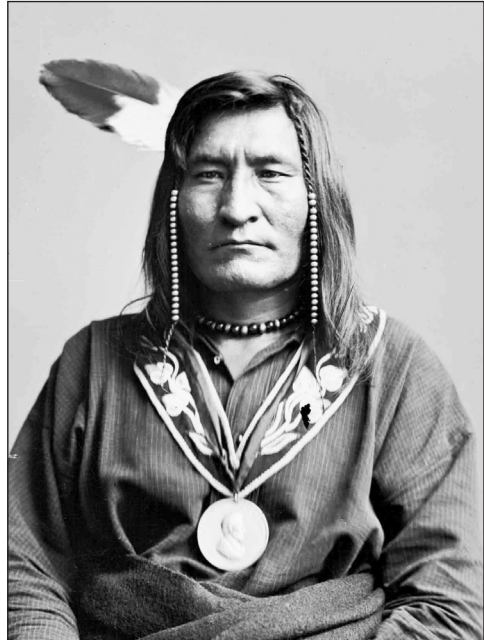




LEFT: UMass Amherst sports teams were called the Redmen from 1947 to 1973.

RIGHT: This photo of Ojibwe Chief Little Shell (c. 1830-1901) was used as the model for the present-day seal of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The modern seal was designed by Edmund H. Garrett, a well-known 19th-century illustrator. In 1895 he was charged with creating a standardized design for the state seal. According to Garrett, he selected Little Shell's portrait as his model because "he was a fine specimen of an Indian." In addition, although his tribe was based in Montana, the "Ojibway belong to the great Algonquin family of which the Massachusetts [Indians] were also members." Photo c. 1892.



From Redmen to Minutemen: The University of Massachusetts and Its Mascot

ROBERT E. WEIR



Abstract: *Today's University of Massachusetts at Amherst began as the Massachusetts Agricultural College and admitted its first class in 1863. Early sports teams bore no official nickname but were informally called the "Aggies." In the 1880s administrators dubbed the sports teams the Statesmen, although students seldom used it; "Aggies" remained the name of choice. In 1928 an unsuccessful search began for a new team name and mascot. In 1931, when the institution was renamed the Massachusetts State College, school officials inherited a querulous debate over mascots which lasted years.*

In 1947 the college was rechristened the University of Massachusetts and students finally voted and agreed on a new team name, the Redmen. A new mascot, the semi-mythical Metawampe, followed. Some sources claimed that he was a local Nonotuck sachem (leader) who sold land to white settlers. Two decades later, this name proved controversial and another struggle ensued to find a new name and mascot. In this absorbing article, cultural historian Robert Weir details the ongoing battles over symbols at the University of Massachusetts Amherst and across the Commonwealth. He concludes that Native American civil rights often remain marginalized. Although scores of schools and colleges have dropped such symbols, Native Americans continue to endure outward forms of stereotyping that would be unthinkable if applied to other groups.

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The Massachusetts state flag and state seal feature a lightly clad male Algonquian Indian. Above his head is a sword held by a disembodied arm. The figure of a Native American has appeared on various official Massachusetts seals and flags since 1629. In the spring of 2019, questions over the flag's imagery forced the Massachusetts legislature to revisit past debates over



whether the Commonwealth's banner should be redesigned, a debate that took place concurrently with movements across the nation to remove perceived racist symbols such as Civil War memorials that valorize the Confederacy.¹

Proponents of the flag argue that the debate is an emotional one that ignores intent and fact. Although at first glance the state flag appears to symbolize the violent subjugation of Native Americans at the hands of European settlers who

appropriated their lands, obliterated their cultures, and decimated their ranks through war and disease, proponents contend that this is a misinterpretation. Both the sword-bearing arm and the downward-pointing bow and arrow of the Algonquian man were historically symbols of peaceful intent. This is made more explicit in the flag's Latin motto, which translates, "By the sword we seek peace, but peace only under liberty." Hampshire College history professor Jim Wald alerts us of the dangers of reading the present into the past. In his words, "Talk of taking up arms to secure liberty may not be fashionable today, but historically, this has nothing to do with Native Americans or genocide."²

This twenty-first-century debate is a new chapter in an old battle. The flag's arm is allegedly that of Plymouth Colony military commander Myles Standish (1584-1656) and the emblem's wording typical of a sixteenth-century belief that it would be better to lose one's right arm than to yield to despotism. To critics, however, Standish's arm symbolizes and reflects his wars on Native Americans, which ultimately led to King Philip's War (1675-78).³

Officially, there was no single Commonwealth flag until 1908, but any visitor to the State House can see numerous ensigns and designs that have stood for Massachusetts since the first European settlements. Most have included a Native American figure. The 1908 design was slightly updated in 1971, but both were based on models that predate the Revolutionary War.⁴ Ironically, the existing flag trades in a different stereotype than the one detractors cite. The current depiction of an indigenous person is a hybrid of seventeenth-century constructions of the Noble Savage and sanitized early twentieth-century history versions of the same.

The contemporary contention over the flag echoes battles over Native American imagery that, decades ago, roiled the Commonwealth's flagship campus, the University of Massachusetts Amherst. The parameters of that tale are represented by two statues located in the heart of the campus. The first is a determined-looking patriot with a musket slung over his right shoulder. Few would need a history course to infer that this a minuteman, a soldier who drilled with informal militia groups formed during the Revolutionary War to defend local areas from British incursions. The minuteman statue, dedicated in 2002, sits near the main UMass library, his right profile looking toward



the Campus Center. It stands 9.5' tall on a 45" high granite base. In caricature form, Sam the Minuteman—sporting an oversized head, toothy grin, and maroon tricorn hat—is the present mascot of UMass sports teams.⁵

Nearby, staring into the courtyard of the Campus Center, sits Metawampe gazing into the distance, presumably hunting game. He is (un)dressed similarly to the figure on the state flag: a loincloth, an armband, and two feathers in his braided hair. This statue was dedicated in 1956. Metawampe was



the model for the former mascot when UMass teams were the Redmen (1948-73). He is purported to have been a seventeenth-century Nonotuck chief, although little about him is actually known. By the late 1960s, however, historical accuracy wasn't the issue: the more burning question was whether a Native American should continue to be used as the mascot for a UMass sports team.

UMass changed its mascot in 1973, but hundreds of schools retain Native American mascots. As in the case of the Commonwealth's flag, campaigns to replace these symbols involve more than altering designs. In this

respect, UMass' shift from Metawampe to Sam the Minuteman illustrates the various obstacles, passions, and values clashes involved in rebranding sports teams.

DO SYMBOLS MATTER?

Scholarship suggests that those who dismiss battles over sports mascots as much ado about nothing are shortsighted. Seemingly small details often magnify much larger issues. Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) laid the foundations for how academics now interpret various "signs." Modern scholars often reference Saussure's distinction between signifiers and signified; that is, those things that send a meaning and the various ways that meaning is received and constructed.⁶ This is apparent in the battles over the Confederate flag and Civil War monuments. On the surface, the Confederate battle flag is merely a piece of cloth that many whites insist symbolizes Southern heritage. For African Americans, however, it signifies the tragic legacy of slavery and offends deeply. Similarly, statues dedicated

to long-deceased individuals have touched off such fierce protest that an estimated 110 Confederate monuments were taken down between 2015 and mid-2018.⁷

A significant number of studies present compelling evidence to show that the use of Native American imagery signifies systems of past subjugation that harm the living. To reference just one study, psychologist Stephanie Fryburg and her colleagues have demonstrated the many injuries associated with reductionist and stereotypical Native American representations. By freezing Native peoples' development in time and content, these symbols build a context in which Native American children grow up as "cultural artifact[s]" with low self-esteem. By contrast, white self-esteem *rises* when shown pictures of a Native American mascot. Other studies see stereotypes as having a negative impact on Native Americans' physical health as well as psychological well-being.⁸

From the standpoint of many American Indians, many discussions over images and names blithely ignore historical injustices. As they correctly point out, in contemporary society it is simply unthinkable that any sports team would brandish images of African Americans, Asians, Jews, or Latinos in ways comparable to those of American Indians. Can anyone today imagine team uniforms bearing depictions of Little Black Sambo or the Frito Bandito? No sports team has called itself the "Cubans" since 1950. Pekin High School in Illinois responded to public outrage in the 1990s when it changed team names from the Chinks to the Dragons.⁹

Many have questioned the right of professional teams such as the Atlanta Braves, Chicago Blackhawks, Cleveland Indians, Kansas City Chiefs, and Washington Redskins to retain their team names. The Pekin High School example reminds us that controversy also reaches to the high school and university levels. More schools than not have opted to change team names. But, as one study revealed, more than 2,100 educational institutions continued using Native American names and images in 2013.¹⁰

UMass is not one of those schools. It abandoned its Redmen nickname in 1973, although the decision-making path taken was an unusual one. The Redmen, like previous team nicknames, was linked to the school's growth. Each new iteration entailed efforts to change public perceptions of the college, especially after World War II when it became the Commonwealth's flagship university.

