

# **Wisconsin's Carlisle Indian School Immortals**

**Native American Sports Heroes Series  
Volume II**



Wisconsin Indian Reservations

# **Wisconsin's Carlisle Indian School Immortals**

**Tom Benjey**



Carlisle, Pennsylvania

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*To the late Bob Carroll for his tireless  
work in preserving football history*



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# Introduction

The on-field accomplishments of Carlisle Indian School football teams have been written about several times and were remarkable. But what these men achieved off-field after leaving Carlisle is equally impressive. Over a quarter century before Indians were granted citizenship and the right to vote, three-quarters of a century before the 1965 Civil Rights Bill, and almost a century before affirmative action laws were introduced, Carlisle Indian School football teams competed toe-to-toe with the best in the land and more than held their own. Some today may consider the Carlisle School to be affirmative action in its purest form because enrollment was limited to students of at least one-quarter Indian blood with tuition, room, board, clothing and health care being paid by the government. Others view Carlisle quite differently. They think Richard Henry Pratt's assimilation policy of maintaining constant contact with the dominant society stripped students of their heritage and alienated them from their families and tribes. Regardless of one's opinion of Pratt, an extraordinary number of the Carlisle football players overcame obstacles placed in their way by prejudice common at that time and accomplished much in life after leaving the school. This book is the story of their triumphs and failures. Unfortunately, only those whose activities were recorded at the time in newspapers or were saved in archives can be written about. There are surely many others whose lives are worthy of inclusion but for whom documentation has not been found.

John S. Steckbeck's 1951 seminal *Fabulous Redmen: the Carlisle Indians and their famous football teams* provided a year-by-year history of the legendary Carlisle Indian Industrial School (CIIS) football program, a variety of statistics about

the team, and blurbs about coaches and individual players. Much has been written about mega-star Jim Thorpe and Coach of All Ages Pop Warner. The author recently completed the biography of Lone Star Dietz. These three were not the only Carlisle football stars by any means. They're not even the only Carlisle Indians in the College Football Hall of Fame. Besides Thorpe, five other players were inducted years ago, and Lone Star Dietz is on the ballot for induction as a coach. At least twelve others received All-America mention. Warner is in the Hall in good part due to the work he did coaching the Indians and developing formations that mitigated their weaknesses and exploited their strengths.

Some—many as it turns out—Carlisle players continued their football careers after leaving the school, some as coaches, some as players, and some both as players and coaches. So many of them went into coaching that they helped make the Warner system the dominant offensive scheme during the first half of the 20th century. Some were present at the birth of professional football, while others made the NFL popular when it was in its infancy. Carlisle Indian School footballers played important roles in the development of the sport from the late 1890s through the 20th century up to WWII. Some lived public lives outside of sports and made their mark in other fields after departing from Carlisle. Unfortunately, few people alive today are aware of the Indians' contributions and their names have been largely forgotten. This book attempts to correct that situation. Those who led private lives after leaving Carlisle left behind little documentation of the accomplishments, which makes them difficult to cover. The information that can be found on them is interjected at appropriate places. Because there is no obvious thread among these individuals other than they played football at Carlisle, the book takes the form of a set of mini-biographies.

The first chapter of the book is a brief history of the Carlisle program, from beginning to end. It is intended that this

chapter will provide the reader a framework from which to relate the individuals to the team and the phase of the program. The second chapter is a brief history of professional football in America, the early part of which overlaps closely with Carlisle's lifespan. This chapter is necessary because independent or professional football provided opportunities for Carlisle players after their schooling was completed. Indians also played major roles in developing the new game. Two of them, Jim Thorpe and Joe Guyon, are enshrined in the Professional Football Hall of Fame in Canton, Ohio. The third chapter briefly discusses some all-Indian teams on which Carlisle alums played after leaving the school. The fourth chapter covers Glenn S. "Pop" Warner, the coach for the glory days of the football program and a factor in these men's lives. Because Warner is referenced so frequently, it is clearer for the reader unfamiliar with him for his chapter to precede the players' chapters rather than follow them.

The remaining chapters, other than the final one, cover Carlisle players to varying levels of detail, dependent largely on the amount of information that can be found about the person. Their stories are arranged in alphabetical order with brothers sharing chapters. Little further needs to be written about Jim Thorpe or Pop Warner, but some readers may not be familiar with their histories. Therefore, a chapter is dedicated to each to provide a background for the unfamiliar. It is my hope that a previously undiscovered nugget or two about each of them finds its way into the narrative. The amount of space devoted to the others is not intended to be a measure of the significance of their contributions. The amount of information available about them today is the limiting factor. Professional football received little press in its early days, leaving behind fewer accounts of games and meetings than we'd like. Some players and coaches received little press due to their personalities, and others toiled in out-of-the-way places. The last chapter discusses the importance of team captains in the

early days of football and recounts a story of courage on the part of several Carlisle captains. The author hopes that people familiar with persons included in this book will share enough tidbits previously unknown about those players to make a second edition necessary. Little is included about the females who attended Carlisle beyond those who married players, not because their stories aren't interesting but because that would require an entire book of its own.

Col. Pratt raised the issue of how football players perform in later life at the 1902 football banquet in his talk titled, "By their fruits you shall know them." Pratt talked about how he came to discuss this topic and then talked about the methodology he used in his "study:"

I went to the old football pictures, called on the memories of oldest inhabitants and used my own, and succeeded in getting together the names of sixty who have played on our first teams and have gone out from the school. I have put down here and made a mark opposite each one from my memory and the memories of those who know most about it, and from the best information we have I find some very singular results. . . .

Of the list of sixty who played on the first teams (I may not have them all) I have written opposite the names of forty-nine the letters "O. K." You know what that means.

There are only five of the sixty named that we need be ashamed of. There are four about whom I have been unable to get any information. That leaves two. We have been playing football more than twelve years and have sent out from the school at least sixty, as I have said, who played on our first teams, and only two of the sixty have passed away, and that shows that football is a healthy business.

This was the first known attempt to determine how or if football players succeeded after leaving school, but it wouldn't be the last. On at least two other occasions, in 1907 and 1910, and likely others, Superintendents Mercer and Friedman sent questionnaires to former athletes to gather data on their lives after Carlisle. Many of the quotes in this book that the athletes themselves wrote about Carlisle come from those questionnaires that can be found in former student files. It is likely that the superintendents were selective in determining to whom to send questionnaires, more selective in determining which results to keep in the files, and even more selective in choosing responses to print in school publications. So, the results may well have been biased to make the school look good, but the responses that survive were freely given and accurately reflect the thinking of the person writing them.

While researching this book, the author examined a number of census forms and made some observations. Prior to and during their time at Carlisle, students were generally listed on special forms used specifically for populations likely to contain Indians. A section of the form listed the tribes of the person and the person's parents. It also included the fraction of white blood the student was thought to have. The data on these forms was often incorrect because the child did not know the correct information or because the census taker made assumptions and errors. After leaving Carlisle, those who assimilated into the larger society were often classified as white in future censuses, probably because census takers didn't bother to ask. Indians in the population may have been undercounted as a result.

Period illustrations, particularly cartoons, will be included where appropriate to show how the Carlisle team was treated, even by big city newspapers. Today many of these caricatures with oversized noses and other exaggerations would be considered racist. Others make fun of the patricians the Indians so often defeated.

Sit back and enjoy reading about the exploits of Chauncey Archiquette, Lone Star Dietz, Wallace Denny, James Johnson, Caleb Sickles, William Winneshiek, Gus Welch and all the rest. You will surely become acquainted with some interesting individuals you may have never heard of before. Surely some interesting people will be missed, but if information on them surfaces, they will be included in a second edition.

