit trade in the liquor persisted.<sup>134</sup>

Of interest were the Aztecs' reasons for permitting the elders to partake. It was decided that they had performed their life's duties and would not live so much longer that the diseases of chronic alcoholism would have time to develop fully; it was also thought that inebriation could help lighten some of the physical pains and spiritual burdens of old age. The Aztec regarded this whole system of traditions about alcohol use as an enlightened policy.

Another alcoholic drink common in parts of North and South America was a beer fermented from corn and called by various names such as tiswin or chibcha. It was consumed principally by men, and was known by the Apache, Tono O'odham ('Papago') and Pima tribes of the American Southwest. Corn beer was also common throughout Mexico and Central America. It is still brewed and consumed by Indians in the corn-

growing regions of the Andes.

Columbus reported that the Indians of the West Indies made a wine from the juice of the cassava root and so too did some tribes of lowland South America. Again, the use of both of these forms of alcohol was under traditional Indian social controls, often restricted to ceremonials or special celebrations, until the impairment or collapse of Indian social structures late in the Contact period.<sup>135</sup>

The Conquest and subsequent European-American efforts to constrict Indians to reservations posed a severe challenge to all aspects of traditional American Indian life and values. Along with the radical alteration or destruction of tribal traditions concerning alcohol use came a great flood of outside alcohol supplies that overwhelmed many individuals and communities. Chronic drinking and its associated health problems resulted from the Indians' loss of self respect and their despair over the harsh conditions of life on nearly all reservations and reserves in the U.S., Canada and elsewhere.

Alcohol came to be a part of the culture of the modern reservation communities, despite traditionalist cultural revival movements which condemned its use as evil or alien. Many communities and individuals have come to see drinking as a social custom, a part of 'Indianness' that produces strong peer pressures to drink together. As Indians moved into cities in significant numbers after the Second World War, all of the above factors promoted continued Indian involvement with alcohol.<sup>136</sup> The increased visibility of Indians in urban centers, especially those of us with alcohol problems who are also among the homeless, today sustains the earlier explorer, fur trader and literary stereotype of the 'drunken Indian'.

It must be said that not all Indians drink. Nor are all those who do alcoholics. However, the known proportion of regular drinkers in certain Indian reservation and urban communities has been recorded at between fifty to nearly one hundred percent in

recent decades.<sup>137</sup> As a consequence, most tribal communities on and off reservations today have instituted programs for the treatment of alcoholism and related medical and social problems. The most successful are those that rely on one or both of two major strategies.

Some use a 'twelve step' program such as that pioneered by Alcoholics Anonymous. Other programs, such as Thunderbird House in Seattle, favor an emphasis on traditional tribal healing techniques that rely on sweat lodge ceremonies, close contact with elders to promote cultural identity, and support and encouragement in traditional activities such as sports, vision questing, and community service that will restore and promote emotional and physical balance.

Some treatment efforts, such as the programs operated by the Native American Rehabilitation Association, combine these strategies and add a focus on counseling and family support services, including education on the growing problems of Fetal Alcohol Syndrome and related disorders among the offspring of heavy drinkers.

Notable successes in reducing alcohol consumption have been achieved by both approaches and by blending the two, as at the tribal reserve community of Blue Lake in Alberta, Canada in recent years. These treatment and intervention models are also used, often by the same programs, to deal with problems associated with inappropriate use of drugs other than alcohol.

The use of non-traditional drugs by Indian people has grown in much the same way as among the non-Indian population in recent decades. Many of the same medical and social problems result from this kind of drug use, which is mostly recreational but may also involve addictive abuse. Many of the drugs involved have potential for appropriate as well as inappropriate uses. Problems can arise when any culture lacks appropriate traditional wisdom and guidance about the proper procedures and

limitations that should be observed with any particular drug.

Among the drugs that constitute non-traditional uses for most or all American Indian cultures are opiates and marijuana (from Asia), modern synthetic drugs such as amphetamines, barbiturates and tranquilizers, 'designer drugs', and refined cocaine in any of its various forms.

However, there are a number of psychoactive drugs that do have long histories of controlled, sanctioned use in various American Indian cultures. Since these are mostly used in unrefined forms, Indians often refer to them by traditional names and, as a group, sometimes by the terms 'medicines' or 'plant powers'. These plant powers are recognized and interacted with as spiritual helpers or guides. The chemistry that is sometimes involved in their preparation and management, let alone the physiological chemistry of each, is seen as less significant than the personality and qualities of each plant spirit as a guide or helper.

Many American Indian cultures have established the types of traditional relationships indicated below with one or more of the following medicines:

- Tobacco and a number of other cured leaves that are often nicknamed tobacco, such as kinnickinnick [leaf of a small bearberry plant] or red willow bark. Used as a messenger spirit to the other powers of the universe and as a social bond in conversation among humans. Promotes calm insight and deliberate judgment when used in moderation.
- Psilocybin mushrooms of various species; one is called Teonanacatl, or 'flesh of the gods' by the Nahuatl-speaking cultures in Mexico. Used in divination and for other purposes by shamans.
- Peyote, a species of cactus used in the ceremonials of the Native American Church and by shamans in Mexico and the Southwest. A valued spiritual guide.

- The 'black drink' of the Southeastern U.S. (a tea made from leaves of one of two species of vines of the genus *Ilex*). Used in ceremonies among certain male societies and in the preparation and training of some medicine men in that area; also used as a purgative.
- Coca leaves, from a plant cultivated for thousands of years by Andean Indians. Dried leaves are chewed slowly with a little ash or powdered limestone to balance the many complex alkaloids contained in the leaf. Used to combat altitude sickness and enable the Indians of the high mountains to work without physical distress in thin air. Promotes oxygen uptake, and has a slight narcotic effect when used in the traditional manner. Not particularly addictive unless refined for cocaine, one of its alkaloids.
- Chocolate, processed from seeds of a plant called cacao (not to be confused with coca, above). Prepared in Mexico and tropical South America as a liquid beverage or a solid, the traditional forms of chocolate produce a subtle, sensuous mental and emotional effect that is barely present in modern, sugar-laden commercial preparations. The cacao seeds were used also as a medium of exchange in Aztec times.
- Yage, a preparation made from vines of the *Banisteriopsis* genus by some tribes in the Amazon basin of South America. The hallucinogenic effects of this plant, taken in powdered form by nasal inhalation, are used both recreationally and for divination purposes by men only.
- Datura, or 'jimson weed', a plant whose various parts (seeds, flowers, herb and root) have markedly different properties. Considerable traditional knowledge is required to safely use any part of this plant for any of its purposes, which include divination, shamanism, and curing of a variety of disorders. It can also kill or bring on permanent debilities, so its use is limited to expert practitioners.

The incomplete listing above is intended only to indicate that certain psychoactive plants have uses which various American Indian cultures have found appropriate when used according to long-standing traditions and for sanctioned purposes. Unsanctioned, unsupervised use of most of these plant powers is spiritually as well as physically risky. Such abuse is not advised by Indian spiritual leaders.

I have deemed it necessary to include mention of this subject in this section on health in order to make teachers aware that some American Indian cultures have a different perspective on the appropriate use of plant powers than is taken by official representatives of European-American society. Some Indians regard it as sacrilegious to hear the traditional medicines being lumped together with chemical or artificially refined 'drugs' by people from outside Indian cultures who are unaware of native beliefs and relationships with particular plants regarded as holy.