DUELING MASCOTS AT UMASS AMHERST, 1862-1948

Today the University of Massachusetts at Amherst is part of a five-campus system that includes, in descending order by the size of the student body, UMass Lowell, UMass Boston, UMass Dartmouth, and the UMass Medical School in Worcester. Because the Amherst campus was founded earlier and is by far the largest—with more than 31,000 undergraduate and graduate students—the standalone designation “UMass” usually references the University of Massachusetts Amherst.¹¹

UMass began as a Morrill Land-Grant college, so named because of an 1862 bill introduced to Congress by Representative Justin Morrill of Vermont. When President Abraham Lincoln signed it into law, federal lands were given to states to build public higher education institutions that (mostly) focused on what were then called the “practical” sciences: agriculture, engineering, military studies, and general sciences. Originally, the schools of agriculture were the largest.

The school admitted its first class in 1863 and operated as Massachusetts Agricultural College (MAC). Early sports teams (football was played since 1879) bore no official nickname, though they were informally called the “Aggies.” At some point in the 1880s—the exact date is uncertain—MAC administrators dubbed sports teams the Statesmen. Students generally disliked the name and seldom used it; Aggies remained the name of choice. As the 19th century drew to a close, students briefly adopted a separate mascot. “Old John,” a 60-year-old homeless man, won their affection for his vociferous cheering at games and his penchant for donning MAC regalia. Around the same time, a Boston religious paper claimed that MAC teams were also dubbed the Ninety-Nine Men, a nickname that seems to have referenced both the Class of 1899 and an organization called the Ninety-Nine Owl Club.¹²

As the institution grew and changed—women were admitted (1890), new curricula were introduced, and a separate graduate school emerged (1908)—the college’s mission shifted. In 1931 the school name was changed to Massachusetts State College (MSC), a reflection of the declining importance of agriculture throughout New England. In 1910 nearly 38% of American workers pursued some form of farming, and 60% lived in the countryside. By the 1920 census, however, just 27% farmed and more than half of all Americans lived in urban areas. Even before MAC became MSC, the school functioned as a *de facto* “normal” school that trained and certified students to become high school teachers.¹³

In 1928, three years before MSC was born, the search began for a new team name and mascot. Contenders included the Bobcats and Collies, but as the *Massachusetts Weekly Collegian* reveals, mascot debates were heated. Throughout 1928, new mascot ideas were floated—the Zebras, Black Cats, Black Crows, and Beavers—but students leaned toward calling their teams the Indians. Official Commonwealth imagery was given as one reason. The *Collegian* noted, “The State seal, which is part of the College seal, contains the figure of an Indian.” Added to this was the explanation that, “the ‘redskins’ were the first known inhabitants of the land on which this College now stands ... [and] the word Indian signifies a courageous and active warrior characterized by his reddish appearance.” This “reddish” skin color was purportedly close to the school’s maroon color scheme.¹⁴

Thus in 1931, when school officials announced the birth of Massachusetts State College to reflect its shift in mission, they also inherited a querulous debate over mascots. The Statesmen remained the official name of sports teams, although records indicate it remained unpopular among students. Aggies, the previous label of choice, fell by the wayside as students enrolled in newer majors and degrees sought to deter uncomfortable taunts that theirs remained a school of farmers. By then, some students and journalists used the name Zebras, a reference to the striped socks of gridiron players.¹⁵

Massachusetts State College was a reality, but what its sports teams were called depended upon whom one asked. Some, including a few local journalists, disliked the Zebras appellation, and alternate suggestions were repeatedly raised. Opinions proliferated, but consensus was so elusive that frustrated *Collegian* editors admitted:

Several times the question of a mascot has occupied the attention of the students of the College. The upshot of the matter on every occasion has been that the students could not possibly see how a mascot suitable to everyone could be chosen, and, if chosen, by whom it would be selected.¹⁶

That editorial proved prescient. The Statesmen, though unloved, remained in place because each alternative sparked student derision. This did not prevent them from demanding a say in a debate that stretched into 1937. Canine names emerged as favorites; the Bloodhounds or Great Danes held attraction, as did minority sentiment for having “no mascot at all.” In 1937 the *Collegian* cheekily put forth a compromise using what is today distressing language: “Since M.S.C. is a co-ed college . . . have the Dane for the boys and the Bloodhound for the girls (the girls are all ears anyway).”

Dissenters pointed out that an “Anglo-Saxon institution . . . should shudder at the thought of a German mascot” such as the Great Dane. Leftover World War I animus against Germans apparently ran so high that it escaped notice that Anglos and Saxons were also Germanic terms.¹⁷ MSC students were perhaps too focused upon the adventures of another school mascot to agree upon adopting a new one. Prudence, a wooden polo practice horse viewed as an unofficial mascot, had again gone missing. (It seems to have had a knack for appearing and disappearing.)¹⁸

The Statesmen remained the official name by default. Shortly after World War II ended, MSC officials put the finishing touches on a dramatic plan to move toward university status. College enrollment had sunk from a 1941 level of 1,263 to just 725 in 1944, but the next year’s military demobilization led it to surge to 1,002 on campus, with another 1,300 veterans matriculating at Fort Devens because facilities in Amherst were at capacity. In 1947 MSC ceased to exist and was rechristened as the University of Massachusetts.

The school had a new name, mission, and students, but its decades-old mascot question remained. Throughout 1947 all manner of possible team names emerged from student brain storm forums: Braves, Bulls, Mohawks, Pilgrims, Pioneers, Redmen, Redskins, Tomahawks—even the Statesmen. When the dust settled, the top two student choices were the Indians and the Minutemen. It thus came as a surprise when just 235 students participated in a vote on the issue; a quorum of at least 500 voters was needed to supplant the Statesmen. *Collegian* columnist George Burgess blasted “shortsighted microcephalics” (small-headed people) and decried the Statesmen label as “tired, hackneyed . . . [and] antique.” He urged students to vote for “Redmen.” In a second vote, the Redmen prevailed by a 620-459 margin.¹⁹

University officials supported the students’ choice. They largely replayed arguments for a Native American mascot made by students twenty years earlier. In language that evoked (now-challenged) interpretations of the first Thanksgiving, references were made to the “courage, strength, resourcefulness, and charity” of native peoples who helped Plymouth Colony survive. It was also noted that the very name of Massachusetts derives from an Algonquin language and that an American Indian appears on the state seal. Less nobly, UMass authorities suggested an analogy—“With the aggrandizement of the Bay Colony’s white population, the Indians showed strength and fierceness in defending his [sic] lands . . . a strength and fierceness well suited to a football team defending its goal posts.”²⁰

NEW TEAM NAME AND MASCOT: REDMEN & METAWAMPE

By the time the student Senate certified the student vote choosing the Redmen name on January 16, 1948, an official song had already been in place for five weeks. The first mention of the Redmen in the *Collegian* sports roundup occurred on February 26, 1948, when the UMass men's basketball team lost to Williams College.²¹ Throughout 1948, Redmen pennants, wooden figures, pins, illustrations, clothing items, and uniforms appeared. An unknown artist created a sketch that appeared in the *Collegian* until 1973.

The adoption of an official American Indian mascot was the next task. Enter Metawampe. As early as 1907, UMass—then MAC—had a Metawampe faculty outing club.²² As in the case of many Native American figures, Metawampe's biographical details lie somewhere in the seams of where history and legend are sewn together. He was alleged to have been an early seventeenth-century Nonotuck sachem (leader) who sold land to white settlers in the Sunderland-Montague area.²³ We do not know whether Metawampe understood the transaction to be an exclusive land transfer to settlers ("deed simple") or if he thought he merely granted the right of whites to use it ("usufruct" rights). Nor do we know for certain whether Metawampe was this individual's name, a mishearing of it, or if he ever existed at all. In 1967 John E. Burke (Class of 1965) took the sheen off fanciful imaginings of Metawampe. In a letter to University Secretary R. J. McCartney, he wrote, "There is no romantic legend surrounding him; there is no great deed of valor attributed to him and there is no knowledge extant that he had any significant connection whatsoever with the site of the university."²⁴



In 1948, however, the imagined Metawampe was embraced and the senior Class of 1950 gifted to the university the five-foot statue of Metawampe that today sits by the Student Union. The Class of 1956 donated his granite base, a gift that literally and figuratively cemented the Metawampe legend. *Collegian* sports pages featured prognostication for upcoming athletic contests in an ongoing column titled "Metawampe's Picks" with graphics that sometimes resembled the Student Union statue,