Min-ni-wa-ka!

Ka-wa-wi!

Woop her up!

Woop her up!

Who are we?

Carlisle!

Carlisle!!

Carlisle!!!



# 1

## Football Trail of Glory

**I**n 1875, Lt. Richard Henry Pratt, after many years of leading Buffalo Soldiers in battle against Kiowa, Cheyenne and Arapaho warriors, was assigned the task of transporting 72 Indian prisoners to St. Augustine, Florida for three years of captivity at Ft. Marion. During the imprisonment, with the influence of Quaker reformers, Pratt evolved the belief that the only hope for Indians to survive in the modern world was to assimilate into the majority culture, much as European immigrants were assimilating. His view was in sharp contrast to that of those who believed that extermination was the only viable option. Gen. Philip Sheridan denied having said, “The only good Indians I ever saw were dead.” If he believed it, he was far from alone as that was a very common belief held at the time.

Their confinement over, Lt. Pratt convinced 17 of his former prisoners to pursue further education at Hampton Institute (now Hampton University). The Hampton, Virginia school had

been founded a decade earlier by Gen. Samuel Chapman Armstrong as a boarding school to educate recently freed slaves by training “the head, the hand, and the heart.” Educating African-Americans and American Indians in the same facility, although segregated from each other, was controversial to some in those times of racial segregation as many thought that blacks and Indians were not educable. However, the experiment was successful enough that Hampton Institute continued its Indian division until 1923.

Richard Pratt, son of a singing Methodist, summarized his philosophy as, “Kill the Indian, save the man.” He formulated a model similar to that being used at Hampton and successfully lobbied the government to set up a school just for Indians at an unused Army post. On October 6, 1879, Lt. Pratt, considered by some to be “an honest lunatic,” and the first contingent of students, largely sons of Lakota chiefs (boys had little economic value when confined to reservations because they could no longer hunt buffalo or make war, but families could still receive a bride price for girls), arrived at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School located in Carlisle Barracks, adjacent to Carlisle, Pennsylvania. America’s second oldest military facility—the one that housed the Hessian troops captured at Trenton by Gen. George Washington after crossing the Delaware—was not being used and thus made available for the Indian boarding school.

Students divided their days between academic studies and vocational training. They dressed in military uniforms and lived regimented lives. Free-time activities included music, athletics and literary or debating societies. Although Carlisle Indian Industrial School was essentially a trade school coupled to elementary and high school academics, Pratt envisioned some of his students advancing to college and professional schools. Extracurricular activities, particularly the literary and debating societies, helped prepare higher level students for further



Richard Henry  
Pratt, Susan &  
Mary Longstreth,  
Spotted Tail,  
Rebecca Haines  
*U. S. Army  
Military History  
Institute*

academic work as well as to think more critically and to communicate more clearly, skills that would serve future leaders well. Although Pratt desired that his former students assimilate into the dominant culture, many returned to their tribes and used the skills learned at Carlisle to become effective tribal leaders.

By the early 1900s, the girls and boys each had two societies from which to select: the Susan Longstreth Literary Society, the Mercer Literary Society, the Standard Literary Society and the Invincible Debating Society, respectively. Susan Longstreth, a Quaker educator who operated a school in Philadelphia for young ladies for 50 years, was a long-time supporter of Pratt's experiment. Major Mercer was the superintendent of the school after Pratt departed. These societies

were much more than what their names imply as some of them formed bands, played sports, held dances and put on plays. They also had their own colors and elected officers as did the Freshman, Sophomore, Junior and Senior classes. Besides the usual officers, all of these groups elected a Critic, whose function may not be obvious to modern readers. The author found a definition in the *1918 Quittapahilla*, Lebanon Valley College's yearbook: "Over each meeting presides the Critic and he, by mode of criticism, points out the strength and weakness of the respective numbers with special reference to errors in style, English grammar, elocution, logic, literary structure and the speakers' manner on the floor." While some of the details may vary between schools and organizations, the description will hold in the main.

Rather than returning to their reservations during school breaks, students received practical experience in their "outing" periods working off-campus at farms and businesses to further expose them to the dominant culture. In order to "kill the Indian," Pratt kept his charges away from their families and tribes three, four or five years at a time, depending on their period of enrollment. In 1883, explaining his philosophy, he wrote, "In Indian civilization I am a Baptist, because I believe in immersing the Indians in our civilization and when we get them under holding them there until they are thoroughly soaked."

Part of Carlisle's curriculum included off-campus work and study with white families in the East. The government saved money by not having to house and feed the children during the outings. Students had the opportunity to earn money of their own and were forced to save a significant portion of it. As the school's superintendent, Pratt constantly battled Congress for funding and did not fare very well. He was not shy about publicly criticizing the government's stinginess and other shortcomings, particularly those in the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The outing period was essential to keep costs within budget. However, some other funding sources would emerge.

One day in 1893, Superintendent Pratt was sitting in his office attending to administrative trivia when he heard a knock. He opened the door to see forty of the school's finest athletes standing outside with something on their minds. Pratt invited them into his office and the school's best orator stepped forward. The boy presented his case so eloquently that, although so personally opposed to football that he had banned its play because serious injuries had occurred in some games played in 1890, Pratt agreed to reinstate inter-school contests. However, he had two conditions:



1894 Carlisle Indians; *Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle, PA*

1. You must never slug. Because if you slug another player, the people who are watching the game will say that you are just savages.
2. In two, three or four years, the Carlisle football team will whip the biggest team in the country.

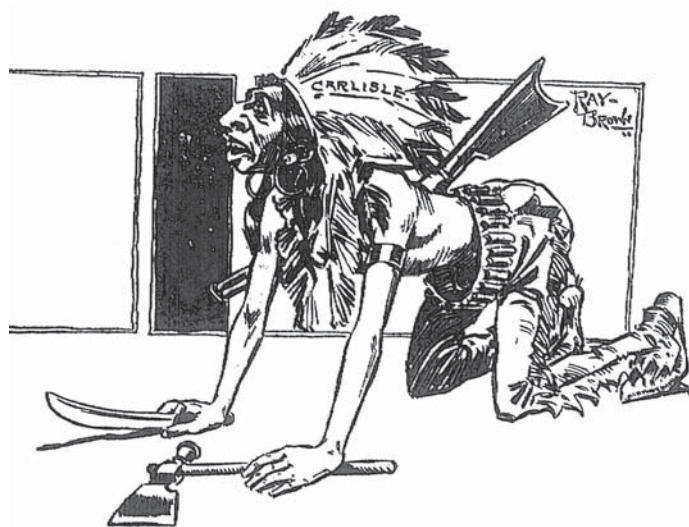
Thus, inter-collegiate football was born in Carlisle. Actually the Carlisle Indian Industrial School was never a college, but its opponents included the most famous institutions of higher learning. Soon, the school newspaper would report on “football hair” sprouting on campus each September.

