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Indians in the Archives:

A History of Native Americans, Pakachoag Hill, and Holy Cross, 1674-1973

Jack Hynick '22 (2022 Edward F. Wall, Jr. Prize recipient)

I. Introduction

Native people are conspicuously absent from the official and popular history of the College of the Holy Cross. Though the institution was founded on the site of a Nipmuc village, Father Anthony Kuzinewski's 1999 authorized history of the College, *Thy Honored Name*, makes no mention of their long presence on Pakachoag Hill. In fact, the Indigenous inhabitants of Worcester are not even afforded a passing mention anywhere in the four-hundred-page tome. Father Kuzinewski's microhistory of the College falls within a storied tradition of New England antiquarians writing Native people out of the region's past and present.¹ In contrast to recent cohorts of students and faculty members, earlier generations were well aware of the history of the Nipmucs on Pakachoag Hill. As the United States entered into the Second World War, however, the student body collectively became increasingly disinterested in the issues facing Native America and actively participated in the erasure of the Nipmucs from the history of the land.

Indigenous people and their communities have been expunged from the history of the College, but glimpses of their experiences at Holy Cross are visible within the archival records. The College-sanctioned mythology of Holy Cross not only ignores the Nipmucs, but nearly every other Indigenous person to ever step foot on Pakachoag Hill. The only Native person identified in *Thy Honored Name* is the celebrated Penobscot baseball player Louis Sockalexis.² Extant records from the Holy Cross archives, the American Antiquarian Society, and digitized reports from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts are filled with references to Native people at Holy Cross and the surrounding Worcester area. These sources indicate that Holy Cross students, for at least the first one hundred years of the institution's history, were fascinated by "the hill's" connection to Native people—though they showed a strong attachment to apocryphal tales. The handful of Indigenous students and visitors to the College, on the other hand, had a far more complicated, antagonistic relationship with the campus community than has previously been acknowledged.

Faculty, staff, students, and alumni participated in nearly every phase of the settler colonial project.³ Beyond the limits of Pakachoag Hill, members of the College community played a guiding role in government- and Church-administered Indian policy, from American expansionism through the boarding school era. Like many of their contemporaries, students from the late nineteenth century onward liberally deployed Native imagery to sanctify the "noble" qualities of Indigenous people they sought to imprint on their peers. Across the decades, however, Holy Cross students enjoyed "playing Indian" and perpetuating the myths of the "vanishing Indian." Both of these processes allowed students

to assert their own indigeneity over Pakachoag Hill; to supplant the story of the Nipmucs they were endeavoring to efface. Native people have always been present on Pakachoag Hill, but their experiences have often been overlooked in favor of more comfortable narratives. By addressing the history of the land, the experiences of Native people on Pakachoag Hill, the roles played by Holy Cross community members in settler colonialism, and the use of Native imagery, this paper hopes to correct a blinding omission in the story of the College.

II. "A Village of One Hundred Souls"

The first glimpses of Pakachoag Hill, where the river bends, record a community in the midst of great social upheaval. English colonists had begun, through the intertwined forces of the church and state, to impose their systems of government and religion on the local community of Nipmucs. In the seventeenth century, on the exact plot of land the College was later built on, there was a Nipmuc village composed of "one hundred souls." The earliest written records of life in the village come from Major Daniel Gookin who joined Reverend John Eliot on his visit to the Nipmuc Country. Upon arriving on Pakachoag Hill, on September 17, 1674, the Englishmen "repaired to the Sagamore's house, called John [Horowannint]..., who kindly entertained us" and were "courteously welcomed" by the other leading figure of the village, Wooanakochu. Eliot had previously appointed James Speen, a Nipmuc from Natick, to act as minister to the Indigenous people of Pakachoag Hill. During Eliot and Gookin's stay on the "Hill of Pleasant Springs," they appointed the town officers, with the consent and assistance of "Wattacompanum, ruler of the Nipmuck Indians."⁴ With the onset of King Philip's War, the relatively peaceful relationship between the Pakachoag Nipmucs and the English settlers would irrevocably change. The colonist's rapacious lust for land would, indeed, extend to the heart of the Nipmuc Country—to Pakachoag Hill.

Under the looming threat of Anglo encroachment, Native communities, including many Nipmucs, joined forces with Metacom to repel the English settlers—precipitating the seizure of the Nipmuc Country. The people of Pakachoag's decision to side against the English enraged their colonial interlocutors. Major Gookin, who had written sympathetic entries regarding the Nipmucs in his journal, chastised the English forces for "attack[ing] only the villages of the praying converts, while Pakachoag, where there was abundance of corn, was left untouched." Indeed, Captain Gorham and his troops were under orders to commit total war, "to destroy the planting fields and burn the wigwams of the Indians, to deprive them of shelter and food during the winter."⁵ As the colonial troops marched onto Pakachoag Hill from Hassanamiset, the Nipmucs—having recently gathered around one hundred bushels of corn—"in all probability.... hid in thick swamps and other secret places." After spending the evening in the deserted Nipmuc wigwams, the procession of English forces tramped back to Hassanamesit. Captain Henschman, having misplaced his letter case, "sent back two Englishmen, and the Indian Thomas on horseback, to see at the wigwam where he lodged." Once these three men

reached Pakachoag Hill, they noticed "two Indian enemies, standing at the wigwam door, newly come out, and four more, sitting at the fire, in the house," the Nipmucs had returned to their village.⁶ Despite the English invasion of their homeland, the Nipmucs remained firmly entrenched on Pakachoag Hill for years to come.

The events of the "First Indian War" precipitated the violent consignment of the Indigenous inhabitants of Pakachoag to the reservation at Hassanamesit. The Nipmucs under Sagamore John, in the words of the American Antiquarian Society's former librarian William Lincoln, "had been induced by the wily King Philip to join with his men in the war against the white settlers." After surrendering to the English forces, Horowannint expressed regret for siding with the Wampanoag leader in his campaign against Anglo encroachment. To show his newfound loyalty for his English captors, John executed his fellow countryman, Mattoonus, another resident of Pakachoag Hill by having him "tied to a tree on Boston Common..., shot by his countrymen, his head cut off and placed upon a pole opposite to that of his son." In short order, of the one hundred and sixty people who joined him in Boston, the Pakachoag sagamore and nineteen of his compatriots escaped into the woods outside of Cambridge. At least eleven other of Horowannint's Native kinsmen were killed by the colonial forces, "thirty were sold as slaves under the milder term of putting out to service, and the residue of the captives were confined to Deer Island, where many died by famine and exposure without suitable food or shelter from cold."⁷ Preceding the collapse of Metacom's resistance, the colonial government "directed that all Indians desirous of proving their fidelity should repair to Natick, Punkapaug, Wamesit, Nashoba, and Hassanamesit." Those who acceded to the colonial government's demand were additionally required to live within a one-mile radius of the town center, afforded limited mobility, and their financial affairs were eventually managed by state-appointed guardians.⁸

Although the Nipmucs were officially removed from Worcester to Hassanamesit (modern day Grafton, Massachusetts) at the conclusion of King Philip's War in 1676, Nipmucs continued to live on Pakachoag Hill and in the surrounding community. The second white settler to reside in Worcester, the brother of Jonas Rice, "drove his stakes and preempted on Packachoag [*sic*], a little in rear of the College of the Holy Cross."⁹ Despite the presence of settlers on the hill, Samuel Bowman, a Nipmuc from the praying town of Natick, moved to Pakachoag in the early years of the eighteenth century and resided on the hill until his death in 1749.¹⁰ In the early years of Holy Cross, in the brief window where it was a seminary rather than a college, students acknowledged the presence of Native people on Pakachoag Hill. John T. O'Brien, the "oldest alumnus of Mt. St. James" alive in 1905, recalled "each spring, prior to the cattle show at Worcester, a large delegation of Indians would camp outside the playground of the seminary."¹¹ The first generation of community members at Holy Cross were powerfully aware of the Indigenous history of Pakachoag Hill, at the end of a series of letters between Samuel Lilly and his brother, it was recorded that the young seminarian resided "down East at

Packachoag [*sic*], the hill of pleasant springs, famous in olden times as the residence of the Nipmuc Indians, whose character is represented to have been more gentle than savage."¹² Beyond the immediate vicinity of Holy Cross, the Nipmucs maintained a small, if still visible, presence in the Worcester community.