These cultural differences have occasionally been a matter of social, religious and legal contention between some American Indians and some state governments. A recent case [*Smith v. State of Oregon*] involved the religious use of peyote by two members of the Native American Church in Oregon who were also state employees. The Native American Church, formally incorporated in many states for over a century, has been protected in its members' controlled, sacramental use of peyote by the laws of over twenty states in the U.S. A federal Court of Appeals decision handed down in 1990 in the Oregon case has brought the traditional rights of the church's members into question, however.

The U.S. Supreme Court has supported the decision of the state court, saying that the 'interests' of the state in pursuing a 'drug-free' culture take precedence over any infringement of First Amendment rights of Indians to the free exercise of their religion.

Neither is the Native American Church nor its members adequately protected from such adverse decisions under the terms of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978. Amendments to the AIRFA proposed in Congress during 1992 may eventually provide the protection the U.S. Supreme Court has denied to certain Indian religious practices.

This issue is discussed further in the Social Sciences essay; health teachers are urged to keep in mind that some aspects of the generalized 'anti-drug' propaganda in the United States may run counter to the religious and cultural beliefs of the families of some of their American Indian students.

## APPENDIX A CHRONOLOGY

### A Chronology of American Indian Physical Education

Dates in **boldface** indicate events primarily due to American Indian initiatives; dates in plain type indicate events primarily due to initiatives by others.

- 1861-63** Louis Bennett, a Seneca popularly known by his nickname 'Deerfoot' and a preeminent American Indian professional runner, goes to England where the sport is more lucrative. He engages in a series of running races at distances between four and twelve miles before crowds of 4,000 to 15,000 spectators. Bennett frequently sets new records in these races, including a twelve mile time of 62 minutes, 11.5 seconds. He earns a substantial amount of money from competition prizes and wagering, and returns to the United States.
- 1865-70** Louis 'Deerfoot' Bennett establishes a traveling group of professional runners and tours the United States giving exhibitions and competing in major events. Bennett himself continues in competition until 1870, when he retires from running at age 40.
- 1867 Lacrosse, an important and widespread traditional American Indian sport, is designated by the Canadian Parliament as Canada's 'official' national sport. The National Lacrosse Association is formed as a result. Also this year, an Iroquois team from the Caughnawaga (Kahnawake) Reserve travels to England and introduces the sport there in exhibitions at Windsor Castle before Queen Victoria.
- 1868** Iroquois Indians give exhibition matches of lacrosse before audiences in Troy, New York, thus providing the impetus for the creation of amateur, professional and collegiate teams in the U.S. during the 1870s and 1880s.
- 1876** In a one-mile running race conducted under U.S. Army auspices and measured by Army officers using stopwatches and steel tapes, Kootahwe Cootsoolelrhoo La Shar ( 'Big Hawk Chief'), a Pawnee scout with the Army, breaks the four-minute mile. In a second attempt he sets a measured time of 3 minutes, 58 seconds. He is the first runner reported to have achieved this feat, despite 'official' recognition of the accomplishment going to Roger Bannister of England in 1954.
- 1894** Vance McCormick organizes and coaches the first football team at the federal Carlisle Indian Industrial School. Its players are Indian students drawn mostly from many Midwestern and Great Plains tribes. In games

against nearby high school, YMCA, athletic club and college teams, the Carlisle squad posts a 1-6-2 record in its first year. One of the first team members is Martin Wheelock, Oneida, who plays on Carlisle teams from 1894 to 1902. Wheelock serves as team captain in 1899 and wins a position on the All-American second team in 1901.

**1895-97** Bemus Pierce, Seneca, is an early star of the Carlisle Indians football team, serving as team captain three consecutive years. Pierce plays the guard position, and is selected to the All-American second team as guard in 1896.

**1896** In this year, the American Indian football players of the Carlisle Indian School post a winning record of 6-4 against top college teams including Harvard, Princeton, Yale, Brown, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Penn State, Connecticut and Dickinson. Their game against the University of Wisconsin on December 19th is the first night football game ever played.

**1897-99** Louis Sockalexis, a Penobscot, plays professional baseball as a member of the Cleveland Spiders team after an outstanding college career at Holy Cross College. He is credited with a batting average of .331 in the 66 games he plays during the 1897 season. However, racial insults and team tensions result in a temporary suspension from the league for Sockalexis after just two months, during a period when he is hitting .413 despite a drinking problem. He returns to the team and plays through the end of the 1899 season, posting a career batting average of .313.

Frank Hudson, Laguna Pueblo, is an early star of the young Carlisle Indians football team, playing quarterback and serving as team captain. He is recognized as the nation's leading collegiate dropkicker. Walter Camp names him quarterback of the All-American second team in 1899.

**1899** The Carlisle Indian School hires Glenn 'Pop' Warner as its football coach. A man known for a dictatorial manner, harsh language and abusive treatment of his players, Warner encounters many problems with the Indian athletes at Carlisle, whose traditional values favor respectful treatment of individuals. Despite many personal conflicts, Warner's career at Carlisle (1899-1904, 1907-1914) is noted for the spectacular successes of his teams over much larger, non-Indian schools with prominent football programs. Warner's career record at Carlisle ultimately stands at 103 wins, 40 losses, and 8 ties. [Since the Carlisle school lacked a playing field, these successes are remarkable for the fact that all the games played by the football team were 'away' games.] Warner also serves as the baseball and track coach at Carlisle for many years.

**1900-03** Bemus Pierce, Seneca, a former player on the Carlisle football team, becomes a member of one of the early professional football teams, the

Akron Pros.

- 1901-04** Ed Rogers, White Earth Ojibwe, is captain of the University of Minnesota football team in 1901, and is selected to the All-American third team as an end in 1903. In 1904, he coaches football at Carlisle (where he had played football before going on to Minnesota), posting a 9-4 record. [Rogers later becomes an attorney and judge in Minnesota, and is inducted into the Football Hall of Fame for Pioneer College Players.]
- 1903** Jimmie Johnson, Stockbridge-Munsee tribe, is the first quarterback ever to call and execute the 'hidden ball' play during a Carlisle game against Harvard. Regarded as a very intelligent quarterback, he is selected to the All-American team this year from Carlisle. In 1904-05, Johnson plays for Northwestern University, where he studies dentistry. [He later is inducted into the College Football Hall of Fame.]
- 1903-17** Charles 'Chief' Bender, an Ojibwe from Minnesota, is a professional baseball pitcher with the Philadelphia Athletics. During this period, Bender plays in five World Series and is the best pitcher in the American League in 1911. His career record is 204 wins against 129 losses. After retiring as a player, 'Chief' Bender coaches on the staff of the Athletics and the Chicago White Sox until 1953.
- 1904 In reaction to fears lingering from the 1890 Ghost Dance episodes on many Western reservations, the United States' Bureau of Indian Affairs issues formal regulations forbidding the practice of traditional Indian dancing. [Such regulations had previously been imposed informally on a piecemeal basis by individual Indian Agents on particular reservations.] The regulations are selectively and spottily enforced until Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier wins their repeal by Congress in 1934.
- Lacrosse becomes an Olympic sport for the first time at the St. Louis Games this year. [It is also played at the 1908 Games in London, but is dropped from full status as an Olympic sport thereafter because only a few nations field teams.]
- 1905** Frank Mt. Pleasant, Tuscarora and quarterback of the Carlisle Indians, is named quarterback of the All-American football second team. Frank is also a member of Carlisle's track team.
- 1906 With a record of 9-2, the Carlisle football team is ranked by a leading sportswriter as the fifth best college team in the United States.
- 1906-07** Albert Exendine, Delaware tribe, is named to the All-American football team from Carlisle Indian Industrial School in two consecutive years. He serves as captain of the Carlisle team. Exendine plays end, and becomes

a nationally famous pass receiver in 1907, one year after the forward pass is legalized. He later becomes a noted college football coach at Carlisle, Georgetown University, Washington State College, and Oklahoma State University, where he ends his coaching career in 1935. Exendine is later selected as a member of the College Football Hall of Fame.

