

Southern New Hampshire University

Louis Sockalexis and the Right to Use Native American Imagery in Sports

The Cleveland Indians and Chief Wahoo

A Capstone Project Submitted to the College of Online and Continuing Education in Partial
Fulfillment of the Master of Arts in History

By

Victoria Smith

Strongsville, Ohio

April 2018

Copyright © 2018 by Victoria Smith
All Rights Reserved

Student: Victoria Smith

I certify that this student has met the requirements for formatting the capstone project and that this project is suitable for preservation in the University Archive.



May 7, 2018

Southern New Hampshire University
College of Online and Continuing Education

Date

Abstract

Native American imagery has been used for mascots, logos, and team names for almost two centuries. Many teams state that this is honoring the history of the Native American. Teams have utilized Native American Athletes for the reasoning behind their team name and logo. However, this imagery is often times raciest and contributes in offensive and historically inaccurate betrayals of Native Americans to be formed. The honoring of Native Americans continues to go on especially in the world of athletics, in local school districts, colleges/universities, and professional teams. This usage of Native American imagery helps to maintain the cultural and historical aspects of these important peoples.

Throughout the research many sources have been located and utilized. Local newspaper articles and other local references have been an important contribution. Over the past several decades, research has been completed in regards to Native American imagery being used for sports teams. This research has helped to support the thesis of the following paper. The following paper leaves a mark in Cultural, Social, Political, and Sports history. It has contributed to the progress that has been made in Native American sports research.

The conclusion of the following shows how important it is to honor Native Americans. It also shows the importance of the Chief Wahoo logo and the team name of the Indians to Clevelanders. The following research shows just how much Native American history and imagery has influenced the world of sports. There are aspects that should change when using these Native American images.

Dedication

My parents, for always being there to show their support and push me further in my educational career.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	iv
Acknowledgments.....	vii
Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1: What Makes Native American Imagery Good For Athletics.....	3
Chapter 2: Native American Baseball, Louis Sockalexis, the First to Break Barriers	19
Chapter 3: Cleveland Baseball & the Beginning of the Indians	34
Chapter 4: The “Fighting Sioux” vs. the National Collegiate Athletic Association.....	60
Conclusion	68
Bibliography	72

Acknowledgments

I would also like to thank the history professors that I have had over the course of my studies here at Southern New Hampshire University. The guidance that I have received will be remembered and cherished forever.

Introduction

Since 1901 the Cleveland Indians have not only been a baseball tradition, but also a part of the history of the city of Cleveland. Over the century fans have packed all three of the stadiums that have housed the Indians, season after season. Over the years, fans have experienced a winning and a losing baseball team. However, fans have never given up the respect or their love for the team. Under the Cleveland Indians name, the team has won two world titles and moved onto the post-season numerous times. Many have questioned the history behind the name. There have been many outspoken opinions on the usage of the name and Chief Wahoo. They have also questioned why the Indians organization has been reluctant to change the name, or at least the *racist* logo of Chief Wahoo. The history behind the name all started with an important baseball player, Louis Sockalexis. Many have argued that the Cleveland Indians hide behind this name. Many believe that the Indians are not paying respects to Louis Sockalexis as they claim to be by calling themselves the Indians and utilizing Chief Wahoo as their logo. The history of Louis Sockalexis and his career has been forgotten over time. The Cleveland Indians help to keep his memory alive in a league that has since forgotten the contribution that this first Native American in Major League Baseball had.

Over the decades since the Cleveland Indians came to be, there have been many individuals and groups that have been outspoken opponents of their name and logo. However, the Cleveland Indians have not been the only team called out about their less than sensitive name and logo. This is a controversy that seems to continue to grow across the nation. Although, these names and logos are not always approved or accepted, they still represent an era of history in the United States. Their main point is to honor the Native Americans in some way. In regards

to the Cleveland Indians, it shows how one man brought promise to a team and a city. The legacy of Louis Sockalexis is far from the minds of avid baseball fans, but the following will shed light on the life of the once great Cleveland Spiders player, Louis Sockalexis. Native American Imagery is part of American Sports culture. There is a fine line between what should be accepted and what should not be. The usage of Native American Imagery helps to maintain aspects of their history and their culture.

Chapter 1: What Makes Native American Imagery Good For Athletics

The history of the United States is filled with war heroes, expansion, and events that have forever changed our history. However, the history and honor of the Native Americans has somewhat been forgotten and overshadowed by disappointing moments in the expansion of the United States. Events, such as the Trail of Tears and the spreading of disease by English Settlers, over take the history of their accomplishments. Many states, cities, and rivers throughout the United States are named to honor these Native American tribes and their languages. The honoring of Native Americans continues to go on especially in the world of athletics, in local school districts, colleges/universities, and professional teams. This usage of Native American imagery helps to maintain the cultural and historical aspects of these important peoples.

The various ways that Native Americans are honored throughout sports have been studied more and more over the last few decades. Many logos and traditions of these teams have been questioned and ultimately eradicated. However, like the Cleveland Indians and other sport teams, these logo and names still exists. Historian Laurence Hauptman attempted to make sense of these traditions. In his 1995 book about "...misconceptions surrounding Native American Indians and their histories..." he examines the various ways that Native Americans are *honored*.¹

In effect, Hauptman argues that American frequently construct their nation's history through misinterpretation, omission, and invented tradition. As a consequence, the history of the United States most familiar to Americans perpetually casts Indians in the

¹ Staurowsky, Ellen J. "An Act of Honor or Exploitation?: The Cleveland Indians' Use of the Louis Sockalexis Story." *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 1998. 15 299-316.

role of obstacles to progress rather than a complex and diversified group of people who occupied the land ultimately seized under the guise of Manifest Destiny.² Therefore, the imagery that is formed for sports teams is inaccurate. This argument from

Hauptman supports the claims made by Native American activist. The imagery of being blood-spilling, killing machine warriors, is not one that the Native Americans deem to be correct.

These activist want the stereotypical Cowboys versus Indians to be eradicated, "...the metaphorical references to White-Indians relations that were frequent."³

For many, it is hard to understand why these names could be so offensive. Fans on all levels believe that the team name and logo is just a symbol. The offensiveness of names and logos do not often come into thought for these team's fans. However, many have attempted to put these things into perspective for those who do not have Native American ancestry. Richard E. Lapchick are amongst those who argue against the usage of these logos and names. He states, "More than 40 colleges and universities and five professional teams, including the Braves, use Native American names and symbols. Would we think of calling teams names such as the "Chicago Caucasians," the "Buffalo Blacks," or the "San Diego Jews?"⁴ He goes onto speak about the traditions of fans to paint their face or wear imitations of Indian headdresses. He states, "Could you imagine people mocking African Americans in black face at a game." Yet go to a game where there is a team with an Indian name and you will see fans with war paint on

² Staurowsky, Ellen J. "An Act of Honor or Exploitation? The Cleveland Indians' Use of the Louis Sockalexis Story." *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 1998. 15 299-316.

³ Staurowsky, Ellen J. "An Act of Honor or Exploitation? The Cleveland Indians' Use of the Louis Sockalexis Story." *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 1998. 15 299-316.

⁴ Lapchick, Robert E. "Hank Aaron Steps Up to the Plate on the use of Native American Names and Mascots in Sport." Northwestern University, Center For the Study of Sport in Society. (2005). <http://web.archive.org/web/20050206191856/http://sportinsociety.org/rel-article10.html>

their faces. Is this not the equivalent to black face?"⁵ However, Lapchick seems to ignore the fact that many other teams exist that target other groups of people, especially the Irish. We can make an effort and great strides to be sensitive and attempt to appease everyone. If we are going to do this in the world of sports, we must make it fair for everyone. We cannot simply pick and choose the teams or the groups of people that we cannot use the imagery of their nationality. Whether it be Native Americans, the Irish, the Vikings, or any other group, if we are going to end the use of imagery from Native Americans, it needs to be ended for all nationalities.

The University of North Dakota had the state legislation get involved with their fight against eradicating their logo. The Washington Redskins reluctance to change their logo, forced the federal government to become involved with their case regarding their refusal to change their name and logo. "In what might be the most significant pressure put on Washington Redskin's owner Daniel Snyder to change his team's name, the United States Patent and Trademark Office has canceled the team's trademarks on the basis that it is "disparaging to Native Americans.""⁶ The battle to change the Redskins name was a long fight and this was the final decision that affected the team who refused to change their name. The case was heard on several judicial levels before it got to the point of the team losing their patent. The final straw was when the United States' District court had turned over the initial ruling allowing the team to keep their logo, name, and to keep the protection of their patents by the Trial trademark and Appeal Board.⁷

⁵ Lapchick, Robert E. "Hank Aaron Steps Up to the Plate on the use of Native American Names and Mascots in Sport." Northwestern University, Center For the Study of Sport in Society. (2005). <http://web.archive.org/web/20050206191856/http://sportinsociety.org/rel-article10.html>

⁶ Rovell, Darren. "Patent Office: Redskins 'disparaging'." ESPN (June 18, 2014). http://www.espn.com/nfl/story/_/id/11102096/us-patent-office-cancels-washington-redskins-trademark

⁷ King, C. Richard. "Borrowing Power: Racial Metaphors and Pseudo-Indian Mascots." *CR: The New Centennial Review*, Vol. 4, No. 1. Michigan State University Press. (Spring 2004), pp. 189-209. <http://www.jsotr.org/stable/41949426> p. 190.

The Trial Trademark and Appeal Board “...found the team’s trademarks to be disparaging, bringing Native Americans into contempt or disrepute...”⁸ The United States District Court presented this case to a panel, including “...six American Indian intellectual and political leaders...”⁹ Ultimately, it was founded by this panel that the Washington Redskins, did “...not met the burden of proof and had failed to file their complaint in a timely fashion. Little indignation greeted the decision. In fact, much of the press and public hailed the ruling.”¹⁰

With so many teams seemingly refusing to re-brand themselves, it would need an intervention by a governing body for these changes to fully occur. As we have seen with the Washington Redskins, the Federal government is slowly moving into combating these names and logos in the world of professional sports. “...the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights recently argues (that they) “encourages biases and prejudices that have a negative effect on contemporary Indian people...(and) blocks genuine understanding of contemporary Native people as fellow Americans.”¹¹

Although, the Washington Redskins losing their patent was a small victory in this battle against usage of Native Americans, it still left its mark. There were many individuals both Native Americans and non-Native Americans who saw this as a step in the right direction, but their celebration has not been presented. “Less noticeable was the manner in which individuals

⁸ King, C. Richard. “Borrowing Power: Racial Metaphors and Pseudo-Indian Mascots.” *CR: The New Centennial Review*, Vol. 4, No. 1. Michigan State University Press. (Spring 2004), pp. 189-209. <http://www.jsotr.org/stable/41949426> p.190.

⁹ King, C. Richard. “Borrowing Power: Racial Metaphors and Pseudo-Indian Mascots.” *CR: The New Centennial Review*, Vol. 4, No. 1. Michigan State University Press. (Spring 2004), pp. 189-209. <http://www.jsotr.org/stable/41949426> p.190.

¹⁰ King, C. Richard. “Borrowing Power: Racial Metaphors and Pseudo-Indian Mascots.” *CR: The New Centennial Review*, Vol. 4, No. 1. Michigan State University Press. (Spring 2004), pp. 189-209. <http://www.jsotr.org/stable/41949426> p.190.

¹¹ Black, Jason Edward. “The “Mascotting” of Native America: Construction, Commodity, and Assimilation.” *American Indian Quarterly*. Vol. 26, No. 4 (Fall 2002). P 605.

reacted to the ruling: it was not just a victory in the culture wars...rather for some it was an opportunity to challenge and rearticulate common-sense notions of race, expanding them beyond black and white through racial analogy.”¹² It will take these small victories like these to occur before the true racial problems of utilizing Native American imagery is presented on a boarder spectrum.

The Native Americans and their activist groups began to start their fight against the usage of these offensive logos and names in 1968. That was “...when the National Congress of American Indians began a campaign to address native stereotypes found in sports and media.”¹³ This was the first time anyone spoke out against using the history of the Native Americans in sports. However, this seem to fall on deaf ears. Other groups of Native Americans have also contributed to this fight against sports. “The American Indian Movement (AIM), the Conference on the Elimination of Racist Mascots, and several smaller, grassroots protest calls have come out against universities and professional sports teams alike, insisting that their voices be heard.”¹⁴ It is 2018 and this is still a social issue in the world of sports. The Cleveland Indians have utilized their team name since the 1910’s and Chief Wahoo since the 1940’s. We have seen other professional sports teams utilize Native American names and logos. City school districts utilize Native American names or icon for their sports teams and so do college and universities. The number of sports that continue to utilize these aspects of the Native American history only continue to grow, especially since their outcry began in 1968.

¹² King, C. Richard. “Borrowing Power: Racial Metaphors and Pseudo-Indian Mascots.” *CR: The New Centennial Review*, Vol. 4, No. 1. Michigan State University Press. (Spring 2004), pp. 189-209. <http://www.jsotr.org/stable/41949426> p.190.

¹³ Black, Jason Edward. “The “Mascotting” of Native America: Construction, Commodity, and Assimilation.” *American Indian Quarterly*. Vol. 26, No. 4 (Fall 2002). P 605-606.

¹⁴ Black, Jason Edward. “The “Mascotting” of Native America: Construction, Commodity, and Assimilation.” *American Indian Quarterly*. Vol. 26, No. 4 (Fall 2002). P 606.

There is an ignorance of those who continue to choose these symbols. “Such consumption harkens back to the long-standing tradition of white hegemonic control over Native Identity.”¹⁵ Many believe that by utilizing these logos and names, it allows the true history of the Native Americans to be re-written. Just as Hauptmann argued, these histories of the Native Americans have been overshadowed by their portrayal in Hollywood movies. The lack of historical teachings in school on the Native Americans also contributes to oblivious nature of the utilization of these icons in the world of sports.

There are many reasons that universities continue to utilize Native American imagery. “In contrast, universities argue that the Native mascot stands as a symbol of honor, respect, and dignity that represents those qualities for which a university strives.”¹⁶ Native Americans seem to disagree with this reasoning. There is still a problem utilizing these logos and names for team sports and for their mascots. The purpose of the name and mascot is not only to give the school and team an identity but to seem tough when going to “battle” against their opponents. There is a problem with making yourself seem fierce by using a Native American logo. The aspect of claiming Native American identity for one’s sports team is also inappropriate because you are taking someone else’s identity and reclaiming as your own.

Many do not understand why the usage of Native American imagery, especially in the world of sports, is so offensive. Most people do not take the time to learn about the true history of the Native Americans. Utilizing these logos and names forces American Native’s true identity to be ignored. This has become much more than an issue of right and wrong but it has affected

¹⁵ Black, Jason Edward. “The “Mascotting” of Native America: Construction, Commodity, and Assimilation.” *American Indian Quarterly*. Vol. 26, No. 4 (Fall 2002). P 606.

¹⁶ Black, Jason Edward. “The “Mascotting” of Native America: Construction, Commodity, and Assimilation.” *American Indian Quarterly*. Vol. 26, No. 4 (Fall 2002). P 607.

the social history of the United States, as well as, the sports and Native American history. John Edward Black states, "...American Indian community has not suffered as a victim but rather has attempted to (re)claim its identity."¹⁷

Native Indian groups have continually provided proof to the public as to why this is a problem and yet it seems to continually be ignored. The Native Americans want to be remembered for what they did for the country, not a false image imposed on them by Hollywood or mislead teachings in one's history course. They want their struggles to be remembered. Most importantly they do not want to be known as *killing machines* but victims of the expansion of the United States. The teams that have changed their names and logos already have lost a certain kind of identity. They have had to rebrand themselves. However, this goes much deeper for the Native Americans. They have lost who they are as a nation and as individuals.

Society seems to forget that these names and logos are real people and a part of history on many different levels. There are several different social issues that plague this debate over the utilization of Native American names and logos. First, it is a form of stereotyping. Many Native American groups were and still continue to be peaceful. Yes, they had moments of killing. However, it was in an attempt to fight for the land(s) that were rightfully theirs. They hunted just as any early settler did to get food and other resources. However, the world of sports seems to highlight this point and turn it into something that benefits their *fight* to win. "The mascot, I will argue, is a signifying practice that bolsters white power and weakens Indigenous power."¹⁸

¹⁷ Black, Jason Edward. "The "Mascotting" of Native America: Construction, Commodity, and Assimilation." *American Indian Quarterly*. Vol. 26, No. 4 (Fall 2002). P 607.

¹⁸ Black, Jason Edward. "The "Mascotting" of Native America: Construction, Commodity, and Assimilation." *American Indian Quarterly*. Vol. 26, No. 4 (Fall 2002). P 608.

The second problem is that many people do not think there is anything wrong with utilizing aspects of Native Americans, especially in sports. These people believe that it is a form of honor, "...one of the reasons why most Americans find the mascots unremarkable and do not turn a critical eye toward the mascots is because of the prevalence of similar images throughout U.S. popular culture."¹⁹ Although, the Cleveland Indians have Chief Wahoo for their logo, their mascot is not Native American related at all. However, that cannot be said for the many of the other teams that utilize Native American names, logos, and mascots. Ultimately, "Native American mascots misappropriate sacred ideas and objects...they misuse and misunderstand elements of Native American cultures and their symbolic meanings."²⁰

Professional teams, local school districts, colleges, and universities do not stop to think about asking for permission from these Native peoples. Many do not think of this as discrimination. Teams like the Indians and the University of North Dakota think of it as an honor and remembrance of Native Americans. "Many school officials claim they are honoring American Indians and insist that the activities are not offensive."²¹ The intent to be racist or insensitive might not be there, but that does not take away from the fact that they are.