Contrary to the common framing of King Philip's War as the watershed moment in Native New England history, the conflict did not signal the complete and irrevocable evacuation of Nipmucs from the city of Worcester. Nearly two centuries after the colonial government ordered the residents of Pakachoag to leave the city and journey to Hassanamesit, the Commonwealth's Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Milton Earle, recorded the names of roughly fifty Nipmucs living in the heart of the commonwealth. These Nipmucs, living in the city on the cusp of the Civil War, were employed in jobs from "laborers" and "shoemakers," to "barbers," "locomotive fireman," and "plumbers."¹³ Earle's report, given its stringent, limiting criteria—by all modern scholarly accounts—severely undercounted the number of Indigenous people living in the city. Longtime residents of Worcester including the Gimbee family, for example, were not recorded by Earle's census. Despite the questionable methodology employed by the Commonwealth, the enumeration of Natives in Massachusetts disproved the "discourse of disappearance" articulated by nineteenth century New Englanders.¹⁴

III. Being Native at Holy Cross

The documentary record Native students left behind of their experiences on Pakachoag Hill are sparse, but scattered reminiscence, newspaper accounts, and yearbook descriptions offer passing windows into the lives of Native undergraduates and other Indigenous visitors to Holy Cross. Though turn-of-the-century Native students were hailed for their athleticism by their classmates, and apotheosized by subsequent generations of Holy Cross students, their daily lives on the "Hill of Pleasant Springs" were haunted by the caricatures of Indigenous held by their white schoolmates. The College's aptly named student newspaper, *The Tomahawk*, occasionally recorded the activities of Native visitors to campus who entertained the student body, met with kinsmen, and instructed the primarily white, middle-class members of the college community about daily life in Indian Country. Read separately, none of these stories fully capture the experiences of Native people at Holy Cross. Together, these temporally and tribally distinct individuals sketch a more complete image of indigeneity on the hostile territory of Mount St. James.

In the postwar haze of 1950s America, as Holy Cross students began to write Native people out of the history of Holy Cross, one Penobscot man continued to earn the adulation of the "greatest generation" of Crusaders—Louis Sockalexis. Before "Sock's" short lived professional career began in Major League Baseball, he attended Holy Cross' preparatory school and competed, with unparalleled success, on the college's baseball team in the mid-1890s. Sockalexis's anonymous mid-century chronicler claimed that the Penobscot athlete "was friendly and cheerful, quick to make friends, and ever popular

among his younger classmates." Even though he was identifiable distinct from the otherwise monochromatically white student body, according to this hagiographic portrayal, "he was the idol here from the first moment of his much heralded arrival" at Holy Cross. In this students' view, Sockalexix, with his "light skin... embod[ying] all of the finest characteristics of his race," was a strong contender for the title of the "greatest Crusader."¹⁵

The halcyon days of Sockalexix's collegiate years—evoked by a student in the college's literary magazine—deliberately included flattering depiction of white students, who graciously welcomed their Penobscot classmate onto Mount St. James. This unfounded tale of Sockalexix's spell on Pakachoag Hill, presents an incomplete, if decidedly warped view of the famous Holy Cross alumni's time at the college. Three decades earlier, Edward Dineen recorded an irreconcilably different story about the Penobscot baseball players' first night on campus. Instead of being welcomed by throngs of well-wishers, he was met with a "blood-curdling rumor." Among his new classmates the "advent of a full-blooded Indian on Mt. St. James" portended only one thing, a "scalping would soon be in order." To ward against Sockalexix's supposedly violent urges, "when "Sock" arrived at the "dorm" the first night, towels were conspicuously adorning the noble brows of every occupant of the room." As the hours ticked by, these newly-minted Crusaders realized that Sockalexix had no intention of committing depredations against them and eventually removed their towels. Although the Penobscot baseballer successfully convinced his fellow students that he meant them no bodily harm, they persistently tormented him. Later in that first week, "an enterprising jokester," goaded Sockalexix into kicking a silk hat. Hidden inside the unassuming headpiece was a large rock. Upon impact, Sockalexix broke a toe, which forced him to "emi[t] a few war whoops... and ma[k]e the acquaintance of the infirmary."¹⁶

Besides Sockalexix's unceremonious introduction to Holy Cross, the experiences of other Native students on Pakachoag Hill can be gleaned indirectly from entries in the College's yearbook, *The Purple Patcher*. Aloysius L. Scheid (likely Seneca) from Rochester, New York was the first identifiably Native student to appear in the Holy Cross yearbook from the class of 1910. Under the list of nicknames provided by his classmates, Scheid was simply referred to by the sobriquet, "Indian." Though he had experienced a bit of difficulty securing a roommate during his final year at the college, the *Patcher's* editors noted that "during Junior [year] he was one of our social lions," in Worcester, he "could never go down town without being accosted by the familiar salutation, "Sa, la, Mr. Scheid."" "Al's" winning personality failed to insulate him from the inescapable stereotypes of Native people that permeated American society and Holy Cross. Beneath the glowing stories of Scheid time on Mount St. James, however, the editorial board approved a caricature of the Seneca student playing football. In this crude rendering, Scheid, or more accurately a stand-in drawing of any Native man, is depicted with a disproportionately large head, wearing face paint, and lunging to the ground with the football in hand.¹⁷

Native visitors to Holy Cross throughout the twentieth century—whether directionless travelers, paid performers, or political activists—were subjected to the student body's patronizing assumptions of Indian people. In the spring of 1927, "a large crowd greeted "Chief Buffalo". . . in Fenwick Hall." The "full-blooded Cherokee," played Indian for the Crusaders. Attired in "full Indian regalia," he mimicked several animal calls—including the audience's favorite, the coyote. Shortly thereafter, with tomahawk in hand, he performed a "war dance" for his crowd of onlookers.¹⁸ Although the Cherokee entertainer is the only discernible Native figure who publicly performed for a profit at Holy Cross, other Indigenous people encountered the infantilizing, degrading preconceptions of indigeneity espoused by both Holy Cross students and members of the faculty.

Amidst the reformist zeal of Indian Reorganization and the broader New Deal, Holy Cross students still expressed an irrepressibly condescending image of Native people on and off campus.¹⁹ Days before Thanksgiving in 1936, Hilly Renz and Lou Tuillio stumbled across a "dark-skinned individual with high-cheek bones" on the first floor of Alumni Hall," who..., introduced himself as "Frank Nelson." "Nelson, a Penobscot, stopped over at the College to visit one of his kinsmen, "Chief Mitchell"—a since disenrolled student. The Penobscot traveler regaled his attentive audience of Sophomores with tales of hitchhiking across the continental United States and informed them of his ambition to return to college and become a journalist for the *New York Times*. These students could not resist their impulse to parody their guest, however. By the end of the evening, "the corridor prefect experienced the wildest night of his career.... A long, wild and raucous Indian dance headed by Hilly Renz a-hootin' and a-howlin' ended when Hilly charged headlong down the corridor to pull up short in front of [the] aforementioned prefect with the greeting, "Hail, blackrobe. Have you seen the Indian?"²⁰ Future generations of Indigenous people endured less oblique, but still damaging, forms of discrimination while visiting Pakachoag Hill.