The “Imagined” Metawampe, 1957

The base of the statue reads: “Metawampe; Legendary Spirit of the Redman; Given by the Class of 1950; Erected by the Class of 1956.” Metawampe holds a musket in one hand and a powder horn in the other. The English initially forbade selling guns to Indians. The ban was lifted in 1665, largely so the English could play Algonquins off against Mohawks. Mohawks were mostly allied with the French, and muskets complicated already-tense warfare between the Pocumtucks (Algonquins) and Mohawks. By the early 1700s, guns were part of Indian culture. It is intriguing that sculptor Randolph W. Johnston (who taught at nearby Smith College) chose to represent Metawampe with a musket. Photos by Rob Weir.



but often did not. More distressing still were campus restroom designations for “Braves” and “Squaws.”²⁵

The UMass Redmen arose during a period in which a reckoning with American cultural diversity had not yet come. Post-World War II triumphalism, which Tom Engelhardt dubbed “victory culture,” was decidedly white in character. Although other forms of popular culture—most notably dime-novel Westerns—had earlier justified the subjugation of Native Americans as an advance of civilization over savagery, Hollywood movies and postwar television fare further entrenched that notion. Cold War tensions during the 1950s and early 1960s breathed new life into mythologized Western-themed shows. As Tom Engelhardt, Richard Slotkin, and others have observed, cowboys and Indians became stand-ins for the struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union.²⁶ All that was required were updates that added dimensions such as freedom versus totalitarianism, Christianity versus atheism, plenty versus economic deprivation, and American global uplift versus Soviet desire for global dominance.

Romanticized themes were particularly useful in justifying the appropriation of Native American culture. Language was encoded with assumptions that few white citizens of the day would have viewed as problematic, such as the aforementioned belief that native peoples’ “strength” and “fierceness” were somehow linked to “the aggrandizement” of white European settlers.²⁷ Theirs was the same attitude that led civic leaders to don red face and headdresses to march in parades or take part in historical pageants. Similarly, it was the logic of white actors slathering on makeup to portray American Indians, Asians, or Latinos in stage, film, and television productions. For indigenous peoples, this was a form of minstrelsy that Philip Deloria called “playing Indian” and Elizabeth Bird labeled “dressing in feathers.”²⁸ Native Americans were supposed to be flattered, although increasingly they were not.

It took the African American civil rights movement, the social and cultural upheavals of the 1960s, the loss of innocence resulting from defeat in Vietnam, influxes of non-European immigrants, and the erosion of American economic dominance to sully assumptions of chivalric whiteness. Indeed, lingering appropriation of Native American cultures could be viewed as vestiges of Cold War era white ideology.

UMASS IN THE 1960s

Many universities experienced large enrollment increases during the 1960s, but the situation at UMass was unusually chaotic. Although it

experienced steady growth through the 1950s, with enrollment standing at 6,495 in 1960, few anticipated the surge that would occur before the decade closed. By 1965, enrollment nearly doubled to 11,859. That uptick led to a 1967 Office of Institutional Studies projection that 1970 enrollment would be 19,000; the actual total was nearly 28,000, with Baby Boomers entering college in unprecedented numbers.²⁹ The Amherst campus suffered from both physical and cultural strains during a decade in which it experienced a more than fourfold increase in size.³⁰ Much of the ever-growing student body immersed itself in the issues that roiled campuses across North America in the 1960s: the civil rights movement, anti-ROTC protests, the Vietnam War, the draft lottery, New Left intellectual fervor, rising tuition costs, Second Wave feminism, revolutions in cultural style, the shooting of students at Kent and Jackson State, and Nixon's unraveling presidency.³¹

For various reasons, Native American civil rights did not generate comparable levels of passion on the Amherst campus. UMass students were aware of Native American protests such as the occupations of Alcatraz Island, Mount Rushmore, and Plymouth Rock, as well as "Red Power" movements such as Indians of All Tribes and the American Indian Movement. These matters were, however, of lesser consideration on a campus with few Native Americans. The most acclaimed Native American alumna, folksinger/artist/actress Buffy Ste. Marie (Cree), graduated from UMass, but in 1962 (before the rise of the counterculture). In 1967 just 0.3% of the student body was Native American, a figure that has since fallen to its current level of less than 0.1%. These demographics made it easier to stereotype or neglect indigenous peoples. As late as 1969, the *Daily Collegian* referenced its mascot in condescending language in its "Metawampe's Picks" column:

He came in riding the west wind, with a sombrero on his head,
singing a Guy Lombardo tune. An unknown Indian . . . But he
fell in love with a college lass and vowed to stay in these parts
until that great sombrero in the sky calls him. [T]he old Injun
picked up a reputation as a soothsayer of sorts.³²

The *Collegian's* tone was, alas, in keeping with campus traditions such as dressing Metawampe in a jock strap or splashing the statue with paint.

REJECTING THE REDMEN MONIKER

UMass students eventually supported the move to drop the name Redmen, but they did not initiate it. That idea originated with the Board of

Trustees, although it was not initially an ethically motivated debate. In 1966 Trustee General John J. Maginnis lobbied for a change, but in language that would distress modern sensibilities. He referred to Metawampe as an “Indian real estate salesman” and averred that, “Neither his name, his tribe, nor his race . . . personify the national stature of Massachusetts or the greatness we envision for its university.” Maginnis also voiced the view that the Redmen name was “unexciting, commonplace, lack-luster,” and had “no eye or ear appeal.”³³

His fellow trustees divided over the mascot, with several noting that the Athletic Council “did not look favorably on the suggestion,” others that there was “no outcry” from students over the Redmen name, and a few who felt that “Minutemen” might be a better name for UMass teams.³⁴ For several years all that came of this was that the words “Braves” and “Squaws” disappeared from most UMass restroom doors. Matters came to a head in 1972 when UMass Chancellor Randolph Bromery received a letter from Attorney Bertram Hirsch on behalf of the Association of American Indian Affairs. Hirsch insisted that Redmen was a “racial derogation” akin to racial slurs against African Americans, but he tactfully complimented the UMass administration for considering the issue, which put it “neck-in-neck, if not ahead, of its student body.”³⁵

Still, the path forward proved rocky. Bromery had only been chancellor since April 6, 1972, and faced a campus in turmoil. Watergate, the draft lottery, antiwar rallies, and complaints of campus racism and sexism were of more immediate concern. On April 20, a planned two-day student strike shut down the campus. The very next day, the women’s caucus left the strike committee over the lack of female representation and another group announced its intention to continue occupying Dickinson Hall, the building that housed the ROTC program. Both the student and faculty senates took up demands to remove academic credit for participation in ROTC, and the faculty agreed on April 28. As if things weren’t tense enough, ongoing anti-Vietnam protests at nearby Westover Airforce Base in Chicopee precipitated scores of arrests of UMass faculty and students, including 84 on May 5 and more than 500 four days later.

These matters made concern over the sports mascot low on the list of student senate concerns. Deliberations over the mascot took place, but within the supercharged moment, focus was difficult to maintain. One individual floated what was intended as a “fatuous” remark to change the team name to the Wasps to call attention to a predominately White Anglo-Saxon Protestant campus. It was no laughing matter, as the student senate deadlocked on how to proceed.

On May 4, Student Government Association (SGA) President Larry Ladd advised Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs Robert Gage that he agreed with Hirsch's letter and expressed the "hope" that the SGA would take up the issue. His letter also declared that the administration should take the initiative for making the change "and not wait until we are obliged to react to pressure . . . from an Indian interest organization."³⁶ The trustees did exactly that later in May, voting in principle to drop the Redmen, explore a more appropriate name, and put the matter before students at a later time.

Bromery must have welcomed the end of the academic year. During the summer term, the *Daily Collegian* published a truncated paper titled *The Crier*, which contained no mention of mascot discussions. In the fall of 1972, the *Daily Collegian* revisited the question, and students weighed in on the proposed name change. Student Bob Estelle wrote to express surprise that any Native American would take exception with the name Redmen, although his combative tone worsened matters. He wrote, "It is a real shame that a small minority of students could force such a big change within the University while the student body, the faculty, and the Athletic Council had very little say . . . But I guess that we are living in a society where the minorities have more say than the majority. That, too, is a shame."³⁷

Two days later, self-identified Native American students Linda Burr, Vivienne Jones, and Earl Strickland offered a thoughtful response:

We consider it unfortunate that Indians continue to be stereotyped . . . The real damage of the use of the term "Redmen" begins when the subconscious connotations of Native Americans come out. It cannot be denied that terms such as savage, scalp, blood-thirsty, drunken, massacre, warpath, and hatchet come to mind. It is such barbaric and animalistic relationships that seem to be logical extensions of the name "Redmen" against which we protest.