In keeping with Pratt’s admonition, the Carlisle team scheduled Yale and Penn, two of the “Big Four,” (Harvard, Yale, Princeton and Penn) in just their second full season of play and still posted a 4–4–0 record! The next year, 1896, Carlisle played and lost to all of the “Big Four” in successive weeks as well as to Brown, but they won the rest of their games to avoid a losing season. The Harvard and Yale games were close enough that the Indians could have at least tied either of them. The father of American football, Walter Camp, said, “The team must have put up a capital game with Harvard, and their work this season certainly shows that they are in the first class.” Frank Cayou scored the first points scored against Yale that season when he raced 75 yards for a touchdown. Several writers considered the calling back of Jake Jamison’s touchdown in the same game to be a major officiating blunder that cost the Indians a tie with the Eli. *The New York Sun* was favorably impressed by their play against Yale: “Never was a team seen on the football field who fought harder, fairer and with so little unnecessary rough play.” *The Sun* also thought the game should have been a tie were it not for an official’s blunder. The *Rochester Advertiser* echoed that sentiment in a caustic tone: “Now, if we have a right to rob the Indian anywhere we certainly have a right to cheat him out of football games.” Not only did the team survive the suicidal schedule, but they also

convinced the experts that they were first rate. Newspapers alternated between romanticizing the Indians, praising them for their stoicism or clean play, and belittling them, claiming that they could not rebound from adversity while ignoring the evidence to the contrary. Headline writers and cartoonists were often not very charitable. Indians were often said to ambush their opponents or massacre unwary teams. Players were often depicted as sneaky, skulking marauders or as caricatures with large noses and buck teeth. Scalping knives and tomahawks were often shown as being at the ready.

At the end of the 1896 season, Carlisle started what became near-traditions: Thanksgiving and post-season games. The Indians lost to Brown University 24–12 on Thanksgiving Day, and a post-season game against Wisconsin in Chicago was added. The Indians defeated the Champions of the West 18–8 indoors under the lights in the Chicago Coliseum. This was the Indians' first trip out of the East. Many more would follow.

The November issue of Carlisle Indian Industrial School's newspaper, *The Red Man*, was subtitled "Games With The Big 4," and its eight pages contained reprints of articles from



Skulking Indian; *New York Journal* 10-24-1897

newspapers around the country. Typical was the editorial from the *Boston Herald*:

The statement in our account of the football game on Saturday between the teams of the Carlisle school of Indians and Harvard, that, if the men making up the former had scientific training added to the strength, quickness and endurance which they now possess, no college team in the country could stand against them, is a conclusion endorsed by most of the college graduates and undergraduates who are experts in football and who witnessed the game.

That scientific training wouldn't arrive for a few more years, but Carlisle competed while waiting.

The Indians sported a new look for 1897: uniforms in their school colors. A committee headed by former student then vocal teacher, Mary Bailey, researched the issue of school colors over the summer of 1896 and students voted to accept the committee's recommendation at the first Saturday evening meeting of the 1896–97 school year. It was too late to obtain football uniforms in school colors for the season about to start, so 1897 was the first year the Indian first team was clad in Red and Old Gold. Not too late for 1896 was "Carlisle Indian School March," composed by former student and then current bandmaster, Dennison Wheelock. It was played at football games and other events. Carlisle was also honored with another march that year. Celebrated pianist Robert Tempest of Philadelphia, who had recently visited the school, wrote "Roosters of Carlisle," borrowing an Indian melody that had been printed in the school paper for the refrain.

The football program was generating considerable revenue for the school by this time. *The Indian Helper* of April 17, 1896 reported on one use of the proceeds: "The 28 shower baths in the gymnasium are well patronized. These are not to take the

place of the tub bath, but are in addition to the weekly scrub all hands are required to take.”

Carlisle played, and lost, to three of the Big Four in 1897 by respectable scores, ending up at 6–4–0 again. Carlisle once again suffered four losses in 1898, coming up short against three of the Big Four for a 6–4–0 record. However, the team took another post-season road trip, beating Illinois, Cincinnati and The Ohio State University Medical College in just seven days. In five short years, Carlisle had established itself as one of the better teams in the country just below the Big Four. The Indians were very close to achieving what Pratt had directed them to do.

1899 was a pivotal year for Carlisle football because Pratt’s first choice for head coach, Glenn S. “Pop” Warner, finally became available. Pratt, not knowledgeable about football himself, had asked Walter Camp, the country’s foremost authority, to recommend a coach. Camp suggested a young, innovative coach by the name of Glenn Scobey Warner, better known as Pop. However, Warner was not available until internal politics convinced him to leave his alma mater, Cornell. When Warner asked for \$1,200 for the season plus expenses, Pratt didn’t blink. After some minor negotiations, they shook hands and a new era started. The football world would be forever changed when “The Old Fox” took the coaching reins of this up-and-coming team of undersized footballers and embarked on a grueling schedule. Carlisle players gained their first victory over one of the Big Four when they defeated the Penn Quakers 16–5 in Philadelphia. *The Red Man* was so proud of that victory that it put “WON” in all capital letters by the score for that game. Carlisle students, led by their band, began a tradition of parading through town in their nightshirts after important victories.

They lost to two of the Big Four that year, Harvard and Princeton. The 22–10 loss to Harvard happened without the services of team captain and star player Martin Wheelock, who

was too ill to play. The players were treated to a post-season rail trip to San Francisco (they always traveled first class) where they defeated the University of California 2–0 on Christmas Day. This road trip may have been the longest taken by a football team up to that time. The Warner era at Carlisle had begun with a 9–2–0 season, their best so far, a victory over one of the Big Four and capped with a win over previously unbeaten Cal. On the way back, Warner agreed to play an exhibition game with the Phoenix Indian School team that was coached by a Harvard alum. Because Harvard had switched to leather uniforms that year, so had the Phoenix coach. The players roasted in the leather suits and were soon exhausted. The Carlisle team stayed on for a few days and shared pigskin tricks with the locals. At season's end, Isaac Seneca was named



1902 Carlisle Indian School Football team  
*Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle, PA*

to Walter Camp's All-America team, the first Indian to receive the honor and one of the few players outside the Big Four to be selected.

The 6–4–1 1900 season was a bit of a letdown for the Red and Old Gold, with losses to the three of the Big Four they played and, for the first time since 1895, there was no post-season road trip. The undersized 1901 team lost a close one to Penn 16–14 and, crippled by injuries, was beaten by Harvard 29–0. However, Carlisle did not have another losing season for over a decade.

Carlisle returned to winning ways in 1902 with an 8–3–0 season, splitting with the Big Four by losing to Harvard and beating Penn for the second time. The *Philadelphia Press* summed it up, "There was no doubt about the victory as the Red Man outplayed his palefaced foe at all points of the game and tied the second Red and Blue scalp firmly to his belt by the decisive score of 5–0." On defense much of the game, Carlisle scored a touchdown early in the second half, missed the extra point and played field position the rest of the way in an extremely hard-fought game with the improving Quakers.

The 1903 squad led by All-America quarterback James Johnson was probably the best Carlisle squad to date. The Indians lost to Princeton and Harvard but beat Penn again 16–6. The one-point 12–11 Harvard loss was a heartbreaker for the players, coming oh so close but still losing. It was also the game in which big Charles Dillon, a Carlisle guard, scored the touchdown using the famous "hidden ball" play. Mose Blumenthal has often been given credit for sewing a piece of elastic in the hem of Dillon's jersey to keep the ball from coming out, but Freddy Wardecker, owner of Blumenthal's former menswear store, does not believe that Mose did the actual sewing. Although Blumenthal's store, also known as "The Capital," had sewing machines, the proprietor did not know how to operate them. He probably supervised the project. Quarterback James Johnson received the kickoff and placed the ball under Dillon's

jersey while the team huddled. The Carlisle backs faked having the ball and then raced downfield to retrieve the ball from under the back of Dillon's jersey to touch the ball down for the score. Pop Warner later wrote that he was glad that Harvard outscored Carlisle that day because he didn't like to win on a fluke. The *Boston Sunday Post* had this to say about the game: "With a team outweighed nearly forty pounds to the man, crippled, bruised and battered from other contests, and on a foreign field, the Indians gave an exhibition of football that has no parallel in the annals of Harvard football."

