“We All Have a Part to Play”:
Salvage Tourism in American Indian Historical Pageantry

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
BY

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Adviser: JEAN O’BRIEN

MAY 2015

Acknowledgements

I am, like my father, often stubborn and independent. However, as I have been reminded time and time again throughout this humbling and gratifying journey, I just can't do it alone.

First and foremost, there is my adviser, Jeani O'Brien, who has read every single word I have ever written – many of them multiple times over. I am eternally grateful for the ways in which she has motivated me, encouraged me, and guided me throughout my graduate school career. I can never repay her for the time she has dedicated to me, and I thank you from the bottom of my heart. David Chang has pushed me to challenge myself and expand my horizons, which has made me a better scholar. I thank David as well as Kat Hayes for serving as my reviewers, and their feedback was instrumental in shaping this final product. Kevin Murphy and Brenda Child have also kindly served on my committees, and I truly appreciate their time and insight. Barbara Welke's comments during my preliminary exams urged me to look beyond the scope of my initial research. Any errors in the final product, though, are mine and mine alone.

The American Indian and Indigenous Studies Workshop has been my academic home since my first year of graduate school – and special thanks to Boyd Cothran, who helped me with my senior undergraduate thesis and my graduate school applications. Many, many thanks to all those who have read my jumbled, nearly incoherent thoughts and helped shape them into this final work, including Jimmy Sweet, Marie Balsley Taylor, Samantha Majhor, and Jesus Estrada-Perez. My dissertation group has also been incredibly important to this work, and many thanks to Laura Luepke, Ellen Manovich,

Melissa Hampton, and Joanne Jahnke-Wegner. Laura and Joanne have been comrades and confidants since our first year of grad school, and they have proven time and time again that even somewhat disparate bodies of work can create more meaningful scholarship.

Kasey Keeler, Rose Miron, Jess Arnett, Akikwe Cornell, and Amber Annis have become some of my dearest friends and colleagues. They have taught my classes while I was on research trips, babysat my son, come over during a Packers game to workshop materials, and have been wonderfully supportive through it all. My life is incredibly brighter because of you, and I am beyond thankful to have you all in my life. My dear friend Ruth Knezevich, who will have a Ph.D. of her own shortly, has shared with me the trials and triumphs of graduate school. Sarah Rickert and Elizabeth Huninghake babysat Leo for us, helping to ensure that this dissertation was finished in somewhat of a timely manner. Heidi, Elizabeth, and Kim have been wonderful friends since our undergrad years at the U, and I am so grateful for your friendship. Years ago, on my very first research trip, Brian and Moira Sharkey refused to let me take a cab to their house, even though multiple delays landed me in Boston in the middle of the night. Their hospitality was, and still is, much appreciated. Chris and Brooke Amys (and Taylor and Luke) welcomed me to North Carolina with open arms and homemade pizza, which sustained me throughout my research trip.

To my grandmothers, Margaret Pascale (Ogichidaakwe) and Irma Wilber, who were without a doubt the two strongest – and funniest – women I have ever known. Miigwech to my uncle, Joseph D. Pascale III, for sending me the newspaper clippings and testimony that were the genesis for Chapter 2. I miss them more and more each day

and, while I like to think I've made them proud, I bet they would think my little Leo hung the sun and the moon and the stars. My in-laws, Gary and Kathie Phillips, have helped us in innumerable ways. To Jeff and Jill Menzel; Tad, Sara, Ella, Lucas, and Ryan Campana; and Abby and Billy Wiberg – thank you for not taking it personally when I spent countless holidays reading and writing. My parents, Jerry and Karen Wilber, have been my most enthusiastic and ardent supporters, from ballet and piano recitals to my first NAISA presentation in Sacramento. I had written a long, rambling paragraph about them but, when it comes down to it, there is nothing I can say except thank you, thank you, thank you for all that you've done for me. I hope Leo and this dissertation are adequate repayment.

And last – but certainly, certainly not least – there is Jake, who married me a month into graduate school and has never looked back. Jake has been my biggest advocate and the most understanding husband an academic could ask for, offering unconditional support and endless chocolate and cups of tea when the going got rough. Our son Leo, born in August of 2013, is a stubborn, silly, and smart little boy. His smile lights up my life, even though his intense desire to bang on a computer keyboard and reach for every book or loose paper within his reach is clearly a symptom of an academic mother.

I love you – a lot, even.

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"Another Openin', Another Show": Finding a Place for American Indian Historical Pageants[1]

"From the woodlands to your right will appear the remnants of a dying race of people," the souvenir program for the 1925 Apostle Islands Indian Pageant proclaimed. "Within the last decade their numbers have been alarmingly reduced by neglect and subjugation. Already the American people realize the swiftness of a destructive force which is destined to eliminate the Red Man from his Native haunts and his happy virile life."[2]

The pageant, held in northern Wisconsin along the south shore of Lake Superior in 1924 and 1925, was one of many that popped up across the country during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Opportunistic pageant committees, local businesses, entrepreneurs, and small-town residents all sought to capitalize on not only white American fascinations with American Indians but also on the widespread fear that, like the disappearing forests and open spaces on the outskirts of supposed civilization, American Indians would soon cease to exist. American Indian historical pageants (theatrical portrayals of local tribal history whose level of accuracy could leave much to be desired) allowed white Americans to retrace a particular historical thread by witnessing dramatic reenactments "in the exact spots" wherein the exciting action had originally occurred.[3]

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[1] "Another Op'nin,' Another Show," Cole Porter, *Kiss Me, Kate* (1948).
[2] "Second Annual Apostle Islands Indian Pageant" program, 1925. Courtesy of Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.
[3] Promotional booklet, Bayfield Progress Print, Bayfield, Wisconsin, 1923.

This dissertation, entitled "'We All Have a Part to Play': Salvage Tourism in American Indian Historical Pageantry," examines three historical pageants in Wisconsin, North Carolina, and Oregon through the lenses of race and authenticity, performance and memory, tourism and the economy, and popular culture and federal policy. This dissertation centers on three American Indian historical pageants of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, each of which is analyzed as a case study, not a continuous narrative, due to geographic and chronological distinctions. The Apostle Islands Indian Pageant was staged in the early 1920s on the Red Cliff Ojibwe reservation in northern Wisconsin. It is unique in the sense that, unlike the other two, it was only produced for a few years due to what organizers deemed inadequate attendance based on the high production costs. The Happy Canyon Indian Pageant and Wild West Show began as night-time entertainment for audiences at the Pendleton Round-Up in Pendleton, Oregon. The "wild West" portion of the pageant opened in 1914, and Round-Up founder J. Roy Raley, with the help of Anna Minthorn Wannassay, a Carlisle graduate from the Confederate Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, added an "Indian portion" to the show in 1916. Happy Canyon currently boasts a cast of more than 500 Native and non-Native volunteers who pride themselves on their long-standing familial participation as well as the pageant's near-century-old script. *Unto These Hills* debuted in Cherokee, North Carolina, in 1950 after the creation of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park and after several decades of small-scale, tourist-driven enterprises involving the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. The initial production was, by the 2000s, outdated, and its paternalistic bent had never been readily accepted by the Eastern Band. After several successive attempts at revising the production, in the twenty-first century the pageant is

still struggling to sustain worthwhile attendance numbers as it attempts to draw more members of the Eastern Band into the pageant as performers, as well as other indigenous actors, but changing ideas of tourism have led to diminishing ticket sales and revenue.

This introduction explores the historical context of American Indian performances, including pageants, and seeks to situate American Indian historical pageantry in the historiography of indigenous performance such as world's fairs, Wild West shows, boarding school productions, and powwows. I argue that these pageants are crucial to understanding how American identity was constructed in relation to American Indian identity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century: as new immigrants arrived, white Americans tried to distinguish themselves from these newcomers by claiming the history of the nation's first inhabitants as their own. I examine pageantry's intersection with federal Indian policy as well as the role of popular culture in the history of these performances. How were, and in some instances are, these pageants so popular and profitable? I investigate how and why pageantry became a viable element of localized tourism. Why did pageant organizers and promoters believe tourists would travel so far to see a pageant, and why *did* tourists travel so far to see a pageant? Why were pageants often produced in remote locations, and is this remoteness critical to how did non-Natives try to benefit from these performances of indigeneity? Finally, I interrogate how notions of "vanishing Indians" and white American constructions of indigenous authenticity function within these pageants and the larger tourism industry through the continued commodification of Indians and Indianness.

"A rose by any other name": A Brief Overview of Terminology[4]

A majority of the terms used within this dissertation are fraught with historical context. L.G. Moses contends that words such as "authentic," "savage," and "primitive," as well as the ideologies behind them, "burdened the language well into the twentieth century." At the same time, however, he noted that a constant barrage of quotation marks around now-problematic terms can be not only tedious but condescending to the reader.[5] Therefore, it should be noted that, when these terms are used, they do not reflect the author's viewpoint. Rather, they function largely within the framework of outside (meaning non-Native) expectations surrounding their use as signifiers of American Indians and American Indian cultural practices. In this dissertation, I use "indigenous" in the manner of Kevin Bruyneel, who says the term is most often used to describe people "who have existed and/or continue to exist under colonial rule."[6] Therefore, I use American Indian, Native American, Native, and indigenous interchangeably. Similarly, I use tribally-specific designations, such as Red Cliff Ojibwe, Bad River Ojibwe, Eastern Band of Cherokee Nation, and Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation in regards to those particular tribal nations or bands. Conversely, I use the term "non-Native" in regards to those who are generally of Euro-American or Anglo-American descent.

It is crucial to note that American Indian historical pageantry is not the same as American historical pageantry. While the latter, as David Glassberg contends, were largely civic celebrations established to commemorate particular events, such as a town's

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[4] William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet,* act II, scene 2.
[5] L.G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1833-1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), xiii.
[6] Kevin Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty: The Postcolonial Politics of U.S.-Indigenous Relations* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), ix.

centennial, American Indian historical pageantry functioned in a distinct manner. I consider American Indian historical pageants as productions based on local Native history for the purpose of creating a tourist enterprise. Largely created, directed, organized, and produced by non-Natives for largely non-Native audiences, these Indian pageants were not, as this dissertation demonstrates, concerned with *preserving* indigenous history in the same vein as salvage anthropology. Rather, I argue that these pageants were created solely as a means of commodifying Indian peoples, Indian places, and Indian histories in order to boost the local economy and draw tourists to the region. In order to do that, though, pageant organizers had to create and publicize what they considered to be – and what a non-Native audience would expect at – a supposedly authentic Indian pageant.

Paige Raibmon asserts that the term "authenticity" should be used as shorthand for late nineteenth-century notions of the measurement of "the real thing" – meaning the ways in which American Indians were supposed to look, dress, and act in regards to Anglo-American determinants of stereotypically authentic Indianness.[7] The term is not used as the definitive categorization of the true elements of a society or culture. Therefore, it should be noted that these markers were based largely on the forced and fictive binary of authentic Indianness versus Anglo-American modernity. For instance, Philip Deloria deems the authentic as "a culturally constructed category created in opposition to a perceived state of inauthenticity."[8] Secondly, the expectation of authenticity played a large role in these determinations of Indianness against the marker of whiteness. The expectations of the white audience members at the Apostle Islands

[7] Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast* (Durham: Duke University Press), 3.
[8] Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 101.

Indian Pageants, for example, were likely not met by the Red Cliff Ojibwe, a people who rode in birchbark canoes, not on the backs of wild horses.

Similarly, the perception of American Indians as anti-modern is rooted in Anglo-American imaginings of what Indians should be in opposition to themselves.[9] The markers of traditional versus modern are similar to those of the authentic/inauthentic binary, meaning that modern white Americans positioned themselves in opposition to the traditional American Indians. The division between traditional Indians and modern whites is an application of the "savage/civilized" binary, one that, according to Moses, allowed for the continuation of the dualism where "natural life in the wilds was opposed to disciplined life in civil society."[10] Primitivism and savagery were complemented by the notion of "progress," wherein American Indians were apparently transformed into white Americans through assimilation, and those who did not would simply "disappear with the passing of the frontier."[11] Anglo-Americans had long depicted American Indians as a "vanishing race," a trope that painted Indians as "doomed to extinction by the march of civilization," provoking feelings of melancholy and pity.[12] However, as this dissertation will demonstrate, the seemingly inevitable disappearance of American Indians was a crucial component of their continued commodification.

"Oblivious to the staring crowds": A Brief Examination of Indian Performance[13]

Buffalo Bill Cody's use (and some would say exploitation) of American Indians in his Wild West shows has been well-publicized and analyzed. However, the

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[9] Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 101.
[10] Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933*, 2-3.
[11] Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians*, 3.
[12] Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians*, 13.
[13] "Weird Dances of Indian Braves Bring Tourists to Reservation," *Superior Telegram*, July 9, 1924.

commodification of Indians and Indian performance arose long before Buffalo Bill saddled up for his first Wild West production in 1883, and white Americans were not the only ones who profited from these performances. In 1828, a group of Wisconsin Ho-Chunk traveled to Washington, D.C. for a meeting with President John Quincy Adams. The day before their meeting, they staged a performance between the White House and the Potomac River where patrons who paid a one-dollar admission price were able to witness, among others, what local newspapers called a "discovery dance, a mock battle and the rejoice dance."[14] This performance, which Grant Arndt considers "the first documented Ho-Chunk commercial cultural performance for a white American audience," shows that the Ho-Chunk were clearly conscious of their ability to garner money simply by being Indian. Several decades later, thirty Ho-Chunk dancers and their families set up a camp and Indian village on the Midway of the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Others toured with Wild West shows, played lacrosse in Dubuque at the 1897 Iowa State Fair, and in 1898 the Ho-Chunk put on an "Indian Show" at Camp Douglas, Wisconsin, and participated in an exhibit at the Minnesota state fair.[15]

Steamboat rides through the Wisconsin Dells around the turn of the twentieth century fielded questions about the local Indians, and a non-Native entrepreneur decided an Indian exhibition for tourists could put some extra cash in his pocket. The Stand Rock Indian Ceremonial quickly became one of the most popular tourist attractions in a tourist-

[14] Grant Arndt, "Ho-Chunk 'Indian Powwows' of the Early Twentieth Century" in *Powwow*, ed. Clyde Ellis, Luke Eric Lassiter, Gary H. Dunham (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 50.
[15] Arndt, "Ho-Chunk 'Indian Powwows' of the Early Twentieth Century," 50-51.

centered region, and maintained its popularity for nearly 80 years.[16] In the early 1900s, nearly three hundred Wisconsin Ho-Chunk and Nebraska Winnebago gathered in Black River Falls for what would be the first of many "Great Pow-wows" in the region.[17] Non-Native interest in the event, however, could not be ignored. In 1909, the second powwow included an admission fee which, according to a local newspaper, "acted rather as a stimulus than a discouragement to the attendance of whites."[18] The 1924 Indian powwow in Reserve, Wisconsin, drew "thousands of early tourists" determined to catch a glimpse of Indians who "danced with a fevered abandon throughout the four days and nights, oblivious to the staring crowds, the intense heat, bodily fatigue."[19]

American Indians performed across the country and, in some instances, around the world. They danced for admission-paying audiences in arenas, and they danced for themselves to celebrate their traditions and their cultures. They performed in dance halls and opera theatres, at rodeos and powwows.[20] They ignored government circulars that banned their "'savage' cultural traits,"[21] and some who attended boarding schools became famous musicians in their own right. The commodification of Indianness and the continued production of Native performances, whether created by and performed for white Americans or American Indians, highlights the important historical position of these pageants.

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[16] Arndt, 53; "Ho-Chunk Tourism," School for Advanced Research, http://sarweb.org/index.php?tallmadge_exhibit_hochunk_tourism.
[17] Arndt, 50, 46.
[18] Arndt, 46.
[19] "Weird Dances of Indian Braves Bring Tourists to Reservation," *Superior Telegram*, July 9, 1924.
[20] John Troutman, *Indian Blues: American Indians and the Politics of Music, 1879-1934* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012), 4.
[21] John Troutman, *Indian Blues*, 6.

American Indian historical pageants are rooted in Wild West shows as well as large scale civic celebrations.[22] Indian reformers and government officials, who argued that American Indians belonged on reservations learning how to farm, were horrified at the ways Wild West shows celebrated a notion of unchanged Indianness, featuring battle reenactments against the U.S. military with Indians clad in the garb of their forefathers. Like the missionaries who came before them, Indian reformers fought to control and monitor displays of Indianness, such as songs and dances, hoping to direct their attention to what missionaries and reformers considered proactive, progressive activities such as "officially mandated agricultural, mechanical, or domestic arts."[23] In what seems an incongruent connection, American historical pageantry dominated the public sphere from the late nineteenth century until the advent of World War II.[24] These pageants, which heralded the smoothly inevitable rise of white America, were tailored to meet the specific history of the particular town. These public celebrations served to bring communities together to commemorate events integral to, say, the founding of a town. Civic societies and towns throughout the nation presented staged productions and *tableaux vivants* to celebrate the nation's centennial in 1876, revealing a desire to highlight white American progress by drawing on the communal identity of the nation and its collective history.[25]

Wild West shows and community historical pageants intended to commodify nostalgia and to capitalize on it as well. Wild West shows presented a somewhat generic

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[22] In regards to Wild West shows, see L.G. Moses, "Performative Traditions in Indian History," *A Companion to American Indian History*, Philip J. Deloria and Neal Salisbury, eds. (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 201. In regards to the American historical pageant craze, David Glassberg's *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990) is the seminal work.
[23] Clyde Ellis, "Five Dollars a Week to Be 'Regular Indians'" in *Native Pathways: American Indian Culture and Economic Development in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Brian Hosmer and Colleen O'Neill (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2004), 188.
[24] Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry*, 1.
[25] Glassberg, 4-12.

collection of Western-themed vignettes, including buffalo hunts, rodeo games, battle reenactments, and attacks on stagecoaches, and many community historical pageants included scenes of Native life even if these characters were likely doomed to an early exit.[26] While American Indians (or American Indian characters, at the very least) were key elements in these productions, American Indian historical pageants used Native history – and, often, Native actors – as the basis for the entire pageant. This, however, often presented problems for government officials, missionaries, and Indian reformers. As scholars such as John Troutman and Clyde Ellis have noted, federal policies and their implementation were often wildly disparate, as some Indian agents were ruthless enforcers and others were not.

Policing Performance: The Contradictory Nature of Indian Policy, Labor, and the Economy

In 1925, a Wisconsin newspaper announced that eight participants in the second Apostle Island Indian Pageant were college girls coming home for the summer: two were students at Haskell, including Rena White, the daughter of Chief Jim White of the Bad River Reservation in Odanah, Wisconsin, who took the title role of Ke-wa-de-no-kwa. Another participant was a graduate of Flandreau, four attended Tomah Indian School, and the last was a Carlisle graduate. The article claimed the girls had entered into the "pageantry spirit with a thrill somewhat as Alice in Wonderland went down the rabbit hole…for she is one of three hundred of her own people who relive their Native legends."[27]

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[26] Linda Scarangella McNenly, *Native Performers in Wild West Shows: From Buffalo Bill to Euro Disney* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012), 2; Glassberg, 140.
[27] "Apostle Island Indian Pageant," *Merrill Herald,* June 16, 1925.

The newspaper's delight in the schoolgirls' participation in the pageant seems misplaced given the federal government's twin policies of allotment and assimilation aimed at erasing American Indians in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is especially intriguing when one considers that, according to the *Eau Claire Telegram,* the first Apostle Islands Indian Pageant had received "added approbation" by Protestant and Catholic clergy who emphasized the "artistry of the pageant."[28] These contradictions underscore the differences within government ideology in the assimilation era and highlight the fact that these viewpoints did not necessarily reflect popular opinion. Even as government officials, missionaries, and Indian reformers erroneously believed that these policies were the only means of survival for the nation's Native populations, many white Americans flocked to reservations around the country in order to see for themselves what John Troutman calls "expressive culture" – performances of indigenous songs, dances, and ceremonials that often included an admission fee that benefited the Native performers.

These elements of expressive culture, most notably songs and dances, were a primary target of assimilation proponents.[29] White Americans' reactions to indigenous performances ran the gamut from curiosity to fear, alternately celebrating and attempting to repress American Indian presentations of song and dance. As Ann Axtmann argues, "This suspicion of Indian bodies, and especially of dancing bodies, was widespread and a key element of the colonization of Native peoples."[30] In 1883, Henry Teller, the secretary of the interior, wrote that "the debauchery, diabolism, and savagery of the worst

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[28] "Apostle Islands Indian Pageant," *Eau Claire Telegram,* August 13, 1924.
[29] R.D. Theisz, "Putting Things in Order: *The Discourse of Tradition*," in *Powwow,* ed. Clyde Ellis, Luke Erik Lassiter, and Gary Dunham (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 92.
[30] Ann M. Axtmann, *Indians and Wannabes: Native American Powwow Dancing in the Northeast and Beyond* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2013), 12.

state of the Indian race" was most evident in "the continuance of the old heathenish dances," and he insisted that these performances must meet a swift and permanent death.[31] Several years later, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Robert Belt argued that Indian dances were "ruinous evils" and that Indians should "remain at home and engage in more civilizing avocations."[32]

The power of performance among Indians worried and often frightened government officials, who not only saw the continuation of indigenous dances as "inimical to progress"[33] but potentially revolutionary, as with the revival of the Ghost Dance in the late 1880s. At the same time, officials often made allowances for specific dances, and the contradictions of focusing on some performances and not others reflects the confusion within the government about the potential hazards of allowing Indians to continue their traditional performances in the assimilation era. John Troutman, for instance, argues that, amidst the Office of Indian Affairs' attempts to suppress dancing and encourage assimilation, the Omaha Dance traditions thrived because Buffalo Bill – along with other Wild West shows, local fairs, rodeos, and medicine shows – included a version of the dance in his production and needed Lakota dancers.[34] Similarly, Jacquelyn Shea Murphy insists that the OIA begrudgingly tolerated Indian performances in Wild West shows because they believed them to be less threatening than allowing the continuation of dances and ceremonials off stage: "Cody's Wild West started presenting Indian 'war dances' as theatre in the mid-1880s, at precisely the moment their practice

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[31] Clyde Ellis, "'The Sound of the Drum Will Revive Them and Make Them Happy,'" in *Powwow*, ed. Clyde Ellis, Luke Erik Lassiter, and Gary Dunham (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 12-13.
[32] Clyde Ellis, "Five Dollars a Week to Be 'Regular Indians," in *Native Pathways: American Indian Culture and Economic Development in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Brian Hosmer and Colleen O'Neill (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2004), 185.
[33] Clyde Ellis, *A Dancing People: Powwow Culture on the Southern Plains* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006), 55.
[34] Troutman, 34.

off the stage was prohibited. This staging served to assuage fears of the force of Indian dance, and to convince the power that be that the force of the dance, once converted to spectacle, had thus been contained."[35]

Despite the best efforts of Teller and other officials and Indian reformers, Indian performers persisted. While the power of performance terrified government officials, they were perhaps even more terrified of American Indians' ability to earn money simply by *being* Indian and not as farmers or laborers. Clyde Ellis, for instance, has argued that Buffalo Bill Cody and other Wild West promoters hired American Indians *because* they could dance, and Boyd Cothran argues that Indian participants in the Yosemite Field Days capitalized on the "financial and social opportunities" that allowed them to increase their personal profits by presenting themselves as authentic Indians.[36] Tourists headed to the Southwest to see Pueblo and Hopi dances, to the Pacific Northwest to see Natives at work, and even to Sitka, Alaska, to see Tlingit homes and buy Tlingit trinkets.[37] For Aboriginal hop pickers in Puget Sound, posing for photographs became another form of income.[38] Tlingit women in Sitka, Alaska used their Indian identity to put themselves in an economically advantageous situation by deliberately positioning themselves and their wares on the streets and on the wharves, thereby reaching tourists who wanted "authentic" souvenirs before the tourists got to the stores run by white merchants.[39]

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[35] Troutman, 35.
[36] Ellis, "'The Sound of the Drum Will Revive Them and Make Them Happy,'" 13; Boyd Cothran, "Working the Indian Field Days: The Economy of Authenticity and the Question of Agency in Yosemite Valley," *The American Indian Quarterly* (Vol. 34, No. 2, Spring 2010):197.
[37] Troutman, *Indian Blues*; Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).
[38] Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians,* 91.
[39] Raibmon, 145.

Tourists even came to see dances during the 1867 Laramie treaty negotiations, and Native delegates to Washington, D.C. were often asked to sing and dance.[40]

Historians have long debated the motivations of Indian and other indigenous performers in Wild West shows, powwows, pageants, world's fairs, dime museums, and on the vaudeville circuit.[41] Why, they ask, would American Indians *willingly* reenact battle defeats against the U.S. government? Why, they ask, would Hawaiian hula dancers *willingly* allow themselves to be ogled by fairgoers on the continent, seemingly accepting American colonialism? Why, they ask, would these indigenous people *willingly* put themselves, usually in stereotypically "authentic" garb, and their cultures, usually in stereotypically "pre-contact," and static, constructions, on display?

Even as white audiences ogle(d) Natives, peruse(d) and judge(d) Native goods, invade(d) Native lives, and symbolically and economically consume(d) Native bodies, the fact remains that indigenous performers were (and are) able to, in varying degrees, control their commodification, and the reasons for participating in these public displays of Indianness/indigeneity were and are often as varied as the performers. As scholars look more closely at what James C. Scott calls "hidden transcripts," meaning the ways in which subordinated groups push back against public transcripts of domination, they discover what Adria Imada calls counter-colonial movements – the spaces between

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[40] Philip Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 57.

[41] See, among others, the work of L.G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933* and "Performative Traditions in Indian History" in *A Companion to American Indian History*; Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast*; Grant Arndt, "Ho-Chunk 'Indian Powwows' of the Early Twentieth Century"; John Troutman, *Indian Blues: American Indians and the Politics of Music, 1879-1934*; Linda Scarangella McNenly, *Native Performers in Wild West Shows: From Buffalo Bill to Euro Disney*; Adria Imada, *Aloha America: Hula Circuits Through the U.S. Empire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012); and Michael McNally, "The Indian Passion Play: Contesting the Real Indian in *Song of Hiawatha* Pageants, 1901-1965. Clyde Ellis has written extensively on Native performers in various venues: see "Five Dollars a Week to Be 'Regular Indians,'" in *Native Pathways: American Indian Culture and Economic Development in the Twentieth Century*; "The Sound of the Drum Will Revive Them and Make Them Happy," in *Powwow*; and *A Dancing People: Powwow Culture on the Southern Plains*.

acquiescence and outright resistance to colonialism.[42] In the wake of increasingly stringent federal regulation and restriction of Indian cultural performances, pageants and powwows usually included at least a handful of indigenous songs, dances, regalia, and rituals. As several scholars, including Imada and Michael McNally, have argued, the actual origin and level of authenticity of these cultural performances is less relevant than the reiteration and continuation of indigenous performance writ large. In his analysis of the *Song of Hiawatha* pageants staged in Ontario and Michigan in the early twentieth century, McNally argues that, even as Native actors performed "a romanticized Indianness for pay in lean times, they were not determined by that script or rendered wholly absent by its insistence that the real Indian had vanished with the arrival of American civilization."[43]

Rather than dismissing these and other productions as simple acceptance of colonial institutions and ideologies, Native performers' continued participation demonstrates their cognizance of – and ensuing contestations over – cultural capital. As noted earlier, the Wisconsin Ho-Chunk are as an excellent example of how indigenous people capitalized on and commodified their own Indianness, and of the conflicts that could arise within indigenous communities. The Ho-Chunk decision to charge admission for their 1909 powwow after more than a decade of white interest in the events led to new challenges of organizing new forms of cultural performances, most notably "the difference in participation frameworks and role expectations that Indians and white

[42] Imada, *Aloha America*, 18.
[43] Michael D. McNally, "The Indian Passion Play: Contesting the Real Indian in *Song of Hiawatha* Pageants, 1901-1965," *American Quarterly*, Vol. 58, No. 1 (March 2006): 107.

brought to such events, encouraged by their divergent understanding of the implications of the commercial aspect of Indian powwows."[44]

It is also important to note that, while the *Song of Hiawatha* and Apostle Islands pageants were written, directed, and produced by non-Natives, other shows, such as the Ho-Chunk powwow, were staged *by* American Indian performers. Linda Scarangella McNenly examines the lives and motivations of several indigenous performers, including the Deer Family, who participated in Colonel Cummins Wild West show at the 1901 Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo and the Texas Jack Wild West show in 1904. From 1905-1910, however, the family traveled around the world in their own show: the Deer Family Wild West show.[45] McNenly argues that these performance spaces – and, subsequently, the performers and subject material – are more complex than "simply a story of essentialization or exploitation," especially because the entertainment industry was another way for Native people to earn a living.[46]

Some of the most intriguing participants in the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant, however, were school girls who had come home, meaning back to the reservation, for the summer. Rena White, the daughter of Chief James White of the Bad River Reservation in Odanah, Wisconsin, attended the Haskell Institute in Kansas. Other girls were enrolled or had graduated from the Flandreau school in South Dakota, the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania, or the institute in Tomah, Wisconsin.[47] Their participation in the pageants did not spark fears of a large-scale return to nativism or assertions that allowing boarding school students to "play Indian" would override the

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[44] Arndt, 46, 52.
[45] McNenly, *Native Performers in Wild West Shows,* 105-107.
[46] McNenly, 104.
[47] "Apostle Island Indian Pageant August 2 to 16," *Merrill Herald,* June 16, 1925.

work of assimilation. Instead, newspapers portrayed the girls as "representative of their people" when they appeared in the pageant, an act that provoked "a thrill somewhat as Alice in Wonderland went down the rabbit hole – as though she were playing a child's charade."[48] The Wonderland analogy insinuates that the Indian participants were merely players in a pageant, stepping out of their current reality and into a "reversed" world thanks to the looking glass of pageantry.

At the same time, however, the ever-present thread of capitalism often ran rampant through boarding schools. A performance at the Bishop Indian School, for instance, included a performance of "Old Indian Love Song" by two dozen schoolchildren followed, "in an eagerly anticipated climax," by a dance performed by eight older Paiutes, who were relatives of the students.[49] John Troutman argues that these seemingly incongruous performances not only furthered efforts by the Office of Indian Affairs to purposely contrast indigenous instances of expressive culture with those deemed "civilized" and white, but that teaching Indianness in Indian schools was partly based in "the growing investment of non-Indians in the idea that they could personally benefit from experiencing 'authentic' Native culture in tourism, arts, and entertainment."[50] Native performers, or "show Indians," as they were sometimes called, could earn ninety dollars a month. This was, at the time, almost two-thirds the salary of an Indian agent, and much more than Indians could earn working on their allotment parcels.[51]

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[48] "Apostle Island Indian Pageant August 2 to 16," *Merrill Herald*, June 16, 1925.
[49] Troutman, 151-152.
[50] Troutman, 152-154.
[51] L.G. Moses, whose analysis of indigenous performers in Wild West shows has influenced countless scholars seeking to unravel the motivations of said performers, uses "show Indians" to denote "those American Indians who found employment in the various Wild West shows." It is crucial to note that it is also employed "within a larger setting of American Indian performance. It implies no condescension, but

These performative means of economic gain add to traditional notions of American Indian labor. As Chantal Norrgard contends, labor has traditionally been associated with factory work or work on a shop floor. This narrow definition, then, has negatively affected American Indians because it "often does not extend to the conditions in which they performed labor or the types of labor they performed."[52] Therefore, and most importantly for this dissertation, these constructions also "bolster conventional assumptions that American Indians cannot exist in contemporary contexts."[53] Economic agency and increasingly restrictive federal policy are both key to understanding not only the proliferation of Indians as compensated performers and producers of cultural currency but of the intentional continuation of indigenous cultural performances as a whole. Indians kept singing, dancing, performing, and capitalizing on their Indianness – and the tourists kept coming.

The years in which the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant, Happy Canyon, and *Unto These Hills* opened to the public exemplify the contested relationship among American Indians, the federal government, and the general public. Happy Canyon, for instance, premiered in 1916, which was nearly two decades before the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act. This pageant opened at the height of the assimilation era, a time when the federal government instituted policies intended to turn Indians into Americans by turning reservations into individualized allotments, sending Indian children to boarding schools, and outlawing expressive culture. While the Apostle Islands Indian

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rather recognizes a professional status." L.G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press 1996), xiii. Salary information and comparison found in John Troutman, *Indian Blues: American Indians and the Politics of Music, 1879-1934* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012), 153.

[52] Chantal Norrgard, "Seasons of Change: Treaty Rights, Labor, and the Historical Memory of Work Among Lake Superior Ojibwe, 1870-1942" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2008), 35.

[53] Norrgard, "Seasons of Change," 36.

Pageant also premiered during this era, it is also marked by the implementation of the Indian Citizenship Act which, as its name suggests and as noted in Chapter 1, granted citizenship to American Indians who had not, whether through military service in World War I or other means, already been given that designation by the federal government. While attempts to stage a pageant based on the history of the Eastern Band of Cherokee began in the early twentieth century, the 1950 premiere of *Unto These Hills* came a mere three years before House Concurrent Resolution 108 sought to terminate federal recognition of Indian tribes. After World War I, the Great Depression, World War II, and the immediate onset of the Cold War, Americans tried to find solace in comforting, routine rituals, and the nostalgic bent of Indian history in *Unto These Hills* provided a soothing attempt. These periods in American Indian history mirror the moments when Indian pageants, regardless of the months or years of behind-the-scenes preparations, are staged in the hopes of creating profitable enterprises based on local indigenous peoples.

Location, Location, Location: The Role of Place and Progress in Pageantry

Unlike Wild West shows, which toured across the country and overseas, Indian pageant promoters followed a *Field of Dreams* tactic – "If you build it, they will come" – to draw tourists. Unlike world's fairs, such as those held in Chicago and St. Louis, many pageants were set in remote locations and required their audiences to travel *to* the pageant grounds, which were often on or near reservations. The rise of automobile ownership and the expansion of the highway system and railroads, coupled with the growth of American leisure culture, allowed tourists to flee "bureaucratized lives in steamy hot cities for the northern edges of civilization, where they hoped to brush up against something refreshing

and authentic."[54] Traveling to these remote Indian lands became part of the experience itself. Unlike Wild West shows, which toured the country and even Europe from the 1880s through the 1930s, pageants and other localized productions that utilized Indians and Indian history based their claims of authenticity on their location. American Indian historical pageants allowed white Americans to relive spectacular historical events and witness dramatic reenactments in the same places wherein the exciting action had originally occurred.[55]

As large cities became more and more crowded, the country life came to be more and more appealing to urban whites. City folks would hop in their cars, board a steamship, or buy a train ticket to a destination that promised fresh air and a respite from the daily toils of city life. John Troutman argues that the appeal of Indianness arose from its "apparent cultural authenticity in an unseemly, inauthentic, vapid modern world – a world in which popular fantasies of Indianness serve as an antidote to the fabrication and immediacy of modernity."[56] Similarly, Philip Deloria argues that the "romanticization of Indianness thus played a crucial role in the movement of antimodern primitivism and helped lay the foundation for a modern American identity."[57]

The rise of the anti-modern movement and the growth of automobile-owning white Americans with time and money to spend was fortuitous for a number of small, remote towns where most of the natural resources had already run dry. The town of Bayfield, situated at the northernmost point of Wisconsin, for example, experienced "a series of booms and busts as rich natural resources were harvested, or some would say

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[54] McNally, "The Indian Passion Play," 108.
[55] Promotional booklet, Bayfield Progress Print, Bayfield, Wisconsin, 1923.
[56] Troutman, 154.
[57] Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, 191.

exploited, until there was little or nothing left to take."[58] The region's relative isolation put it at a disadvantage in terms of luring settlers and prospective businessmen, especially as nearby towns such as Ashland, Superior, and Duluth became established shipping centers. Sawmills sprang up as early as 1845, and the first sandstone quarry opened in 1868.[59] While tourism had played a minor role in Bayfield's economy in the nineteenth century, by the 1920s it became one of the last "natural resources" to exploit once the quarrying, commercial fishing, and logging industries were nearly exhausted – especially when it became connected with the Ojibwe of nearby Red Cliff, a people whose history would serve as the basis for a romantic, action-packed performance that would lure white American tourists to the farthest reaches of the state.

It is not a coincidence that the nineteenth-century expansion of the railroad and the early twentieth-century expansion of American roadways and automobiles line up with the timing of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant. After decades of laying the foundation for constructing railroads, roadways, and loading docks, transportation systems were already in play. But now, rather than goods, the infrastructure would carry people to these far-flung if not quite as inaccessible as before. In 1905, Louis Olivier Armstrong, an amateur ethnologist and land agent for the Canadian Pacific railroad, moved his *Song of Hiawatha* pageant from Desbarats, Ontario, which sat on the shore of Lake Huron, to Petoskey, Michigan, on Michigan's Little Traverse Bay.[60] The stage at Desbarats was built on an island in between Lake Superior and Lake Huron, and audiences traveled by excursion trains or stayed overnight in hotels on Kensington Point.

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[58] Dennis McCann, *This Superior Place: Stories of Bayfield and the Apostle Islands* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2013), 25.
[59] James W. Feldman, *A Storied Wilderness: Rewilding the Apostle Islands* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011), 46.
[60] McNally, 112-113.

Rather than simply observing the pageant, tourists were encouraged to play Indian by participating in feasts, fishing, canoe races, and portage contests.[61] The move to Petoskey, now about two and a half hours south of Desbarats, was a strategic maneuver as the Grand Rapids and Indiana railway intended to use the town as a summer resort for tourists from Chicago, Indianapolis, Detroit, and Cincinnati.[62] Less than two decades later, the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant committee hatched a similar plan in the 1920s. The railroad had reached Ashland in 1875, but the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha did not reach Bayfield until 1883. In order to encourage tourists to head north for the pageant, the Northwestern Lines railroad company offered travelers a special excursion rate, and the Ashland Chapter of the Rotarians met with the Harbor Commission of Ashland to determine what facilities could support excursion steamers filled with eager tourists.[63]

After arriving at their destination, road-weary tourists needed places to stay, places to eat, and activities to keep them occupied. Ironically, many towns that aimed to capitalize on city folks' desire for peace and quiet soon set about building hotels and camp grounds, restaurants, and parking lots in order to accommodate their new clientele. Opportunistic townspeople also tried to use their remoteness to their advantage. Akin to the experience offered by the *Song of Hiawatha* pageant at Desbarats, the Apostle Islands pageant promoters promised tourists the chance to fish for trout, black

[61] McNally, 116.
[62] McNally, 118.
[63] "Special Excursion Rates for Pageant by the Railroads," newspaper and date unknown. Courtesy of Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.

bass, pike, and muskellunge, motorboat trips, swimming, diving, surfing, trap shooting, golf, tennis, and automobile excursions.[64]

By turning the pageant grounds into just one of many activities for tourists, towns like Bayfield, Pendleton, Petoskey, and Cherokee aimed to capitalize on city folks' expanding wallets and free time, as well as their ability to travel more quickly and by various modes of transportation. For the tourists, who upon disembarking wanted little more than to "forget the modern world of today…forget the automobile which brought [them] here…forget the cities beyond the margin of blue lake water," pageants and their accompanying activities provided a journey back in time.

At their core, Indian pageants demonstrate the confluence of the anti-modern movement, increased interest in supposedly "vanishing Indians," and the growth of the tourism industry in the early twentieth century. Newly-popular means of entertainment centered on encouraging potential tourists to travel to more remote locations in order to partake in specifically outdoor activities. In northern Wisconsin, for instance, the tourist industry "hinged on connecting [Apostle] island scenery to the fascination with the American landscape."[65] Area business owners built large resorts, as well as cabins and cottages, and wealthy urban men organized fraternities and built clubhouses for those who shared their affinity for sports hunting and fishing.[66] Newspaper writers swooned over "the clean air, breathtaking sunsets, and wondrous meetings of soaring red bluffs and deep blue water" that held "even more allure for visitors seeking relaxation and

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[64] "Apostle Islands Indian Pageant: America's Super Indian Classic" promotional brochure, 1925. Courtesy of Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.
[65] James Feldman, *A Storied Wilderness,* 95.
[66] Chantal Norrgard, *Seasons of Change,* 110.

recreation."[67] The primacy of outdoor entertainment, from hunting and fishing to pageants trips to Indian reservations, capitalized on non-Native fascinations with American Indians and their supposedly still-wild homelands.

While Chapter 1 highlights the tensions between conservation and development in the Apostle Islands, the call of the wild was a powerful draw for numerous touristic enterprises. James Feldman's "rewilding," for instance, asserts that regions such as the Apostle Islands became wild again "not simply because nature has muted the signs of human abuse [but because] these landscapes represent both history and nature, working simultaneously and together."[68] By the early twentieth century, non-Native enchantment with what they considered "wild" again derived from their increasingly urban lifestyles coupled with the growing apprehension surrounding what they saw as the decline of white manliness.

Gail Bederman has argued that middle-class white men in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were "especially interested in manhood," particularly as economic changes were "undermining Victorian ideals of self-restrained manliness."[69] While she hesitates to call it a crisis, the fact remains that "advocates of this rough working-class manhood had ridiculed middle-class manliness as weak and effeminate."[70] For men like Theodore Roosevelt and Frederick Jackson Turner, the untamed frontier of the American West became the means through which white men could reclaim themselves as the refined-yet-robust, heroic-yet-stoic pinnacle of the civilized man.

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[67] Dennis McCann, *This Superior Place,* 115.
[68] Feldman, 9.
[69] Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 15.
[70] Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917,* 11 and 17.

Turner and Roosevelt considered the frontier to be the line in the sand between what Bederman calls "civilized manliness and primitive masculinity."[71] As I contend in Chapter 5, the appeal of the West lay mainly in its apparent ability to transform the "colonist" into "a new product that is American."[72] Indian pageants linked Indian history to what was, for white Americans, formerly Indian lands, meaning that their "simultaneous kinship and superiority…implicitly tie[d] them to the American national myth of the frontier."[73] This ideology of the West, however, is also implicitly tied to all three pageants. By drawing on Indian history as the precursor for white American history, these pageants sought to salvage the West, and whiteness, by salvaging Indianness.

"How All Things Fade and Perish": Creating and defining salvage tourism[74]

The non-Native tourist desires that aligned with long-held fears that authentic American Indians would disappear, crushed beneath the wave of white settlement and progress, echoed throughout the nation in the early twentieth century. As Michael J. Riley has argued, "Native Americans, always marked, were increasingly marketed."[75] For American Indians at the height of the assimilation era, historical pageantry became an acceptable outlet for the continuation of traditional practices that had been increasingly repressed by the federal government because dances, songs, and stories could be

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[71] Bederman, 44.
[72] Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," (1893) in Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962), 4.
[73] Bederman, 173.
[74] "Second Annual Apostle Islands Indian Pageant" program, 1925. Courtesy of Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.
[75] Michael J. Riley, "Trapped in the History of Film: Racial Conflict and Allure in *The Vanishing American*" in Peter C. Rollins and John E. O'Conner, eds., *Hollywood's Indian: The Portrayal of the Native American in Film* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1998), 68.

presented in a commodified environment. Assimilation policies intended to systematically eradicate the cultural elements that made Indians Indian, but by doing so they created a rarified commodity. If Indians were disappearing, then white Americans leapt at the opportunity to see live performances of traditional songs and dances, to see Indian history performed *by* Indians, before it was too late.