**1907**

Tom Longboat, Onondaga, wins the Boston Marathon with a new record time of 2 hours, 24 minutes, 29.8 seconds. His later performances as a professional runner draw as many as 100,000 spectators. He is eventually inducted into the Canadian Indian Hall of Fame.

Stewart Culin, a scholar with an interest in sports, culminates 16 years of research into Indian sports with the publication of **Games of the North American Indians**. Encyclopedic in scope, Culin's study is first published by the Bureau of American Ethnology. This book continues in print today as a foremost resource on the equipment and manner of play for hundreds of tribal variants of the major traditional American Indian sports and games.

Jim Thorpe, a Sauk and Mesquakie (or 'Fox') – Potawatomi born in Indian Territory (part of modern Oklahoma), enters his athletic career as a non-starter on the varsity football and track teams at the Carlisle Indian School. [He drops out of school during the 1909 and 1910 seasons, but returns to Carlisle in 1911.] In this year, the Carlisle varsity posts a record of 10-1, including a win over the University of Minnesota in a game that is regarded as settling the unofficial 'national championship' of collegiate football.

**1908**

Jim Thorpe is selected to the third-string All-American football team as a halfback in his first full season as a starting member of the Carlisle squad. He rapidly gains a reputation as a punter and field goal kicker as well as a superb runner. In baseball competition, Thorpe pitches a no-hitter in his first start with the Carlisle varsity team and ends the season with a shutout. He additionally competes in track in the field events and sprint races.

Louis Tewanima, Hopi, is a student at Carlisle and a member of the U.S. Olympic team. He finishes ninth in the London Olympics Marathon.

Frank Mt. Pleasant, Tuscarora and former All-American from Carlisle Indian School, is a member of the 1908 U.S. Olympic team, where he places sixth in both the triple jump and the long jump events. Mt. Pleasant later serves at Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania as athletic director.

**1908-15**

John 'Ironman' Meyers, Cahuilla, plays catcher for the New York Giants.

He plays in almost every Giants game during this period, thus earning his nickname. He is the second leading batter in the league in 1912 with a .358 average.

**1909-10** In 1909, Jim Thorpe wins six track events in a Carlisle meet against Lafayette College in Pennsylvania; later in the year, he enters and wins eight events in a meet against the powerful Harvard team. Restive under the military-style disciplinary policies of the Carlisle School, he later drops out of school for a year and a half. His coach, Glenn 'Pop' Warner, suggests that he join a semi-professional baseball team while he is away from school in order to develop his skills as a pitcher and fielder. Thorpe journeys to North Carolina, where he plays for the Rocky Mount and Fayetteville teams of the Eastern Carolina Baseball League.

Louis Tewanima, Hopi, sets a world record at Madison Square Garden in the indoor ten mile run.

**1911-12** Jim Thorpe returns to school at Carlisle and is selected to the All-American collegiate football team as halfback by Walter Camp, coach of Yale University and the All-American team. He is selected to the All-American teams in track, basketball and lacrosse as well. At this time, Thorpe is the outstanding star playing for the Carlisle Indian Industrial School under coach Glenn 'Pop' Warner. The Carlisle Indians football team wins eleven of twelve games in 1911, losing only to Syracuse University by a single point. Thorpe is also recognized for outstanding abilities in basketball, lacrosse, rowing, gymnastics, boxing, handball, ice hockey and swimming, winning varsity letters in eleven different sports in his career at Carlisle.

**1911-14** Gustavus 'Gus' Welch, Ojibwe, is the outstanding quarterback of the Carlisle football team during Jim Thorpe's last two years as the star of the squad. Welch is credited with winning 33 games against three losses and two ties. He serves as team captain in 1913 and is chosen that year to the second-string All-American team. After leaving Carlisle, Gus Welch plays professional football for the Canton Bulldogs and other teams.

**1912** Jim Thorpe wins the gold medal in the decathlon and pentathlon events in the Stockholm Olympics. He wins the discus, broad jump, 200-meter dash, and 1,500-meter run, placing third in the javelin to take the pentathlon with a score never equaled in the event. Six days later, Thorpe wins four of the ten decathlon events (shot put, high jump, 110-meter hurdles, 1,500-meter run), places third in four others (100-meter sprint, long jump, discus, and pole vault) and fourth in the 400-meter run and javelin. His Carlisle teammate, Louis Tewanima, places second in both the men's 5,000 and 10,000 meter runs. The pair are honored with parades in New York and at Carlisle, with much favorable attention from

the national press and a speech by President Taft.

Alexander Arcasa, Colville teammate of Jim Thorpe on the Carlisle football team, is chosen along with Thorpe to the All-American team. Arcasa is also captain of the nation's leading lacrosse team this year.

1913 The Amateur Athletic Union, which governs U.S. participation in the Olympics, discovers in a newspaper report that Jim Thorpe had played semi-professional baseball in the Eastern Carolina Baseball League during his 1909-10 'drop-out' period. The story appears seven months after Thorpe's winning performances in the Stockholm Olympics the previous year. The AAU, intent on preserving the 'amateur' status of U.S. Olympic stars, strips Thorpe of his Olympic gold medals, erasing his records from the books. [It was not uncommon for college athletes to play for pay in the minor leagues in the off-season or while they were out of school without loss of amateur collegiate status at that time. Thorpe's fame, his ethnicity, and the desire of the AAU to keep prominent United States' Olympic athletes free of any 'taint of commercialism' result in an uncommonly strict application of the 'amateur' rules in his case, despite the fact that many other college athletes did the same thing without the AAU imposing sanctions.]

Jim Thorpe plays in 289 professional baseball games in the National League for the New York Giants, Cincinnati Reds and Boston Braves between 1913 and 1919. In his last season with the Braves, he plays in 60 games with a batting average of .327.

1914 Elmer Busch, a Pomo student at Carlisle, is named captain of the All-American football team. He plays center and then tackle on the Carlisle squad from 1910 until 1914.

Austin Ben Tincup, Cherokee, begins a long career in professional baseball, first as a pitcher for the Philadelphia Phillies and the Chicago Cubs, and later as a pitching coach and scout for the Phillies, Browns, Pirates and Yankees.

1914-18 A congressional inquiry into irregularities in the academic and athletic program at Carlisle Indian School results in Coach 'Pop' Warner leaving to coach at the University of Pittsburgh in 1914. The inquiry results from complaints by many students, including members of the football team. Among them is Gus Welch, quarterback and honors student. After Warner's departure, the football program rapidly declines until the school is closed by order of Congress in 1918.