The University of North Dakota and especially the Indians have utilized the belief that they are honoring the Indians, but what about the other teams. There are many local school districts that utilize Native American imagery. Other professional teams also use these logos. However, you have not heard them come forth to provide reasoning as to why they have chosen

¹⁹ Black, Jason Edward. "The "Mascotting" of Native America: Construction, Commodity, and Assimilation." *American Indian Quarterly*. Vol. 26, No. 4 (Fall 2002). P 608-609.

²⁰ Black, Jason Edward. "The "Mascotting" of Native America: Construction, Commodity, and Assimilation." *American Indian Quarterly*. Vol. 26, No. 4 (Fall 2002). P 609-610.

²¹ Pewewardy, Cornel D. "Playing Indian at Halftime The Controversy over American Indian Mascots, Logos, and Nicknames in School-Related Events." *The Clearing House*. Vol. 77, No. 5. (2004). <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.3200/TCHS.77.5.180-185> P.181

the logos that they did. The usage of Native Americans for mascots occurred in 1894 for the “...Carlisle Indian School, an off-reservation U.S. government boarding school for American Indians students located in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.”²² The story behind how the Carlisle boarding school received its nickname of the Indians, revolves around the sports reports of the school athletic teams. “Although images of Indians in mainstream sports culture have become as American as apple pie and baseball, educators should be aware that American Indians never would have associated sacred practices with the hoopla of high school pep rallies and halftime entertainment.”²³

It is important to see how early this “tradition” started. This is relevant because it shows that this is not a problem of today but one that was started over a century ago. It started as a derogatory name for athletes that were Native American. Just as these students were called names in the paper, so was Louis Sockalexis. Many claim that the Indians received their name from the sports reporters calling Sockalexis that, just as the school in Carlisle got their name from the news reporters. This presents a social and legal problem. Many argue that calling Native Americans, Indians, is raciest and a slur. However, it is not looked down upon like those are for other groups of people. We claim to have Civil Rights in this country. However, the lack of respect and rights that the Native Americans have is almost non-existent. This point is presented every time we call a Native American an Indian or give them another derogatory name. “The U.S. Commission of Civil Rights, the highest official governmental body of its kind,

²² Pewewardy, Cornel D. “Playing Indian at Halftime The Controversy over American Indian Mascots, Logos, and Nicknames in School-Related Events.” *The Clearing House*. Vol. 77, No. 5. (2004). <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.3200/TCHS.77.5.180-185> P.181

²³ Pewewardy, Cornel D. “Playing Indian at Halftime The Controversy over American Indian Mascots, Logos, and Nicknames in School-Related Events.” *The Clearing House*. Vol. 77, No. 5. (2004). <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.3200/TCHS.77.5.180-185> P.181

issued a strong statement in 200 condemning their use and recommending that school eliminate Indian images and nicknames as sports symbols.”²⁴

The history behind calling them Indians, is strong within the roots of the country. There have been many aspects to our culture and society that have led for this term to stay. Although, cowboy versus Indian movies do not exist as they once did, their legacy lives on. It presents a stereotype that has stuck with the Native Americans. Many Native American groups want to keep to themselves. However, this secular society that the Native Americans live in, has only led to more confusion. The Native Americans have a much deeper history than what is taught to us as students. However, due to their secular society, there is a lot that is still unknown about them today. The lack of knowledge that exist does not help to move the country forward and to fully eradicate all Native American imagery that is being used in sports and other places.

The history of the Native Americans is important to fully understanding this history of the United States. The historical inaccuracy that goes into the imagery of the mascots and logos of teams that use Native American names, etc. hinders that reality of their history. “Importantly, since many Euro-Americans encounter Native Americans *only* as mascots and moving images, these unreal Indians materialize the most basic images of Native Americans presenting them as warriors battling settlers and soldiers, noble savages in touch with nature, uncivilized barbarians opposing the civilized and ultimately triumphant advance of Euro-America.”²⁵ It affects the full understanding of the struggles that the Native Americans endured. It also glorifies the battles that Natives had to endure in an attempt to keep their land that was rightfully theirs. Their

²⁴ Pewewardy, Cornel D. “Playing Indian at Halftime The Controversy over American Indian Mascots, Logos, and Nicknames in School-Related Events.” *The Clearing House*. Vol. 77, No. 5. (2004). <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.3200/TCHS.77.5.180-185> P.181-U.S. Department of Justice 2001

²⁵ Black, Jason Edward. “The “Mascotting” of Native America: Construction, Commodity, and Assimilation.” *American Indian Quarterly*. Vol. 26, No. 4 (Fall 2002). P 610.

history goes beyond the Trail of Tears and the other horrific stories that we have all learned in history class. Many have developed comparisons of the hardships and oppression that the American Indians experienced, "...the historical experience of Native Americans after 1492 and the Middle Passage have been described as holocausts."²⁶ By utilizing these names, logos, and mascots, it mocks the Natives. It turns their history and their fight of survival into a joke. "These borrowings and reworkings, like the use of racial metaphors more generally, are designed to heighten recognition and shift perception. They emerge from both the vernacular and established contexts, in support of radical and reactionary racial projects, as passing references and intricate analyses."²⁷

The issues that plague the usage of Native Americans in sports' imagery is important. As a country, we need to reexamine what is truth and what is not. The Native Americans have had to fight, practically, since day one of the "Whiteman's Arrival" in the United States. Why do we continue to *bother* the Natives? There are a lot of other things out there that can be used for sports imagery but yet we still go back to the Native Americans.

Euro-American individuals and institutions initially imagined themselves as Indians for a myriad of reasons, including an institutional link with Native Americans, an effort to play up or play off of regional history, or end coincidence. Euro-Americans were able to fabricate Native Americans as mascots precisely because a set of social relations and cultural categories made it possible, pleasurable, and powerful for them to incorporate images of individual and collecting identities for themselves by playing Indian.²⁸

²⁶ King, C. Richard. "Borrowing Power: Racial Metaphors and Pseudo-Indian Mascots." *CR: The New Centennial Review*, Vol. 4, No. 1. Michigan State University Press. (Spring 2004), pp. 189-209. <http://www.jsotr.org/stable/41949426> p. 192.

²⁷ King, C. Richard. "Borrowing Power: Racial Metaphors and Pseudo-Indian Mascots." *CR: The New Centennial Review*, Vol. 4, No. 1. Michigan State University Press. (Spring 2004), pp. 189-209. <http://www.jsotr.org/stable/41949426> p. 192-193.

²⁸ King, C. Richard. "Borrowing Power: Racial Metaphors and Pseudo-Indian Mascots." *CR: The New Centennial Review*, Vol. 4, No. 1. Michigan State University Press. (Spring 2004), pp. 189-209. <http://www.jsotr.org/stable/41949426> p. 194.

Many will continue to argue that it is a thing of honor. How can one state that but do things that are offensive to these groups? If and when the Native Americans give their blessings to these teams, will it be okay. Until that day, this will continue to be a problem in society and in the social history of the country. “All movements with legitimate goals must begin somewhere, even if the topic is not popular. An important step to gain momentum in the quest for equal treatment of Native Americans is to retire the Native American team names and mascots of sports teams.”²⁹

These issues also continue to get various governmental groups involved. The Washington Redskins had the Federal Government involved with their name and logo. The University of North Dakota had the state government involved. The local police force gets involved every season opener at the Cleveland Indians stadium when the protest begins. The government of Canada even became involved during the post-season of the Cleveland Indians. This issue has become much more than an aspect of social history but also political history. The government continues to become involved in several different ways to try to come to an agreement between these teams and the Native American groups. Court cases are presented and legal battles over logos and team names have occurred. Does it take the federal government becoming involved before we realize something needs to change? These facts only contribute to the importance of eradicating these names and logos.

There are many things that need to change before using Native American imagery in sports comes to an end. The understanding about the offensiveness of these logos and names

²⁹ Grose, James P. “Time To Bury The Tomahawk Chop: An Attempt To Reconcile The Differing Viewpoints Of Native Americans And Sports Fans.” *American Indian Law Review*. Vol. 35, No.2. (2011). <https://digitalcommons.law.ou.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1074&context=ailr>

needs to be recognized. Schools and professional teams need to reach out to the Native American tribes if they chose to keep their name in order to gain approval. There needs to be an even greater understanding of the history of Native Americans. People need to be taught that they are a group of individuals with a deep history and deep roots in the United States, they are not cartoons or some unknown group of people. “Some complainants of Indian mascots and logos have also filed complaints with the U.S. Department of Education, (and the) Office of Civil Rights.”³⁰ One day this will be achieved but lessons need to be learned and changes need to start from the Federal Government, the state and local governments should follow.

The Federal Government’s corporation with all of the groups involved, should continue to move forward with eradicating or placing sanctions of teams that refuse to agree to their terms. They made great strides in the case against the Washington Redskins and removing their patents. However, it seems to have ended there. There are many more teams out there such as the Cleveland Indians and the Chicago Blackhawks that continue to use American Native imagery without consequence. If the Federal government wants to show how serious of an issue this is, all teams need to be punished that utilize some type of Native American imagery.

The fight to end the usage of Native American imagery seems to be prevalent in the field of professional sports. Colleges and other local school districts have been willing to make these changes and have done so without too much pressure being placed on them by people, governing boards of the schools, or local governments forcing them to make the change. “A handful of institutions (like the University of Utah) have revised their use of imagery, which many others,

³⁰ Pewewardy, Cornel D. “Playing Indian at Halftime The Controversy over American Indian Mascots, Logos, and Nicknames in School-Related Events.” *The Clearing House*. Vol. 77, No. 5. (2004). <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.3200/TCHS.77.5.180-185> P.184

including St. John's University and the University of Miami, have retired their mascots."³¹

However, many others are waiting until the school board or others force them to make these changes. "At the same tie, many school boards, like the Minnesota board of Education and the Los Angeles School District, have opted to require the school to change them."³²

The historiography that has been developed about the utilization of Native American imagery in sports, is a field that is still developing. Over time, more and more people have become aware of the stereotyping that is done of the Natives. The government, teams, and fans have also come to the conclusion that utilizing these logos and names is not correct. Many social historians have presented several arguments against schools and professional teams for using these images. The historiography of Native American history continues to change as a result of this, too. There are many things that the Native Americans did and continue to do to this day. Historians are slowly working to try and show how important they have been to the United States and to show how insensitive and inaccurate the portrayals of them in the field of sports truly is.

There is no clear reasoning as to why the Native Americans have become such a popular icon to use for sports teams. The Hollywood vision of what the Indian is and was, is far from the truth. There are many animals that are fierce and known to be. Teams can re-brand themselves by utilizing a fierce animal such as the Detroit Tigers and Detroit Lions have, as well as, many other teams across the National Football League, Major League Baseball, the National Basketball Association, and other professional leagues and sports. Yet, teams like the Cleveland

³¹ King, C. Richard. "Borrowing Power: Racial Metaphors and Pseudo-Indian Mascots." *CR: The New Centennial Review*, Vol. 4, No. 1. Michigan State University Press. (Spring 2004), pp. 189-209. <http://www.jsotr.org/stable/41949426> p. 194.

³² King, C. Richard. "Borrowing Power: Racial Metaphors and Pseudo-Indian Mascots." *CR: The New Centennial Review*, Vol. 4, No. 1. Michigan State University Press. (Spring 2004), pp. 189-209. <http://www.jsotr.org/stable/41949426> p. 194.

Indians make it seem nearly impossible for them to not chose a more appeasing name not only to the Native Americans, but to many people who support the views and opinion held by the Native Americans.

There are many solutions to this problem but the realization and understanding of where the Native Americans are coming from needs to occur first. If teams like the Cleveland Indians and others who use Native American imagery wish to keep their names and/or logos, they must seek the approval of the Native American group. This issue in the world of sports has gone beyond the honoring aspect of these players or the history of the Native Americans. Instead of naming teams for these men and women, statues could be built, other memory areas throughout stadiums can be formed, too. There are many more ways to honor someone that naming a team or forming what many think is a raciest logo after them.

The biggest step moving forward to stop these logos and names from occurring, would be for the government to become involved. They have gotten involved with raciest occurrences against other minority groups including the African Americans. They have also intervened when churches, synagogues, and other religious buildings have been vandalized. However, they have not become too involved in the events happening in athletics, besides the Washington Redskins. Legal action needs to be taken to stop these team names and logos from appearing. It also needs to be taken against teams that continue to brand themselves with Native American imagery. Major League Baseball and the other professional sports foundation can only punish so much. This is a matter of governmental action and without that these occurrences will continue.

Chapter 2: Native American Baseball, Louis Sockalexis, the First to Break Barriers

Louis Sockalexis was a premier Native American baseball player. He was born on the Penobscot Reservation, Old Town, Maine on October 24, 1871.¹ He was an excellent athlete who excelled in many different sports, including football, track, and of course baseball. He would find himself becoming the first Penobscot Indian to play any sport at the collegiate level.² He would begin his college career, playing for a local college and eventually Holy Cross and Notre Dame. During his educational career at Holy Cross, Sockalexis would grow into an athletic star at the collegiate level. “At Holy Cross, he immediately became a star pitcher and outfielder, pitching three no-hitters and records .436 and .444 batting averages in the 1895 and 1896 seasons respectively.”³ He would move onto Notre Dame, but would only be there for a short time.

The time spent at Holy Cross proved to be Sockalexis’ ticket to the big leagues. Due to his outstanding ability to play at the collegiate level and in various positions, it produced a lot of attention to him from managers from around the majors. This would include, “...Patsy Tebeau, the manager of the Cleveland Spiders, who would eventually sign Sockalexis to his first professional contract.”⁴ Sockalexis would quickly show why he deserved to be on the team. The numbers that Sockalexis were able to produce were outstanding. “With a .400 batting average

¹ Fleitz, David. “Louis Sockalexis.” <https://sabr.org/bioproj/person/2b1aea0a>

² Mahoney, Larry. “Friends of Sockalexis’ raising funds for monument honoring Indians Island baseball pioneer.” Bangor Daily News. March 23, 2018. <https://bangordailynews.com/2018/03/23/news/bangor/friends-of-sockalexis-raising-funds-for-monument-honoring-indian-island-baseball-pioneer/> (accessed April 9, 2018).

³ Staurowsky, Ellen J. “An Act of Honor or Exploitation?: The Cleveland Indians’ Use of the Louis Sockalexis Story.” *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 1998. 15 299-316.

⁴ Staurowsky, Ellen J. “An Act of Honor or Exploitation?: The Cleveland Indians’ Use of the Louis Sockalexis Story.” *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 1998. 15 299-316.

by mid-season, Sockalexis was becoming a folk hero in Cleveland.”⁵ Not only did he put up fantastic batting numbers, he was, “Big and strong, he was also the fastest player on the team.”⁶ The only problem he seems to show in regards to playing baseball was with the curveballs of Left-handers, “...the discovery by enemy pitchers that left-handers who threw curves could baffle the redskin...”⁷

His career in the majors would begin and end in Cleveland, “...Sock enjoyed a rapid demise as a big leaguer.”⁸ The career that Sockalexis would began rocky and ended in the same manner. From the beginning of his career he would show the signs of his battle with alcoholism. He experienced injury “...and suspensions for drunkenness that would prevent him from playing for two months of that first season.”⁹

As a major league player, his career would be magical but quick. He would only play in a total of 94 games.¹⁰ During his career in the majors he would play for the Cleveland Spiders. That would end up being a total of three seasons in the late 1800’s, beginning in 1897.¹¹ Since he was a member of Maine's Penobscot tribe, he was the first-known Native American to play major league baseball.”¹² This would lead to him being the first minority recognized in the majors, some 50 years before Jackie Robinson would make his appearance as the first African

⁵ Krsolovic, Ken, Fritz, B. *League Park: Historic Home of Cleveland Baseball 1891-1946*. McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers. 2013. P. 15.

⁶ Krsolovic, Ken, Fritz, B. *League Park: Historic Home of Cleveland Baseball 1891-1946*. McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers. 2013. P. 15.

⁷ Lewis, Franklin. *The Cleveland Indian*. Kent State University Press. 2006. P. 75.

⁸ Lewis, Franklin. *The Cleveland Indian*. Kent State University Press. 2006. P. 75.

⁹ Staurowsky, Ellen J. “An Act of Honor or Exploitation?: The Cleveland Indians’ Use of the Louis Sockalexis Story.” *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 1998. 15 299-316.

¹⁰ Fleitz, David. “Louis Sockalexis.” <https://sabr.org/bioproj/person/2b1aea0a>

¹¹ McDonald, Brian. *Indian Summer: The Forgotten Story Of Louis Sockalexis The First Native American In Major League Baseball*. Rodale Publishing (2003). P. 241.

¹² Rice, Ed. “Recognizing Soxalexis by ditching Wahoo and changing course on Ohio Team Names and mascots: Ed Rice.” (June 8, 2014). http://www.cleveland.com/opinion/index.ssf/2014/06/to_properly_recognize_louis_so.html

American.¹³ Upon signing with the Cleveland Spiders in March of 1897, he would play for manager Patsy Tebeau.¹⁴ The Cleveland Plain Dealer would nickname Sockalexis as Tebeau's Indian in sports reports.¹⁵ This nickname would play a significant role in the history of Cleveland Baseball decades after Sockalexis' career would end.