They concluded with an indirect swipe at Estelle: "We regret that so many are upset because we . . . as a minority have spoken up for what we consider our humanity, thus dispelling another myth that we are passive."³⁸

On September 18, student David Miller opined that Estelle "does not have the slightest idea what he is talking about. . . . Be it understood, Mr. Estelle, that the term 'Redmen' is a racist slur." He rejected all claims that Redmen was linked to Native heritage. In his view, changing the mascot was a "long overdue move toward countering racism which has been inflicted upon [Native Americans] for some 350 years."³⁹

On September 19, Estelle wrote again to walk back his complaint. He insisted that it was not the name change to which he objected, but to the trustees' unilateral and undemocratic decision-making process. Much as in his first letter, though, Estelle's intemperate language got the better of him. He shifted to an *ad hominem* attack on "Liberals . . . [who] talk about democracy, but tell me, was democracy served when Frank McInerny (our new Athletic Director) and the Board of Trustees approved of this change without the student body's knowledge . . . until it was too late?"⁴⁰

The September 20th *Daily Collegian* printed a sarcastic letter from Bill King claiming that whatever new name was adopted, there would be those within the campus community "who wouldn't like it for one reason or another." That included names such as Saints or Padres. King insisted there would be, "Bible bearing individuals who would be irate at the thought of anything or anyone holy involved in the bestiality of UMass football." Even the "UMass Radishes" would incense supporters of Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers union. Like Estelle, King hurled further insults. If the word "Men" was excised from existing uniforms, it would probably fuel beliefs of UMass as "a commie, pinko hippie institution," whereas excising "Red" would lead coaches to task "their scrubs [with] answering mail trucks full of letters from bra burning libbers." He signed off with the capital letters, "RIGHT ON REDMEN."⁴¹

These students succeeded in focusing student attention on an issue that had been of secondary interest the previous spring. *Collegian* staff sought to tamp down the ire. The paper acknowledged that finding a new name would be difficult, offered praise for UMass administrators for dropping the Redmen, noted several other schools that had already dropped American Indian mascots, and alerted those seeking to maintain the status quo that theirs was a lost cause. The next day, an unsigned editorial reminded students that "racism is racism" and chastened, "In order to work for a freer society, it is necessary to fight against . . . ALL forms of racism."⁴²

Alas, the high road was strewn with wisecracks and insults. Jokesters proposed frivolous names such as Droogs and the Massachusetts No-Faults, and the *Collegian* fielded angrier responses. Another student, Buster Aznavour, also complained of the undemocratic process through which the Redmen were "dumped," and compared those who lobbied for the change but didn't go to football games as akin to "High School" when only a "Jerk or a Pussy" didn't follow football. He called for a vote, confident that "we like the Redmen because it is our name which our For [sic] Fathers made up for us as a part of our heritage." He ended with a PS: "Redmen scalp Maine." Student Geronimo Black—perhaps a pseudonym—cynically found

it appropriate that a team as bad as the UMass football squad be named “after the Red Martyrs to Native America, who were repeatedly mashed, trampled, beaten, whomped . . . [and] stomped.”⁴³

In the midst of this, two game-changing events occurred: a campus visit from famed Native American activist Vine Deloria Jr. (1933-2005) and the scheduling of a student vote. At the time, Deloria (Sioux) was perhaps the most eminent Native American scholar/activist in the nation. His 1969 book *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* and his leadership of the National Congress of American Indians placed him at the fore of the Red Power movement. It was one thing for students to spar with each other; it was quite another to ignore someone of Deloria’s stature. His talk raised ire for critical remarks on the use of Christian doctrine to subjugate Indians, but he was even more pointed regarding the mascot controversy. “All along Indians have been considered a species of animal and that’s my reason for opposing the name ‘Redmen.’” In his view, “You can rename your Redmen the Smallpoxes or the Genocides in memory of Jeffrey Amherst.”⁴⁴

On September 28, students weighed in on the name change—sort of. The vote took place in conjunction with the election of student government representatives. Those who complained of undemocratic processes could not have been happy with the ballot. The student senate had already approved the trustees’ decision from the previous May and winnowed a list of 20 possible names solicited from students. One suggestion was the Redmen, but it was dropped. The senate feared it might win and force the administration to unilaterally impose a new name. Student government leaders whittled the suggestions to six choices: Bay Staters, Colonials, Minutemen, Pioneers, Raiders, and Statesmen. It was surprising that the Statesmen reappeared, given that it had long been an unpopular handle and one suspects (although no documents verify it) that it was chosen to give the appearance of greater choice. The September 29 issue of the *Collegian* had a front-page box that gave the results of the student government vote and a single line that said merely that Minutemen was the “new name.”

Conspicuously missing from the September 29 *Collegian* and subsequent issues was any mention of the actual vote total. There were, however, cryptic remarks about “students staying away in droves” and the dangers of apathy. It is unlikely these referred to the upcoming presidential election. If the pages of the *Collegian* are any indication, UMass students were overwhelmingly enthusiastic about George McGovern’s campaign, who decisively won the Democratic primary in April and easily won Massachusetts in November 1972.⁴⁵ Inference suggests that students were suffering from fatigue over the mascot debate. Student government elections seldom generated high

turnouts; perhaps that was *precisely* why the mascot vote was placed on the same ballot.

The UMass football team opened their season without a nickname; the first official use of Minutemen occurred on Saturday, September 30, 1973, when UMass defeated Harvard in football. The following Monday's *Collegian* sports page double entendre headline read: "Minutemen Are For Real."⁴⁶ Grumbling over the name change died down for a time. In 1983 Native Americans held a powwow on the UMass campus, an unlikely event had not UMass teams been rechristened.⁴⁷

THE MINUTEMEN UNDER THE GUN, 1973-92

There is an ironic aftermath to the events of 1972-73. It was not lost on campus feminists that the new mascot was male. For a brief period, women's teams were referenced as the "Lady Minutemen." Not only was that something of an oxymoron, the term "lady" was not necessarily a compliment among those who rejected traditional gender roles.⁴⁸

"Minutewomen" quickly became the official designation, but it remains a highly problematic and ahistorical handle. Some women bore arms during the American Revolution, but they were remarkable outliers, not the norm. The vast majority of women near armed conflict were "camp followers." A small number of women took up arms to defend their homesteads, but most eighteenth-century women performed domestic roles consonant with pre-Revolutionary expectations of a wife, consort, and mother.⁴⁹

During the presidency of Ronald Reagan—who opposed the ERA and was prone to gaffes that infuriated women—an umbrella group calling itself University Peacemakers lobbied for a new referendum on the mascot. *Collegian* staff member Charles Francis Carroll wrote that the Minutemen figure was "both sexist and militaristic, that the symbol was used by military and alcohol advertisers, that it glorified war, and that the figure of a white man carrying a gun did not honor diversity in the nation or at UMass." His most cogent claim was that the terms Minuteman or "Minuteman Ladies" placed "women in a subservient role to the dominant Minuteman" and was thus "a clear case of institutional sexism." In response, Alumni Relations Director Jonathon Hite vigorously defended the Minuteman nickname. He noted that the costumed mascot didn't carry a gun "and never will." (The Minuteman statue with the gun was not installed on campus until 2002.)

The logo (a silhouette of Daniel Chester French's famed *Concord Minuteman*), however, did carry a gun, although Hite attempted to deflect criticism by pointing out that French was the son of Henry Flagg French,

the school's first president. Roger Roche, supervisor of the UMass Design Services, suggested a compromise that yielded ridicule rather than peace when he insisted that the mascot could be redone in “unisex” style.⁵⁰

Once again, UMass administrators were more involved in the debate than the student body. The day of the vote, student Jim Emmett—who identified as a “Yankee, peace-loving, anti-nuclear arms, anti-sexist and racially mixed student and athlete”—asked, “*Who cares?*” Just 17% of students (3,542) cast ballots and they defeated the proposal to abandon the Minutemen moniker by a 3:1 margin. After the vote, the Amherst town newspaper the *Daily Hampshire Gazette* dismissively blamed the controversy on “campus radicals,” especially the University Peacemakers, and lampooned those longing for a mascot with “no sexual characteristics.” The *Gazette* editorial also asserted that there was “nothing wrong” with the previous Redmen mascot (an irrelevant and needlessly provocative remark, as the Redmen issue had been settled 12 years earlier) and celebrated the fact that the “vast majority of UMass students did not buy” into the “nonsense” of another change.⁵¹ On campus, however, the *Collegian* received more letters after the vote was already decided, including one from a student named Libby Hubbard, whose name resurfaced nine years later.⁵²

CONTROVERSY REIGNITES, 1993-94

In 1993 the Minuteman mascot was once again under attack. As in 1984, there were those who saw the Minuteman as a symbol of violence, sexism, and white male subjugation over women and racial minorities. Much had changed since students last took positions on the appropriateness of the mascot. Although Bill Clinton was now in the White House, conservative Republicans emerged from the Reagan-Bush years (1980-92) with a sense of empowerment and a new set of tactics. Taking their cue from conservative strategists such as Roger Ailes, Patrick Buchanan, Rush Limbaugh, and Karl Rove, UMass Republicans adopted attack-style politics.⁵³



On the other side of the spectrum (although efforts to pass an Equal

Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution stalled in 1982), UMass women also adopted a more aggressive stance. This was also true of other groups opposed to the Minuteman label. Gay and lesbian students organized the UMass Lesbian Bisexual Gay Alliance (LBGA), students of color formed a coalition of African American, Latino/a, Asian/Pacific Islander, and Native American students (ALANA), and the Progressive Organization of Women's Rights (POWER) blasted the mascot through its spokesperson—Libby Hubbard, who was finishing an Ed.D. and working as a freelance photographer.