1915-28 Jim Thorpe becomes a major star in early professional football, playing for seven different teams and founding one, the Oorang Indians of Ohio.

Thorpe serves as the first president of the American Professional Football Association (later the NFL) in 1920-21.

- 1916 Louis Sockalexis' standout performance on the Cleveland Spiders baseball team in the late 1890s is acknowledged by Cleveland fans. In a newspaper-sponsored vote on a new name for the franchise, the fans bestow the name 'Cleveland Indians' on the ball club in Sockalexis' honor.
- 1916-17 John 'Ironman' Meyers, Cahuilla, plays catcher for the Brooklyn Dodgers in his final two years in the major leagues. His lifetime batting average stands at .291.
- 1917 The track team at the Haskell Institute of Lawrence, Kansas, a federal industrial boarding school for Indians, becomes nationally famous for its victories against much larger non-Indian colleges in the Midwest. The team is denied membership in the Missouri Allied Conference, in the words of a reporter for the newspaper in Lawrence, "because the Haskell teams outclass the others".
- 1917-18 Joseph Guyon, White Earth Ojibwe, is named to the All-American football team in two consecutive years, first as a tackle, then as a running back. He had been a member of the Carlisle team in 1911-12, and is playing for Georgia Tech when the All-American honors are bestowed. He plays professional football from 1919 to 1927 with the Canton Bulldogs, the Oorang Indians, the Kansas City Cowboys, and the New York Giants. Guyon is later selected as a member of the College Football Hall of Fame.
- 1919-23 Gustavus 'Gus' Welch, Ojibwe, leaves professional football to become head coach at Washington State College. [He is later inducted into the College Football Hall of Fame for his exploits on the last great Carlisle teams.]
- 1920s Former football players from the Carlisle Indian School form the first all-Indian professional football team, the Oorang Indians, in Ohio. Jim Thorpe is player-coach and principal organizer of the team. Bemus Pierce, an early standout at Carlisle and in the pros at the turn of the century, is a member of this team as well.
- The football team at the Haskell Institute rises to national prominence. Haskell is a junior college from the mid-1920s until 1932, and its teams compete in intercollegiate sports.
- 1923-24 John Levi, Arapaho, becomes a leading all-round athlete on the Haskell Institute football, baseball, basketball and track teams. He is named to the first-string All-American football teams of 1923 and 1924, playing fullback alongside Red Grange. His skills in track events make him a major

prospect for the 1924 U.S. Olympic team until he decides to try out for a professional baseball career with the New York Yankees. Jim Thorpe calls him the “greatest athlete in America.”

**1923-26** Egbert Ward, Yakima, is a standout all-round athlete on Haskell Institute teams, serving as captain of the baseball team each of these four years and quarterbacking the formidable Haskell football squad. He is also a member of the Institute’s basketball team. [Ward is eventually named to Haskell’s All-Time team as quarterback.]

**1925** Despite hitting better than .300 in his first season in professional baseball with the New York Yankees’ triple-A club in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, John Levi quits the team in August to return to Haskell Institute in order to serve his people as a coach of that school’s all-Indian sports teams.

George Levi, Arapaho younger brother of John Levi, captains the Haskell Institute football team. George is also a strong competitor on Haskell’s basketball and track teams.

Elijah Smith, Oneida, is a standout member on the Haskell Institute baseball team, with a batting average of .650.

**1926** Haskell Institute builds a 10,500 seat stadium funded entirely by Indian fan contributions. The dedication on October 30th is attended by 125,000 visitors with over 70 tribes represented, an event which is remembered as bringing tribal leaders from many formerly hostile tribes together in friendship for the first time. George Levi and Egbert Ward lead the Haskell football team to the position of the highest-scoring college-level team in the nation; the team is undefeated this year. Elijah Smith, as a member of the team, sets school records for kicking extra points and is a notable halfback.

Theodore ‘Tiny’ Roebuck, a 6-foot, 6-inch, 270 pound Choctaw football player attending the Haskell Institute, is selected All-American tackle. After graduation, ‘Tiny’ Roebuck becomes a professional boxer and wrestler.

**1927** Phillip Osif, Pima, captains the Haskell track team and is a member of the school’s undefeated two-mile relay team. He later is the National AAU Junior and Senior six-mile individual champion.

**1929** Elijah Smith, Oneida, completes his college football career at Davis and Elkins College, contributing to that team’s West Virginia state championship season as the best ball carrier and placekicker on the team.

**1929-31** Louis Weller, a Caddo known as ‘Rabbit’, plays football on the Haskell

Institute team, where he becomes known for speed and long returns of punts and kickoffs, including a 105-yard return in a game against Creighton College. After leaving Haskell, Weller plays in the NFL for the Boston Red Sox and in the AFL for the Tulsa Oilers.

Thomas 'Wahoo' Yarr, Snohomish, plays on the great Notre Dame football teams coached by Knute Rockne. He plays center on the 1930 national championship team and is elected team captain the following year, when he is also selected by the Associated Press sportswriters to the All-American team as center. [Yarr is later inducted into the College Football Hall of Fame.]

- 1930** Wilson 'Buster' Charles, an Oneida who competed in track, football and basketball during his years at the Haskell Institute and the University of New Mexico, wins the National AAU decathlon championship.
- 1932** Wilson Charles places fourth in the decathlon as a member of the U.S. Olympic team in the Los Angeles Summer Games.
- 1932-35** Rollie Munsell, Jr., Chickasaw, wins the Missouri Valley AAU 160-pound division boxing championship three consecutive years.
- 1936** Ellison Brown, a Narragansett popularly known by his nickname 'Tarzan', wins the Boston Marathon. He also wins the marathons run at Port Chester, New York and Manchester, New Hampshire; these two events are run on successive days. Brown also is a member of the U.S. team in the Berlin Olympics, but fails to finish the marathon due to an injury.
- 1938-42** Rollie Munsell, Jr. competes in over 100 professional boxing matches in a four-year period. His biggest match is a loss to heavyweight contender Max Baer.
- 1939** Ellison Brown wins the Boston Marathon for a second time, becoming one of the first runners to complete the distance in under two and a half hours and setting a new course record.
- Chester Ellis, Seneca, a graduate of the Haskell Institute and former captain of Haskell's boxing team, wins the National Golden Gloves championship in boxing in the bantamweight division. Later this year, 'Chet' also wins the International Golden Gloves bantamweight championship, becoming the first American Indian to win both national and international boxing championships.
- 1939-40** Jessie 'Cab' Renick, Choctaw, is selected to the collegiate All-American basketball team from Oklahoma A&M, where he plays forward.