Louis Sockalexis not only brought his talent to Cleveland but contributed to the growth of popularity for the game amongst the city's fans. They would look forward to watching Sockalexis play when they attended the game. "Sockalexis' arrival in Cleveland was welcomed by sportswriters grown weary of trying to produce interesting and exciting prose about a Spider team..."¹⁶ As a result, the attendance at League Park, grew significantly. During the games, many fans would express their admiration for Sockalexis, "...through the bigotry of the day, hooting, whooping, uttering war cries."¹⁷ The local newspapers would only contribute to the racial slurs that would follow Sockalexis around during his career in Cleveland. They would often write, "...stereotypes about the "redskin," the "Chief of Sockem..."¹⁸ There was an occurrence after hitting a game-winning homerun, when a local paper would use the headline, "INDIANS HANG ONE LITTLE SCALP ON THEIR BELTS."¹⁹ Although quotes like these would be found highly offensive and insensitive today, there were not seen that way in the late

¹³ Fleitz, David. "Louis Sockalexis." <https://sabr.org/bioproj/person/2b1aea0a>

¹⁴ Fleitz, David. "Louis Sockalexis." <https://sabr.org/bioproj/person/2b1aea0a>

¹⁵ Fleitz, David. "Louis Sockalexis." <https://sabr.org/bioproj/person/2b1aea0a>

¹⁶ Staurowsky, Ellen J. "An Act of Honor or Exploitation?: The Cleveland Indians' Use of the Louis Sockalexis Story." *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 1998. 15 299-316.

¹⁷ Troy, Gil. "The Myth Behind the First Cleveland Indian: Louis Sockalexis." Daily Beast. <https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-myth-behind-the-first-cleveland-indian-louis-sockalexis>, (2016).

¹⁸ Troy, Gil. "The Myth Behind the First Cleveland Indian: Louis Sockalexis." Daily Beast. <https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-myth-behind-the-first-cleveland-indian-louis-sockalexis>, (2016).

¹⁹ Troy, Gil. "The Myth Behind the First Cleveland Indian: Louis Sockalexis." Daily Beast. <https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-myth-behind-the-first-cleveland-indian-louis-sockalexis>, (2016).

1800's. Sockalexis was a shining star and a great contribution, but he had racial slurs thrown at him at every bend of his career in Major League Baseball.

Sockalexis' era in Cleveland and ultimately his career would be cut short. His battle with alcoholism would eventually ruin the grand career that he was just beginning to form. On a road trip to Pittsburgh, Sockalexis drank himself in oblivion. Sockalexis, also known as the "The Red Romeo,"²⁰ would either fall or jump out of a second story window of a brothel and would end up severely injuring his ankle.²¹ Tebeau would send the slugger back to Cleveland for rehabilitation and rest, but Sockalexis could not kick the habit and would frequent the bars. After missing several routine plays, his problem with alcohol became publically known, not only in Cleveland, but around the Major Leagues, as well.²² Sockalexis would eventually be suspended. His career would eventually come to an end when the Cleveland Spiders' owner Frank Robinson moved the team to St. Louis.²³ He would take with him the stars of the Spiders, but would leave behind Louis Sockalexis, who had blown his nearly perfect career due to his addiction.

Sockalexis would finish out his final year in the majors with the Spiders. That final year, the team would only win 20 games which made it "...the worst single season record in Major League History."²⁴ Sockalexis would continue to fall quickly to the daemons of alcoholism. He would leave Cleveland after that horrific season and return to the Penobscot Reservation. Sockalexis' career would be highlighted by his early years in a Cleveland uniform. His career

²⁰ Troy, Gil. "The Myth Behind the First Cleveland Indian: Louis Sockalexis." Daily Beast. <https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-myth-behind-the-first-cleveland-indian-louis-sockalexis>, (2016).

²¹ Fleitz, David. "Louis Sockalexis." <https://sabr.org/bioproj/person/2b1aea0a>

²² Fleitz, David. "Louis Sockalexis." <https://sabr.org/bioproj/person/2b1aea0a>

²³ Fleitz, David. "Louis Sockalexis." <https://sabr.org/bioproj/person/2b1aea0a>

²⁴ Fleitz, David. "Louis Sockalexis." <https://sabr.org/bioproj/person/2b1aea0a>

ended with him only “...playing in a total of 94 games-but with an impressive .313 batting average.”²⁵

Louis Sockalexis would return to the Penobscot Reservation in Maine. He would continue playing baseball for local teams and helping many young baseball players who had dreams of making it to the majors on the reservation. His life would be cut tragically short. In 1913, at the age of 42, he would have a “...heart attack while working as a logger,”²⁶ and he passed away.

Louis Sockalexis was a legend before his time. He made strides in breaking the color barrier long before the beloved Jackie Robinson. He was a machine on the field. Many admired the athlete that he was growing up and for a few short years as a professional in Cleveland. He contributed to the growth of baseball in Cleveland. He left many mesmerized by the way he played the game. Despite all of these accomplishments in such a short period of time, he would only be remembered for his problems and battle with Alcoholism.

Sockalexis does not get recognized like the greats of the time and even those who came after. He is not in the Baseball Hall of Fame, nor was he recognized by Sports Illustrated magazine. “Sports Illustrated chose the top 50 athletes from each state and he wasn’t included among Maine’s top 50 athletes.”²⁷ Furthermore, L.L. Bean was recognized “...on the list and all

²⁵ Troy, Gil. “The Myth Behind the First Cleveland Indian: Louis Sockalexis.” Daily Beast. <https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-myth-behind-the-first-cleveland-indian-louis-sockalexis>, (2016).

²⁶ Troy, Gil. “The Myth Behind the First Cleveland Indian: Louis Sockalexis.” Daily Beast. <https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-myth-behind-the-first-cleveland-indian-louis-sockalexis>, (2016).

²⁷ Mahoney, Larry. “‘Friends of Sockalexis’ raising funds for monument honoring Indians Island baseball pioneer.” Bangor Daily News. March 23, 2018. <https://bangordailynews.com/2018/03/23/news/bangor/friends-of-sockalexis-raising-funds-for-monument-honoring-indian-island-baseball-pioneer/> (accessed April 9, 2018).

he did was invent boots.”²⁸ Sockalexis’ number is not retired either. If it was not for the history that he has with the name of the Cleveland Indians, there is a possibility he would be forgotten in history. Although, this has not happened yet, it is merely only a matter of time.

As we get further away from the years of him playing, his history is slowly fading away. Many Clevelanders do not know about the great Louis Sockalexis, unless taught by their elders or conduct research on their own. The various owners of time have claimed that the teams’ name honors the career of Sockalexis. However, besides the name, there is nothing to honor Sockalexis. The field is filled with a mini Hall-of-Fame for Cleveland baseball greats, but nothing about Sockalexis. There are statues of Indian legends, Jim Thome and Bob Feller, but not one for Louis Sockalexis. Some argue that the Indians are hiding behind the legacy of Sockalexis for their reasoning for having a racist name and logo.

The way Cleveland baseball has gone about honoring Sockalexis is questioned by many. However, one could argue about the lack of recognition that Sockalexis receives from Major League Baseball. Why has Louis Sockalexis been overlooked? Is the Major League Baseball so embarrassed by the problems he had with Alcoholism or do they have a problem honoring a Native American? Louis Sockalexis might not be remember by Major League Baseball as some argue he should, but his legacy lives on in Cleveland, Ohio.

Louis Sockalexis is a mystery, for the most part. He was arguably one of the greatest baseball players of his time. He knew the game and how to play well. There is a lot of information that is missing from the historiography of this great baseball player.

²⁸ Mahoney, Larry. “‘Friends of Sockalexis’ raising funds for monument honoring Indians Island baseball pioneer.” Bangor Daily News. March 23, 2018. <https://bangordailynews.com/2018/03/23/news/bangor/friends-of-sockalexis-raising-funds-for-monument-honoring-indian-island-baseball-pioneer/> (accessed April 9, 2018).

Although some aspects of Sockalexis' career as a professional baseball player are well documented and supported by a degree of consensus among biographers, a review of what has been written about Sockalexis reveals that his life and identity are inextricably tied to an image manufactured by sportswriters in their coverage of the Cleveland ball club, particularly during the 1897 season.²⁹

This alone, leaves one questioning the greatness of Sockalexis. His stats and records provide proof of the great athlete he was. However, his career was only three short seasons in Cleveland. It leaves room for debate over whether or not the Sport reporters exaggerated the abilities he had in order to give hope to the horrific ball club of the Cleveland Spiders and to the fans of Cleveland.

Other greats of baseball have plenty known about them. Jackie Robinson, who also broke the color barrier, has plenty of biographies written on him and even a movie. Louis Sockalexis does not. There is little information known, or at least made public about Sockalexis. The Penobscot Nation is reluctant to contribute to any further history being known about him, too. Perhaps, Major League Baseball is not the problem for the lack of knowledge and honor that they give to Sockalexis. The Penobscot Nation will need to provide information, if the history of the great Sockalexis is going to progress forward.

The legacy of Louis Sockalexis has not been disputed. Sockalexis was a great baseball player who left crowds, sports reporters, fellow players, and owners impressed. His short career left many in awe. The lack of recognition that he receives in Major League Baseball is horrific. Many including Clevelanders do not even know of his existence. "In 1997, as "the American game" celebrated the breaking of the color barrier with recognition of the signing of Jack

²⁹ Staurowsky, Ellen J. "An Act of Honor or Exploitation?: The Cleveland Indians' Use of the Louis Sockalexis Story." *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 1998. 15 299-316.

Robinson,³⁰ it is telling commentary that conceptions of race and ethnicity in baseball appeared not to extend to the Native Americans.”³¹ That year of 1997 also marked 100 years of the color barrier being broken by the first Native American baseball player, Louis Sockalexis. However, there was no recognition for this. This leaves a lot of historical things that have not been interpreted, to be construed into other things.

The lack of recognition of the career of Louis Sockalexis could be perceived as a foreshadowing of ignorance of Native Americans in the field of athletics on many different levels. The fact that he broke the first color barrier but receives no recognition for it shows what Americans think of Native Americans. You do not see teams being named after African-Americans or raciest logos of them being used in sports. You do see honoring of those who broke the color barrier for African Americans. On the other hand, the fact that Sockalexis truly broke the very first color barrier is a hard fact to find. You do see the problems that have occurred and continue to occur with the usage of Native American. Why is it that one minority group gets honor and respect but not another? The Civil Rights Movement was meant to honor all minority groups that had been oppressed and treated unfairly. This includes not only African-Americans, but Native Americans, as well.

Scholarship continues to develop about Sockalexis. We know he was an impressive athlete, that let his addiction to alcohol get the best of him. However, there is not a lot of support to prove that he is the name sake of the Cleveland Indians. There are many that argue the Indians abuse his career and legacy in order to escape re-branding themselves.

³⁰ Weir, T. “The Lifetime of a legend.” USA Today. (1997). P. 3C.

³¹ Staurowsky, Ellen J. “An Act of Honor or Exploitation?: The Cleveland Indians’ Use of the Louis Sockalexis Story.” *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 1998. 15 299-316.

There are many open spaces to fill in the historiography of Louis Sockalexis. Not much is known about his early life and his life after baseball. His problems with alcohol plagued the history of his career. The lack of information on Sockalexis contributes to the lack of knowledge that the Cleveland Indians have, as well as, Major League Baseball. This hinders the historical aspects of the history of the sport, of the city of Cleveland, and the history of baseball in Cleveland. However, what we do know about his professional career in Cleveland has projected him into the debate over whether or not the team was named in his honor.

There are many aspects of Louis Sockalexis that make him important to this history of Cleveland baseball. Most importantly there are many reasons that his legacy contributes to the battle over utilizing Native American imagery. Being the first known Native American who played Major League Baseball, he opened up many doors for those who were not *white* in the future. It also made him open to racial slurs being said and written about him. It might not have been known to Sockalexis during his career but he has also become the reasoning being the Cleveland Indians and their reluctance to change their name. Although, many teams utilize Native American imagery, the Indians to this day claim that Sockalexis is the reason for it. These teams including the Indians claim to be honoring Native American tribes, often times specific players, like Sockalexis, throughout the country.

Louis Sockalexis was a great athlete, when he was not giving into his addiction. However, he only played a total of 94 games in Cleveland. He also left an embarrassing mark on his career by showing up to games often times drunk to the point where he could not walk and ultimately could not play. Major League Baseball has not and does not have any plans of honoring Sockalexis in the Baseball Hall of Fame. So why do the Cleveland Indians? The career of Sockalexis contributes to the history of sports and also to the Cleveland Indians. The

reasoning behind why or how the Indians came to be is a blur of conflicting opinions and comments.

There are no arguments over whether or not Louis Sockalexis had a great career, regardless of how short it was. He did leave an impact on the city of Cleveland in the late 1880's. However, not many Clevelanders know of his existence today. His career and his life play a significant role in the debate over the utilization of Native American imagery in sports. Without the career of Louis Sockalexis, Cleveland baseball might be going by a different name and have a different logo. Cleveland and its baseball team would be eradicated from this history and the historiography of Native American imagery in athletics.

With the outcry for Louis Sockalexis and the mark he made in Cleveland, this allowed many Native Americans to erupt and make their mark on Baseball. However, not all of these so-called Native American's were actually Native Americans. Since the career of Louis Sockalexis, it was clear that Native Americans would be allowed in the league, unlike African American baseball players of the time. This led Baltimore's manager, John McGraw to take advantage of this.

In 1901 during Spring Training, McGraw, spotted a player he knew that he wanted for his team, at that point his name was Charlie Grant.³² Although, he was a great baseball player, he was also African American. McGraw knew that he could not have an African American player on his team because of the rules of Major League Baseball at the time. This led to the decision of passing Grant off as a Native American. "Per the *Portsmouth Herald*, "Manager McGraw of

³² Lamb, Chris. *Conspiracy of Silence: Sportswriters and the Long Campaign to Desegregate Baseball*. University of Nebraska Press. (2012) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1d9nr9b.5> (accessed March 12, 2018). P 40.

the Baltimore ball team claims to have secured a treasure in Tokohama, the full blooded Indian who will succeed [Louis] Sockalexis, the Cleveland Indian, in the baseball world.”³³

Charles Grant would re-emerge with a new name in Baltimore and would be now known as Chief Tokohama.³⁴ However, many would catch on to McGraw’s plan and raise questions about the authenticity of the ‘Native American’ he was to have playing for him. “Charles Comiskey, the owner of the White Sox, objected to McGraw’s trying to pass the black Grant off as an Indian.”³⁵ McGraw continued to deny that Chief Tokohama was Charles Grant. “McGraw insisted that Comiskey was merely trying to prevent the signing of Tokohama.”³⁶

Before, McGraw tried to pass off Charles Grant as a Native American, Grant or Chief Tokohama would be an active player in the Negro Baseball League, playing for teams such as, the Page Fence Giants that were out of Adrian, Michigan and eventually the extension team, the Columbia Giants.³⁷ The rumors and notice of McGraw’s charades would be noticed before Grant could ever make his debut in Major League Baseball. Charles Grant or Chief Tokohama’s story is important because it shows just how big the impact of Louis Sockalexis was on the sport of baseball. McGraw hoped that Tokohama would make an impact on his Baltimore team, like

³³ McKenna, Brian. “Charlie Grant.” Society For American Baseball Research. <https://sabr.org/bioproj/person/bd564010> (accessed April 15, 2018).

³⁴ Lamb, Chris. *Conspiracy of Silence: Sportswriters and the Long Campaign to Desegregate Baseball*. University of Nebraska Press. (2012) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1d9nr9b.5> (accessed March 12, 2018). P 40.

³⁵ Lamb, Chris. *Conspiracy of Silence: Sportswriters and the Long Campaign to Desegregate Baseball*. University of Nebraska Press. (2012) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1d9nr9b.5> (accessed March 12, 2018). P 40.

³⁶ Lamb, Chris. *Conspiracy of Silence: Sportswriters and the Long Campaign to Desegregate Baseball*. University of Nebraska Press. (2012) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1d9nr9b.5> (accessed March 12, 2018). P 40.

³⁷ McKenna, Brian. “Charlie Grant.” Society For American Baseball Research. <https://sabr.org/bioproj/person/bd564010> (accessed April 15, 2018).

the one Sockalexis had in Cleveland. However, he wanted to protect Tokohama from the evils of alcoholism.

The best-known Indians player was Louis Sockalexis, who had played for Cleveland between 1897 and 1899, until he fell victim to alcoholism. The *Baltimore Sun* reported that McGraw wanted to protect “Tokie” from the same fate as Sockalexis “until fire and water and bad companions ruined him, and he eventually made him a vagrant and tramp.”³⁸

Those concerns would be short lived since McGraw was caught in his lie. Charles Grant would spend his career only playing on teams in the Negro League.