The upshot was that this campus controversy featured

two highly organized, militant factions. Previous debates over team names and mascots were often rancorous, but they were essentially intercollegial disputes; those of 1993-94 were fundamentally ideological. In October, the dispute heated when Martin Jones, an African American student representing the American Freedom Federation, a campus organization, denounced the Minuteman mascot as a sexist, racist “white man with a gun.” Jones was correct. Unlike earlier logos, the Minuteman of 1993 appeared more aggressive, his gun about to be hoisted to his shoulder. Jones’ remarks touched off a series of pro- and anti-Minutemen rallies as well as heated comments in the *Collegian*.

Michael Webb, a senior, commented that the campus “should be concentrating on more important things,” but few paid heed. Some opponents of the Minutemen designation echoed Jones; still others called the Minuteman regressive, non-inclusive, and an irrelevant representation of the university. Those defending the status quo repeatedly dismissed the protests as “ridiculous,” blamed it on campus activists, succumbed to mockery, or



sought to identify the Minuteman as a defender of freedom. Michael Hart was withering in his scorn:

I thank the victimologists for reminding me that I too, as an Irish-American, am a victim of that Limey bastard, the Minuteman. . . . Now that this repressed memory of victimization has been awakened I will have to insist that the multicultural, hermaphroditic hero that replaces him will have some Irish heritage.

Student Matt Flugger snidely suggested that a “box of crayons” become the new logo, and an anonymous *Collegian* cartoonist depicted an unemployed Minuteman holding a “For Hire” sign.⁵⁴

Both Governor William Weld and the UMass Republican Club intensified the rancor. Weld called Jones’ protest “political correctness run amok” and mocked Minutemen detractors as akin to opposing the Baltimore Orioles because they demeaned sparrows, or the New York Giants for unfairness to short people. When Jones went on a hunger strike in response to Weld’s remarks, one UMass Republican called him a “Pied Piper of every fool on this campus.” UMass Amherst Chancellor David Scott tried to cool tempers but abandoned efforts to mediate the dispute. Scott admitted, “I was not able to provide a productive forum for this dialogue before the issue evolved into a polarizing debate over the valor of the Minuteman in securing freedom for America.” Although he publicly expressed the hope that future discussion could take place, Scott essentially washed his hands of the entire matter. Unlike in 1984, there would be no student vote on the mascot.⁵⁵

Scott’s pronouncement did little to forestall more rallies and letters. Jones called a press conference attended by CNN reporters on October 18, and although he called off his hunger strike four days later, dueling rallies took place on campus the day after *Boston Globe* columnist Susan Trausch skewered UMass protestors, insinuated that some of them were drunk, and implied that Martin Jones was immature. Several days later, *Collegian* editor Michael Morrissey, who was also a member of the Republican Club and the head of a front organization titled the University of Massachusetts Alumni and Students to Save the Minuteman, faced off with another *Collegian* editor, Michele Monteiro, on the paper’s op-ed page. Someone, presumably from the Republican Club, contacted Rush Limbaugh’s office, as he too blasted anti-Minuteman groups. The Republican Club rally in late October drew just 70 people, though it nonetheless declared victory. On November 3,



Minuteman Statue (2002)

Sculpted by UMass Professor of Art John F. Townsend, the bronze statue stands 9.5' tall on a 4'-high granite base. Funds were raised by the Class of 1950, the same class that funded the statue of Metawampe in 1956. At their 45th reunion, the class had decided on the Minuteman statue. "Our class was the veteran's class," one member explained at the statue's dedication. "There were about 1,100 men and women in the class, and at least 900 of them were veterans. We chose the Minuteman because it is a patriotic symbol." ("UMass Class of 1950 to Dedicate Minuteman Statue.") Photos by Rob Weir (above) and John Townsend (right).



another *Collegian* staff writer, Greg Seare, denounced political correctness as “fascist.”⁵⁶

Tempers cooled as the fall semester wound down, helped in part by student excitement over the success of the UMass basketball team led by Coach John Calipari. The Mullins Center (the campus arena) was often filled and the team was on its way to a stellar 28-7 record.

Not even Minutemen basketball stars could prevent a spring semester flare-up of old animosities. In April, a *Collegian* editor wrote, “Hero worship in America is of one kind, the male kind. The Minuteman . . . is considered by some a sacred cow, beyond moral criticism and therefore not to be questioned.” POWER renewed the charge that the mascot was “racist and sexist”; Libby Hubbard took a swipe at the 26-floor library as looking “like a dick,” and charged that the Minuteman’s gun was also a phallic symbol. All of this made Dan Flynn, editor of a campus Republican Club paper, apoplectic. “How dare they insult our pride in American heritage,” he thundered.⁵⁷

The Minuteman weathered the 1993-94 storms. In 2002 the Class of 1950 raised the nearly \$100,000 necessary to raise the 114-inch-tall minuteman statue upon its 45-inch base in the shadow of what is now the W. E. B. DuBois Library. Tellingly, it is not a copy of Daniel Chester French’s monument in Concord, but rather one sculpted by John F. Townshend, a retired UMass art professor. The minuteman bears a musket, but it is at his side.⁵⁸

Less than a year later, UMass redesigned its costumed mascot. Although his oversized head might alarm small children, Sam the Minuteman does not carry a gun, and his face has a yellowish tint in some light. The redesigned



logo shows a running, determined-looking Minuteman, but his gun is slung over his right shoulder. Perhaps these changes deflect concern that the Minuteman is a sanguinary symbol of violence and white male dominance, but it is difficult to get past the reality that the university logo, symbol, and team names are gendered and racialized. If history is a guide, renewed battles over branding are likely.

CHALLENGING TEAM NAMES: MASSACHUSETTS & THE U.S.

As the fall 1993 Minutemen debates raged, Native American speakers, activists, and scholars of Native American history kept a discrete silence. This included First Wind, White Wing (Pocumtuck), who was directly asked for his view of the Minuteman symbol. He sidestepped the question and instead offered the view that Columbus Day should not be celebrated.⁵⁹ That fall included a three-part series of lectures on Native American history, a talk by Annette Jaimes (Juaneno) on American Indian feminism, and a lecture on Indian mythology. Meanwhile, Joyce White Deer Vincent was appointed the program coordinator for the Josephine White Eagle Cultural Center, a campus space for Native American students and allies.⁶⁰

From 1973 to 2020, progress on the appropriation of Native American culture has been slow. Although nearly 4.9 million Americans identify as American Indian or mixed race, they are just 1.6% of the total population, a factor that sometimes places them at the fringes of the American multicultural tapestry.⁶¹ As occurred on the UMass campus, focus on Native concerns often takes a back seat to issues deemed more pressing. In the post-1970s age of identity politics, Native American civil rights groups have competed with other advocacy groups for attention.⁶²



On the positive side, in 2019, the Cleveland Indians Major League Baseball team unveiled a new uniform logo, a feathered C, to replace Chief Wahoo, an insipid red-faced stereotype that some observers claim was also a backdoor anti-Semitic image. The new mascot, Slider, looks like a pink Muppet with yellow polka dots. It is notable, however, that local Native Americans had protested for Chief Wahoo's removal since the 1970s, but it

took Cleveland's appearance in the 2016 World Series to bring those protests to national attention.

However, the team is still called the Indians. Philip Yenyo of Ohio's American Indian Movement applauded Wahoo's departure but notes, "If they don't get rid of the name, then you're still going to have fans . . . wearing headdresses and painted in red-face."⁶³ Anyone who has watched costumed fans making exaggerated chopping gestures with foam tomahawks at Atlanta Braves or Kansas City Chiefs home games can readily understand Yenyo's concern. More ominously, the Supreme Court has ruled that bans on offensive trademarks and gestures are unconstitutional. For the moment, there is no clear legal path to compel recalcitrant owners.⁶⁴ This relegates cultural appropriation battles to individual struggles on state and local levels.