After finishing the season 11-2-1, Pop Warner returned to his alma mater, Cornell, to coach the 1904-6 seasons. Richard Henry Pratt, then a colonel, was relieved of his command because of his most recent negative comments regarding the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Major William A. Mercer, a cavalry officer, was selected to replace him as superintendent of Carlisle. Former Carlisle stars Bemus Pierce and future hall-of-famer Edward Rogers were brought back to coach the 1904 Indian team. Their only losses in this 9-2-0 season were shutouts by two of the Big Four, Harvard and Penn.

Likely because of the turmoil surrounding Pratt's departure, Carlisle did not participate in the St. Louis World's Fair. The band did play there, however, as part of the Pennsylvania exhibit. In the fall, the school got a second chance. Promoters were unable to get the Army-Navy game relocated to the Fair to coincide with President Roosevelt's visit, but they were able to arrange a Carlisle-Haskell Institute game on the Saturday after Thanksgiving. A Thanksgiving Day game previously arranged with Ohio State became a warm-up on the trip to St. Louis. The Indians' second team beat the Buckeyes 23-0 two short days and a few hundred miles away before overwhelming Haskell 38-4. President Roosevelt didn't see the game but a large crowd of the curious did. Eight Haskell players were so impressed with the Carlisle program that they later enrolled there.

1905 saw Carlisle coached by committee. George Woodruff, the renowned former Penn coach, was advisor to the coaching team of Bemus Pierce, Siceni Nori, Frank Hudson and Ralph Kinney. The Indians again lost to Penn and Harvard in back-to-back games but did beat a team that gave them much satisfaction, the “soldiers” at West Point. In an 11-day period, with permission from the War Department, the Indians beat Army 6–5, then demolished Cincinnati 34–5 and lost games to two semi-professional teams, Canton A. C. and Massillon A. C., 8–0 and 8–4, respectively. A decade later the Canton-Massillon rivalry would be the stuff of legends and would provide a place for Carlisle stars to continue their football careers and change football history.

The Carlisle Indians had gained a national reputation for excellence in football, and athletically-inclined boys on the reservation were becoming increasingly aware of it. Some boys aspired to attend Carlisle to play football with this heroic bunch. Other boys dreamed of playing in the Carlisle band. Still other boys, and some girls, too, wanted to attend Carlisle because of the educational opportunities. While no one would confuse the education that was provided at Carlisle Indian Industrial School with that of an Ivy League college, Carlisle provided opportunities that were not otherwise available to most boys and girls on the reservation. Students returning from Carlisle used their educations to move into leadership positions, a fact that did not go unnoticed by children on the reservation.

Before the 1906 season started, Pop Warner tutored Carlisle coaches, former stars Bemus Pierce and Frank Hudson, in the new rules instituted to keep President Roosevelt from banning the game. The neutral zone was established, the distance needed to make a first down was increased from five to ten yards, and the forward pass was legalized. The rule changes eliminated some of the disadvantages Carlisle teams had faced previously, including lack of size, and allowed them to capitalize on their strengths—speed, agility and conditioning.

Warner developed a new offensive scheme to exploit Carlisle's strengths, speed and deception, and offset their weaknesses, size and depth. Warner's system, known to us as the single-wing, revolutionized football.

The two Indian coaches led their charges to a 24–6 victory over Penn but were outplayed by the Crimson in a 5–0 loss at Harvard. They unexpectedly lost to Penn State on a field goal, the only score in the game. Not reported by *The Arrow* (Carlisle's school paper changed its name in 1904) or Steckbeck was a Thanksgiving game hastily arranged with Vanderbilt while the team was on the road for games with Minnesota, Cincinnati and Virginia. The Champions of the South wanted a crack at the slayers of the Champions of the West and beat the Indians 4–0. Three victories against one defeat in 12 days isn't bad. Neither was a 9–3–0 season with a tough schedule.

On September 21, 1906, *The Arrow* reported, "Carlisle Indian football management decided to have its eleven directly coached by full-blooded redskins of intelligence. This was done largely because the Indian will work harder for an Indian coach



Onondagas Will See the Game; *The Syracuse Herald* 11-21-1911

than for the average college expert trainer. Coach Glenn S. Warner is undoubtedly the only white man who has ever been able to hold fast the attention of the redskinned footballist and teach him better things." At the end of the season, the *New York World* opined, "Bemus Pierce by skillful handling of the Indians has placed them in the front rank of the college world. . . Carlisle has done so well that the team is rated as one of the high class organizations of the year." The December 21 *Arrow* announced that Warner would return as athletic director in charge of coaching all sports. Bemus Pierce and Frank Hudson were praised but were not available year round. It was probably not coincidental that Mrs. Warner visited Superintendent and Mrs. Mercer over Thanksgiving.

1907 was Carlisle's strongest team to that time and, in Pop Warner's opinion, one of their best teams ever. The high points of the 10-1-0 season were another victory over Big Four foe Penn and their first ever over Harvard. Frank Mt. Pleasant, whom Walter Camp later snubbed by naming him only to the Honorable Mention All-America team due to a perceived lack of ruggedness, led the Indians to victory with his passing and a 75-yard touchdown run in the 23-15 triumph. A parade of students in their nightshirts greeted the team upon their return to Carlisle. Hundreds of townspeople turned out with them to welcome the victors. Warner savored the 18-4 victory over Chicago and their coach, Amos Alonzo Stagg, considering it one of the high points of his career. The only loss in the otherwise perfect season was a 16-0 shutout in a downpour of rain by Big Four nemesis Princeton. Little Boy, one of Carlisle's best linemen, explained why the Indians usually did poorly in inclement weather, saying, "Football no good fun in mud and snow." Jim Thorpe sat frustrated on the bench his first year on the team as Mt. Pleasant punted and threw 50-yard spirals, the first person Warner saw do this.

Mt. Pleasant's snubbing by Walter Camp was not an isolated incident. Writers not infrequently found ways to disparage the Indians' successes by focusing on their infrequent losses. Detractors portrayed Carlisle's defeats as character flaws held by people of the Indian race. Reasons given included lack of discipline, disinterest in training, and being too close to their aboriginal state. These writers' theories conflicted with Warner's observations. Furthermore, they would soon have an Indian to both deify and denounce.

Jim Thorpe vaulted to the position of starting left halfback in 1908. In his first year as a starter, Carlisle lost only to Harvard and Minnesota and tied Penn. Carlisle won the other ten. The Indians either lost to or tied the national champions, depending whether one thinks Harvard or Penn best that year. Jim Thorpe had a good year showing much promise, so much that Walter Camp ranked him a third team All-American. The following summer, Thorpe left school to play minor league baseball. Pennsylvania was the only Big Four team scheduled for 1909. That game accounted for one of Carlisle's losses, the first one in four years to the Quakers, in this 8-3-1 Thorpe-less season.

Moses Friedman, a civilian educator, replaced Major Mercer as Carlisle superintendent in 1908, but little changed with regard to the athletic program. Penn and Princeton were the Big Four teams Pop Warner scheduled for 1910. For reasons unknown, Harvard Law School replaced Harvard on the 15-game schedule. Western Maryland College mercifully canceled their game; otherwise the Indians would have had to play 3 games in seven days. A combination of injuries and bad luck resulted in a disappointing season with no Big Four victories and an 8-6-0 season.