The once Baltimore Oriole player and eventually the Detroit manager, Hughie Jennings, stated that, Sockalexis “...should have been the greatest player of all time –great than Cobb, Wagner, Lajoie, Hornsby, and any of the other men who made history for the game of baseball.”³⁹ Ultimately, there have been many noteworthy Native American baseball players since Louis Sockalexis. However, only one has been inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame. African American and women baseball players all have a presence at the Hall of Fame. There are sections that are devoted to the greats of those minority groups that have been represented in baseball over time. However, the Native American players who have contributed to the game of baseball do not have any section, anywhere within the Hall of Fame. “During the long segregated era between 1884 and 1947...the most visible racial minority in major league baseball...consisted of Native Indians.”⁴⁰

³⁸ Lamb, Chris. *Conspiracy of Silence: Sportswriters and the Long Campaign to Desegregate Baseball*. University of Nebraska Press. (2012) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1d9nr9b.5> (accessed March 12, 2018). P 40.

³⁹ Thompson, Stephen I. “The American Indian in the Major Leagues.” SABR Research Journals. <http://research.sabr.org/journals/the-american-indian-in-the-major-leagues> (accessed April 9, 2018).

⁴⁰ Thompson, Stephen I. “The American Indian in the Major Leagues.” SABR Research Journals. <http://research.sabr.org/journals/the-american-indian-in-the-major-leagues> (accessed April 9, 2018).

Although, many Native Indian players did not have to go through the same raciest encounters that the African American players did, they were still prejudice against in other ways. “Indeed, the nickname “Chief,” which was applied to virtually every Indian baseball player from the 1890s to the 1950s, is itself a subtle indication of racism.”⁴¹ However, the MLB and other racial rights groups fail to point this aspect of history out. James Skipper, author of the *Baseball Research Journal*, stated in an article, “...nicknames placed ‘Chief’ in the miscellaneous rather than the ethnic category...”⁴² However, the “...Macmillan *Baseball Encyclopedia* reveals that almost every bearer of that cognomen in baseball history has been Indian- “Chief” Meyers, “Chief” Bender, “Chief” Yellowhorse, Allie “Big Chief” Reynolds, and so on...”⁴³

Even though Louis Sockalexis is not a well-known baseball player, there are many others who are Native Americans that are. Many know baseball great, Jim Thorpe, who was also Native American. Thorpe, “...although far from the greatest baseball player.”⁴⁴ However, he did seem to make quite an impression in the game. During his six-year career, he would play for the Giants, Reds, New York, and would end his career with the Braves.⁴⁵ There are many other Native American players, though, that did excel at the game of baseball like Sockalexis. “Although a fairly strong case could be made for the Hall of Fame candidacy of several Indian ball players-Meyers, Allie Reynolds, Bob Johnson, Rudy York—the only one thus far enshrined

⁴¹ Thompson, Stephen I. “The American Indian in the Major Leagues.” SABR Research Journals. <http://research.sabr.org/journals/the-american-indian-in-the-major-leagues> (accessed April 9, 2018).

⁴² Thompson, Stephen I. “The American Indian in the Major Leagues.” SABR Research Journals. <http://research.sabr.org/journals/the-american-indian-in-the-major-leagues> (accessed April 9, 2018).

⁴³ Thompson, Stephen I. “The American Indian in the Major Leagues.” SABR Research Journals. <http://research.sabr.org/journals/the-american-indian-in-the-major-leagues> (accessed April 9, 2018).

⁴⁴ Thompson, Stephen I. “The American Indian in the Major Leagues.” SABR Research Journals. <http://research.sabr.org/journals/the-american-indian-in-the-major-leagues> (accessed April 9, 2018).

⁴⁵ Thompson, Stephen I. “The American Indian in the Major Leagues.” SABR Research Journals. <http://research.sabr.org/journals/the-american-indian-in-the-major-leagues> (accessed April 9, 2018).

there is Charles Albert “Chief” Bender, the great pitcher of Connie Mack’s Philadelphia Athletics.”⁴⁶ Bender was a great athlete and a great baseball player, but many would argue not the best. “One suspects that his presence on the same pitching staff as Rube Waddell and Eddie Plank, both of whom were elevated to the Hall in 1946, seven years before Bender...played a part in his own selection.”⁴⁷

There have been a large number of Native Americans represented in Major League Baseball, but they are not recognized beyond that. Teams such as the Indians, have tried to argue that their name honors one of these forgotten players. Since Major League Baseball does not honor these players, teams need to take the honor into their own hands. Every player, regardless of their skin color deserve recognition, especially those with numbers such as Sockalexis had. It leaves one questioning the real motives behind the argument that Major League Baseball has for prohibiting the Cleveland Indians from using their logo and eventually their name. As stated, many find it offensive and demeaning. One could argue that the lack of acknowledgment of Native American players in the Baseball Hall of Fame, is also offensive and demeaning. Why is there not a lack of anger from Native’s on this issue? There should be more outcry from not only Native Americans, but also from fans on this issue. Native American players had a lot of the same impact on the league, that those of African American heritage did.

Beyond not being recognized in the Baseball Hall of Fame, he also “...doesn’t get the credit for being an important civil rights icon.”⁴⁸ This has led to people taking it into their own

⁴⁶ Thompson, Stephen I. “The American Indian in the Major Leagues.” SABR Research Journals. <http://research.sabr.org/journals/the-american-indian-in-the-major-leagues> (accessed April 9, 2018).

⁴⁷ Thompson, Stephen I. “The American Indian in the Major Leagues.” SABR Research Journals. <http://research.sabr.org/journals/the-american-indian-in-the-major-leagues> (accessed April 9, 2018).

⁴⁸ Mahoney, Larry. “‘Friends of Sockalexis’ raising funds for monument honoring Indians Island baseball pioneer.” Bangor Daily News. March 23, 2018.

hands to honor the life and career of Sockalexis. One of these groups is, ‘Friends of Sockalexis’ which has decided to move forward with building a bronze statue to honor the great Native American player. There are many suggestions as to where the statue should be built. One of these locations is, Bangor, Maine, where Sockalexis contributed to umpiring and Coaching after his major league career ended. However, some do not “...know how the Penobscot Nation would react if the monument was built somewhere other than Indian Island, where Sockalexis’ grave is located.”⁴⁹

The only thing that Sockalexis currently has to recognize his career in the majors is “...a headstone and bronze plaque featuring two crossed bats and a baseball. It was added to his gravesite on June 24, 1932.”⁵⁰ The statue is a great start to honoring this player, who excelled in his short career. Perhaps the fundraising for the statue and then the statue being built, will open the eyes of those like Rob Manfred, the commissioner of Major League Baseball. One could hope that this statue will be the beginning of recognition for Native players, such as Sockalexis, in Cooperstown, New York, in the Baseball Hall of Fame.

<https://bangordailynews.com/2018/03/23/news/bangor/friends-of-sockalexis-raising-funds-for-monument-honoring-indian-island-baseball-pioneer/> (accessed April 9, 2018).

⁴⁹ Mahoney, Larry. “‘Friends of Sockalexis’ raising funds for monument honoring Indians Island baseball pioneer.” Bangor Daily News. March 23, 2018.

<https://bangordailynews.com/2018/03/23/news/bangor/friends-of-sockalexis-raising-funds-for-monument-honoring-indian-island-baseball-pioneer/> (accessed April 9, 2018).

⁵⁰ Mahoney, Larry. “‘Friends of Sockalexis’ raising funds for monument honoring Indians Island baseball pioneer.” Bangor Daily News. March 23, 2018.

<https://bangordailynews.com/2018/03/23/news/bangor/friends-of-sockalexis-raising-funds-for-monument-honoring-indian-island-baseball-pioneer/> (accessed April 9, 2018).

Chapter 3: Cleveland Baseball & the Beginning of the Indians

The sport of baseball in Cleveland has had a long, storied past of numerous ups and downs. Baseball has been a loved and popular professional sport in the city of Cleveland since the 1800's. Many of those years have been depressing, even embarrassing. However, some of them have been full of terrific plays, players, championships, and memories that are still remembered today. To understand how the Indians came to be, one must understand where it all began.

In 1869, Cleveland would be thrust into the world of baseball. On June 2, 1869, the history of Cleveland professional baseball would begin when the Cleveland Forest City team would play the Cincinnati Red Stockings.¹ Although, the series has expanded in games, this tradition that started in 1869 against the Cincinnati ball club is one that continues to this day in the "Battle of Ohio." This game would eventually lead to Cleveland joining the National Association of Baseball in 1871.² This team would only last one season but would begin operations again in 1879 and would keep their National League team for the next six years.³ In 1886, would form a new team for the American Association, but would eventually switch back over to the National League in 1889.⁴

The baseball seasons in Cleveland between 1887-1899, would see arguably the greatest Native American baseball player of all-time, Louis Sockalexis.⁵ He would quickly be known

¹ "Cleveland Indians." Ohio History Central. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Cleveland_Indians

² "Cleveland Indians." Ohio History Central. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Cleveland_Indians

³ "Cleveland Indians." Ohio History Central. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Cleveland_Indians

⁴ "Cleveland Indians." Ohio History Central. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Cleveland_Indians

⁵ McDonald, Brian. *Indian Summer: The Forgotten Story Of Louis Sockalexis The First Native American In Major League Baseball*. Rodale Publishing (2003). P. 241.

around Major League Baseball as one of the greatest of his time, with "...his on-field fleets and Apollo-like physique..."⁶ Sockalexis would catch the attention of opponents and various team managers. Many would see the athletic ability of Sockalexis as a threat, but also as a spectacular exhibit of one's athletic ability. "...Sockalexis appeared to be on target to fulfill the enormous promise the famous manager of the New York Giants (then a baseball team), John McGraw had seen in him. McGraw described Sockalexis as the greatest natural talent he had ever encountered in the game."⁷ The magic that he showed on the field would quickly disappear after his first season. The Cleveland Spiders' manager, Patsy Tebeau, and his teammates had enough of the drunken escapades of the once great Sockalexis. The next great baseball player would eventually show up in Cleveland and this time the history of the player would live on. The fans would also be introduced to the great pitcher, Cy Young, who was a part of the Cleveland team until 1895.

After winning several Temple Championships, the owner, Franck Robinson would move the greats of the team, including Cy Young and other great talents of the team, besides Louis Sockalexis, to join his team in St. Louis.⁸ Cleveland baseball would go through, yet another major change, and leave fans with a horrific team. These horrific seasons would include one where the Cleveland Spiders won 20 games and lost 134.⁹ As a result, the National League would prohibit "...the Spiders from playing in the league due to the team's dismal record" in 1899.¹⁰

⁶ Troy, Gil. "The Myth Behind the First Cleveland Indian: Louis Sockalexis." Daily Beast. <https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-myth-behind-the-first-cleveland-indian-louis-sockalexis>, (2016).

⁷ Staurowsky, Ellen J. "An Act of Honor or Exploitation?: The Cleveland Indians' Use of the Louis Sockalexis Story." *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 1998. 15 299-316.

⁸ "Cleveland Indians." Ohio History Central. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Cleveland_Indians

⁹ "Cleveland Indians." Ohio History Central. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Cleveland_Indians

¹⁰ "Cleveland Indians." Ohio History Central. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Cleveland_Indians

During the beginning of the 1900's, Cleveland Baseball would join the newly formed American League. They would play their first American League game on April 24, 1901.¹¹ This was a new beginning for Cleveland Baseball, that was so desperately needed after the horrific years that came in the 1890's. It was a new chapter to their history and the team needed a new name. Before becoming known as the Cleveland Naps, the team would have several other names. The Indians went through a variety of name changes once they joined the American League. When they officially joined in 1901 they were known as the Broncos. They would become the Blues in 1902 until 1904.¹² Then, in 1904, the team would eventually keep the name, the Cleveland Naps, after the team's owner, Napoleon Lajoie.¹³ In 1909, Lajoie would no longer be the team's manager. This would lead to another name change for the team, "...although the nickname lingered until 1911 from 1912 to 1914 the team was known as the "Molly McGuires..."¹⁴

In January of 1915, the new owner, Charles Somers and local sports reporters decided that the team needed to honor the great Native American that helped to inspire fans and provided exciting baseball to Cleveland in that late 1800's.¹⁵ "Sixteen years later, in 1915, because Sockalexis was believed to be the first American Indian to play in the major leagues, the Cleveland franchise was renamed the Indians in his honor..."¹⁶ Although, this alone is an aspect that has been debated for many decades. The Cleveland Indians were born.

¹¹ "Cleveland Indians." Ohio History Central. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Cleveland_Indians

¹² Thompson, Stephen I. "The American Indian in the Major Leagues." SABR Research Journals. <http://research.sabr.org/journals/the-american-indian-in-the-major-leagues> (accessed April 9, 2018).

¹³ Fleitz, David. "Louis Sockalexis." <https://sabr.org/bioproj/person/2b1aea0a>

¹⁴ Thompson, Stephen I. "The American Indian in the Major Leagues." SABR Research Journals. <http://research.sabr.org/journals/the-american-indian-in-the-major-leagues> (accessed April 9, 2018).

¹⁵ Fleitz, David. "Louis Sockalexis." <https://sabr.org/bioproj/person/2b1aea0a>

¹⁶ Schneider, Russell. *The Cleveland Indians Encyclopedia*. Temple University Press (1996). P. 10.

Research has uncovered that even during the time of the Cleveland Spiders, Native American imagery was utilized. “Traced to its earliest origins, the appropriation of Native imagery by the Cleveland Spiders and sport journalists was not an attempt to honor Sockalexis or Native Americans in general.”¹⁷ Long before the birth of the Major League Baseball team, the Cleveland Indians or Chief Wahoo, there was another version of him. “Stakeholders in the business of baseball aware of the interest that might be generated, cultivated his Indian image for the purpose of selling tickets as well as newspapers.”¹⁸ Cartoons portrayed Louis Sockalexis as an Indian with “...feather and with a war club in hand...”¹⁹ There were also “...poems about him and his teammates being on the warpath...”²⁰ This research has indicated that the Cleveland Indians continue to make claims that the team name honors the career of Louis Sockalexis. It has become clear that Sockalexis was *targeted* and stereotyped long before the birth of the American League, Cleveland Indians.

Another argument that exist over the name of the Cleveland Indians, takes a different path. Many believed that the Indians were named in hopes to have an improved and better season like that of the Boston Braves. Therefore, the Indian name came to be in hopes that having a similar name would bring the same luck. “According to a story in the Cleveland News, “One Cleveland fan, James Thayer, thinks the Indians may emulate the example of the National

¹⁷ Staurowsky, Ellen J. “An Act of Honor or Exploitation?: The Cleveland Indians’ Use of the Louis Sockalexis Story.” *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 1998. 15 299-316.

¹⁸ Staurowsky, Ellen J. “An Act of Honor or Exploitation?: The Cleveland Indians’ Use of the Louis Sockalexis Story.” *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 1998. 15 299-316.

¹⁹ Snyder, John. *Indians Journal: Year by Year & Day by Day with the Cleveland Indians Since 1901*. Clerisy Press (2008). P. 27.

²⁰ Snyder, John. *Indians Journal: Year by Year & Day by Day with the Cleveland Indians Since 1901*. Clerisy Press (2008). P. 27.

League counterparts, the Boston Braves, and show just as much reversal of form as the Braves did in 1914.”²¹

American League baseball would have a huge impact on the history of the city of Cleveland. The Indians would go on to accomplish many great pieces of history. They would have several years of winning seasons. They would also capture the American League pennant and ultimately win the World Series in 1920.²² During the World Series of 1920, the world would see the first Grand Slam ever hit in a World Series game by Indians player, Elmer Smith.²³ They would also see the Indians pitcher, Jim Bagby, become the first pitcher to ever hit a home run in a World Series game.²⁴ Cleveland baseball was back in full swing and it would be for years to come. With a few losing seasons during World War II, the Indians would quickly regain their strength and win the pennant again in 1948.²⁵

Cleveland Baseball would have their home at League Park from 1891-1946.²⁶ From 1933 until 1946, the Indians would rotate between League Park and Municipal Stadium, where they hold their first game on July 31, 1932.²⁷ Once both stadiums were built they would serve a specific purpose. From 1932 until the 1947 season the Indians would play “...its weekday games at

²¹ Snyder, John. *Indians Journal: Year by Year & Day by Day with the Cleveland Indians Since 1901*. Clerisy Press (2008). P. 27.

²² “Cleveland Indians.” Ohio History Central. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Cleveland_Indians

²³ “Cleveland Indians.” Ohio History Central. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Cleveland_Indians

²⁴ “Cleveland Indians.” Ohio History Central. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Cleveland_Indians

²⁵ “Cleveland Indians.” Ohio History Central. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Cleveland_Indians

²⁶ Krsolovic, Ken, Fritz, B. *League Park: Historic Home of Cleveland Baseball 1891-1946*.

McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers. 2013.

²⁷ Rotman, Michael. “Municipal Stadium,” *Cleveland Historical*, accessed April 15, 2018, <https://clevelandhistorical.org/items/show/149>. (accessed April 15, 2018).

the smaller League Park, opting to play at Municipal Stadium only during weekends and holidays when a larger crowd could be assured.”²⁸

Both the 1948 and 1954 World Series would be held at Municipal Stadium.²⁹ In 1962, there would be no doubt where the home of the Cleveland Indians was. A landmark sign would be erected and would be found at the top of Municipal Stadium. “Brilliant Sign Company of Cleveland made and installed the huge Wahoo above Municipal’s Gate D in 1962.”³⁰ The sign depicted the, then logo of the Cleveland Indians, it “...shows a smiling Chief Wahoo at bat standing atop the words “Cleveland Indians.””³¹ It would grow in popularity in 1989 when the film, *Major League* was released. “Many recognize it from the opening scenes of the film *Major League*, as the shot pans the stadium.”³²

The sign did not follow the Indians during their move to Jacobs Field. However, it would continue to hold “...a place in the hearts of Clevelanders. It was without question a major part of the city’s physical iconography.”³³ Although it is no longer at the Indians stadium fans can still visit it. Today, the sign can be found at the Western Reserve Historical Society Museum. It had fallen into disrepair over the years. The Brilliant Sign Company who originally made it was still in business. “Indians fans, including the WRHS Women’s Advisory Council, raised funds to restore and install Wahoo in

²⁸ Rotman, Michael. “Municipal Stadium,” *Cleveland Historical*, accessed April 15, 2018, <https://clevelandhistorical.org/items/show/149>. (accessed April 15, 2018).