Local politics are often contentious. In 2014, researcher Hayley Mungia found that 2,128 of 42,624—roughly 5%—of all high school, college, and professional sports teams continued to use problematic Native symbols. The top four most commonly used problematic names were Warriors, Indians, Raiders, and Braves. There were still 75 teams calling themselves Redskins.⁶⁵ Since 2014, the number of objectionable names has whittled, but 9 major universities—including Bradley, Florida State, the University of Illinois, and the University of Utah—retain American Indian nicknames, as do scores of smaller institutions.

By January 2020, lawmakers in Arizona, Colorado, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, and Oregon have discussed bans on racist imagery, but only Maine has enacted an all-out ban, an action it took to assure "there is no backtracking" after Skowhegan High dropped its "Indians" moniker. Wisconsin and California have guidelines that ban some names, but they are loosely enforced and perhaps unconstitutional. As if to throw down the gauntlet, a high school in Killingly, Connecticut, dropped "Redmen" in favor of the "Red Hawks," but a local election placed a Republican majority on the board of education, which wishes to restore the Redmen.⁶⁶

In a 2019 *New York Times* article on Maine's ban on Native American mascots, Christine Hauser called reform a "movement that's inching forward." Massachusetts offers several cases that suggest "inching forward"⁶⁷ is precisely the pace of change. Amherst College lies about a mile from UMass. Until 2017, Amherst College teams were called the Lord Jeffs, a reference to Lord Jeffrey Amherst (1717-97), for whom the town is named. During Pontiac's War in 1763, Lord Amherst wrote a letter suggesting that smallpox be introduced into Indian tribes. It is unknown if his plan was

carried out, but 254 years after his letter, public pressure compelled Amherst College to rebrand its teams as the Mammoths.⁶⁸

Nearby Frontier Regional High School in South Deerfield retired “Redskins” in 2000, but Agawam High School officials met with such stiff opposition to replacing its American Indian logo and Brownies nickname that they dropped plans to change either.⁶⁹ The ferocity over name change debates was also on display in Turners Fall, 16 miles north of UMass. On February 14, 2017, the Gill-Montague School Committee voted to scrap the name Indians for its sports teams. Superintendent Michael Sullivan noted that although Indians signify pride for some, students needed to “understand that there is harm in the status quo,” that Native peoples “deserve . . . the same civil rights protections” as others, and that it’s “inappropriate to treat them or any racial, ethnic, religious or gender group in ways that perpetuate and legitimize stereotypes.”⁷⁰

Sullivan’s considered statements ran afoul of local passions. The school committee voted 6-3 for a name change, but the next day, 120 students—many of them wearing the school’s Indians logo—walked out of class and trudged 1.3 miles to the superintendent’s office. Sullivan’s meeting with students was “respectful,” but students complained loudly that their views had not been solicited. To his credit, Sullivan declared the name change a “civil rights decision.” In such matters, he told students, endless deliberation is “not the way our nation makes progress.” In May 2017, however, voters overwhelming passed a nonbinding resolution to return the American Indian mascot. A local group, Save the Turners Falls Indian Logo, gained the backing of the three school board members who opposed the name change, and helped scuttle the reelection of three of the six members who supported it. It took another year before Turners Falls teams were officially renamed the Thunder.⁷¹

As it transpired, demographics—not ethics—ended debate over the Indians. Turners Falls is a postindustrial village with a shrinking population. In the summer of 2019, just 13 students tried out for its football team, which forced boosters to forge a cooperative agreement with Mohawk Regional High School, located 20 miles west in Buckland. Ironically, Mohawk’s teams are currently called the Warriors and its emblem is a Native American man in full headdress, although discussion has taken place to change its team names as well.⁷²

Disputes roiling Western Massachusetts have been echoed in the central and eastern parts of the Commonwealth. In 2017 state representative James Miceli urged the legislature to *reject* any bill banning American Indian names. He asserted that voters from Tewksbury in his district had no desire

to replace their high school's Redmen nickname. The same year, the North Quincy school board turned a deaf ear to parents wishing to shorten high school team names from Red Raiders to Raiders. More distressing still, the board and the mayor rebuffed efforts to dump Yakoo, a cartooned, bare-chested, tomahawk-wielding Indian only marginally less stereotypical than Chief Wahoo. This prompted Citywide PTO, a parents' group, to assert, "Offensive but legal should not be the standard for our district."⁷³

These examples lend credence to Superintendent Michael Sullivan's view that deliberation is often antithetical to civil rights progress. At the end of 2019, 38 Massachusetts high schools still used Native American imagery, a figure representing 13.1% of the Commonwealth's 289 districts. Most use nicknames such as Indians, Warriors, Red Raiders, and Chiefs, but some are more provocative, such as the Braintree Wamps (short for Wampanoag), Algonquin Regional's (Northborough) Tomahawks, and the aforementioned Redmen of Tewksbury. Overall, the Commonwealth's percentage of Native-themed team names compares unfavorably to both the national average and to school districts in states such as Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, Ohio, Oklahoma, and South Dakota, where high school football is more popular and where American Indian team names were once so.⁷⁴

In 2019 newly elected Massachusetts State Senator Jo(anne) Comerford (D-Northampton) filed a bill that would ban an "athletic team, logo, or mascot that refers to, represents, or is associated with Native Americans, including aspects of Native American cultures and specific Native American tribes."⁷⁵ Comerford's bill will surely face stiff opposition. As in the debate over the Commonwealth's flag, Massachusetts citizens and legislators often resist when long-cherished traditions and symbols are challenged.

It is now nearly 50 years since the UMass Redmen became the Minutemen, yet Massachusetts Native Americans still lack control over their own cultural heritage within a commonwealth that bears the name of Wampanoag tribes. As UMass campus battles over the Minutemen demonstrate, Native American civil rights are too often relegated to a subordinate status. It may take a change in heart or composition of the United States Supreme Court before Native Americans enjoy a federally enshrined right to control how they are publicly presented. We shall see whether Senator Comerford's bill places Massachusetts at the forefront of change.

Notes

1. Scott Merzbach, "Sign of the Times," *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, Mar. 23, 2019. A bill, cosponsored by Western Massachusetts Representative Lindsay Sabadosa and Senator Jo Comerford, would both change the flag and ban all unauthorized use of Native American names and images. A similar bill failed in 1984.
2. Ibid. See also Arthur Charles Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (Edinburgh: T. C. and E. C. Jack, 1909).
3. Merzbach, "Sign of the Times;" Sean Philip Cotter, "Cambridge Politicians, Native Americans Take Issue With 'Offensive' State Flag," *Boston Herald*, May 15, 2019.
4. The State House has a large triptych window upon which various designs through the ages appear. The Indian figure has disappeared on occasion, but not for long. A Native has appeared on the Great Seal of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts since 1780.
5. There is spirited campus debate whether the nickname Sam is for Colonial patriot Samuel Adams or, as more likely, gained currency because of a popular book for juvenile readers, Nathaniel Benchley, *Sam the Minuteman*, published in 1969.
6. Charles Bally and Albert Secheyay, eds. Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, Miami University Press, 1971, Reprint of 1916 original).
7. Brigit Katz, "At Least 110 Confederate Monuments and Symbols Have Been Removed Since 2015," *Smithsonian Magazine*, June 8, 2018.
8. Stephanie Fryburg, Hazel Markus, Daphna Oyserman, and Joseph M. Stone, "Of Warrior Chiefs and Indian Princesses: The Psychological Consequences of American Indian Mascots," *Basic and Applied Psychology*, 30: 208-218, 2008. See also Joseph Hemmer, "Exploration of American Indian Symbols: A First Amendment Analysis," *American Indian Quarterly*, 32:2 (Spring 2008), 121-140; Jason E. Black, "The 'Mascotting' of Native Americans: Construction, Commodity, and Assimilation," *American Indian Quarterly* 26:4 (Autumn 2002), pp. 605-622; Naomi Mezey, "The Paradoxes of Cultural Property," *Columbia Law Review*, 107:8 (Dec. 2007); Nancy Shoemaker, "How Indians Got to Be Red," *American Historical Review*, Jun. 1997, 625-44; Frederick E. Hoxie, *This Indian Country: American Activists and the Place They Made* (New York: Penguin Books, 2012).
9. CBS News, "Controversial Mascots," accessed Dec. 29, 2019, <https://www.cbsnews.com/pictures/controversial-mascots/13/>. Note: The use of "Cubans" as a team name also has a checkered historical path. Baseball became popular in Cuba in the 1870s, but Negro League baseball teams sometimes adopted the nickname because Latinos with skin coloration too dark to pass as white played for their teams during major league baseball's segregation era (1889-1947).
10. Hayley Munguia, "The 2,128 Native American Mascots People Aren't Talking About," *FiveThirtyEight*, Sept. 5, 2014, accessed Dec. 29, 2019, <https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/the-2128-native-american-mascots-people-arent-talking-about/>.