The early 1970s are defined, in large part, by the rise of Red Power and the militarism of the American Indian Movement (AIM).²¹ Holy Cross students, on the other hand, consumed by the anti-war effort, student strikes, and their studies, lacked any working knowledge of contemporary life in Indian Country. At precisely the same moment as AIM demonstrators occupied Wounded Knee in the winter of 1973, the White Roots of Peace, a Haudenosaunee political education and activism group, visited the College. Indeed, these Mohawk activists traveled to Holy Cross and its peer institutions because "they are the intellectual houses of knowledge." The White Roots of Peace sought to educate their overwhelmingly white audience about Indian people because "from the universities come the future presidents, senators and congressmen." In other words, Holy Cross students would shape policies which would directly affect the lives of millions of Indigenous people, despite the fact that many at the College had never interacted with a Native person.²² Though Holy Cross students lost interest in their history with Native people by the Second World War, and the Nipmuc's presence on Pakachoag Hill was erased from the public memory, the White Roots of Peace confronted the

Crusaders indirectly with their own sordid history.²³

Holy Cross students had a pattern of disrespecting Natives when they attended or visited the college, but the White Roots of Peace refused to play into or look past their outmoded stereotypes of Indigenous people. Before the Haudenosaunee activists ascended Mount St. James, Tom Meriam, a college administrator, encouraged the students to attend their lecture as "one of the best educational experiences anyone can get in their four years of school here." The editors of the paper and the event organizers warned the students to treat their visitors with the respect their forebears had not afforded figures like Chief Buffalo and Frank Nelson. Despite the militarism gripping the campus in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the *Crusader's* editors still warned the students that "the group has always refused to dance and sing for entertainment purposes." The Mohawk elders and their young interpreters participated in this campus-wide event without any intention of entertaining their audience by performing the tropes of Indianness that were expected of them. Instead, they made the trek from Upstate New York to the "Heart of the Commonwealth" to discuss "Indian-non-Indian relationships, treaties and land problems, personal experiences, education, government and missionaries."²⁴ Tom Porter, one of the Haudenosaunee speakers, condemned the effects of missionary activities, including Roman Catholic proselytizing, on his community. Moreover, he jokingly disparaged the hubris of missionaries, many of whom attended Holy Cross, once quipping that he was "waiting for the anthropologist to go into the jungle and teach the monkey how to climb a tree. This is the same as trying to teach an Indian how to pray."²⁵ Inadvertently, these advocates struck at the very heart of Holy Cross' long history with Indigenous communities and Native representation on campus.

IV. "The Distinguished Alumni," Faculty, Staff, and Students of Holy Cross

The College's influence over Indigenous people and their communities extended beyond Pakachoag Hill. Members of the faculty, students, and alumni acted as agents of federal Indian policy, participated in the "Indian Wars," indulged in hobbyism, evangelized on reservations, and financed missionary work. All roads running through Indian Country eventually returned to Holy Cross. Whether indirectly through the work of former students or with the direct financial backing of members of the college community, Holy Cross was implicated in nearly every issue touching Native people from the mid-nineteenth century to the present day. Students at the College publicly promoted any number of policies which contributed to the attempted genocide of Native cultures, and at every level, the College encouraged members of its community to dehumanize Indigenous people.

Each generation of Holy Cross alumni have been intimately involved in the American settler colonial project. Several graduates from the first generation of Holy Cross students ascended to prominent positions within the federal Indian bureaucracy as officers in the "Indian Wars" and administrators of Native life within the Office of Indian Affairs. Two such figures who attended the College in the 1850s, Frank Crawford Armstrong and Michael Healy, acted as violent agents of

American expansionism and subsequently served as emissaries of Indian assimilation. Shortly after graduating from the College in 1855, Armstrong "was recommended for an appointment in the army for bravery he displayed in an encounter with the Indians in Texas."²⁶ Michael Healy, on the other hand, commanded the revenue cutter *Corwin* off the coast of the Alaskan Territory when he oversaw the Angoon Bombardment. In response to the kidnapping of two white whalers, Michael Healy proudly relayed to the Treasury Secretary that his men had "taken and destroyed" the Tlingit's "canoes, to the number of forty....as a punishment and as a guarantee for future good behavior." The soldiers under his men burned the Native's "summer camp.... After shelling the village[,] the marines were landed under the cover of the guns, and they, setting fire to the houses, destroyed the entire village."²⁷

As the United States transitioned from outright warfare against Indigenous nations with the onset of the reservation period, government employees working on Indian affairs, including Holy Cross alumni, transitioned into new roles to support the government's allotment and assimilation programs. Discharged after the Confederate surrender at Appomattox, Armstrong left his military life behind in favor of a position in the Indian bureaucracy. He quickly ascended the rings of the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA). Under "Mr. Cleveland's first administration[,] he was made United States Indian Inspector," for the Indian Territory, where he "served for four years." After President Cleveland returned to the presidency in 1893, Armstrong, as "the best informed man on Indian matters in the public service," was elevated to the position of Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Armstrong grew tired of Washington and resigned his post on New Year's Day, 1895. Considering his long history with Native communities, however, he was

appointed to the Dawes Commission and personally oversaw the allotment of the "Five Civilized Tribes."²⁸ Besides serving in the OIA, Holy Cross alumni influenced federal Indian policy on the ground while serving in the American armed services.

Michael Healy, perched on the edge of the growing American empire, acted as the guiding hand of federal paternalism in Alaska. Like Indian Agents in the continental United States, Healy was tasked with restricting the flow of inebriating liquors to the Native Alaskans he patrolled. He did not fault his charges for their "demoniac" behavior, instead he noted that the "whiskey traffic" was overseen by white bootleggers for their personal enrichment. Despite his sympathetic description of Native Alaskans, Healy still acted as the foremost agent of the United States' "civilization program" for coastal Indigenous communities. On several occasions in his report to the secretary of the interior, Healy encountered the "still decaying bodies of these unfortunate Eskimos" which convinced him that Native Alaskans were dying due to frequent contact with white interlopers. From his perspective, as an individual deeply captivated by the logic of cultural assimilation, either "they will continue to decrease until they gradually become extinct..., or finally reach a stage where their constitutions become accustomed to civilization and increase again."²⁹

As religious and secular policymakers expanded the scope and reach of their assimilation efforts

in the 1920s, the Holy Cross student body, the administration, and members of the faculty developed intimate ties to the Catholic Church's network of Indian missions. Under the Dean of Discipline, Father John Wheeler, the College solicited donations from students each week to send to missions ranging from Jamaica, the Philippines, and Czecho-Slovakia to the Alaskan and Indian missions.³⁰In the "Mission Crusades's" first two years of fundraising, from 1925 to 1927, they collected \$1,149.00 for Native missionization and \$180.00 to proselytize to Indigenous Alaskans. Despite the high rates of Native poverty, particularly in the Northwest, some of the money sent to these missions were used, for example, for "purchasing [a] Chevrolet car for [a] Missionary in Montana." In the same article as this lavish expense is noted, the student journalist encourages his classmates to "send what you have discarded" to the Catholic missions, where "The orphan children of the Indian mission schools to the number of 6000 are in need" of basic supplies.³¹