- 1939-41** Jack Jacobs, Creek, is quarterback of the University of Oklahoma football team. In 1940, he sets a punting record at an average of 47.8 yards per kick and also plays in the college All-Stars game. After college, he plays professionally with the Green Bay Packers and on the Washington D.C. team. He also plays with the Winnipeg Blue Bombers in the Canadian Football League.
- 1942-54** Allie Reynolds, Creek, pitches for the Cleveland team from 1942-46 and for the New York Yankees from 1947-54.
- 1943** Allie Reynolds, pitching for Cleveland, leads the American League in strikeouts.
- 1945** Allie Reynolds has the most shutouts of any pitcher in the American League.
- 1947-48** Nelson Levering, Omaha-Bannock, follows a notable collegiate boxing career at Haskell Institute with wins of the Midwest Golden Gloves championship in 1947 and the Kansas state welterweight championship in 1948. His later professional record stands at 23-5, with 17 knockouts.
- Jessie Renick, playing basketball in amateur clubs, is selected to the AAU All-American squad. In 1948, he captains the gold medal U.S. Olympic basketball team in the Summer Games in London.
- 1948-51** Jessie Renick serves as player-coach of the Phillips 66 Oilers minor league pro basketball team. He leads his team to a 153-9 record before retiring.
- 1950** Voting among U.S. sportswriters and broadcasters selects Jim Thorpe (Sauk and Fox – Potawatomi) as both the greatest American athlete and greatest football player of the first half of the century. He is named to both the College Football Hall of Fame and the professional Football Hall of Fame.
- Jack Jacobs, Creek, quarterbacks the Winnipeg Blue Bombers of the Canadian league to the finals of the Grey Cup, the Canadian football championship.
- 1951** John Steckbeck publishes **The Fabulous Redmen**, a book about the football teams of the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania during the decades at the close of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. The Carlisle teams played against the major college football teams of the era with great success for some 20 years.
- Allie Reynolds is elected by the nation's sportswriters as the top

professional athlete of the year. As one of the few college graduates in professional baseball, he is additionally elected by the players as the American League player representative, a post he holds until 1953.

**1951-72** George 'Army' Armstrong, an Ojibwe mixed-blood, joins the Toronto Maple Leafs ice hockey team. In his 21 years with the club, he scores 292 goals and 476 assists. He is elected captain of the team twelve times.

**1952** Allie Reynolds, Creek pitcher for the New York Yankees, leads the American League in strikeouts, earned run average, and shutouts.

1953 Charles Bender, Ojibwe, is inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame.

For the second time, Jack Jacobs (Creek) quarterbackes the Winnipeg Blue Bombers of the Canadian Football League to the finals of the Grey Cup, the Canadian football championship.

Jim Thorpe dies in California.

1954 The town of Mauch Chunk, Pennsylvania, is renamed in honor of Jim Thorpe.

Louis Tewanima, the Hopi standout member of the Carlisle track team and a competitor in the 1908 and 1912 Olympics, is named to the All-Time U.S. track and field team.

Allie Reynolds, in his last year before retiring as a pitcher, once again leads the American League in earned run average. His career record stands at 182 wins and 107 losses.

**1956** Billy Mills, Oglala Lakota, leads the Haskell Institute high school cross-country team to the Kansas state championship.

**1957** Billy Mills, as a freshman at the University of Kansas, sets a frosh national record time in the two-mile run.

Oren Lyons, Onondaga, is goalkeeper on the undefeated Syracuse University lacrosse team, where he wins All-American honors.

1958 Allan and Paulette Macfarlan publish their **Book of American Indian Games**, a popular account of some 150 traditional Indian sports and game activities. The volume is republished in 1985 as the **Handbook of American Indian Games**.

Oren Lyons is selected to the All-American lacrosse team from Syracuse University for the second year in a row. Following his college career, he

becomes a commercial artist and eventually returns to his reservation in New York state, where he remains as a community leader and traditionalist Faithkeeper of his people. [Lyons comes from a notable lacrosse-playing family. His father was a member of the 1904 Carlisle lacrosse team, and his son has been a leading scorer on the Iroquois Nationals lacrosse team, which Oren helped establish in the 1970s.]

Jimmie Wolf, Jr., Kiowa, is selected to the National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA) All-American football team from Panhandle State College in Oklahoma. He leads the National College Division for smaller schools in scoring this year, setting a season record of 25 touchdowns, eight of them in a single game. In this and the previous year, Jimmie is the team captain of his football squad.

**1961** Joe Thornton, a 45-year old Cherokee Indian from Stilwell, Oklahoma, wins the world championship in archery, setting three Western Hemisphere records in the sport. Over the next several years, he is a member of the successful United States Archery team in international competition.

**1962** Joe Thornton wins the British International Trials Championship, a field archery competition.

**1963** Kitty O'Neil, a mixed-blood Cherokee deaf since a series of illnesses as an infant, graduates from Anaheim High School in California, where she has won numerous meets and gold medals as a competitive diver. Her achievements earn her recognition as 'Young American of the Month' in *American Youth Magazine*. Following graduation, she wins the national Amateur Athletic Union women's 10-meter diving championship.

Joe Thornton finishes second in the world archery competitions held this year in Finland.

Ben Nighthorse Campbell, Cheyenne, wins the gold medal in judo in the Pan-American Games.

**1964** At the Summer Olympics in Tokyo, Japan, Billy Mills (Oglala Lakota), a Haskell Institute graduate and former track and cross-country star at the University of Kansas, becomes the first American ever to win the men's 10,000 meter race in a spectacular, come-from-behind finish. His performance sets a new Olympic record for the event. Also at the Tokyo Olympics, Kitty O'Neil (Cherokee), recovering from a broken wrist, places eighth in the world in women's Olympic diving events. [She is later prevented from competing in the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City when she contracts spinal meningitis.] Ben Nighthorse Campbell, although prevented from winning a medal in judo by an injury, leads the U.S.

Olympic Team from the stadium at the close of the games, carrying the U.S. flag off the field.

**1965**

Billy Mills sets a world record for the six-mile run.

Joe Thornton finishes second in the world archery competitions held in Sweden.

**1966**

Joseph Guyon, White Earth Ojibwe, is named to the professional Football Hall of Fame.

**1967**

Joe Thornton is a member of the U.S. archery team that wins this year's world team championship.

**1969**

Allie Reynolds, the retired Creek pitcher, becomes president of a minor baseball league, the American Association.

**1969-77**

Gene Locklear, Lumbee, is signed to a professional contract by the Cincinnati Reds after a distinguished high school baseball career. In four years in the minors, he twice wins league batting championships and is twice selected as most valuable player. Gene is moved up to the majors in 1973, playing first with the Reds and later the San Diego Padres and the New York Yankees. In his best season he batted .321; his career average stands at .274. [Gene also painted during his baseball years and is currently a respected and successful artist living in California.]

**1970**

Kitty O'Neil, recovering control of her body after being paralyzed by spinal meningitis, sets a women's world record speed of 104.85 miles per hour in water-skiing. After this, she becomes involved in motorsports, becoming a competitor in speedboats, drag racing cars, and off-road dunebuggy and motorcycle racing. She competes in the Baja 500, Mexican 1,000 and Mint 400 cross-country motorcycle races, earning American motorcyclist Association Expert status. She becomes the first woman in the world to earn a competition license from the Federation Internationale Motocycliste, the international motorcycle racing sanctioning organization.

Alex 'Sonny' Sixkiller, a Cherokee quarterback at the University of Washington, is the top U.S. collegiate football passer this year, averaging 227 passing yards and 18.6 completions per game.

Joe Thornton, 54, wins the U.S. national archery championship.

**1971**

Austin Ben Tincup, Cherokee, is inducted into the Oklahoma Baseball Hall of Fame.

Joe Thornton, Cherokee, is a member of the U.S. archery team that wins

the world team championship.