World's fairs sought to highlight the progress of white America, even as it came at the cost of indigeneity. Frederick Jackson Turner had declared the frontier of the American West "closed" at the 1893 Chicago Exposition in Chicago and, in the minds of many white Americans, the thunder of horses' hooves and the clamor of the Indian wars were now confined to arenas of performance celebrating the romance of the West amidst the ever-rolling wheels of American progress and innovation. According to Paige Raibmon, the audience at the 1893 Chicago fair gasped in horror as the Kwakwaka'wakw from Vancouver Island performed an adaptation of their winter ceremonial wherein a man used a razor to make four long cuts on the backs of two young men, slid ropes under the skin, and tried to tear the flesh loose from their backs.[76] Raibmon argues that this performance at the World's Fair was purposefully orchestrated by the Kwakwaka'wakw even as the white audience saw "their most lurid imaginings of wild and savage Indians played out before their eyes."[77] The Columbian Exposition and the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis presented humanity on a supposed "scale" of civilization with white Americans at the top and various indigenous peoples scattered below. Exposition organizers and visitors saw America and its white citizens as the

[76] Raibmon, 15.
[77] Raibmon, 15.

pinnacle of modernity, the ideal model of civilized nationhood, with indigenous peoples as the antithesis of modernity.

These images helped boost the burgeoning tourist economy surrounding the construction of American Indians as "vanishing" Americans, an image as enduring as that of the Indian as "noble savage."[78] By presenting Indians as a commodity that had to be consumed before it disappeared forever, photographers and producers were able to capitalize on the influx of tourists and the almighty dollar. According to the authors of *Trading Gazes*, the Indian craze peaked at the beginning of the twentieth century as the belief that American Indians were doomed to extinction "added urgency to documentary and aesthetic enterprises alike."[79] Photographers such as Edward Curtis, perhaps the most well-known photographer of American Indians, focused not only on the authenticity of "true" Indians but highlighted the dramatic effects the processes of assimilation and civilization had on American Indians.

The 1925 souvenir program for the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant contains the following prose:

> Lo! How all things fade and perish!
> From the memory of the old men
> Pass away the great traditions
> The achievement of the hunters
> All the marvelous dreams and visions
> Great men die and are forgotten
> Wise men speak the words of wisdom
> Perish in the ears that hear them
> Do not reach the generations
> That as yet unborn are waiting
> In the great mysterious darkness

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[78] Ariela Gross, *What Blood Won't Tell: A History of Race on Trial in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 113.
[79] Susan Bernardin, Lisa MacFarlane, Nicole Tonkovich, & Melody Graulich, *Trading Gazes: Euro-American Women Photographers and Native North Americans, 1880-1940* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 13.

Of the speechless days that shall be.[80]

The "all things," in this instance, refers to American Indians and their apparently nearly-extinct traditions, languages, cultures, and even bodies. By centering on the notion of inevitable disappearance, the pageant committee could effectively encourage tourists to make the journey to the pageant in order to see the indigenous participants before it was too late. Federal policies and constructions of authentic Indians as primitive, not modern, provided added pressure to tourist desires.

Nor is it a coincidence that the urgency of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant is related to the boom and bust of the northern Wisconsin lumber industry as well as white American fears of the "vanishing" Indians. According to the pageant committee and local newspaper writers, if the pine forests of northern Wisconsin were disappearing, so were the Indians of northern Wisconsin. The pageant committee sought to capitalize on non-Native assumptions that American Indians – that is, the dominant portrayal of American Indians that relied on stereotypical depictions of a primitive, uncivilized people – were as endangered as the once-vast forests of pines that had characterized the region.

Indians, then, were seen as the ones who paid the dearest price for modernity. Modernity, according to Colleen O'Neill, has become tantamount to capitalism, and produces a narrative "in which Indians are portrayed as irrelevant victims of military and economic conquest pronounces the 'cultural death' of indigenous peoples in twentieth-century America."[81] O'Neill suggests that, rather than seeing American Indian economic and cultural innovations as "modern," "pre-modern," or even "anti-modern," scholars

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[80] "Second Annual Apostle Islands Indian Pageant" program, 1925. Courtesy of Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.

[81] Colleen O'Neill, "Rethinking Modernity and the Discourse of Development," in *Native Pathways: American Indian Culture and Economic Development in the Twentieth Century,* ed. Brian Hosner and Colleen O'Neill (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2004), 3.

examine these innovations as what she calls "alternative pathways of economic development that transcend linear analytical categories."[82] As participants (whether willing or unwilling) in a wage-labor economy, twentieth-century Native performers in Indian pageants simultaneously served as reminders of a romanticized past, retained their cultural sovereignty, and profited from eager white tourists.

The construction of modern Indians as inauthentic created a market for what I have deemed "salvage tourism," meaning the mechanisms through which Indians, their history, and the landscape were (and often still are) turned into commodities that must be immediately utilized before modernity inevitably obliterates them. I argue that this idea of salvage tourism created environments in Wisconsin, North Carolina, and Oregon that explicitly sought to exploit non-Native fears and encourage tourism to specific regions. The idea of salvage tourism, then, demonstrates how pageant promoters capitalized on these constructions by encouraging tourists to see real, live Indians in pageants – or popularized depictions of Indian history in pageantry – before the Indians and their history "vanished," whether through federal policy or the inevitability of modernity.

Akin to salvage anthropology and ethnology, wherein non-Natives sought to "preserve" indigenous cultural markers that they wholeheartedly believed were on the verge of extinction, salvage tourism offered glimpses into what producers and organizers presented as authentic Native life. Salvage tourism existed in large-scale Wild West shows and world's fairs as well as smaller, localized pageants and productions. By the early 1900s, for instance, Geronimo (and promoters and the War Department, both directly and indirectly) capitalized on his infamy by appearing in parades and fairs. At the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, Geronimo sold photographs and autographed them for

[82] O'Neill, "Rethinking Modernity and the Discourse of Development," 3.

an additional fee.[83] He sold his coat buttons, only to then sew on more in order to sell them again.[84] Visitors scrambled to buy these items, convinced they were buying the last vestiges of a true Indian warrior.

However, this dissertation demonstrates that salvage tourism functioned in unique ways in each pageant, each region, and each time period examined herein. The first Apostle Islands Indian Pageant sought to salvage the local economy after decades of destructive resource extraction by generating publicity and, ideally, turning public sentiment toward regional preservation. The pageant's short life highlights the varying degrees of success for these tourist enterprises, as well as the ways in which the application of salvage tourism changed over time.

By the time legislation supporting the creation of the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore legislation arose in the 1960s, the rhetoric of salvage tourism centered around preserving and conserving the Apostle Islands, including the Bad River and Red Cliff reservations, for recreational tourism. Feldman's construction of "rewilding" as it specifically relates to the Apostle Islands reveals the contentions surrounding the purposeful push toward creating wildness out of a former wilderness. The "apparently pristine environments of today," he argues, were carefully crafted through tourism, an industry wherein "Nature has become a place for leisure and recreation – not a place in which to live and work."[85] While this dissertation focuses on American Indian historical pageants, Chapter 2 demonstrates the continued connections between the ideological workings of Turner and Roosevelt's attempts to reify manliness through the West and the

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[83] Troutman, 164.
[84] Nancy J. Parezo and Don D. Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 113.
[85] Feldman, *A Storied Wilderness*, 6 and 10.

manifestation of attempts to "rewild" the Apostle Islands by preserving the land for outdoor recreation.

In Cherokee, North Carolina, salvage tourism manifested itself in the early part of the Cold War. Previous attempts to commodify the history of the Eastern Band focused on smaller endeavors surrounding the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. By the twenty-first century, however, *Unto These Hills* is struggling to save itself amidst a diversified tourist economy. In the early twentieth century, businessmen in Pendleton, Oregon feared the loss of their distinctly Western identity in the wake of a shifting economy. Therefore, they set out to produce a round-up that would not only draw interested visitors but that would demonstrate their continued connection to the wild, wild West. The immediate and unexpected success led to an interactive frontier town, vaudeville-style Wild West show, and an Indian pageant. Unlike the desperate efforts of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant and *Unto These Hills*, the Round-Up and Happy Canyon have diversified their own interests, leading to continued success.

Despite the three pageants' uses of Indians and Indian history, it is crucial to note that salvage tourism has never directly applied to the Indians whose histories have inspired the pageants. Rather, in all three instances, organizers and promoters clearly recognized the economic potential that could be derived from these productions and these indigenous histories. That is not to say, however, that the Indian participants have blindly participated, unknowingly allowing themselves and their histories to be exploited. Rather, their participation was crucial to the authenticity of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant and the Round-Up and Happy Canyon as well as the current production of *Unto*

These Hills. Purposely equating Native participants with the landscape and the pageant itself served to heighten the overall aesthetics of each pageant.

It would be easy to dismiss Native performances and performers as simple tropes that satisfied non-Native desires for the primitive. However, as Lucy Maddox argues, deploying Indianness as sought by American audiences was often a "political necessity" that intended to forward specific agendas.[86] As previously noted, dances, as well as songs and culturally-based objects like baskets, could, and often did, thrive due to tourists' demands for authenticity. This is not to say, though, that non-Native demands for curios and performances of what they deemed "authentic" indigeneity did not come without a hefty price tag for American Indians. While tourism can, and often has, revitalized segments of indigenous cultures by creating a market demand, tourism often demands a very narrow depiction of indigeneity. As Norrgard has demonstrated, some Ojibwe in northern Wisconsin did, in fact, garner economic independence by their participation in this type of economy. The question remains, however, at what price?

Identity and Indigeneity: Indian History as American History

Alan Trachtenberg argues that the Anglo-American fascination with American Indians from the 1880s through the 1930s was a reaction to the waves of immigrants who "posed a threat to nationality," while American Indians were evidence of "national distinctiveness and proof of nationality."[87] The national identity crisis European immigrants had prompted transformed American Indians from savage foes to "first

[86] Lucy Maddox, *Citizen Indians: Native American Intellectuals, Race, and Reform* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 5, quoted in John Troutman, *Indian Blues: American Indians and the Politics of Music, 1879-1934* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), 154.
[87] Alan Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2005), xviii.

American" and ancestors of the nation,[88] a nation that had vigorously and violently fought to eradicate them from their homelands and strip them of their children and their cultures, languages, and, essentially, their existence. Indian pageants were tangible methods of acknowledging the roots of America by acknowledging Native history, albeit a history that was produced by, packaged for, and consumed by non-Natives. By aligning themselves with American Indians, white Americans could then claim indigenous history as their own in order to stake their place as the rightful owners of America.

However, since Trachtenberg's analysis is situated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it would appear that white American attempts to claim indigenous history as their own are confined to this era. On the contrary, Jean O'Brien argues that selective elements of Indian history were integral to the Americanization of European settlers in laying claim to local histories.[89] Similarly, Philip Deloria contends that the customs of American Indians were appropriated by eighteenth-century colonists seeking to "*invent* the American customs they so sorely lacked."[90]

The popularity of American and American Indian historical pageants in the early twentieth century, in addition to the three Indian pageants that are at the core of this dissertation, is striking. As early as 1909, New York and Vermont collaborated on the Champlain Tercentenary Celebration of the Discovery of Lake Champlain, which included numerous performances of Indian pageantry.[91] The Minneapolis Chapter of the

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[88] Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha,* xxii.
[89] Jean O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 27.
[90] Deloria, *Playing Indian,* 25.
[91] Kevin Dann, "Pageants, Parades, and Patriotism: Celebrating Champlain in 1909," *Vermont History* Vol. 77, No. 2 (2009), 90-92.

Society of American Indians presented "The Indian of Yesterday," a pageant of "Indian forest life," in 1920 in conjunction with a lecture by Dr. Carlos Montezuma entitled "The Indian of Today."[92] Two weeks later, residents of Lyon County in southwest Minnesota gathered in Marshall to celebrate the county's fiftieth anniversary with a pageant that depicted "the chief events of the state, county, and town."[93] Medicine Lodge, Kansas, presented the first Medicine Lodge Indian Peace Treaty Pageant in 1927. The pageant commemorates the treaty signed by members of five tribes – the Apache, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Comanche, and Kiowa – in 1867 that set the southern border of the state and cleared the way for white settlement throughout the region.[94] The American Indian Exposition in Anadarko, Oklahoma, took advantage of the popularity of the All-Indian Fairs at Craterville Park, which began in 1924. By 1938, the Fair had become the Exposition and included a historical pageant deemed an "innovation in entertainment."[95] Similar productions occurred at the Forest Theater in Ticonderoga, New York and in the Casa Grande Ruins National Monument in Arizona from 1926-1930. Benjamin Black Elk participated in pageants in the Black Hills of South Dakota in the 1930s and 1940s, and Frank Hopkins, a founder of the Fort Ridgely State Park and Historical Association, staged pageants in Minnesota into the 1950s. Famed anthropologist Ella Deloria was commissioned to write a pageant for the North Carolina Indians of Robeson County in 1940.[96] Nearly four decades after the Champlain Tercentenary, the *Song of Hiawatha*

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[92] Theodore Christian Blegen & Minnesota Historical Society, *Minnesota History Bulletin* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1920), 470.
[93] Blegen & Minnesota Historical Society, *Minnesota History Bulletin*, 470.
[94] Federal Writers' Project, *Kansas: a Guide to the Sunflower State* (North American Book Distribution, 1976), 255-257.
[95] Muriel H. Wright, "The American Indian Exposition in Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 24 (Summer 1946): 159, 161.
[96] Malinda Maynor Lowery, *Lumbee Indians in the Jim Crow South: Race, Identity, and the Making of a Nation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 221.

pageant premiered in Pipestone, Minnesota, in 1948. The pageant, which used Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem as creative inspiration, ran until 2008 when, in the wake of declining attendance and a diversified tourist economy, it was no longer economically viable.[97]

The geographic range of these pageants shows the broad reach of connecting tourism and indigeneity, while their temporal range – from the early 1900s through the present day – highlights their continued resonance, for better or worse, with these localized economies and their reliance on these pageants as a means of survival. Some only lasted a few years, often due to overzealous ideas of success, while others have been performed for nearly a century. Some relied heavily on indigenous participants, while others simply settled on a general narrative of indigenous history as a way to sell tickets. Still more ran for decades, only to close for good due to shifting concepts of tourism. Regardless of their individual nature, these American Indian historical pageants offer a compelling account of the commodification of Indians, Indian history, and Indianness and its conflation with American history.

Indian pageants usually included scenes depicting interactions with non-Natives ranging from initial cautious meetings to battles, treaty signings, and often the "tragic tale of subjugation" of proud Indian nations.[98] Despite the promises of "legendary lore," from the sacrifices of Indian maidens to massacres and bloody revenge,[99] the fact remains that these displays of Indianness were produced within the confines of a space

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[97] See Mark Steil, "Pipestone's Hiawatha Pageant to close after 60 years," Minnesota Public Radio News, December 30, 2007, http://www.mprnews.org/story/2007/12/21/hiawathawraps' and Jay Gabler, "Pipestone's Hiawatha Pageant end 60-year run," *TC Daily Planet*, July 24, 2008, http://www.tcdailyplanet.net/article/2008/07/22/pipestones-hiawatha-pageant-ends-60-year-run.html.
[98] "Apostle Islands Indian Pageant – America's Super Indian Classic" promotional brochure, 1924. Courtesy of Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.
[99] "Aged Indian to be Drum Leader," *Superior Times*, September 29, 1923.

legitimized by and sanitized for white Americans. As titillating as it may have been to feel "something of the surprised terror which in the early days filled the breasts of the pioneers as the war cry smote their ears,"[100] the fact remains that once the audience members got back in their cars and headed home, they would leave Indians comfortably in the past. As Michael McNally wryly notes, "For once the show was over and the buckskin put away, there were again no more 'real Indians.'"[101]

Historiography

Numerous scholars have discussed the implications of Indian performances in Wild West shows, world's fairs, local expositions, and around tourist towns, among others. However, Indian pageants have not received the same attention in the literature: they require an analysis of regional histories, the growth of the twentieth-century tourism industry, the construction of Native and non-Native identity, the commodification of Indianness, the rise of the anti-modern sentiment in response to industrialization, and the continuation of the "vanishing Indian" motif. Similarly, it is also difficult to discuss these pageants collectively because they are often very specific in terms of location, narrative, motivation, and time period. As such, this dissertation builds on seemingly disparate bodies of literature in order to demonstrate the importance of Indian pageants.

David Glassberg's *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* is the singular text on the pageantry craze that swept the nation in the years before World War II. At its peak, according to Glassberg, "thousands of Americans in hundreds of towns from Portland, Maine, to San Gabriel, California, joined

[100] "Ke-wa-de-no-kwa: First Annual Apostle Islands Indian Pageant" souvenir program, 1924. Courtesy of Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.
[101] McNally, 108.

in civic celebrations by acting out dramatic episodes from their town's history."[102] However, the majority of these pageants did not focus on local American Indians. Many included scenes of idyllic Indian life before the coming of the white man, only to have the Indians exit early in the production in order to demonstrate how "inevitable progress, not white conquest, brought about the end of Indian civilization."[103] While a 1908 Philadelphia production imported Carlisle students, other pageants called on the Boy Scouts, the Improved Order of Red Men, Italian immigrants, or African-American children.[104] However, Glassberg's text treats American Indians in much the way his pageants do. Therefore, while Glassberg is excellent for understanding the roots of historical pageantry in America, it is clear that American Indian historical pageantry only shares a few similarities with these local civic celebrations.

Other works, such as Philip Deloria's *Playing Indian* and Alan Trachtenberg's *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930*, and Jean O'Brien's *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England* examine the non-Native fascination with Indians, the ability to claim Indian identities as a hallmark of Americanness, and the means through which non-Natives erased American Indians from the landscape in order to lay claim to local places and histories. Numerous works, including Jacquelyn Shea Murphy's *The People Have Never Stopped Dancing: Native American Modern Dance Histories*, John Troutman's *Indian Blues: American Indians and the Politics of Music, 1879-1934*, Clyde Ellis, Luke Erik Lassiter, and Gary Dunham's *Powwow* and L.G. Moses's *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933*, among others, survey the important role of music and dance in

[102] Glassberg, 1.
[103] Glassberg, 140.
[104] Glassberg, 50, 114.

indigenous cultures and the ways in which American Indians have continually worked to preserve and perform these elements of what Troutman calls "expressive culture."[105]

The geographic range of these pageants requires the use of regionally-specific resources. Recent scholarship on numerous facets of the Apostle Islands area often includes references to the pageant, although the production has not been the central focus. James Feldman's *A Storied Wilderness: Rewilding the Apostle Islands* examines the ways in which "landscapes of tourism and landscapes of production…supported and reinforced each other" in the nineteenth century before tourism began to emerge as a way of "using nature, of consuming nature, without such obvious impacts" as visible as those left by fishing, farming, logging, and quarrying industries.[106] For Feldman, the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant symbolized the state's more explicit foray into the tourist industry as it "used its regulatory authority to rearrange the landscape and maximize the region's potential as a tourist destination."[107] Similarly, Dennis McCann's *This Superior Place: Stories of Bayfield and the Apostle Islands* outlines the region's industrial history. The ebb and flow of resource extraction continued into the 1920s, when locals turned to tourism in the wake of the declining lumber industry.[108] Like Feldman, McCann contextualizes the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant through the lens of increased automobile use and a growing interstate road system. Both nod to the pageant's role in the tourism industry, albeit as more endemic of the shifting nature of the regional economy.

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[105] Troutman, xiv.
[106] Feldman, *A Storied Wilderness,* 10.
[107] Feldman, 110.
[108] McCann, 91.

In *The Future City on the Inland Sea: A History of Imaginative Geographies of Lake Superior*, Eric Olmanson highlights the importance of the landscape in and around the Apostle Islands along with the critical components of long-standing attempts to cultivate the region's resources. The pageant frames his epilogue, raising questions surrounding the pageant's legacy to its location and to regional history. While these three monographs are crucial to the understanding of the Apostle Islands' contested relationship with industrialization and conservation, the pageant is merely used as an example of the burgeoning tourist economy in the early twentieth century.

The work of Brenda Child and Chantal Norrgard explicate the role of the Ojibwe and Ojibwe history in the region. Norrgard's *Seasons of Change: Labor, Treaty Rights, and Ojibwe Nationhood* contends that Ojibwe labor was "part of a dynamic, shifting history" that allows us to examine how "labor was defined by a variety of economic activities."[109] Norrgard traces the variety of ways the Ojibwe participated in the regional economy, not only through the industries headed by non-Natives but through their seasonal rounds and traditional livelihoods. However, Norrgard also demonstrates the significant role the Ojibwe played in the tourist industry, working as guides, performers, and domestic servants as well as by producing and selling commodities, even in light of tourists whose insistence on a "wilderness" vacation came with the expectation that Indian laborers only participated in specific forms of labor.[110]

Non-Native tourists expected that Indians would build (and paddle) birchbark canoes, dance in traditional regalia, tell stories around a campfire, make moccasins, and guide sportsmen to fish and game using "traditional" tracking methods, as they saw these

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[109] Chantal Norrgard, *Seasons of Change: Labor, Treaty Rights, and Ojibwe Nationhood* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 4.
[110] Norrgard, *Seasons of Change,* 113, 120-121.

as "acceptable forms of labor, ones that enriched the tourists' sense that were indeed vacationing among a primitive people who were close to nature. Hunting and fishing for one's own living, using modern equipment or techniques, or working in an occupation outside of tourism were not acceptable, or at least they were not recognized as valid forms of labor."[111] Despite tourists' narrow expectation of acceptable indigenous labor, Norrgard demonstrates that Ojibwe workers in the tourist industry simultaneously refuted these restrictions by creatively participating in numerous sectors of the economy and transforming labor "not just to make a living but to resist the colonial initiatives of federal Indian policy."[112]

Brenda Child's *Holding Our World Together: Ojibwe Women and the Survival of Community* provides crucial historical context for any examination of regional Ojibwe practices and responses to federal policies. From treaties and the creation of reservations in the mid-1800s and federal attempts to remove the Ojibwe from their lands, Child illustrates Ojibwe social, political, economic, and cultural connections to the land and its resources. Norrgard and Child are integral resources for Chapters 1 and 2, notably in their arguments surrounding the ways the Ojibwe participated in not only the development but the conservation of the region.

While Feldman and Olmanson acknowledge the balancing act between development and conservation in the Apostle Islands, Harold Jordahl and Annie Booth frame their discussion of the fight for a national lakeshore in strictly environmental and political terms. In *Environmental Politics and the Creation of a Dream: Establishing the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore*, Jordahl and Booth painstakingly outline the years-

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[111] Norrgard, *Seasons of Change,* 120-121.
[112] Norrgard, *Seasons of Change,* 134.

long push for the lakeshore, contending that, in most instances, these projects were designed for the "protection and enhancement of the existing environment for recreational and aesthetic purposes, rather than the protection of natural areas in a pristine condition."[113] However, as I contend in Chapter 2, Jordahl and Booth's examination of the lakeshore's creation does an incredible disservice to the Bad River and Red Cliff Ojibwe, the two bands whose lands were, according to Jordahl and Booth, absolutely essential to the lakeshore. Ojibwe sovereignty plays no part in this text, as the authors continually dismiss their treaty rights, casually noting that "The people who used Apostle Islands resources such as fish, animals, and plants in early historic times have played a less constant role since the 1854 treaties."[114]

Part of Paige Raibmon's *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Pacific Coast* centers around indigenous performers and their performances at the 1893 Columbian Exposition. For Raibmon, organizers' insistence on what they deemed "authentic" was continually challenged by the lived experiences of the performers, many of whom refused to acquiesce to producers' demands. Raibmon, along with Adria Imada, Jane Desmond, Linda Scarangella McNenly, and L.G. Moses, among others, examine the potential motivations of indigenous performers in a variety of performative spaces, from Wild West shows and world's fairs to regionally-specific arenas and vaudeville circuits. Imada's *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the U.S. Empire* demonstrates how generations of hula performers "have had to negotiate the commodification of their bodies and art" while contending that these performers were

[113] Harold C. Jordahl and Annie L. Booth, *Environmental Politics and the Creation of a Dream: Establishing the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2011), 27.
[114] Jordahl and Booth, *Environmental Politics and the Creation of a Dream,* 17.

"not simply 'converted' objects, but responded to colonization with counter-colonial desires that were neither clearly oppositional nor accommodating."[115]

The contested nature of indigenous performers, their motivations, and their implicit and explicit participation in and rejection of predominantly Euro-American tourism industries plays a key role in this dissertation. As tourism became a tool of colonialism and imperialism, according to Jane Desmond, tourist enterprises sought to represent indigenous peoples and performers as "living in the past, as romantic savages who co-existed with the contemporary sophistication and modernity of the visitors…conceived of as timeless and unchanging."[116] However, as these scholars and others have shown, participation in tourist economies did not necessarily equate indigenous performers with the supposed success of colonialist practices. Rather, as McNenly and Moses have argued, indigenous performers were vital to the success of these various tourist enterprises.[117]

Tourist endeavors such as *Unto These Hills* often had their roots in earlier, related attempts to capitalize on the expectations of non-Native touristic desires. John Finger's work on the Eastern Band of Cherokee serves as the historical context for Chapters 3 and 4, along with Theda Perdue and Michael Green.[118] More recent work by Christina Taylor Beard-Moose and Matthew Thompson has added an anthropological lens, most notably in

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[115] Imada, 4, 18. See also: Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast*; Jane Desmond, *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Linda Scarangella McNenly, *Native Performers in Wild West Shows: From Buffalo Bill to Euro Disney;* and L.G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933.*

[116] Jane Desmond, *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World*, 8.

[117] See L.G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and Images of American Indians, 1883-1933* and Linda Scarangella McNenly, *Native Performers in Wild West Shows: From Buffalo Bill to Euro Disney*.

[118] See John Finger, *The Eastern Band of Cherokees: 1819-1900* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984) and *Cherokee Americans: The Eastern Band of Cherokees in the Twentieth Century* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991). Also, see Theda Perdue and Michael Green, *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2005).

Beard-Moose's examination of the tourist industry on the Eastern Band's Qualla Boundary and Thompson's participation in the 2006 production of *Unto These Hills…A Retelling*. Taken together, these resources demonstrate the historical and contemporary environments of Cherokee, North Carolina and the tourist industry that arose around the Eastern Band and the Trail of Tears. However, even though the pageant plays a major role in Beard-Moose and Thompson's analyses, as noted in Chapter 4, their work does not address the subsequent revisions after the initial restructure in 2006.[119]

The current – and, in many cases, continued – participation of American Indians in not only tourist economies but in distinctly capitalistic enterprises has led Brian Hosmer to wryly contend that his work "advances what seems to me to be the rather commonsensical proposition that Indian people could understand the workings of the capitalist market system and at least attempt some adaptations [to it]…[M]y argument…is scarcely novel."[120] Numerous scholars, including Hosmer, Colleen O'Neill, Jessica Cattelino, Paul Rosier, Tressa Berman, Clyde Ellis, Jeffrey Shepherd, and Duane Champagne, among others, have demonstrated the importance of "commerce and incorporation, wage work, methodology, and theoretical implications" regarding American Indian participation in the American economy.[121] Norrgard's work, along with Boyd Cothran's "Working the Indian Field Days: The Economy of Authenticity and the

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[119] See Christina Taylor Beard-Moose, *Public Indians, Private Cherokees: Tourism and Tradition on Tribal Ground* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009) and Matthew Thompson, "Staging 'the Drama': The Continuing Importance of Cultural Tourism in the Gaming Era" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chapel Hill), 2009.
[120] Brian Hosmer, *American Indians in the Marketplace: Persistence and Innovation Among the Menominees and Metlakatlans, 1870-1920* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1999), xi.
[121] Donald Fixico, "Foreword," in *Native Pathways: American Indian Culture and Economic Development in the Twentieth Century,* ed. Brian Hosmer and Colleen O'Neill (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2004), vii-viii.

Question of Agency in Yosemite Valley," also acknowledge the ways in which indigeneity and the economy played upon constructed notions of Native authenticity.

Constructions of authenticity are clearly evident in Pendleton's Round-Up and Happy Canyon. With the exception of Roberta Conner's contributions to Michael Bales and Ann Terry Hill's *Pendleton Round-Up at 100: Oregon's Legendary Rodeo*, the edited volume mostly concentrates on every other element of the Round-Up, from the cowboys and clowns to the royalty and the risks and rewards of participating in the events, as does Virgil Rupp's *Let 'er Buck!: A history of the Pendleton Round-Up*. Joel Bernstein's *Wild Ride: The History and Lore of Rodeo* provides historical context, while the writings of Charles Wellington Furlong, notably "The Epic Drama of the West," published in *Harper's Monthly Magazine* in 1916 and *Let 'Er Buck: A Story of the Passing of the Old West*, first printed in 1921, are fascinating primary sources based on the Eastern writer's travels to Pendleton. However, as in the Bales and Terry edition, the Native participants are rarely at the forefront of these works.

American Indian historical pageantry encapsulates the study of indigenous performers and performances, participation in the wage labor economy, the growth of the tourist industry around indigenous history, and regional histories that examine the motivations behind these productions and the larger regional tourist economies. Therefore, this dissertation seeks to position itself within these bodies of scholarship in order to demonstrate the historical and contemporary importance these pageants play in the larger realm of tourism.

Methodology and Mythology: A Journey to the West, the Southeast, and the Midwest

> *There is no better way to understand the history and culture of the Western United States than by traveling to Pendleton the second week of September.*[122]

As Bob Rosselle, the 2012 director of Happy Canyon, strode toward me in his well-worn boots, cowboy hat, and a shirt that distinguished him as a Happy Canyon board member, I was conspicuously out of place. Despite the admonition of a 2009 article in *Cowboys and Indians* magazine, I had forgotten a cowboy hat and boots – the only two thing the author had deemed necessary for the weekend.[123] As we stood near the confluence of the rodeo arena, the Happy Canyon pavilion, and the Indian village, I was increasingly aware of my tenuous position as a Native scholar. I was struck by the sheer number of tipis that proudly stood on the grass that had been trampled flat by hundreds, if not thousands of feet, and yet it was impossible to shake the initial feeling that this was a modern-day equivalent to exhibits staged at world's fairs and expositions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

At the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, the same event where Frederick Jackson Turner lamented the closing of the frontier, visitors "could expect to learn about Aboriginal culture not only by gazing at inanimate objects in glass cases but by viewing living, breathing Indians themselves."[124] Paige Raibmon argues that, by using "uncivilized, and thus authentic, Indians" in these anthropological displays, exhibit organizers could demonstrate what she calls a "living yardstick against which to measure

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[122] U.S. Senator Gordon Smith, "Foreword," in Michael Bales and Ann Terry Hill, *Pendleton Round-Up at 100 Oregon's Legendary Rodeo* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), 7.
[123] Wolf Schneider, "Pendleton: No Oregon Town as more Western cachet," *Cowboys and Indians – The Premier Magazine of the West,* September 2009.
[124] Raibmon, 34.

the achievements of civilization."[125] However, what exhibit organizers considered authentic was, more often than not, at odds with the lifestyles of late-nineteenth-century indigenous peoples. Frederic Ward Putnam, curator and professor at Harvard's Peabody Museum and the head of the exposition's ethnology department, tried to organize the anthropology display according to his notions of indigenous authenticity. He was, however, "confounded by the realities of contemporary Navajo existence. He excluded kettles, tin pans, flannel, and beads from the display. He wanted the performers to wear pre-contact clothing, and he wanted a man to make stone arrowheads…Putnam's 'timeless' authenticity required the obliteration of centuries-old elements of Navajo culture."[126]

Other promoters forcibly compelled indigenous participants to comply with their standards of authenticity. Several Inuit who had been made to wear sealskin clothing in spite of the weather left their furs in their huts and came out wearing blue jeans. The display could not function without authentic Inuit in authentic apparel, and the managers locked the Inuit in their huts until they agreed to the terms of their employment.[127] The Navajo and Inuit exhibits were created to be consumed by a non-Native, voyeuristic audience whose notions of authenticity were derived solely from their desire to witness what they considered to be primitive, pre-contact indigeneity. Organizers and audiences did not concern themselves with the lifestyles of then-contemporary Native people – if something did not fit preconceived constructions of indigenous authenticity, it was deemed inauthentic and was not allowed in the exhibit.

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[125] Raibmon, 36-37.
[126] Raibmon, 38.
[127] Raibmon, 39-40.

By the time the Louisiana Purchase Exposition opened its doors in St. Louis in 1904, exhibits of "savage" peoples had become key components of anthropological displays.[128] Exposition officials had hoped to demonstrate what Paul Kramer calls "the dramatic representation of Filipino assimilation in progress," highlighting what officials considered the differing levels of various Filipino people. However, as Kramer notes, "Expositions were driven by economies of spectacle, and among exhibited Filipinos, it was not the modern, civilized, producing and consuming Filipinos that attracted the most attention but non-Christians."[129]

From Chicago to St. Louis at the turn of the century all the way to contemporary Pendleton, these instances reveal the complex, convoluted approaches to and definitions of authenticity. These structures simultaneously exploit and reinvent notions of indigeneity as Native peoples contradict and change ascribed cultural elements. As Linda Tuhiwai Smith has poignantly noted, "Many indigenous researchers have struggled individually to engage with the disconnections that are apparent between the demands of research on one side, and the realities they encounter amongst their own and other indigenous communities, with whom they share lifelong relationships, on the other side."[130]

The Pendleton Round-Up and Happy Canyon proved to be a sort of baptism by fire for a Midwestern academic. I wandered through Roy Raley Park, named for the events' founder (who, as a "lawyer, legislator, cattleman, banker, surveyor, engineer,

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[128] Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, & the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 248.
[129] Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 256-257, 265.
[130] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1999), 5.

Indian fighter, sportsman, businessman, and creator of community celebrations"[131] was apparently a Wild West version of a renaissance man), examining the booths that Native artisans had set up to sell their wares. They were not the only vendors there, of course, but their prime location – directly in the path of the vast majority of Round-Up attendees on their way to the arena – was striking. I made my way through the Pendleton Round-Up and Happy Canyon Hall of Fame as well as the Umatilla County Historical Society. I sat in the Round-Up stands for Indian relay races and calf roping, saddle bronc, steer wrestling, and team roping events. I missed the Round-Up's Daily War Dance, but the Indian relay races were thrilling, exhilarating events well worth the price of a Round-Up ticket. The grandstands nearly shook during the relay races as Native riders raced around the arena, only to hop off their first horse and onto a second to race around the arena again before doing the same with a third and a fourth horse. The riders' skill, speed, and athleticism created an aura of excitement that lingered long after the race ended. Out of breath from cheering, the audience slid back onto the bleachers.

Early one morning, though, I stood in the middle of the arena, albeit on the outskirts, as the Native participants danced. However, they did not dance for paying spectators: the event was free, and the nearly-empty grandstands were a stark contrast to the previous day's rambunctious rodeo crowd. But the dancers seemed unconcerned. They stood on the sidelines, adjusting their regalia, as a group of pre-teen boys danced. A tiny hoop dancer garnered a round of applause, and the announcer continually praised and encouraged the performers who ranged in age from toddlers to elders. It was a conspicuous, although perhaps unintended, juxtaposition of the commodified Round-Up

[131] "Pageant History," Happy Canyon Indian Pageant and Wild West Show, http://www.happycanyon.com/pageanthistory.php.

and Happy Canyon with these uncontrived yet tangible cultural performances. Unlike the Happy Canyon script, which closes the figurative curtain on local indigenous history in 1855, these dancers and performers continually refuted that declension narrative through their persistent participation in the Round-Up and Happy Canyon. Mothers and grandmothers scrutinized their young dancers before letting them into the circle, and a little girl sat not-quite-patiently in her mother's lap to make sure her braids were smooth and her beaded barrette firmly in place. The intergenerational participation in the morning dances, whether through dancing, watching, or judging, promoted a tangible sense of pride. Regardless of the small outside attendance, the dancers embodied their own cultural tradition – not the spectacular, stereotypical performances Round-Up audiences sought.

But there I was, notebook and pen in hand with a camera in my purse, scrutinizing the scene before me. I saw Indian kids in basketball shorts and sneakers winding their way through the maze of tipis and a Coleman air mattress nestled in the corner of a tipi. Regalia, it seemed, was only worn during the Westward Ho! parade, the daily dances in the Round-Up arena, and Happy Canyon performances. Oral interviews conducted at the 2012 and 2014 Round-Ups form the basis of Chapter 6, which examines these public, private, and semi-private portrayals of Indianness within Happy Canyon and the Indian village: how do these varied levels of performance and participation serve as manifestations of what Round-Up audiences want – or do not want – to pay to see? The fact that Indian dances are sparsely attended by non-Natives, despite free admission, speaks to larger questions of authenticity as well as how the Round-Up functions as a means of cultural preservation and survival. Even though the Round-Up, Happy Canyon,

and the Indian village have, since the 1910s, offered local tribes an open environment in which to be Indian, only a certain kind of Indianness is commodified and consumed.

Having internalized my self-imposed untenable position, I stood on the outskirts of the village as I had stood on the outskirts of the dance grounds, unsure of how close was close enough, and any further ethnography would have to wait until my return visit. I stood on the sidelines in Pendleton, watching as horses and massive longhorn cattle were lined up for their carefully choreographed entrances into the dusty arena before climbing the grandstand to witness this almost-century-old narrative of Western history: of peace, of conflict, of what some would call destiny.

I returned to Pendleton two years later, determined to move beyond the painful awkwardness I had felt during my initial visit. In order to gain the press credentials that would allow me access to the Round-Up and Happy Canyon (no press credentials were required to visit the Indian village), though, I had to assume a character – that of the cowboy photographer. As a professional rodeo, Round-Up adheres to association dress code rules: cowboy hat, cowboy boots, jeans, and a tucked-in Western shirt. While I had brought jeans and my worn-out cowboy boots, I was only halfway there. Luckily, there plenty of vendors selling the Western clothes that could turn a Great Lakes Indian into a cowgirl. I returned to the Round-Up grounds the following day, dressed accordingly and ready to receive my press pass. As I filled out the requisite paperwork, one of the volunteers looked me up and down, apparently nonplussed by my newly-purchased Western attire. Sensing my discomfort, he shrugged. "We all have a part to play during Round-Up," he said, handing me my badge.

In Cherokee, however, I was not required to play any part other than that of researcher. Linda Squirrel let me rummage through the materials at the Cherokee Historical Association, and the archivists at the Museum of the Cherokee Indian were similarly welcoming. The director of *Unto These Hills*, Eddie Swimmer, picked me up at the museum one afternoon and took me backstage, giving me free rein to wander and photograph and interview. My trips to Pendleton and Cherokee add an ethnographic component to the historian's archival research that were absolutely integral to this dissertation. While it is impossible to do the same for the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant, finding the remnants of the pageant grounds – which currently show no sign of the massive production attempted nearly a century ago – signals the fleeting, mercurial nature of tourism. Incorporating oral history creates a more nuanced portrait of pageant participants on and off the stage. I use these research methods, coupled with newspaper articles, contemporary and historical photographs, pageant programs, promotional and souvenir materials, local histories, and secondary sources to examine how American Indian historical pageants function within local and tribal economies as well as how these dramatized versions of Indian history serve(d) as anticipated, realized, or declining components of regional tourist-based economies.

I have organized my dissertation so as to investigate the ways in which the motivations behind the creation of these three pageants occur at singular historical moments surrounding indigenous history, federal policy, and regional attempts to capitalize on the economic potential of tourists' interests in American Indians and Indian history. The introduction to this dissertation situates American Indian historical pageantry in the realm of indigenous performances. I assert that these pageants, which I

contend are tied to the growth of regionally-based tourism in the twentieth century, the commodification of Indians and Indianness, and constructions of Native and non-Native identity, are key components of understanding the nuances of Native performances and performativity. Due to the geographic range and chronological disparities among the three pageants, two Chapters are devoted to each pageant. The first Chapter of each pair examines the historic, regionally-specific, and economic impetus behind each pageant's premiere. The second of each pair situates each respective pageant against the backdrop of more contemporary issues surrounding the nature of the regional tourism industries, including the diversification of tourism, success versus failure, and the ways in which local indigenous people participate(d) in these discussions.

The pageants' actual productions and performances are also significant. Each set of organizers and producers approached their respective script in decisively different ways, revealing vital disparities in the ways in which each pageant attempted to capitalize on a specific narrative of indigenous history. The Apostle Islands Indian Pageant proudly promoted itself as fully invested in offering a historically-accurate production, one that had been vetted by a Wisconsin academic. *Unto These Hills*, however, focused on a somewhat-mythical tale in order to heighten the dramatic tension of the production. Happy Canyon, though, falls somewhere in between. While the pageant insists that it performs authentic history as told by authentic Indians, the Indian portion of the show follows the arc of a declension narrative that focuses on Native removal from the region and the usurpation of their land by white settlers. Since the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant was only produced in the 1920s, this narrative analysis appears in Chapter 1.

However, since *Unto These Hills* and Happy Canyon continue to run, their narrative analyses are in Chapters 4 and 6, respectively.

Rather than progressing chronologically, I begin with the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant. This decision centers on the pageant's supposed failure to draw tourists to the south shore of Lake Superior. Chapter 1, "'Beside the Waters of Gitchee Gummee': The Apostle Islands Indian Pageant," explores the rationale behind the decision to stage a mammoth Indian pageant in the far reaches of northern Wisconsin, and I argue that the pageant was yet another attempt to derive profit from the region. However, unlike the previous logging, quarrying, and fishing industries, pageant promoters employed a seemingly contradictory method of using development as a means of conservation, especially alongside the rise in railroad and automobile travel. The Ojibwe and their history became markers of the region's long history and ability to produce an authentic pageant at a time when city residents yearned for – and had the means to procure – a nature-filled vacation. In this chapter, I argue that organizers continually promoted the pageant's location on the south shore of Lake Superior as "the last of the greatness that's West," even though the pageant's inaugural storyline and backdrop were anything but Western. The Apostle Islands Indian Pageant serves as an example of the alluring elements of an Indian pageant – the organizers' whole-hearted belief that they could attract more than 100,000 tourists to the south shore of Lake Superior in 1924 (never mind where in the world they would actually *put* them) – as well as the reality surrounding the difficulty in producing a pageant that could have such a drastic and dramatic impact on the local economy.