11. UMass Amherst is the only campus to use the team names discussed in this article. Lowell teams are called the River Hawks, Boston the Beacons, and Dartmouth the Corsairs.
12. *The Index*, ND 1897, UMass Archives.
13. The now-archaic term “normal school” means that teachers had to master “norms,” the standards and practices of teaching theory, methods, and curriculum development. It derives from the French phrase *école normale*. Normal school was once the official designation of teacher preparatory training. Census data was pulled from the 1940 Census, Part II: “Comparative Occupation Statistics 1870-1930.”
14. *Massachusetts Weekly Collegian* (hereafter abbreviated as *Collegian*), Oct. 24 and Oct. 31, 1928. Note: The college’s first student-run newspaper appeared in 1890 and was called Aggie Life. The name changed to the *College Signal* in 1901, and became the *Weekly Massachusetts Collegian* in 1914. In 1956 the *Collegian* became the *Tri-Weekly Collegian*, which begat the *Daily Collegian* in 1967.
15. “Mascots,” University of Massachusetts Special Collections. See also unsigned editorial, “A College Mascot,” *Collegian*, Jan. 28, 1931.
16. *Ibid*, *Collegian*, Jan. 28, 1931.
17. *Ibid*; “Senate May Ask for Student Vote in Mascot Debate,” *Collegian*, Mar. 25, 1937; Untitled opinion piece, *Collegian*, Apr. 8, 1937.
18. “Collegian Finds Former Mascot But Prudence Is Lost Again—Info Wanted,” *Collegian*, Mar. 13, 1936. Note: In 1901, a figure called “General” was called the college mascot. It’s unclear who or what the General was. *Collegian*, “Rope Pull,” 6, 1901.
19. “Name Voting Lags as Deadline Nears,” Oct. 2, 1947; George Burgess, “Vote for Redmen as Team Name, Burgess Says,” Sept. 25, 1947; Burgess, “The Crow’s Nest,” Oct. 23, 1947. University as a Whole, Box 45:1, University of Massachusetts Special Collections (hereafter abbreviated UMSC).
20. “Mascots,” Document located in the University of Massachusetts Special Collections. See also John E. Burke to R. J. McCartney, “Naming of Athletic Teams,” Jan. 5, 1967. University as a Whole, RG 1/6, UMSC.
21. University as a Whole, Box 45:1, UMSC. The song was titled “The Redmen.” The final vote on the Redmen was 620-459 in favor of acceptance.
22. The Metawampe Club consisted of faculty members who went on outdoor camping expeditions and walks through local mountain ranges that were dubbed “Metawampe hikes.” The club also helped maintain a section of the Appalachian Trail in the Berkshires between Washington and Tyringham.
23. These are Connecticut River towns roughly eight miles from Amherst.
24. John E. Burke to R. J. McCartney, “Naming of Athletic Teams,” Jan. 5, 1967. University as a Whole, RG 1/6, UMSC.
25. When I entered UMass as a doctoral student in 1985, one could still see the ghost images of “Braves” and “Squaws” on the doors of Student Union restrooms.

26. Tom Engelhardt, *The End of Victory Culture: Cold War America and the Disillusionment of a Generation*, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007); Richard Slotkin, "Gunfighters and Green Berets," in Steven Mintz and Randy Roberts, eds. *Hollywood's America: United States History Through Its Films* (St. James, NY: Brandywine Press, 1993, 231-41).
27. "Mascots," UMSC.
28. W. J. Lhamon Jr. *Raising Cain: Blackface Performance from Jim Crow to Hip Hop* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); Eric Lott, *Love & Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); S. Elizabeth Bird, *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996); Deloria's views are discussed in Kevin Bruyneel, "Race, Colonialism, and the Politics of Indian Sports Names and Mascots: The Washington Football Team Case," *Native American and Indigenous Studies* Vol. 3:2 (2016), 1-24.
29. The Baby Boomer college surge intensified due to several unanticipated factors. First, the blue-collar workforce declined while the white-collar workforce grew from around 30% to 50%. Many of these jobs required higher levels of education. Second, education became an aspirational dream for increasingly larger numbers of Americans. In 1940, less than 40% of Americans completed high school; by 1970 that figure soared to 75%. This corresponded with a jump in college enrollment, with blue-collar families hoping that their children would go to college and rise in status. Third, women entered college in higher numbers. Finally, after 1968, higher numbers of young men took advantage of student deferments to avoid military conscription during the Vietnam War.
30. Raymond Hewitt, "Facts and Figures 1967 University of Massachusetts Amherst," Jan. 12, 1968, accessed Dec. 29, 2019, http://www.umass.edu/oir/sites/default/files/publications/factbooks/Factbook_1967.pdf; "150 Years of UMass History," accessed Dec. 29, 2019, <http://www.umass.edu/150/timeline>.
31. To get a sense of the campus political and social climate, I perused most of the run of the *Daily Collegian* for 1971-73.
32. "O God!! It's Back," *Daily Collegian*, Sept. 16, 1969.
33. John J. Maginnis, "Consideration of the following proposal by the Trustee Committee on Government and University relations is hereby requested," Dec. 16, 1966, RG 1/6, UMSC.
34. Report of the Trustee Committee on Government and University Relations, Feb. 27, 1967, UMSC.
35. Numerous Native Americans insist that terms such as "Redmen" and "Redskins" should be completely off-limits. They go so far as to say that it should be the "R-word" equivalent to the "N-word" used to denigrate African Americans. Bruyneel, "Race, Colonialism, and the Politics of Indian Sports Names," *Native American and Indigenous Studies* Vol. 3:2 (2016).
36. May 3, 1972 Student Association Motion 72-230; May 4, 1972, UMass Student Government Association, in RG 1/6, UMSC.

37. "Indians Humiliated?" Letter from Bob Estelle, *Daily Collegian*, Sept. 13, 1972.
38. "Destroying Myths," Letter from Linda Burr, Vivienne Jones, and Earl Strickland, *Daily Collegian*, Sept. 15, 1972.
39. "Racist Slur," Letter from David Miller, *Daily Collegian*, Sept. 18, 1972.
40. "Once Again, Redmen," Letter from Bob Estelle, Sept. 19, 1972. See also "Redmen' Name to Be Dropped," *Daily Collegian*, Sept. 11, 1972.
41. "More Redmen Drivel", Letter from Bill King; Tom Fitzgerald, "Searching for a Name," *Daily Collegian*, Sept. 20, 1972.
42. Fitzgerald, "Searching for a Name," *Daily Collegian*, Sept. 26, 1972; Tom Fitzgerald, "Racism is Racism," Sept. 21, 1972, *Daily Collegian*. David Miller held out a qualified olive branch to Estelle saying that if his point was the process, that was a point worthy of discussion. He added, though, that it was "difficult to see any other" point of view other than Native heritage in his first letter. He gallantly signed off "Peace, Mr. Estelle." See Miller, "Redmen Again!" *Daily Collegian*, Sept. 20, 1972.
43. See, for example, "The Most Burning Issue of the Era," letter from Lewis M. Horzempa, *Daily Collegian*, Sept. 21, 1972. Horzempa jocularly noted that all other rival New England universities had animal names, UMass should have one too. But since the good ones—Wildcats, Bears, Catamounts, etc.—had been taken, UMass might have to settle for the Turkeys. See also "MS Found in a Bottle," the headline in the *Poor Richard's Weekly Magazine* insert under which Aznavour's and Black's letters appeared, *Daily Collegian*, Sept. 22, 1972.
44. "Deloria Decries Christian Doctrine," *Daily Collegian*, Sept. 26, 1972. Deloria's comment re: smallpox and Jeffrey Amherst is linked to the allegation that the town's namesake deliberately traded disease-carrying blankets with local Algonquian tribes.
45. *Daily Collegian*, Sept. 29, 1972. Note: Richard Nixon trounced George McGovern in the general election, with only Massachusetts and the District of Columbia voting for McGovern. McGovern won the Bay State by nearly 10%. After articles of impeachment were drawn and Nixon resigned on August 9, 1974, bumper stickers appeared worded "Don't Blame Me! I'm From Massachusetts."
46. Earle Barroll, "The Minutemen Are For Real," *Daily Collegian*, Oct. 2, 1973.
47. The event was captured in a photo spread from Richard Carpenter, *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, Sept. 19, 1983.
48. By the 1970s, "lady" had lost many of its genteel associations and stood as a backward-looking symbol of enforced domesticity. Indeed, during the battle to pass an Equal Rights Amendment, opponents of the ERA often used "lady" in positive juxtaposition to "feminists" who would rob women of their dignity, force them into the workplace, and send them into military combat. Phyllis Schlafly (1924-2016) and her conservative Eagle Forum organization were especially skillful in such scare tactics.
49. Carol Berkin, *Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the Struggle for America's Independence*, (New York Alfred Knopf, 2005); Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England 1650-1750*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1991). Note: The term camp follower was a catchall term that

referred to women who acted in positive roles such as suppliers, cooks, laundresses, and sutlers, or in the less savory role of prostitutes.