**1973** The U.S. Amateur Athletic Union reverses its 1913 decision and restores Jim Thorpe's amateur status posthumously. The International Olympic Committee refuses to recognize the action. [At this time, the IOC is headed by Avery Brundage, whom Thorpe had beaten in competition in the decathlon and pentathlon events in the 1912 Olympics.]

Jack Jacobs, Creek, is inducted into the Canadian Football League Hall of Fame.

**1974** Kitty O'Neil becomes the first woman member of Stunts Unlimited, the professional actor's organization that supplies the great majority of stunt people to the American movie and television industry. She sets a number of 'firsts' for a woman in the stunt business and holds the record for the highest stunt fall performed by a woman on film at 127 feet.

Rod Curl, Wintu, wins the Colonial National Open golf tournament, beating Jack Nicklaus by a stroke.

**1976** Kitty O'Neil, Cherokee, drives a rocket-powered three wheeled car to a speed of 322 miles per hour, breaking Lee Breedlove's eleven-year old women's world land speed record. Two days later, on December 6th, Kitty raises the women's land speed record to 512.083 miles per hour on a desert course in eastern Oregon. She is prevented from attempting to break the absolute world's land speed record [held at this time by Gary Gabelich at 623 mph] by a sponsor who wants the record broken by a male driver it is also sponsoring in the same vehicle. In this year she also earns her Screen Actors Guild union card as a professional movie stunt woman.

Billy Mills, Oglala Lakota, is inducted into the National Track and Field Hall of Fame.

**1976** The Indian Health Care Improvement Act is passed by Congress to provide increased levels of funding over seven years for tribal health clinics and the Indian Health Service.

**1977** The National Indian Tennis Association is formed.

**1979** The Alexander Graham Bell Association grants its highest award to Kitty O'Neil, recognizing her this year as the American who has done most to help the image of handicapped people.

**1982-83** The Jim Thorpe Foundation is established in 1982 by the great Sauk and Fox athlete's biographer Robert Wheeler and others. The Foundation's

purpose is to establish the legal case for the posthumous return of Thorpe's 1912 Olympic decathlon and pentathlon gold medals. The Foundation finds evidence that the International Olympic Committee violated one of its own rules in stripping Jim Thorpe of his Olympic medals in 1913. Wheeler and other supporters of Thorpe show that Rule 13 governing the reporting of qualifications infractions had a time limit that was exceeded by several months in Thorpe's case. The Foundation's legal case is supported by resolutions of the U.S. Congress, the U.S. Olympic Committee, and petitions containing a quarter million signatures. As a result, International Olympic Committee President Juan Samaranch proposes the reinstatement of Thorpe's amateur status in October, 1982 and wins unanimous consent from the IOC. In January, 1983, the IOC returns duplicates of Jim Thorpe's 1912 Stockholm Olympics gold medals to Thorpe's children and reinstates his records.

- 1983 *Running Brave*, a movie about the life of Billy Mills starring Robbie Benson, is released to critical acclaim and box office success.
- 1984 Dwight Lowery, Lumbee, is relief catcher on the World Series champion Detroit Tigers team.
- 1985 Hanay Geiogamah, Kiowa, a faculty member at UCLA, and Barbara Schwei organize the American Indian Dance Theater in New York, the first national company of traditional and contemporary Indian dance performers.
- 1986 Dwight Lowery replaces the injured Lance Parish as starting catcher for the Detroit Tigers. He leads the team in batting average for much of the season and ends the year batting over .300.
- 1987 The American Indian Dance Theater gives its inaugural performance in Denver, Colorado.
- 1988 Dr. Joseph Oxendine, a Lumbee professor of physical education at Temple University, publishes a volume entitled **American Indian Sports Heritage**, a notable scholarly study of Indian sports and achievements.
- 1989 The American Indian Dance Theater debuts in New York under the direction of Hanay Geiogamah and Raoul Trujillo, Genizaro; the troupe numbers 24 performers from 18 tribes and presents a number of modern and traditional dance styles accompanied by native songs and instruments.

Lacrosse USA, Inc., a sanctioning body for the sport in the United States, establishes an annual invitational tournament. The organization recognizes and openly celebrates the American Indian roots of modern

lacrosse, and includes traditionalist Indian spiritual leaders in its tournament program to explain and keep alive the deep spiritual significance of this game among Indian and non-Indian players. Among the teams participating is the Iroquois Nationals team representing the Haudenosaunee, or Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy. Lacrosse USA also supports part of the cost of sponsoring the Iroquois Nationals and other American lacrosse teams in the annual Lacrosse World Championships.

Matthew Smith, Klamath, founds the Pacific Northwest Indian Tennis Association.

**1990** The Public Broadcasting System (PBS) produces and airs a one-hour program featuring the American Indian Dance Theater on its occasional series *Dance In America*. The segment features several of the troupe's major pieces, which blend traditional dance with modern dance styles set to traditional music. The performances illuminate several traditional stories from the oral literature or show elements from traditional dance in ceremonial settings.

The Canadian government of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney reduces federal support to provincial governments and Indian organizations and cuts \$20 million from the Indian and Inuit Health Program of Health and Welfare Canada. These budget cuts, combined with provincial government reductions of support for education, are expected by the president of the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada to significantly reduce the number of Native Canadian science and medical students attending college.

**1992** The Center for Disease Control announces in June that 388 American Indians and Alaska Natives have been diagnosed with AIDS.

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### Footnotes

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- <sup>1</sup>Oxendine, Joseph B., **American Indian Sports Heritage**. Champaign: Human Kinetics Books, 1988, p. xiii.
- <sup>2</sup>Culin, Stewart, **Games of the North American Indians**. New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1975. See p. 29-30 for the account of Culin's preparation of the study.
- <sup>3</sup>See the classificatory tables in Culin, p. 36-43.
- <sup>4</sup>Culin, p. 809.
- <sup>5</sup>See Culin, p. 45-47.
- <sup>6</sup>See Culin, p. 44, 227-229.
- <sup>7</sup>See Culin, p. 267.
- <sup>8</sup>See Culin, p. 327-335.
- <sup>9</sup>See Culin, p. 335-339.
- <sup>10</sup>Weatherford, Jack, **Indian Givers**. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1988, p. 47.
- <sup>11</sup>Weatherford, p. 47-48.
- <sup>12</sup>Culin, p. 383.
- <sup>13</sup>Catlin, George, **Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of North American Indians**. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1973, Vol. I, p. 141-142. [Republication of the original work published in London in 1844.]
- <sup>14</sup>See Oxendine, p. 278-279 for a brief biography on Joe Thornton.
- <sup>15</sup>Culin, p. 665-666.
- <sup>16</sup>Dr. Carl Lumholtz in Culin, p. 672-676.
- <sup>17</sup>Culin, p. 666-667.
- <sup>18</sup>In Culin, p. 689.
- <sup>19</sup>Culin reports that double ball was exclusively a women's game (p. 647), but Professor Oxendine asserts that it was played by men as well in some Californian tribes (p. 55).
- <sup>20</sup>Culin, p. 658.
- <sup>21</sup>Oxendine, p. 57; Culin, p. 647.
- <sup>22</sup>Oxendine, p. 57.
- <sup>23</sup>Oxendine, p. 56.
- <sup>24</sup>Oxendine, p. 57.
- <sup>25</sup>Culin, p. 652, 654, 656-657, 661; Oxendine, p. 58.
- <sup>26</sup>As recounted in Culin, p. 653-654.
- <sup>27</sup>Culin, p. 648.
- <sup>28</sup>Culin, p. 687-698.
- <sup>29</sup>Culin, p. 699-701.
- <sup>30</sup>Culin, p. 698.
- <sup>31</sup>Culin, p. 704-705.