These were Midwesterners telling a decidedly Midwestern/Great Lakes Indian story, and the lack of Western cachet was glaringly evident. I contend that, even as promoters cited the beauty of the Wisconsin landscape as an incentive for potential tourists, the fact remained that tourists were looking for a certain kind of Indian in a certain Indian place, and the Red Cliff Ojibwe and their northern Wisconsin reservation did not meet these predetermined, stereotypical constructions of Indianness. Even by the 1920s, the Midwest was a decidedly middling tourist destination for tourists who were seeking authentic Indian history told by authentic Indians in an authentic Indian place. While the pageant likely had some thrilling and entertaining elements, it was still not the wild, wild West. Similarly, I stress that, while these northern Wisconsin Indians were supposed to be authentic parts in this production, the Red Cliff Ojibwe were not seen as particularly necessary or authentic. Indeed, the chief at nearby Odanah, rather than a Red Cliff resident, played a rather significant part in the original production.

Chapter 2, "'We shall walk along with him on the shoreline': The Red Cliff Ojibwe and Salvage Tourism in the Apostle Islands," dissects tourism in northern Wisconsin in the decades following the pageant. Despite its supposed failure, I maintain that the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant was the key moment where local businessmen and boosters turned their full attention to tourism. The key, though, is the disconnect between the Indian history-centered pageant and the post-pageant return to land-based, environmental tourism. Here, the focus is, as James Feldman has argued, on "rewilding" the region, which means erasing the human (and, in this case, specifically the Indian) presence. In the 1960s, contestations over the creation of a national lakeshore highlighted the struggle between American Indians, non-Native residents, and the federal

government over the most practical (and potentially profitable) means of handling the land. It is critical to note that initial plans for the lakeshore included a vast majority of the Red Cliff Indian Reservation. Unlike the pageant, which simply sought to commodify Indians and Indianness, the national lakeshore would have literally and figuratively consumed the Red Cliff Ojibwe and their lands. By centering this chapter around the battle over the national lakeshore, I argue that this transition is indicative of attempts to capitalize solely on *convenient* indigeneity. The pageant, which was an initial attempt to profit off Native history, did not produce the desired economic boon, and the majority of the ever-growing plethora of tourist activities now focuses on the land rather than the Indians and their history.

Chapter 3 moves to Cherokee, North Carolina, to investigate the creation of *Unto These Hills*, which has told a dramatized version of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians' history since 1950. Akin to Bayfield, which certainly intended to use the pageant as the foundation for a (hopefully) profitable tourist industry, the elements of salvage tourism are plainly visible in Cherokee, North Carolina. As in Bayfield, preserving and promoting the natural environment – the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, in this instance – was the motivating factor in establishing a tourism economy, even though attempts to capitalize on regional Indian history had been underway since the early years of the twentieth century and initial work on *Unto These Hills* had been interrupted by World War II. In this chapter, entitled "'Out of the Darkness of Tragedy': The Creation of *Unto These Hills*," I contend that Kermit Hunter's pageant script centered on a narrative of salvage tourism that left the Eastern Band firmly rooted in the past. Additionally, organizers and promoters were so concerned with

fulfilling these *ideals* of salvage tourism, notably the focus on specific, stereotypical indigeneity, that the Eastern Band was continually marginalized and excluded from the pageant.

Unlike the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant, which only survived several years, *Unto These Hills* is one of the longest-running Indian pageants in the nation. But, unlike Happy Canyon, attendance at *Unto These Hills* has plummeted in recent years, leaving management struggling to fill seats. As with Chapter 2, Chapter 4, entitled "'We are Telling our Story': *Unto These Hills* and the Eastern Band in the twenty-first Century," centers on the notion of how, in contemporary rather than historical terms, local efforts to spur tourism attempt to capitalize on Indians and Indianness when it is convenient and profitable. I argue that, unlike the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant and Happy Canyon, using indigenous actors was not the primary goal of the production. Instead, the use of professional white actors signals the pageant's focus on relying solely on Indian *history* rather than creating a space wherein Indians perform an indigenous narrative. Its 1950 opening is several decades past the others, but its enduring legacy in the region as a tourist destination and its troubled relationship with the Eastern Band of Cherokee serve as the basis for this chapter. While members of the Eastern Band occasionally took part in *Unto These Hills* in the first fifty years of the production, the majority of leading roles went to non-Native actors. Since the early 2000s, though, the Eastern Band has worked to repudiate Hunter's narrative of static salvage tourism. As the tribe becomes more involved and more Native actors participate, indigenous actors have become the face of the production: their indigeneity is the foundation for the pageant's authenticity.

The promoters of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant apparently failed to benefit from their self-ascribed vision as a bastion of the West, and *Unto These Hills* continues to struggle to juggle the expectations of its audiences against the wishes of the Eastern Band. Boosters and businessmen in Pendleton, Oregon, however, found a figurative gold mine in their nostalgic interpretation of the wild, wild West. According to local legend, Pendletonians had been so disgusted with Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show that they decided to put on their own show. Initially conceived as nighttime entertainment for Round-Up audiences, the Happy Canyon Indian Pageant and Wild West Show purposefully hearken back to the glory days of the Old West – even if, by the 1910s, the romanticized West no longer existed, even in Pendleton. In Chapter 5, entitled "'Days of Old West are Lived Again': The Pendleton Round-Up and Happy Canyon Indian Pageant and Wild West Show," I assert that, in the wake of a shifting economy and Western-based identity crisis, Pendleton's decision to add an Indian pageant and Wild West Show to its rodeo in the 1910s signaled a search for Pendleton's Western distinctiveness, one wherein the commodification of Pendleton's pioneer, cowboy, and Indian-based history became the basis for the Happy Canyon night show.

Chapter 6, "'We All Have a Part to Play': The Continued Allure of Pendleton," moves to contemporary Pendleton to examine nearly a century's worth of commodified Western history in a production that, with the exception of two years during World War II, has continually presented a narrative of American Indian and American history that relies on the celebratory nature of this relationship. While Happy Canyon's longevity is indeed impressive, especially in the context of the fickle nature of tourism, I am not interested in offering an analysis of the pageant's near-century's-worth of productions.

Rather, as in the cases of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant and *Unto These Hills*, I focus on the legacy of these pageants and their roles in their respective local tourist economies and indigenous communities. Therefore, it is necessary to distinguish Happy Canyon's origins from its present-day counterpart in regards to the participants – especially the Native families who have, often for generations, provided Happy Canyon with its claim to authenticity. Some have camped in the same spot in the Indian village for decades, and their continued presence in Happy Canyon and at the Round-Up create a truly Western environment despite the fact that the Indian portion of the pageant ends in 1855. The tenuous Native and non-Native relationships that became central to the pageant's storyline have not entirely dissipated, and long-held traditions, such as paying Indians $5 a day to dance in the rodeo arena and $10 for setting up a tipi in the Indian village, are simultaneously symbolic holdovers from previous eras and, for some indigenous participants, intensely problematic and almost patronizing. At the same time, however, this chapter wrestles with the question of how to academically analyze these issues even if, from the outside, it seems to mirror the exploitation that characterized so many world's fairs and Wild West Shows.

Conclusion

Despite the presence of American Indian historical pageants in the nineteenth, twentieth, and even twenty-first centuries, it remains difficult to analyze pageants as a whole as the focus on regional indigenous history means that plotlines are rarely alike. Happy Canyon, for instance, ends with the Indians moving to the reservation after an 1857 treaty, while the first Apostle Islands Indian Pageant ends with a scene from World

War I – a mere five years separating the audience from the final scene. *Unto These Hills* simply stopped at a historically-relevant time but left Indians stuck in the past, implying that the Indians and their history were nonexistent past the mid-nineteenth century. Happy Canyon and the Apostle Islands pageants relied on Native participants but also incorporated white actors, while the lead roles in *Unto These Hills* were played by professional white actors and Cherokee actors were simply relegated to the chorus.

Despite the geographical range, chronological span, and unique circumstances surrounding each pageant, it is clear that American Indian historical pageants occupy an integral role in the discussion of American Indian performances. Even though these pageants do not fit as neatly into the historiography as Wild West shows and world's fairs, they emphasize the significance of the confluence of American and American Indian identity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. As immigrants flooded the nation, white Americans sought to solidify their self-imposed position within the nation and turned to Native history in order to claim what they considered their birthright. Pageantry's intersection with federal Indian policy underscores the tension among government officials, American Indians, and non-Indians. As government officials pushed assimilation policies, American Indians resisted those policies and became commodities in the eyes of non-Indians who were willing to travel and spend money to see elements of American Indian culture before it disappeared. As cities grew, their residents longed for the simpler things, and smaller towns advertised leisure activities that were a mere train, boat, or car ride away. The history of local tribes became fodder for dramatic reenactments that satisfied the cravings of those seeking reprieve from the strains of modernity. Lastly, the long-held constructions of "vanishing Indians" lent a

sense of urgency to these tourist travels. American Indian historical pageantry offered an escape from reality and a chance to be part of history – to be "a voyageur among voyageurs, a monk among missioners, and courtier in the presence of the court" – if only temporarily.[132]

[132] "Ke-wa-ne-do-kwa: First Annual Apostle Islands Indian Pageant" souvenir program, 1924. Courtesy of Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.

Chapter 1

"Beside the waters of Gitchee Gummee": The Apostle Islands Indian Pageant[1]

"It is time," the *Antigo Daily Journal* insisted in 1921, "that recognition is given to northwestern Wisconsin and the wonderful beauty and fertility of the Lake Superior plains, together with the unsurpassed attractions to be offered the tourists of the Middle West and the East."[2] The *Superior Telegram* followed suit, claiming that an estimated 300,000 cars full of tourists headed West every summer, but only "rivulets from this mighty stream have heretofore flowed into Wisconsin and but a slight trickle has reached the furthermost parts of the state where the forests and the streams and the lakes are the most attractive."[3] Residents of Antigo, which sits in the northern half of the state, and Superior, itself a northwestern Wisconsin town, would have been privy to these unsurpassed, attractive elements of nature. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, towns like Antigo, Superior, and others near or along the breathtaking shore of the greatest Great Lake began to recognize the economic potential – and profit – of their locations as havens for city tourists.

But what would draw more tourists to the south shore of Lake Superior, to the Apostle Islands, Chequamegon Bay, and, more specifically, the town of Bayfield? Its relative isolation had long put it at a disadvantage in terms of luring settlers and prospective business owners, especially as nearby towns such as Ashland, Superior, and Duluth became established shipping centers. Founded in 1856, Bayfield had a population of 353 by 1860, was home to 1,409 inhabitants by 1885, and currently hosts around 500-

[1] "History of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant," *Bayfield Progress*, August 26, 1924.
[2] "Annual Pageant on Apostle Islands to Attract Thousands," *Antigo Daily Journal*, October 10, 1921.
[3] "Thousands to See Pageant," *Superior Telegram*, September 27, 1923.

600 residents.[4] Dennis McCann calls Bayfield's twinned economic and environmental histories "a series of booms and busts as rich natural resources were harvested, or some would say exploited, until there was little or nothing left to take," and this was particularly true once the quarrying, fishing, and logging industries had run their respective courses by the 1920s.[5]

If the natural resources extracted from the land and the lake were fully exhausted or no longer profitable by the early twentieth century, there were two other possibilities: the land itself and the American Indians who had called the land their home for centuries. According to the *Bayfield Progress*, the stars aligned when L.E. McKenzie, a road scout for the Hearst newspapers, stood beside "the waters of Gitchee Gummee, the great inland sea of the Ojibway" and, mesmerized by the natural beauty of the trees, cliffs, and gleaming island shores, decided that he had found the perfect place to stage an Indian pageant that, with "the proper publicity and the right kind of advertising," was "bound to bring a good harvest."[6] McKenzie, who had traveled state highways in a car to reach the spot, was so moved by what he considered to be the pristine wilderness before him that he penned a six stanza poem, full of romance and nostalgia, that stands as not only the namesake for the pageant but as a glimpse into twentieth century non-Native comprehensions of American Indians as a whole. He wrote of "romance that's writ in the sand," men that were "as rugged as rocks," and the mournful cry of the loon. The final stanza, in full, reads as such:

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[4] 1860 population – Dennis McCann, *This Superior Place: Stories of Bayfield and the Apostle Islands* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2013), 15; 1885 population – McCann, 21.
[5] McCann, *This Superior Place*, 25.
[6] "History of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant," *Bayfield Progress*, August 26, 1924; "Annual Pageant on Apostle Islands to Attract Thousands," *Antigo Daily Journal*, October 10, 1921; "Two Thousand Indians Lined Up For Big Pageant," *Park Falls Herald*, August 24, 1923; "The Indian Pageant closed for the season last Sunday..," *Bayfield Progress*, August 18, 1925.

> The last here of all that is best: / the balsam of pines for your rest: / The Great Lakes amazing that sets you appraising / The Last of the Greatness that's West.[7]

The Apostle Islands that captivated McKenzie are a collection of nearly two dozen islands on the south shore of Lake Superior near Bayfield, Wisconsin. The area, both the mainland and primarily Madeline Island, the largest of the islands, have long been home to the Red Cliff Ojibwe, who are formally known as the Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Chippewa. La Pointe on Madeline Island had been established as a trading post first by the French and later by Michel Cadotte under the auspices of the American Fur Company.

By 1923, the *Ashland Press* boasted that more than 2,000 American Indians would participate in the first annual Apostle Islands Indian Pageant slated for the following summer. The newspaper claimed that local Indians were so intrigued by the event that would "revive their tribal customs and teach thousands of Americans something of the first history of the Middle West" that they would spend the next year helping with the pageant's production.[8] Another spirited journalist was just as excited: the amphitheater to be constructed on the reservation of the Red Cliff Ojibwe in northern Wisconsin would set the stage for "the greatest historical event of its character ever staged in America," an extravaganza that would draw "more visitors that are cared for at the Frontier Days' grounds in Wyoming, or at the Mardi Gras in New Orleans each year."[9]

Pageant promoters and Wisconsin newspapers proclaimed that this 15-day reenactment of spectacular historical events would attract more than 100,000 visitors to

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[7] "History of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant," *Bayfield Progress,* August 26, 1924.
[8] "Expect 2,000 Indians for 1924 Pageant," *Ashland Press,* August 22, 1923.
[9] "Two Thousand Indians Lined Up For Big Pageant," *Park Falls Herald,* August 24, 1923.

Bayfield in 1924 alone. The pageant committee predicted a "huge influx of tourists" and planned to make the pageant "the most widely advertised national tourist entertainment" of the year.[10] Though it staggers the contemporary imagination, the *Superior Times* claimed the pageant would draw 50,000 additional tourists, while another paper quoted McKenzie as saying the committee expected to entertain "anywhere up to a half a million people in 15 days of the pageant."[11] They believed – and hoped – that the pageant would become an annual attraction that would turn the region into a mecca for tourists from the East Coast and the Midwest who would be drawn not only to the still-pristine environment but to the romantic history of the region. McKenzie even claimed that the Apostle Islands were an incomparable destination: "There are many places that might be compared with California," he said, "but nothing in California can touch these Apostle Islands, and don't you forget it."[12]

In this chapter, I argue that the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant highlights the tensions among tourism, authenticity, indigeneity, conservation, and development in the 1920s. By examining the endeavors of the pageant committee, town boosters, businessmen, and local Ojibwe in northern Wisconsin, I contend that their attempts to boost the regional economy by capitalizing on Indians and Indian history aligned with their fears surrounding conservation and development. The pageant intended to draw tourists to the south shore of Lake Superior by turning the Ojibwe and their land into commodities to be consumed by non-Natives, as linking non-Native notions of the "vanishing Indian" with the potential loss of the unspoiled landscape to development lent

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[10] "Thousands to See Pageant," *Superior Telegram*, September 27, 1923.
[11] "Aged Indian to Be Drum Leader," *Superior Times*, September 29, 1923; "Duluth and Superior to Aid Pageant," *Ashland Press*, October 23, 1923.
[12] "Annual Pageant on Apostle Islands to Attract Thousands," *Antigo Daily Journal*, October 10, 1921.

a sense of urgency to the pageant. If non-Natives wished to see American Indians in their supposed natural habitat, then they could not wait much longer. In 1923, for instance, the *Superior Telegram* warned that drastic environmental changes would doom the region's economic potential. "The last tract of virgin pine" was "crashing down before the saw and axe," and the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant committee hoped the production would serve as a means of protecting the region's resources and, in essence, its Indians.[13]

Here, then, is where salvage tourism manifests itself through the supposed inevitability of progress. If the Indians and the environment were, theoretically, disappearing simultaneously, then the need for the pageant – and for tourists to travel to northern Wisconsin to witness the pageant – was tangibly imperative. The pageant was, organizers hoped, demonstrating its ability to salvage Indian history and the natural environment in spite of the ever-escalating growth of cities, even in the northernmost realms of Wisconsin. By conflating the notion of the vanishing Indian with the vanishing environment, the romanticized idea of the Indians and the environment became things that needed to be saved and salvaged for future generations. Salvage tourism worked (and works) in different and distinct ways in Bayfield, Pendleton, and Cherokee, and yet the connections among the three reveal intriguing correlations between local indigenous history, the particular place, and motivations of pageant organizers, participants, and tourists. The idea of salvage tourism – the mechanisms through which Indians, their history, and the landscape are turned into a commodity that must be immediately utilized before it is destroyed by modernity – created an environment in Wisconsin that sought to exploit non-Native fears and encourage tourism for specific regions.

[13] "Thousands to See Pageant," *The Superior Telegram*, September 24, 1923.

The Apostle Islands Indian Pageant is just one of many productions in the state of Wisconsin and the nation writ large that attempted to capitalize on the commodification of Indianness. The pageants were neither the first nor the last attempts by Wisconsin towns to capitalize on local indigeneity, and some were more successful than others. Powwows, pageants, and parades endeavored to highlight Wisconsin's claim to indigenous authenticity and draw both in-state and out-of-state visitors to productions based on indigenous performances, and yet the shores of Lake Superior were decidedly Midwestern, *not* the wild, wild West of city folks' fantasies. The pageant committee used the Red Cliff Ojibwe and their homeland to give the pageant an aura of authenticity that would hopefully bring tourists – and their wallets – to Bayfield and Red Cliff. The committee, local townspeople, and newspaper writers from across the state argued that this remote region of Wisconsin was the only place tourists could truly experience the last vestiges of American Indian life and culture. However, while the pageant committee used Indian labor to authenticate and legitimize the production, the Ojibwe and their history were, by tourists' notions, inauthentic, and likely not as fascinating. These tourists wanted to see a specific kind of Indian, likely the Indians of the Great Plains, and they did not find what they were looking for in northern Wisconsin, the home of Great Lakes Indians.

Tourist desires for the Indians of the West may explain the radical revisions that left the second production of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant nearly unrecognizable from the initial script. The inaugural production proudly highlighted what the pageant committee believed were both the educational and entertaining elements of the region's history, albeit in a long, drawn-out staging that took three days from start to finish. The

second production, however, could have been staged by Buffalo Bill: "savage" Indians attacked brave white pioneers, only to be defeated by the prowess of the U.S. military. Their defeat, of course, paved the way for unencumbered non-Native settlement, and the second pageant reiterated and justified these themes of inevitable progress.

The pageants produced along the shores of Lake Superior in the 1920s also epitomize the historical moment wherein the rise of leisure culture caused towns across the country to create localized attractions that clamored for the time and money of Americans who now had the means to travel for vacations. Unlike Wild West shows, which traveled across the country and around the world, Indian pageants required their *audiences* to travel in order to see, for example, "the beauty, customs, glories, rites, and romance of the Indians" before, in keeping with the predominant stereotypes of the era, the allegedly authentic Indians disappeared in the wake of white American progress.[14] By the 1920s, the growth of the automobile industry and the highway system meant that tourists could more easily access previously hard-to-reach regions to watch American Indian dances, ceremonials, powwows, and, of course, pageants, which became popular with vacationing white Americans who now had the time and the money to take leisurely family trips. Instead of simply attending a performance in a local theatre or concert hall, tourists could spend days or even weeks journeying to and from an Indian pageant.

Sadly, the expectations of the pageant committee, town boosters, and businesses who hoped to capitalize on the hundreds of thousands of tourists were dashed by what they considered to be dismal attendance numbers: nearly 18,000 came to the pageant the first year, and somewhere between 12,000 and 15,000 attended in 1925 – the combined attendance for these two years is roughly one-third of the projected audience for 1924

[14] "History of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant," *Bayfield Progress*, August 26, 1924.

alone. While these numbers are clearly substantial, given the still-young era of automobiles and family vacations, coupled with the pageant's remoteness, they did not meet the committee's grandiose goals. The pageant failed to cover its expenses in its first two years and was $60,000 in debt after the 1925 production, and so the curtain soon closed for good.[15] Despite its fleeting existence and its seemingly unrealistic and unreachable ambitions, the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant is significant in the enormous regional investments of time, money, energy, and resources, as well its place as yet another attempt to lure tourists to northern Wisconsin. The firm belief in the pageant's potential profits emphasizes the earning power that could be derived from Indians and performances of indigeneity.

This chapter begins with an introduction to the region that was, apparently, more beautiful than California and an examination of the region's industries and eventual switch to tourism as a primary economy, followed by an analysis of the connections between tourists and Indians. A larger look at indigenous performances throughout Wisconsin in the early twentieth century showcases the numerous attempts to capitalize on indigeneity as well as the importance of Native labor in the construction, promotion, and production of pageants, powwows, and parades. The land itself was used as a means of validating the pageant's authenticity, and yet making room for tourists required considerable construction. Finally, the substantial alterations of the script between the first and second productions underscore the non-Native attraction to a particular historical narrative, one that was evidently not present in the first production. Despite its apparent failure, the pageant was not the only regional attempt to corner the tourist market.

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[15] Eric Olmanson, *The Future City on the Inland Sea: A History of Imaginative Geographies of Lake Superior* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007), 213.

Therefore, it is clear that the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant was a critical element of salvage tourism in Bayfield's continued development and economy in the early twentieth century.

"Educational, Historical, and Romantic": Capitalizing on Northern Wisconsin History[16]

Kenneth Ellis, the man tasked with writing and directing the massive production, likely found plenty of romantic and dramatic fodder for his script in the history of the Apostle Islands and Chequamegon Bay. According to local newspapers, the script for the Apostle Island Indian Pageant was based on "correct historical data gathered from the writings of the earliest settlers on the Apostle Islands, the real cradles of Wisconsin's history."[17] This data was partly comprised of the

> legendary lore of the Apostle Islands, which includes the sacrifice of the maiden by fire on Sacrificial Rock, the sailing away of the Indian Princess from Soldier's rock, the massacre of the Chippewa and the bloody revenge upon the Iroquos [sic] at the mouth of Montreal river and many other such events, will be woven what the movies would consider a masterpiece of thrills.[18]

The pageant committee believed that these electrifying, movie-worthy scenarios would be even more exhilarating for the audience if the scenery matched the action. Therefore, the pageant would be staged on the Red Cliff Ojibwe reservation. The Treaty of 1854 had moved the Catholic Ojibwe to the mainland from Madeline Island, the largest of the Apostle Islands, and the Protestants moved farther south to Odanah along the Bad River. The town of Bayfield was incorporated two years later by the Bayfield Land Company,

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[16] "Invited to Superior," *Ashland Press*, October 19. 1923.
[17] "Aged Indian to Be Drum Leader," *Superior Times*, September 29, 1923.
[18] "Aged Indian to Be Drum Leader," *Superior Times*, September 29, 1923.

whose founders hoped it would become "a port city the world would notice."[19] These lofty goals pushed residents and entrepreneurs to spend the decades before the pageant looking for ways to strike it big and lure more residents and entrepreneurs, only to see their hopes dashed time and time again. Transportation was a major roadblock, since a "rough and uncomfortable wagon road" connecting Bayfield and Superior was not built until 1871. The Wisconsin Central Railroad reached Ashland four years later, and the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha finally reached Bayfield in 1883. Despite the significant head starts given to Ashland, Duluth, and Superior, the residents of Bayfield were undeterred.[20] In time, the area's remoteness would become yet another marketing tool to entice weary city folk looking for respite.

The notion of presenting Bayfield and the Apostle Islands as a wilderness retreat from the hustle and bustle of city life began long before the pageant promotions of the 1920s. The locks on Sault Ste. Marie, which opened in 1855, allowed boats and larger commercial ships to travel to and from Lake Superior without having to navigate the rapids on the St. Marys River.[21] For the rest of the nineteenth century, however, tourism was a parallel industry operating alongside fishing, logging, and quarrying, according to William Cronon:

> The fishing, farming, logging, and tourism industries supported and reinforced each other. Farmers depended on summer residents and resorts as a market for their produce. Fishermen worked in logging camps during the winter and ferried tourists during the summer. The railroads that brought the tourists also carried lumber, salted fish, and cut stone harvested from the islands.[22]

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[19] James Feldman, *A Storied Wilderness: Rewilding the Apostle Islands* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013), 28; McCann, 1.
[20] McCann, 15-16.
[21] McCann 116; Feldman, *A Storied Wilderness*, 92-93.
[22] Feldman, 10.

Tourism would not arise as a dominant, stand-alone economic player until the logging industry began to decline in the early twentieth century, and it is at this point that the seeds of the pageant began to take root. The ebb and flow of these extractive industries are a key component of understanding the pageant's timing: other natural resource-based industries had been expended or were no longer feasible, and expanding tourism was the next logical step. Tourists had been coming by rail and steamer for several decades, and the growth of the automobile industry increased the economic opportunities of tourism. The framework for tourism already existed, thanks to the railroads, which built hotels in Ashland and Bayfield.[23]

The growing affordability of cars and middle-class incomes created a new type of tourism in the 1920s: only wealthy Americans had the time and money to travel long distances via train, but road trips became a novel and cost-effective way for less-wealthy Americans to spend a vacation.[24] Pageant promoters intended to capitalize on this newfangled mode of transportation by creating promotional materials aimed directly at potential automobile-owning Americans. They created a special book for automobile clubs and tourist information bureaus that not only contained the "romantic story that will form the thread of the pageant itself" but also held information regarding "all of the routes by lake, rail and highway leading to the pageant site."[25] They hoped tourists would come not only for the pageant but for the breathtaking scenery and outdoor activities. Local writers insisted that the area around Lake Superior – the greatest of all inland lakes – was a sportsman's delight filled with trout, bass, and wild game and that,

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[23] McCann, 117-118.
[24] Feldman, 111.
[25] "Two Thousand Indians Lined Up for Big Pageant," *Park Falls Herald*, August 24, 1923.

once out-of-towners made their initial trek north, they would be unable to resist coming back year after year.[26]

After all the time and money spent building railway lines, locks and docks for steamships, and roads, abandoning these pathways was not an option. Rather than exporting resources out of the region, the pageant intended to import people – especially middle- to upper-class white Americans. The pageant grounds were carefully chosen so "as to be conveniently reached from state trunk highway thirteen by motorists, while within a two mile radius of the pageant bay score of big passenger ships can be docked."[27] The nearby town of Washburn offered its city dock as well as the Du Pont Powder Company's commercial dock as landings for lake steamers,[28] and advocates insisted that an improved highway system would pay dividends in making the journey more appealing to tourists.[29]

However, despite their firm beliefs in the power of the wilderness, townsfolk and pageant promoters needed another gimmick to get tourists to come north. By taking advantage of the non-Native fascination with Indians and Indian culture (and their inescapable disappearance, by all accounts), they found it in the history of Chequamegon Bay and the history of the Ojibwe. The Apostle Islands Indian Pageant clearly sought to capitalize on what I have deemed "salvage tourism," the phenomenon that used widely-held beliefs of the inevitable disappearance of American Indians as the catalyst for regionally-specific touristic enterprises centered on Indians and Indian history. The resource extraction that characterized northern Wisconsin's earlier attempts

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[26] "Annual Pageant on Apostle Islands to Attract Thousands," *Antigo Daily Journal,* October 10, 1921.
[27] "Two Thousand Indians Lined Up for Big Pageant," *Park Falls Herald,* August 24, 1923.
[28] "Invited to Superior," *Ashland Press,* October 19, 1923.
[29] Feldman, 112.

at industrialization and commercialization soon changed courses, turning the preservation and conservation of resources into a new form of commodification.

"Here in Red Cliff bay": Indians and Tourists in the 1920s[30]

The Ojibwe, like many Native nations across the country, had been a selling point for tourists who wanted to see Indians engaged in their "primitive customs" before these customs, like the Indians themselves, disappeared in the wake of what non-Natives considered to be inevitable modernity.[31] This was a common theme by the turn of the turn of the twentieth century as white Americans who, according to John Troutman, had "become so disillusioned with the pace of urban modern America began to turn toward Indianness as a form of rejuvenation, a touchstone of authenticity."[32] It is crucial, however, to note that this sense of Indianness non-Natives craved was derived from a longing to see what they considered to be "authentic Indians," not the Indians of the twentieth century.

By traveling from the city to the country, to the ostensible outskirts of civilization, non-Natives would be privy to "about all that is left of the primitive in America," and they would be witness to "a historical record of the first Americans: thus preserving for all time something of the beauty, customs, glories, rites and romance of the Indians."[33] But traveling to reservations allowed tourists to experience a different interpretation of what Philip Deloria calls "playing Indian," a means of identifying the phenomenon – "a persistent tradition in American culture" – wherein non-Natives adopt particular elements

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[30] "Aged Indian to be Drum Leader," *Superior Times*, September 29, 1923.
[31] McCann, 118.
[32] John Troutman, *Indian Blues: American Indians and the Politics of Music, 1879-1934* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), 14.
[33] "History of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant," *Bayfield Progress*, August 26, 1924.

of indigenous culture in order to create a distinctly American identity with distinctly American customs.[34] Rather than "playing Indian," pageants gave non-Natives the opportunity to watch *Indians* play Indian, which created a simultaneous separation from and consumption of American Indian history as well as American Indian identities. Pageants and other localized tourist attractions became a new means of commodifying Indianness through consumption as opposed to the earlier play-acting. The search for indigenous authenticity and an indigenous identity was manifested through not only the pageant itself but through the land on which it was staged. By staging the "great show on historical ground where romance lies buried but where its spirit still lives and where it may again be quickened into visible form by a historical pageant," the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant committee connected the Ojibwe to the land and, by association, the spectators.[35]

Railroads, auto clubs, and towns all used these fantasies of playing Indian, seeing Indians, and consuming Indians to attract the tourists who wanted to see Indian villages and Indian dances, ceremonials, and cultural performances.[36] Who needed fiction when real-life history was so thrilling? The Ojibwe and their history would validate not only non-Native claims to the land but would firmly place white Americans at the forefront of the nation's history by subsuming Indian history as the precursor for white American history. It is crucial to note, however, that the tourists of the 1920s had no interest in seeing the Indians of the 1920s. When tourists demanded authentic Indians, they demanded a vision of Indians that was firmly placed in the past and a historical narrative

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[34] Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 7; Deloria, *Playing Indian,* 25.
[35] "Find Relics Near Bayfield," *Superior Telegram,* October 13, 1923.
[36] Feldman, 98.

centered on the supposedly inexorable, unavoidable fate that awaited Indians: disappearance. The *Chippewa Falls Gazette*, for instance, invited audiences to witness "the Indians depict in pageantry, the story of their struggles before and after the white man came…the story of a vanishing race."[37] Tourists came to see Indians "in their beaded and fringed buckskin costumes with beaded headbands and perhaps a single eagle feather."[38]

Numerous newspaper articles and promotional materials continually claimed that the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant's location was the cornerstone of a *bona fide* Indian production, offering an experience that could only be found along the shore of Lake Superior. Commodifying the reservation lands-turned-pageant grounds exemplifies the modification of "playing Indian" to consuming Indians and Indianness by adding the authenticity of place, as shown in the "Foreward" [sic] to the first pageant's program:

> You are spectators at a spectacle, an audience to the drama, but you are presumed to be participants in a pageant. The stretch of woodland through which you pass on foot before you come upon the pageant ground itself is a symbol of the thousands of miles of woodland through which the voyageurs and explorers of the great north west pursued their way so many hundred years ago…[39]

For author and director Kenneth Ellis, the primacy of the pageant grounds allowed the historical events to "become a sentient reality," allowing the audience members to feel "some extent the throb of the romance with which the hills and valleys which surround Chequamegon Bay are filled." The audience, having trekked hundreds (or hopefully thousands, based on the committee's enthusiastic expectations) of miles in order to reach

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[37] "Apostle Islands Indian Pageant Opens in August," *Chippewa Falls Gazette*, May 21, 1925.
[38] "Apostle Islands Indian Pageant August 2 to 16," *Merrill Herald*, June 16, 1925.
[39] "Ke-wa-de-no-kwa: First Annual Apostle Islands Indian Pageant" souvenir program, 1924. Courtesy of Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.

the pageant grounds, had the privilege of witnessing history as it had dramatically occurred.

Ellis continued, encouraging his audience to feel

> [A]s the hordes of red-skinned warriors descend from the hillside upon which you stand and sit, something of the surprised terror which in the early days filled the breasts of the pioneers as the war cry smote their ears. You will not, in pageantry, witness the events which the pictures which these artists have painted upon natures [sic] page reveal to you, but you are presumed to be a party to the action; a voyageur among voyageurs, a monk among missioners, and courtier in the presence of the court.[40]

At first glance, Ellis's flowery introduction to the pageant seems to do what pageants intended to do: invite the audience to be a participant, not simply an audience member to a fantastical enactment – rather than *re*enactment – of Chequamegon Bay history. A closer look, however, reveals the type of participant the audience is supposed to be: a pioneer, a voyageur, a monk, and a courtier, one of the non-Native participants in the region's Indian history. The single mention of Indians centers on the stereotypical "red-skinned warriors" who would elicit the same fear in the twentieth-century non-Native audience members that they apparently stirred in the nineteenth-century non-Native pioneers. By consuming Indians and Indian history through the lens of the non-Native, the audience, despite Ellis's claims to the contrary, remains distinct and distant from the Ojibwe and American Indians writ large. These pageant audiences, then, were not simply voyageurs, but voyeurs.

[40] "Ke-wa-de-no-kwa: First Annual Apostle Islands Indian Pageant" souvenir program, 1924. Courtesy of Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.

"In War Paint and Feathers": Commodifying Indianness in Wisconsin[41]

The fine line between playing Indian and consuming Indianness was not unique to this pageant. For those who remain unconvinced that the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant was anything less than a misguided flop, the nationwide Indian craze of the early 1900s is evident on both the state and national levels. The Apostle Islands Indian Pageant was not the first touristic endeavor by Natives or non-Natives that attempted to capitalize on tourists' interests in Wisconsin Indians, although it may have been situated farther north than previous productions. Local newspapers publicized nearly half a dozen powwows, dances, and pageants in 1921 alone, from Green Bay and Wisconsin Rapids to Keshena and the Wisconsin Dells, that sought to open the floodgates of tourists. In August of 1921, the *Milwaukee Journal* published a detailed listing of the dances for two upcoming powwows hosted by the Wisconsin Winnebago (or Ho-Chunk) in Tomah and Wisconsin Rapids, including the welcome dance, corn dance, squaw dance, sacred medicine dance, and war dance.[42] The article also noted that, while the price for admission was unknown at the time of publication, it would be more than the fifty cents charged in 1920 and the twenty-five cents charged in 1917.[43]

Whether locals tried to capitalize on the fascination with Indians through a pageant, powwow, or parade, one constant remained: the need for "authentic" Indians to participate in order to legitimate and popularize the spectacle. Outlining the scheduled dances and past admission prices targeted potential non-Native audiences in the surrounding areas in order to drum up attendance. While it was certainly a chance for

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[41] "Indians of Seven States Don Tribal Dress for Two Badger Pow-Wows," *Milwaukee Journal,* August 7, 1921.
[42] As with Chippewa/Ojibwe, Ho-Chunk is what the people prefer to call themselves.
[43] "Indians of Seven States Don Tribal Dress for Two Badger Pow-Wows," *Milwaukee Journal,* August 7, 1921.

Indians to gather and dance, play baseball and lacrosse, the article was accompanied by several photographs, including one of two men with the caption "In War Paint and Feathers." Native intentions and aspirations notwithstanding, the powwow offered non-Natives the chance to see "tepees on two 40-acre tracts on the outskirts" of Wisconsin Rapids, where the Indians would "live as of yore" while partaking in Indian games and dances. Nearly 1,000 Indians were expected to attend and participate in the events, including a parade with "full Native costumes…Indian ponies carrying packs and dragging poles carrying papooses, camp equipment, tents, and rations…Warriors in war paint and feathers" as well as, interestingly, "The modern Indian…driving with his family in his auto, and dressed in the latest styles.[44] The *Superior Telegram,* a newspaper serving an area that currently sits 250 miles north of Wisconsin Rapids, called the powwow "one of the greatest Indian celebrations ever held in the northwest," pulling in enough Indian participants to be considered "the biggest [powwow] in this state, since the days of the scalping knife and tomahawk."[45]

Newspapers near and far excitedly described the Indians' arrival for the powwow and reiterated the planned events, which seemed to increase as the powwow's scheduled start neared. Wisconsin Rapids was "peacefully invaded" by "hundreds of Indians from all parts of the central west" in the days before the powwow, and the Wisconsin Rapids Chamber of Commerce leased eighty acres adjacent to the city in order to stage the battle of Little Big Horn, among others.[46] The *Marshfield News* trumpeted the arrival of Indians who had "traveled great distances in response to the invitations extended them"

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[44] "Indians of Seven States Don Tribal Dress for Two Badger Pow-Wows," *Milwaukee Journal,* August 7, 1921; "Winnebago Indians to Hold Mammoth Pow-Wow in August," *Superior Telegram,* June 8, 1921.
[45] "Winnebago Indians to Hold Mammoth Pow-Wow in August," *Superior Telegram,* June 8, 1921.
[46] "Redskins Arrive for Big Pow Wow," *Milwaukee Sentinel,* August 11, 1921.

by the Ho-Chunk, including a group of Omaha Indians who had driven up from Nebraska.[47]

The upcoming powwow – from the list of events to the extent of the Indians' participation – was publicized across the state, receiving coverage from northwestern and southeastern newspapers. While the powwow itself was assembled by the Wisconsin Ho-Chunk Indians, the towns of Wisconsin Rapids and Tomah seem to have taken it upon themselves to market the powwow to a larger (read: non-Native) audience. It is not clear if the Ho-Chunk shared any of the admissions revenue with either town or how many people attended the powwows, but the publicity and media coverage demonstrate the powerful pull of Indian performances throughout the state.

The Wisconsin Rapids and Tomah powwows were not the only spectacles in the state in 1921. In late July, the *Milwaukee Journal* announced that a historical pageant and Indian centennial in Green Bay would "depict history as it has been unfolded in Green Bay and Brown county…The pageant will carry the story through the Civil war period, the coming of the pioneer lumbermen and farmers, the development of industry and the scenes surrounding Green Bay's participation in the World war *[sic]*."[48] Promoters and boosters hoped the trifecta of a homecoming, historical pageant, and Indian centennial, including 4,000 pageant participants and 5,000 Indians, would draw 20,000 visitors over six days.[49] The Indian centennial commemorated the movement of Oneida Indians from New York to Wisconsin led by Rev. Jedidiah H. Morse, the father

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[47] "Wis. Rapids Welcomes First of Powwow Indians," *Marshfield News*, August 11, 1921.
[48] "20,000 to View Historical Pageant and Indian Centennial at Green Bay," *Milwaukee Journal*, July 31, 1921.
[49] "20,000 to View Historical Pageant and Indian Centennial at Green Bay," *Milwaukee Journal*, July 31, 1921.

of telegraph inventor Samuel Morse.[50] The *Milwaukee Sentinel* boasted that, even though "Most of the Indians of today who are engaged in farming and business have forgotten how [bows and arrow, stone axes, baskets, rugs, Indian bread, corn mean, dolls, bead work, and other products of a hundred years ago] were made," the committee had scrounged up a few patriarchs of the tribe "who have not forgotten old Indian customs and whose fingers still possess the cunning to fashion utensils and weapons from crude materials."[51]

Other events included a water carnival, a Pageant of Progress parade, and Indian events. Hosted by the Oneida, a huge Indian village arose at the fairgrounds to serve as a gathering place for war dances and powwows. Some participated in the pageant, but many seemed to focus on the Oneida Indian Centennial celebration. The *De Pere Democrat* called it "one of the biggest events in the history of the red man," and it included lacrosse and baseball games; pony races; dancing; and performances by Robert Bruce, dubbed "the nationally famous Indian cornetist," and Red Cloud, "the great sousaphone player of Sousa's Band," considered "one of the greatest among the many bass horn players which this country has produced" by Mr. Sousa himself.[52] Unlike the Apostle Islands pageant, which would later tout its use of Indian performers as key to its authenticity, promoters of the Green Bay pageant – not the centennial – did not seem particularly interested in marketing authentic Indians. Rather, the "Winnebago Women," "Winnebago Boys" and "Winnebago Girls" of the cast were chosen from the Mooseheart Legion, an organization that, in the 1920s, restricted its membership to white men who

[50] "State Celebrates Advance of Red Man to Wisconsin," *Milwaukee Sentinel,* July 31, 1921.
[51] "State Celebrates Advance of Red Man to Wisconsin," *Milwaukee Sentinel,* July 31, 1921.
[52] "Indians All Ready to Give Their Big Show," *De Pere Democrat,* July 28, 1921.

were of "sound mind and body, in good standing in the community, engaged in lawful business who are able to speak and write the English language."[53]

The pageant, however, was a financial wash, even as the park board arranged to attend to thousands of cars each day, even as the parade "was even better than officials had expected," even as lumber companies and contracting firms had donated time and materials to build the enormous amphitheater that, aside from circus performances, provided the largest seating arrangement ever built in Green Bay.[54] The pageant association announced that the audiences were not as large as they had hoped, and subsequently the money brought in from ticket sales did not meet or exceed the expenses.[55] Despite the financial setbacks, W.L. Evans, president of the pageant association, called it "a very decided success" and "a significant community effort. It was the first effort to organize public leisure for public benefit and to give reasonable vent to the play spirit of people and at the same time to entertain and educate.[56]

As with the Apostle Islands pageant three years later, there are any number of possible explanations for the pageant's supposed failure, especially without readily available logs of expenses and revenue. The goal of 20,000 spectators was certainly more realistic than the Apostle Islands pageant, and yet those numbers may still have been too high. The sheer number of participants may have led to lower attendance

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[53] "Pageant Success as Spectacle, But Falls Behind Financially," *Green Bay Gazette*, August 6, 1921; 'Tourists Begin to Arrive for Pageant Week," *Green Bay Gazette*, August 1, 1921; "Crowds Jam Streets to Witness City's Parade of Progress," *Green Bay Gazette*, August 4, 1921; "Pageant Cast: List of Persons Taking Part in Green Bay's Huge Municipal Entertainment, as Furnished by the Management," *Green Bay Gazette*, August 3, 1921; Arthur Preuss, *A Dictionary of Secret and Other Societies* (St. Louis, MO: B. Herder Book Co., 1924), 258.
[54] "Tourists Begin to Arrive For Pageant Week," *Green Bay Gazette*, August 1, 1921.
[55] While a number of articles from the *Green Bay Gazette* offer great details regarding the creation and production of the pageant, including an exhaustive cast list, daily events, and glowing reviews, none seem to offer a ticket price. As with many such endeavors, it seems unlikely that the pageant would have recouped its expenses in the first year, regardless of the ticket price.
[56] "Pageant Success as Spectacle, But Falls Behind Financially," *Green Bay Gazette*, August 6, 1921.

numbers since those performing would have been unable to partake in all of the week's festivities. Regardless of the cause, the Green Bay pageant and Indian centennial nonetheless exemplify the state- and nation-wide commodification of American Indian history, culture, and Indians themselves in the early twentieth century.