²⁹ Rotman, Michael. “Municipal Stadium,” *Cleveland Historical*, accessed April 15, 2018, <https://clevelandhistorical.org/items/show/149>. (accessed April 15, 2018).

³⁰ “Chief Wahoo-Municipal Stadium.” Western Reserve Historical Society. <https://www.wrhs.org/explore/exhibits/chief-wahoo-exhibit/> (accessed April 15, 2018).

³¹ Miller, Steven, and Scott Carpenter. “The Acquisition and Exhibition of Chief Wahoo.” *History News* 53, no. 2 (1998): 17-20. <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.snhu.edu/stable/42653654>.

³² “Chief Wahoo-Municipal Stadium.” Western Reserve Historical Society. <https://www.wrhs.org/explore/exhibits/chief-wahoo-exhibit/> (accessed April 15, 2018).

³³ Miller, Steven, and Scott Carpenter. “The Acquisition and Exhibition of Chief Wahoo.” *History News* 53, no. 2 (1998): 17-20. <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.snhu.edu/stable/42653654>.

the WRHS facility in University Circle in 1994. About two years ago, Wahoo's face dimmed; the lights illuminating his oversized head had gone out."³⁴ The museum is currently fundraising to restore this repair that has to be completed, again. Even though it is housed at a local museum, it continues to hold a place in the debate over the usage of Chief Wahoo. "Most recently the sign was the focus of an ESPN story on the controversy around the logo."³⁵

Upon their arrival to Municipal Stadium, the Indians would break the color barriers again by hiring Larry Doby, the first African-American to play in the American League.³⁶ After winning the World Series in 1948, the Indians would remain a staple of winning in the American League. However, the team would go through seven different ownerships during a 25-year period.³⁷

During those years, the Indians, would break barriers again. They would hire manager and player, Frank Robinson, in 1974.³⁸ He would be the first African-American to ever manage a Major League Baseball team. He would hit a homerun at his first at-bat as an Indian. His glory would be short lived and the Indians would end his contract in 1977.³⁹

Construction would start for a new field and a new home for the Cleveland Indians in 1992.⁴⁰ In 1994, the team would move into their current home. The field would originally be known as Jacobs Field after Dick Jacobs and his brother, David purchased the team for \$40

³⁴ "Chief Wahoo-Municipal Stadium." Western Reserve Historical Society. <https://www.wrhs.org/explore/exhibits/chief-wahoo-exhibit/> (accessed April 15, 2018).

³⁵ "Chief Wahoo-Municipal Stadium." Western Reserve Historical Society. <https://www.wrhs.org/explore/exhibits/chief-wahoo-exhibit/> (accessed April 15, 2018).

³⁶ "Cleveland Indians." Ohio History Central. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Cleveland_Indians

³⁷ "Cleveland Indians." Ohio History Central. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Cleveland_Indians

³⁸ "Cleveland Indians." Ohio History Central. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Cleveland_Indians

³⁹ "Cleveland Indians." Ohio History Central. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Cleveland_Indians

⁴⁰ Zicari, Peter. "Indians former owner, developer, Dick Jacobs dies at 83." *The Plain Dealer*. June 6, 2009. http://www.cleveland.com/tribe/index.ssf/2009/06/dick_jacobs_dies_at_84.html (accessed April 15, 2018).

million and who would pay for the construction of the field.⁴¹ Dick Jacobs was a well-known developer.⁴² Not only would he develop the Indians stadium, but also several local shopping malls and the Key Tower, that makes up part of the Downtown Cleveland skyline.⁴³ During the 1997 season, the Cleveland Indians and Jacobs Field would host the MLB All-Star game.⁴⁴ The field would be re-named to Progressive Field in 2007⁴⁵ and will remain known as that at least through 2023.⁴⁶

The Indians would also experience several winning seasons in the 1990's and 2000's. They would make three World Series appearances, in 1995 against the Atlanta Braves, 1997 against the Florida Marlins, and in 2016 against the Chicago Cubs, but would lose all of them. Although, the Indians have not won a world title since 1948, they have won division pennants, American league pennants, and made an appearance in a Wild Card game in 2013 against the Tampa Bay Rays.

The Cleveland Indians have left a lasting impression on Major League Baseball and the country in many ways. Many look at the Cleveland Indians and do not know the history of the teams' name or even the history of Louis Sockalexis. Assumption has plagued the battle of why

⁴¹ Zicari, Peter. "Indians former owner, developer, Dick Jacobs dies at 83." *The Plain Dealer*. June 6, 2009. http://www.cleveland.com/tribe/index.ssf/2009/06/dick_jacobs_dies_at_84.html (accessed April 15, 2018).

⁴² Zicari, Peter. "Indians former owner, developer, Dick Jacobs dies at 83." *The Plain Dealer*. June 6, 2009. http://www.cleveland.com/tribe/index.ssf/2009/06/dick_jacobs_dies_at_84.html (accessed April 15, 2018).

⁴³ Zicari, Peter. "Indians former owner, developer, Dick Jacobs dies at 83." *The Plain Dealer*. June 6, 2009. http://www.cleveland.com/tribe/index.ssf/2009/06/dick_jacobs_dies_at_84.html (accessed April 15, 2018).

⁴⁴ "1997 MLB All-Star Game." ESPN. http://www.espn.com/mlb/allstargame/history/results/_/year/1997 (accessed April 15, 2018).

⁴⁵ "Progressive Field." Ballparksofbaseball.com: The Field of Major League Baseball. <http://www.ballparksofbaseball.com/ballparks/progressive-field/> (accessed April 15, 2018).

⁴⁶ Dubail, Jean. "Deal keeps Cleveland Indians at Progressive Field until at least 2023." *The Plain Dealer*. August 6, 2008. http://blog.cleveland.com/metro/2008/08/deal_keeps_cleveland_indians_a.html (accessed April 15, 2018).

the team has its name and logo. This topic is vital to understanding the reluctance of the team, fans, and city to change the name. It is an important contribution not only to the teams' history, but to the history of Native American athletes that have not been recognized as they should and also Major League Baseball. The study of the Cleveland Indians and their history will help to signify the importance of the impact of the life and career of Native American, Louis Sockalexis.

There are also many others who believe that the Cleveland Indians are not honoring Louis Sockalexis, despite their claims. Ed Rice claims that the Dolans who own the Indians, hide behind the legacy of Louis Sockalexis. Rice argues, "Sadly, Sockalexis is barely a footnote in Major League Baseball history. But what is equally bad is that he is barely recognized in the city of Cleveland-just enough to justify the used of the nickname "Indians" and the mascot "Chief Wahoo."⁴⁷

Native American activist have spoken out about Chief Wahoo for years and in many different ways. In 1972, "...Russell Means, a Cleveland and leader in the American Indian Movement, sought an injunction...that would have forced the club to discontinue use of the Chief Wahoo caricature, heated debate ensued around the country."⁴⁸ In 1996, Edgar Heap of Birds created a billboard, "...which juxtaposed a likeness of Chief Wahoo with the phrase "Smile for Racism," which was nearly banned by the commissioning agency (the Cleveland Institute of Art) because of a perception that the message was offensive."⁴⁹ This billboard would eventually be displayed in Cleveland after much controversy. Although, the billboard illustrated

⁴⁷ Rice, Ed. "Cleveland Indians Must Retire Wahoo-Or Get Penobscot Blessing." (January 13, 2014). <https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/news/opinions/cleveland-indians-must-retire-wahoor-get-penobscot-blessing/>

⁴⁸ Staurowsky, Ellen J. "An Act of Honor or Exploitation?: The Cleveland Indians' Use of the Louis Sockalexis Story." *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 1998. 15 299-316.

⁴⁹ Staurowsky, Ellen J. "An Act of Honor or Exploitation?: The Cleveland Indians' Use of the Louis Sockalexis Story." *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 1998. 15 299-316.

just how racist Chief Wahoo was viewed to be by Native Americans, he still lived on. Every year, Native American, Phillip Yenyo, who is the Executive Director of the American Indian Movement of Ohio, can be found outside the gates of the Indians' stadium protesting Chief Wahoo.

Yenyo has stated, "...protest movement over the team's name and logos have been going on for years, but they have been getting the same answers and most are tiring of it. "All we hear is that this is the team's tradition, and it is that way because it has always been that way," he said. "Their reason we have it is because we always have. That's not good enough."⁵⁰

However, many believe that there is a better way to honor the great, Louis Sockalexis. Historian, Ed Rice, has stated that the Cleveland Indians do not have justification to *hide* behind the excuse of honoring Louis Sockalexis. He suggests that there are better ways to go about honoring the great, but short career of Sockalexis.

...Clevelanders may demand a more attractive portrait of Louis Sockalexis at their stadium; perhaps, there will even be a movement to create a statue to recognize the member of Maine's Penobscot tribe as the first-known Native American to play major league baseball, to show appreciation for the horrific racism he faced from peers, fans and the newspapers of the day, and to honor his role as the definitive inspiration for the nickname the team has used since 1915.⁵¹

⁵⁰ McGraw, Daniel. "Native Americans protest Chief Wahoo logo at Cleveland Indians home opener: Native American groups have protested the Indians' grinning, red-faced logo for years, but the cries for change are only growing in volume." *The Guardian*. (April 11, 2015).
<https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2015/apr/11/native-americans-protest-chief-wahoo-logo-at-cleveland-indians-home-opener>

⁵¹ Rice, Ed. "Recognizing Soxalexis by ditching Wahoo and changing course on Ohio Team Names and mascots: Ed Rice." (June 8, 2014).
http://www.cleveland.com/opinion/index.ssf/2014/06/to_properly_recognize_louis_so.html

Chief Wahoo was introduced to Cleveland Fans in 1947.⁵² He was created by local teen, Walter Goldbach, when he was 17 years old in 1946.⁵³ He quickly grew in popularity. However, he has always been a controversial logo in some way since the very beginning. Many skeptics in the beginning and even still today, compare the original Chief Wahoo to the “...Nazi renderings of Jews in the 1930s...”⁵⁴ Chief Wahoo would evolve from that into what it is today. That did not end the controversy, but perhaps fuel it even more.

The problems that arise from the Cleveland Indians name, are also geared towards the team’s logo, “the grinning, red-skinner Chief Wahoo...”⁵⁵ However, the creator, Walter Goldbach did not intend for this to happen. “He lived long enough to see his rendering, drawn with the enthusiasm and innocence of a high school student, become embroiled in the adult world of protests, racism and lawsuits.”⁵⁶

There are sceptics out there that are willing to let the usage of the name, the Indians go, but that the Chief Wahoo logo has got to go. Ed Rice and many others argue that the Indians are hiding behind *silly* Major League Baseball rules about changing logos and mislead beliefs. Bob DiBasio is the Cleveland Indians Senior Vice President of Public Affairs.⁵⁷ His “...mantra

⁵² Rice, Ed. “Curse of Sockalexis, Russell Means Cast Shadow on Cleveland Indians.” <https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/news/opinions/curse-of-sockalexis-russell-means-cast-shadow-on-cleveland-indians>.

⁵³ Hoynes, Paul. “Walter Goldbach who drew chief Wahoo at 17, never meant it to become a symbol of racism.” *Cleveland.com* (December 17, 2017). http://www.cleveland.com/tribe/index.ssf/2017/12/chief_wahoo.html

⁵⁴ Troy, Gil. “The Myth Behind the First Cleveland Indian: Louis Sockalexis.” *Daily Beast*. <https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-myth-behind-the-first-cleveland-indian-louis-sockalexis>, (2016).

⁵⁵ Troy, Gil. “The Myth Behind the First Cleveland Indian: Louis Sockalexis.” *Daily Beast*. <https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-myth-behind-the-first-cleveland-indian-louis-sockalexis>, (2016).

⁵⁶ Hoynes, Paul. “Walter Goldbach who drew chief Wahoo at 17, never meant it to become a symbol of racism.” *Cleveland.com* (December 17, 2017). http://www.cleveland.com/tribe/index.ssf/2017/12/chief_wahoo.html

⁵⁷ “Bob DiBasio.” Cleveland Indians Front Office Directory. http://cleveland.indians.mlb.com/team/front_office.jsp?c_id=cle

defending the use of the caricature that states “something cannot be demeaned if there is no intent to demean.”⁵⁸ Therefore, the Indians organization does not think anything is wrong with Chief Wahoo because it is not intended to demean anything or anyone. In 2017, DiBasio came forth and stated, ““We certainly understand the sensitivities of the logo, those who find it insensitive and also those fans who have a longstanding attachment to its place in the history of the team.”⁵⁹

Many believe the logo to be an “...unflattering caricature of Native Americans.”⁶⁰ However, others have argued for the usage of the logo, stating, “The Chief beams a broad and happy simile, reminding you that baseball is FUN!...Win or Lose.”⁶¹ In 1993, “Jennifer Boles of the organization called Save Our Chief commented, “The Cleveland Indians name and logo has a huge history behind them. If the Native American protestors would look at the history they’d realize they are being honored.”⁶²

Although, Chief Wahoo is beloved amongst most fans, there has been an argument presented that the Chief is cursed. As many sports fans know, there are many “curses” that have been placed on teams. Some of the more popular ones, was the curse of Babe Ruth on the Boston Red Sox and the curse of the Billy goat on the Chicago Cubs. As stated, the last time the Indians won a World Series was in 1948. The usage of Chief Wahoo grew immensely after that.

⁵⁸ Rice, Ed. “Cleveland Indians Must Retire Wahoo-Or Get Penobscot Blessing.” (January 13, 2014). <https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/news/opinions/cleveland-indians-must-retire-wahoor-get-penobscot-blessing/>

⁵⁹ Waldstein, David. “Commission Starts to Press Cleveland Indians About Logo.” (April 12, 2017). <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/12/sports/commissioner-starts-to-press-cleveland-indians-about-logo.html>

⁶⁰ Miller, Steven, and Scott Carpenter. “The Acquisition and Exhibition of Chief Wahoo.” *History News* 53, no. 2 (1998): 17-20. <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.snhu.edu/stable/42653654>. P. 19.

⁶¹ Miller, Steven, and Scott Carpenter. “The Acquisition and Exhibition of Chief Wahoo.” *History News* 53, no. 2 (1998): 17-20. <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.snhu.edu/stable/42653654>. P. 19.

⁶² Aran, K., & Sangiacomo, M. “Sockalexis kin says he likes team name.” *The Cleveland Plain Dealer*. (1993). p. 2B.

The Indians have also lost all of the World Series they have been in since then. Is it a curse? Is it just a superstitious reason to excuse the Indians for blowing every opportunity they have when playing in the World Series? It continues to be argued about that it is a "...curse of Louis Sockalexis, for the obvious affront to his legacy and perverse use of his history."⁶³

Throughout the history of the team, it has faced many obstacles that they had to overcome. For a long time, it was the lack of talent that the team had. The fan base was less than existent and many would argue that the Cleveland Indians still have one of the worst fan attendance in Major League Baseball. Then it was the in-ability to keep an owner. Now it is a matter of changing the team's name, if not that, at least eradicate the usage of the logo, Chief Wahoo. Some have made legal strides to make this happen.

During the 2016 postseason, the Cleveland Indians came under fire during their postseason series against the Toronto Blue Jays in Toronto. Indigenous Activist, Douglas Cardinal, presented a case to the Superior Court in Ontario.⁶⁴ He attempted to ban the usage of Chief Wahoo and the name of the Indians when the Indians played the Blue Jays. "The logo created controversy during last season's American League Championship Series against the Toronto Blue Jays, when a Canadian judge ruled the "Chief Wahoo" mascot did not illegally discriminate against indigenous people under Canadian law."⁶⁵ The name and logo are located on the jerseys of the team. The Cleveland Indians did not have any other

⁶³ Rice, Ed. "Curse of Sockalexis, Russell Means Cast Shadow on Cleveland Indians." (October 31, 2016). <https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/news/opinions/curse-of-sockalexis-russell-means-cast-shadow-on-cleveland-indians/>

⁶⁴ Jeter, Fred. "Indian Mascot plagues Cleveland Baseball team." The Richmond Free Press. (September 22, 2017). <http://richmondfreepress.com/news/2017/sep/22/indian-mascot-plagues-cleveland-baseball-team/>

⁶⁵ Axson, Scooby. "Indians, MLB 'Not Exactly Aligned' In Efforts to Get Rid of Chief Wahoo Logo." *Sports Illustrated*. (August 31, 2017). <https://www.si.com/mlb/2017/08/31/mlb-cleveland-indians-chief-wahoo-logo>

‘official’ clothing to wear in these games. Despite Cardinal’s pleas, this case was not won and the games were played with the team in their typical uniforms.

This court case and the debate of the Indians logo and name caught the attention of Major League Baseball, especially the commissioner.