While the student body financially supported missionary activities across Indian Country, alumni and members of the faculty served as the vanguard of Catholic assimilation policies by working in the infamous boarding schools. Students virulently praised the Catholic Church's involvement in Indian boarding schools as cost-effective, morally necessary, and more compassionate than government- or Protestant-administered schools. Daniel Quiggley of the class of 1910 celebrated the Church's accomplishments in the pages of the school's literary magazine, "in looking over the achievements of the past and the successes of the present, that the Jesuit, by virtue of result, by his earnest endeavors and experienced policy, has proven himself the most capable helper of the Indian."³² Other alumni were intimately involved in fostering a close connection between government-administered boarding schools and their local diocese. Bishop Conaty, class of 1869, oversaw the construction of "six new parishes... among the Indians of his jurisdiction," a substantial increase in the number of clergymen evangelizing to the Native peoples of California, and erected a chapel abutting the Sherman Institute.³³ Father Wheeler noted that the College received weekly letters of gratitude expressing their thanks for donations to the Church's missionary efforts, "many of the names attached to these letters," Wheeler stressed, "are those of former Jesuit professors who have taught at Holy Cross and who are now giving up their all for the sake of..., the Indian and the heathen of other countries."³⁴

Holy Cross faculty members and students who donated to Jesuit missions believed that boarding schools and Catholic evangelization brought the "generous gifts of civilization" to Native children. Two days before Thanksgiving, 1931, the editors of the *Tomahawk* recorded that Father Eisenman of the St. Paul's Indian Mission "expressed hearty thanks for money donated by Holy Cross men enabling him to rebuild his fire swept mission." He reminded members of the student body to continue to contribute to "his little Indians" because "money in the hands of these pious missionaries is like a tool in the hands of a skilled workman."³⁵ Father Fair, another member of the faculty and the "Reverend Moderator" of the Sodality, "read letters received from..., North and South Dakota, in which money, books and clothes were asked." Amidst the personal and economic strain of the depression,

members of the administration exhorted the student body "to be generous in their contributions... [to] the missions."³⁶ Several other Native boarding schools also received financial support from the College. Following the death of Father Joseph Wheeler, the former director of the College's Mission Crusade program, students raised \$40.80 to be sent to the Holy Rosary Mission on the Pine Ridge Reservation.³⁷

Shortly before taking a faculty position at Holy Cross, in the third year of the Great Depression, Father Henry Bean was tasked by the Jesuit Order with visiting Catholic missions in the Northwest, particularly the St. Ignatius Mission on the Flathead Reservation. Alongside his voluminous journal records, Father Bean also donated a photo album to the Holy Cross Archives featuring pictures from his time at the mission. Father Bean posed for a half-dozen photos with unidentified Salish families—juxtaposing their log cabins with tepees, horse drawn wagons with modern automobiles—and also preserved images of Indigenous dances in front of the mission church.³⁸ As an emissary of the Jesuits, he made a brief sojourn to the St. Joseph Boarding School on the Cheyenne River Reservation to "entertain the boys. About 25 of them, up to 14 years old. Many of them little orphan boys—some from families with troubled homes." He then praised the nuns for reading the young orphans bedtime stories, laying them to bed at a reasonable hour, and giving them a warm home.³⁹ Despite Reverend Bean's positive review of the missionary work being done in South Dakota, in recent years survivors of St. Joseph's—and several other Indian boarding schools partially funded by donations given by Holy Cross students—have accused their teachers of physical, emotional, and sexual abuse.⁴⁰

Besides subsidizing the Catholic boarding school system with significant financial contributions and training missionaries, members of the faculty participated in the "scientific" exploitation of Indigenous bodies. In the fall of 1939, "a distinguished alumnus of Holy Cross" donated two "rare shrunken heads from Ecuador" to Father Busam in the Biology department. The heads, which the journalist noted were from the bodies of "the Jivaro Indians.... from a region on the eastern side of the Andes," were "actual human skulls and human heads reduced from the normal size to the size of a duck's egg." Without any consideration of the efficacy of acquiring human remains, the College "gratefully accept[ed] these museum pieces" and lauded the high prices they would fetch on the open market.⁴¹ The heads of these two children did not quickly leave the grounds of the College, however. Nine years later, Mike Masterpool proclaimed "'Father Busam has two heads" sitting around the biology lab. The student then gave his readership the "recipe" to create shrunken, severed heads of their own. In nauseating detail, he described cutting an incision in the skull, peeling back the skin, boiling the head in a vat of water, and finally filling it with sand.⁴² Members of the Holy Cross community, from the foundation of the College to the mid-twentieth century, participated in nearly every phase of the American settler colonial project—to kill Indigenous people, expropriate their land, assimilate their children, and desecrate their bodies.

V. "Let 'em vanish"

Representations of indigeneity, a near constant presence in Holy Cross's history, evoked the highest ideals of the College while simultaneously acting as foils to the student body. Various student-run publications, including the *Purple, Purple Patcher*, and *Tomahawk*, employed imagery of Indigenous people to represent Holy Cross students from the turn of the late-nineteenth through the mid-twentieth centuries. Across this same time frame, published records from the College press were saturated with instances of students "playing Indian" or participating in "Native-themed" events. As the College slowly discarded the vestiges of its Native persona, students increasingly described themselves in opposition to their nameless Indian foes. Violent imagery linked to Indigenous depredations, alongside myths of the vanishing, drunk, timeless Natives are ubiquitous across the extant records of the College Archives. These images of indigeneity, whether caricatures drawn in the newspaper, students donning headdresses and war paint, or through turgid poetry, reinforced the most harmful genre of stereotypes that pervaded the public discourse surrounding Native people.

In the 1920s the College's fascination with Indigenous people reached new heights, and members of the student body intertwined their ideals of Natives with their image of the campus community. In the middle years of the decade, the editors of the *Purple Patcher*—the student yearbook—prominently displayed Indians in consecutive frontispieces. The 1923 edition of the yearbook featured four successive paintings of an anonymous, tribally ambiguous Native man. The first three illustrations depict the central figure going about his precontact day, he is shown riding a stallion, sitting around a campfire, and emerging from a forest bordering a small lake. In the final painting, he lays at the edge of the forest, his slings and arrows resting on the ground, and looks wistfully out at the mountains and streams in the distance. At the edge of the brook, however, a small cabin with smoke billowing out of its chimney is visible. The artist, Michael J. O'Laughlin from the class of 1924, intended for the settler's home to signify the passing of the Native man's dominion and his displacement by white encroachment. In an accompanying poem, another student explicitly linked O'Laughlin's sketches to the myth of the vanishing Indian and likened the graduation of Holy Cross seniors to the supposed disappearance of Native people. Like the Indigenous characters in O'Laughlin's paintings, Holy Cross students on Pakachoag Hill "spent... the hours of [their] freedom." From the student's perspective, Native people had vanished from the terrain of New England; in his view, they remained mired in the past, only to be recalled as distant memories. Soon, both Holy Cross students and the Nipmucs would only have distant recollections of their times on Pakachoag Hill, the yearbook, therefore, preserved "a few of the memories/ Gathered in priceless store..., With the love of Old Twenty-Four."⁴³

Indigenous people, especially in the College yearbook, were analogized to Holy Cross students—given their shared, inevitable disappearance from Pakachoag Hill—but also as the antithesis of the ideal Crusader. For the remainder of the decade, imagery of Natives was a constant

presence in the student-administered publications. In the 1925 edition of the *Purple Patcher* the class poet described the life of a former inhabitant of Pakachoag Hill: a "great chief who was withered grey with age" who "in his youth... had been a great warrior of the Nipmuc tribe and now in his grey years he had come back to the smoke of his tepee to live with his memories." Though this student believed that "the day of the wigwam [had] past, the smoke of huddled tepees [were] no more," Holy Cross students shared a similar fate to this vanishing Indian. Before long, their "college years, the happiest of life" would be but a memory, like that of the aged Nipmuc warrior.⁴⁴ Native figures appear as the frontispiece or as a representation for the student body in each subsequent edition of the *Purple Patcher* through 1928.⁴⁵ These images were not merely anodyne renditions of indigeneity, instead they were produced to reinforce the myth of the vanishing Indian and to juxtapose American "civilization"—embodied by Holy Cross—with the backwardness of Native communities. In a map of Worcester produced in the yearbook, a Native (presumably Nipmuc) man peers over the edge of the frame at the bustling caricature of Mount St. James and proclaims in exasperation "who'd 'A Thunk It?"⁴⁶