It is unclear whether or not the Green Bay pageant served as an impetus for the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant. It is striking, though, that, just three years after the Green Bay pageant, the Apostle Islands pageant billed itself as *the* premier entertainment in not just northern Wisconsin, but throughout the state and, in some instances, the entire Middle West. Perhaps the Apostle Islands pageant's organizers felt their story was more dramatic, their scenery more spectacular, and their environment more salvageable. Perhaps they used the Green Bay disappointment as an example of how *not* to produce a pageant. Perhaps they were more confident in their ability to create a fantastical, awe-inspiring experience with their authentic landscape – and, of course, their authentic Indians.

Indian Labor: On Stage and Behind the Scenes

Indian labor had long been crucial to the region's development and economic growth. Chantal Norrgard contends that, for more than two centuries, "Ojibwe engaged in commerce via the fur trade, transforming activities such as hunting and trapping to meet the demands of regional and global markets and trading surplus commodities such as wild rice and maple sugar to Europeans in exchange for goods," and James Feldman

has examined Ojibwe participation in the region's logging and fishing industries.[57] However, the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant needed numerous forms of Ojibwe labor in order to legitimize and authenticate the pageant for its intended audience. The thrilling, titillating history of the Apostle Islands and the Chequamegon Bay region could only be properly reenacted where the lakes "tinged with adventure, and ajectived with the romance of the Ojibway and early settlers of the wilderness" – or, at least, that's the story the pageant committee was selling.[58] Similarly, the stories could only be properly reenacted by the hundreds of Indians would who would "relive their Native legends."[59]

Traditional historical pageants, which usually commemorated a significant or meaningful anniversary of a town, often included a few opening scenes of Natives reenacting "Indian dancing, hunting, and domestic activities" before encountering the new, non-Native people who laid claim to the land.[60] These scenes were little more than a prologue to the celebration of white American progress, and incorporating Native actors was rarely crucial to the pageant's overall atmosphere and success. David Glassberg maintains that these historical pageants cast descendants in the roles of their ancestor in line with late-nineteenth-century historical reenactments that presented these descendants as "living links with the past."[61] Casting Indians, however, was tricky business, especially in the East, as pageant-masters struggled to find either "full-blooded Indians of the proper nation living nearby or local residents willing to identify with their Indian

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[57] Chantal Norrgard, "From Berries to Orchards: Tracing the History of Berrying and Economic Transformation among Lake Superior Ojibwe," *American Indian Quarterly* (Vol. 33, No. 1, Winter 2009): 34.
[58] "History of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant," *Bayfield Progress*, August 26, 1924.
[59] "Apostle Island Indian Pageant," *Merrill Herald*, June 16, 1925.
[60] David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 139.
[61] Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century*, 114.

descent."[62] While some towns were able to import "genuine Indians" regardless of, or perhaps in spite of, their tribal affiliation, others called on the services of the Boy Scouts or the Improved Order of Red Men, groups that apparently held some form of authoritative voice in the supposedly correct means of portraying and playing Indians. Still others used Italian immigrants or African-American children as substitutes, likely searching for some marginalized members of society whose complexions were anything other than white.

However, indigenous authenticity and Indians were fundamental components of Indian pageants. Discriminating tourists had their choice of supposedly authentic experiences and chances for encounters with Indians across the country, and small towns like Bayfield needed to sell more than an authentic landscape. Ojibwe participation justified the claims of authenticity and encouraged tourists to make the arduous journey to Bayfield, Red Cliff, and the surrounding towns, and the community needed to ensure that the Ojibwe would, in fact, participate in the pageant. As such, the pageant committee made sure that, upon its incorporation in 1923, the Ojibwe were given a direct interest with "such division of the profits as shall insure their increased interest from year to year."[63] The exact division of profits, whether it went to the band, a sector of the tribal government, or perhaps to the performers, is unclear. However, it is also significant to note that the committee leased approximately 400 acres of reservation land – and water – for five years, thereby "insuring the permanent location of an annual event that is expected to grow from year to year into one of the most profitable ventures ever undertaken in Northern Wisconsin." By staging the pageant on Indian land and

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[62] Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry*, 114.
[63] "Two Thousand Indians Lined Up For Big Pageant," *Park Falls Herald*, August 24, 1923.

encouraging Indian participation, it is clear that committee members realized that any publicity and profit derived from the pageant would be driven in large part by indigenous participation. It is also clear, however, that the Red Cliff Ojibwe understood the power of their participation as well as the location of pageant, given that the five-year lease guaranteed income for the tribe. The committee used the Red Cliff Ojibwe and their homeland to give the pageant an aura of authenticity that would bring tourists to Bayfield and Red Cliff by arguing that this remote region of Wisconsin was the only place tourists could truly experience the "stories worth the telling…about all that is left of the primitive in America."

Unlike non-Native historical pageants, which, as previously noted, rarely used indigenous participants in their Indian scenes, the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant relied on Ojibwe participation as a marker of its authenticity and legitimacy during promotional appearances as well as the pageant itself. The *Ashland Press* touted the large number of Indians who would attend or participate in the inaugural pageant, and the *Superior Times* noted that hundreds of northern Wisconsin Natives had agreed to be the "chief actors" – apparently no pun was intended.[64] The Ojibwe and their homeland were used as steadfast bastions of the past as the apparently modern world and the American landscape were changing at a breakneck pace.

The Ojibwe worked just as hard behind the scenes: the primitive staging was, in many ways, artificial, since the reservation land had to be molded into a stage, an arena, parking lots, and a dock for passenger ships. L.E. McKenzie, the advertising mastermind behind the pageant, insisted that reproducing the pageant grounds elsewhere would cost

[64] "Expect 2,000 Indians For 1924 Pageant," *Ashland Press*, August 22, 1923; "Aged Indian to be Drum Leader," *Superior Times*, September 29, 1923.

several million dollars. Imagine, he told audiences in Duluth and Superior, having to manually recreate a stage "surrounded by magnificent forests of evergreens, with abutting low ridges on which a hundred thousand people could be seat…facing on a shallow but beautiful bay."[65] However, he neglected to mention that there was, in fact, an incredible amount of work that had to be done in order to prepare the pageant and the surrounding grounds for such a massive influx of tourists. Ojibwe workers helped clear the land for the amphitheater and built roads, bridges, and two large docks in the winter of 1923 once the ice could support the pile driver, and construction on Pageant Park, parking lots, barracks, and other buildings continued in the early summer.[66] In addition to their usual workload, Ojibwe women from the neighboring reservations of Odanah and Fond du Lac spent the winter of 1923 producing "special features for the concessions on the pageant grounds." It is not clear what these specialties were, but they may have sold foodstuffs such as berries, wild rice, and maple sugar and crafts such as birchbark baskets, beadwork, and other items tourists would have found desirable. These concessions were additional sources of income for the women who were likely able to charge a premium price for these goods. Three years before the pageant, Native women at the Ho-Chunk powwow in Wisconsin Rapids wove blankets and baskets in between dances, which they sold for a "nominal figure."[67] As Boyd Cothran notes in his discussion of authenticity at the Yosemite Field Days, public productions and their accompanying sales of mementos and souvenirs gave non-Native tourists the chance to encounter "real" Indians whose

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[65] "Duluth and Superior to Aid Pageant," *Ashland Press*, October 23, 1923.
[66] "History of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant," *Bayfield Progress*, August 26, 1924; "Two Thousand Indians Lined Up For Big Pageant," *Park Falls Herald*, August 24, 1923.
[67] "Redskins Arrive for Big Pow Wow," *Milwaukee Journal*, August 11, 1921.

authenticity became embodied not only by their physical appearance but in the handmade items they sold.[68]

The Ojibwe were used for promotional purposes as well, as McKenzie was also a clever publicity man. As trees were cut down and the land was razed for parking lots, other Ojibwe, such as two "Chippewa braves" whose mere presence seems to have added sensational atmosphere to a 1924 meeting in Duluth wherein more than 1,000 members of local service organizations decided to attend the pageant.[69] It is not clear what kind of atmosphere the Ojibwe men added, but one can only imagine the reactions they garnered from the city folks in Duluth. Even as Red Cliff men helped create the pageant grounds and Native women prepared items for concessions, McKenzie "took a bunch of Indians in costume" down to Chicago to the KYW radio station where, for what was reportedly the first time in radio history, "the music of the sacred drums, the war whoops and dances of the Ojibway was [sic] heard all over the country."[70]

If the Indians were guests on a radio show, why did it matter whether or not they were "in costume"? Indians in street clothes would not have caused busy Chicagoans to stop and stare. The key here is that the Indians were "in costume" which means they were likely clad in some sort of regalia. It is not clear if the Ojibwe wore their traditional clothing, characterized by intricate floral beadwork, or the buckskin and feathered headdresses of the Plains Indians that were often co-opted as the stereotypical costume. Nevertheless, this would be irrelevant for non-Natives on the streets of Chicago or on the roads and train cars of Wisconsin. What mattered was what the Ojibwe represented – the

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[68] Boyd Cothran, "Working the Indian Field Days: The Economy of Authenticity and the Question of Agency in Yosemite Valley," *American Indian Quarterly* (Vol. 34, No. 2, Spring 2010):195.
[69] "1,000 Members of Classification Clubs Will Attend Indian Pageant," *The Rotarian*, May 1924.
[70] "History of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant," *Bayfield Progress*, August 26, 1924.

ideal portrait of the supposedly authentic Indian that would hopefully lure wealthy city folks to the far reaches of northern Wisconsin.

The fact remains, then, that Indian participants in the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant were profiting simply by *being* Indian, which either purposefully or unconsciously subverted government goals of transforming Indians into farmers (or anything other than Indians). John Troutman, Clyde Ellis, and L.G. Moses, for instance, have argued that Indian performers demonstrate the continued disruption of federal Indian policies through not only their participation in theatrical and musical productions but through their ability to earn money as Native performers. Adria Imada makes a similar argument for hula dancers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – while they often earned less than other (non-Native) performers on, say, the vaudeville circuit, they still earned more than plantation laborers on the island, while presumably laboring under better working conditions. In the wake of missionary, ruling haole, and even Native Hawaiian denigration of hula, these performers often found acclaim and eager audiences on the continent. On the surface, they were paid, not punished, for dancing.[71]

For the Red Cliff Ojibwe, the chance to capitalize on their indigeneity seems to have come at an opportune moment. As noted in more detail in Chapter 2, treaties signed in 1837, 1842, and 1854 had ceded countless acres holding access to rich natural resources, from pinelands, copper deposits, and the Mesabi Iron Range. These treaties subsequently moved the Ojibwe to four reservations in Wisconsin: Bad River and Red Cliff, both of which sit on Chequamegon Bay, and Lac Courte Oreilles and Lac du

[71] See Adria Imada, *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the U.S. Empire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), most notably 103-151.

Flambeau in north-central Wisconsin.[72] The Bureau of Indian Affairs opened a sawmill at Red Cliff in 1871, along with a cooperage (for building barrels and wine casks), a carpenter's shop, and a boarding house for sawmill workers, but changes to federal Indian policy shut down logging on the reservation five years later – the same year that the land belonging to the Red Cliff Ojibwe was allotted. As James Feldman succinctly notes,

> Following the allotment and rapid removal of the timber, Red Cliff band members were quickly alienated from their land….As people all over northern Wisconsin learned in the early twentieth century, poor soils and a short growing season ensured that farms rarely followed forests, despite the high hopes of town boosters and Indian agents…By 1933, nearly 11,000 acres of Red Cliff lands (out of 14,000) had fallen out of Indian ownership. Of a population of six hundred, 505 Red Cliff residents owned no land at all.[73]

The Apostle Islands commercial fishery had been a parallel industry for the region, and the Ojibwe had long been important players. They had worked as wage laborers in the first commercial fishing endeavor, run by the American Fur Company in the 1830s, and continued to work as it expanded in the 1870s. An 1887 estimate, for example, counted a quarter of the Chequamegon Bay fishermen as either "Indian or part Indian," and agents at La Pointe (on Madeline Island) reported that the Ojibwe regularly worked in the fishery through the end of the nineteenth century.[74] But as the Wisconsin Conservation Department's authority increased in the twentieth century, so did conflicts with Ojibwe fishermen, who faced increased interference "in Indian life to enforce fish and game laws that had been designed to police commercial fishermen and urban sportsmen."[75] Therefore, spending a year building the pageant grounds and then several weeks

[72] Feldman, 46.
[73] Feldman, 47 & 52.
[74] Feldman, 66.
[75] Feldman, 89.

participating in the pageant may have offered a means of simultaneously asserting indigeneity in the face of restrictive assimilation and environmental policies and seeking to capitalize on the economic value of being an Indian in the early twentieth century. Norrgard contends that the Ojibwe participants earned $8.00 for acting in the pageant, which was likely a fairly decent wage for three weeks' work given their other options in the local labor market.[76] Also, given the treaties' delineation of numerous reservations in the mid-nineteenth century, there is a chance that, like the powwows held by the Wisconsin Ho-Chunk, the pageant offered a space for reunions with friends and family under the guise of aiding tourism.

"Tearing Up the Highway": Conservation and Development in Northern Wisconsin[77]

While the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant is home to a host of contradictions, the tension between conservation and development is one of the most intriguing. As James Feldman wryly writes, "The anti-urban, anti-industrial, anti-corporate tenor of promotional campaigns conducted by the corporate, industrial railroad companies stands as one of the great ironies of nineteenth-century tourism."[78] The region's natural beauty and bevy of outdoor activities needed tourists in order to raise its popularity, and yet the focus on conservation required national recognition in order to be saved from development. The road scout's 10,000 mile trek, for instance, was considered "a tour of vision that may become intensely practical in methods of development *and* conservation"

[76] Chantal Norrgard, *Seasons of Change: Labor, Treaty Rights, and Ojibwe Nationhood* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 114.
[77] Bruce Springsteen, "Cadillac Ranch," by Bruce Springsteen, April-June 1980, on *The River*, Columbia Records.
[78] Feldman, 93.

[emphasis added].[79] McKenzie, leading a delegation to drum up support for the pageant in Duluth and Superior, noted that it would cost upwards of several million dollars to recreate the natural amphitheater that, in a basic form, already existed on the reservation.[80] While the view of Lake Superior and the Apostle Islands would indeed be impossible to recreate, he neglected to mention that there was an incredible amount of work that had to be done in order to prepare the pageant and the surrounding grounds for the massive influx of tourists.

The apparent paradox of development versus conservation can be understood through the lens of the region's residents, many of whom were on a mission to "bring an annual attraction that will create sentiment to stay the hand of destruction."[81] Overdeveloping the land and stripping it of natural resources would be devastating to the tourism economy that seemed to be the last resort for economic gain. The land and its resources could be protected if outside interests recognized the region's potential as a tourism destination, and the pageant was a means of introducing non-residents to the beauty within the north woods of Wisconsin on a large scale. The *Bayfield County Press* expected a tenfold increase in visitors, which would not only be an incredible boon to the local economy but could also save the land from being overdeveloped.[82]

The railroads were at the center of this carefully-constructed balance between conservation and development. Tourists had been coming to the Apostle Islands since the mid-nineteenth century, but the railroads transformed tourism as they had transformed the fishing and logging industries: the number of visitors escalated quickly, thanks to

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[79] "History of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant," *Bayfield Progress,* August 26, 1924.
[80] "Duluth and Superior to Aid Pageant," *Ashland Press*, October 23, 1923.
[81] "Thousands to See Pageant," *Superior Telegram,* September 27, 1923.
[82] Feldman, 111.

promotional campaigns aimed at luring residents of crowded, noisy cities to the scenic and serene shores of Lake Superior. The Wisconsin Central Railroad built the Hotel Chequamegon in Ashland in 1877, with room for 500 guests and "modern conveniences" like "running water, electricity, fountains, bowling alleys, a billiard parlor, croquet, and an archery range."[83] Indianness became an inherent element in these touristic fantasies as railroads and hotels sponsored tours to nearby Indian reservations and performances. The souvenir program for the 1925 Apostle Islands pageant confidently informed its audiences that "As the Indians rush down the hillside into the open stage prepared before you, you will forget the modern world of today. You must forget the automobile which brought you here, you must forget the cities beyond the margin of blue lake water, and then he can tell you his story."[84] Guests at the Hotel Chequamegon and the Island View Hotel in Bayfield were encouraged to take day trips to Madeline Island and the Red Cliff and Bad River reservations to explore the region's history or watch Indians partaking in their "primitive customs."[85] The pageant, then, was simply the next step in increasing tourism. Travel companies and local businesses were star-struck by L.E. McKenzie's claim that "literally millions of dollars worth of patronage" would result from the pageant. Almost half a dozen railroads set up special excursion fares for passengers, as did several steamship companies that requested information on docking facilities.[86] According to John Troutman, "Indianness gathered appeal because of its apparent cultural authenticity in an unseemly, inauthentic, vapid modern world – a world in which

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[83] Feldman, 93.
[84] "Second Annual Apostle Islands Indian Pageant" souvenir program, 1925. Courtesy of Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.
[85] McCann, 118.
[86] "Duluth and Superior to Aid Pageant," *Ashland Press*, October 23, 1923.

popular fantasies of Indianness served as an antidote to the fabrication and immediacy of modernity" for non-Native tourists.[87]

"A Sentient Reality": The Apostle Islands Indian Pageant Comes to Life[88]

After years of planning and preparation and after several weeks of rehearsals, the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant premiered August 1, 1924. McKenzie, who by now had added Executive Secretary to his list of titles, told civic leaders and boosters that, "Chronologically and intimately, the pageant will follow in its entirety the exact, historic life of the red man."[89] The claim to authenticity was validated by Dr. S.A. Barrett, a Milwaukee museum director who had written several books about Indian life in the northwest, who called it "the purest and most authentic pageantry."[90] However, the excruciating attention to detail may have created an alternately electrifying and exhausting production. The storyline, which was serialized in the *Superior Telegram* in May of 1924, covered nearly three centuries of historical events. McKenzie, signing his name as the General Manager of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant Corporation, introduced the story to the newspaper readers by calling it "a masterpiece of romantic literature, as well as being a faithful portrayal of the entire history of the Great Lakes region, from 1634 unto the present day."[91] The serialized story was a more in-depth account of the "mammoth historical spectacle" than the annotated program and cast list

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[87] Troutman, *Indian Blues,* 154.
[88] "Ke-wa-de-no-kwa: First Annual Apostle Islands Indian Pageant" souvenir program, 1924. Courtesy of Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.
[89] "Duluth and Superior to Aid Pageant," *Ashland Press,* October 23, 1923.
[90] John Chappele, "Apostle Island Indian pageant example of community cooperation," publication and date unknown. Courtesy of Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.
[91] "Ke-wa-de-no-kwa (Girl of the North)," Story of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant, by Kenneth M. Ellis, Pageant Master, *The Superior Telegram,* May 5-13, 1924.

available at the pageant.[92] This analysis, therefore, examines both elements of the production in order to create a more nuanced argument.

While promotional materials highlighted the Indians' prominent role in the pageant, the final product was an exhaustive look at European settlement in the region. The opening scene called for "Mokadjiwens, an Ojibway brave" who was a candidate for the "medicine honors of Gagagiwigwun, an old medicine man," to make the "Big Sleep" as part of his initiation. This, however, was proceeded by Mokadjiwens's fellow braves singing "the Song of the Mislaid Scalp," teasing the warrior for, after having scalped a "Sioux," losing his trophy in his rush to escape seven of his enemies.[93] Kenneth Ellis, the scriptwriter, may have employed the stereotypical narrative of scalping to enhance his premise of Native progress, but the tired trope does nothing but reiterate hackneyed generalizations of American Indians. The young warrior, though, was soon distracted by the bright eyes of "the most beautiful maidens from the neighboring bands of proud forest rovers" who, along with their families, were gathering to see Chief White Crane raised to the "8th degree of the Grand Medicine Lodge, the Mide-wiwin" – which was, of course, an excellent time to perform yet another ceremony for the non-Native audience at the pageant.

A public reenactment of a sacred ceremony such as this elicits a range of historical and cultural responses. The newspaper serial revealed the ceremony and its

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[92] "Ke-wa-de-no-kwa (Girl of the North)," May 5-13, 1924.

[93] Again, as with Chippewa/Ojibwe and Winnebago/Ho-Chunk, the use of Sioux (as opposed to Lakota or Dakota) should be understood within the historical context of the period. L.G. Moses contends that words such as "authentic," "savage," and "primitive" and the ideologies behind them "burdened the language well into the twentieth century." At the same time, however, he noted that a constant barrage of quotation marks around now-problematic terms can be not only tedious but condescending to the reader (L.G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1833-1933* [Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996], xiii). Therefore, the term is solely used so as not to retroactively determine the tribal affiliation of Ellis's characters but, historically speaking, they were likely Dakota.

spiritual basis in great detail over several days, outlining how the participants sang and chanted songs of "mystical sentiment" within and around the lodge before "Gagagiwigwun pulled from his belt his gorgeous medicine rattle, and began a dance around the lodge. Four times he made his circle, and fresh interest was evinced by the more worldly minded as the presents were taken down from the pile, and laid in the order of their distribution."[94]

While this meticulous account of the Midewiwin ceremony could be considered a gross violation of spiritual protocol, Cary Miller contends that initiation processes were relatively public – while not advertised in newspapers, for example, the initiation lodge was an open frame and spectators and family members of initiates were not wholly discouraged from attending. The meanings behind songs and rituals within the ceremonies, however, were protected knowledge. Therefore, those who saw these events would not have fully understood them, and it was likely a "relatively benign experience."[95] For William Warren, the son of an American fur trader and his Ojibwe-French wife, Midewiwin rites were "as sacredly kept as the secrets of the Masonic Lodge among the whites. Fear of threatened and certain death, either by poison or violence, seals the lips of the Me-da-we initiate, and this is the potent reason why it is still a secret to the white man, and why it is not more generally understood." Warren himself had attempted to learn what he could about the Midewiwin but freely asserted that this "important custom is still shrouded in mystery, even to my own eyes."[96]

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[94] "Ke-wa-de-no-kwa (Girl of the North)," May 5, 1924.
[95] Personal correspondence with Cary Miller, June 5, 2014.
[96] William W. Warren, *History of the Ojibway People: edited and annotated, with a new introduction by Theresa Schenck* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2009), 34-35. According to Warren, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft once asked to be admitted to the Midewiwin society to read the sacred scrolls: "I believe, however, that I have obtained full as much and more general and true information on this matter than any other person who has written on the subject, not excepting a great and standard author, who, to the surprise

As noted earlier, public performances of indigenous ceremonials for white audiences have also been considered a means of continuing cultural practices in the face of federal Indian policies. In 1913, Zitkala-Ša, an Indian author, speaker, and activist, co-wrote and co-produced *The Sun Dance Opera*, a stage production that, according to P. Jane Hafen, "provided a stage for Bonnin [Zitkala-Ša was also known as Gertrude Simmons Bonnin] and other Native American singers and dancers to participate in rituals whose practice was forbidden by the United States government."[97] Zitkala-Ša's decision to use the Sun Dance as inspiration could not have been coincidental, as the eight-day ceremony "reaffirmed each tribe's place in the world, provide for a restrengthening of intertribal relationships, and like most other Native American ceremonies, fulfilled tribal obligations to the Creator's universal scheme." Like countless other dances and ceremonials, Indian missionaries and agents did not entirely comprehend the Sun Dance and used its skin-piercing rituals, which Troutman notes "signified primitive barbarism" to them, as a basis for rigorously attacking and banning the Sun Dance and "all similar dances and so-called religious ceremonies" in the 1880s.[98]

The turn of the twentieth century, however, would have provided a different performative environment by the Apostle Islands pageant in 1924. After the actors outlined "the whole substance of the Ojibway theology" and finished the ceremony for White Crane, it was Mokadjiwens's turn to undergo his own ceremony, one wherein the

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of many who know the Ojibways well, has boldly asserted in one of his works that he has been regularly initiated into the mysteries of this rite, and is a member of the Me-da-we Society." Schneck, though, is more succinct in her dismissal of Schoolcraft's claim: "Since the supposed initiation took place in his office, however, it is doubtful that he was truly made a member." Schoolcraft's marriage to Jane Johnston, the daughter of a prominent fur trader and his Ojibwe wife, who was herself the daughter of a chief, allowed him greater insights into Ojibwe language, culture, and rituals but, as Warren and Schenck attest, this was not nearly enough to grant him access to Midewiwin knowledge.

[97] P. Jane Hafen, "A Cultural Duet: Zitkala Ša And *The Sun Dance Opera*," *Great Plains Quarterly* (Spring 1998), 103.

[98] Troutman, 27.

figure of Ke-wa-de-no-kwa (a reference to the wife of Michel Cadotte, the son of a French trader and his Ojibwe wife, who was herself the daughter of a powerful and influential chief) would act as his guide.[99]

These initial scenes seem to mimic the storyline of American historical pageants that sought to place Indians as the precursors of American history and entertaining audiences with versions of Native songs and dances. The souvenir program, though, offers an interesting anecdote: "In his [Mokadjiwens's] dreams he sees the future history of the Ojibway nation, and no sooner have his lids closed, than the visions begin to appear, his people, after the confused manner of a dream, participating therein as representatives of their nation." The Ojibwe are simply *representatives* of their own history, and the program is careful to note this apparent difference. Rather than reliving or reenacting historical events or proudly proclaiming the authenticity of its participants, as demonstrated in the later analysis of the Happy Canyon Indian Pageant and Wild West Show, Mokadjiwens's dream-like state serves as a vehicle for the safe, sanitized production of Ojibwe history through the lens of white America. Mokadjiwens then becomes, like the audience and the Ojibwe participants, a mere voyeur in the presence of missionaries, voyageurs, and soldiers. The audience was immediately transported from

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[99] Ke-wa-de-no-kwa is actually a somewhat accurate translation. As Ojibwe was primarily a spoken language, the written form varies from region to region, and words are often spelled differently by different tribal members: "Ojibway is not a single language, spoken in a common form across its range, but a chain of connected dialects or local varieties. Each local variety differs from adjacent ones in details of sounds, words, and grammar." John D. Nichols, "Forward to the Reprint Edition," Frederic Baraga, *A Dictionary of the Ojibway Language* (originally published as *A Dictionary of the Otchipwe Language*, 1878; reprint St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1992), vi.

According to Baraga's dictionary, "giwédin" translated to "north, northwind," and "ikkwé" translated to "woman" – the diminutive form, "ikkwésens," would mean "girl" (Baraga, 139, 151). John D. Nichols and Earl Nyholm's *A Concise Dictionary of Minnesota Ojibwe* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995) is perhaps the most useful and most-used resource for current students of the language. According to Nichols and Nystrom's pronunciation guide and the double-vowel system, "giiwedin" would translate to "north, north wind" while "ikwe" and "ikwezens" would be "woman" and "girl," respectively (Nichols and Nystrom, 60 & 64).

this scene, one of the few without an accompanying year, to the 1634 arrival of Jean Nicolet at Chequamegon. Europeans and Indians are hereafter seen as comparable subjects or co-stars in the program. Pierre Radisson and Sieur Groseillers, considered the first to commercially explore and trade with the Ojibwe, lose their provisions to "their own Indians," only to receive more rations – along with an indication to keep traveling – from Chief White Crane. A sermon in the wilderness follows, and then an unnamed Franciscan friar is tied to a stake with "the angered Mide priests about to burn him after the ancient Ojibway custom" and "uttering the strange cries of the sacrificial dance."[100] He is rescued by an Indian woman during an "Ojibway Iroquois battle" filled with the "dreaded war cry" that ends with the "joyous strains of the victory dance of the Indian women, who dangle from their dancing batons, the scalps which their braves have taken in the fray."[101]

The incident with the unfortunate, unnamed friar is a striking display of stereotypes. By claiming an "ancient Ojibway custom" of burning people at the stake, the mistreatment of the "daring priest" underscores the supposedly primitive nature of the people whose souls the friar desperately sought to save. That his seemingly imminent death is interrupted by an advancing party of Iroquois, "ever the treacherous enemy of the Ojibway," that causes his captors to lose themselves in a fit of terror embodies the categorical cultural characteristics that non-Native missionaries and government officials had long publicized as roadblocks to civilization. The popular trope of the Native woman as savior reveals itself in the friar's rescue by a tender-hearted woman in the midst of

[100] "Ke-wa-de-no-kwa (Girl of the North)," May 8, 1924.
[101] "Ke-wa-de-no-kwa: First Annual Apostle Islands Indian Pageant" official program, 2-3. Courtesy of Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.

battle, and the warriors, distracted by the fighting, soon forget their previous business with the friar, who by this point was likely several miles downstream.

The figure of Ke-wa-de-no-kwa appears again, this time with the French king and his court. The Franciscans seek help from their Jesuit brothers, and Sieur Daniel Greysolon Duluth tells the king the story of the English trading company. Ke-wa-de-no-kwa leads this procession away, only to be replaced on stage by Father Rene Menard, the first Jesuit priest to reach the northwest wilderness. While Menard does not meet the intended fate of the Franciscan, the Ojibwe scornfully ignore the priest and his messages. Menard later perishes in "the vast wilderness which had hardly begun to yield the necessities of existence to the white man."[102]

While not present in this portion of the serialized story, in the interlude of the pageant Mokadjiwens witnesses "The Dance of the Spirits of the Vanished Pines," which paid homage to the "millions of magnificent pines" that were cut down "to make dwelling houses for the race which has succeeded his own as proprietors of the beautiful northland."[103] In his study of American historical pageantry, David Glassberg contends that these "abstract symbolic dance interludes" worked as transitions between historical periods, imparting logic and rhythm to scenes of social change. This imagery, then, allowed pageant directors to show "potentially jarring recent changes in local conditions as smooth, intelligible transitions."[104] The heavy irony was clearly lost on the pageant producers. After decades of logging had nearly destroyed the landscape, even more trees had to be cut down to make way for the pageant's accoutrement. The year before the

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[102] "Ke-wa-de-no-kwa (Girl of the North)," May 8, 1924.
[103] "Ke-wa-de-no-kwa: First Annual Apostle Islands Indian Pageant" official program, 3. Courtesy of Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.
[104] Glassberg, 146-147.

pageant, the *Superior Telegram* published an article with a subheading entitled "Last Virgin Pine Goes." The unnamed author warned the reader that "Unless the next Wisconsin legislature acts and is supported by a governor of vision, the hand of ruthless civilization will continue blighting the Northern Lakes Park region, and within a few years there will be no Last Great West to attract thousands of tourist visitors."[105] A performative interlude rather than a scene showing lumberjacks cutting trees implicitly recognized the changes to the landscape without having to come to terms with the simultaneous economic stimulus and environmental havoc of the logging industry of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Father Menard's arrival is followed by that of Claude Allouez, a Jesuit who tries in vain to prevent the Ojibwe from undertaking yet another attack against the Iroquois, which of course was the proper time for yet another war dance. Ke-wa-ne-do-kwa signals Allouez's replacement by Pere Marquette, who was greeted "by returning braves, with fresh Sioux scalps dangling from their belts."[106] Painting the warriors in opposition to Marquette and his tattered buckskin again denotes explicit differences between the two, as Marquette is the latest in a line of more than a half-dozen Frenchmen who have encountered the Indians but have yet to convince the Indians to discontinue their apparently well-practiced arts like scalping. The sleeping Mokadjiwens and the audience then witness the 1670 founding of the Hudson's Bay Company in London.

And that was just the first day. After no fewer than a dozen scenes outlining the progression "From Barbarism to Louis XIV," beginning in an unknown year and ending in 1670, audience members were invited to a lumber camp dinner in the barracks where

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[105] "Thousands to See Pageant," *The Superior Telegram*, September 24, 1923.
[106] "Ke-wa-de-no-kwa (Girl of the North)," May 9, 1924.

they could eat to their hearts' desire for seventy-five cents. Every night, starting at 8 p.m., pageant-goers could partake in a big Indian powwow – adults paid fifty cents, and a child was admitted for twenty-five cents. Generally speaking, according to John Troutman, performances, powwows, and pageants such as the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant allowed tourists to find "refuge from that very same modern world" in the music, dance, and culture of American Indians before returning to the comforts of their hotel rooms, or what the railroads considered the "tame" wilderness.[107] Tourists who trekked to the northern reaches of Wisconsin would not have been satisfied with a short production. Instead, truly dedicated travelers and Indian aficionados would have wanted to spend as much time as possible exploring and being privy to these displays of Indianness.

According to the souvenir program, the second day of the pageant, titled "From Louis XIV to King George III" and covering the time period from 1671 to the 1760s, opened with the "first passing of the absolute sovereignty of the Ojibwe over their country" to the French as Indians greet French soldiers "wholeheartedly."[108] Historian Michael Witgen, among others, has argued that the French were never "a powerful military presence in Anishinaabewaki [the lands of the Anishinaabeg, or the Ojibwe]."[109] The version published in the *Superior Telegram*, however, tells a different story altogether. After Sieur St Lusson took formal possession of the land in the name of France, the Ojibwe hoped "the morrow would undo the conquest of their people…Although the Indians now say that the swaying pines gave vent to their sorrow

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[107] Troutman, 161; Feldman, 99.
[108] "Ke-wa-de-no-kwa: First Annual Apostle Islands Indian Pageant" official program, 5. Courtesy of Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.
[109] Michael Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations: How the Native New World Shaped Early North America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 296, 1.

in sighs of sympathy, and that because the pines took the side of the Indians in the struggle for supremacy, the White Man came and cut them all down."[110] Here, the region's development is couched in cultural and political rather than economic or environmental terms. The theoretical stance of the pine trees in favor of the Ojibwe glosses over the vast history of the logging industry (including Ojibwe participation at the behest of the federal government), reducing it to a casualty of culture, not commerce.

The next few scenes in the pageant are not the same in the program and the published story. The serial details a "supplicatory dance" by Ojibwe women, a "song of sadness, of hope that many braves might be born to them, that their daughters might be born fair that the braves might be pleased with them, and strong that they might perform the duties of the wigwam and the field."[111] As the dance and the prayers to Ke-wa-de-no-kwa conclude, the spirit of Ke-wa-de-no-kwa summons the spirits of the French court in order to dance a minuet. The contrast is not coincidental. John Troutman's earlier argument applies here as well, showcasing the difference in expressive culture and the apparently inherent superiority of one form over the other.

Sieur Raudin, sent by the French trader La Salle, arrives in 1673, just as, yet again, "there broke upon the quiet air once more the blood-curdling cry of the Iroquois." Raudin is depicted as the first military man to see action in an intertribal battle, and the Ojibwe, impressed with his prowess, offer him a wigwam. Around the bend, though, comes the first non-Native canoe the Ojibwe have apparently ever seen, carrying a lustily-singing Daniel Greysolon, the Sieur Du Luth (alternately spelled du L'Hut, Du Lhut, Dulhut, and, finally, Duluth, as in the northern Minnesota city that bears his

[110] "Ke-wa-de-no-kwa (Girl of the North)," May 9, 1924.
[111] "Ke-wa-de-no-kwa (Girl of the North)," May 9, 1924.

name).[112] His song was lifted from a poem written by a man named Chester Firkins, which was originally entitled "Versailles and Minnesota – Song of the Sieur Du Lhut" and published in *Munsey's Magazine* in August of 1906:

> Not in tears, my siren treasure, Trip we love's last minuet;
> Well we knew 'twas but a measure, Then—forget.
> I, who dream the West World's glory. You, the glory of Versailles—
> We have lived our happy story; Now—good-by!
>
> Above the music of the dance, athwart the palace window's glow,
> I hear the cry of purer France; I see red camp-fires in the snow.
> This is not home—my hearth and hall shift through an untracked forest-way,
> Somewhere 'twixt Mississippi's fall and four log walls by Thunder Bay.
>
> Tonight, mayhap, on Pepin's breast, my periled fellows hush the oar,
> Past the wild, gallant foe, who rest, past war-boats lined along the shore.
> Mayhap, far north, the trail-ax cleaves on paths the plunging deer has torn,
> Where, in the world-roof's flooded eaves, the River of the World is born!
>
> No stolen prize of galleon gold, no wealth of mountain mines I bring;
> Only a wilderness of cold, only an empire for my king.
> Ah, fair one, could I paint for you my lakes beyond the inland seas,
> Where moaning forests break the blue as ocean breaks the Cyclades!
>
> Ho! my comrades, priest and rover! Trimmed, my ship rides in the bay.
> Ho! my exile days are over! Now-away!
> Pray, no tears, my pretty treasure; come, 'tis love's last minuet.
> Step we but one merry measure—Then-forget.[113]

Aside from the trope of leaving his lady love behind as he leaves on his quest, the poem speaks to Duluth's travels and travails around the Great Lakes with stops in places that would be familiar to many. The fourth stanza, though, seeks to situate his mission against that of perhaps the Spanish conquistadors throughout the Caribbean and the

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[112] The proclamation that Greysolon's canoe is the first non-Native canoe makes one wonder how the previous missionaries and explorers arrived, especially since the Ojibwe are considered to have lived at La Pointe – which is on an island – for well over a century before the coming of the first whites. Warren, *History of the Ojibway People*, 54.

[113] Walter Van Brunt, ed., *Duluth and St. Louis County Minnesota: Their Story and People, An Authentic Narrative of the Past, with Particular Attention to the Modern Era in the Commercial, Industrial, Educational, Civic and Social Development*, volume 1 (Chicago and New York: The American Historical Society, 1921), 36-37.

southern portion of the now-continental United States. He is not looking for gold, nor for the minerals hidden beneath the surface (mining and quarrying, though, was an integral, if short-lived, element of Bayfield's economy). Rather, his is a noble quest, for he seeks nothing but the wilderness, *an empire for his king,* where the majestic lakes and forests are the riches he desires. After Duluth's dramatic and musical entrance, set around 1678, he calls the Ojibwe chiefs together to make a tribal nationwide declaration of peace, arranging a meeting for all the chiefs in the city that would eventually take his name.

Duluth's histrionic gestures of peace are, naturally, interrupted by the sounds of an unseen struggle. The Indians sent to investigate come back with a handful of "Sioux, now taken prisoner," and Franciscan friar Louis Hennepin, who profusely thanks Duluth for saving him. The repeated capture/mistreatment/attempted (but not carried out) murder of various missionaries by various tribes intends to dramatically depict non-Native struggles while simultaneously, if implicitly, noting the missionaries' eventual success. Hennepin's gratefulness to Duluth, coupled with Raudin's previous prowess in battle, symbolizes non-Native (albeit not American) military strength and fortitude.

The action, "transformed by the magic of Mokadjiwens [sic] Big Sleep," then shifts to the Canadian shore, where the Wisconsin Ojibwe see their "Canadian brethren" helping build, according to the story's author, the first building at the historic lake port of Fort William which, according to the program, occurred in 1684.[114] Again, the shift from missionaries to military men denotes the increasingly permanent presence in the region. Unlike the priests and friars who intermittently moved among tribes, military forts served as a literal claim to the land rather than a more intangible claim to Indian souls. Finishing the fort was apparently a cause for celebration, as Duluth invited anyone within a day's

[114] "Ke-wa-de-no-kwa (Girl of the North)," May 9, 1924.

journey of the fort to come to a feast where the voyageurs showed their wrestling and knife throwing skills, while the Indians demonstrated their "Native and aboriginal games and pastimes."

Author Kenneth Ellis's fascination with the first – the first non-Native missionary, the first non-Native traders, the first non-Native explorers, soldiers, and forts – is indicative of what Jean O'Brien calls "firsting," meaning the assertion that "non-Indians were the first people to erect the proper institutions of a social order worthy of notice."[115] These institutions, whether tangible buildings such as forts and churches or intangible religious, cultural, political, and economic institutions, helped lay the literal and figurative foundation for an origin myth that "assigns primacy to non-Indians who 'settled' the region in a benign process involving righteous relations with Indians and just property transactions that led to an inevitable and…lamentable Indian extinction."[116] Their inclusion in the pageant provided an opportunity for the non-Native audience to simultaneously (and safely) envision Indian history within the bounds of Euro-American settlement processes.

The next few scenes vary slightly between the serialized version and the pageant program, but the alterations are significant. Whereas the opening scene of friendly Frenchmen and Indians at the festivities surrounding France's claim to the land coupled with chiefly "speeches of submission" remains the same, Sieur Raudin enters with rifles. One of the unbelieving Indians, who, we are told, have never seen rifles before, tells his chief to shoot him with this "'stick' [that] could kill anything without even touching it." The audience, with even a rudimentary understanding of firearms, is in the position to

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[115] Jean O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), xii.
[116] O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*, xv.

anticipate how this scene will end. The young warrior is, of course, mortally wounded, and his comrades rush to trade for guns and ammunition as, once again, the Iroquois war cry echoes over the hill. The timely arrival of Raudin's rifles leads to an Ojibwe victory and, rather than their dance of supplication, the Ojibwe women perform a victory dance. According to the souvenir program:

> This was the only dance which was peculiarly the property of the Ojibway women. Although they were permitted to join in the squaw dance it was nevertheless a men's dance, but in this dance the women warriors who assumed in Ojibway culture something of the Valkyrie of the Norse countries, expressed their pride in having helped to defeat the advancing hordes of invaders. It was the custom among the Ojibway, at the feat which always followed a victory, to permit these o-gitchie-dan [a variation of ogichidaag, which means warriors] dance their victory dance before the braves entered into their own celebration.[117]

The dainty French minuet follows the victory dance, and the theatrical placement of the Ojibwe women's dances likely evoked distinctive reactions from the audience. The first iteration, the dance of supplication and prayers to Ke-wa-de-no-kwa, places the Ojibwe women in a vastly different realm than the dance of those who fought to defeat the Iroquois, while in both instances the minuet serves as a cultural contrast.

Duluth enters when the dancing subsides, only to see a few of his men trade some rum to a handful of the young Ojibwe men. As the newly-drunk Indians stagger about the stage, an infuriated Duluth knocks down his man before flinging the jug into the lake, an action met with cheers from the newly-pro-prohibition Indians. Duluth, having clearly saved the Indians from themselves, proceeds with a tribal council where he explains he has come to gain friendship for the French. He is then welcomed with open arms.