I understand that particular logo is offensive to some people, and I understand why," said MLB Commissioner, Rob Manfred, referring to the Chief Wahoo design. "On the other side of the coin, you have a lot of fans that have history and are invested in the symbols of the Indians. I think that after the World Series, at an appropriate point in time, Mr. [Larry] Dolan and I have agreed we'll have a conversation about what should happen with that particular logo going forward."⁶⁶

Whether or not this conversation actually happened is unknown. It has been over a year since the 2016 World Series ended and the Indians still have their name and logo.

After the suspension given to Yuli Gurriel during the World Series for using racial slurs against Yu Darvish, Commissioner Manfred stated that there was no place in Major League Baseball for racism. Reporter, Chris Cwik, took the opportunity to take aim at the Cleveland Indians. Cwik goes on to state that if the Commissioner is serious about eradicating racist behavior and other racist aspects in Major League Baseball, he will have to "...prevent the Cleveland Indians from using Chief Wahoo before the team plays another game."⁶⁷

Only in time will we see the movements forward that the Cleveland Indians’ owners and management staff take to eradicate the team’s name or logo. Recently, the Indians have chosen to incorporate the Block C logo. However, this has not pleased many people due to the fact that Chief Wahoo is still located on a Jersey sleeve and on their home hats. Many arguments have

⁶⁶ Heitner, Darren. "This Week In Sports Law: DraftKings/FanDuel Settle in NY, Indians Logo, McQueary gets \$7.3 million." *Forbes*. (October 20, 2016). <https://www.forbes.com/sites/darrenheitner/2016/10/30/this-week-in-sports-law-draftkingsfanduel-settle-in-ny-indians-logo-mcqueary-gets-7-3-million/#28b26501252c>

⁶⁷ Cwik, Chris. "After Yuli Gurriel’s suspension, Chief Wahoo should be next." *Yahoo Sports*. (October 28, 2017). <https://sports.yahoo.com/yuli-gurriels-suspension-chief-wahoo-next-213647807.html>

been made for and against re-naming the team, or at least re-branding it. Despite the comments made by reporter, Chris Cwik, regarding the Cleveland Indians re-branding themselves, there has not been any conversation made known to the public that this is going to happen, at least not before the 2018 season begins.

There are other ways to honor Louis Sockalexis. A statue could be placed within the park to honor and show our appreciation for him. The Indians could re-name their team something else to honor Louis Sockalexis. There are many possibilities for the Indians moving forward. There is also the option of attempting to get the blessing of Sockalexis' Penobscot Nation for the team's name. There is a level of respect that has been non-existent between the Penobscot nation and the Cleveland Indians organization. Many would argue that the disrespect started the day the team became the Indians. Others would argue it was when Chief Wahoo was introduced. The Cleveland Indians have chosen to keep their distance from the Penobscot nation. Perhaps that is a sign of guilt by the Cleveland Indians, but many would see that this is disrespectful for the Indians to not ask for approval for the name or logo.

In the future, Cleveland might be known as something else. However, the legacy and appreciation that the city had and still has for Louis Sockalexis will not be lost. His legacy will still live on in the record books. It will also live on in the history of the Cleveland Indians and Major League Baseball. There is much more that the city of Cleveland, especially the Cleveland Indians, could do to truly honor Sockalexis. They have yet to make arrangements for this.

The historiography of the Cleveland Indians still leaves questions as to the reality of how the team got its name. Most of the history revolves around the ups and downs the team has experienced since its founding in 1901. As many professional teams, they have chosen to honor those who helped progress them forward. Cleveland Baseball did not win any titles or make it

into any playoff series with Louis Sockalexis. Instead they experienced one of the worst records ever recorded in baseball. There are many stories that contradict one another regarding how the Cleveland Indians truly got their name. The historiography and evidence that is available does not clear this misunderstanding up. In fact, it presents many more questions into this “honor” of the Cleveland Indians Baseball Club.

The history of the Cleveland Indians is important to the historiography of the usage of Native American imagery in sports. Over the past 50 years, fans and activist have begun to target the Cleveland Indians. The name of the Indians, seems to be less of a problem than the logo, Chief Wahoo. Many Native Americans have been outspoken against Chief Wahoo. They have vocalized their disapproval in many different ways but this has not stopped the Cleveland Indians from using it. Every season there are Native American protesters and those who support them, protesting outside the gates of Progressive Field during the very first home game of the regular season. The lack of knowledge about the great Louis Sockalexis does not help the Indians argument and reasoning of him being the inspiration of the team’s name. However, there is still not any reasoning provided behind why the Indians continue to use Chief Wahoo. The Indians continue to be silent on that aspect of the controversy that surrounds them. The historiography of the Native American imagery being used in sports will continue to change, but the Cleveland Indians will continue to be an important part of the discussion.

Over the past couple of years, the Cleveland Indians have begun to phase out Chief Wahoo. The team introduced the Block C logo in 2014. Sports report, Craig Calcaterra stated that, “...Indians management’s desire to slowly, slowly marginalize Chief Wahoo with an eye

towards his eventual elimination.”⁶⁸ Chief Wahoo can still be found on the home hats and on the sleeves of all of their jerseys, with the except of their batting practice. He can also be found on some merchandise and in various places around the stadium. However, this is not the case of the Indians’ Spring Training field in Goodyear, Arizona, where an image of Chief Wahoo is difficult to locate. Calcaterra goes onto write, “The buildings and signage all feature the block C logo and the block C cap is worn far more often during spring training than in the regular season.”⁶⁹

The Cleveland Indians organization is slowly moving forward with making these changes. They are completing this at their own pace, despite cries from Native Americans to move forward with complete eradication immediately. These slow changes by the Indians seem to be a way of avoiding losing money. There are many pieces of merchandise that still have Chief Wahoo on them. However, the newer pieces, including items for the World Series in 2016 and the playoffs of 2016 and 2017 do not have Chief Wahoo anywhere on them. The process of slowly removing their logo will help the team owners, the Dolans, to keep more money within the organization.

Since the introduction of the Block C in 2014, the Indians have yet to fully transition over to completely eradicating the “...offensive and wildly outdated...”⁷⁰ Chief Wahoo. The conversation seems to stir up even more talks within baseball of the Indians changing their name, especially after the World Series. “In a statement to The New York Times, Pat Courtney, a

⁶⁸ Calcaterra, Craig. “The Indians are changing their primary logo from Chief Wahoo to the block C.” *NBC Sports Online* (January 8, 2014). <http://mlb.nbcsports.com/2014/01/08/the-indians-are-changing-their-primary-logo-from-chief-wahoo-to-the-block-c/>

⁶⁹ Calcaterra, Craig. “The Indians are changing their primary logo from Chief Wahoo to the block C.” *NBC Sports Online* (January 8, 2014). <http://mlb.nbcsports.com/2014/01/08/the-indians-are-changing-their-primary-logo-from-chief-wahoo-to-the-block-c/>

⁷⁰ Waldstein, David. “Commission Starts to Press Cleveland Indians About Logo.” (April 12, 2017). <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/12/sports/commissioner-starts-to-press-cleveland-indians-about-logo.html>

spokesman for Major League Baseball, said Manfred, in his talks with the Indians' owners, had made clear his "desire to transition away from the Chief Wahoo logo." "We have specific steps in an identified process and are making progress," Courtney added. "We are confident that a positive resolution will be reached that will be good for the game and the club."⁷¹ However, despite these reports of Major League Baseball Commissioner placing more pressure on the Indians to make these changes and having a plan in place, it has not begun.

Despite the Cleveland Indians seeming to take a step in the right direction, there are many fans that are outspoken about this change. There has been a campaign started by a simple t-shirt designed by a local clothing company, GV Art, that reads "Keep The Chief In Cleveland." The t-shirt can be seen among the city, especially at the baseball games. However, the t-shirt seems to be gaining more and more resistance. "Editors at *The Plain Dealer* are vocal about the logo saying, "A demeaning symbol is a demeaning symbol, regardless of degree."⁷² This point alone is an interesting aspect to the debate over using the name the Indians. Many sports reporters for the Cleveland Plain Dealer helped to coin the phrase "Cleveland's Indian" during the career of Louis Sockalexis. They are also accused of helping to name the baseball team the Indians in his honor. "It is an issue, however, that may not be that easy to resolve. Although many people, including baseball fans around the country, would welcome the removal of Chief Wahoo, there is a significant segment of the Indians' fan base that still cherishes the logo, which has existed in various forms since 1947."⁷³

⁷¹ Waldstein, David. "Commission Starts to Press Cleveland Indians About Logo." (April 12, 2017). <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/12/sports/commissioner-starts-to-press-cleveland-indians-about-logo.html>

⁷² Cleveland 19 Digital Team. "Keep the Chief campaign underway." WOIO Channel 19, Cleveland. (2014). <http://www.cleveland19.com/story/24899203/save-the-chief-campaign>

⁷³ Waldstein, David. "Commission Starts to Press Cleveland Indians About Logo." (April 12, 2017). <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/12/sports/commissioner-starts-to-press-cleveland-indians-about-logo.html>

At the beginning of February 2018, the Cleveland Indians decided to move forward with eradicating Chief Wahoo as the team's logo. "The National Baseball Hall of Fame also recently retired the Chief Wahoo logo," too.⁷⁴ By the 2019 season, Chief Wahoo will no longer be located on the "players' caps and uniforms."⁷⁵ However, the Indians will be able to sell merchandise that has Chief Wahoo on it throughout the park at the gift stands but it will not be sold on the Major League Baseball's website.⁷⁶ "The team must maintain a retail presence so that MLB and the Indians can keep ownership of the trademark."⁷⁷ Furthermore, if the Cleveland Indians were to "...relinquished the trademark, or announce an intention never to claim its protections, another party could legally assume control of it and use the logo in other ways."⁷⁸

Many are angered by this because they state that it still allows the raciest mascot to live. There are still many fans out there that have a strong connection with the mascots. Native American activists believe this is counter-productive. Instead of moving forward with eradicating the mascot all together, they are still allowing fans to purchase new merchandise with the logo on it. The Cleveland Indians will not enact a dress code for fans either. Fans will be

⁷⁴ Mahoney, Larry. "'Friends of Sockalexis' raising funds for monument honoring Indians Island baseball pioneer." Bangor Daily News. March 23, 2018. <https://bangordailynews.com/2018/03/23/news/bangor/friends-of-sockalexis-raising-funds-for-monument-honoring-indian-island-baseball-pioneer/> (accessed April 9, 2018).

⁷⁵ Domonoske, Camila. "Cleveland Indians Will Remove 'Chief Wahoo' From Uniforms in 2019." NPR. January 29, 2018. <https://www.npr.org/sections/the-two-way/2018/01/29/581590453/cleveland-indians-will-remove-chief-wahoo-from-uniforms-in-2019> (accessed April 8, 2018).

⁷⁶ Waldstein, David. "Cleveland Indians Will Abandon Chief Wahoo Logo Next Year." The New York Times. January 29, 2018. <https://nyti.ms/2Frj97e> (accessed April 9, 2018).

⁷⁷ Domonoske, Camila. "Cleveland Indians Will Remove 'Chief Wahoo' From Uniforms in 2019." NPS. January 29, 2018. <http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2018/01/29/581590453/cleveland-indians-will-remove-chief-wahoo-from-uniforms-in-2019> (accessed April 8, 2019).

⁷⁸ Waldstein, David. "Cleveland Indians Will Abandon Chief Wahoo Logo Next Year." The New York Times. January 29, 2018. <https://nyti.ms/2Frj97e> (accessed April 9, 2018).

allowed to “paint their face red and wear Chief Wahoo around the stadium.” If the team was to eradicate the logo and enact a dress code, they risk losing a large portion of their fan base. The meeting that were held between MLB and the Cleveland Indians met about this topic, as well. “During our constructive conversations, [Indians CEO] Paul Dolan made clear that there are fans who have longstanding attachment to the logo and its place in the history of the team.”⁷⁹

Although the removal of Chief Wahoo from the uniforms and hats of the players is a step in the right direction in many people’s opinion, they are still angered that they will be allowed to keep their name.

The team is still going to be able to license Wahoo and make money off of that racist image,” he says. “The environment down at the stadium is not going to change for the better...People are still going to wear wahoo to the stadium, they are still going to dress in red face, they are still going to give war whoops, all under the rubric of being Indian.”⁸⁰

There is also an outcry over the Indians being able to still produce product with the logo on it. Groups such as the Cleveland American Indian Movement and individuals, such as Sundance, have been the leaders of this lack of approval for the progress that has been made. “Protestors have objected to the Cleveland Indians’ name as well as to Chief Wahoo Image. And those protests will continue, Sundance says. “We’re still going to be other there on opening day, until that name is changed,” he says.”⁸¹

⁷⁹ Domonoske, Camila. “Cleveland Indians Will Remove ‘Chief Wahoo’ From Uniforms in 2019. NPS. January 29, 2018. <http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2018/01/29/581590453/cleveland-indians-will-remove-chief-wahoo-from-uniforms-in-2019> (accessed April 8, 2019).

⁸⁰ Domonoske, Camila. “Cleveland Indians Will Remove ‘Chief Wahoo’ From Uniforms in 2019. NPS. January 29, 2018. <http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2018/01/29/581590453/cleveland-indians-will-remove-chief-wahoo-from-uniforms-in-2019> (accessed April 8, 2019).

⁸¹ Domonoske, Camila. “Cleveland Indians Will Remove ‘Chief Wahoo’ From Uniforms in 2019. NPS. January 29, 2018. <http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2018/01/29/581590453/cleveland-indians-will-remove-chief-wahoo-from-uniforms-in-2019> (accessed April 8, 2019).

There are many Cleveland Fans that feel that Indians organization gave into the demands of Major League Baseball so that they could be awarded the 2019 All Star Game. “Whether MLB pressuring the change is related to Cleveland hosting the 2019 All-Star Game as rumored, the bottom line is that the league had to step in and force the removal rather than the team doing it of its own volition.”⁸² It did take a long time for the wishes and concerns of the Native Americans to be heard. Regardless of the reasoning behind the dropping of Chief Wahoo, the Cleveland Indians have done it. To many fans it is an end of an era and many are upset about these changes. Whatever the ultimate cause was for the final decision of the Cleveland Indians, Chief Wahoo is now something of the past and will be non-existent other than in terms of merchandise come the 2019 MLB season.

Major League Baseball Commissioner, Rob Manfred stated, “Major League Baseball is committed to building a culture of diversity and inclusion throughout the game...”⁸³ There is also discussion as to why the logo was not removed before the 2018 season began. Peter Pattakos, a Cleveland attorney and sportswriter, took to social media, tweeting, “If they acknowledge that ‘the logo is no longer appropriate for on-field use in Major League Baseball,’ what’s the excuse for waiting until 2019?”⁸⁴ Furthermore, Phillip Yenyo who is the executive director of the American Indian Movement of Ohio asked why they were waiting. He stated, “If

⁸² McIntosh, Whitney. “The Indians got rid of Chief Wahoo, but they should do more: Activist and experts explain why and how the name could be changed.” SB Nation. February 14, 2018. <https://www.sbnation.com/mlb/2018/2/14/16965908/cleveland-indians-name-change-fans-chief-wahoo> (Accessed April 9, 2018).

⁸³ Domonoske, Camila. “Cleveland Indians Will Remove ‘Chief Wahoo’ From Uniforms in 2019. NPS. January 29, 2018. <http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2018/01/29/581590453/cleveland-indians-will-remove-chief-wahoo-from-uniforms-in-2019> (accessed April 8, 2019).

⁸⁴ Domonoske, Camila. “Cleveland Indians Will Remove ‘Chief Wahoo’ From Uniforms in 2019. NPS. January 29, 2018. <http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2018/01/29/581590453/cleveland-indians-will-remove-chief-wahoo-from-uniforms-in-2019> (accessed April 8, 2019).

you are going to go this far and get rid of it, why not do it now? All they are doing is testing it out, because the name has to go, too. The nickname absolutely has to go. It's not just the logo."⁸⁵ The objections from Native American groups over the 'Indians' name, has contributed to the debate over the usage of that term. "Some Natives point out that the term "Indian" is an unhappy legacy of Christopher Columbus' so-called discovery and that the term is, therefore, a legacy of the subsequent colonization of the lands of the Native peoples of the Americas."⁸⁶

American Indians are hopeful that with this change to the Cleveland logo, that many people will begin to show their dissatisfaction with merchandise being made still with Chief Wahoo and eventually with the name, too. "If fans eventually became dissatisfied enough to speak with their wallets thanks to awareness efforts by advocacy groups, that could really spur action."⁸⁷ This is a big change for those who love the Chief Wahoo logo. SME Branding, Chief Creative Officer, Edward O' Hara, stated, he "...doesn't personally believe that the name should go away of Chief Wahoo at this time, and he advises that any change of that scale would "alienate a fan base" to some degree and that "fans would be much more forgiving of Chief Wahoo disappearing over time than of changing an actual name."⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Waldstein, David. "Cleveland Indians Will Abandon Chief Wahoo Logo Next Year." *The New York Times*. January 29, 2018. <https://nyti.ms/2Frj97e> (accessed April 9, 2018).

⁸⁶ Fleming, Walter C. "Myths and Stereotypes About Native Americans." *The Phi Delta Kappan*. Phi Delta Kappa International. Vol. 88, No. 3 (Nov., 2006), p 213. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20442220> (accessed March 12, 2018).