50. Nancy Larmon, "Future of UM Mascot up for Vote," *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, Mar. 13, 1984; "Why We Need a New Mascot," University Peacemakers letter from Charles Francis Carroll, *Daily Collegian*, Mar. 13, 1984.

51. "Students Want Minutemen," Unsigned news article; "Does anyone really care?" letter from Jim Emmett, *Daily Collegian*, Mar. 14, 1984 [Italics in original]; "The Revisionists," Unsigned op-ed, *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, Mar. 16, 1984.

52. "Mascot 'unintentionally' sexist," Letter from William Richards, Tristan Knapp, and David Pickering, *Daily Collegian*, Mar. 15, 1984; "Minuteman symbol violent," Letter from Libby Hubbard, *Daily Collegian*, Mar. 26, 1984; "Get rid of the Minuteman," Letter from Tom Sturtevant, *Daily Collegian*, Mar. 29, 1984.

53. Rush Limbaugh began his radio career in 1966 and went into syndication in 1988. In 1992 Ailes produced Limbaugh's first nationally syndicated television show.

54. Jones' remark was reported by Tracy Monahan, "UMass mascot topic of rally," *Daily Collegian*, Oct. 13, 1993.

55. Student reactions and comments can be read in the following locations: "Wanted: An inclusive mascot," Letter from Michael Hart, *Daily Collegian*, Oct. 14, 1993; "Why not a box of crayons?" Letter from Matt Flugger, *Daily Collegian*, Oct. 18, 1993; Kelly Spang, "Campus rallies around mascot," *Daily Collegian*, Oct. 14, 1993; "Why UMass shouldn't change Minutemen" and "Minuteman issue is addressed, Headings for letters column," *Daily Collegian*, Oct. 18, 1993; E. C. Thomas, "Minuteman misconstrued," *Daily Collegian*, Oct. 18, 1993; Sharon Cousin, "The true history of the Minutemen," *Daily Collegian*, Oct. 19, 1993; Chancellor Scott explains his position." Letter from David K. Scott, *Daily Collegian*, Oct. 19, 1993.

56. Trudy Tynan, "Chancellor Scott target of UM logo backlash," *Daily Collegian*, Oct. 19, 1993; Susan Trausch, "Rejecting our history won't change our culture's future," *Boston Globe*, Oct. 21, 1993; Michele Montiero, "Against the Minuteman" and Michael Morrissey, "For the Minuteman," *Daily Collegian*, Oct. 26, 1993; "Minutemen sentiments voiced," Unsigned article, *Daily Collegian*, Oct. 28, 1993; Greg Seare, "Fascism under disguise," *Daily Collegian*, Nov. 3, 1993.

57. Sharon Cousins, "The Minuteman: a loaded symbol," *Daily Collegian*, Apr. 27, 1994; Unsigned editorial, "Women protest mascot: Fight occurs between women, Minuteman supporters," *Daily Collegian*, Apr. 27, 1994. Note: In his October 1993 remarks, Governor Weld also ridiculed "campus radicals" who wanted the UMass tower library to be named for W. E. B. DuBois. Nonetheless, on Oct. 5, 1994, UMass trustees approved the name change.

58. "UMass Class of 1950 to Dedicate Minuteman Statue Oct. 12 Across from Campus Pond," University of Massachusetts Amherst News & Media Relations press release, Oct. 10, 2002. See photo.

59. Tracy Monahan, "UMass mascot topic of rally," *Daily Collegian*, Oct. 13, 1993.

60. Vanessa Ann, Native American issues discussed," *Daily Collegian*, Oct. 14, 1993. The center remains a vital part of campus life.

61. Data comes from the 2010 Census.

62. Tom Withers, "Indians will retire Chief Wahoo in '19," Associated Press, Jan. 30, 2018; "Cleveland Indians dropping Chief Wahoo logo from uniforms," *Boston Globe*, Jan. 30, 2018. Note: The Cleveland Indians are an example of how "heritage" claims are often specious. The city has had a baseball team since the 1870s, the original name being the Forest Citys [sic]. When Cleveland became a major league city in 1882, they were called the Blues, which reflected the color of their uniforms and athletic stockings. (This was in keeping with established practice, hence team names such as the White Sox, Red Stockings, and Red Sox.) Long before they became the Indians, Cleveland teams bore nicknames such as the Spiders, Infants, Lake Shores, Bluebirds, and Broncos. In 1901 they signed star player Napoleon Lajoie; two years later, they became the Cleveland Napoleons, which was shortened to Naps. They became the Indians when Lajoie retired at the age of 40 in 1915, and the reason is an unpleasant one. Some fans informally called the Naps the "Indians" because Louis Sockalexis, a Native American, played for Cleveland for three years (1897-99). It was a lame joke, as Sockalexis played just one full season (1897) before alcoholism derailed his career.

63. Ibid, "Cleveland Indians dropping . . ."

64. "Supreme Court ruling could benefit Redskins in battle over team's name," *Boston Globe*, Jun. 20, 2017.

65. Munguia, "The 2,128 Native American Mascots People Aren't Talking About."

66. Christine Hauser, "Maine Just Banned Native American Mascots." *New York Times*, May 22, 2019; Editorial Board, "Schools in 2 states just retired Native American mascots. The D.C. NFL team should take note," *Washington Post*, Aug. 17, 2019; Associated Press, "Indian mascot painted over at high school," *Boston Globe*, Aug. 22, 2019; "Associated Press, "Fight over mascot leaves school minus nickname," *Boston Globe*, Sept. 13, 2019; Associated Press, "Board considers reinstating mascot," *Boston Globe*, Dec. 8, 2019.

67. Hauser, "Maine Just Banned Native American Mascots."

68. Rachel Hanley, "Amherst Announces Mammoths Mascot," Amherst College, Apr. 3, 2017, accessed Jan. 1, 2020, https://www.amherst.edu/news/news_releases/2017/4-2017/amherst-announces-mammoths-mascot. Note: The Mammoths was chosen because of prehistoric fossil finds in the Connecticut River Valley. A nearly complete mammoth skeleton is the centerpiece of the college's natural history museum. The Jeffrey Amherst Inn also rebranded as the Inn on Boltwood.

69. Jay Asser, "More than just history within a box," *Jay's World of Sports* (blog), May 1, 2012, accessed Jan. 1, 2020, <http://jay1237.wordpress.com/2012/05/01/more-than-just-history-within-a-box/>.

70. Miranda Davis, "Board votes to remove Indian mascot," *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, Feb. 15, 2017.

71. Miranda Davis, "Students walk out to protest mascot vote," Feb. 17, 2017, *Daily Hampshire Gazette*; Unsigned, "Montague voters back return of Indian mascot," May 17, 2017, *Daily Hampshire Gazette*; Steve LeBlanc and Bob Salsberg, "Native American mascot ban debated," *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, Jun. 7, 2017; Chris Collins,

“In the Arena: While Turners logo saga is over; it’s just the beginning for school committee,” *Greenfield Recorder*, May 5, 2018. By a 3:1 margin voters supported retention of the Indians’ name.

72. Jeff Lajoie, “Turners suspends football program,” *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, Aug. 23, 2019; Grace Bird, “Mohawk in discussions to change mascot,” *Greenfield Recorder*, Feb. 22, 2019. As of 2019, Turners Falls High had just 200 students in grades 9-12. Turners Falls was once a thriving mill village that specialized in paper and cutlery, but it has been in slow decline since the 1930s and in 2020 has a median family income considerably below the state average. Barring a dramatic change of fortune, it may be just a matter of time before Turners Fall High School is absorbed by Greenfield High School, just 2.8 miles distant. Note: Mohawk Regional is named for the Mohawk Trail, a path once followed by Mohawk tribes from New York to the Deerfield River for shad runs. Today, Route 2 follows part of that path between Greenfield, MA and the New York border.

73. Steve LeBlanc and Bob Salsberg, “Native American mascot ban debated,” *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, Jun. 7, 2017; Jill Terreri Ramos, “Mascot battle resumes in Quincy,” *Boston Globe*, Dec. 17, 2017.

74. A full list of Massachusetts schools retaining Native American names and mascots can be viewed on the Cultural Survival Website. See “MA Native American Mascot Ban,” Jan. 30, 2019, accessed Dec. 30, 2019, <https://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/ma-native-american-mascot-ban-house-sponsors-needed-feb-1>. It should also be noted that in some of the states mentioned, Native names are attached to Indian reservation teams.

75. Grace Bird, “Legislator wants to right historical wrongs,” Jan. 29, 2019, *Greenfield Recorder*.