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[117] "Ke-Wa-De-No-Kwa: First Annual Apostle Islands Indian Pageant" souvenir program, August 1924, 5. Courtesy of Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.

After Father Hennepin is rescued from his captors, the now-captive Indians find themselves at the mercy of the Ojibwe women, who have "beaten them unmercifully to the great delight of the Ojibway and the amusement of the French soldiers." The tropes of drunken Indians and women beating other Indian men were likely seen as comic interludes akin to vaudeville shows. However, there are more subtle insinuations. The pageant has, in a day-and-a-half, covered nearly a century's worth of historical events, and yet the Indians are still portrayed as uncivilized and unchristian. They remain in what the production considers their primitive state – recall that the first day's events are titled "From Barbarism to Louis XIV" – and show no strong signs of what twentieth-century white Americans would consider progress.

A feast follows Fort William's founding in Canada, and Charles Le Seuer (alternately spelled Le Seur) arrives at Chequamegon in 1693. The Ojibwe dance a War Dance as they prepare for another battle with the Iroquois, but Le Seuer intervenes and negotiates a treaty. And there was much rejoicing. The first British soldiers, whose "demeanor was much more haughty, and reserved than that of the French," appear with news that Fort Niagara was now in British hands.[118] This scene, set in 1759 in the midst of the French and Indian War, sees the Indians "unwillingly submit to the quartering of the British troops among them," a maneuver that likely stirred patriotic indignation to the similar quartering during the American Revolution.[119]

Alexander Henry, an integral player in the British fur trade, arrives at Madeline Island in 1765 with Michel Cadotte and two of his sons. While not part of the live

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[118] "Ke-wa-de-no-kwa (Girl of the North)," May 12, 1924.
[119] Ian K. Steele, *Betrayals: Fort William Henry and the "Massacre"* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 29; "Ke-wa-de-no-kwa: First Annual Apostle Islands Indian Pageant" official program, 7. Courtesy of Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.

production, the serial narrated yet another instance where "the Indians gave vent to their feelings by means of the primitive dance." This served as a means of transitioning to Fort Michilimackinac in Michigan, whereas the stage version saw the Henry-Cadotte party preparing to spend the night: "While they sleep, a sleep, within a sleep, the site becomes that upon which rests Ft. Michillimacinac."[120] The final scene of the pageant's second day was an intentional cliffhanger: the tensions among the British, French, and Indians rose as the British "who, instead of extending the courtesies put forth by the French in their relations with the Indians, are curt and cold in their behavior." The Union Jack flutters atop the fort, signaling "the passage of the Ojibway country from the hands of its first and welcome conquerors, the French, under Louis XIV, into those of its unwelcome subjugators, the British, under George III." [121]

As if to fully capture the tri-national tension, an Indian shoots the British soldier raising the flag. The program does not specify whether or not this soldier lost his life, but it explicitly notes that the Indian, who is in turn shot by a British soldier, dies. This is the first unambiguous depiction of Indian/non-Indian violence and death in the pageant: Mokadjiwens loses the scalp he captured from an unseen Indian enemy, and the Ojibwe-Iroquois battles never allude to deaths. Nor do the French arrivals signal any casualties: the Franciscan friar escapes the stake, Duluth rescues Father Hennepin, and the previous Indian casualty came when an unbelieving warrior told his chief to shoot him with one of Raudin's guns. The theatrical turn toward more violent confrontations signals a drastic

[120] Michilimackinac is the contemporary spelling. The pageant program and the serialized story use Michillimacinac and Michilimacinac, respectively. "Ke-wa-de-no-kwa: First Annual Apostle Islands Indian Pageant" official program, 7.
[121] "Ke-wa-de-no-kwa: First Annual Apostle Islands Indian Pageant" official program, 5-7. Courtesy of Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.

and dramatic shift in the ways Europeans and, soon, Americans encountered Indians, most notably in the pageant's final set of scenes.

The third day of the pageant began with a reenactment of an attack on Fort Michilimackinac (now part of Michigan) during Pontiac's War of 1763. Based on Alexander Henry's graphic account of the events, the British commander, Captain Etherington, had been persuaded to stage a game of Baug-ah-ud-o-way (or baggataway), a precursor to lacrosse. This, according to numerous historians, including Charles Adams, Jr., would distract the British and give the Indian alliance access to the compound.[122] With more than one hundred players on each side, the game

> became exciting, and the commandant of the fort even took his stand outside of his open gates, to view its progress. His soldiers stood carelessly unarmed, here and there, intermingling with the Indian women, who gradually huddled near the gateway, carrying under their blankets the weapons which were to be used in the approaching work of death.[123]

The cue to attack came when a player purposely, but as if on accident, threw the ball into another section of the fort. In Ojibwe historian William Warren's brief account of what followed, the players "threw down their wooden bats and grasping the shortened guns, tomahawks, and knives, the massacre commenced, and the bodies of the unsuspecting British soldiers soon lay strewn about, lifeless, horribly mangled, and scalpless." Henry saw, in what he called a dreadful interval, "several of my countrymen fall, and more than one struggling between the knees of an Indian who, holding him in this manner, scalped him while yet living!"[124]

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[122] Charles E. Adams, Jr., *Assault on a Culture: The Anishinaabeg of the Great Lakes and the Dynamics of Change* (Bloomington, IN: XLIBRIS, 2013), 72.
[123] Warren, 140-141.
[124] Warren, 141-142.

The serialized version published by the *Superior Telegram* was much more gruesome:

> Laughter and applause were now the order of the moment, a moment soon to be metamorphosed by the horror of manifold murder into one of tears and lamentation…Over the stockade there swept a surging tide of bloodthirsty redmen receiving their tomahawks and scalping knives at the hands of their squaw, who had concealed them beneath their blankets as part of the preconceived plan.
>
> With their nearly naked bodies painted hideously with grease and charcoal, relived in fantastic designs made with powdered vermillion and white chalk, the appearances of the savages struck dumb and helpless with terror, the women and children, who were butcherously slain, and scenes of bloody barbarism were multiplied on every hand as the now drunken and enraged Indians slaughtered all not known to them to be Canadians or French.[125]

For the purposes of the pageant, the script zeroed in on the element that would have the most potent effect on the audience. Rather than focusing on the game itself, the action concentrated on the violence and the production's first female victim:

> Once inside the fort, however, Megeze, The Eagle, seizes one of the women and drags her into the open where in full sight of the horrified spectators, he scalps her. Her screams and cries are the signal for the general massacre that follows.
>
> Capt. Etherington, rushing to the defense of a fallen English soldier, is set upon by two braves. He turns and slays them with his sword. A third brave dispatches him with a war club and is in turn killed by a voyageur. The voyageur picks up the captain and endeavors to carry him back to the fort. Meanwhile he sees his wife and child struggling in the grasp of two braves, and dropping the captain, who died in his arms, he wrests his babe from the hands of the Indian and flees with it to the neighboring forest. Two other braves, in the frenzie of the massacre, set upon a white woman with an infant in her arms. She runs behind the fort and makes for the woods with the babe, which is torn from her bosom, and hurled over the palings of the stockade.[126]

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[125] "Ke-wa-de-no-kwa (Girl of the North)," May 13, 1924.

[126] "Ke-wa-de-no-kwa: First Annual Apostle Islands Indian Pageant" official program, 7-8. Courtesy of Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin. Also, Megeze is, for Nichols and Nystrom, migizi, although the translation remains the same, 172.

Here, the focus is on the defenseless women and children whose sole crime, according to this script, is the fact that they are British – not French and not Native. Adams and Warren's portion of Henry's account make no mention of callous cruelty such as this, and Warren explicitly notes that the warriors concentrated on British soldiers. Nevertheless, the theatrical onstage scalping would have been an emotional moment for the audience whose previous exposure would have come from two-dimensional accounts.

The script moved quickly after the massacre. The American Fur Company, under the auspices of Astor, starts to encroach on the Hudson's Bay Company's territory. In another "firsting," actors interpreted the first Ojibwe treaty with the U.S. government.[127] The 1837 agreement, dubbed the "Pine Tree Treaty," included what James Feldman calls "a vast territory of north-central Wisconsin and Eastern Minnesota, an area desired because of the access it provided to valuable pinelands."[128] In an interesting example of artistic license, the scene included a band of "Ojibway chieftains…stating the condition of their submission to governmental authority" before President Martin Van Buren.[129] The actual terms of the treaty, however, included no such supplications, and the Ojibwe retained the rights to hunt, fish, and rice within the ceded territories.[130]

The next scene takes place nearly twenty years later. The "brusque figure of a militia captain and his troops" interrupt an Ojibwe council, insisting that the Ojibwe

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[127] It should be noted that this is in reference to the first treaty between the Ojibwe and the U.S. government. There are a couple vague references in the program to almost ceremonial peace treaties between Native nations thanks to Daniel Greysolon and Charles Le Seur, but no mention of nineteenth-century ones such as the 1825 Treaty of Prairie du Chien that sought to ameliorate Indian-white and Indian-Indian relations that were hindering the fur trade, mining, and settlement. "The Treaty of Prairie du Chien, 1825," Wisconsin Historical Society, http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/turningpoints/search.asp?id=1620. Accessed June 18, 2014.
[128] Feldman, 46.
[129] "Ke-wa-de-no-kwa: First Annual Apostle Islands Indian Pageant" official program, 9. Courtesy of Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.
[130] "Treaty with the Chippewa July 29, 1837" in Norrgard, *Seasons of Change*, 137, adapted from Charles Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1904-1941).

immediately remove west of the Mississippi. As the militiamen raise their rifles against the unarmed and indignant Ojibwe, a white man named Benjamin Armstrong warns the captain that he is endangering not only the lives of his men but of the entire white population by treating the Ojibwe this way. The captain relents as an Ojibwe messenger brings the news that, while the president has rescinded the removal order, the Wisconsin Ojibwe will move to one of four different reservations within the state.

The playwright had condensed several years' worth of history into one scene, which was likely irrelevant given the production's vast chronological scope and that this may have heightened the dramatic tension. As highlighted in Chapter 2, in 1850, President Zachary Taylor revoked the terms of the 1837 treaty as well as one signed in 1842. Amid protests, petitions, and a trip to the nation's capital to meet with Millard Fillmore, who had assumed the presidency after Taylor's death, more than 4,000 Ojibwe met at La Pointe on Madeline Island in 1854 to negotiate another treaty.[131] While Armstrong's role as an international intermediary in this scene may seem exaggerated and paternalistic, he spent many years interpreting for the Ojibwe. He was part of the delegation to Washington, D.C., and married into Chief Buffalo's family.[132] Placing this scene after one depicting a treaty signing emphasized the government's mistreatment of American Indians while exonerating the audience of that abuse through the lens of history.

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[131] Troy Henderson, "Treaty with the Chippewa, September 30, 1854" in Donald Fixico, ed., *Treaties with American Indians: An Encyclopedia of Rights, Conflicts, and Sovereignty* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2008), 340-341. See also: "1854 Treaty," Minnesota Department of Natural Resources, http://files.dnr.state.mn.us/aboutdnr/laws_treaties/1854/treaty1854.pdf. Accessed June 18, 2014.
[132] McCann, 109-110, 113. See also: "The Incredible Journey of Benjamin Armstrong and Chief Buffalo," National Park Service, http://www.nps.gov/apis/historyculture/armstrong.htm. Accessed June 18, 2014.

However, those feelings would have been quickly erased by the subsequent battle between the Ojibwe and the Sioux, who had not been seen since the middle of the second day when they held Father Hennepin hostage. Unlike previous battles, the novelty of this one lay in its aquatic setting. The fragile canoes of the Plains Indians were no match for the large war canoes of the Ojibwe, and "the only naval battle in the history of the Ojibway nation" ended victoriously. The battle, though, comes at an odd moment in the script. While Warren does not give a year for "the only naval engagement in which the Ojibways tell of ever having been engaged," its placement in his *History* corroborates with the early eighteenth century, not the mid-nineteenth. Several sources also name the Fox as combatants rather than the Sioux, whose inclusion may be linked to well-publicized (if often misinformed) accounts of their prowess in battles against the U.S. military and their repudiation of federal Indian policies.[133] This stands in stark contrast to the pageant's much-publicized and much-praised portrayal of authentic history, seeming instead to offer another thrilling episode in the midst of treaties and removal orders.

The naval battle gave way to one final dance number, "The Dance of the Autumn Leaves," where Mokadjiwens sees "the spirits of the hosts of brilliant hued autumn leaves which each fall color the foliage of the millions of trees in the ravines and headlands of Chequamegon Bay."[134] This brilliant marketing ploy paints the contemporary beauty of the region in contrast to the first day's "Dance of the Spirit of the Vanishing Pines," which illustrated the devastating effects of logging. Fantastic autumn leaves would surely serve as a draw for tourists whose urban lives had no room for the wilderness,

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[133] Warren, 65. See also: "Anishinaabe Timeline; Gaa-izhiwebakin Anishinaabewakiing," Bemidji State University, https://www.bemidjistate.edu/airc/resources/anishinaabe_timeline/. Accessed June 18, 2014.
[134] "Ke-wa-de-no-kwa: First Annual Apostle Islands Indian Pageant" official program, 9. Courtesy of Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.

even though the area's logging industry had only recently waned. The next scene portrayed an annuity payment at La Pointe as part of the 1854 treaty. Mokadjiwens watched from afar as traders helped themselves to the newly-distributed annuities to reconcile whatever they deemed the Ojibwe owed them.[135] Despite the scale of the "naval battle" and the surely impressive water theatrics, scenes depicting treaty signings and allotment payments were likely more educational than entertaining. Perhaps the pageant master hoped these scenes would provoke empathy for the Indians, or perhaps he sought a collective non-Native absolution.

In the penultimate scene, "Braves in the World War," Mokadjiwens has a vision of "a company of citizen braves in the khaki of the Yankee troops in the world war, fighting side by side and as allies with the French, under whose flag they had lived, with England, under whose dominion they had once fallen, and of the United States, of which they had for so many years been wards."[136] In this scene, a reconnaissance party of "Yanks" is attacked by Germans in No Man's Land. At the very moment in which German victory seems imminent, "a company of Indian braves, with Old Glory flying to

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[135] It is not a coincidence that a scene depicting annuity payments would focus on dishonest traders. While it was certainly a rampant issue for countless tribes, the tragedy at Sandy Lake in 1850 would still, as I will discuss in Chapter 2, have hung over the Wisconsin Ojibwe. In an 1850 attempt to move Wisconsin and Upper Michigan Indians to Minnesota, Minnesota Territorial governor Alexander Ramsey and La Pointe subagent John Watrous moved the annuity payment site from La Pointe to Sandy Lake, which required the Indians to travel between 300-500 miles by canoe and portage. Ramsey and Watrous refused to pay annuities from the 1837 and 1842 treaties anywhere other than Sandy Lake and insisted that entire families make the arduous journey. The government officials had not made adequate plans for food, shelter, or other provisions and, after the Ojibwe waited for six weeks, they discovered that the agent arrived without the annuities because Congress had not made the necessary arrangements in a timely fashion. Disease ran rampant, and the Ojibwe were forced to buy spoiled provisions at outrageous prices. Some burned their canoes for firewood and had to make the journey home on foot with their belongings on their backs. Upwards of 400 Ojibwe died at Sandy Lake or on the trip home. Ronald Satz, *Chippewa Treaty Rights: The Reserved Rights of Wisconsin's Chippewa Indians in Historical Perspective* (Madison: Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, 1991), 57-58. See also: Brenda Child, *Holding Our World Together: Ojibwe Women and the Survival of Community* (New York: Penguin, 2013). This also explains the Ojibwe insistence that the 1854 treaty negotiations take place at La Pointe.

[136] "Ke-wa-de-no-kwa: First Annual Apostle Islands Indian Pageant" official program, 9. Courtesy of Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.

the breeze, sweeps over the top and rescues them." The program proudly proclaims that many of the men cast as "Indian Yanks" were veterans, some having been in service with the Thirty-second division overseas, while others had fought in the 1918 Battle of Chateau-Thierry.

This singular scene encapsulates the goals of allotment and assimilation: the "progression" of the Red Cliff Ojibwe and American Indians as a whole. Gallant Indian soldiers replace the "barbarism" that ran rampant through the initial scenes of the pageant: men who use rifles instead of bows and arrows, wearing khaki uniforms rather than beaded buckskin. They are designated as Indian Yanks, American as well as indigenous, rather than solely Indian. Again, soldiers such as these men were offered U.S. citizenship after World War I for deeds of valor such as this, taking the Indian warriors from the American battlefield to an international arena. The "savage Indian" was replaced with the "noble Indian," one who was worthy of at least partial inclusion within American society. Perhaps this scene, more than any other within the pageant, reflected the "success" of assimilation to the point where Indians became almost unrecognizable: they were soldiers, but they were *American* soldiers. Rather than placing Indians as the harbinger of American civilization, the pageant placed the Indians squarely *within* American civilization. L.G. Moses argues that, by the mid-nineteenth-century, Indians had "become object lessons for the inexorable triumph of civilization over savagery…their defeat enlarged the victory of civilization; their heroism certified that of their adversaries; and, to some, their tragedy inspired compassion."[137] With Ojibwe soldiers fighting alongside – and, in this case, rescuing – white American soldiers, it was

[137] L.G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1833-1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 11.

impossible to distinguish the victors from the vanquished in the narrative of American history, especially as Mokadjiwens watched the Indian Yanks "in action, to the bursting of shrapnel overhead, as they were in the World war, Allies of England, and of France, under each of whose governments they had lived, and representing the United States of America, for the preservation of whose ideals they were fighting."[138]

The Apostle Islands Indian Pageant was staged the same year the Indian Citizenship Act, signed into law by President Calvin Coolidge, unilaterally granted U.S. citizenship to all indigenous peoples residing within the United States.[139] Historians have debated the strength of the law as well as its implications and intrusions into the lives of indigenous people. For instance, there were questions as to whether the law overrode tribal citizenship or made American Indians dual citizens, both of their individual nations and of the United States. Some American Indians had already been granted U.S. citizenship, as evidenced by the 1919 act that made Indian veterans of World War I citizens of the country for which they had risked their lives.[140] Others did not wish to become American citizens, and yet the Indian Citizenship Act granted them citizenship regardless of their stance.

The Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 took the racialized Indian and made him a racialized American. With a stroke of a pen, non-citizen Indians were "declared to be citizens of the United States," and yet, as Kevin Bruyneel argues, they became second-class citizens. The act was clearly worded so as to seemingly protect the rights of American Indians to hold tribal property. As wards of the United States since the

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[138] "Ke-wa-de-no-kwa (Girl of the North)," May 13, 1924.
[139] Kevin Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty: The Postcolonial Politics of U.S.-Indigenous Relations* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 97.
[140] Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty*, 99.

Supreme Court ruled that Indian nations were not sovereign but "domestic" and "dependent," however, American Indians occupied an unusual role of both United States citizen and government ward both within the nation (and the pageant).[141]

The description of the final scene encapsulates the Indian history that an American audience wanted to see:

> The entire pageant cast, from the beginning of the first day of his Big Sleep pass before him in review, to stamp on his mind the history which is to be enacted in later years by the descendants of his own band along the bays and promontories of Chequamegon Bay. As these pass in review, his people pick up their drums, their war banners, and their insignia, and, himself awakening, Mokadjiwens passes among them and is "hailed" as a great Mitau – a great Medicine Man, and a leader of his people. He stands at their head, watching the last of the characters pass out through the woodland to the realm of thought from whence they came, and with a mighty shout, the Indians themselves retire to their own village. The pageant is done.

Through Ellis's staging the entire pageant as a dream where the Indians are simply part of a "realm of thought," he used the Ojibwe as a means to represent the non-Native interpretation of American Indians as static, relegated to the past, and not present in contemporary American society through their assimilation (through World War I, as depicted in the pageant) or their vague, ethereal disappearance. According to Ellis's script, there was, quite simply, nothing left to salvage due to the supposed envelopment of the Ojibwe, and American Indians writ large, into the American military and, by extension, American society. This total integration and absorption, then, would render any future tourism unnecessary: if there were no more Indians to see, there was no reason for tourists to make the difficult trek to northern Wisconsin.

Even though the pageant drew 18,000 people, those involved in the creation of the next pageant unveiled an entirely new production in 1925. Organizers may have wanted

[141] Bruyneel, 99-101, 3.

to get closer to their still-unattained goal of 100,000 visitors, and if they considered their inaugural attendance numbers a failure they likely decided to make drastic changes in order to fully capitalize on their endeavor. While it is not unusual for a playwright or director to make changes to a script from one year to the next, or even from one performance to the next, radical revisions left the second production of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant nearly unrecognizable from its counterpart. The script for the 1925 pageant, staged in two-day intervals rather than three, could have been a page out of Buffalo Bill's playbook. The first day's events were dubbed "The American Indian Before the Coming of the White Man," and the program included a sentimentalized appeal to its audience:

> Ye whose hearts are fresh and simple
> Who have faith in God and Nature
> Who believe that in all ages
> Every human heart is human
> That in even savage bosoms
> There are longings, yearnings, striving
> For the good they comprehend not
> That the feeble hands and helpless
> Groping blindly in the darkness
> And are lifted up and strengthened
> Listen to this simple story
> To the song of Indian manness.[142]

This entreaty by the pageant committee intended to evoke a specific set of emotions from its audience. By setting the Indians and the non-Native audience in opposition to each other before the show began allowed the audience to sit comfortably in their knowledge that the Indians would be "lifted up and strengthened" by the second day's events, titled "The Indians Since the Coming of the White Man." Whereas the committee's sense of

[142] "Second Annual Apostle Islands Indian Pageant" souvenir program, 1925. Courtesy of the Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.

urgency in 1924 seemed more driven by the vanishing aura of the wilderness, by 1925 it was the Indians themselves who were in danger of disappearing:

> From the woodlands to your right will appear the remnants of a dying race of people. Within the last decade their numbers have been alarmingly reduced by neglect and subjugation. Already the American people realize the swiftness of a destructive force which is destined to eliminate the Red Man from his Native haunts and happy virile life.

The irony is strong with this one, as the unnamed destructive force was, of course, the U.S. federal Indian policies that purposefully intended to do just that.[143] The pageant began with an introduction by six little "Indian Boys" and a Dance of the Nations, which served as a precursor for discussing a union among a number of Algonquin nations.[144] The women worked as the men debated, and this generalized narrative conjured up stereotypical images of lazy men and overworked women. While these views were not uncommon in the early twentieth century, scholars have shown that many, if not all, American Indian societies divided labor and authority along gendered lines. Also, men were not necessarily more powerful even though they often had more visible public roles – especially in the Great Lakes region, where Native women played crucial roles in establishing, mediating, and maintaining the fur trade.[145]

Children played with toys and dolls and sang an "Indian Lullaby." The successful hunters and fishermen return, giving way to a Feast of Plenty and a Dance of Plenty, which lead to the selection of a bride and an Indian Wedding. The happiness is overshadowed by an Iroquois spy, who admits his tribe plans to attack. The women help

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[143] "Second Annual Apostle Islands Indian Pageant" souvenir program, 1925. Courtesy of the Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.
[144] The program lists them accordingly: "Algonquins, Ojibways, Chippewas, Foxes, Sacs, Menominees, Winnebagos and others."
[145] Nancy Shoemaker, "Introduction," in *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women,* ed. Nancy Shoemaker (New York: Routledge, 1995), 5; Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 2-6.

the men and boys prepare for battle and the War Dance. As in the first pageant, warriors from both sides battle in canoes. After a subsequent battle on land, aided by the women, the victorious Indians gleefully begin the Scalp Dance around their captive enemies. The battles and supposed celebrations again invoke the belief long held by non-Natives that "Indian dance, a profound and visceral expression of Native spiritual beliefs, [was] pagan and wild, evil and 'uncivilized.'"[146]

A French Jesuit appears and, despite the misgivings of the medicine men, is greeted with the "Gitchee Gumee welcome dance." While a welcome dance may have been performed as a greeting for strangers, the progression of these reenactments is significant: having witnessed, in order, a Dance of the Nations, a Dance of Plenty, a War Dance, and a Scalp Dance, the welcome dance is the last one included in this portion of the pageant as well as one of the last Indian dances. The Jesuit's arrival leads to disagreements, but a party of French soldiers and explorers face no such opposition as they build a stockade, complete with French flag, before battling English soldiers joined by "hostile Indians." The victorious English run up their flag and make a treaty with the Indians as the first day concludes. Here, as in the first pageant, the Indians are leery of missionaries but more welcoming of the French, who are again depicted as relatively kind in comparison to other potential colonizing forces.

The second day begins as the first did, with the young performers and the Dance of the Nation. The French lose their fort to the British but reestablish their rule in the interior through an unseen agreement with the Indians. The French perform a stately "Minuette," only to once again lose their hold on (Native) land to the British. A lone

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[146] Ann M. Axtmann, *Indians and Wannabes: Native American Powwow Dancing in the Northeast and Beyond* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2013), 12.

Indian performs an Arrow Dance, and this is the last we see of not only Indian expressive culture but of the French and the British.[147] The land is smoothly transferred from party to party, demonstrating the supposed ease with which the land changed hands. This portrayal intentionally ignores the hard-fought battles over lands and resources, preferring instead to effortlessly shift to the pageant's depiction of frontier life.

The remaining scenes are entirely American and Indian without offering a specific tribal identifier. Weary pioneers in covered wagons look for a spot to rest, but after a "scouting Indian is shot," incensed Indians circle the wagon trains of the early pioneers, only to be chased off by some friendly Indians. The settlers build log cabins and entertain themselves with square dances and Virginia Reels, and a squabble over an Indian maiden leads to violence. A non-Native man falls in love with her after she was already promised to an Indian who, after seeing the two of them at the settlers' dance, tries to take her back. Her second suitor kills the first, and the maiden leaves in her canoe. This scene encapsulates the typical narrative of the frontier: if we consider the maiden as a tangible manifestation of the land itself, her non-Native suitor dispatches her Native suitor and leaves the maiden free for the opportune taking.

American soldiers swoop in to do battle with the Indians who, once conquered, "makes entreaties to [Uncle Sam, John Bull, and Latin America, representing the spirit of the New World], begging to be accepted."[148] The final scene encapsulates the action: "Westward – then wither? – At the End of the Trail – The Dance of the Scattering Winds

[147] The program offers so further indication as to what the Arrow Dance might entail. The playwright for the 1925 pageant did not seem to share Ellis's seemingly concerted effort to present a historically authentic production.
[148] John Bull was a personification of England akin to Uncle Sam's personification of the United States.

– Despair. – Gitchee Gumee, Mighty Big Sea Water."[149] This finale, which mirrors the traditional approach to American Indian history, distances the audience from these events by placing them securely in the past and appealing to feelings of nostalgia. It was now clearly safe to mourn the supposed passing of the Indians, whose fate was purposely and purposefully ambiguous. The audience could decide what happened to the Indians, whose vague disappearance at the end of the production ignored removal policies, assimilation policies, boarding schools, and countless treaties and court cases bent on erasing Indians.

James Feldman rightly contends that "boosters, farmers, lumberjacks, or quarrymen – the people who had wrought so much change on Chequamegon Bay environments in the previous fifty years" are nowhere to be seen in either pageant.[150] Both scriptwriters ignored the decades of resource extraction and attempted industrialization in attempts to keep audiences focused on the seemingly pristine elements that were key to the growing tourist industry. The stories told in the pageants are stories of progress without the cost of development, even as, according to the 1925 program, the pageant was "the story of those who participated in the ever-changing years from savage confines to limitless possibilities of civilization."[151] Whereas the World War I scene in the first pageant attempted to demonstrate the endless possibilities of Indian assimilation, the more generalized narrative of the 1925 pageant, complete with log cabins and Virginia Reels, ended with a conquered Indian "begging to be accepted." While the Indians of Ellis's pageant had reached what white audiences would consider

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[149] "Second Annual Apostle Islands Indian Pageant" souvenir program, 1925. Courtesy of the Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.
[150] Feldman, 110.
[151] "Second Annual Apostle Islands Indian Pageant" souvenir program, 1925. Courtesy of the Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.

the pinnacle of civilization, the Indians of O.A. Reetz's pageant were still on the outskirts, their supposed savagery the only salvageable element that could continue to keep audiences entertained.

Despite the grand efforts of boosters, businessmen, townspeople, and entrepreneurs from across the Midwest, including the sweeping restaging of the production, even the 1925 pageant did not draw as many tourists as organizers desired. The project was abandoned shortly thereafter: ironically, the pageant itself was not considered a salvageable (or profitable) venture. The returns apparently did not match the investment, and so the pageant was deemed yet another failure alongside the numerous industries that had already run their course in northern Wisconsin.

"The cradle of Wisconsin's first history": Finding Traces of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant[152]

The trees that were cut down to make way for the pageant grounds and parking lots have regrown, leaving little trace of the enormous economic endeavor undertaken less than a century ago. A drive down the aptly-named Pageant Road reveals the same breathtaking views that caught the attention of a Hearst newspaper road scout and set the stage for the opportunistic pageant. In the grand historical scheme, the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant seems almost inconsequential, a mere footnote. However, James Feldman argues that the significance of the pageant "lies not in its brevity but in the way that organizers looked to the state to create the essential link that would bring tourists to the islands."[153] As Chapter 2 will demonstrate, Wisconsinites and other Americans increasingly turned to the state to organize and supplement the tourist economy after the

[152] "Annual Pageant on Apostle Islands to Attract Thousands," *Antigo Daily Journal*, October 21, 1921.
[153] Feldman, 113-114.

1920s. While it is easy to question the logic that led pageant promoters, local businesses, and townspeople to think that hundreds of thousands of people would journey to a small town on the south shore of Lake Superior to watch a production that promised to "re-live the days of the pioneers, and give the people of America a historical record of the first Americans," it is essential to note what is at stake. A successful pageant would do more than sell tickets: once out-of-towners recognized the region's potential as a tourist destination, conservation efforts would garner greater support and the local economy would be assured of a year-round – or, at the very least, a seasonal – income generator for the region.

Capitalism was most certainly a driving force behind the pageant, but it was not the only one. Creating a tourism industry would generate income for restaurants, hotels, campgrounds, businesses, and more, and the Ojibwe and their history were used to authenticate the pageant and the region. However, the viability of the pageant as an economic boon would prove to be just as fickle, unreliable, and unpredictable as the others. The weather stole the show in 1924 as it rained for most of the pageant's 15 days. Despite the unfavorable conditions, more than 18,000 people saw the pageant in its inaugural year. The sources disagree about the number of tickets sold for the 1925 production, but Feldman claims that 12,000 attended.[154] While the exact numbers may not be substantiated, the fact remains that the pageant failed to cover its expenses and was never restaged.

It would be easy to dismiss the pageant as a misguided attempt to profit off the fad of Indianness in the early twentieth century. It would be easy to dismiss the promoters' seemingly impossible goal of pulling in 100,000 spectators in two weeks,

[154] Feldman, 113.

pushing aside basic logistical questions. It would be easy to dismiss the entire production as nothing more than an economic disaster, one that did not "receive the financial returns [the Pageant corporation] expected." A season ticket – one that was good for one three-day performance – cost $3, meaning that an audience of 18,000 could bring in $54,000 through sheer attendance alone.[155] It would certainly have been an admirable number, albeit not the hundreds of thousands of dollars that would have resulted from hundreds of thousands of tourists.

However, the Apostle Islands Indian Pageants reveal that numerous stakeholders, from railroads and the pageant corporation to the Ojibwe and non-Natives in the neighboring communities, were deeply invested in not only the pageant but in the region's economic, cultural, and political survival. The emphasis on tourism and the use of Indians and their land exemplifies the commodification of Indians, authenticity, and land. While the resources of the land and the lake had been economically viable, the pageant emphasizes a transformative shift wherein profit was potentially derived from the land itself rather than its resources. The Ojibwe were given a direct interest in the pageant, and securing their participation underscores the pageant's reliance on their indigeneity as a means to sell the pageant as an authentic experience.

The potential growth of tourism and the desire to include Indian lands in those tourism plans marks the key contributions of the subsequent chapter. Rather than attempting to salvage the idea of the Indians of northern Wisconsin, state and federal officials changed tactics and moved to further remove the Ojibwe from their lands in order to create a designated national lakeshore for the recreation of local and regional

[155] Apostle Islands Indian Pageant Season Ticket. Courtesy of Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.

tourists. The Ojibwe alternately endorsed and opposed the plans, eventually moving to reject the incorporation of their lands in the federal project. The shifting motivations among the cast of characters reveals contested constructions of the notion of salvage tourism, most notably in the depictions of Indians and Indian land as simultaneously in need of federal protection and easily commodified and used by outsiders.

Despite the poor attendance and the pageant's inability to cover its expenses, the committee and townspeople remained optimistic. The *Bayfield Progress* maintained that the thousands of audience members were pleased with "Bayfield's pageant and Bayfield's people and Bayfield's scenery."[156] Plans were already underway for "a bigger and better show next year" less than two weeks after the pageant's first season, and the program for the second pageant reminded visitors that "We'll meet you in 1926 at the top o'Wisconsin" for the third annual pageant, an event that garnered little, if any, publicity.[157] The Apostle Islands Indian Pageant signifies the region's move toward a tourism-based economy, one that continues to thrive thanks to, in a slight rewording of a poem penned by McKenzie, its place at the end of the road, the tip of old Wisconsin's shore; where the cliff rocks are steeper, and love itself deeper – and who could be asking for more?[158]

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[156] "History of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant," *Bayfield Progress*, August 26, 1924.
[157] "History of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant," *Bayfield Progress*, August 26, 1924; "Second Annual Apostle Islands Indian Pageant" souvenir program, 1925. Courtesy of Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.

Several scholars, including James Feldman and Eric Olmanson, assert that the third annual Apostle Islands Indian Pageant was, indeed, produced. Feldman cites a single article from the July 15, 1926 issue of the *Bayfield Press*, while Olmanson cites the August 29, 1926 edition of the *Bayfield County Press*. According to Olmanson, the final pageant was written and directed by Theodore H. Steinmetz, and all the roles, "except the dancing girls and the two principal characters were taken by Indians" (Feldman, 113; Olmanson, *Future City on the Inland Sea,* n.17, p. 245).
[158] "History of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant," *Bayfield Progress*, August 26, 1924.

Chapter 2

"We shall walk along with him on the shoreline": The Red Cliff Ojibwe and Salvage Tourism in the Apostle Islands[1]

Despite L.E. McKenzie's likely rhetorical exaltation that no one could possibly want more than "The farthest north point of the land that kisses the bay where you stand; That sets you to dreaming of island shores gleaming, Of romance that's writ in the sand," a place where "Apostles lie dim in the morning; the cradles of history born,"[2] the landscape of northern Wisconsin soon became a battleground. Local white residents, wilderness advocates, state and federal officials, and American Indians fought for control of the land and its resources and economic potential in the decades following the pageant. Conservationists squared off against those who wanted to continue finding ways to extract resources, and government officials who wanted to turn the area into an oasis for tourists skirmished with local residents who feared losing their homes and lands. The juxtaposition of tourism, environmentalism, the economy, local employment, and tribal sovereignty created a legal quagmire that held potentially devastating effects for all parties involved.

In Chapter 1, I contended that the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant underscored the tensions tied up with attempts to boost the local tourism economy by capitalizing on indigeneity and the environment. Using the tried-and-(un)true narrative of the "vanishing Indian" coupled with that of the vanishing wilderness, pageant promoters created a commodity centered around these seemingly inevitable disappearances. However, as I

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[1] Mrs. Margaret Pascale, Statement of Phillip Gordon, Chairman, Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Indians of Wisconsin, accompanied by Mrs. Margaret Pascale, tribal member; U.S. Senate, *Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs*, 91st Cong., 1st sess., hearings March 17, 1969 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1970), 57. Courtesy of Joseph D. Pascale III.
[2] "History of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant," *Bayfield Progress*, August 26, 1924.

will argue in Chapter 2, the evident ironies outlined in Chapter 1 – notably the contradictions of development for the purposes of conservation as well as the pageant's obfuscation of the region's history of natural resource exploitation – did not end when the pageant went dark in the 1920s. Boosters and businessmen had already spent several decades searching for a way to create a profitable economy in this remote region. Despite continued failures, they were still looking for their golden ticket after the pageant. They had pushed for the creation of a national park in the Apostle Islands as early as the 1920s "as a means of stimulating a stagnant economy," but in 1930 the National Park Service investigator refused to endorse it due to, unsurprisingly, significant scars from decades of logging.[3] Perhaps the greatest irony, however, lay in the fact that, beginning in the 1950s, conservationists, sportsmen, local businesses, and government officials – especially Gaylord Nelson, the Wisconsin governor-turned-senator and founder of Earth Day – later hoped to generate revenue and recognition for the region by having the Apostle Islands and the surrounding lakeshore, including a hefty amount of tribally-held lands, under the auspices and protection of the National Park Service (NPS).

Nelson and his supporters believed that protecting the Apostle Islands as a recreational area, as opposed to a national park or wilderness area, would create a commodity that would be eagerly consumed by local, out-of-town, and out-of-state residents looking to escape the confines of the city.[4] Many policymakers also believed that their self-described benevolent inclusion of tribal lands would improve "the

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[3] James Feldman, *A Storied Wilderness: Rewilding the Apostle Islands* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013), 150; Bill Christofferson, *The Man From Clear Lake: Earth Day Founder Senator Gaylord Nelson* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), 240; Harold C. Jordahl and Annie L. Booth, *Environmental Politics and the Creation of a Dream: Establishing the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2011), 69-70.
[4] Christofferson, *The Man From Clear Lake*, 243.

economic well-being" of the tribes through development, noting that "the economic conditions of the tribal members were deplorable."[5] For the Bad River and Red Cliff bands of Ojibwe, though, this apparent altruism came on the heels of centuries of struggle and betrayal. The contestations over land ownership, tourism, and sovereignty became the central focus of congressional debates over the size and status of the lakeshore. While these ideas surrounding indigeneity and environmentally-based tourism were not unique to the 1950s and 1960s, as demonstrated in Chapter 1, the growing clout of local and national interest groups as well as the NPS and Wisconsin state departments generated a perfect storm for the conflicting goals and ideologies of the actors in this lingering drama that played out on reservation lands, in the air above Lake Superior, and in the nation's capital.

"A Sportsman's Paradise": Commodifying and conserving the wilderness[6]

In 1959, then-governor Nelson gave a speech outlining northern Wisconsin's potential for recreational, and thereby economic, development.[7] More than five million people visited Wisconsin state parks in 1956 alone, and attendance at state parks had ballooned by 250 percent since the late 1920s without a corresponding increase in funding for parks.[8] Nelson believed that the Apostle Islands region would become a paradise for tourists not only within Wisconsin but throughout the Midwest, if not the entire nation. Akin to the earlier dreams of local boosters, Nelson hoped that developing

[5] Jordahl and Booth, *Environmental Politics and the Creation of a Dream,* 260.
[6] Feldman, *A Storied Wilderness,* 97.
[7] "The Pledge, February 25, 1959," in "Speeches and other documents on environmental issues, 1962-1971." From the Gaylord Nelson Papers, MSS 1020, in the Archives of the Wisconsin Historical Society, online facsimiles at: http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/turningpoints/search.asp?id=1670.
[8] Feldman, 164; Jordahl and Booth, 46.

the region as a recreational area would simultaneously bring attention to the need to preserve the environment by making it a commodity to be enjoyed by local residents as well as tourists.

Like Nelson, local Indians – notably the Bad River and Red Cliff bands of Ojibwe – were similarly interested in protecting their lands and the resources that could be derived from the lands. In 1962, the Bad River band passed a resolution asking for a joint state and federal study of the possibility of turning the Bad River-Kakagon sloughs, which were an integral source of wild rice, into a national lakeshore.[9] While the Bad River band was not particularly interested in harvesting enough wild rice to generate a significant economic profit, they were concerned about protecting the sloughs and its resources. This was, according to Harold Jordahl, the first step in what would become an eight-year battle over the creation of the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore.[10] It was a battle that pitted the Ojibwe against local, state, and federal interests as tribal governments fought to protect their sovereignty.[11] Despite the 1962 resolution, the Bad River and Red Cliff Ojibwe eventually moved to reject the proposal, and they vigorously fought to maintain control of their lands. In 1967, the Red Cliff tribal council voted 3-to-1 in opposition to the lakeshore. Two years later, in March of 1969, Tribal Chairman Phillip Gordon and tribal member Margaret Pascale – my maternal grandmother – traveled to Washington to testify in front of the Senate Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Gordon and Pascale, sent by a tribe with extremely limited funds, passionately argued that the Red Cliff band,

[9] Jordahl and Booth, 6, 74.
[10] Jordahl and Booth, 75.
[11] Feldman, 13.

which already maintained two tribal parks, was not interested in ceding their remaining land holdings to the government for use in a national recreation area.[12]

By the time President Richard Nixon signed the final bill for the designation of the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore in 1970, the scope of the project looked vastly different than it had in its initial iteration, as demonstrated in Figures 1 and 2. The chair of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs had conceded that, due to the nation's "heightened concern for civil rights" and the strong "Ojibwe cultural authority," the lakeshore would not be approved without Ojibwe support.[13] In a resounding victory for the Bad River and Red Cliff bands, the Bad River section was completely eliminated, and the 2,568 now-federally-protected acres in Red Cliff land included lands that had long been out of Indian ownership. This was, according to Feldman, the first time American Indians had successfully defended their lands from inclusion in a national park. The victory was even sweeter considering that the Ojibwe had already survived "nearly a century of having their treaty rights stripped by state agencies seeking to increase their regulatory power."[14]

The regional economic motivations that led to the pageant in the 1920s reappeared in the following decades as supporters of expanding tourism in northern Wisconsin intended to capitalize on the same elements the pageant committee promoted: seemingly pristine waters, incredible views, and leisure activities that could only be experienced on the south shore of Lake Superior. But tourism, like industries and subsistence activities such as farming, fishing, hunting, gathering, quarrying, mining, and

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[12] Statement of Phillip Gordon, Chairman, Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Indians of Wisconsin, accompanied by Mrs. Margaret Pascale, tribal member (March 17, 1969).
[13] Feldman, 188.
[14] Feldman, 188.

logging, required the consumption of precious resources such as land and water. Even though these previous industries had, for better or worse, shaped the landscape and economy of northern Wisconsin, as the state itself took a more active role in promoting tourism, the landscape had to be rearranged to fit "the bureaucrat's logic of legibility," which meant distancing tourism from the resource production that had driven local and regional economies.[15] In this chapter, I argue that, from the 1950s to the 1970s, local residents, government officials, wilderness advocates, and the Bad River and Red Cliff bands of Ojibwe engaged in a bitter struggle over the proper way to use, enjoy, and profit from the land and water. Some believed the islands could be used for resource extraction *and* tourism, while others felt the land's value lay solely in using the land for recreation rather than resources. Still others, like the Ojibwe, were not entirely convinced of the magnanimity of the proposals pushed forth by Nelson, Jordahl, and their supporters.