Jim Thorpe, no longer a skinny kid, returned for the 1911 season. Pop Warner viewed this team as his greatest at Carlisle as it began the best three-year run in Carlisle's Football Trail of Glory. Gus Welch, Alex Arcasa and Lone Star Dietz all

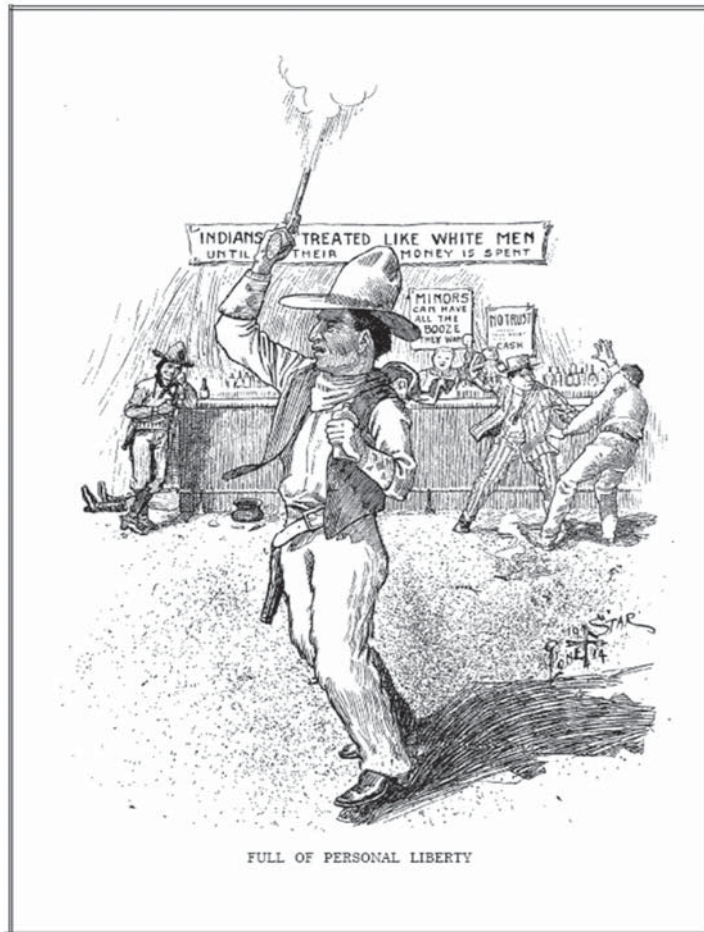
scored touchdowns in the win over Penn while Thorpe nursed an injury on the bench. Thorpe used his heavily bandaged leg to kick a field goal in each quarter for the victory over Harvard. This 11–1–0 season was their second and last campaign with two wins over “Big Four” opponents. The Indians picked up where they left off in 1912 but let up in their loss to Penn, the only member of the Big Four on that year’s schedule. The scoreless tie was to a very good Washington and Jefferson team. However, it was not the one that was rewarded with the honor of being the Eastern representative in the New Year’s Day game in Pasadena, California as has been reported elsewhere. It was in the much-written-about game against West Point that Pop used the double-wingback offense to thwart the Soldiers 27–6. Trouncing Brown 32–0 on Thanksgiving Day was a fitting capstone to Thorpe’s career at Carlisle and the 12–1–1 season. Again in 1913, Penn was the only one of the Big Four on the schedule, but this time it was a 7–7 tie. The other blemish to their 10–1–1 record was a 12–6 upset by Pitt. Carlisle completed a three-year run of 33 wins, 3 losses and 2 ties against the toughest teams with only ten home games, and those were the warm-up games.

Carlisle Indian School teams were so well-known and respected that youth teams sometimes named themselves in their honor, much as kids’ teams are called the Yankees or White Sox today. For example, a Syracuse, New York YMCA league named their basketball teams Syracuse, Harvard, Rutgers and Carlisle.

Some think that the Indians were pliable and easily bent to Warner’s will, but that wasn’t true in all cases. In a 1933 interview with Alan Gould of the Associated Press, Gus Welch recalled a headstrong player named Asa Sweetcorn who, as a running guard, felt that his contributions were being disregarded in Warner’s newspaper columns. He reacted by drawing attention to himself. Instead of running plays as his coach diagrammed, Sweetcorn “. . . would go ripping around an end, legs

and arms flying, making gestures at everybody but taking out nobody. I took him aside to find out what was going on. Slyly he whispered to me: 'Gus, that's psychology. I keep 'em all worried and guessing and then they say, My what a great running guard this Sweetcorn is.'" Reporters rewarded him with positive mention in their columns and opposing teams started to take notice of him. Navy concentrated much of their effort against Sweetcorn to his detriment. Soon he was groggy and bloody. At half-time, Pop suggested that a substitute be sent in for him. Welch responded, "No, this Sweetcorn is just faking. Let him stay in." After taking terrible beatings game after game, Asa began to wise up a bit but not completely. When he had about reached the limit of punishment he could withstand, he said something to Welch about needing a "medicine man" but Welch disagreed, "Never Mind medicine man; send for a priest."

Some think that the vaunted Carlisle Indian School football program ended in August 1918 when the school closed, because Carlisle Barracks, its home, was to be used as a hospital to treat soldiers wounded in The Great War. While it is true that the Red Peril of the East would take the field no more, Carlisle's competitive football ended before that. In his seminal work on Carlisle Indian School football, *Fabulous Redmen*, John S. Steckbeck places the end of Carlisle's football trail of glory at February 25, 1915, the date of Pop Warner's farewell dinner. I mark the end a year earlier. On February 6, 7, 8 and March 25, 1914, a joint commission of Congress under the direction of Inspector E. B. Linnen conducted an investigation of the Carlisle Indian School. The changes brought about by the commission led to the demise of the Carlisle football program. Although the U.S. Army technically brought the program to an end when it took back Carlisle Barracks in 1918, the football program was already dead, though still staggering from 1914 to its official demise.



Drawn by  
Lone Star Dietz  
for  
*The Carlisle Arrow*  
11-20-1914

Judge Cato Sells, new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, apparently at the urging of the Indian Rights Association and a student petition, began an investigation of Superintendent Moses Friedman's management of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in January 1914. It seems that Cumberland County Judge Sadler (it is not clear whether it was Wilbur, the father, or Sylvester, the son, because the hereditary judgeship was transferred from father to son in that year) meted out a 60-day jail sentence, possibly at Friedman's urging, to an Indian girl and boy for an infraction punishable only by a fine under Pennsylvania law. The infraction was not stated but debauchery is a definite possibility. This did not sit well with the Philadelphia-based Indian Rights Association. There were

also accounts of arrests of Indian boys found drinking alcohol in the town of Carlisle. According to Indian School staff and other students, “negro bootleggers” were to blame, not tavern owners. The timing could not have been worse for Carlisle as the walrus-mustachioed Judge Sells was on a rampage to stop the scourge of alcohol on his wards while trying to clean up the corrupt government agency.

On Friday, February 6, 1914, a joint commission of Congress arrived unannounced in Carlisle to interview staff and students at Carlisle in an attempt to get to the bottom of the situation. It was not a pretty sight. Superintendent Friedman made an unauthorized trip to Washington to plead his case, blaming Gen. Richard Pratt, founder of the Carlisle Indian School, with meddling but was told to get back to his post. Local newspapers ran editorials supportive of Friedman but several students and faculty members criticized his leadership. Meanwhile Inspector J. Linnen interviewed witnesses.

Rosa B. LaFlesch, outing manager, testified that discipline: “. . . is better now than when I first came here, although it is lax yet.” She went on to say, “They [students] have no respect for him [Supt. Friedman].” Wallace Denny, assistant disciplinarian (and Pop Warner’s long-time trainer) gave four reasons or causes for student dissatisfaction:

1. Superintendent Friedman reduced the number of receptions and sociables per month to one each.
2. Students were given more difficult [academic] work.
3. Food was of a poor quality.
4. Employees did not work in harmony with Superintendent Friedman.