⁸⁷ McIntosh, Whitney. "The Indians got rid of Chief Wahoo, but they should do more: Activist and experts explain why and how the name could be changed." *SB Nation*. February 14, 2018. <https://www.sbnation.com/mlb/2018/2/14/16965908/cleveland-indians-name-change-fans-chief-wahoo> (Accessed April 9, 2018).

⁸⁸ McIntosh, Whitney. "The Indians got rid of Chief Wahoo, but they should do more: Activist and experts explain why and how the name could be changed." *SB Nation*. February 14, 2018. <https://www.sbnation.com/mlb/2018/2/14/16965908/cleveland-indians-name-change-fans-chief-wahoo> (Accessed April 9, 2018).

There have been many fans and other supporters that have been outspoken about the eradication of Chief Wahoo. Zach Sharon of Cleveland Sports Talk wrote, “Sadly, the Indians caved to the politically correct society that we are now all forced to live in.”⁸⁹ He goes on to state that Chief Wahoo will “...never truly go away.” Although, Sharon may have a lot of fans that agree with him, his comments proved the point of those who want Chief Wahoo eradicated completely. Peter Pattakos, who is a supporter of the eradication of Chief Wahoo, believes that this will lead to the logo being seen more at the Indians’ games.⁹⁰ There are local clothing stores that have begun making merchandise with sayings on it such as, “Keep the Chief” and “Long Live the Chief.” This fact supports the claims of O’Hara in regards to eradicating Chief Wahoo. There is a significant amount of the Indians’ fanbase out there, that are continuing to show their support for Chief Wahoo, even though the decision has been made by MLB and the Cleveland Indians organization.

Native American groups have stood outside on opening day and protested the Cleveland Indians team name and logo for merely 26 years. Although, they have not always been outside the park protesting, the overall opposition against the logo has been occurring for close to 45 years. Sundance, the executive director of the Cleveland American Indian Movement and a member of the Muskogee Creek Nation⁹¹, told the *Plain Dealer* that American Indians have been protesting the ball club’s name and mascot since “the original AIM was formed in 1973. There have been

⁸⁹ Domonoske, Camila. “Cleveland Indians Will Remove ‘Chief Wahoo’ From Uniforms in 2019.” NPS. January 29, 2018. <http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2018/01/29/581590453/cleveland-indians-will-remove-chief-wahoo-from-uniforms-in-2019> (accessed April 8, 2019).

⁹⁰ Domonoske, Camila. “Cleveland Indians Will Remove ‘Chief Wahoo’ From Uniforms in 2019.” NPS. January 29, 2018. <http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2018/01/29/581590453/cleveland-indians-will-remove-chief-wahoo-from-uniforms-in-2019> (accessed April 8, 2019).

⁹¹ McIntosh, Whitney. “The Indians got rid of Chief Wahoo, but they should do more: Activist and experts explain why and how the name could be changed.” SB Nation. February 14, 2018. <https://www.sbnation.com/mlb/2018/2/14/16965908/cleveland-indians-name-change-fans-chief-wahoo> (Accessed April 9, 2018).

several changes to the American Indian Movement in Cleveland since it began.”⁹² This shows how many years, even decades, had to past before the Cleveland Indian logo was officially changed. Moving forward, it is clear that the name will still be protested. American Indian’s are hopeful that one day the name will be changed, too.

Native American groups have been outspoken about the demeaning logos and names being used against them for teams. However, they have not spoken out about the lack of recognition their players have in the Baseball Hall of Fame. To help put the raciest condonation of the Indians name and logo into perspective, it has been suggested that people think about what their reaction would be if they were called the Cleveland Caucasians, Cleveland Hispanics, Cleveland Africans, or Cleveland Asians.⁹³ This helps to make their point, but what about the fact that all of these groups are recognized and honored in the Baseball Hall of Fame. Are they trying to eradicate the raciest logos and names before moving onto the bigger problem? As stated before, there are many great Native American players that should be honored. Players that were born in other countries have been honored but not the ones that have ancestry dating back to before the discovery of the land that we today, call the United States of America.

Just like any aspect of history, there are many different sides to the story. On one side, you have the Native Americans who are being unfairly represented by Chief Wahoo. The raciest impression of a Native American that has not been fully eradicated by the team despite movements and plans put forth by the commissioner of Major League Baseball to do so. On the

⁹² ICT Staff. “American Indians Mark 20th Year of Protesting Cleveland Indians Mascot Chief Wahoo.” Indian Country Today: Serving The Nations/Celebrating The People. April 2, 2012. <https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/news/american-indians-mark-20th-year-of-protesting-cleveland-indians-mascot-chief-wahoo/> (accessed April 12, 2018).

⁹³ Fleming, Walter C. “Myths and Stereotypes About Native Americans.” *The Phi Delta Kappan*. Phi Delta Kappa International. Vol. 88, No. 3 (Nov., 2006), p 213. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20442220> (accessed March 12, 2018).

other side, you have the Cleveland Indians fans. There are many who have purchased this “Keep the Chief” shirt. Many fans fail to see why it is so offensive to Native Americans. In reality the Cleveland Indians are going to have outspoken opinions from both sides of the debate. The history of Chief Wahoo will always be there for people, especially fans, to remember. This debate is not to eradicate this logo from history, but simply from the team moving forward.

The history of the Cleveland Indians and the battle over their logo is important to the history of the United States, sports, and most importantly Native Americans. Not every citizen in the United States is Native American and many fail to see why these natives are so offended by this logo and other teams with similar logos, this fact has become quite clear while completing research. The social history of America has changed significantly over time, especially since the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960’s. However, the Civil Rights Movement seems to have focused on African-Americans and other minorities, not so much the Native Americans. Perhaps ignorance regarding the minority group of the Native Americans is to blame for the reluctance to eradicate the usage of American Native slurs, images, logos, and team names. The Native Americans were the first here and ultimately they will have the final say.

Chapter 4: The “Fighting Sioux” vs. the National Collegiate Athletic Association

Throughout the decades many teams have decided to utilize something regarding Native Americans. These teams range from local, collegiate, and professional ones. Despite claims that they are honoring Native Americans, the names and logos all seem to do one thing, illustrate them as savages. After many years of this imagery, Native American groups and activists have begun to speak out about utilizing these names and logos. Teams have begun to remove the names and logos and replaced them with more non-offensive and politically correct ones. However, these changes have been slow and not always welcoming. One of these teams is the Cleveland Indians, who have been more than reluctant to change anything about the name or logo of their baseball team.

The Cleveland Indians did not experience outcry about their name or logo until the 1970's. That was when activists became vocal about their dissatisfaction for the racist logo that the team continues to use to this day. It quickly became a target for those deeming it politically incorrect and insensitive. This movement towards re-naming the team, not only affected the Indians' but many other professional and collegiate teams over the years. The push to eradicate the name, especially the logo, has been extremely strong within the past couple of years. During the 2016 post-season, a Native American activist in Canada fought legally against the Cleveland Indians. He wanted the team to not be allowed to wear their jerseys while playing in Toronto against the Blue Jays. Although, the person lost this battle, it did bring into focus the number of people who believe the Indians indeed do need to change their name and logo. However, there are many activists that are unaware of the history, especially that of Louis Sockalexis. The historical factors of Sockalexis' career and how influential he was to the city, especially to

Cleveland baseball, is often times forgotten or unknown to these who fight the battle against the Indians for them to eradicate their name and logo.

Many other teams, have a historical meaning behind their name as well. This includes the University of North Dakota and their former team name of the “Fighting Sioux.”¹ They had been known as the “...Fighting Sioux from 1930 until the university retired the nickname in 2012...”² The three Native American Nations, the Lakota, Dakota, and Nakota, that inhabited North Dakota and the surrounding areas made up the Sioux Nation.³ These are historical facts. There is no question regarding the Sioux Nation and where they decided to live. The University of North Dakota fought for many years with the National Collegiate Athletic Association regarding their name.

The University of North Dakota did not move quickly to eradicate the name of the “Fighting Sioux” or even the logo. The fight against the “Fighting Sioux” began in 1999. “Opponents of the "Fighting Sioux" say it demeans Native Americans and trivializes their culture. Supporters, including some Native Americans, say the name is a source of pride and a celebration of the region’s history.”⁴ There were many obstacles that came up along the way for the University of the North Dakota when they began to give into the demand of the public and the NCAA. The University of North Dakota donor, Ralph Engelstad, who was “...a casino

¹ Bohnet, Lee. *A Century of UND Sports: An Athletic History of the University of North Dakota*. UND Foundation, 1994.

² Borzi, Pat. “The Sioux Nickname Is Gone, but North Dakota Hockey Fans Haven’t Moved On.” *The New York Times*. (March 1, 2016). <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/03/sports/hockey/with-sioux-nickname-gone-north-dakota-hockey-fans-are-fighting-change.html>

³ Unknown. “Lakota, Dakota, Nakota-The Great Sioux Nation.” *Legends of America: Exploring history, destinations, people, & legends of this great country since 2003*. <https://www.legendsofamerica.com/na-sioux/>

⁴ Thomason, Andy. “The Long, Strange Demise of North Dakota’s ‘Fighting Sioux.’” *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. (October 30, 2015). <https://www.chronicle.com/article/The-Long-Strange-Demise-of/233882>

owner who had pledged \$100 million to build a hockey arena bearing his name, threatened to withdraw the gift if the university nixed the name.”⁵ Due to needing that donation to build the hockey arena, the “Fighting Sioux” name lived on. However, that was not the end of the controversy.

In 2005, “...the National Collegiate Athletic Association banned the university-and 17 other-from hosting postseason events because of their American Indian mascot.”⁶ This would result in the university suing the NCAA in 2006. This battle would not be quickly settled. It would continue for a year. Finally, in 2007 the NCAA decided to settle with the university and stated that, “...that if the institution won the support of the Sioux community, it could keep the name. Only one of two required Sioux groups signed off, however, so the university agreed to retire the nickname.”⁷ Even though the university decided to finally end the usage of the “Fighting Sioux.” The fight was not over. The state of North Dakota would take action. It would eventually pass legislation that “...prohibited the university from changing its name.”⁸ However, the state’s decision would be put to a public vote. The voters decided to end the usage of the “Fighting Sioux,” the team would be renamed.

⁵ Thomason, Andy. “The Long, Strange Demise of North Dakota’s ‘Fighting Sioux.’ The Chronicle of Higher Education. (October 30, 2015). <https://www.chronicle.com/article/The-Long-Strange-Demise-of/233882>

⁶ Thomason, Andy. “The Long, Strange Demise of North Dakota’s ‘Fighting Sioux.’ The Chronicle of Higher Education. (October 30, 2015). <https://www.chronicle.com/article/The-Long-Strange-Demise-of/233882>

⁷ Thomason, Andy. “The Long, Strange Demise of North Dakota’s ‘Fighting Sioux.’ The Chronicle of Higher Education. (October 30, 2015). <https://www.chronicle.com/article/The-Long-Strange-Demise-of/233882>

⁸ Thomason, Andy. “The Long, Strange Demise of North Dakota’s ‘Fighting Sioux.’ The Chronicle of Higher Education. (October 30, 2015). <https://www.chronicle.com/article/The-Long-Strange-Demise-of/233882>

The university decided to re-name their athletic teams the “Fighting Hawks.” This would end up costing the university \$200,000⁹, in order to eradicate the “Fighting Sioux” name and logo around campus, on merchandise, and other places where the University of North Dakota was advertised. The new name has not become a fan favorite, quite yet. There are many teams, including the hockey team, that seem unable to let the Sioux go. “The change still irks tradition-bound fans and alumni...”¹⁰

Not all NCAA teams were required to change their names, like the University of North Dakota had too. Many wonder why Florida State University is allowed to keep using their logo and name without any pushback. “Florida State Seminoles, were granted that permission, and others were not, and thus had to change their names.”¹¹ Florida State was fortunate enough to gain this permission. Although, they do have this permission, there are still some American Indian groups who disagree. Professional teams are also allowed to reach out for permission from the Native groups, as well. As we see with Florida State, even with that approval, there is still disagreement over whether it is right or wrong.

Just as the tradition of the “Fighting Sioux” lives at the University of North Dakota, the tradition of the Indians and Chief Wahoo live in Cleveland. Many could argue that the Sioux logo once used by the University of North Dakota is not as racist or insensitive as Chief Wahoo

⁹ Williamson, Aliah. “University of North Dakota changes controversial mascot name.” WKTR News 3, North Dakota. (November 19, 2015). <http://wtkr.com/2015/11/19/university-of-north-dakota-changes-controversial-mascot-name/>

¹⁰ Borzi, Pat. “The Sioux Nickname Is Gone, but North Dakota Hockey Fans Haven’t Moved On.” The New York Times. (March 1, 2016). <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/03/sports/hockey/with-sioux-nickname-gone-north-dakota-hockey-fans-are-fighting-change.html>

¹¹ McIntosh, Whitney. “The Indians got rid of Chief Wahoo, but they should do more: Activist and experts explain why and how the name could be changed.” SB Nation. February 14, 2018. <https://www.sbnation.com/mlb/2018/2/14/16965908/cleveland-indians-name-change-fans-chief-wahoo> (Accessed April 9, 2018).

is. However, the issue seems to be about business. If it cost a university \$200,000 to rebrand themselves, the amount of money it would cost a professional sports team, like the Indians, even more. The controversy comes down to, who has the money and the willingness to spend it on rebranding. The University of North Dakota has their Sioux name and logo everywhere. The process to eradicate this mascot's history began a few years ago, but much of it still exist. "Approximately 2,500 Sioux logos remain throughout Ralph Engelstad Arena, home of the men's and women's hockey teams."¹² That is just in the arena, home to both the men's and women's hockey team. The total number of how many logos still existed throughout campus is unknown.

Research points to the main issue being money when changing logos. Yes, there is a lot of history that comes with a team having a name and cherishing a logo for such a long period of time. The University had the "Fighting Sioux" mascot for about 80 years. The Cleveland Indians have had the team name for about 103 years and the mascot of Chief Wahoo for about 70 years. There is a significant amount of history and love that comes with having that name and logo. However, just like with college sports, baseball is a big business. There is money to be made in every aspect of the game. Despite the outcry from the public or the disapproval from Native Americans themselves, these owners see making these changes as losing an enormous amount of money. In the long run, making these changes would please many people and ultimately truly honor the Native Americans.

¹² Borzi, Pat. "The Sioux Nickname Is Gone, but North Dakota Hockey Fans Haven't Moved On." The New York Times. (March 1, 2016). <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/03/sports/hockey/with-sioux-nickname-gone-north-dakota-hockey-fans-are-fighting-change.html>

Unlike the Cleveland Indians, the University of North Dakota took steps to eradicate their logo and name of the “Fighting Sioux.” The University reached out to the Native American groups who inspired their team name. They did not receive approval from all three groups and therefore they changed their name and logo to something that was not targeting a group of people. Just like the Cleveland Indians, the University of North Dakota fought and even sued over not being able to use their logo. However, in the end they changed it, unlike the Cleveland Indians and the many other teams that still utilize Native American imagery whether it be in their name, logo, or both.

The University of North Dakota has made huge strides in the fight to eradicate the usage of Native Americans as sports mascots, logos, and inspiration for team names. They have proved that these changes can be done. Although, some fans will be reluctant to move forward, it is still something that can be done. There are many other ways to honor these Native Americans and their history in the United States. The steps that the University took have influenced the social, legal, and political history of the United States. The University tried to fight the sanctions placed on them by the National Collegiate Athletic Association by suing them. They influenced political history by the state’s legislature becoming involved and telling them they cannot change their name or logo. That was eventually presented to the public for a vote, influencing both social and political history.

This battle and the changes made by the University of North Dakota is a learning lesson. There are many teams that are fighting these changes and hiding behind historical people and events. The history behind the Sioux runs much deeper in the Dakotas than Sockalexis does in Cleveland. The University of North Dakota chose to honor their native people in a different way and eradicating using the “Fighting Sioux.” Many Clevelanders do not know about Louis

Sockalexis. There are many more honorable ways to honor Sockalexis' career in Cleveland, other than using Chief Wahoo or calling themselves the Indians. These changes are starting to occur within the Indians organization.

Conclusion

The conclusion and interpretations that have been formed differ from previous historians due to the knowledge of how the name and logo was created. There is also an awareness of the emotions that this fight for the Indians' name and logo have played on their fans and the city. They are also different because unlike those who assume the worst intentions of the team, the history of the name has been researched. Many do not know of the existence of Louis Sockalexis. This lack of knowledge affects conclusions and assumptions that have been made by many sports historians, as well as, Native American historians. The topic of the Cleveland Indians impacts various historical fields. The conclusions that have been formed and that will continue to develop, show just how impactful this topic is to a variety of historical fields.