On the surface, it was a question of how to allow the most people to best use, preserve, and benefit from the environment. For the Ojibwe, however, the answers hinged on their sovereign rights to the lands that created their reservations through an 1854 treaty, as well as the rights retained in 1837 and 1842 treaties. The battle over the lakeshore also reveals the continued regional focus on what I consider "salvage tourism" coupled with colonialist ideals surrounding land and resource use and management. The Ojibwe had to consider the benefits and risks involved with potentially ceding their lands to the federal government – again – even under the umbrella of the National Park Service. Would the potential economic rewards of such active participation in a tourism industry that could "provide them with job opportunities related to their cultural heritage: guiding; sale of native crafts, naturalists, park rangers, etcetera" be adequate

[15] Feldman, 114.

compensation?[16] What rights would they lose by allowing their lands to be included in the lakeshore, especially as Wisconsin state officials argued that indigenous hunting, fishing, trapping, and gathering rights both on *and* off the reservations should be extinguished?[17] If they *did* agree to participate in the NPS system of regimented ecological tourism, how would their livelihoods be affected?

Therefore, this chapter centers on a 1969 Senate subcommittee hearing wherein Gordon and Pascale protested the government's continued attempts to push through legislation for the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore that included what seemed to be most, if not all, of the land held by the Red Cliff and Bad River bands of Ojibwe. Native and non-Native contestations over lands, resources, and sovereignty in the twentieth century mirrored earlier struggles in the region, including the conflicts dramatized in the pageant, as the environment, the economy, tourist demands, and federal Indian policy collided in the following decades. Akin to the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant, which featured a plethora of costumed – yet silent – Indians, Gordon and Pascale's testimony becomes its own performance of resistance wherein they perform their *own* scripts, albeit on a different stage far, far away from the contested lands. The ideas surrounding where, according to non-Natives, Indians belonged manifested themselves within the pageant as the wild, vanishing wilderness, and yet Gordon and Pascale's testimony in Washington, D.C. became another, more powerful performance of indigeneity.

While the Ojibwe voices are tellingly quiet in the sources surrounding the pageant, as noted in Chapter 1, their emphatic resistance to yet another attempt at the colonial commodification of their lands, their rights, and their resources through the

[16] Jordahl and Booth, 263.
[17] Jordahl and Booth, 267.

lakeshore battle exposes the underlying fight for the *indigenous* preservation of land, resources and, above all, political and economic sovereignty. The copy of Gordon and Pascale's testimony that has been passed down through my family is, on the surface, seemingly inconsequential, a few black-and-white pages bookended by snippets of previous and subsequent congressional discussions. However, there is a story of tribal resistance hidden within these few short pages. The short-lived pageant may seem to be nothing more than a mere footnote in the region's history, but I contend that these continued disputes are an extension of the pageant in the larger narrative of the intersectionality of tourism, environmentalism, conservation, the economy, and authentic indigeneity.

From Mackinac to Madeline Island to the mainland: Ojibwe land and land use

Many centuries ago, the Ojibwe moved to the Straits of Mackinac from the St. Lawrence River, and some had settled in what would become the village of La Pointe on Madeline Island by the early seventeenth century.[18] La Pointe and the Ojibwe were major players in the fur trade until the industry declined in the 1830s, and the fur trade's legacy was integral in shaping the economy and environment as the Ojibwe, various European nations and, later, Americans, looked to maintain power in the region.[19] Brenda Child maintains that the early Lake Superior Ojibwe treaties, meaning those negotiated between 1837 and 1854, "set the stage for an extension of American power

[18] Brenda Child, *Holding Our World Together: Ojibwe Women and the Survival of Community* (New York: Viking, 2012), xiii.
[19] Child, *Holding Our World Together*, 36, 49; Feldman, 6.

and settler colonialism that later resulted in the creation of reservations, even as indigenous people remained demographically the majority of the population."[20]

In 1837, U.S. officials negotiated the Treaty of St. Peters, also known as the Pine Tree treaty, in order to access the valuable pine timber in the Chippewa River Valley.[21] Five years later, in 1842, U.S. officials negotiated the Copper Treaty that, through additional land cessions, gave the government access to a region that included the Apostle Islands, Chequamegon Bay, and Michigan's Upper Peninsula, an area that Feldman calls "one of the richest copper deposits in the world."[22] Child contends that these two treaties are "somewhat uncommon in the history of U.S.-Indian relations for their emphasis on natural resources in the ceded territories," as evidenced by the decades-long struggle over the lands and these specific resources.[23] The seemingly unrelenting push to secure indigenous lands in order to procure natural resources continued into the twentieth century, although the efforts of Nelson, Jordahl, and their compatriots centered on less-extractive methods.

The Treaty of 1842, however, contained a clause that would lead to untold devastation for the Lake Superior Ojibwe. The U.S. government's delegates had reassured the Ojibwe that the government was solely interested in the mineral rights and that Indian removal was "not an immediate concern." The Ojibwe leaders who signed the treaty, including Chief Buffalo of La Pointe, understood this to mean that removal, if it occurred at all, would not happen for several generations.[24] Alexander Ramsey, the

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[20] Child, 51.
[21] Feldman, 46; Chantal Norrgard, *Seasons of Change: Labor, Treaty Rights, and Ojibwe Nationhood* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 6; Child, 52.
[22] Feldman, 46; Norrgard, *Seasons of Change*, 6.
[23] Child, 54.
[24] Child, 54.

new governor of the new Minnesota Territory had other plans. In 1849, Ramsey colluded with the Minnesota Territorial Legislative Assembly to nullify parts of the 1837 and 1842 treaties under the false accusations of Ojibwe "depredations" against white settlers. Ramsey then went to Washington in hopes of convincing President Zachary Taylor to remove the Ojibwe to Minnesota. Ramsey, along with John Watrous, "a La Pointe trader of questionable reputation," plotted to lure the Ojibwe to Sandy Lake in order to receive their annuities, rather than at the Madeline Island agency. Ramsey and Watrous planned to detain the Ojibwe in Minnesota Territory as they waited for the annuities, and any delay in the annuities would leave the Wisconsin Ojibwe unable to traverse the frozen waterways in order to return home.[25]

In February of 1850, President Zachary Taylor – through an executive order that, according to Child, "overstepped his authority" – revoked the Ojibwes' rights to hunt, fish, and gather, even though those rights had been reserved in the treaties of 1837 and 1842. The Removal Order of 1850 also ordered the Wisconsin Ojibwe to move west of the Mississippi, a decision met with incredible resistance from the Ojibwe. As Child maintains, the order would have "required thousands of people to leave their ancestral homelands and travel hundreds of miles to the Mississippi River in northern Minnesota, thereby intruding on the lands of other Ojibwe people. It was an inconceivable proposition."[26] Ignoring previous treaty assurances, government officials threatened to withhold annuities if the Ojibwe did not comply.

In October of that year, in accordance with Ramsey and Watrous's plan, the Office of Indian Affairs decided that annuities would be distributed at Sandy Lake,

[25] Child, 66-67.
[26] Child, 68.

Minnesota, rather than on Madeline Island. It was an arduous journey of hundreds of miles that required the Ojibwe to travel by foot and by canoe in order to access their annuity payments. Some Ojibwe traveled up the Chippewa River to Lac Courte Oreilles, eventually meeting up with Ojibwe from Lac du Flambeau, Pokegama, and St. Croix. More than 700 Ojibwe gathered in what is now Duluth before heading to Fond du Lac and undertaking a "three day portage" to get to Sandy Lake. Thousands of Ojibwe congregated in Sandy Lake by October of 1850, ready to receive their annuity payments. While many had brought food and hunted or trapped along the way, food shortages near Sandy Lake lead to dire conditions. Agent Watrous did not arrive until December 3. The Ojibwe had been obliged to subsist on government rations of spoiled food for several months. Many became ill or went hungry.[27] Nearly 200 Ojibwe died in the six weeks it took for Watrous to get to Sandy Lake, and approximately 230 more died on the journey home.[28] The blind ambition of Ramsey, Watrous, and the federal government in regards to the potential profits that lay in Ojibwe lands left the Ojibwe population shattered and even more determined to retain their lands.

After the devastating losses at Sandy Lake, Red Cliff's Chief Buffalo wrote a letter to Taylor's successor, Millard Fillmore, in November 1851:

> We wish to speak now of our payment at Sandy Lake, how we suffered and were deceived there by our Agent. This is what our Agent told us. "Come, my children, come to Sandy Lake and you shall have plenty to eat and be fat and I will make your payment quick." We went, but did not find him there...Instead of having a good supply of provisions to eat, we had but little; and the pork & flour furnished us had been soaked in the water, and was so much damaged that we could not eat it…After being kept there two months waiting for our payment, the Agent at length arrived and paid us our goods, but our money we did not get at all. By this time the rivers had frozen and we had to throw away our canoes and go to our distant

[27] Child, 68-70.
[28] Norrgard, 6-7; Child, 70-71.

> homes with our families on foot. As the Agent did not supply us with provisions we were obliged to sell our blankets and buy on credit with the traders, that our children might be kept from starving and we have something to eat during our journey home. When we left for home we saw the ground covered with the graves of our children and relatives…Many, too, of our young men and women fell by the way…This is what makes us so sad to think that the payment should be removed to that place.[29]

According to Child, the devastation that had befallen the Ojibwe in the Sandy Lake tragedy lingered in the historical memory and continued to color all future negotiations with the federal government.[30] Continued Ojibwe resistance to the president's removal order, coupled with frustration over a lack of government response and intervention, prompted an Ojibwe delegation, including the ninety-year-old Chief Buffalo, to travel to Washington, D.C. in 1852.[31] The two-month trek by canoe, steamboat, and rail took the delegation from Wisconsin to Washington and, while it is unclear if Chief Buffalo ever spoke to President Fillmore, the chief used his travel as a means to garner support from non-Natives who believed it was in their *own* best interests to keep the Ojibwe in their homelands.[32]

Harold Jordahl, though, offers a different interpretation, one that ignores not only the reassurances of the treaty negotiators but the devastation of Sandy Lake. According to Jordahl, "The United States entered into a treaty with the Ojibwe to acquire mineral-rich lands and the right to remove the Native Americans…President Zachary Taylor acted on this option in 1850, closing the La Pointe sub-agency and ordering the Ojibwe to relocate to Minnesota. The La Pointe Ojibwe dragged their feet so another treaty was

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[29] "To the Hon. Luke Lea. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C.," Sandy Lake Tragedy – or the Chippewa Trail of Tears, http://www.chiefbuffalo.com/buffalo/Sandy_Lake_Tragedy.html.
[30] Child, 75.
[31] Child, 75.
[32] Child, 76.

promulgated four years later.[33] By arguing that the Ojibwe "dragged their feet" in the wake of the president's executive order that, as noted previously, was outside the bounds of his authority, Jordahl casts the nineteenth-century Ojibwe as roadblocks standing in the way of American expansion and the continued stripping of the region's precious natural resources. His attitude toward the twentieth-century Ojibwe as obstacles against American environmentalism through their supposed inability to subscribe to the colonialist notions of the National Park Service highlights the paternalism facing Gordon and Pascale during their 1969 testimony in front of the Senate subcommittee.

The 1854 treaty moved the Ojibwe from Madeline Island to reservations at Red Cliff and at Odanah on the Bad River.[34] According to Chantal Norrgard, the treaties of 1842 and 1854 ceded approximately 22,167,000 acres of Ojibwe land. The reservations created by the 1854 treaty had a combined area of 287,520 acres, meaning that the land available to Ojibwes was reduced by a staggering 98.7 percent.[35] While their land holdings were severely diminished, their influence and control over these lands certainly had not. Despite Jordahl's assertion that the Ojibwe played a "less constant role" since the 1854 treaty, the Ojibwe remained purposefully invested in the land.[36] His dismissal of the centuries-old Ojibwe connections to their ancestral homelands and their ability to simultaneously use and preserve the land and its resources sought to place non-Natives as the proper proprietors of the potential lakeshore. Child, Norrgard, Feldman, Dennis McCann, and other scholars have demonstrated that the Lake Superior Ojibwe, including

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[33] Jordahl and Booth, 15-16.
[34] Dennis McCann, *This Superior Place: Stories of Bayfield and the Apostle Islands* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2013), 2.
[35] Norrgard, 17.
[36] Jordahl and Booth, 17.

the Bad River and Red Cliff bands, have continued to not only utilize but *protect* the land and its resources through the moderation of subsistence and commercial practices.[37]

Jordahl's flippant comment on the Ojibwes' "less constant role" ignores the ruinous effects of allotment, part of a two-pronged government effort to reduce Native land holdings in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The General Allotment Act, also known as the Dawes Act, passed in 1887. However, the Bureau of Indian Affairs began allotting Ojibwe lands more than a decade earlier. In 1876, the Red Cliff Ojibwe were the first Wisconsin Indians to have their land allotted.[38] In short, allotment created individual land ownership on reservations, which not only disrupted traditional methods of land occupancy and ownership but ceded any un-allotted land to the government.[39] Land fraud was rampant on reservations, leaving countless Indians landless. On the Red Cliff Reservation, for instance, the tribal lands that along Lake Superior were particularly desirable because non-Natives could build summer cottages on the lakeshore. According to Feldman, "By 1933, nearly 11,000 acres of Red Cliff lands (out of 14,000) had fallen out of Indian ownership. Of a population of six hundred, 505 Red Cliff residents owned no land at all."[40]

It should come as no surprise, then, that the Bad River and Red Cliff Ojibwe fought so vehemently to keep their lands in the battle over the lakeshore. In 1969, several months after Gordon and Pascale testified, Victoria Gokee – a great-great-granddaughter of Chief Buffalo – told the Senate committee "This is Indian country. We already gave

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[37] See Brenda Child, *Holding Our World Together: Ojibwe Women and the Survival of Community*; James Feldman, *A Storied Wilderness: Rewilding the Apostle Islands;* Chantal Norrgard, *Seasons of Change: Labor, Treaty Rights, and Ojibwe Nationhood;* and Dennis McCann, *This Superior Place: Stories of Bayfield and the Apostle Islands*, among others.
[38] Feldman, 47.
[39] Child, xxii-xxiii.
[40] Feldman, 54.

you everything we had – Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota – I do not know where you are going to push us – out in the lake?"[41] Jordahl's blithe reference to a "two-hundred-year history of bad blood and poor faith dealings" between the Ojibwe and the federal government does not even begin to comprehend the Ojibwes' long history with their homelands, regardless of how much land remained in Ojibwe hands after decades of treaties, executive orders, and land fraud.

"We do not need the Department of the Interior to teach us conservation": Contesting development[42]

Records at the time, such as newspaper editorials and personal communications, rarely dealt with these issues, if at all. For men like Jordahl, whose influence resonated throughout Wisconsin and even the nation as part of Nelson's policy staff, Ojibwe opposition to the lakeshore was inconceivable, especially in regards to "the long-term and often controversial planning-policy political process" that led to the eventual creation of the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore.[43] As noted above, the Ojibwe were critical players in the decades of disputes over the conservation and development of lands in the region. Indeed, the reservations they called home in the 1960s had been created nearly a century earlier through several treaties and numerous attempts by the federal government to remove them from Wisconsin altogether. They had fought for their lands through allotment and assimilation, even as logging companies built sawmills on the reservation

[41] Jordahl and Booth, 278.
[42] Phillip Gordon, Statement of Phillip Gordon, Chairman, Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Indians of Wisconsin, accompanied by Mrs. Margaret Pascale, tribal member (March 17, 1969), 46.
[43] Jordahl and Booth, ix-x.

and state officials pushed to end commercial fishing, which was a staple economic activity for many Ojibwe.[44]

Conservationists rallied behind Nelson, who, in a February 1959 speech, boasted that "Northern Wisconsin has vast potential for economic and recreational development. I intend to bend every effort to develop this potential. The north must be made a land of prosperity and outdoor recreation for all our citizens."[45] Senator Nelson and his compatriots on both the state and federal levels, however, failed to take into account the opposition they would face not only from local residential organizations, such as local property owners' associations and those associated with the larger, national indigenous insistence for self-determination, but also from the regional Ojibwe whose lands figured most prominently in plans for the lakeshore.

Nelson's insistent call for the implementation of the national lakeshore turned into a long, drawn-out endeavor as frustrated parties continually contested others' claims to the land. Indeed, as Feldman notes, the National Park Service "faced a bitter struggle to acquire land from resistant owners for well over a decade after the designation of the lakeshore."[46] In the wake of increasing opposition to development and increasing interest in the region's economic and environmental future, however, President Richard Nixon – the third administration to handle Nelson's proposals on the lakeshore[47] – signed the bill creating the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore in September 1970.

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[44] Norrgard, 4, 73.
[45] "The Pledge, February 25, 1959," in "Speeches and other documents on environmental issues, 1962-1971," from the Gaylord Nelson Papers, MSS 1020, in the Archives of the Wisconsin Historical Society, online facsimiles at: http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/turningpoints/search.asp?id=1670.
[46] Feldman, 180.
[47] Christofferson, 241; Harold Jordahl, *A Unique Collection of Islands: The Influence of History, Politics, Policy, and Planning on the Establishment of the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore* (Madison: Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Wisconsin-Extension, 1994), 234.

The ability of the Bad River and Red Cliff bands to defy and ultimately defeat the inclusion of their lands in the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore highlights the continuing importance of the Ojibwe in the northern Wisconsin economy and tourism market, as well as their role in the continuing contestations over lands, resources and potential economic benefits. Even as the construction of the region as a commodity to be consumed by outsiders continued to reshape indigeneity in order to gain the highest profit, indigenous participation simultaneously shifted in order to maintain control of their lands, their labor, and their livelihoods. As Norrgard has demonstrated, the Ojibwe in northern Wisconsin had long been fighting to preserve their treaty rights as state and federal officials attempted to impose regulatory limits that favored not only monopolistic fishing enterprises but wealthy sportsmen seeking the thrill of hunting and fishing in the wilderness.[48] Proponents of a national lakeshore designation in the Apostle Islands region also had long eyed Indian lands, despite – again – the boundaries and rights set forth in earlier treaties.[49] To have their lands added to the lakeshore, then, could have been the death knell for Ojibwe treaty rights even as the hypothetical influx of tourists could have increased indigenous employment and boosted the tribal economies.

By examining the testimony of Gordon and Pascale against the backdrop of these issues, a picture emerges of the multifaceted challenges facing the Ojibwe by the mid-twentieth century. Using Norrgard's treaty-centered analysis in addition to Feldman's environmentally-focused work, I trace the history of this testimony in order to establish a more nuanced approach to the creation of the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore by focusing on Gordon and Pascale's testimony. Feldman's focus is on the process whereby

[48] Norrgard, 73.
[49] Feldman, 149-150.

the region became "rewild," meaning the ways in which the scars of resource extraction healed and became the basis for a nature lover's paradise. For Norrgard, as noted earlier, non-Native attempts to control and monitor indigenous exercises of treaty rights also centered on land and resources, notably in the contestations over occupational income versus commercial enterprises and leisure sportsmen. For Jordahl, however, the American Indian opposition to the lakeshore was nothing more than a tiresome roadblock delaying the lakeshore's creation and subsequent use by tourists from Wisconsin and across the country. According to Jordahl, the lakeshore "was, to a great extent, caught in the rising tide of Red Power militancy. Regional and national Native American organizations…seized upon the lakeshore proposal as a significant national symbol of continued Native repression. They made little or no effort…to attempt to understand the long, arduous planning process that went into the proposal."[50]

Jordahl's dismissal of Ojibwe concerns as merely part of the rabble-rousing agenda of self-serving non-Native residents and property owners, coupled with his insistence that the Bad River and Red Cliff opposition to the lakeshore was merely a misguided, misunderstood appropriation by "Red Power militancy," disregards the long and troubled relationship between American Indians and the federal government. He similarly ignores the long history of forced land cessions and seizures that, in the words of David Chang, were nothing short of a "colonial land policy."[51] In this case, it would literally commandeer Ojibwe lands for the purpose of entertaining non-Native tourists. Indeed, even in Red Cliff, the history of dispossession and the vast reduction of tribal land holdings remained a major player in attempts to boost the tribal economy due to the

[50] Jordahl and Booth, 280.
[51] David Chang, "Enclosures of Land and Sovereignty: The Allotment of American Indian Lands," *Radical History Review* 109 (Winter 2011), 109.

fact that reservation residents were unable to use their small allotments for subsistence *and* profitable enterprises: although the federal government's attempts to turn the Ojibwe into farmers through allotment, the land initially had to be cleared of its timber holdings. Reservation lands in northern Wisconsin, like those settled by non-Natives, were hardly fruitful, due to the short growing season and the rocky soil.[52]

Nelson, Jordahl, and their contemporaries could not understand why – or how – the tribal councils and tribal members of Bad River and Red Cliff could, after years of discussion and deliberation, eventually move to reject proposals for a lakeshore that either explicitly called for the incorporation of tribal lands or implied that the lands would be negotiated for once the legislation passed. This, then, underscores the role that the Ojibwe continued to play in the local and regional economy in the decades after the pageant. They clearly understood that a national lakeshore designation would increase traffic and tourist dollars within the region, as demonstrated by the 1962 resolution passed by the Bad River Tribal Council.[53] But they also understood that many lakeshore proposals for the lakeshore called for the inclusion of Ojibwe lands and would place further restrictions on their sovereignty, their ability to earn a living, and their treaty rights. The economic potential was likely severely diminished by the unknown constraints that loomed overhead, a fact underscored by Gordon and Pascale as they stood before the Senate subcommittee in 1969.

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[52] Norrgard, 26; Eric Olmanson, *Future City on the Inland Sea: A History of Imaginative Geographies of Lake Superior* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007), 10.
[53] Christofferson, 239.

"Have you ever been up to Red Cliff?": Commodifying disappearance[54]

The power of place had become a rallying point for numerous parties invested in the possibility of a national lakeshore. Just as pageant promoters insisted that there was no better place to witness a dramatic reenactment of Ojibwe history than on Ojibwe lands, lakeshore proponents adamantly asserted that there was no place like the Apostle Islands region for tourists to drink in the beauty of the northern Wisconsin wilderness – and no better place for them to spend their money. Bands like Red Cliff and Bad River again found their lands in the middle of a massive tug-of-war as, in this instance, conservationists and other lakeshore backers sought to include indigenous lands in the federally-protected expanse. In a 1965 speech nicely entitled "America's Last Chance," Nelson proclaimed that "With bipartisan support, we have launched a fine program in Wisconsin to acquire the recreational resources we need for the future and to save some of the scenery and even some of the swamps to provide food and shelter for wildlife and to preserve some of the natural landscape as God created it." The senator was confident that he could "rally the united support we need to bring Wisconsin a national recreation area in the Apostle Islands in the next three to five years."[55]

The rhetoric of disappearance employed by pageant promoters in the 1920s found a new voice in the 1950s and 1960s as government officials such Nelson warned of the irrevocable damage that would be wrought on the environment without state and federal intervention. Unlike the dual-pronged "vanishing Indian" and "vanishing environment"

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[54] Mrs. Margaret Pascale, Statement of Phillip Gordon, Chairman, Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Indians of Wisconsin, accompanied by Mrs. Margaret Pascale, tribal member (March 17, 1969), 56.
[55] Gaylord Nelson, "America's Last Chance," speech delivered to the Mid-Winter Meeting of the State Bar of Wisconsin, February 19, 1965, Speeches and Other Documents on Environmental Issues, 1962-1971, Gaylord Nelson Papers, MSS 1020, in the Archives of the Wisconsin Historical Society, online facsimile at http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/turningpoints/search.asp?id=1670.

motifs that characterized the pageant, the mid-century manifestation of salvage tourism centered on the environment itself while occasionally reaffirming the apparently nearly-disappeared Indian. Just as pageant promoters had insisted on a carefully delineated depiction of indigeneity in an indigenous environment, national lakeshore proponents intended to paint a particular picture of the Apostle Islands region as one that was tragically teetering on the brink of devastation yet ripe for the economic benefit of environmentally-based salvage tourism.

In 1962, Wisconsin environmentalist Martin Hanson produced a film called *Apostle Islands Region*. The film explored the region's geologic origins, native plants and animals, the human history, exploitation of resources and economic decline, and the then-current recreational opportunities. It also, though, introduced the Ojibwe "in poetic words and in pictures":

> The sons of the Chippewa are still here. They live on the reservation and the living is not easy. The annual gathering of the wild rice crop is one source of income. By itself, it could provide a marginal existence. But in guiding fishermen and the rental of boats, there is some hope of a better future. The old chiefs and leaders understand the problem. They have lived with it all their lives. They must learn new ways; new skills; a new life. They do what they can to prepare the young ones; schools, books, education, skills. This is the country of their fathers. Now these young ones face an uncertain future in their own lands. And sometimes it seems as though there will be no future for them. Sometimes it seems as though no one cares.[56]

By depicting the Ojibwe as a people barely hanging on to a marginal existence, Hanson's film places the lakeshore as the economic savior, creating "some hope of a better future" by guiding fishermen and renting boats, occupations that Ojibwe had held for decades. Hanson purposefully overlooked the contributions the Ojibwe had already made for the economy, as Norrgard has demonstrated in her analysis Ojibwe labor in the region, in

[56] Jordahl and Booth, 198.

order to sell the lakeshore as a project that would save – and perhaps salvage – not only the land but the Indians as well. The Ojibwe were not enthused by the prospects of Hanson and Jordahl's promises of culturally-based employment. Sister Grace Ann, an Ojibwe nun and a leader in the opposition against the lakeshore, derisively noted, "Employment on the lake shore project will be restricted by qualification standards, and your job will be picking up the trash."[57]

As outlined in the introduction to this dissertation, the pageant's attempt to preserve Native history and later efforts by conservationists to preserve what had been Native land constitute what we may deem "salvage tourism," wherein tourists were (and perhaps still are) encouraged to travel in order to see for themselves the peoples and the places that are supposedly on the brink of vanishing in the inevitable wake of modernity and progress. The tourists who trekked to northern Wisconsin in the early 1900s wanted to see "not only the primitive wilderness, but also the so-called primitive Indians who lived in that wilderness. They traveled to Indian villages, filling their diaries with commentary on what they regarded as the barbarous and uncivilized conditions of the reservations."[58] Scholars such as Feldman, Norrgard, and Eric Olmanson, among others, have demonstrated that railroads, hotels, and resorts made arrangements for and promoted Indian performances in order to offer their guests the wilderness experiences that urban tourists craved. In 1896, for instance, Indian agent William Mercer and Buffalo Bill Cody brought Bad River Ojibwe leaders together with Cody's employed Dakota performers to sign a "peace treaty" on the grounds of Ashland's Hotel

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[57] "Red Cliff Group Opposes Park Project," *Catholic Herald-Citizen*, published by the Diocese of Superior, Wisconsin, March 1969; "Red Cliff Tribe Opposes Project," *The Evening Telegram*, March 17, 1969. Courtesy of Joseph D. Pascale III.
[58] Feldman, 97.

Chequamegon.[59] Non-Natives in the surrounding areas would have been well-versed in the centuries of conflict between Dakota and Ojibwe peoples over what eventually became Ojibwe territory, and a dramatic signing of a peace treaty would surely have been an exciting and tantalizing event for the non-Native audience members.[60] Nearly 900 Bad River and Lac du Flambeau Ojibwe came to Ashland for the event and, according to Olmanson, the sheer number of Ojibwe at the Hotel Chequamegon became a commodity themselves as "hundreds of Ashland residents went down to Front Street to see the 'dusky men and women whose presence had converted the Chequamegon into a veritable Indian reserve.'"[61]

These local residents and tourists of the early 1900s gave way to tourists who demanded similar pristine environments and similarly "primitive" Indians, as evidenced by the publicity for the Indian pageants and other enterprises. Norrgard, for example, has noted that wealthy urbanites who traveled north for vacations insisted on hiring Ojibwe men as fishing and hunting guides, convinced that Indians had "an inherent understanding of nature or a connection to the wilderness that white guides did not."[62] However, as non-Native encroachments on Native lands and restrictions of Native hunting, fishing, and gathering rights increased, conservationists like Nelson found themselves facing passionate Ojibwe opposition to lakeshore legislation.

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[59] Norrgard, 114.
[60] Norrgard, 114.
[61] Olmanson, *Future City on the Inland Sea,* 170-171.
[62] Norrgard, 113.

"The Man From Clear Lake": Gaylord Nelson and "Saving" Wisconsin

Nelson was proud to be a born-and-bred Wisconsinite, having grown up in Clear Lake, a town approximately 150 miles southwest of Red Cliff and about 60 miles northeast of Minneapolis. However, his single-minded approach to "save" the Apostle Islands and the surrounding lakeshore, along with the entire nation (and perhaps the world) in order to create "a decent environment in the deepest and broadest sense" contributed to the lengthy battle over the landscape of northern Wisconsin.[63] Nelson's hometown, like Bayfield and Red Cliff, had been devastated by logging, and its remains, what Bill Christofferson calls "endless tracts of stumps, dead branches, brush, and slashings," burned in huge, often uncontrolled fires.[64] Nelson, elected governor in 1958 after ten years in public office and senator in 1962, quickly turned his attention to conservation programs.[65] This concentration would become his legacy.

During his 1958 campaign for governor, Nelson alleged that the Wisconsin Conservation Committee was "being run by a group of Republican appointees as if the state were running 'a rich man's rod and gun club.'"[66] Similarly, after his 1960 reelection as governor, Nelson introduced the Outdoor Recreation Act Program, a ten-year, $50 million program that would use a one-cent cigarette tax to gain land for recreational and conservation purposes.[67] Noting that park attendance had grown twenty times faster than expenditures, he argued that Wisconsin had focused too much attention on the "traditionally male sports of fishing and hunting" at the expense of the state parks preferred by families. Over the Fourth of July weekend in 1960, every state park in

[63] Christofferson, 6.
[64] Christofferson 10; Norrgard, 32.
[65] Christofferson, 95 (governorship); 102 (ten years in public office); 166-167 (senatorial election).
[66] Christofferson, 139.
[67] Christofferson, 138.

Wisconsin was past capacity, forcing people to be turned away, and southern Wisconsin parks experienced health and sanitation issues.[68]

The 1960 election of John F. Kennedy as president spurred Nelson's long-held hope that the Apostle Islands would finally get the publicity, preservation, and popularity as a tourist destination he thought it so richly deserved. He pushed the president to make a national conservation tour, and in 1963 Kennedy took a plane ride around the Apostle Islands and made a twenty-minute stop in Ashland.[69] While Nelson took heart in the president's cautious endorsement of the priority of conservationism, Nelson's fight had only just begun. Two years later, Nelson warned America that "This fight to save our beautiful land is very nearly lost now… Just take a look at our vanishing America, the land which I am sure was once the most beautiful on earth and the most richly endowed with natural blessings."[70]

His dire admonition echoed the sentiments of the anonymous *Superior Telegram* contributor in the early 1920s who had warned that, unless the Wisconsin legislature acted quickly, "the hand of ruthless civilization will continue blighting the Northern Lakes Park region, and within a few years there will be no Last Great West to attract thousands of tourist visitors."[71] Nelson's call for conservation echoed the earlier newspapers and pageant promotions, all of whom ignored the fact that the previous attempts at industrialization had led to the settlement, development, and destruction of the land and resources. The *Superior Telegram* had, in 1923, encouraged publicity efforts

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[68] Christofferson, 139.
[69] Christofferson, 181-182; 242.
[70] Gaylord Nelson, "America's Last Chance," speech delivered to the Mid-Winter Meeting of the State Bar of Wisconsin, February 19, 1965, Speeches and Other Documents on Environmental Issues, 1962-1971, Gaylord Nelson Papers, MSS 1020, in the Archives of the Wisconsin Historical Society, online facsimile at http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/turningpoints/search.asp?id=1670.
[71] "Thousands to See Pageant, *Superior Telegram*, September 27, 1923.

surrounding the region as a means to create enough of a demand to the *conserve* the area and its resources by creating "an annual attraction that will create sentiment to stay the hand of destruction."[72]

Nelson's push to protect the environment became clear by the middle of the twentieth century. From 1961 to 1972, the Senate Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation established a dozen national lake and seashores totaling 648 miles and 684,575 acres. The finalized version of the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore would encompass 140 of those miles.[73] The end result of the lakeshore, however, was radically different than the original proposal, leaving Nelson, Jordahl, and their fellow lakeshore proponents with a bitter taste.

Battling over resources: conflicting state, federal, and tribal interests

According to Jane C. Busch, the desire for a national lakeshore as promoted by Nelson and his compatriots, for example, aligned with similar motivations for a state park in the region in the 1950s that intended to "protect natural resources, alleviate the shortage of public places for outdoor recreation, and generate economic development."[74] In numerous speeches, Nelson continually outlined the treachery the nation had perpetrated against the environment, and urged Americans to take a strong stance to save the earth.

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[72] "Thousands to See Pageant, *Superior Telegram*, September 27, 1923.
[73] Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 199; Gary Elliott, *Senator Alan Bible and the Politics of the New West* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1994), 107.
[74] Jane C. Busch, "People and Places: A Human History of the Apostle Islands – Historic Resource Study of Apostle Islands National Lakeshore" (Prepared under contract to: Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior; Omaha, 2008), http://www.nps.gov/apis/historyculture/upload/Historic%20Resource%20Study.pdf, 28.

On the local scale, according to several sources, the Bad River resolution was an early impetus for the establishment of a protected portion of the region.[75] This resolution, however, would set into motion a series of events that, after nearly a decade of bitter disputes, ended with the creation of the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore. Bad River and Red Cliff interest in the lakeshore centered on their ability to maintain their rights as sovereign nations while capitalizing on the economic potential of environmentally-based tourism, a practice that was almost a century old by the time of the resolution. The inability of Senator Nelson, NPS officials, state conservationists, and lakeshore proponents to understand the rationales behind the shifting Indian interest and support substantiates the troubled history of land and resource use in the state. State officials in Wisconsin disliked what they considered to be federal imposition, especially since the state had its own plans for the island region. Tribal members rightly felt that state conservation officers wrongly targeted Native hunters, fishers, and gatherers for supposed violations of state laws.[76] Nelson and Jordahl's insistent push for the rights of the environment over the rights of the Ojibwe led to highly contentious debates and discussions in Wisconsin, on the reservations, and in congressional hearings.

As noted earlier, Nelson, Jordahl, and their collaborators believed they were *helping* the Ojibwe by promoting economic and employment opportunities, a move that likely smacked of the paternalism projected by Indian agents in the nineteenth century. In the 1980s, Louis Hanson, a northern Wisconsinite whose brother was a noted naturalist, reflected on the dispute: “There was no way they were going to get a consensus on this [the lakeshore] with the Indians once the opposition arose,” he said.

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[75] Jordahl and Booth, 74, 309.
[76] Jordahl and Booth, 308; Norrgard, 50-81.

"It's just ironic that it did because I think it would have been helpful to them. It's too bad that that chunk of land isn't a part of it, but there was no sense letting the whole thing go down the tube in order to have the original plan in total."[77] Jordahl's similar hope for hiring "a Chippewa Indian lakeshore superintendent" in the "not too distant future" held a comparable sense of obligation.[78]

Early discussions with the Bad River and Red Cliff bands noted that the tribes sought to open up opportunities for economic development and employment for reservation residents. Just as the pageant promoters tried to balance the notions of conservation and development, the Ojibwe believed that the lakeshore did, initially, hold the promise of improving wages and employment. The growth of tourism in the region and Ojibwe participation in the pageant demonstrated the draw of participating in the regional tourist economy. What Nelson and Jordahl could not comprehend, however, was the fact that the Bad River and Red Cliff Ojibwe would place a higher importance on protecting their lands, sovereignty, and treaty rights over the fickle temperament of tourist dollars.

As shown in Figures 1 and 2, the initial plan for the lakeshore encompassed all but a very small portion of the Red Cliff reservation. The grandiose plans for the lakeshore – by protecting and preserving the lands that had been nearly destroyed by capitalist enterprises – meant that the NPS and regional businesses stood to see enormous dividends through park admission fees, guiding trips, boat rides, hotels, campgrounds, restaurants, outfitters, and countless other enterprises. By the 1960s, however, the

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[77] Jordahl and Booth, 279.

[78] Harold Jordahl, U.S. House, *Hearings Before the Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs*, 91st Cong., 2nd sess., hearings on H.R. 555, H.R. 9306, and S. 621, Serial Number 99-9 March 23-24, June 3, 1970 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1970), 348-49 in Jordahl and Booth, 262-263.

growing tourist industry had already contributed to the restriction of indigenous treaty rights. According to Norrgard, "In the interest of promoting tourism, state governments focused on restoring the environment and implementing conservation laws that favored recreation and discouraged commercial or subsistence land use."[79] The focus on privatizing local lands, coupled with these restrictions, also severely hampered Ojibwe attempts to earn a living.[80] The lakeshore, according to Jordahl, could have served as an enormous economic boon for the Ojibwe:

> [T]he final boundaries of the lakeshore were purposefully drawn to put both tribes in an excellent position to develop ancillary tourism facilities on their lands next to the lakeshore. The Eastern terminus of the thirty-mile scenic road on Bayfield Peninsula was situated next to the village of Red Cliff. Here it would have been possible for the Red Cliff Tribe to have developed facilities – motels, restaurants, and gift shops – to capitalize on what would have been the most heavily visited portion of the lakeshore.[81]

The economic potential, though, remained just that: potential. While the Bad River and Red Cliff Ojibwe had, in earlier discussions, supposedly stressed their desire for jobs and regional economic development, this sort of "solution" came with the hefty price tag of their sovereignty. The collective resistance of the Bad River and Red Cliff Ojibwe did not occur instantly, and Bad River and Red Cliff had not always provided unilateral opposition to the lakeshore project. In fact, several Red Cliff tribal members had ridden on a float in the 1965 Apple Fest parade proclaiming tribal support after the Tribal Council "went on record as unanimously in favor of the lakeshore."[82] In 1967, though, Red Cliff voted three-to-one against the lakeshore, a stance the tribe would maintain

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[79] Norrgard, 8.
[80] Norrgard, 15.
[81] Jordahl and Booth, 271.
[82] Jordahl and Booth, 271-272.

through the lakeshore's creation.[83] As the bill moved through various iterations, Ojibwe interest and opposition changed as well. Proponents were flabbergasted at the fact that there could be, and often were, conflicting viewpoints even within the tribes. Jordahl's later ire at the shift in Ojibwe opinion, however, failed to take into account the resources and rights that Red Cliff and Bad River would be asked to relinquish.

"Maybe they would have been scared to sit down": From Wisconsin to Washington[84]

When Senator Nelson's third bill, S. 621, went before the Senate in January of 1969, the National Park Service insisted that tribal lands be included in the lakeshore.[85] According to Jordahl, the NPS assertion was a bombshell. Apparently, the United States Department of the Interior had not addressed "the question of the necessity of acquiring or leasing Native lands before the secretary would establish the lakeshore…The Bad River and Red Cliff Tribes had been assured that they could make a judgment on whether reservation lands were included in the lakeshore after legislation passed."[86] However, Edward Hummel, an associate director for the NPS, argued that they would "not proceed with the project until we have obtained the consent of the Indian bands for the acquisition of [their] lands."[87]

By the time Gordon and Pascale stood before the subcommittee on March 17, 1969, the ire and frustrations of numerous parties had reached the surface. I have approached these records as I did Chapter 1's analysis of the pageant scripts – as a

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[83] Jordahl and Booth, 273.
[84] Senator Alan Bible, Statement of Phillip Gordon, Chairman, Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Indians of Wisconsin, accompanied by Mrs. Margaret Pascale, tribal member (March 17, 1969), 50.
[85] Jordahl and Booth, 100-101.
[86] Jordahl and Booth, 102.
[87] Jordahl and Booth, 102.

multilayered performance. As for the actors, including Gordon and Pascale as well as Senators Bible and Nelson, their motivations and provocations are simultaneously heard and ignored. The testimony of the Red Cliff tribal members, sent as delegates to voice their tribe's concerns before these government officials, shows that the Ojibwe were not simply refusing to acquiesce to the demands of the bill. Rather, they demonstrate that the ideas of conservation and sovereignty were similarly significant, as was their role in determining the outcome of the region's tourist industry.

By the time Gordon and Pascale went to Washington, Senator Nelson had been fighting for recreational and economic development for more than a decade – and the Red Cliff Ojibwe had been fighting to maintain control of their treaty-designated lands for more than a century. Gordon's opening statement was clear: "It is the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the Red Cliff people, and therefore, the unanimous opinion of the tribal council, that the proposal for a national lakeshore park which takes any of our tribal lands be turned down." He continued, compressing centuries' worth of Native history into an impassioned indictment of the federal government's relationship with indigenous peoples:

> One of the stated purposes of the bill is to encourage participation by our tribe in the conservation of the unspoiled beauty of this land. The Government proposes to accomplish this by taking our best land, by regulating our use of it, and placing restrictions upon our historic hunting and fishing rights. I reject this idea as more of the paternalistic garbage that the Federal Government has fed to the Indians for too many years.[88]

Wisconsin state conservation officials had targeted Ojibwe hunters, trappers, and fishermen since the turn of the twentieth century. They imposed game laws directed at Indians that intentionally compromised Ojibwe attempts "to make a living and sustain the

[88] Statement of Phillip Gordon, Chairman, Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Indians of Wisconsin, accompanied by Mrs. Margaret Pascale, tribal member (March 17, 1969), 46.

social and cultural traditions connected to this labor."[89] In the early years of the conservation movement, state officials had hoped to draw wealthy sportsmen to the region while simultaneously dismissing treaty rights as "outdated privileges."[90] These disputes over Ojibwe treaty rights finally erupted in 1959 – three years before the Bad River Tribal Council passed the resolution regarding the sloughs – when the council issued a declaration of war against the Wisconsin Department of Conservation. The declaration protested conservation officials' continued and illegal apprehension of Ojibwe hunters and fishers who were legally exercising their treaty rights.[91] Gordon's assertion that the lakeshore would likely place the Ojibwe under even further constraints highlighted the already strained relationship between the Ojibwe and the state of Wisconsin, as well as the belief held by many state and federal officials that they, not the Ojibwe, truly understood how to best use the land.