Outside of the *Purple Patcher's* spat of Native imagery in the 1920s, the College's other literary platforms seized on illustrations of Indigenous people to represent the Holy Cross community and promote the student newspaper. Following the release of the *Purple Patcher's* 1924 "Indian-themed" yearbook, the newly formed college newspaper was christened *The Tomahawk* to "accord with all the traditions and history of the college."⁴⁷ In addition to the Native weaponry used as the paper's appellation, the *Tomahawk* also featured dozens of depictions of Indigenous people in its early issues. For the first several years of publication, the journal's masthead featured an eponymous tomahawk bisecting two images of Pakachoag Hill. One of these sketches showed the silhouette of the College's skyline, with Fenwick Hall looming in the background; the other depicted a conclave of three Native men, likely before European contact, sitting around a campfire with a series of tipis behind them.⁴⁸ In the second edition of the paper, the editorial staff developed the sobriquet, "The Chieftain," for Holy Cross athletes. For the next several issues of the paper, the editor's produced caricatures of Native people from the Great Plains to refer to the teams' athletic exploits.⁴⁹

For the first year of the *Tomahawk's* publication history, even after the student body repudiated the "Chieftain" moniker, the editors of the College newspaper drew on the violent symbolism associated with the "Indian Wars" to represent students' athletic prowess. When the Holy Cross baseball team competed against the University of Chicago, the *Tomahawk* blared that "'The Chiefs' [were] preparing for an invasion of the Windy City."⁵⁰ In the next issue, the journal's caricature artist recreated an archetypal "Indian massacre" to celebrate Holy Cross's recent string of baseball triumphs. The illustrator viscerally depicted the Holy Cross Chieftain surrounded by the faceless bodies of his slain victims, the Fordham Ram slung over his shoulder, ready to be slaughtered. With a tomahawk in hand, he dragged the carcasses of the Princeton Tigers and the Yale Bulldogs—the corpses of several other elite

institutions, with identifying toe-tags, laid in the foreground.⁵¹ The *Tomahawk's* own sports writers gleefully availed themselves of every stereotypically Native turn-of-phrase. When Harvard challenged Holy Cross, "the Chiefs [went]... on the war path down Cambridge way in search of the[ir] Crimson scalp."⁵²In a subsequent bout with Boston College, "The Purple Chiefs from Packachoag Hill swooped down on Fenway Park last Saturday and overcame the screaming Eagles," while the "arrow-like shoots and twisters of Big Chief Owen Carroll" helped them defeat their Chestnut Hill foes.⁵³ This constant stream of references to Indigenous people would not go unnoticed nor would it be free of criticism from members of the College community.

Students and alumni did not denounce the gory imagery promoted by the *Tomahawk* because it unfairly portrayed Native people, instead some community members objected to the use of Indians as analogs for the athletic teams because of racist assumptions held about Indigenous people. Father Smith of Woodstock College expressed in a letter to the editor that he yearned for the connotation of Holy Cross with Native people to "die a natural death from sheer neglect," but if it continued to be used, he "hope[d] it [would] be "Tomahawked" out of existence."⁵⁴ Other students lamented that the illustrations of Natives implied that Holy Cross students were "nothing more than a [group of] whooping savage[s]."⁵⁵ Despite the long history of Indigenous people on Pakachoag Hill, and the frequent invocation of the land's Nipmuc heritage, a student from the class of 1926 claimed "for some reason or other, Holy Cross and Indian traditions do not seem to me to mix well. The Nipmucs mean no more to us than the Blackfeet or the Crow." Furthermore, he charged that any "attempt to create an Indian atmosphere at Holy Cross on the Hill is a hopeless task."⁵⁶ Though the newspaper renamed the College's athletic teams the Crusaders, representations of Indigenous figures still featured prominently in the *Tomahawk*.

While the college's weekly paper continued to exploit hackneyed depictions of Natives, their sudden disappearance from the journal's masthead shed critical light on the student body's views of Indigenous people. From the first issue of the paper in 1925 through October of 1928, three Native men sat around a campfire, roasting some kind of meat in the upper righthand corner of the frontpage. Without so much as a passing reference by the editors, these Natives vanished. The uproar was swift. In the next edition of the paper "Joe Nipmuc" wrote a letter to the editorial staff to ask about the location of these "oldest members of the staff." This interested student suggested, ironically, that "the Superintendents of Grounds chased them away for defiling the classic beauty of the campus with their bon-fire." The editorialist, Edward Williams, asserted in response that "for the past one hundred years the red man had been styled the Vanishing American." Indeed, the *Tomahawk* writer proclaimed that "these last remnants of a dying race" were "as scarce as washroom stoppers" by 1928. In a rhetorical flourish, Williams urged his readers not to worry about the "little disappearance of these masters of the art," from his point of view the supposed disappearance of Native people was a benefit to society. He even joyously told his overwhelmingly white subscribers to "Let 'em vanish!"⁵⁷

As the College moved further into the twentieth century, the mythology of the vanishing Indian still pervaded the discourse of Indigenous people on campus, but members of the Holy Cross community increasingly engaged with representations of Natives by "playing Indian."⁵⁸ The earliest identified case of students dressing in faux-Native attire comes from the "Features" section of the 1918 yearbook.⁵⁹ Regardless of the long and deep history of Americans playing Indian since the nation's founding, this act of racial mimicry did not become a campus-wide phenomenon until the Cold War era. The 1952 edition of the *Purple Patcher* featured two students reenacting one of the foundational stories of America's national mythology—that of Pocahontas. In this photograph, likely from Halloween, Francis Murphy poses with a fellow male student labeled "Pocahontas." Wearing a raccoon skin cap, Murphy looks directly into the camera; the student playing Pocahontas portrayed the helpless Native princess: sitting on Murphy's lap, clutching his waist, and staring mournfully into the lens.⁶⁰ A decade later, another unidentified fan of the Holy Cross football team dressed in faux-Indigenous regalia to one of their games. He donned all the accouterments of the stereotypical Native warrior—buckskin shirts and pants, a feathered headdress, moccasins, face paint, and even brought a tomahawk to complete the ensemble.⁶¹ These two photographs embody the dichotomous images Holy Cross students held of Indigenous people. On the one hand, Natives were feminized figures from America's past, represented by a man crossdressing as a long-deceased woman; conversely, Indigenous people evoked the "warrior" ideal that Holy Cross hoped to inculcate in its students. Beyond individual acts of cross racial performativity, student organizations, like the *Tomahawk*, held Native-themed events to allow the whole campus to play Indian.