John Whitwell, principal teacher, reported that Mr. David H. Dickey, outing agent, found Pop Warner drunk with Gus Welch. Whitwell also claimed that students wrote “the Jew” and other such things on a blackboard in reference to Moses

Friedman. He accused Friedman of carrying almost 200 students who were no longer at the school on the roll. Angel DeCora, native art teacher, presented the commission with a list of twenty-eight girls who had been “ruined” and sent home. Band director Claude M. Stauffer was accused of beating a 17-year-old female student, Julia Hardin, at the insistence of Hannah H. Ridenour, a matron.

Pop Warner was accused of mishandling athletic funds. One of the charges was that the athletic association paid Hugh Miller, sports editor for the Carlisle Sentinel, and E. L. Martin to publicize the Carlisle team in the cities in which they played. The fact that hundreds paid out for PR resulted in thousands in gate receipts seemed to escape the commission. Or, it appeared unseemly to the senators and congressmen for the school to pay for publicity when they had franking privileges and reporters constantly asked them for stories. Warner was found to have kept scrupulous records but was criticized for how some of the money was spent. He argued that he was getting the best value for the school when he purchased canned goods from his family’s Springfield Canning Company. The coach also mentioned disbursing some of the money to the players. “At the close of the season the boys are given a \$25 suit of clothes and a \$25 overcoat; that is, the first team. And the first team also gets a souvenir of some kind.” This explains some of the \$25 and \$50 chits at Wardecker’s Men’s Wear (formerly Blumenthal’s). Warner was also criticized for recruiting star athletes from reservations, something he adamantly denied. He countered that many of his best players had never seen a football before arriving at Carlisle.

Commissioner Sells dismissed Friedman and Stauffer, bringing charges against Friedman for theft of funds. Oscar Lipps was brought in as acting superintendent. During his trial, Friedman claimed it was Chief Clerk Siceni J. Nori who embezzled the money and destroyed the records. State charges against Friedman were then dropped and moved to federal

court when it was learned that Nori needed the money to make support payments for his estranged wife and children. Friedman was acquitted, resigned, and took a job that paid \$3,000 a year. A cook was suspended for taking an Indian boy into a saloon and buying him liquor. That infraction was worth a fine and imprisonment for the cook. Pop Warner was allowed to stay on as athletic director.

A result of the Congressional Investigation was a change in the curriculum and stricter requirements for admission. A number of the faculty changed and many students did not return in the fall. The investigation brought out the fact that, although Angel DeCora and her husband, Lone Star Dietz, had not been teaching native arts for about two years due to curriculum changes, Superintendent Friedman had kept them on because he thought they were assets to the school. Dietz was teaching mechanical drawing but DeCora had no specific duties. The commission apparently agreed with Friedman and did not recommend their dismissal. Complaints of students loitering in the former Native Art Department led to the Leupp Art Building being reassigned to the new alumni association. Students would no longer make or decorate things to be sold by the school. Resale items were to be purchased in New York.

At the beginning of the 1914 football season, an article, probably written by Hugh Miller or E. L. Martin, titled, "Carlisle Indian Stars Are Teaching the Palefaces How to Play Football Game," was printed in newspapers around the country. Bemus Pierce, Albert Exendine, Frank Mt. Pleasant, Frank Cayou, William Gardner, Wilson Charles, William Garlow, Emil Hauser (better known as Wauseka), Pete Hauser, Charles Guyon (also known as Wahoo), Fritz Hendricks, Ed Smith, Antonio Lubo, Joseph Schoulder and Thomas St. Germain were or had been coaching football at colleges and high schools around the country. Jimmie Johnson, Gus Welch, Lone Star Dietz and several others had or were assisting in Carlisle by 1914.

After the great 1911–1913 run, things changed drastically football-wise in 1914 and not for the better. Pop Warner described the 5–9–1 1914 season as disastrous. Some excellent players, Gus Welch and Pete Calac for example, were back, but the team lacked the depth of talent it had enjoyed in former years. The season started off with the usual victories in three warm-up games, but the margins of victory were smaller than the previous year. The next four games were played against tougher opponents. All four were lost. In 1913, the Indians went 2–1–1 against the same four teams: Lehigh, Cornell, Pitt and Penn. Next they were pummeled by Syracuse, a team they had beaten the previous year, by a score of 24–3. They then played to a scoreless tie with Holy Cross, an opponent Carlisle defeated the only other time they played. The big game of the year was against the Fighting Irish of Notre Dame at White Sox Park in Chicago. Carlisle put up a good fight until Gus Welch was injured making a tackle. Notre Dame swamped Warner's charges 48–6 in the only time the teams from the two legendary programs met.

Carlisle easily handled cross-town rival Dickinson College 34–0 without Gus Welch, who stayed behind in Chicago's Mercy Hospital, but the annual Thanksgiving opponent, Brown, was a tougher match. Carlisle outplayed and outgained the Bears 3 to 1 but fumbled away a 20–14 loss. Three post-season games were arranged this year. The first was a charity game for the Children's Charitable Hospital of Marblehead, Massachusetts just two days after the Brown game. The opposition was an all-star team composed primarily of former Harvard players. The All-Stars prevailed 13–6. A week later, the Indians were in Birmingham, Alabama where they beat the University of Alabama 20–3. *The Carlisle Arrow* mentioned that a third postseason game, a game against the University of Georgia, was to be played in Atlanta the following Wednesday but did not report on the game. However, contemporary newspaper accounts show that Carlisle played Auburn in Atlanta and lost

7–0. This game has not been forgotten by the Auburn faithful because it figures prominently in their folklore regarding the origins of the “War Eagle” battle cry. Auburn supporters recalled the game this way:

The 1914 contest with the Carlisle Indians provides another story. The toughest player on the Indians’ team was a tackle named Bald Eagle. Trying to tire the big man, Auburn began to run play after play at his position. Without even huddling, the Auburn quarterback would yell “Bald Eagle,” letting the rest of the team know that the play would be run at the imposing defensive man. Spectators, however, thought the quarterback was saying “War Eagle” and, in unison, they began to chant the resounding cry.

The only problem is that the Carlisle roster included neither a Bald Eagle nor a War Eagle. However, it did include a Hawk Eagle—the star right guard. Given that Hawk Eagle sounds more like War Eagle than does Bald Eagle and Hawk Eagle was a very good player, the essence of the story may well be true. It’s just the details that are muddled.

The National Archives’ file for Charles Guyon contains a footnote to the Carlisle-Auburn game. Apparently Wahoo underwrote that game and, due to Carlisle having an off season and a short time to effectively promote it, lost \$2,897.75. His lawyer requested that Oscar Lipps return half of the loss. Lipps blamed the season’s results on Carlisle having an “off” year and predicted that, after all accounts were finalized, Carlisle would show a small loss for the season. So, Guyon was out the money.

Even though the congressional investigator had wrested control of the athletic funds from Warner, many things continued to operate pretty much as they had. But now it was Superintendent Lipps sending chits to Blumenthal’s to pay for the players’ citizen clothing.

The Auburn game was the last one Pop Warner and Lone Star Dietz coached for Carlisle. After their game with the Indians, University of Pittsburgh officials began discussions with Pop Warner to head their football program. At season's end, with negotiations concluded, Warner was feted at a farewell banquet attended by former Carlisle lettermen and friends. The death of Carlisle football formally honored, all that remained was for the corpse to die.