Many concerns continue to occur over the usage of logos that are discriminating. This research covers the usage of Native American logos, especially by the Cleveland Indians. However, there are many other groups, including the Irish, that have been discriminated against in sports. Where should the line be drawn? Why it is okay to discriminate against one group of people but not the other? You could even take it one step further and take into consideration teams that have religious names, for example the New Orleans Saints. Should Catholics and Episcopalians come forward and stand up for the fact that it is a football team with no religious affiliation? The Tampa Bay Rays were originally the Devil Rays. However, they dropped the Devil part of their name because of negativity that comes with it. This is something that Notre Dame professor, Patrick Deneen, points out in his book, *The End of Liberalism*. "Deneen argues that liberalism was supposed to "foster greater equality, defend a pluralistic tapestry of different cultures and beliefs, protect human dignity, and, of course, expand liberty," but it actually

“generates titanic inequality, enforces uniformity and homogeneity, fosters material and spiritual degradation, and undermines freedom.””¹

Groups, like the Native Americans can fight to put an end to the usage of their names and offensive logos. They might eventually win the battle, but will it end there? Should the Irish move forward to speak out against the Boston Celtics or the Notre Dame Fighting Irish? The Native Americans experienced many, many hardships. However, so did other groups, especially the Irish. We can argue about the severity of the treatment of both of these groups. Ultimately, creating an inaccurate image of a group of people is offensive regardless of the treatment that might or might not have been experienced. If the Native Americans cannot be utilized for sports imagery, the Irish and other groups should not be allowed either. This is a topic of social and political concern for years to come. The Cleveland Indians have begun to slowly remove Chief Wahoo. Major League Baseball will need to take significant steps forward to fully eradicate the name of the Indians from the team. The logo of Chief Wahoo will be eradicated long before the name. Eventually, the Cleveland Indians will have to change their name. As researched, many teams have already made changes to their teams’ name and logo. The University of North Dakota spent hundreds of thousands to make the changes needed. The Washington Redskins have lost the United States patent for their team name and lose money from that every year.²

Despite the claims that the Cleveland Indians have in regards to keeping the name of the Indians and the logo, there is still a movement happening across the country to eradicate these mascots. There is also a lack of representation of the great Louis Sockalexis around Progressive

¹ Blake, Nathanael. “To Understand Why Liberalism Is Failing On Left And Right, Read Patrick Deneen’s Latest.” The Federalist. January 12, 2018. <http://thefederalist.com/2018/01/12/understand-liberalism-failing-right-left-read-patrick-deneens-latest/> (accessed April 8, 2018).

² Rovell, Darren. “Patent Office: Redskins ‘disparaging’.” ESPN (June 18, 2014). http://www.espn.com/nfl/story/_/id/11102096/us-patent-office-cancels-washington-redskins-trademark

Field, home of the Cleveland Indians, today. Perhaps, Cleveland and the team will find another more impressive way to honor the great Louis Sockalexis. The pressure that the Indians' ownership will eventually feel, will overcome the need to keep their money in their own pockets. As Ed Rice states, the "...Indians must retire wahoo-or get Penobscot Blessing."³ Only when this happens, will the spotlight of controversy be taken off of the city of Cleveland and more importantly the Cleveland Indians organization.

³ Rice, Ed. "Cleveland Indians Must Retire Wahoo-Or Get Penobscot Blessing." Indian Country Today. (January 13, 2014). <https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/news/opinions/cleveland-indians-must-retire-wahoor-get-penobscot-blessing/>

Bibliography

- “1997 MLB All-Star Game.” ESPN.
http://www.espn.com/mlb/allstargame/history/results/_/year/1997
- Aran, K., & Sangiacomo, M. “Sockalexis kin says he likes team name.” *The Cleveland Plain Dealer*. (1993).
- Axson, Scooby. “Indians, MLB ‘Not Exactly Aligned’ In Efforts to Get Rid of Chief Wahoo Logo.” *Sports Illustrated*. (August 31, 2017). <https://www.si.com/mlb/2017/08/31/mlb-cleveland-indians-chief-wahoo-logo>
- Babicz, Martin C. & Zeiler, Thomas W. *National Pastime: US History through Baseball*. Rowman Littlefield, (2017).
- Black, Jason Edward. “The “Mascotting” of Native America: Construction, Commodity, and Assimilation.” *American Indian Quarterly*. Vol. 26, No. 4 (Fall 2002).
- Blake, Nathanael. “To Understand Why Liberalism Is Failing On Left And Right, Read Patrick Deneen’s Latest.” *The Federalist*. January 12, 2018.
<http://thefederalist.com/2018/01/12/understand-liberalism-failing-right-left-read-patrick-deneens-latest/>
- Block, David. *Baseball Before We Knew it: A Search for the Roots of the Game*. University of Nebraska Press, (2005).
- “Bob DiBasio.” Cleveland Indians Front Office Directory.
http://cleveland.indians.mlb.com/team/front_office.jsp?c_id=cle
- Bohnet, Lee. *A Century of UND Sports: An Athletic History of the University of North Dakota*. UND Foundation, 1994.
- Borzi, Pat. “The Sioux Nickname Is Gone, but North Dakota Hockey Fans Haven’t Moved On.” *The New York Times*. (March 1, 2016).
<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/03/sports/hockey/with-sioux-nickname-gone-north-dakota-hockey-fans-are-fighting-change.html>
- Calcaterra, Craig. “The Indians are changing their primary logo from Chief Wahoo to the block C.” *NBC Sports Online* (January 8, 2014). <http://mlb.nbcsports.com/2014/01/08/the-indians-are-changing-their-primary-logo-from-chief-wahoo-to-the-block-c/>
- “Chief Wahoo-Municipal Stadium.” Western Reserve Historical Society.
<https://www.wrhs.org/explore/exhibits/chief-wahoo-exhibit/>

- Cleveland 19 Digital Team. "Keep the Chief campaign underway." WOIO Channel 19, Cleveland. (2014). <http://www.cleveland19.com/story/24899203/save-the-chief-campaign>
- "Cleveland Indians." Ohio History Central.
http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Cleveland_Indians
- Crepeau, Richard C. *Journal of Sports History* 28, no. 3 (2001): 163-64.
<http://www.jstor.org.exproxy.snhu.edu/stable/43610205>
- Cwik, Chris. "After Yuli Gurriel's suspension, Chief Wahoo should be next." Yahoo Sports. (October 28, 2017). <https://sports.yahoo.com/yuli-gurriels-suspension-chief-wahoo-next-213647807.html>
- Deneen, Patrick J. *Why Liberalism Failed*. Yale University Press. 2018.
- Dickey, Glenn. *The history of American League baseball, since 1901*. Stein & Day, (1980).
- Domonoske, Camila. "Cleveland Indians Will Remove 'Chief Wahoo' From Uniforms in 2019." NPR. January 29, 2018. <https://www.npr.org/sections/the-two-way/2018/01/29/581590453/cleveland-indians-will-remove-chief-wahoo-from-uniforms-in-2019>
- Dubail, Jean. "Deal keeps Cleveland Indians at Progressive Field until at least 2023." *The Plain Dealer*. August 6, 2008.
http://blog.cleveland.com/metro/2008/08/deal_keeps_cleveland_indians_a.html
- Fleitz, David L. *Louis Sockalexis: The First Cleveland Indian*. McFarland & Company, Incorporated Publishers, (2002).
- Fleitz, David. "Louis Sockalexis." <https://sabr.org/bioproj/person/2b1aea0a>
- Fleming, Walter C. "Myths and Stereotypes About Native Americans." *The Phi Delta Kappan*. Phi Delta Kappa International. Vol. 88, No. 3 (Nov., 2006), p 213.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20442220>
- Freedman, Lew. *The Day All the Stars Came Out: Major League Baseball's First All-Star Game, 1933*. McFarland, (2010).
- Frommer, Harvey. *Old Time Baseball: America's Pastime in the Gilded Age*. Rowman & Littlefield, (2016).
- Grose, James P. "Time To Bury The Tomahawk Chop: An Attempt To Reconcile The Differing Viewpoints Of Native Americans And Sports Fans." *American Indian Law Review*. Vol. 35,

No.2. (2011).

<https://digitalcommons.law.ou.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1074&context=ailr>

Guest Columnist. "Recognizing Sockalexis by ditching Wahoo and changing course on Ohio team names and mascots: Ed Rice." *The Cleveland Plain Dealer*, http://www.cleveland.com/opinion/index.ssf/2014/06/to_properly_recognize_louis_so.html (2014).

Heitner, Darren. "This Week In Sports Law: DraftKings/FanDuel Settle in NY, Indians Logo, McQueary gets \$7.3 million." *Forbes*. (October 20, 2016). <https://www.forbes.com/sites/darrenheitner/2016/10/30/this-week-in-sports-law-draftkingsfanduel-settle-in-ny-indians-logo-mcqueary-gets-7-3-million/#28b26501252c>

Hoynes, Paul. "Walter Goldbach who drew chief Wahoo at 17, never meant it to become a symbol of racism." *Cleveland.com* (December 17, 2017). http://www.cleveland.com/tribe/index.ssf/2017/12/chief_wahoo.html

ICT Staff. "American Indians Mark 20th Year of Protesting Cleveland Indians Mascot Chief Wahoo." *Indian Country Today: Serving The Nations/Celebrating The People*. April 2, 2012. <https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/news/american-indians-mark-20th-year-of-protesting-cleveland-indians-mascot-chief-wahoo/>

Jeter, Fred. "Indian Mascot plagues Cleveland Baseball team." *The Richmond Free Press*. (September 22, 2017). <http://richmondfreepress.com/news/2017/sep/22/indian-mascot-plagues-cleveland-baseball-team/>

Jozsa, Frank P., JR. *Major League Baseball and Relocations: A History, 1876-2008*. McFarland, (2009).

King, C. Richard. "Borrowing Power: Racial Metaphors and Pseudo-Indian Mascots." *CR: The New Centennial Review*, Vol. 4, No. 1. Michigan State University Press. (Spring 2004), pp. 189-209. <http://www.jsotr.org/stable/41949426>

King, C. Richard. *The Native American Mascot Controversy: A handbook*. Rowman & Littlefield, (2010).

King, C. Richard, Springwood, C.F. & Delioria, Jr., V. *Team Spirits: The Native American Mascots Controversy*. University of Nebraska Press, (2001).

King, C. Richard, Staurowsky, E.J., et. al. "Of Polls and Prejudice: *Sport's Illustrated's* Errant 'Indian Wars,'" *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 26 (2002).

- Koppett, Leonard. *Koppett's History of Major League Baseball*. Carrol & Graff Publishers, (2004).
- Krsolovic, Ken & Fritz, B., *League Park: Historic Home of Cleveland Baseball 1891-1946*. McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishing. (2013).
- Lamb, Chris. *Conspiracy of Silence: Sportswriters and the Long Campaign to Desegregate Baseball*. University of Nebraska Press. (2012) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1d9nr9b.5>
- Lapchick, Robert E. "Hank Aaron Steps Up to the Plate on the use of Native American Names and Mascots in Sport." Northwestern University, Center For the Study of Sport in Society. (2005). <http://web.archive.org/web/20050206191856/http://sportinsociety.org/article10.html>
- Mahoney, Larry. "'Friends of Sockalexis' raising funds for monument honoring Indians Island baseball pioneer." Bangor Daily News. March 23, 2018. <https://bangordailynews.com/2018/03/23/news/bangor/friends-of-sockalexis-raising-funds-for-monument-honoring-indian-island-baseball-pioneer/>
- McDonald, Brian. *Indian Summer: The Forgotten Story Of Louis Sockalexis The First Native American In Major League Baseball*. Rodale Publishing (2003).
- McGimpsey, David. *Imagining Baseball: America's pastime and popular culture*. Indiana University Press, (2000).
- McGraw, Daniel. "Native Americans protest Chief Wahoo logo at Cleveland Indians home opener: Native American groups have protested the Indians' grinning, red-faced logo for years, but the cries for change are only growing in volume." *The Guardian*. (April 11, 2015). <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2015/apr/11/native-americans-protest-chief-wahoo-logo-at-cleveland-indians-home-opener>
- McIntosh, Whitney. "The Indians got rid of Chief Wahoo, but they should do more: Activist and experts explain why and how the name could be changed." SB Nation. February 14, 2018. <https://www.sbnation.com/mlb/2018/2/14/16965908/cleveland-indians-name-change-fans-chief-wahoo>
- McKenna, Brian. "Charlie Grant." Society For American Baseball Research. <https://sabr.org/bioproj/person/bd564010>
- Miller, Steven, and Scott Carpenter. "The Acquisition and Exhibition of Chief Wahoo." *History News* 53, no. 2 (1998): 17-20. <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.snhu.edu/stable/42653654>.
- Pajot, Dennis. *Baseball's Heartland War, 1902-1903: The Western league and American Association Vie for Turf, Players, and Profits*. McFarland, (2011).

- Pewewardy, Cornel D. "Playing Indian at Halftime The Controversy over American Indian Mascots, Logos, and Nicknames in School-Related Events." *The Clearing House*. Vol. 77, No. 5. (2004). <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.3200/TCHS.77.5.180-185>
- Posnanski, Joe. "What's In A Name?: Tracking the origin of the Cleveland Indians." NBC Sports, <http://sportsworld.nbcsports.com/cleveland-indians-nickname-sockalexis/>
- "Progressive Field." Ballparksofbaseball.com: The Field of Major League Baseball. <http://www.ballparksofbaseball.com/ballparks/progressive-field/>
- Rice, Ed. *Baseball's First Indian: Louis Sockalexis: Penobscot Legend, Cleveland Indian*. Tide-Mark Press, Limited, (2003).
- Rice, Ed. "Cleveland Indians Must Retire Wahoo-Or Get Penobscot Blessing." Indian Country Today. (January 13, 2014). <https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/news/opinions/cleveland-indians-must-retire-whaooor-get-penobscot-blessing/>
- Rice, Ed. "Curse of Sockalexis, Russell Means Cast Shadow on Cleveland Indians." (October 31, 2016). <https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/news/opinions/curse-of-sockalexis-russell-means-cast-shadow-on-cleveland-indians/>
- Rice, Ed. "Recognizing Soxalexis by ditching Wahoo and changing course on Ohio Team Names and mascots: Ed Rice." (June 8, 2014).
- Rider, David P. *American Studies* 43, no. 3 (200): 152-54. <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.snhu.edu/stable/40643425>
- Rosier, Paul C. *Native American Issues: Contemporary American Ethnic Issues*. Greenwood Press, (2003).
- Rotman, Michael. "Municipal Stadium," *Cleveland Historical*, accessed April 15, 2018, <https://clevelandhistorical.org/items/show/149>.
- Rovell, Darren. "Patent Office: Redskins 'disparaging'." ESPN (June 18, 2014). http://www.espn.com/nfl/story/_/id/11102096/us-patent-office-cancels-washington-redskins-trademark
- Schneider, Russell. *The Cleveland Indians Encyclopedia*. Temple University Press (1996).
- Schneider, R. "Indians' Wahoo symbol facing a legal skirmish." Cleveland Indians File at National Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum, Cooperstown, NY. (1972).

- Simkus, Scott. *Outsider Baseball: The Weird World of Hardball on the Fringe, 1876-1950*. Chicago review Press, (2014).
- Snyder, John. *Indians Journal: Year by Year & Day by Day with the Cleveland Indians Since 1901*. Clerisy Press (2008).
- Spindel, Carol. *Dancing at Halftime: Sports and the Controversy over American Indian Mascots*. New York University Press, (2000, 2002).
- Staurowsky, Ellen. J. "An Act of Honor or Exploration? The Cleveland Indians' Use of the Louis Francis Sockalexis Story." *Sociology Of Sport Journal* 15, no. 4: 299-316. *SPORTDiscus with Full Text*, EBSCOhost (accessed October 6, 2017).
- Steverson, Bryan. *A Special Gift from God: Baseball*. WestBow Press, (2014).
- Sullivan, Dean A. *Middle Innings: A Documentary History of Baseball, 1900-1948*. University of Nebraska Press, (2001).
- Swaine, Rick. *The Integration of Major League Baseball: A Team by Team History*. McFarland, (2012).
- Thomason, Andy. "The Long, Strange Demise of North Dakota's 'Fighting Sioux.'" The Chronicle of Higher Education. (October 30, 2015). <https://www.chronicle.com/article/The-Long-Strange-Demise-of/233882>
- Thompson, Stephen I. "The American Indian in the Major Leagues." SABR Research Journals. <http://research.sabr.org/journals/the-american-indian-in-the-major-leagues>
- Thorn, John. *The Garden of Eden: The Secret History of the Early Game*. Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, (2011).
- Troy, Gil. "The Myth Behind the First Cleveland Indian: Louis Sockalexis." Daily Beast. <https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-myth-behind-the-first-cleveland-indian-louis-sockalexis>, (2016).
- Unknown. "Lakota, Dakota, Nakota-The Great Sioux Nation." Legends of America: Exploring history, destinations, people, & legends of this great country since 2003. <https://www.legendsofamerica.com/na-sioux/>
- Vecesy, George. *Baseball: A History of America's Favorite Game*. Random House Publishing, (2008).
- Vizquel, Omar, Dyer, B. *Omar!: My Life On and Off the Field*. Grey & Company, (2002).

- Waldstein, David. "Commission Starts to Press Cleveland Indians About Logo." (April 12, 2017). <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/12/sports/commissioner-starts-to-press-cleveland-indians-about-logo.html>
- Weir, T. "The Lifetime of a legend." USA Today. (1997). P. 3C.
- Wilbert, Warren. *The Arrival of the American League: Ban Johnson and the 1901 Challenge to National League Monopoly*. McFarland, (2007).
- Williamson, Aliah. "University of North Dakota changes controversial mascot name." WKTR News 3, North Dakota. (November 19, 2015). <http://wtkr.com/2015/11/19/university-of-north-dakota-changes-controversial-mascot-name/>
- Zicari, Peter. "Indians former owner, developer, Dick Jacobs dies at 83." *The Plain Dealer*. June 6, 2009. http://www.cleveland.com/tribe/index.ssf/2009/06/dick_jacobs_dies_at_84.html