As the College actively erased its Native history and the students increasingly ignored Indigenous issues in the postwar years, the College newspaper hosted several fetes for students to blur the line of Cold War racial propriety. In the winter of 1949, the editors of the *Tomahawk* decided to "quash, once and forever, the basely malicious rumor that we here at Holy Cross are entirely dependent upon the Saturday night cinema for our sole source of social satisfaction," so they organized the College's first "pow-wow."⁶² The fieldhouse was outfitted with all the Indian paraphernalia that the organizers could think of "tom-toms and tepees were liberally scattered....[and] the unusual programs were designed as miniature Tomahawk's [*sic*]."⁶³ Three years later, the paper organized another "war dance" for the students and their dates. The "Braves of Pakachoag," joined by "400 beautiful girls representing the leading Catholic girls' colleges in New England," participated in this campus-wide affair. The students and their dates "perform[ed] an ancient Indian rite of dancing away the evil spirits of melancholy and fear the night before a major encounter." That "major encounter" was the annual Thanksgiving football game.⁶⁴ Fittingly, as the imagery of Indigenous people became less prominent on campus, Holy Cross students began defining themselves solely in opposition to Natives—or schools that used Indian mascots, namely Dartmouth.

As the nation turned towards Indian termination, Holy Cross students denounced their

previous romanticization of Native communities and began to define the College's ethos in opposition to Indigenous people. Writers for student-run publications continued to employ the same tropes of the vanishing and savage Indian, but they applied these ideas in divergent ways. Students for generations had mourned the *inevitable* disappearance of Native people, but postwar students articulated a positive vision of an Indigenous departure from the continent.⁶⁵ When the Holy Cross football team defeated their Dartmouth rivals in October of 1952, the paper's caricaturist, Bill Riordan, celebrated that Native people had reached the "end of the trail." In his drawing, the sun is about to set on the Dartmouth Indian, their emaciated, bandaged bodies are only able to hobble along into the receding sunset.⁶⁶ Besides reifying the myth of the vanishing Indian, Holy Cross students filled the student newspapers with the bloody iconography of the "Indian Wars."

While the student body was debating whether to abandon the *Tomahawk* appellation, the journal's editorial staff depicted members of the College community as victims of Native depredations and as the perpetrators of violence against Indigenous people. At the outset of the 1945 football season, some provocateurs from Dartmouth plastered Holy Cross with leaflets assailing the Crusaders' athletic abilities. In response to the "barrage of verbal insults from" the "injuns," the students wanted to haul out the "five-inch gun." In lieu of these ideas, the *Tomahawk* warned that the Crusaders' sanguine urges would only be satiated by "next Saturday's scalping party."⁶⁷ This antagonistic rivalry did not abate in the succeeding two years. In preparation for the next tete-a-tete between Holy Cross and Dartmouth, Don Collins, from the class of 1949, drew a richly symbolic cartoon for the event. In this image, the Dartmouth Indian drops his tomahawk and cowers in terror as the Holy Cross Crusader draws his blade, readying to strike down his adversary.⁶⁸ Over the course of its first one hundred and thirty years, the College and its students drew on nearly every common trope, stereotype, and image of indigeneity to define the community as akin and opposed to Native people.

VI. Conclusion

Though Native people have been omitted from the institutional history of Holy Cross, as students, visitors, and representations, they have shaped the College's self-image.⁶⁹ The College itself is situated on the site of a Nipmuc village, and would not exist without the forced displacement of many of the Indigenous people of Pakachoag Hill in the wake of King Philip's War. Despite popular notions to the contrary, Nipmucs did not "vanish" from Worcester or Pakachoag Hill with the creation of the Hassanamesit Reservation. Even after the College was founded in 1843, their presence on the Hill was noted by students and alumni. Members of other Indigenous communities, particularly the Penobscot and Haudenosaunee, attended Holy Cross at the turn-of-the-century period—the limited available sources indicate that they were teased and terrorized by their classmates. Holy Cross students treated Indian visitors to campus with patronizing contempt and invoked scores of negative stereotypes about Indigenous people. Members of the Holy Cross community—students,

faculty, staff, and alumni—participated directly in the settler colonial project by fighting Native people in the "Indian Wars," working as officers in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, managing Indian Territory, allotting reservation land, proselytizing as missionaries, "educating" children in Catholic boarding schools, and collecting the remains of youngsters. Holy Cross also contributed to the proliferation of Native mascots in the early twentieth century, students often played Indian, and community members haphazardly appropriated Indigenous cultures.

While Holy Cross no longer condones the use of harmful caricatures of Native people, nor would most students deign to advocate for the displacement of Indigenous communities, the College still directly benefits from these forces. Like every institution of higher learning on Turtle Island, Holy Cross is situated on Native land. The particular plot the College sits on was seized by English colonists from the Nipmucs during the melee of King Philip's War. In more recent years, the institution of Holy Cross has tangibly benefited from the public denigration of Indigenous people. In January of 2021, the administration announced the largest bequest in the institution's history, coming from the estate of Agnes Williams, the wife of Edward Bennett Williams, member of the class of 1941. The \$23.5 million gift was the final in a series of donations to the College. Agnes Williams had previously contributed a "substantial gift to fund tenure-track faculty positions...[and] to enable the College to offer competitive faculty salaries" in Holy Cross' Pre-Law Program. In the same press release, the administration mentioned that Edward Williams was noted as "a celebrated trial lawyer and influential Washington insider."⁷⁰ Though both Agnes and Edward William practiced law, the couple made their fortune primarily from their prior stint as the owners of the Baltimore Orioles and the erstwhile Washington Redskins. Edward Williams not only owned the controlling share of the Washington football team for a decade, he also served as its president—overseeing its daily operations into the 1980s.⁷¹ These facts were conveniently elided in the celebratory press statement from earlier this year. Whether intentional or not, members of the administration have adopted the same time-worn tricks of ignoring the institution's complicity in the ongoing erasure of Indigenous people, the commodification of their image, and the occupation of their lands. If the College seeks to move forward on its path toward truth and reconciliation, it must first grapple with and accept these inconvenient truths.

Footnotes:

¹ Refer to Jean O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2010) xi-xxvi; Christine DeLucia, *Memory Lands: King Philip's War and the Place of Violence in the Northeast* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2018), xi-xviii.

² Anthony Kuzinewski, *Thy Honored Name: A History of the College of the Holy Cross, 1843-1994* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press of America, 1999), 168. Sockalexis's tribal affiliation is never mentioned, he is simply referred to as "a Native American from Old Town, Maine."

³ Settler colonialism in this essay refers to the "logic of elimination" articulated by Patrick Wolfe. In this case, members of the Holy Cross community participated in settler colonialism through the conquering of Indigenous lands, but also by

attempting to assimilate Native children and by writing Native people out of the institution's history. See Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (December, 2006): 387-409.

⁴ Quoted in Mary De Witt Freeland, *The Records of Oxford, Mass.: Including Chapters of Nipmuck, Huguenot and English history from the Earliest Date, 1630: With Manners and Fashions of the Times* (Albany, New York: John Mussell's Sons, 1894), 29.

⁵ William Lincoln, *History of Worcester, Massachusetts: From its Earliest Settlement to September, 1836: With various notices relating to the History of Worcester County* (Worcester, MA: Charles Hersey, 1862), 25-6.

⁶ Ibid, 26-7.

⁷ Quoted in Caleb A. Wall, *The Nipmuc Indians* (Worcester, MA: O. B. Wood Press, 1898), 18-9; see also Lisa Brooks, *Our Beloved Kin: A New History of King Philip's War* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2018), 316-7.

⁸ William Lincoln, *History of Worcester*, 31; James Watson, "Petition of James Watson & Others," *The William Brighton Papers: Grafton (Mass.): Records 1743-1948*, Box 1, Folder 2, June 4, 1725; "Records of the Proceedings of the Trustees for the Indians of Hassanamisco," *John Milton Earle: Papers, 1652-1863*, Box 1, 1727-1729.

⁹ Thomas C. Rice, "Wegera-ceaster. A chapter in ye career of infant Packachoag.: writ for all times, but for ye bi-centennial in particular, and respectfully dedicated to ye good people of Worcester, by a scion of ye original stock," (Worcester, MA, 1884), 25.