Gordon wryly noted in his testimony that "We have held the land for 350 years, and it is still unspoiled. We do not need the Department of the Interior to teach us conservation."[92] As a representative of key players in the lakeshore debate, Gordon's statement is a clear reiteration of indigenous sovereignty. Through state and federal interventions, Red Cliff and the surrounding land had been systematically stripped of a wide range of natural resources. The 1870 creation of a sawmill on the reservation in 1870, for instance, initially provided jobs for Ojibwe men but also turned trees into revenue for the non-Native entrepreneurs who received the contracts.[93] The sawmill also

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[89] Norrgard, 50.
[90] Norrgard, 51.
[91] Norrgard, 1.
[92] Statement of Phillip Gordon, Chairman, Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Indians of Wisconsin, accompanied by Mrs. Margaret Pascale, tribal member (March 17, 1969), 46.
[93] Norrgard, 33.

sought to further the goals of assimilation proponents by preparing the land for farming even though, as the Ojibwe knew well, the rocky soil and short growing season were anything but optimal conditions for creating independent Indian farmers. The commercial fishing industry, which also provided jobs for local Ojibwe, soon grew into a behemoth, leaving fish populations almost devastated.

Gordon's insistence that the Ojibwe did not need lessons from the Department of the Interior indicates the extent to which the state and federal governments had attempted to control Ojibwe lands and labor. He noted that the Ojibwe were well aware "of the scenic beauty of the area," even as he observed that "the white man, acting individually and through his government, has used every method to take the best of that land from the Indian, from driving us off with armies to taking our land in exchange for meaningless promises, all of which are eventually broken by the white man."[94] He invoked the Treaty of 1854 that had created the Red Cliff reservation, sardonically reminding the committee that the "white man" was "forgetting the treaty for his own convenience" and proposing to push the Ojibwe off their reservation.

The final portion of Gordon's opening statement underscores the unrelenting pressure the Ojibwe had faced for decades:

> You have now received the official position of the tribe and we will see how much your words and promises mean; we are opposed to any use of lands within the Red Cliff Reservation for this park. We want to keep our land.
>
> We are also concerned about the indirect way in which this bill proposes to take away our hunting and fishing rights and subject them to the laws of Wisconsin.

[94] Statement of Phillip Gordon, Chairman, Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Indians of Wisconsin, accompanied by Mrs. Margaret Pascale, tribal member (March 17, 1969), 47.

> Our tribe has limited resources but they have sent me here to make our views known. Now that you have heard them, we will see whether you mean your words that you wish to avoid the tragedies of the past.[95]

By the 1960s, the Ojibwe had seen their lands reduced by nearly 99 percent. They had suffered untold tragedy through the Sandy Lake nightmare, and they had survived untoward executive orders demanding that they move to Minnesota. They had witnessed the destruction of their timber holdings and the devastating effects of allotment. And now, Gaylord Nelson's quest for a 57,500-acre national lakeshore in northern Wisconsin threatened to take a portion of the Bayfield Peninsula that according to Ashland's *Daily Press*, was "about 80 per cent within the Red Cliffs [sic] Reservation."[96]

Gordon's comments on the "indirect way" of the bill, coupled with the tribe's limited funds, also bears mention. According to my family history, the tribe had not been informed about the hearings that had been scheduled for March.[97] However, Elizabeth Hawkes, a local attorney, had been retained by the tribe several years earlier.[98] She received word from a contact in Washington, D.C., that the hearings had been scheduled and that it was imperative for the tribe to send representatives to appear before the committee. The tribe had no funds to purchase plane tickets to the nation's capital, so Hawkes bought Gordon and Pascale's tickets. Upon their arrival, Senator Nelson – who had since learned of their intentions – arranged to have them picked up at the airport and taken to their hotel. He took them out to dinner the night before, a dinner that my grandmother always called "a nice meal."[99] As evidenced by their testimony, though,

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[95] Statement of Phillip Gordon, Chairman, Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Indians of Wisconsin, accompanied by Mrs. Margaret Pascale, tribal member (March 17, 1969), 48.
[96] "Red Cliff Indian, Others Testify Against Park Bill," *Daily (Ashland) Press*, March 18, 1969. Courtesy of Joseph D. Pascale III.
[97] Personal correspondence with Karen Wilber, March 30, 2015.
[98] Jordahl and Booth, 272.
[99] Personal correspondence with Karen Wilber, March 30, 2015.

Nelson's overtures meant little to Gordon and Pascale, particularly after the tribe learned that they had not been invited to the hearings.

After Gordon's statement, Nevada Senator Alan Bible, who appears to have been the chairman of the committee, interrogated Gordon on the true feelings of the Red Cliff band. Bible asked how many Indians were in the band, the number within the tribe (or on the rolls), how many were adults and how many were children, and how many adults actually lived on the reservation. Gordon and Bible then discussed the 1967 resolution wherein the Red Cliff Ojibwe voted three-to-one in opposition to the lakeshore:

> Senator Bible: How did they vote? Did they just say: "Are you for or against it?" Or do you vote by written ballot? What are you voting on?
>
> Mr. Gordon: We voted, as I said in my statement. This vote was held on July 5, 1967, and this was a ballot voting.
>
> Bible: That was ballot at that time, all right. And you say at that time, on July 5, 1967, the tribal referendum was better than 3-to-1 in opposition. Now, is there anyone else that can vote in addition to the adult members, of this particular tribe? What if I were to go up there and ask to vote, you would throw me out, wouldn't you?
>
> Gordon: Yes; we would.
>
> Bible: Good. I think you should. But I am trying to see if whether anybody else has a vote.[100]

This would be the first of several instances where Bible interrogated Gordon in an attempt to undermine Gordon's assertion that the vast majority of the Red Cliff Ojibwe did not, in fact, want their lands included in the lakeshore. By questioning the legitimacy of those allowed to vote on tribal referendums, Bible invoked the popular opinion that the Ojibwe were under the influence of non-Native opponents. Bible continually insisted that he did not want to know the record of voting; rather, he was interested in "who you

[100] Statement of Phillip Gordon, Chairman, Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Indians of Wisconsin, accompanied by Mrs. Margaret Pascale, tribal member (March 17, 1969), 50.

permitted to participate in the vote, because I am trying to find out the correct and honest attitude of the members of the Chippewa Tribe." Gordon clarified for the committee that the Red Cliff Band had indeed voted, not "The Chippewa Tribe or the Chippewa Indians that belong to the Red Cliff Band Tribe," as Bible called them. The discussion then moved to the March 13, 1969 vote that had occurred just days before Gordon and Pascale left for Washington.

> Bible: And, then, again, you say, when you voted on March 13, which was only a few days ago, that they were nearly unanimous in voting against it.
>
> Gordon: That was the reaction of the people.
>
> Bible: How do you get that reaction? Did they say, "All in favor, stand up." Or, "All opposed–"
>
> Gordon: Yes.
>
> Bible: Maybe some of them are afraid to stand up.
>
> Gordon: Well, just about all of them stood up.
>
> Bible: Maybe they would have been scared to sit down, then.

Just as Bible had questioned the legitimacy of the tribal referendum as well as the legal status of those who had voted, he now turned his attention to the means by which the Ojibwe had yet again voted down the lakeshore. The suggestion of tribal intimidation disregarded the ability of the Ojibwe to determine the fate of their lands on their own terms and through their own government. Gordon reiterated the unanimous position of the band and the tribal council, as well as their stance on the bill as it currently stood. Bible insisted that Gordon's questions were merely misunderstandings, even though Gordon pointed to a specific section of the bill. Confusion arose over the wording in a section of the bill, as Gordon and Bible each insisted that the version in their possession

was the current one up for debate. When Gordon realized he had not received the new bill, Bible contended that he was unaware if the language in the one before Gordon was the same as the one before the members of the committee.

Nelson stepped into the confusion to assert that the bill only wished to include allotted lands. "It would be ridiculous to apply it to tribal lands," he said, "because the intent in the bill is to give the tribe decisionmaking [sic] authority to decide whether they want to participate or whether they do not." Bible, speaking to Gordon, hoped that it would clear up Gordon's misunderstanding of the language in the bill. He even offered to have language drafted in a way the Ojibwe would understand if they still objected to the bill.

Bible continued to press Gordon on the question of the unanimous tribal opinion:

> Bible: Insofar as the tribal lands that are within the Red Cliff Band area and are proposed to be taken – to which they have testified – insofar as those lands are concerned, with the understanding that it does not reach the allotted lands, that it only reaches the private lands, what would be the feeling of your 80 to 100 Indians who met 4 days ago on March 13 of this year?
>
> Gordon: They would object.
>
> Bible: And why would they object to that?
>
> Gordon: They oppose this national park.
>
> Bible: I am sorry?
>
> Gordon: Our Band of Red Cliff Indians of Lake Superior of Wisconsin definitely do not want the proposed national park.
>
> Bible: I understood you to say that you did not particularly object to the national park or lakeshore…provided that it did not take your land…But you say, no matter how it is worded, that you would object to any type of bill that in effect took lands from the Red Cliff Band of Indians?
>
> Gordon: Yes, we would.

> Bible: That would be your feeling. Now, your 80 to 100, as you placed the vote. How would the vote come out if you had participated?
>
> Gordon: I believe the vote would come out "opposed."
>
> Bible: By a wide majority, or would it be 51-49 or three-fourths? Have you any idea?...
>
> Gordon: Mr. Chairman, I would anticipate that if the vote were held now it would be by a wide majority.
>
> Bible: Would it be by secret ballot or by a standup vote?...
>
> Gordon: This vote would be taken by a show of hands…
>
> Bible: Is that the way the tribal council usually decides these questions, just by a show of hands?
>
> Gordon: Yes, sir.
>
> Bible: And the fellow that shows his hand up, and the majority is against him, nothing happens to him?
> Sometimes it does in America. I mean, we are all Americans but in various places in America sometimes they are scared to do it.[101]

As he had previously done, Bible continued to question the conditions surrounding the means by which the Red Cliff Ojibwe had voted so strongly in opposition to the lakeshore. His paternalistic explanation of voting in America, despite his quick assertion that all those present were, indeed, Americans, sought to undermine the Ojibwe position.

As the discussion continued, Nelson asked if, during the vote, the Ojibwe had considered allowing the government to lease the land, as well as any subsequent employment opportunities. Gordon, however, assured the committee that, regardless of the potential for employment through the lakeshore, the tribe was still firmly against the bill. Bible then turned to Pascale to ask the "young lady" – a married woman with three

[101] Statement of Phillip Gordon, Chairman, Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Indians of Wisconsin, accompanied by Mrs. Margaret Pascale, tribal member (March 17, 1969), 53-54.

nearly-grown children – if she had anything else to add, which she did. Pascale told the committee that Red Cliff already had two tribal parks, including one with 34 campsites, a boat ramp, and a dock. The other park, five miles from the first, was also open to campers, although it had no water or "rest facilities."[102] She noted that the visitors were non-Natives, and that the smaller park in Raspberry did not have an admission fee, although the Red Cliff Park did. By noting the existence of not one, but two tribal parks that were open to non-Native tourists, Pascale reminded the committee that the Ojibwe were already participating in the regional tourist economy without the potential aid promised by the lakeshore.

Pascale immediately turned her attention back to the larger matter of the national lakeshore proposal, as well as the ways in which the government had interceded in the process:

> If the bill is amended to exclude the reservation, then you will have our approval, but to say that you will negotiate for our lands after you pass the bill and include them, we oppose. We are aware of the kind of pressure the Government uses in its negotiations. We resent the statement of the Senator that our views can easily be swayed.
>
> Our position has been consistent. We support a park in the area not including reservation lands. We do not want the Secretary of the Interior voting for us. This shows the double deals involved.[103]

Pascale's comment on the potential biases of the Secretary of the Interior referred to a claim Gordon had made in his opening statement. Gordon had questioned the supposed objectivity of the Secretary, Stewart Udall, who represented tribal members who owned

[102] Statement of Phillip Gordon, Chairman, Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Indians of Wisconsin, accompanied by Mrs. Margaret Pascale, tribal member (March 17, 1969), 55.
[103] Statement of Phillip Gordon, Chairman, Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Indians of Wisconsin, accompanied by Mrs. Margaret Pascale, tribal member (March 17, 1969), 56.

allotted lands, arguing that Udall was "committed to the formation of this park" and "had a substantial interest of his own in its formation."[104]

Bible asked for clarification on several points:

> I think I understand your position, and I think it comes through very clearly. I am understand what you are saying and, probably, with some justification in many areas. What you are saying is that you think this is all right as long as it does not take the land. I think that is what you are telling me; is that right?
>
> Pascale: Yes.
>
> Bible: You have no objection to it as long as it does not take your land. You do not want your land taken.
>
> Pascale: Right.

Nelson bristled at Pascale's assertion that the government intended to trick the Ojibwe out of the ownership of their lands. He proclaimed that he had had several meetings with Bad River and Red Cliff members since 1961 and, on numerous occasions, had had to fully explain the language in the bill to reassure the Indians of the government's honest intentions. "[W]hen we got through explaining that the decision was in the hands of the tribe, those I talked with said, in each one of the cases, 'We did not understand that'…They did not have copies of the bills themselves to read and believing the misrepresentations that were made, why, they were against the bill."

The Ojibwe concerns, though, were not eased by Nelson and Bible's appeasements. Nelson and Jordahl had long argued that the initial inclusion of Ojibwe lands was not necessary for the development of the lakeshore. Rather, they insisted that the inclusion or exclusion could occur *after* the lakeshore proposal had become law. Less than a week after Gordon and Pascale traveled to Washington, Jordahl himself stood

[104] Jordahl and Booth, 273; Statement of Phillip Gordon, Chairman, Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Indians of Wisconsin, accompanied by Mrs. Margaret Pascale, tribal member (March 17, 1969), 47, 56.

before the subcommittee to argue for the subsequent addition of Indian lands to the lakeshore:

> I would like to emphasize that since the inception of this proposal, it has always been my position and the position of the Department of the Interior when I was employed by that agency, that the legislation as drafted did not do anything to Indian people and Indian land. All that it does is provide them and the federal government with an opportunity to sit down and negotiate acceptable arrangements for including their lands in the Lakeshore. I have consistently urged them not to take positions until the Congress has acted and mutually agreed to terms ratified by tribal referenda. In my opinion it would be a tragic mistake to foreclose to the Indian people the opportunity to negotiate with the federal government for a proposal which potentially will have a significant impact on their economy and which will provide them with job opportunities related to their cultural heritage.[105]

Nelson, however, insisted that the government "buy the lands, if the Indians' opposition could not be changed immediately, then continue discussions to persuade the tribes that the federal government 'will be fair.'"[106] He argued that the Bad River and Red Cliff bands only owned about 10 percent of the proposed park's acreage, and he maintained his argument that "land exchanges suitable to the Indians could be negotiated once the bill was passed!"[107] By taking offense to Gordon and Pascale's allegations and insisting that the pesky little details could eventually be worked out, Nelson ignored the history of broken treaties in his own state as well as throughout the United States. Just as Chief Buffalo had gone to Washington in 1852 to protest President Zachary Taylor's attempt to move the Ojibwe to Minnesota, Gordon and Pascale reiterated their peoples' resolve to fight for their lands.

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[105] Harold Jordahl, U.S. House, *Hearings Before the Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,* 91st Cong., 2nd sess., hearings on H.R. 555, H.R. 9306, and S. 621, Serial Number 99-9 March 23-24, June 3, 1970 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1970), 348-49 in Jordahl and Booth, 262-263.
[106] "Red Cliff Indian, Others Testify Against Park Bill," *The Daily Press,* March 18. 1969. Courtesy of Joseph D. Pascale III.
[107] "Red Cliff Group Opposes Park Project," *Catholic Herald-Citizen,* published by the Diocese of Superior, Wisconsin, March 1969. Courtesy of Joseph D. Pascale III.

Pascale then asked permission to question Nelson. She asked if he had ever been up to Red Cliff, and Nelson insisted that he had been there "probably 50 or 60 times" in the last forty years.

> Pascale: But no one knows of your –
>
> Nelson: I was there twice last summer. I will be there this summer again. I go there every single summer.
>
> Pascale: You did not go as far as Ashland?
>
> Nelson: Yes.
>
> Pascale: I mean, you have been up to Red Cliff, itself?
>
> Nelson: Yes; and I go on that shoreline every single summer as I say, twice last summer.

Pascale, who had grown up on the reservation quite near the shoreline, and the former pageant grounds, was unconvinced. "But you cannot walk the whole shoreline," she told the senator, "because there are rocks in between." Nelson corroborated her statement, again insisting that he had been there "to two camps." Bible jumped in, likely anxious to avoid a self-indictment on Nelson's part. He suggested that Pascale "get in touch" with Nelson the next time the senator was up north. "We shall walk along with him on the shoreline," answered Pascale. Bible quickly thanked Gordon and Pascale, calling them "very very fine witnesses" before moving on to Jordahl's testimony.[108]

Gordon and Pascale's continued assertions of the tribal council's unanimous vote against the inclusion of Red Cliff lands in the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore, as well as their individual stances surrounding the lakeshore and the decision-making process, highlights the ways in which the Red Cliff Ojibwe fought to maintain their

[108] Statement of Phillip Gordon, Chairman, Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Indians of Wisconsin, accompanied by Mrs. Margaret Pascale, tribal member (March 17, 1969), 56-57.

sovereignty and their treaty rights. Rather than focusing on the roles of state and federal policies play in determining the outcome of the lakeshore, their testimony demonstrates the vital role the Ojibwe played in shaping the landscape within and around the reservation. The earlier figures depicted the initial 1963 boundaries as well as the final boundaries of the 1970 bill and, while neither map includes the Bad River or Red Cliff reservations, the sheer change in the acres on the Bayfield Peninsula emphasizes the key positions of the Red Cliff and Bad River Ojibwe in the final outcome of the project.

In the wake of local publicity surrounding Gordon and Pascale's testimony in front of the Senate subcommittee, Nelson argued that an economist estimated that tourists and nature lovers would "generate about $7 million dollars in new consumer spending" if the lakeshore bill passed.[109] He cited a study conducted in 1965 by a University of Wisconsin professor who estimated that the lakeshore could draw close to a million visitors.[110] Of course, as Jordahl notes, these numbers were based on an early version of the lakeshore that contained thousands of Bad River and Red Cliff lands.

Conclusion: From Summer Pageants to Winter Ice Caves

James Feldman has argued that, although landscapes of tourism and landscapes of production are often deemed mutually exclusive, that has not always been the case in the Apostle Islands where extractive and tourism industries "supported and reinforced each other." In the twentieth century, however, tourism emerged as a way to use and consume nature without the obvious markers of logging, agriculture, quarrying, farming, and

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[109] "Apostle Island Lakeshore Proposal Gains Support," *The (Superior) Evening Telegram*, March 17, 1969. Courtesy of Joseph D. Pascale III.
[110] Jordahl and Booth, 53 and 300; "Apostle Island Lakeshore Proposal Gains Support," *The (Superior) Evening Telegram*, March 17, 1969.

fishing. The region has, according to Feldman, "transformed from a place valued for production of natural resources to one valued for recreation."[111] Despite the supposed failure of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant and despite Nelson's supposed failure to appropriate Indian lands for the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore, salvage tourism remains an integral element of the region's economy.

The winter of 2013-2014, for instance, was so bitterly cold that, for the first time in five years, Lake Superior froze entirely, allowing tourists to visit the spectacular Apostle Islands ice caves. The National Park Service and local businesses, from restaurants and lodging to convenience and souvenir shops, were, in just two short months, flooded with more than 138,000 estimated visitors eager to see the natural phenomenon, thanks in large part to the role social media played in spreading the word about the caves.[112] In comparison, the lakeshore saw approximately 149,000 visitors through *all* of 2013: one Saturday afternoon in February, for instance, brought an estimated 11,000 people to the caves, which set a single-day record for visits to the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore.[113] The Bayfield Chamber of Commerce and Visitor Bureau estimated that the region earned a $10-$12 million boost from the ice caves traffic, and many winter visitors were encouraged to come back in the warmer months.[114] While the pageant promoters and lakeshore enthusiasts had only dreamed of attendance numbers like this, the irony lies in the fact that the economic boon was due solely to a natural, singular occurrence – no amount of planning or preparation could have

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[111] Feldman, 10.
[112] "Access to Apostle Islands ice caves will close by Sunday at the latest," *Duluth News Tribune*, March 13, 2014; "A Pilgrimage to the Ice Caves," *Around the Archipelago: The official newspaper of the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore*, 2014.
[113] "Winter of 2014 brings record crowd to view ice caves at Apostle Islands National Lakeshore," *National Parks Traveler*, February 17, 2014.
[114] "A Pilgrimage to the Ice Caves," *Around the Archipelago: The official newspaper of the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore*, 2014.

anticipated the perfect storm of conditions that created the ice caves as well as its subsequent fame.

In the fall of 2014, the NPS cautiously announced plans to charge a $5.00 fee if and when the ice caves became accessible in the impending winter.[115] Its resources strained after the previous winter's unexpected and unprecedented influx of tourists, the NPS decision to charge a fee simultaneously underwrote its desire to capitalize, as did the pageant in the 1920s and the lakeshore in the 1960s, on the surrounding environment. The timing, of course, was also critical: NPS officials were constantly monitoring the stability of the ice, and potential visitors were urged to hurry before the caves inevitably succumbed to the impending spring weather.

The ice caves brought an unexpected, albeit much appreciated, economic windfall to many communities throughout northern Wisconsin and required the assistance of numerous community forces from chambers of commerce, sheriff departments, transportation and ambulance companies, and even state, federal, and tribal agencies such as the Border Patrol, the Coast Guard, and Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission.[116] As part of the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore, the ice caves proved to be a viable, if temporary, asset to the salvage tourism industry. Nelson and Jordahl, who had long been fearful that the alleged inability (or methodical refusal) to protect the entirety of the region from potential development would lead to the destruction of the environment, need not have worried. The lakeshore has become part of a large multi-

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[115] "Park Service considers fee to visit popular ice caves," *Duluth News Tribune*, October 15, 2014; "Apostle Islands National Lakeshore adds fee for ice-cave visits," *Duluth News Tribune*, December 17, 2014. Note: If the 138,000 visitors in 2013-14 *had* paid a $5.00 admission fee, the National Park Service would have garnered nearly $700,000 in straight revenue. While there were obvious costs involved (most notably Bayfield ambulance calls and several search-and-rescue parties), meaning profit would have been lower, it would still have been a substantial boost for NPS.

[116] "…with ~~a little~~ a lot of help from our Friends!" *Around the Archipelago: The official newspaper of the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore*, 2014.

dimensional, year-round tourist industry that *depends* on the deliberate conservation, preservation, and, still, exploitation of the land, water, and resources. Just as they did in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, out-of-town tourists continue to flock to the region to enjoy the "rustic charm and to explore the island wilderness."[117]

The ice caves, then, were a means of consuming the region without leaving, at least on the surface, any scars or devastation. Here again I draw on the developments from the introduction to this dissertation: Feldman's delineation of attempts to "rewild" the region, coupled with Turner and Roosevelt's constructions of the wilderness's role in American society, demonstrate the ways in which salvage tourism manifests itself in the same region through different lenses. From the pageant to the lakeshore to the ice caves, the tourism industry in northern Wisconsin has continually striven to lure visitors through a focus on a theoretically vanishing commodity: from Indians to the lakeshore to the frozen water of Lake Superior. The region markets itself as a year-round tourist destination, offering everything from hiking, camping, scuba diving, and boat tours, in warmer months and snowshoeing, skiing, snowmobiling, ice skating, and ice fishing in the winter.[118]

The Ojibwe of northern Wisconsin, however, have also sought to capitalize on the region's tourist economy. As Wisconsin Highway 13 winds north from Bayfield toward Red Cliff, the Legendary Waters Casino seems to rise like a phoenix from Lake Superior. Built in 2011 and owned and operated by the Red Cliff Ojibwe, Legendary Waters – which is a far cry from its smaller, nondescript predecessor, Isle Vista Casino – boasts "lodging, gaming, dining, a marina, boat launch, swimming beach, and two

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[117] Feldman, 6.
[118] "Bayfield and the Apostle Islands," 2014 Visitor Guide, Bayfield Chamber of Commerce and Visitor Bureau.

campgrounds."[119] The marketability of Legendary Waters relies simultaneously on its wide range of visitor activities as well as its promotional stance as a distinctly *Indian* operation: "Chief Buffalo canoed all the way to D.C. to preserve this place for his people," the website proclaims. "We wouldn't build anything here that didn't honor him."[120] By foregrounding its connection to Chief Buffalo and the Red Cliff Ojibwes' century-and-a-half-long fight to retain their lands, Legendary Waters presents itself as an authentic Indian experience for, likely, non-Native tourists. While the Red Cliff Ojibwe employed through the pageant depicted an opportunity to salvage their culture, those employed through the casino are exercising their sovereignty as employment. Jordahl's dismal dismissal of the Ojibwe reticence to participate in the NPS-led tourist economy has given way to a tribally-run casino that has helped make Red Cliff the largest employer in Bayfield County, notably through the 150-250 people, both Native and non-Native, employed through Legendary Waters.[121]

The Red Cliff Ojibwe are continually working, whether implicitly or explicitly, against the notion of disappearance. The tribe's insistent position to retain the land they fought so vigorously for during the battle over the lakeshore has remained unchanged, and in 2012 the tribe opened the Frog Bay Tribal Park to the public. The 90-acre park, collectively owned by the tribe and the Bayfield Regional Conservancy, was formerly owned by David Johnson, a University of Wisconsin professor who had befriended Gaylord Nelson.[122] While the park is just a small fraction of the thousands of allotted acres no longer in Ojibwe ownership – more than half of the allotted 14,000 acres are

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[119] "About," Legendary Waters Resort & Casino, http://www.legendarywaters.com/about/.
[120] "About," Legendary Waters Resort & Casino, http://www.legendarywaters.com/about/.
[121] "Red Cliff Visitor Guide, January-June 2015," Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Chippewa, http://redcliff-nsn.gov/Postings_Files/Red-Cliff-Visitor-Guide-1-1.pdf, 5-6.
[122] "Exploring Frog Bay, Wisconsin's Newest Park," *Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel*, August 24, 2012.

owned by non-Natives – it marks a turning point in not only indigenous sovereignty but of Ojibwe attempts to preserve their land on their own terms, not through the National Park Service.[123] Even as lakeshore proponents bemoaned the Indians' decision to refuse the far-reaching initial proposal in the 1960s, as well as the economic benefits the Ojibwe and the entire region may have lost by this decision, the fact remains that the Ojibwe were critical players in determining the direction of the tourist industry in northern Wisconsin. From the pageant to the lakeshore, the potential economic success or failure of these touristic enterprises relied heavily on Ojibwe participation or the purposeful lack thereof.

Frustrated by the ultimate refusal of the Ojibwe to allow their lands to be included in the lakeshore, Gaylord Nelson grumbled that he could have avoided years of issues if he had just left them out of the project entirely. "I was trying to do something for the Indians," he said. "I would have left it off and nobody in the bureaucracy would have thought of it. In fact, they would not have thought of the bill."[124] Nelson's attempted benevolence and obvious paternalism toward the Ojibwe throughout his crusade for conservation also sought to salvage that which the Indians, he believed, could not save on their own: the potential for economic growth that would, in turn, benefit those on and off the reservation. However, in the years following the lakeshore debate, the Red Cliff Ojibwe continued to not only maintain their sovereignty but to increase their land holdings and economic and employment opportunities through options other than jobs

[123] "The Frog Bay Tribal National Park now open to the public," *The (Ashland) Daily Press*, August 9, 2012.
[124] Jordahl and Booth, 106.

"related to their cultural heritage: guiding; sale of native crafts, naturalists, [and] park rangers."[125]

The manifestation of salvage tourism in the Apostle Islands demonstrates the early conflation of the "vanishing Indian" motif and the vanishing environment. The publicized pleas for preservation and conservation in the region originated in the early twentieth century and continued through Gaylord Nelson's ambitious plans for a spectacular national lakeshore in the 1960s. Nelson's appeal for defending, to borrow from Feldman, the re-wilded wilderness proves that the constructions of salvage tourism were not limited to the pageants' publicity materials. Rather, the apparent need to protect and preserve the region's landscape and history continually shifted based on the intentions and impetuses of the leading players, who included pageant organizers, boosters, townspeople, state and federal officials, and, of course, the Red Cliff and Bad River Ojibwe. Their participation in the pageant, coupled with the breathtaking scenery, helped determine the pageants' level of authenticity, even if the attendance numbers were not considered sufficient. Rather than disappearing into the woods, as the script suggested they do, the Ojibwe and their land became high-profile actors in the fight over the lakeshore.

Chapters 1 and 2 examined the creation of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant and the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore through the lens of salvage tourism, as evidenced by the artificial collusion of the suggested notions of the "vanishing Indian" coupled with the "vanishing environment" in northern Wisconsin. As Chapters 3 and 4 will demonstrate, salvage tourism functions as more than defining a tangible place or commodifying a particular people. The following Chapters move from Wisconsin in the

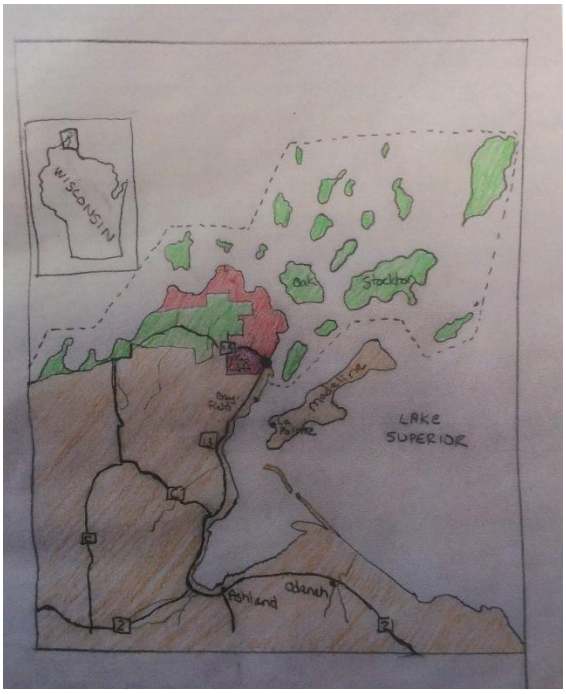
[125] Jordahl and Booth, 263.

1920s to North Carolina in the late 1940s and early 1950s, a time period characterized by a fundamental shift in post-World War II race relations both domestically and abroad. In Chapters 3 and 4, I illustrate the ways in which salvage tourism functioned in Cherokee, North Carolina. Playwright Kermit Hunter's desire to present what he considered to be "authentic" Cherokee Indians pushed pageant organizers to marginalize and exclude members of the Eastern Band from leading roles both on and off the stage. Therefore, in Chapter 3 I contend that Hunter's initial production used images of static Indians as the basis for the salvage tourism production of *Unto These Hills* that played for more than fifty years. In Chapter 4, however, I argue that the Eastern Band of Cherokee Nation is currently refuting Hunter's narrow application of salvage tourism through the subsequent revisions to the pageant that began in 2006.

Figures

The figures below demonstrate, in short, what lakeshore proponents wanted versus what lakeshore proponents got. The figure on the left, based on Jordahl's rendering, shows the first preliminary National Park Service plan boundaries from September 1963 in green. Proponents also hoped to include almost the entirety of the Red Cliff Reservation, shown in red, with the exception of the portion south of Highway 13, shown in purple. The figure on the right reveals the final version of the lakeshore that passed in 1970. As noted previously, the lakeshore now only includes the Red Cliff lands that the tribe had previously lost through allotment. The reservation is not shown on either of Jordahl's maps which serves as yet another indication of his attempt to continually dismiss Ojibwe claims to their lands in the lakeshore debate, and it also indicates the extent to which the lakeshore intended to dispossess the Red Cliff Ojibwe.

(Figure 1)



(Figure 2)

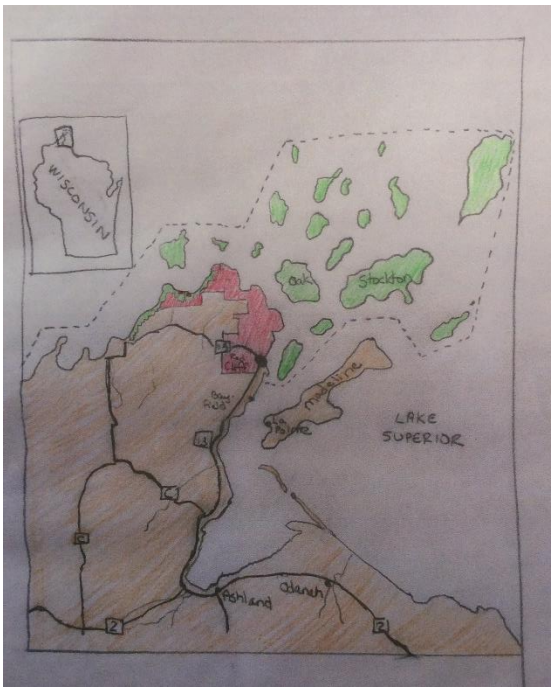


Figure 3 (above): "View from Pageant Park." Photo by Gil Larsen. Courtesy of Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.
Figure 4 (below): View from the former Pageant Park. Photo by the author (2013).

Figure 5 (above): "A series of 5 negatives overlooking the Indian Pageant grounds with the backs of spectators in the foreground." Photo by Gil Larsen. Courtesy of Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.

Figure 6 (below): "Group of 11 Chippewa Indians in native dress that participated in the Indian Pageant." Photo by Gil Larsen. Courtesy of Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.

Chapter 3

"Out of the darkness of tragedy": The creation of *Unto These Hills*[1]

In 1949, *The Waynesville Mountaineer*, a newspaper in Western North Carolina, published an editorial bemoaning the title of an American Indian historical pageant set to premiere in nearby Cherokee the following summer:

> For many years, the citizens of this area have looked forward to the time when an outdoor Indian pageant could be staged each summer season at Cherokee.
>
> The dream of over a decade is destined to become a reality next summer as present plans are being pushed to have everything in readiness for the event which is destined to attract thousands of people from far and near.
>
> The shocking bombshell which has been thrown into the whole scheme, is the name which in our opinion will be as a wet blanket cast over the event. The original name for the pageant was "The Cherokee Trail." This was the name which identified the event, and certainly the word trail is as typical an Indian name as it is possible to get.
>
> Now the plans are, as we understand those in charge of writing the pageant, the title will be – "Unto These Hills."
>
> What is there about such a title to set it apart from being in Piedmont Carolina, or the red clay hills of Georgia, or even the sandhills of the coast?
>
> Where is there any Indian identification in such a title?
>
> It seems that the pageant will start out with two strikes against it if it has to struggle under such a name as "Unto These Hills."[2]

According to the newspaper, the decision to use an excerpt from a biblical Psalm spelled doom for the pageant. They firmly believed that tourists would be unable to distinguish the Indianness of the pageant or its placement in Western North Carolina without any distinct identification in the moniker and would, accordingly, be utterly unenthused. The newspaper begged the pageant's author and organizers to reconsider, noting that residents

[1] Kermit Hunter, *Unto These Hills* (Cherokee: Cherokee Historical Association), 1950.
[2] "Please, Please Change That Title," *Waynesville Mountaineer*, October 20, 1949.

had raised a large sum of money for the pageant based on their civic pride as well as their "affection for the Cherokee Indians who are our neighbors."[3]

Less than two weeks later, the paper published a letter to the editor regarding the upcoming pageant. Kermit Hunter, a graduate student at the University of North Carolina who had been tapped to write the script, had written to the paper to defend his decision regarding the pageant's name. He explained that he had learned that "The Cherokee Trail" was already copyrighted as a song, and the organizers felt that attempting to circumvent or having to pay to use the name was disadvantageous for the young pageant. He explained that the organizers had created nearly 100 potential titles for the pageant, using "every word we could find which had some semblance of connection with the theme of the play," trying each word "in every combination we could think of." He asserted that, while naming a play seems to be a simple task, it was in fact extremely difficult. After finally settling on *Unto These Hills*, he declared that organizers had received countless letters praising them on their "good taste." The *Mountaineer*'s dissent, he claimed, was the first "adverse mention" he had seen.

He continued, suggesting that, "as we see it, the full title, in newspapers, posters, pamphlets, and elsewhere, would read: Unto These Hills, A Drama of the Cherokee, In the Heart of the Great Smokies. If people call it The Cherokee Pageant, or 'that pageant over at Cherokee,' or anything else, we certainly cannot prevent it."[4] Hunter's assertion that he had had favorable responses to the name from as far away as Alabama did not soothe the wounded feelings of the *Mountaineer*'s staff, who still believed that the pageant had no defining characteristics that would encourage tourists to travel

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[3] "Please, Please Change That Title," *Waynesville Mountaineer*, October 20, 1949.
[4] Kermit Hunter, "Letters to Editor," *Waynesville Mountaineer*, November 3, 1949.

specifically to the towns within and along the Great Smoky Mountains: "This fact bears out what we said in our first editorial on the subject – the adopted name could well apply to the hills of the Piedmont, or the red clay hills of Georgia (or Alabama)."[5] A local letter writer agreed, calling the title "meaningless and inappropriate for a pageant portraying the tragic life of the Cherokees."[6]

This exchange of letters published in the local newspaper acknowledge the power and allure of the commodification of Indian people, Indian history, and Indian places. The dispute between the paper and the playwright capture the motivations and incentives driving the numerous parties who hoped to capitalize on one of the most well-known narratives in American history – the nineteenth-century removal of the Cherokee from their homelands into Indian Territory. While a majority of the Cherokee were forced to move to Oklahoma, a small band of outliers, now known as the Eastern Band of Cherokee Nation, continued to resist removal, leading to their formation as a separate band of the Cherokee.

Several years later, in 1955, the playwright blithely asserted that "When *Unto These Hills* opened in 1950, the average person in North Carolina was not really aware that there were Indians in his state,"[7] which was patently untrue. While these sentiments had long lingered throughout the Eastern portion of the United States, including North Carolina, Hunter had taken advantage of the American nostalgic bent by turning his master's thesis into a lucrative windfall. Produced in Cherokee, North Carolina since the mid-twentieth century, *Unto These Hills* – a dramatized staging of Cherokee history – has

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[5] "It Looks Like 'Unto These Hills,' Whether Right Or Wrong," *Waynesville Mountaineer,* November 3, 1949.
[6] W.C. Medford, "Don't Like Title 'Unto These Hills,' *Waynesville Mountaineer,* November 21, 1949.
[7] Kermit Hunter, "The Theatre Meets the People," *Educational Theatre Journal* Vol. 7, No. 2 (May 1955): 129.

been alternately a boon and a burden to the Western portion of the state and its Indian inhabitants.[8] While the ebb and flow of tourist dollars to the region has proven to be a financial benefit, it has come at the cost of decades' worth of misinterpreted and misappropriated indigenous history.

Therefore, this chapter examines the pageant's creation – the seeds of which were planted in the early twentieth century – through the lens of salvage tourism. The organizers and producers of *Unto These Hills* were desperately looking for a tourist enterprise that would salvage the local economy in the wake of World War II. Despite the fact that local Indians, most notably the Eastern Band, had been participating in the local tourist economy for decades, *Unto These Hills* continually crystallized a narrative of static Cherokee history while simultaneously marginalizing local Indians. *Unto These Hills* which premiered less than a decade after World War II, opened much later than the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant and Happy Canyon. First performed at a time when the battle over civil rights after World War II and during the Cold War is often couched in, literally, black and white terms, I argue that *Unto These Hills* sought to capitalize on indigenous history through a nationalist narrative.

The work of Thomas Borstelmann and Mary L. Dudziak, for instance, has demonstrated that the Cold War left the ugly truth of American race relations at the mercy of not only Communist nations but of those who had fought to free themselves from colonial and imperial rule. As Borstelmann argues, "Race formed a prominent contour of world history during the second half of the twentieth century," especially in the United States, whose greatest weaknesses during the Cold War were "inequality and

[8] *Unto These Hills* was one of several historical pageants (also called outdoor dramas in this region) to open in the area in the twentieth century but, as I demonstrate in this chapter, the decision to capitalize on Cherokee history was not purely coincidental.

discrimination."[9] These weaknesses, as framed by Borstelmann and Dudziak, show that the post-WWII environment can be characterized by the struggles for "national and racial equality in the world system and in the United States," struggles that have come to be defined by the racialized violence and outrage that ran rampant throughout the country in the early years of the Cold War.[10]

As with the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant and Happy Canyon, the early construction of this pageant was not at all centered on preserving Indian history or Indians, despite the claims of promotional materials. In Cherokee, as Matthew Thompson has argued, the predominantly non-Native audience wished "to be catered to through certain narratives of history" at the same time that local whites "stood to benefit from their proximity to the Cherokee too."[11] Here, salvage tourism serves to publicly depict a narrative of Indians and Indian history as truly authentic, even as the Eastern Band was continually pushed to the sidelines and behind the scenes, away from the spotlight. The inaugural pageant, for instance, named only three members of the Eastern Band in its cast of characters. The vast majority of the leading roles went to non-Native students from the University of North Carolina who were, apparently, better at playing Indian than the Indians themselves.

I begin with an introduction to the commodification of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians in the early twentieth century, which exposes a long trend of regional, non-Native efforts to capitalize on this history. I then offer an overview of Cherokee history, focused on the events preceding removal, to demonstrate the elements that

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[9] Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 268.
[10] Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line*, 46.
[11] Matthew Thompson, "Staging 'the Drama': The Continuing Importance of Cultural Tourism in the Gaming Era" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, 2009), 13.

captivated pageant organizers and led them to believe that this history could, in fact, be an extremely profitable venture. This is followed by an analysis of the creation of *Unto These Hills* and Hunter's script. As in Chapter 1, I include a historical and performative analysis of the pageant's initial script. However, whereas Chapter 1 offered a comparative examination of the 1924 and 1925 pageants, I focus solely on Kermit Hunter's 1950 script of *Unto These Hills*. The following chapter uses archival research and ethnographic fieldwork to investigate the current production of *Unto These Hills*, based on Linda Squirrel's twenty-first-century reworking of the production. The purposeful separation of these scripts situates each version of the pageant in its respective historical, political, and social environment.

While the history of the Cherokee Nation, the Eastern Band, and Cherokee removal has been well documented by historians such as John Finger and Theda Perdue, historical pageantry, including *Unto These Hills*, has received less attention. Costume designer Suzanne Davis wrote "Indian Costumes for *Unto These Hills*" as her master's thesis in 1954; Wallace Umberger, Jr.'s 1970 dissertation examined the production from 1941 to 1968; and in 1982 the Cherokee Historical Association published a short book entitled *History of Cherokee Historical Association, 1946-1982,* tracing the organization from its inception through its then almost-four-decade existence. More recent work includes Christina Taylor Beard-Moose's 2009 *Public Indians, Private Cherokees: Tourism and Tradition on Tribal Ground*, which examines the nature of tourism on the Qualla Boundary, the home of the Eastern Band. Similarly, Michael Thompson's 2009 dissertation, "Staging 'the Drama': The Continuing Importance of Cultural Tourism in the Gaming Era," includes a firsthand account of the 2006 production of *Unto These*

Hills…a Retelling, the first year Hunter's script was not produced. Thompson's work is significant because it "explores the social conflicts, negotiations, creative processes and performances surrounding this change as the tribe steered its most public representation of the past from a narrative of accommodation to one of Cherokee nationalism." Thompson places *Unto These Hills* in the context of the growing gaming industry, noting that social changes on the Boundary are due in large part to the tourist shift away from *Unto These Hills* and toward the Boundary's casino.[12] These works help illuminate the history and motivations behind the original *Unto These Hills* as a pageant that was so eager to create a wildly-successful tourist endeavor that its organizers continually ignored the Indians whose history was staged every summer in the mountains.