The University of Pittsburgh offered Warner, and he accepted, a salary of \$4,500 which was very good money in 1915. However, one of the most ardent supporters of amateur athletics and outspoken critics of professionalism in sports, tenured Amos Alonzo Stagg, was paid \$6,000 by the University of Chicago in 1905, a full decade earlier. It is no wonder that Carlisle's 1907 thumping of Chicago was one of the victories Warner savored most.

Carlisle needed a new football coach. As soon as Warner's impending departure was made public, speculation ran rampant in newspapers across the country. First, Al Exendine was to take Warner's place if he could be released from his contract with Georgetown. Next it was Frank Mt. Pleasant, who chose the University of Buffalo instead. Pop's protégé, Lone Star Dietz, was an obvious choice, but he opted to leave the Indian Service and took his first head coaching job at Washington State College, establishing the Carlisle-Washington State connection. Gus Welch was at least one writer's choice if Dietz wasn't available. Several former players, including Charles Guyon, Bemus Pierce, Frank Hudson and Frank Cayou, applied for the job. But none of the Carlisle stars was chosen or would accept the job, probably the latter in most cases. In March, newspapers reported that well-known Indian lawyer and former Texas A & M quarterback, Victor M. "Choctaw" Kelley (often spelled Kelly) had been selected for the job. Before leaving for Pullman, Dietz predicted that Kelley would not be successful as the new Carlisle head coach. Gus Welch later

charged that Kelley's hiring had been a political decision. The fact that Kelley's appointment was made by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Cato Sells, supports Welch's contention.

Leaving his former job at Southeastern State Normal School in Durant, Oklahoma, Coach Kelley arrived in late August to take the reins of the Carlisle football team. Gus Welch, who had had a successful year of coaching at Conway Hall, a preparatory school in Carlisle, agreed to assist Kelley with the varsity. Although stars like Welch were gone, the season started encouragingly enough with a 21-6 defeat of Albright College. But the scoreless tie the next week with Lebanon Valley College, a team that had not scored on them in their 14 meetings, threw cold water on Carlisle's dreams of mediocrity. The following week at Lehigh the competition improved, and Carlisle doomed its fate by making errors, losing 14-0. Rousing speeches by "Choc" Kelley and former Carlisle great Al Exendine may have boosted the Indians' performance against Harvard but mistakes, such as penalties, destined their defeat, even though they outgained the Crimson 275 yards to 175. Harvard prevailed 29-7.

Next up was Pop Warner's new and undefeated team, the University of Pittsburgh. Pittsburgh, considered by some to be the best team in the country, pounded Carlisle to the tune of 45-0, their worst defeat of the year. The next week neither team played well when the Carlisle-Bucknell contest ended in a scoreless tie, Carlisle's second of the year. Unable to move the ball inside the opponent's 20 or defend the forward pass, Carlisle lost to a West Virginia Wesleyan team that it had hoped to beat. A week later, looking like the Carlisle of old, the Indians scored 23 points in the first half, but the breaks went Holy Cross's way in the second half. Carlisle had to hang on for a 2-point victory. Dickinson College was ready for the Indians this year and fought hard to the end. But the Indians fought back and pulled out a 20-14 triumph on Dickinson's

home field. Two Carlisle fumbles spelled defeat in their 14-10 loss to Fordham. A fumbled punt on Fordham's 15 was returned 85 yards for a touchdown, and a fumble at Fordham's 3 near the end of the game sealed the Indians' fate. Last up on the schedule was the annual Thanksgiving game in Providence, Rhode Island against Brown.

What happened off the field was, perhaps, more interesting than what happened in the 39-3 shellacking at the hands of a strong Brown team featuring Fritz Pollard. One of Lone Star Dietz's friends at Carlisle informed him that, to get back at Dietz for the statement he had made about Victor Kelley, Kelley had given a copy of Carlisle's playbook to Brown. Brown had been invited to Pasadena, California to play an East vs. West game on New Year's Day against Dietz's team after the town's little floral parade was over. An editorial in *The Providence Journal* considered the statement to be absurd, saying that Brown coach Robinson had played Carlisle so often that he



*The Providence Journal* 11-28-1915

knew their plays better than Kelley and needed no assistance from him. Besides that, it asserted, when Brown played Carlisle it thought it was going to be playing against the University of Washington, not Washington State. Someone in Providence had confused the schools.

The Thanksgiving game was such a resounding defeat for Carlisle that *The Providence Journal* ran a cartoon depicting the then current state of Carlisle's program as having seen better days. A week later *The Journal* ran two articles about Carlisle on the same page. In one article, Gus Welch blamed Victor Kelley for the poor season, saying, "There was a meeting three weeks before Thanksgiving at which Superintendent Lipps, Manager Meyer, Kelley, Capt. Calac and myself were present. It was decided then that Kelley was to be dismissed as head coach. Now they want to make me the goat of the whole affair. I want the public to know the facts." This chaos was a far cry from Carlisle during its glory years. The other article reported a decision made in Washington, DC that would subordinate football at Carlisle to the point at which the team would not be competitive.

Rumors circulated in newspapers across the country that intercollegiate football at Carlisle was to end. Carlisle's team was not disbanded but came close. The 1916 schedule wasn't in place until late October because football wasn't allowed on campus for a month. When the schedule finally came out, it had only five games on it and those were not with top caliber teams. Physical education instructor M. L. Clevett took over the coaching duties. The first game was against Conway Hall with the Indians winning 26-0. Susquehanna University, a team for whom 24-0 was the closest they could get in eight previous tries, was the next opponent. The 12-0 loss to Susquehanna was a blow to the Indians' ego because they knew they had lost to a weak team. Carlisle then traveled to Conshohocken to play their Athletic Association. Tied at 6-6, Coach Clevett withdrew his team at halftime due to the brutal

treatment his team was receiving. Clevett was thrown into jail for refusing to return half the guarantee money. Eventually the money was returned and Clevett was released, but the game was never finished. Two weeks later former Carlislians Joel Wheelock and William Winneshiek helped Lebanon Valley College defeat the dejected Indians 20–6 for the Dutchmen’s first victory in the long series. Carlisle closed the 1–3–1 season with a 27–17 loss to Alfred University in New York City.

Leo F. “Deed” Harris, Carlisle High School alum and former Warner scout, took the coaching reins for the 1917 season. He tried to prepare the team for a nine-game schedule similar to those Carlisle was accustomed to playing. Unfortunately, Carlisle’s players were young and small. Also, a quarantine to prevent the spread of an epidemic on the school’s grounds forced the team to relocate to one of the school’s farms for much of the season, preventing organized practice. Carlisle started the season like Carlisle of old with 59–0 and 63–0 shellackings of Albright and Franklin and Marshall, respectively. Things went downhill quickly with seven successive losses, including the worst defeat in Carlisle’s proud history at the hands of Joe Guyon’s then current team, Georgia Tech, in Atlanta, 98–0. Their last game both of the season and ever was a 26–0 loss to Penn, bringing the in-state rivalry and Carlisle Indian School football to a close.

When the United States entered the First World War in 1917, allowing or encouraging students to enlist became a topic of discussion among school superintendents. Hervey B. Peairs of Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas and John Francis of Carlisle discussed the ways they were dealing with the issue in their correspondence in April, 1917 concerning Gus Welch’s application for the athletic director position at Haskell. Peairs began the discussion with a question:

What policy are you adopting with reference to the enlistment of boys in the army? There is quite a demand

here among the boys to be allowed to enlist, but at least 50% of the parents object. Probably about 50% are very willing to have their sons enlist and do their part. I have felt that I ought not to allow any of the boys or young men to leave the school and enlist in the army without the consent of the parents, even though the boys are of the age when they can lawfully enlist without such consent.