<sup>32</sup>Culin, p. 706-707.

<sup>33</sup>Culin, p. 420-422.

<sup>34</sup>Culin, p. 422-425, 433-441.

<sup>35</sup>Oxendine, p. 36-38.

<sup>36</sup>Culin, p. 562; Oxendine, p. 37.

<sup>37</sup>Culin, p. 563.

<sup>38</sup>Johnson, Otto (ed.), **Information Please Almanac, 1990**. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1989, p. 957.

<sup>39</sup>Oxendine, p. 41; Culin, p. 563.

<sup>40</sup>See a reproduction of this painting in Oxendine, p. 40.

<sup>41</sup>Oxendine, p. 38.

<sup>42</sup>Catlin, Vol. II, p. 125.

<sup>43</sup>Oxendine, p. 15.

<sup>44</sup>Catlin, Vol. II, p. 125.

<sup>45</sup>Culin, p. 562.

<sup>46</sup>Oxendine, p. 41.

<sup>47</sup>Oxendine, p. 10.

<sup>48</sup>Oxendine, p. 48.

<sup>49</sup>Reported in *Native Monthly Reader*, vol. 2, no. 1, p. 10.

<sup>50</sup>See Coe, Michael, **Mexico**. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1984, p. 50, 60, 68, 85, 108, 109-113, 114, 116, 127, 136, and 151-152 for information on the archaeological remains of pok-ta-pok courts in Mexico and the American Southwest. See also Oxendine, p. 59-60 for the court shape and manner of play. See also Noble, David Grant, **Ancient Ruins of the Southwest**. Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1981, p. 13 and 18 for a description of the ball courts at the Mogollon city of Paquimé (now known as the Casas Grandes ruins in the Mexican state of Chihuahua) and at the Hohokam center of Snaketown near modern Phoenix. The Hohokam ballcourts were unusual in being semicircular in form. Noble notes that one of the rubber playing balls used by the Hohokam was found in a ceramic jar buried at the site of the Casa Grande ruin in Arizona. Such balls were items of the trade between the Hohokam culture and the cities of the Toltecs and others in Mexico.

<sup>51</sup>Coe, p. 50. Oxendine, p. 59, cites a 1953 study by W. A. Goellner in which the origin of the game is attribute to the Maya at around 700 A.D. Professor Coe, an archaeologist at Yale University, presents considerable evidence that the game is about 1500 years older and first known from the Valley of Mexico; in addition to p. 50, see the other citations from Coe listed in footnote 3 above.

<sup>52</sup>Oxendine, p. 59.

<sup>53</sup>Oxendine, p. 59.

<sup>54</sup>Oxendine, p. 60.

<sup>55</sup>Coe, p. 109.

<sup>56</sup>Oxendine, p. 65.

<sup>57</sup>Coe, p. 151-152, mentions a ball game played between the Aztec leader Moctezuma Xocoyotzin and Nezahualcoyotl, the ruler of the allied kingdom of Texcoco, to settle the truth of Nezahualcoyotl's prediction that the Aztec state would soon fall, as it did within three years. Coe also illustrates the ritual conflict aspect of the game in showing, on p. 112, a relief panel from the ball court at El Tajín in modern Veracruz, Mexico. This panel shows the Death God present while player-priests of the winning side sacrifice the captain of the losing team. This aspect of the game of pok-ta-pok is elaborated extensively in the Mayan Post-Classic text known as the Popol Vuh. In this epic, twin brothers avenge the sacrifice of their father and uncle by the Lords of the Underworld. The Twins use magic to survive various tests and a tied game of pok-ta-pok in which the head of one of them is used by the Lords as the ball. The twins later trick the Lords of the Underworld into wanting to learn a piece of magic that allows the boys to sacrifice each other, then return to life. Of course, after chopping up the Lords, the Twins omit to "teach" the magic of restoration, and thus win their revenge. This epic about the time of earliest man provides an account of the significance of the risings of Venus and the first dawn. See Tedlock, Dennis, **Popol Vuh**. New York: Simon And Schuster, 1985, p. 137-158.

<sup>58</sup>1989 National Indian Education Association (NIEA) National Conference bulletin, p. 14.

<sup>59</sup>1989 National Indian Education Association (NIEA) National Conference bulletin, p. 16.

<sup>60</sup>Oxendine, p. 73-74.

<sup>61</sup>Weatherford, p. 243, 245.

<sup>62</sup> Oxendine, p. 67, citing Blasiz, R. "The Practice of Sports Among the Indians of America" , *Mind and Body*, vol. 40, Dec. 1933-Jan, 1934 edition, p. 416-417. The distance and altitude figures are taken by the author of this essay from the **National Geographic Atlas of the World** (Fifth edition, 1981) and the **Encyclopaedia Britannica** (Fifteenth edition, 1990).

<sup>63</sup>Oxendine, p. 74.

<sup>64</sup>Cited in Oxendine, p. 70-71.

<sup>65</sup>Quoted in Oxendine, p. 72.

<sup>66</sup>Cited in Oxendine, p. 68.

<sup>67</sup>Oxendine, p. 78-82.

<sup>68</sup>Lucas, John, "Deerfoot in Britain: An Amazing American Long Distance Runner, 1861-1863." *Journal of American Culture*, Fall edition, 1983, p. 13-19. A summary is provided by Oxendine, p. 242-243.

<sup>69</sup>Cited in Oxendine, p. 243-244. The original account from Lt. North's letters is given by K. Bouc in L. Johnson (ed.), **Nebraskaland**. Lincoln: Nebraska Games and Parks Commission, 1985, p. 36-37, 47-48.

<sup>70</sup>Oxendine, p. 87.

<sup>71</sup>Oxendine, p. 217-218.

<sup>72</sup>Oxendine, p. 89.

<sup>73</sup>Cited in Oxendine, p. 74-75.

<sup>74</sup>Oxendine, p. 54-55.

<sup>75</sup>Culin, p. 616.

<sup>76</sup>Oxendine, p. 51-52, 55.

<sup>77</sup>Oxendine, p. 52.

<sup>78</sup>Culin, p. 617; Oxendine, p.53-54.

<sup>79</sup>Culin, p. 617; Oxendine, p. 51.

<sup>80</sup>Culin, p. 617.

<sup>81</sup>Culin, p. 399-400, 417.

<sup>82</sup>Oxendine, p. 259.

<sup>83</sup>Oxendine devotes an entire chapter (Chapter 9) of his book to the programs of these two schools and their role in developing nationally-known Indian athletes.

<sup>84</sup>Oxendine, p. 192-193.

<sup>85</sup>Oxendine, p. 197.

<sup>86</sup>Oxendine, p. 199.

<sup>87</sup>Smith, Gary, "Shadow of a Nation" in *Sports Illustrated*, vol. 74, no. 6, February 18, 1991, p. 64.

<sup>88</sup>Oxendine, p. 263. The 1980 U.S. Census reported that American Indians completed a four-year college degree program at only half the rate of the general population (about 8% vs. 16%). Additionally, it showed Indians completing high school at a rate of 56% compared to a general population rate of 76%.