¹⁰ David Mandell, *Tribe, Race, History: Native Americans in Southern New England, 1780-1880* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 23-4. Bowman's descendant, Hepsibeth Hemenway became a famous cake decorator to the city's elite in the mid-nineteenth century; her portrait hangs in the Worcester Historical Museum.

¹¹ John T. O'Brien, "The Oldest Alumnus of Mt. St. James," *R. G. 9.2 Diaries and Reminiscences Description of the College*, Box 1, Folder 9; taken from John T. O'Brien, "The Oldest Alumnus of Mt. St. James," *The Purple*, (Worcester, Massachusetts, 1905), 632.

¹² Samuel Lilly, "Letter to his Brother, October 9, 1846," *R. G. 9.2 Diaries and Reminiscences Description of the College*, Box 1, Folder 5, 4.

¹³ John Milton Earle, *Report to the Governor and Council, Concerning the Indians of the Commonwealth, Under the Act of April 6, 1859* (Boston, MA: William White Printer to the State, 1861), 201-24.

¹⁴ Thomas Doughton, "Unseen Neighbors: Native Americans of Central Massachusetts, A People Who Had Vanished," in *After King Philip's War: Presence and Persistence in Indian New England*, ed. Colin G. Calloway (Hanover, New Hampshire: University of New England Press, 1997), 207. For a brilliant, sweeping account of how Native people were written out of the history of southern New England, refer to Jean O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England*. For works on "urban Indians," particularly in the twentieth century, refer to: Douglas Miller, *Indians on the Move: Native American Mobility and Urbanization in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2019); Nicholas Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country: Native American Migration and Identity in Twentieth-Century Los Angeles* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2012); Coll Thrush, *Native Seattle: Histories from the Crossing-Over Place*, Second Edition (Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 2017); Rosalyn LaPier and David Beck, *City Indian: Native American Activism, 1893-1934* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2015).

¹⁵ *The Holy Cross Purple*, Volume 63 (November 1950-May 1951), 307.

¹⁶ *The Holy Cross Purple*, Volume 31, no. 2 (March-June, 1919): 490-1, 493.

¹⁷ *The Purple Patcher*, Volume 4, (Worcester, MA: College of the Holy Cross Press, 1910), 94.

¹⁸ "Chief Buffalo Gives Novel Entertainment," *The Tomahawk* (Worcester, MA), March 6, 1927, 1, 3.

¹⁹ For excellent works on the era of the Indian New Deal, refer to Christian McMillen, *Making Indian Law: The Hualapai Land Case and the Birth of Ethnobiology* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2008); Marsha

Weisenger, *Dreaming of Sheep in Navajo Country* (Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 2011); Margaret Jacobs, *White Mothers to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2009).

²⁰ "Indian Visits Alumni Hall," *The Tomahawk* (Worcester, MA), November 24, 1936, 5.

²¹ The most accessible work on the history of the American Indian Movement remains Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Warrior, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee* (New York, NY: The New Press, 1997). For an excellent biography of one of the movement's central leaders, see: Kent Blansett, *Journey to Freedom: Richard Oakes, Alcatraz and the Red Power Movement* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2018).

²² Mary McGuire, "The White Roots of Peace bring Indian culture to HC," *The Crusader* (Worcester, MA), March 9, 1973, 3.

²³ "Frosh Unearths Origin of Tomahawk Name," *The Tomahawk* (Worcester, MA), March 2, 1943, 2. George Cashman, class of 1946, was asked by a high school friend where the college's "Indian moniker" came from. Neither he nor any of the *Tomahawk's* staff members knew that the inaugural editors of the paper selected the name because of the college's long Indian traditions, and its settlement on the site of a Nipmuc village.

²⁴ Gall Lukavic, "White Roots of Peace group to explain Indian experience," *The Crusader* (Worcester, MA), March 2, 1973, 1-2.

²⁵ Mary McGuire, "The White Roots of Peace bring Indian culture to HC," 3. As the coordinator of the nascent Native American Studies program at San Francisco State University in the late 1960s, the famed Mohawk nationalist, Richard Oakes, hosted several members of the White Roots of Peace (including Tom Porter) as speakers in his classroom. Kent Blansett, Oakes's biographer notes that the group "lectured on the teachings of the Great Peacemaker and the Great Law of Peace that serves as the foundation for the Haudenosaunee Confederacy." Oakes, one of the leading faces of Red Power, confided in Al Miller that he was unfamiliar with several facets of his cultural heritage. The White Roots of Peace "inspired..., Oakes and the other students [to] bec[ome] more vocal on behalf of NAS. See: Kent Blansett, *A Journey to Freedom*, 112-3.

²⁶ "Holy Cross Students in the Civil War: General Armstrong," *The Holy Cross Purple*, Volume 3 June-December, 1896, 20-3. Though the extant records do not identify which Indigenous community Armstrong fought against at Eagle Pass in the New Mexico Territory, that site sits at the intersection of Navajo, Pueblo, and Apache homelands. Armstrong was an officer of the United States Army when he participated in the mid-century Indian Wars, but he rose to the rank of Brigadier General after he defected to the Confederates.

²⁷ Michael Healy, "Letter from Lieutenant Michael Healy to Treasury Secretary Folger: Alleged Shelling of Alaskan Villages," San Francisco, California, November 20, 1882, 2.

²⁸ "Holy Cross Students in the Civil War: General Armstrong," 20-3. Indian Territory refers to the eastern half of present day Oklahoma. As Indian Inspector, Armstrong oversaw each of the reservations making up Indian territory. When he joined the Dawes Commission, he was charged with breaking up the communally held land of these reservations to create private allotments, with the intention of opening the territory to white settlement. For excellent works on the history of allotment in Oklahoma, look at David Chang, *Color of the Land: Race, Nation, and the Politics of Landownership in Oklahoma, 1832-1929* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Alaina Roberts, *I've Been Here All the While: Black Freedom on Native Land* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021); Rose Stremmler, *Sustaining the Cherokee Family: Kinship and the Allotment of an Indigenous Nation* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Julie Reed, *Serving the Nation: Cherokee Sovereignty and Social Welfare, 1800-1907* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016); Katherine Ellinghaus, *Blood Will Tell: Native Americans and Assimilation Policy* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2017), 23-44. The finest work on the allotment period outside of Oklahoma is Melissa Meyer, *The White Earth Tragedy: Ethnicity and Dispossession at a Minnesota Anishinaabe Reservation, 1889-1920* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1994).

²⁹ Michael Healy, *Report of the Cruise of the Revenue Steamer Corwin in the Arctic Ocean, 1884* (Washington, D.C.: U.S.

Government Printing Office, 1884), 9-17. Healy's support of the government's cultural assimilation policies may have extended from his own experience as the white-passing son of an enslaved woman and her white enslaver. While serving in Alaska, to supplement the meager rations given to Inuit communities, Healy also oversaw the introduction of Siberian reindeer into the northern Alaskan ecosystem. See: Bathsheba Demuth, *Floating Coast: An Environmental History of the Bering Strait* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2019), 145-6.

³⁰"Student Mission Collections from March to December, 1925, Amount to \$2,562.77," *The Tomahawk* (Worcester, MA), January 12, 1926, 6. For works on Catholic missionaries on Lakota reservation lands, see: Harvey Markowitz, *Converting the Rosebud: Catholic Mission and the Lakota, 1886-1916* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018).

³¹"Fr. Wheeler Publishes Book on College Mission Work," *The Tomahawk* (Worcester, MA), March 15, 1927, 1; "Financial Statement of H.C. Mission Unit." *The Tomahawk* (Worcester, MA), March 15, 1927, 4.