Francis responded:

With reference to the enlistment of boys here that are over 21, I have permitted them to go without the consent of the parents; under that age I required them to obtain the consent of their parents. I have also tried to avoid anything like a wave of wild excitement sweeping through the school, but on the other hand I have let them understand that where, after careful consideration, they felt they wished to enlist in the Army or Navy the school was proud to have them go and would do everything possible to help them go, and those of our boys who have enlisted have gone in this spirit.

Several former Carlisle football players were quick to join up. *The Carlisle Arrow* and *Red Man* issues of that time contained lists of former students and, if known, where they were stationed. Those who had attended college after leaving Carlisle were often commissioned as officers. Because of their athletic prowess, some were given the opportunity to represent their units in athletic competitions. *The Carlisle Arrow* and *Red Man* also included a former student's recollection of being treated as an oddity:

An Indian officer writes: "In the army one has splendid opportunities to make acquaintances, and being the only Redskin officer in camp, people want to meet me just for curiosity's sake."

The U.S. Army prevented further embarrassment to the once-proud school by taking the facility back to be used as a hospital to treat soldiers wounded in World War I. The mantle for Indian athletics was passed to Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, where football again flourished before Depression-era government funding cuts ended the Indian football trail of glory forever. In 1920, after the war was over, Society of American Indians passed a resolution demanding that the government reopen Carlisle or that another, comparable facility be established. Carlisle Barracks was instead used for the Medical Field Service School.

In 1931, Pop Warner planned a reunion of Carlisle Indian School football players at the 1932 Summer Olympics held in Los Angeles. He wanted to have a scrimmage with former stars, but it was necessary for Jim Thorpe and other Carlisle luminaries to attend for it to be successful. Jim Thorpe, then strapped for cash, did attend the Olympics courtesy of Vice-President Charles Curtis and was seated in the Presidential box. He received a standing ovation from the 105,000 present for the opening ceremonies in the Los Angeles Coliseum when his name was announced. The Federation of American Indians also proposed that a reunion of former Carlisle students be held, presumably in Carlisle. It is not known if either of those reunions materialized, but the one proposed by former player Isaac Lyon did, at the New York State Fair in Syracuse in 1941. Pop Warner attended, along with a large number of former students. Attendance at the fair jumped largely due to interest in seeing the Carlisle Indians.

In early 1937, a newspaper article datelined Philadelphia discussed the unusual accents of many former Carlisle students:

American Indians with a Pennsylvania Dutch dialect may confuse visitors to western reservations, but William “Lone Star” Dietz, assistant coach of the Temple University football team, can explain it. . . . “For years

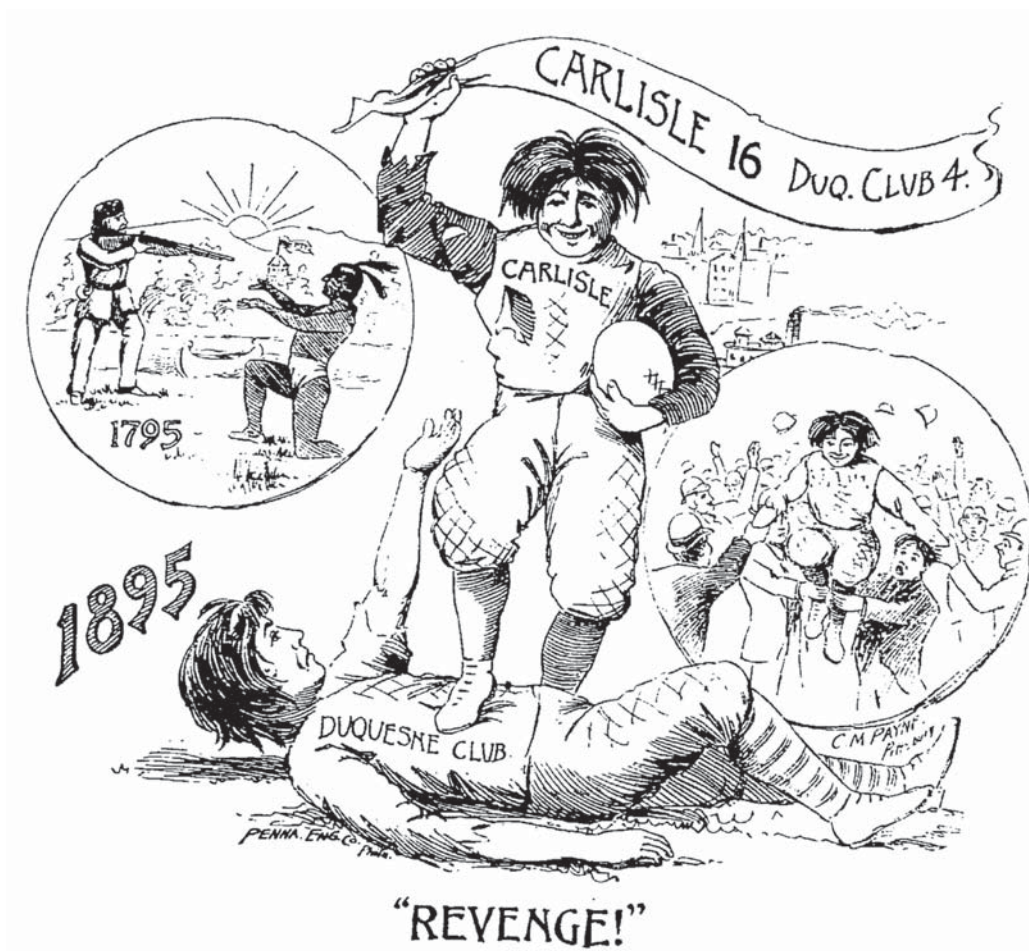
hundreds of Indian boys and girls were brought from the reservations to Carlisle, and after they had become oriented to the institutional surroundings, they were sent to farms in Dauphin, Lancaster, Lebanon and other predominantly Dutch counties. There they were reared with the farmers' children, went to their schools and learned the topsy-turvey Pennsylvania Dutch dialect. They naturally acquired the accent and never lost it."

Thorpe and Warner died in the 1950s and were soon followed by many others. The last of the great football players died in the 1970s. The last surviving Carlisle student died a few years ago, but memories of the school linger on.

In 1910, Superintendent Friedman mailed a questionnaire to former football players no longer at Carlisle, as Pratt and Mercer had done before him, apparently to refute the widely held belief that athletes "never amount to much after leaving school" was a myth. Who received the questionnaires is unknown as is who returned them. What is known is some players returned them, and some of these responses still exist in student files. The results found comprise no scientific study but do represent the thinking of some individuals. Charles Guyon responded, "I owe my success to the training I have received in the two schools I have attended, and to make it short—I am working for something higher—to the highest goal." Caleb Sickles frankly stated, "From my own experience I think that the pupil who has attended Carlisle should never go back to the reservation to live. If he has holdings I would advise him to sell them, put the money in the bank and seek employment or attend a school and obtain a professional or technical education." Ed Rogers answered, "What little degree of success I have attained I attribute entirely to my early training at Carlisle" and offered, "I might add although the subject is not mentioned nor no opinion is requested that to abolish non-reservation schools

is a mistake and would be a serious detriment to the progress and welfare of the future young Indians.”

The next chapter discusses what several of the players did immediately after or, in a few cases, while attending Carlisle. Carlisle Indians played significant roles in the development of the early professional game. This book tells their stories along with numerous others.



Celebrating an early Carlisle victory; *Pennsylvania Engraving Company*