<sup>89</sup>Oxendine, p. 264-265.

<sup>90</sup>Oxendine, p. 265.

<sup>91</sup>Oxendine, p. 267.

<sup>92</sup>Oxendine, p. 278.

<sup>93</sup>Oxendine, p. 275.

<sup>94</sup>Oxendine, p. 277.

<sup>95</sup>Oxendine, p. 272.

<sup>96</sup>Oxendine, p. 276-277.

<sup>97</sup>Oxendine, p. 278-279.

<sup>98</sup>O'Neil's story is told in Thatcher, Alida M., **Fastest Woman on Earth**. Milwaukee: Raintree Publishers, 1980.

<sup>99</sup>Oxendine, p. 274, 278.

<sup>100</sup>Oxendine, p. 299.

<sup>101</sup>Oxendine, p. 283, 294-296.

<sup>102</sup>Oxendine, p. 296-298.

<sup>103</sup>Oxendine, p. 282. A list of inductees from 1972 to 1985, noting the major accomplishments of each woman or man, appears as Table 14.1 on p. 284-295 of Professor Oxendine's book.

<sup>104</sup>Laubin, Reginald and Laubin, Gladys, **Indian Dances of North America**. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977, 1989, p. 80-81; see also p. 52-71 on the Ghost Dance. The key work on the Ghost Dance was authored by James Mooney, a Smithsonian anthropologist who visited widely among the tribes practicing this religious and social revival in the 1880's and early 1890's. His report on the dance, its ceremonies and its leading figures, is available in print as **The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890** (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965). It was originally released as Part 2 of the **Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1892-93** (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1896).

<sup>105</sup>Laubin, p. 80-81. This Euro-American couple was adopted in the 1930's into the family of a nephew of the slain Hunkpapa Lakota leader Sitting Bull, Chief One Buffalo Bull. As participants and scholars, they helped keep alive many traditional aspects of Plains Indian life, passing the knowledge they gained on to young Indian performers and authoring several valuable books on parts of traditional spiritual and material culture. This couple was honored by receipt of the Cappezio Dance Award, the nation's highest recognition of excellence in dance, for their work in preserving and presenting Indian dance to non-Indian audiences. More significantly, they won the admiration and respect of the Indian elders who taught them for what they had learned and achieved.

<sup>106</sup>See the Chronology of the Social Sciences essay for the relevant legislative acts and dates.

<sup>107</sup>Laubin, p. 83-84.

<sup>108</sup>For example, the Laubins report that a traditional Lakota once provided them a list of some 35 dances formerly practiced by his people, of which only parts of three or four were still practiced. See Laubin, p. 82, 85 for this list.

<sup>109</sup>In the Portland area, for instance, the Bow and Arrow Club is an urban Indian organization dedicated to training young dancers and putting on traditional dance performances and powwows.

<sup>110</sup>There is a vast literature on the dances of various traditional societies within the tribes, most of it by anthropologists and similar outsider scholars. Examples of these writings include George Bird Grinnell's two-volume work, **The Cheyenne Indians** (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1923, 1972, Vol. II, p. 48-79) and the two-volume collection of George Catlin's letters and notes made while the artist spent eight years traveling and painting among the tribes of the Western U.S. in the 1830's. The Laubins devote two chapters in their book on dances to the society dances, see p. 324-369.

<sup>111</sup>Ladd, Boye, in "*What is a Powwow?*", an informational booklet published by the Arizona chapter of the National Indian Social Workers Association, p. 3.

<sup>112</sup>Statement by the Black Hills Powwow Association from "*What is a Powwow?*". Some of the commentary on the order of conduct of a powwow and the song and dance styles is drawn from this document, for which the author gives thanks.

<sup>113</sup>The information presented on the biography of Maria Tallchief is drawn from Gridley, Marion E., **Maria Tallchief**. Minneapolis: Dillon Press, Inc., 1973.

<sup>114</sup>Beck, Peggy V. and Walters, Anna L., **The Sacred: Ways of Knowledge, Sources of Life**. Tsale: Navajo Community College Press, 1977, p. 13.

<sup>115</sup>Dr. Daniel Drake, quoted in Vogel, Virgil, **American Indian Medicine**. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970, p. 253-254. see also the comments in Costo, Rupert, **The American Indian Reader: History**. San Francisco: The Indian Historian Press, Inc., 1974, p. 16.

<sup>116</sup>Brundage, Burr, **Lords of Cuzco**. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967, p. 88-92, 189, 204, 224.

<sup>117</sup>Vogel, p. 254.

<sup>118</sup>Vogel, p. 258.

<sup>119</sup>Vogel, p. 255; Gallenkamp, Charles, **Maya**. New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1959, 1985, p. 82; Jennings, Jesse and Norbeck, Edward, **Prehistoric Man in the New World**. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964, p. 514; Weatherford, p. 189-190.

<sup>120</sup>Vogel, p. 254-255.

<sup>121</sup>Noted in Vogel, p. 255.

<sup>122</sup>Vogel, p. 256-257.

<sup>123</sup>Eastman, Charles, **The Soul of the Indian**. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911, p. 78-81; Lame Deer, John and Erdoes, Richard, **Lame Deer Seeker of Visions**. New York: Washington Square Press, 1972, p. 164-171; Brown, Joseph Epes, **The Sacred Pipe**. New York: Penguin Books, p. 31-43.

<sup>124</sup>There is a classical description of the traditional Lakota practices for vision questing given by Nicholas Black Elk in Brown, p. 44-66.

<sup>125</sup>Lame Deer and Erdoes, p. 145-146.

<sup>126</sup>Vogel, p. 260-261; see also the discussion of Timucuan village sanitation in Florida as contrasted to European practices in the 16th century in Dobyns, Henry, **Their Number Become Thinned**. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983, p. 236.

<sup>127</sup>Quoted in Vogel, p. 261.

<sup>128</sup>Quoted in Todorov, Tzvetan, **The Conquest of America**. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1984, p. 128.

<sup>129</sup>Dobyns, p. 236.

<sup>130</sup>The relative freedom of American Indians from contagious disease as compared to populations in Europe, Africa and Asia is well documented. See, for example, Dobyns, p. 8-34; Thornton, Russell, **American Indian Holocaust and Survival**. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987, p. 39-40. Also, there is a significant work on the theme and consequences of biological exchanges resulting from Contact between the New and Old Worlds - see Crosby, Alfred, **The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492**. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1972.

<sup>131</sup>Vogel, p. 260-261.

<sup>132</sup>Thornton, p. 65, 83, 129, 241, 243; Axtell, James, **The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America**. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985, p. 64-68; Wissler, Clark, **Indians of the United States**. Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1940, 1966, p. 292.

<sup>133</sup>See, for example, Thornton, p. 66, 69; Wissler, p. 295.

<sup>134</sup>Wissler, p. 295-296.

<sup>135</sup>Wissler, p. 296-297.

<sup>136</sup>Thornton, Russell, Sandefur, Gary, and Grasmick, Harold, **The Urbanization of American Indians**. Bloomington: Indian University Press, 1982, p. 39-42.

<sup>137</sup>See the list of studies cited in Thornton, Sandefur and Grasmick, p. 43-44. There are a great many more studies in the literature of the health, education, and public policy profession that support this range of figures for particular Indian communities.

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