³²Daniel Quigley, '[19]10, "Indian Missions in the United States," *The Purple*, Volume 20, October 1907-June 1908, 234. For historiographical landmarks on the boarding school experience, see: Brenda Child, *Boarding School Season: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928*, Second Edition (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 2020); K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called it Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1995).

³³"Alumni: Class of 1869, Bishop Conaty," *The Holy Cross Purple*, Volume 16, October 1903-June 1904, 272-3. For a more thorough history of Native student experiences at Sherman see: Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert, *Education Beyond the Mesas: Hopi Students at Sherman Institute, 1902-1929* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010).

³⁴"Student Mission Collections from March to December, 1925, Amount to \$2,562.77," 6.

³⁵"Much Good Done by H. C. Missions," *The Tomahawk* (Worcester, MA), November 24, 1931, 6.

³⁶"Mission Aid Requested at Meeting of Sodality," *The Tomahawk* (Worcester, MA), October 18, 1932, 3.

³⁷"Mission Drive Fair Success." *The Tomahawk* (Worcester, MA), October 8, 1935, 6. The Holy Rosary Mission is now known as the Red Cloud School and is currently undergoing its own "truth and healing" process.

³⁸Father Henry Bean, S.J., "Travels through Fort Townsend, August 1930-June 1931," *SC2004-48, Rev. Henry E. Bean S. J., Box 3: Photo Album, 1920-1968*. The Flathead Reservation is the homeland of the Kootenai, Salish, and Pend d'Oreilles peoples.

³⁹Father Henry Bean, S.J., "Journal VII, 1930-1937: April 6th, 1931," *SC2004-48, Rev. Henry E. Bean S. J., Box 1: Personal Diaries, 1920-1968*, unnumbered page. The boarding school missionaries were not the first ministers affiliated with Holy Cross who attempted to convert Native people. The College's founder, Bishop Fenwick, spread the word of God to the Passamaquoddy and Penobscotts of Maine in the middle of the nineteenth century. Bishop Fenwick's diaries and papers are held by the Boston Archdiocese, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, however, these documents could not be reviewed and excerpted in the time allotted for this study.

⁴⁰Nick Estes, "My Relatives Went to a Catholic School for Native Children. It was a Place of Horrors," *The Guardian* (London, UK), June 30, 2021.

⁴¹"Biologists Get Rare Heads." *The Tomahawk* (Worcester, MA), October 31, 1939, 1.

⁴²Mike Masterpool, "Find Fr. Busam with 2 Heads," *The Tomahawk* (Worcester, MA), May 12, 1948, 6. Father Busam made no mention of the heads in his private correspondence, nor were there any indications that they were sold, donated, or repatriated in the extant records through 1973.

⁴³*The Purple Patcher*, Volume 18 (Worcester, MA: College of the Holy Cross Press, 1924), 3-9.

⁴⁴*The Purple Patcher*, Volume 19 (Worcester, MA: College of the Holy Cross Press, 1925), 9.

⁴⁵*The Purple Patcher*, Volume 19, 25; *The Purple Patcher*, Volume 20 (Worcester, MA: College of the Holy Cross Press,

1926), 3, 318; *The Purple Patcher*, Volume 21 (Worcester, MA: College of the Holy Cross Press, 1927), 384.5 (map); *The Purple Patcher*, Volume 22 (Worcester, MA: College of the Holy Cross Press, 1928), 273. From 1929 through the Second World War, the College's yearbooks normally featured chivalric imagery reminiscent of the school's new mascot, the Crusader.

⁴⁶ *The Purple Patcher*, Volume 21, 384-5.

⁴⁷ "Hopes for College Weekly Realized Now that Tomahawk Appears," *The Tomahawk* (Worcester, MA), February 17, 1925, 3.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 1.

⁴⁹ "Communications," *The Tomahawk* (Worcester, MA), February 24, 1925, 2.

⁵⁰ "Nine Opens Season Today at Richmond," *The Tomahawk* (Worcester, MA), April 7, 1925, 5.

⁵¹ "Full Speed Ahead," *The Tomahawk* (Worcester, MA), April 28, 1925, 5.

⁵² "Chiefs to Face Harvard and B.C.," *The Tomahawk* (Worcester, MA), May 12, 1925, 1.

⁵³ "Boston College Scalped, 5-1 By Chiefs' Ninth Inning Rally," *The Tomahawk* (Worcester, MA), May 19, 1925, 1.

⁵⁴ "Communications," *The Tomahawk* (Worcester, MA), June 9, 1925, 1.

⁵⁵ "Crusaders Chosen by Student Body," *The Tomahawk* (Worcester, MA), October 6, 1925, 1.

⁵⁶ "Communications," *The Tomahawk* (Worcester, MA), May 26, 1925, 2.

⁵⁷ Edward Williams, '29. "Tomarot," *The Tomahawk* (Worcester, MA), October 9, 1928, 2, 6.

⁵⁸ Deloria theorized that white Americans played Indian to articulate their own indigeneity to the United States. Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1998).

⁵⁹ "Features," *The Purple Patcher*, Volume 12 (Worcester, MA: College of the Holy Cross Press, 1918), unnumbered page (towards the end of the volume).

⁶⁰ *The Purple Patcher*, Volume 36 (Worcester, MA: College of the Holy Cross Press, 1952), 304.

⁶¹ *The Purple Patcher*, Volume 59 (Worcester, MA: College of the Holy Cross Press, 1965), 29.

⁶² "Tomahawk to Sponsor Novel Social Affair Wednesday Eve," *The Tomahawk* (Worcester, MA), December 1, 1949, 1.

⁶³ "T'HAWK 'Pow-wow' Draws Acclaim Despite Failed Snowbound Femmes," *The Tomahawk* (Worcester, MA), December 15, 1949, 1.

⁶⁴ Graham Miller, "T'HAWK Sponsors "War Dance" at Fieldhouse Tomorrow Evening" *The Tomahawk* (Worcester, MA), November 14, 1952, 1; "War Dance," *The Tomahawk* (Worcester, MA), November 14, 1952, 2.

⁶⁵ For examples of the vanishing Indian myth refer to: D. D. O'Brien, '03, "A Legend of the Cheyenne," *The Holy Cross Purple*, February-July, 1902, 143-6; "Noted Priest Appears Here," *The Tomahawk* (Worcester, MA), January 15, 1935, 2.

⁶⁶ Bob Unsworth, "Crusaders Scalp Indians 27 to 9," *The Tomahawk* (Worcester, MA), October 2, 1952, 5. This image evokes James Earle Fraser's famous sculpture, which portrayed Native people being sullenly reaching the Pacific Ocean, preparing to forever disappear from the continent.

⁶⁷ "Hanover Warriors Bomb St. James with Propaganda Sheets," *The Tomahawk* (Worcester, MA), September 26, 1945, 1.

⁶⁸ "Fitton Theatre Starts Sept. 27 "The Last of the Mohicans" With an All Star Cast," *The Tomahawk* (Worcester, MA), September 24, 1947, 7.

⁶⁹ Earlier generations of students, as noted above, were keenly aware of the Nipmuc presence on the Hill of Pleasant

Springs.

⁷⁰ "Holy Cross Announces Record \$23.5 Million Estate Gift: Agnes Williams gift will launch \$40M Hope + Access Campaign for Financial Aid," *College of the Holy Cross* (Worcester, Massachusetts), January 22, 2021.

⁷¹ Albin Krebs, "Edward Bennett Williams, Trial Lawyer, Dead at 68; A Brilliant 'Superlawyer,'" *The New York Times* (New York, NY), August 15, 1988, 11.