From the Page to the Stage: Construction, Costumes, and Capitalism

The years-long process of creating *Unto These Hills* was not the first time that the history of the Eastern Band was considered a potential tourist boon. The Cherokee reservation began hosting an annual tribal fair in 1914 and, as in Wisconsin, the rise of automobile ownership added to the number of tourists who came to Qualla Boundary.[13] According to Thompson, this was one of the first events held in hopes of pulling in non-Native tourists. Most importantly, Cherokee "cultural distinctiveness and non-Indian curiosity in that difference guaranteed that among the possible varieties and themes of tourism the reservation would develop as a destination for 'cultural tourism.'"[14]

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[12] Thompson, "Staging 'the Drama': The Continuing Importance of Cultural Tourism in the Gaming Era," iii-iv.
[13] John R. Finger, *Cherokee Americans: The Eastern Band of Cherokees in the Twentieth Century* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), 98.
[14] Thompson, 4.

This pattern continued through the creation of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, especially when the Boundary began serving as the Eastern entrance to the park.[15] In the 1930s, Indian Agent R.L. Spalsbury began collecting information for "enacting a pageant of Cherokee history here, which…we hope to make an annual feature during the height of the tourist season."[16] His successor, Harold Foght, produced a small show in 1934 before announcing that, in 1935, a pageant called the "Spirit of the Great Smokies" would reveal "something of the Cherokee ancient religious life," as well as other parts of Indian life "which we cannot afford to lose."[17] As in Red Cliff and Pendleton, the focus in Cherokee was not necessarily centered on preserving Indian history for Indians. Rather, it was intended to offer non-Native tourists a glimpse into a way of life that was, they insisted, disappearing. As noted throughout this dissertation, this type of commodification was not unusual. Indians and Indian-made artifacts were curios and curiosities, regarded as "snapshots of a disappearing primitive past" even, as Paige Raibmon contends, they were engaging in "calculated, competitive business transactions."[18]

According to Thompson, Hunter's script for *Unto These Hills* shared several similarities with the earlier pageant, such as the initial scene with Hernando de Soto. More noteworthy, however, was the use of recognizable names such as Tsali, Will Thomas, Junaluska, Yonaguska, and Andrew Jackson, which, for Thompson, shows that "there was already some consensus among Whites about what aspects of Cherokee

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[15] Thompson, 4.
[16] Finger, *Cherokee Americans*, 99.
[17] Finger, *Cherokee Americans*, 99.
[18] Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 146.

history should be presented."[19] The early commodification of Cherokee history and Cherokee characters through the creation of *Unto These Hills* reveals a collective intention to capitalize on this narrative and these peoples in order to generate interest in the region. Akin to the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant, which sought to draw attention to the area in order to heighten interest in conservation programs, the pageant produced at the Cherokee Indian Fair in the 1930s aimed to exploit the popular elements of Cherokee history.

By 1935, the Cherokee Indian Fair's twenty-second year, its program included an exhaustive list of activities. The Cherokee Indian Fair Association boasted that it had "become renowned over the nation at large for the excellence of its programs and its thrilling Indian games and pageantry" and that it would attract especially large crowds that year due to its "splendid Indian programs." There were agricultural and arts and crafts exhibits, archery, blowgun, singing, and square dance contests, a midway with rides and side show amusements, and a performance of American Indian lore by the Dramatics Club of the Chilocco (Oklahoma) Indian School.

There was a Cherokee Indian Village and a Hopi one with displays of arts and crafts and "the ancient dances and ceremonials presented by each tribe centuries ago." The program proudly noted that the Arts and Crafts Hall hosted a "great variety" of items, such as "Cherokee pottery, basketry, bows, arrows, and blowguns" that were not only on display but were "actually made in the Indian Village and the Arts and Crafts Hall." Similarly, the agricultural and home making exhibits were "of exceptional quality

[19] Thompson, 42.

and number," demonstrating "recent Indian advancements in these fields."[20] Coupled with Indian dances and ball games, the Fair was a whirlwind production of history, culture, and economics. As Boyd Cothran contends, events such as this sought to "bring white tourists into contact with an authentic, exotic, and innocuous Indian."[21] The focus on Native-made crafts, especially those that were made "on-site," added an additional layer of authenticity to these products that created an even greater demand and allowed indigenous crafters to capitalize on their own Indianness, despite the rigid constructions of indigeneity expected by event promoters.[22]

Despite the range of entertainment opportunities for visitors and the range of potential economic opportunities for Indians, the Fair Association insisted that the "Spirit of the Great Smokies" pageant was the keynote event. Performed three out of the Fair's four nights in a "rustic, open-air stadium," the pageant depicted "the struggles between the Cherokee and the encroaching whites." More than 500 Cherokee participated in two performances, while the opening night's actors were "Chilocco, Oklahoma Indians, representing twelve distinct tribes."[23] The program does not explicitly state that these performers were students of the Chilocco Indian School, and yet the earlier reference to their participation suggests a strong link between the two. The students' involvement in the Fair, through their depiction of "American Indian lore" and their likely role in the

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[20] 1935 Cherokee Indian Fair and Folk Festival souvenir program, Cherokee Indian Fair Association: "Motoring Through the Mountains – 1930s: Cherokee," Travel Western North Carolina, Hunter Library Digital Programs and Special Collections at Western Carolina University, http://www.wcu.edu/library/digitalcollections/travelwnc/1930s/1930cherokee.html.
[21] Boyd Cothran, "Working the Indian Field Days: The Economy of Authenticity and the Question of Agency in Yosemite Valley," *The American Indian Quarterly* (Vol. 34, No. 2, Spring 2010):195.
[22] See Cothran, "Working the Indian Field Days: The Economy of Authenticity and the Question of Agency in Yosemite Valley," and Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast.*
[23] 1935 Cherokee Indian Fair and Folk Festival souvenir program, Cherokee Indian Fair Association: "Motoring Through the Mountains – 1930s: Cherokee," Travel Western North Carolina, Hunter Library Digital Programs and Special Collections at Western Carolina University, http://www.wcu.edu/library/digitalcollections/travelwnc/1930s/1930cherokee.html.

pageant, reveals the contradictions and tensions of the Office of Indian Affairs' attempts to, as John Troutman argues, use performances of Indianness and whiteness to "further OIA objectives of detribalization and assimilation."[24] However, it is critical to note that the hundreds of Indian performers, as well as the Native crafts, demonstrate the early participation of the Eastern Band in the regional tourist economy. This involvement, though, would not extend to *Unto These Hills*.

The economic implications of these early enterprises are striking. An October 8, 1935, article from *The Ruralite*, a newspaper from nearby Sylva, announced that an estimated 15,000 people had visited the four-day Fair. The paper gave special notice to the Chilocco Indian School Dramatics Club, the Indian villages, and the pageant as outstanding new features and noted that half of the cars at the fairgrounds belonged to tourists, indicating that "interest in in the Cherokee Indians is widespread."[25] The production was mounted again in 1937 for six performances, this time covering historical events from Spanish exploration to the then-present day, including the story of Tsali. However, due to local and tribal dissent, this was apparently the end of the "Spirit of the Great Smokies."[26] The Indian Fair, though, lives on. More than a century after its inception, the Fair is billed as "a cornucopia of sights and sounds – a treat for all your senses. It's a carnival and an agriculture show. It's an art show and a game show. There's food, music and rides. It's pure, unfiltered, fair entertainment, with that

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[24] John Troutman, *Indian Blues: American Indians and the Politics of Music, 1879-1934* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012), 152.
[25] "Indian Festival May Be Held In Tourist Season," *The Ruralite* (Sylva, NC), October 8, 1935. Courtesy of "Motoring Through the Mountains – 1930s: Cherokee," Travel Western North Carolina, Hunter Library Digital Programs and Special Collections at Western Carolina University, http://www.wcu.edu/library/digitalcollections/travelwnc/1930s/1930cherokee.html.
[26] Finger, *Cherokee Americans*, 100.

unmistakable Cherokee touch: Ferris wheel, fireworks, and stickball."[27] It is not clear if the "unmistakable Cherokee touch" refers to the town or the Eastern Band, even though it seems incongruous to compare stickball with a Ferris wheel.

It is clear that members of the Eastern Band were key components of the Fair, as one might expect from its moniker. The shifting tide of salvage tourism in Cherokee, though, reveals dissonance between the Eastern Band and non-Native constructions of authenticity in the subsequent creation of *Unto These Hills*. In 1941, a non-Native trader in Cherokee named Ross Caldwell talked to several friends about producing a pageant of Cherokee history. Caldwell broached the subject with Indian Agent Joe Jennings in 1945, who agreed that such a production would be "an asset to the area." The large scale of the project would have required professional advice and assistance, as well as deep pockets, and the idea was abandoned.[28] While *Unto These Hills* would not debut for another five years due to World War II, Caldwell's interest in using Cherokee history as the basis for boosting regional tourism demonstrates the continued potential economic benefits that could be attained through the commodification of local Indian history.

The Ruralite's 1935 assessment of widespread non-Native interest in Indians, most notably what Clyde Ellis calls their "perceived primitivism," still held true in North Carolina more than two decades later.[29] In the years following World War II, civil leaders in Western North Carolina again wanted to establish the region as a tourist

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[27] "Cherokee Indian Fair," Visit Cherokee, http://visitcherokeenc.com/events/detail/cherokee-indian-fair/#sthash.Gzv5oOfr.dpuf.
[28] William P. Connor, Jr. *History of Cherokee Historical Association, 1946-1982* (Cherokee, NC: Cherokee Historical Association, 1982), 8-9; *Unto These Hills: A Drama of the Cherokee, 1540-1950* souvenir program, 17, courtesy of Cherokee Historical Association, Cherokee, North Carolina.
[29] Clyde Ellis, "Five Dollars a Week to Be 'Regular Indians': Shows, Exhibitions, and the Economics of Indian Dancing, 1880-1930" in *Native Pathways: American Indian Culture and Economic Development in the Twentieth Century,* ed. Brian Hosner and Colleen O'Neill (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2004), 192.

economy based on its "mountainous natural beauty."[30] The subsequent creation of the Western North Carolina Associated Communities (WNCAC) was the foundation for the development of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park and the completion of the Blue Ridge Parkway.[31] For some, the creation of the national park meant involving Indians in the business of tourism, as park visitors would likely want to "see 'real' Indians, buy their wares, and perhaps be photographed with one."[32] Agent Spalsbury, for instance, believed that the Cherokee presence at the park would be a "valuable asset" and that the Indians would be "a big drawing card for it."[33]

A number of other potential projects were proposed, including the production of a historical pageant akin to *The Lost Colony,* a "remarkable coincidence…that several other civic leaders had at one time or another turned over this same idea in their minds."[34] *The Lost Colony* had opened in 1937, which was the 350th anniversary of the landing at Roanoke Island, the earliest attempted English settlement of North America.[35] According to Laurence Avery, the people of Eastern North Carolina were frustrated by what they considered to be the "neglect of that important event by historians and in the popular mind."[36] Local residents and businessmen, including the Roanoke Island Historical Association, decided that a historical, dramatic presentation would be the ticket for not only fame and prestige but, in what will be a recurring theme throughout this dissertation, the potential economic prosperity. They tapped Pulitzer Prize-winning playwright Paul

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[30] Connor, *History of Cherokee Historical Association, 1946-1982*, 1.
[31] Connor, 8.
[32] Finger, *Cherokee Americans*, 98.
[33] Finger, *Cherokee Americans*, 98.
[34] *Unto These Hills: A Drama of the Cherokee, 1540-1950* souvenir program, 17, courtesy of Cherokee Historical Association, Cherokee, North Carolina.
[35] Paul Green, *The Lost Colony: A Symphonic Drama of American History*, ed. Laurence G. Avery (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 1.
[36] Avery, *The Lost Colony*, 1.

Green to bring the history of Roanoke Island to life, and plans for the pageant were soon underway.

Two of the biggest issues, however, were where audience members would come from and how they would *get* to the pageant. As Avery wryly notes, "It wasn't because the area was densely populated that the Wright brothers went to nearby Kitty Hawk some years earlier to test their flying machines."[37] Tourists would have to come from hundreds of miles away and, once they got there, there was not a particularly easy way to get to the island. It would take a variety of transportation methods, ranging from several ferries and a "floating road" of asphalt "suspended on steel cables hitched to pilings over several miles of swamp that would swallow anything falling into it" to packed sand or dirt roads. Creating *The Lost Colony* was a mammoth undertaking, requiring the assistance of the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Rockefeller Foundation, the University of Chapel Hill, the Federal Theatre Project, the United States Postal Service, and the United States Treasury.[38]

Nevertheless, the people persevered, and *The Lost Colony* premiered on July 4, 1937 for an audience of 2,500.[39] It is estimated that more than 50,000 audience members saw the pageant in its first season, and it remains the longest-running outdoor pageant in the nation. It is clear that the success of the pageant on Roanoke Island played a critical role in subsequent efforts to duplicate that success in Cherokee. Set and staged in the Great Smoky Mountains, albeit in the shadow of *The Lost Colony*, those involved in the creation of *Unto These Hills* clearly sought to capitalize on the Indian history that, they might argue, had unfolded in their own backyard. By drawing on the history of the

[37] Avery, 2.
[38] Avery, 2-3.
[39] Avery, 3, 21.

Eastern Band, pageant organizers hoped to turn one of the most devastating events in American history into an economic windfall.

"An authentic saga": the history of the Eastern Band[40]

By the early years of the twentieth century, the history of the Eastern Band must have seemed both profoundly tragic and wonderfully romantic – the perfect combination to draw tourists to Cherokee in the years following World War II. According to historian John Finger, Cherokee removal is "one of the most familiar – and distressing – stories in the annals of Indian-white relations. Moving into the remotest corners of the Nation, soldiers rounded up thousands of Indians and temporarily incarcerated them in makeshift stockades before dispatching them westward over the infamous Trail of Tears."[41]

The homelands of the Cherokee Nation had initially covered what are now North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, and eventually Alabama; at their peak, the Cherokee claimed about 40,000 square miles of land.[42] Their location in the southeastern United States put them in near-constant contact with the British as early as 1700, and the 1785 Treaty of Hopewell, signed with the newly-formed United States, served as a peace treaty and tried to define Cherokee boundaries against continued incursions from Georgia and North Carolina.[43]

While the Treaty of Hopewell was intended to protect Cherokee boundaries from Georgia and North Carolina, the surging non-Native populations in the surrounding

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[40] "Arts, Craft School To Be Part Of The Cherokee Drama," *Waynesville Mountaineer*, April 20, 1950.
[41] John R. Finger, *The Eastern Band of Cherokees: 1819-1900* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 21.
[42] Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, eds., *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford-St. Martin's, 2005), 1; Finger, *The Eastern Band of Cherokees: 1819-1900*, 4.
[43] Perdue and Green, *The Cherokee Removal*, 5 & 9.

regions, coupled with a land-based plantation system and Southerners who believed Indians to be racially inferior, led to tensions in and around Cherokee country – or, as War Department clerk Thomas McKenney simply called it, a "crisis in Indian affairs."[44] In an 1826 letter to Albert Gallatin, a statesman who had served in Thomas Jefferson's cabinet, John Ridge outlined the fear that gripped the Cherokee. "It is true we Govern ourselves, but yet we live in fear," Ridge wrote. "We are urged by these strangers to make room for their settlements & go farther west. Our National existence is suspended on the faith & honor of the U. States, alone. Their convenience may cut this asunder, & with a little faint struggle we may cease to be."[45]

These fears were not unfounded. Beginning in 1828, the state of Georgia passed several acts that severely impinged upon the rights of the Cherokee Nation. The first sought to add the land occupied by the Cherokee to state counties and extend the laws of the state to those residing on that land. Another act passed the following year took it one step further and pushed to eliminate the Cherokee systems of law and governance and the protections granted through those systems. Other acts would send surveyors to Cherokee land with government protection, void contracts with the Cherokees, and give the governor the authority to control gold, silver, and other mines within Cherokee-held lands.

The fears expressed by members of the Cherokee Nation were compounded by the 1829 discovery of gold in their lands, and Georgia and the federal government redoubled their efforts to evict the Cherokee. Changes made by the Cherokee Nation – the alterations in governance, the ratification of a constitution, the adaptation of

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[44] Perdue and Green, 17.
[45] Perdue and Green, 44.

institutions such as slavery and the overarching notion that the Cherokee Nation borrowed "political systems and racial ideologies from the United States to avoid being colonized by the United States" were soon marked as irrelevant by Georgia and the federal government.[46] A mere three years after the ratification of the Cherokee Constitution, the United States Congress, with the fervent blessing of President Andrew Jackson, signed the Indian Removal Act into law May 28, 1830. The act was the culmination of years of bitter disputes and debates over what to do with the Indians. It also gave the president the authority to take lands held by Indians in any state or territory in exchange for lands west of the Mississippi, and appropriated half a million dollars for the cause.[47] The act was deliberately vague and open to interpretation, giving the United States the green light to usurp any lands held by any tribe and to dump displaced tribes somewhere in the West.

The tribes in the South may have rightly felt as though a target had been pinned to their backs with the passage of the Indian Removal Act. The Cherokee, led by Principal Chief John Ross, immediately mobilized in opposition to removal. Other influential Cherokees, including Elias Boudinot, his brother, Stand Watie; their cousin, John Ridge; and their uncle, Major Ridge became the core of what came to be called the "treaty party," which in the 1830s had argued that voluntary removal was necessary for the survival of the Cherokee Nation.[48] Their actions in December of 1835, according to some, signed the death warrant for the Cherokee. These men believed that Ross's policy of public relations and petitions was useless, and the dissention among the General

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[46] Tiya Miles, *Ties That Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 113.
[47] Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 52.
[48] Perdue and Green, 21.

Council members grew more tense as Georgia and the federal government continually tried to trick the Cherokee into accepting removal. According to Perdue and Green, one compromise proposed that the Cherokee would keep a miniscule portion of their land and become full and equal citizens of the state. For Boudinot and the Ridges, this meant the erasure of the Cherokee Nation and the protections of the United States against white anger.

As 1835 came to a close, President Jackson appointed a man named John Schermerhorn, who happened to be a retired minister, to seal the deal with the Cherokee. Schermerhorn was aware that only half the Cherokee lived in Georgia, meaning that those in North Carolina, for example, were potentially exempt from the pressures of the state of Georgia. He called for the council to meet at New Echota, a little bit south and west of the borders between Tennessee and North Carolina just north of Georgia, which had ceased to be the capital in 1830. As with Sandy Lake for the Ojibwe, New Echota was an illogical place for Cherokees to meet. Out of the thousands of members of the Cherokee Nation, maybe five hundred people, including women and children, met at New Echota. Out of those five hundred, eighty-six men voted. Out of those eighty-six men, seventy-nine approved the treaty and seven opposed it.[49] Schermerhorn's machinations clearly highlight the illegitimacy of the treaty, which would soon wreak havoc upon the Cherokee Nation.

Under the terms of the treaty signed December 29, 1835, the Cherokee would surrender all their lands in the East and move to the West. The U.S. would pay $5 million for Cherokee lands as well as the costs of compensation for the value of improvements left behind, money for orphans and schools, and to pay the costs of

[49] Perdue and Green, 110-111.

removal and subsistence for the first year. The Cherokee Nation had two years from the date of the treaty to leave the state.[50] The United States Senate approved the Treaty of New Echota, by one vote over the two-thirds majority required, in May of 1836, and President Andrew Jackson claimed it ratified on May 23, 1836, meaning that the Cherokee would be forced out of Georgia by May 23, 1838.

Those who were forced out of Georgia have come to stand as a symbol of the federal government's horrific treatment of American Indians. Cherokees died in the stockades before removal, on the Trail of the Tears, and after arriving in Indian Territory. According to Theda Perdue, historians may never know how many lives were lost.[51] Opponents of removal assassinated Elias Boudinot, Major Ridge, and John Ridge in 1839 because they believed these members of the Treaty Party had violated Cherokee law, and this was the punishment for selling tribal lands. Stand Watie survived an assassination attempt and killed one of his attackers a few years later.[52]

Those who remained in North Carolina after the removal "clung tightly as lichens to the cliffs of the Great Smokies," and eventually found themselves at the gateway to America's most visited national park.[53] The Eastern Band is comprised of the descendants of the Cherokee who, "during the removal west, refused to leave their native hills and took refuge in the Great Smoky Mountains."[54] They had been living in North Carolina, not Georgia, when the Treaty of New Echota was signed and, according to

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[50] Perdue and Green, 113.
[51] *Trail of Tears,* Rich Heape films, 2006.
[52] Resources regarding events preceding and including Cherokee removal include Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents;* Tiya Miles, *Ties That Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom*; John R. Finger, *The Eastern Band of Cherokees: 1819-1900*; and Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835,* among others.
[53] George Myers Stephens, "The Beginnings of the Historical Drama, 'Unto These Hills'," *The North Carolina Historical Review* Vol. XXVIII, No, 2 (April 1951): 213.
[54] "Arts, Crafts School To Be Part Of The Cherokee Drama," *Waynesville Mountaineer,* April 20, 1950.

Article 12 of the treaty, those who opposed removal could remain in North Carolina, Tennessee, or Alabama if they agreed to become citizens of their respective state.[55] While North Carolina did not necessarily embrace the Cherokee population, the state was not nearly as aggressive as Georgia in demanding Indian removal. Despite the loophole in the treaty, the North Carolina Cherokee were not guaranteed asylum from removal.[56]

Here, then, enters the near-mythic figure of Tsali, who has been immortalized not only in *Unto These Hills* but by the name of the road that runs through the Eastern Cherokee reservation, known as the Qualla Boundary. Major General Winfield Scott, the military officer charged with physically and often forcibly removing the Cherokee, believed that, despite the tenuous relationship between North Carolina and its Cherokee inhabitants, it would be best to move all the Cherokees west.[57] James Mooney, an ethnographer who studied the Cherokee, included his version of the story of Tsali in his 1891 publication *Myths of the Cherokee*. According to Mooney, soldiers had prodded Tsali's wife with their bayonets to make her walk faster. When Tsali gave the command in Cherokee, he and his fellow warriors attacked the soldiers, killing one, before the families fled to the mountains where they joined others who had escaped the stockades. General Scott, frustrated at the Cherokee refusal to obey government orders, sent word that if Tsali and his family surrendered the Cherokee hiding in the mountains would be allowed to stay in their homelands. In Mooney's words, "On hearing of the proposition, Charley [Tsali] voluntarily came in with his sons, offering himself as a sacrifice for his people. By command of General Scott, Charley, his brother, and the two elder sons were

[55] Finger, *The Eastern Band of Cherokees: 1819-1900,* 17.
[56] Finger, *The Eastern Band of Cherokees: 1819-1900,* 19.
[57] Finger, *The Eastern Band of Cherokees: 1819-1900,* 20-21.

shot…From those fugitives thus permitted to remain originated the present Eastern band of Cherokee.[58]

However, historians have begun to question the validity of this narrative, whose tragic plot rivals a Shakespearean tragedy. John Finger argues that no documentary evidence supports the charges of soldiers mistreating Tsali and his family. Secondly, he claims that Tsali did not surrender. Rather, he was tracked down, apprehended, and executed by other Cherokees, suggesting that "there was no noble sacrifice."[59] Finger does, however, acknowledge that Tsali remains a legitimate symbol for the Eastern Band and affirms their attachment to their homelands. Paul Kutsche similarly argues that it is irrelevant to question whether the facts of the story are how they are supposed to be. The tale of Tsali was integral to "the Cherokee Indians who were eager to escape exile…to the United States Army troops and other White Americans who were responsible for rounding up the whole tribe, and to Whites who came later to study the remnants of the tribe who remained in the Southern Appalachians."[60]

Beard-Moose, though, questions whether or not these factors were even relevant for pageant organizers in 1949, especially since "the sole purpose…was to give the passing tourist a glimpse of a Cherokee story. Artistic license is, after all, an accepted excuse for taking liberties with historical 'fact.'"[61] It is clear that, for many of the non-Natives involved in the creation of *Unto These Hills*, historical authenticity and accuracy was not at the forefront of the production. Rather, they were demonstrating their belief

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[58] James Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokee* (1891; reprint *James Mooney's History, Myths, and Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees* (Fairview, NC: Bright Mountain Books, 1992), 131.
[59] Finger, *The Eastern Band of Cherokees: 1819-1900*, 28.
[60] Paul Kutsche, "The Tsali Legend: Culture Heroes and Historiography," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Autumn, 1963): 329-330.
[61] Christina Taylor Beard-Moose, *Public Indians, Private Cherokees: Tourism and Tradition on Tribal Ground* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009), 32-33.

that the power of Cherokee history lay in its ability to be dramatized as entertainment for traveling non-Native tourists.

The stories of *Unto These Hills,* both in its creation and its current production, are nearly as dramatic as the show itself. The history of the Eastern Band, including those who vigorously fought the violent hand of federal Indian removal in the early parts of the nineteenth century, became fodder for an outdoor historical pageant initially conceived as a means to "illuminate regional history while bringing in coveted tourism dollars" to the region.[62] This history, coupled with growing national and international tensions after World War II, created the perfect environment for a pageant that would not only publicize the horrors of Indian removal but would simultaneously attempt to atone for it.

"The colorful, often tragic history of the Cherokee nation": creating ***Unto These Hills***[63]

In short, *Unto These Hills* was created in order to hasten economic development in Western North Carolina. Playwright Kermit Hunter, writing in 1955, argued that "the motivating factor in outdoor drama is a small, energetic community determined to revitalize itself through a grand tourist attraction in the form of a permanent outdoor production" like the Western North Carolina Associated Communities (WNCAC).[64] Some of the WNCAC members were acquainted with Paul Green and Samuel Selden, the author and then-director, respectively, of *The Lost Colony* and asked for advice. The production of a regionally-specific historical pageant was considered an excellent way to attract tourists to the region, as "pride and prosperity often culminate in historical

[62] Wanda Taylor, "A Brief History of the Outdoor Drama *Unto These Hills* and Transcript of an Interview with a Former Cast Member" (np, Cherokee Historical Association, 1992), 1.
[63] "Harry Buchanan Cites Value Of Cherokee Drama To This Entire Area," *Waynesville Mountaineer*, April 24, 1950.
[64] Hunter, "The Theatre Meets the People," 128.

nostalgia."[65] However, pageant committees had to raise thousands of dollars in funds, invest in the creation of theatrical venues, and hire writers, artistic crews, and actors, all with the looming question as to whether or not the pageant would actually succeed or, at the very least, pay off the initial investments. The Apostle Islands Indian Pageant, for instance, had incorporated its committee and sold stocks to raise the necessary funds.

In April 1950, just months before *Unto These Hills* was set to premiere, the president of the Cherokee Historical Association acknowledged that the pageant was $20,000 short of the funds needed to stage the production. He noted with pride, though, that all of the money "had been raised in the counties comprising the western 12th Congressional District, and 'not one dime'" had come from outside the district.[66] By May, business manager Carol E. White had the "unenvied task" of finding the remaining funds to finish the Mountainside Theatre. If all else failed, he had access to "a mere $10,000, already guaranteed as a loan by personal credit notes" by the trustees of the historical association.[67] By the time *Unto These Hills* opened in July, the initial budget of $30,000 had tripled.[68] In his 1955 article, Hunter contended that the initial cost for a historical pageant would be approximately $100,000, and that only a community "which can ponder the size of this figure out flinching has any business fooling with a project of this kind, because the successful establishment and maintenance of an outdoor drama is not a project for faint hearts."[69]

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[65] Connor, 13.
[66] "Harry Buchanan Cites Value Of Cherokee Drama To This Entire Area," *Waynesville Mountaineer*, April 24, 1950.
[67] "Business Manager Is On Job For Cherokee Drama," *Waynesville Mountaineer*, May 11, 1950.
[68] Connor, 31.
[69] Hunter, "The Theatre Meets the People," 129.

Since American Indian historical pageants pride themselves on their regionally-specific settings, the construction of a theatre for *Unto These Hills* was of the utmost importance. Pageant promoters could publicize and demonstrate the authenticity of these productions by building a theatre in the same place where these dramatic, thrilling, and historical events had originally occurred. While the original plan called for a raised stage in the middle of a large level area, Samuel Selden had other ideas. Just as L.E. McKenzie had been struck by the beauty of Lake Superior, Selden was apparently overwhelmed by the mountains around Cherokee. After finding a perfect place for a hillside amphitheater, he insisted that the production would be staged there.[70] It would take nearly two years to build the Mountainside Theatre, even as Ross Caldwell received help from Cherokee workmen "employed between crops and their own handicraft production schedules."[71]

As with the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant, the use of indigenous labor in the physical construction of the pageant space suggests that this temporary employment became part of what Chantal Norrgard calls "a dynamic, shifting history [that] enables us to consider how labor was defined by a variety of economic activities."[72] However, the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant also publicized the roles Indians played in the pageant itself. In Cherokee, though, the Eastern Band was continually pushed to the margins of the production, even though they had participated in the local tourist economy for decades. The narrow vision of Indianness promoted by the pageant did not, apparently, include the Eastern Band. The invisibility of indigenous laborers behind the scenes is a

[70] Finger, *Cherokee Americans,* 115.
[71] "Number Of Cherokees In Drama, 'Unto These Hills,'" *Waynesville Mountaineer,* August 3, 1950.
[72] Chantal Norrgard, *Seasons of Change: Labor, Treaty Rights, and Ojibwe Nationhood* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 4.

distinct comparison to the pageant's very visible use of non-Native actors in its depiction of American Indian history.

As the Cherokee Historical Association had already spent several years and several thousands of dollars on the creation of the pageant, the script needed to be exciting and dramatic, capable of consistently drawing large crowds while maintaining some sense of historical accuracy to the events depicted in the pageants. Hunter, however, apparently struggled to write a script that remained "reasonably true to a complex history." Even more critically, the production "was expected to convey to diverse audiences a patriotic message concerning Indian dispossession, the common man, and the American Dream."[73] As demonstrated in the following section, the seemingly incongruous connections among these disparate elements – especially in the context of a "patriotic message" – found its home in the application of salvage tourism through the ways in which *Unto These Hills* sought to present the Eastern Band as a static people submerged in the past.

Hunter was writing in the 1950s, a time when the majority of Americans were well-acquainted with the stereotypical portrayals of American Indians in movies and television. In a letter to Samuel Selden, the director of the highly successful *The Lost Colony*, Hunter bemoaned the fact that authentic Cherokees, with their "breechcloths, scalplocks, and turbans," would look "decidedly plain in contrast to what the average theatre-goer conceives of as being American Indian."[74] Hunter's theatrical concerns can also be traced to the decades-old portrayals of American Indians in film and Wild West shows. According to Jacquelyn Kilpatrick, much of the Hollywood Indian's outfit was

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[73] Connor, 17.
[74] Wallace R. Umberger, "A History of *Unto These Hills,* 1941 to 1968" (Ph.D. dissertation, Tulane University, 1970), 41.

based on a costumer's interpretation of the well-known Plains Indians, which usually consisted of "a long, flowing, feathered headdress, a breech cloth…and moccasins."[75] However, a photograph from the June 29, 1950 edition of *The Waynesville Mountaineer* presents an interesting comparison. Carl Standingdeer and Epps Welch, both clad in slacks, button-down shirts, and Plains-style headdresses, are said to be "ready to welcome [visitors] to the Reservation and 'Unto These Hills.'"[76] The apparent insistence on authenticity, however, seems to have been utilized only when necessary.

Hunter was not alone in his reluctance to accept traditional Cherokee dress in favor of the more well-known style of the Plains Indians. In 1940, John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, suggested that famed anthropologist Ella Deloria should write a pageant for the Indians of Robeson County, now known as the Lumbee.[77] While Deloria structured the pageant around their traditional agriculture and social institutions and included song-and-dance scenes, she also "capitalized on the general public's lack of knowledge about specific Indian cultures and rituals by adding cultural symbols and regalia that were from the Plains and not the Southeast."[78] Similarly, Suzanne Davis, the wife of *Unto These Hills* director Harry Davis, was in charge of costumes for the pageant, many of which were constructed by students in the homemaking department at the Indian School at Cherokee.[79] The irony, though, appears to be lost on the pageant organizers: Native children, sent to boarding schools to sever their cultural connections, were put to

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[75] Jacquelyn Kilpatrick, *Celluloid Indians: Native Americans and Film* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 51.
[76] "Ready To Open Cherokee Drama," *Waynesville Mountaineer*, June 29, 1950.
[77] Malinda Maynor Lowery, *Lumbee Indians in the Jim Crow South: Race, Identity, and the Making of a Nation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 221.
[78] Lowery, *Lumbee Indians in the Jim Crow South*, 223.
[79] Stephens, "The Beginnings of the Historical Drama, 'Unto These Hills'," 215.

work crafting supposedly Native costumes for a pageant of apparently authentic Native history.

Nevertheless, Hunter, who felt that "a strictly accurate drama probably would not be much of a drama at all,"[80] was pushed to be accurate and authentic to the story of the Eastern Band, who were apparently not pleased with one of the drafts of the script and offered "harsh criticism" because of the pageant's historical inaccuracies. Tellingly, Selden argued for the "spirit" of the truth over "literal factuality." The contestations over what was considered authentic to the Cherokee and what non-Native audiences would consider authentic demonstrates that, as Thompson notes, "the art of displaying culture and history for tourists is anything but straight-forward."[81]

Still, according to Wallace Umberger, a large number "continued to demand strict historical veracity."[82] The differing opinions regarding what constituted authenticity demonstrates that the committee, despite their supposed intention to present an authentic narrative, was more focused on what would be the most appealing to its audience. As with the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant, *Unto These Hills* was, above all, centered on the commodification of a particular narrative. The objective in Cherokee, as demonstrated in the subsequent script analysis, may have sought to salvage the nation's reputation in the wake of continued protests regarding its handling of continued racial discrimination and provocations of race-based violence after World War II. Some of Hunter's most vocal non-Native critics levied their critiques at his apparently unsympathetic characterization of Andrew Jackson. The governor of Tennessee even wrote to the governor of North Carolina, calling the pageant "a travesty on American history." Hunter politely

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[80] Connor, 17.
[81] Thompson, 9.
[82] Umberger, "A History of *Unto These Hills,* 1941 to 1968," 45.

acknowledged the controversy, but also insisted he was "writing creative drama, not history lessons."[83] Hunter already believed that the artistic license afforded to him as a playwright allowed him to draw inspiration from history rather than creating an authentic pageant.

While a rose by any other name may smell as sweet, as noted in the chapter's introduction, disagreements arose over the title of the production. Hunter initially suggested *Sunrise Drum, Drums in the Dawn, Dark Triumph,* and *Morning Drums* as possible titles. While "drums" most certainly would have evoked the image of American Indians, it also seemed too stereotypical. *Sunrise Drum* had the necessary optimistic connotations, as Hunter found "the whole story of the tribe was one of sheer, unmitigated tragedy."[84] Later possible titles included *Drums Across the Mountain* and *The Cherokee Trail,* which turned out to be the name of an already copyrighted song. *Unto These Hills*, however, most closely matched "the real idea involved. It has dignity, it carries the idea of the play, and it is different."[85] As noted earlier, the notion that a Biblical phrase – and a well-known one at that – would serve as the inspiration for an Indian pageant is intriguing, especially one that did not, at least on the surface, reflect the place nor the people at the center of the pageant.

*"Far Better Than Expectations": **Unto These Hills** premieres*[86]

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[83] Kermit Hunter, "History or Drama?" South Atlantic Bulletin, May 1953, 3, as cited in Raymond Carroll Hayes, "A Study of Hero-Building and Mythmaking in Three of Kermit Hunter's Outdoor Historical Epic-Dramas" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, 1982), 61, in Matthew Thompson, "Staging 'the Drama': The Continuing Importance of Cultural Tourism in the Gaming Era" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chapel Hill), 2009, 114.
[84] Connor, 18; citing Umberger, 41.
[85] Connor, 20; Umberger, 51.
[86] "'Unto These Hills' Is Far Better Than Expectations," *Waynesville Mountaineer*, July 3, 1950.

In a stirring moment of dramatic theatricality, an actor portraying Elias Boudinot, the editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix* and a prominent member of the Treaty Party, steps center stage. He begins to recite Psalm 121 in the Cherokee language, and after several lines an unseen narrator overlaps with the English:

> *Boudinot: Ca de see w/dai ne ga ne ha. Non ngo…*[87]
>
> *Narrator: I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills. From whence cometh my help? My help cometh from the Lord, which made Heaven and earth. He will not suffer thy foot to be moved; he that keepeth thee will not slumber. The Lord shall preserve thee from all evil…*[88]

At the line "preserve thee from all evil," shots ring out offstage. A Cherokee man named Tsali and two of his three sons, the youngest being saved from the firing squad by the wife of a white missionary, had been shot for killing a white officer who struck and killed Tsali's wife while attempting to remove them from their homelands. The rest of the cast portraying the Cherokee moved from stage left to stage right (the audience's right to left), signifying the Cherokee removal to lands west of the Mississippi:

> *Narrator: West, out of the Great Smokies, from village after village, marched seventeen thousand men, women, and children, into the setting sun. In the dust of that summer, in the snow and ice of that winter, five thousand people – nearly one third of the whole Cherokee Nation – died and were buried in nameless graves along the trail of tears from North Carolina to Oklahoma.*[89]

Despite the apparent push for historical accuracy while simultaneously seeking to boost the theatrical elements that would pluck the audience's heartstrings, Hunter's script was not particularly faithful to the history of the Cherokee. According to John Finger,

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[87] Hunter's script does not contain any further use of the Cherokee language in this scene.
[88] Kermit Hunter, *Unto These Hills*, 1950, courtesy of the Cherokee Historical Association, Cherokee, North Carolina.
[89] Kermit Hunter, *Unto These Hills*, 1950, courtesy of the Cherokee Historical Association, Cherokee, North Carolina.

> As is common in such pageants, historical nuances succumbed to broad generalizations and stereotypical characterization…Even more questionable were the characterizations of Indians like Sequoyah, Tecumseh, Drowning Bear, and unfortunately Tsali, who as an unassuming and obscure man would probably find his theatrical sainthood embarrassing. Good history the pageant is not, but it is highly engrossing entertainment.[90]

Finger's description of the Cherokee characters is a telling example of the pageant's insistent focus on creating a dramatic narrative that was likely more loosely based on the history of the Eastern Band than organizers would have cared to admit.

Here, then, is where the application of salvage tourism becomes clear. Members of the Eastern Band had been "playing Indian" for tourists for decades. While the Indian Fair and the "Spirit of the Great Smokies" offered a yearly bump in tourist travel, it was not the only avenue open to the Cherokee. As Beard-Moose has shown, tourists had been buying Cherokee-made pots and baskets since the early 1920s. "Craft shops" opened in 1930, the same year that "chiefing" became established as a profession. Older Cherokee men, usually over the age of 35, participated in this enterprise, which has become the "most visually prominent" tourist industry on the Qualla Boundary. Tourists were encouraged to stop and take a picture with the "chief" – for a small fee, of course – as a memento.[91] The Cherokee have clearly taken "an active role in taming the onslaught" of tourism, making their exclusion from the opening years of the pageant that much more evident.

Hunter's original scenario began with DeSoto in 1540 and continued through World War II. A conservative estimate judged that the show would have lasted five

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[90] Finger, *Cherokee Americans,* 117.
[91] Beard-Moose, *Public Indians, Private Cherokees,* 77-86.

hours, which was, as one might imagine, much too long.[92] Like many historical pageants, Hunter's script opened with a pleasant scene in an Indian village. This opening scene included "the dance of the seven clans" and the Green Corn Dance, which was soon interrupted by none other than Hernando de Soto demanding gold and other precious minerals. De Soto, the only Spaniard who speaks in this scene, speaks entirely in Spanish, while the Cherokee speak English. However, de Soto's actual lines seem rather unimportant. Instead, the conversation between the Guide and the Chief fills in any gaps:

> *Chief: What does the pale man want?*
>
> *Guide: The pale man looks for a land where the arrows are tipped in gold – where men use turquoise for money – and the children wear coral in their hair.*
>
> *Chief: Money! Ha! There is no such land as this. The only gold we have is in the yellow cornfields.*[93]

An unnamed Indian (simply referred to as "one of the ceremonial dancers") is shot and killed by a Spanish soldier in the ensuing interaction before de Soto and his men move "arrogantly off stage left." Thompson has argued that de Soto's status as "an interloper" is strengthened through the character's use of Spanish, and having the Indian characters converse in English "dovetails nicely with longstanding American cultural practices of substituting any Native presence with whiteness…by proxy through language."[94] Unlike the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant and Happy Canyon, the opening scene of *Unto These Hills* immediately focuses on the conflicts between the Cherokee and the "arrogant" Spanish. De Soto could, however, serve as the international villain imposing on the

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[92] Connor, 17.
[93] Kermit Hunter, *Unto These Hills*, 1950, courtesy of the Cherokee Historical Association, Cherokee, North Carolina.
[94] Thompson, 123.

peaceful inhabitants of a nation who had done nothing to provoke the violence wrought by the Spanish scoundrel, allowing audiences to easily ally themselves with the Cherokee in their fight against warmongering antagonists. Cold War contestations had forced the United States to defend itself against Communist propaganda about American racial discrimination, and the federal government had pushed to tell "a particular story about race and American democracy: a story of progress, a story of the triumph of good over evil, a story of U.S. moral superiority."[95] American innocence, then, was easily framed within this scene depicting the violence of belligerent aggressors.

The next scene begins 250 years later, at an 1811 council meeting where Tecumseh, "the shooting star of the Shawnee" who had "come down from the North, out of the Shawnee Nation, down through Kentucky and Tennessee, shouting in words of flame" asks the Cherokee to join him in war. Hunter conveniently skipped, among many important events, the Proclamation of 1763, which prohibited settlement west of the Appalachians, as well as the American Revolution, the Treaty of Hopewell, the ratification of the United States Constitution, the Louisiana Purchase, and the inauguration of four American presidents.[96] However, we learn that:

> *Narrator: The white man kept coming. Good met with good; evil with evil. The Cherokee tried to keep peace; like all people who live close to the earth, close to the sun and the rain and the turning of the seasons. They had learned that no matter what a man's race or color might be, it is far better to live with him in friendliness, because hatred bites into the soul.*[97]

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[95] Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 13.
[96] Perdue and Green, 187-188.
[97] Kermit Hunter, *Unto These Hills*, 1950, courtesy of the Cherokee Historical Association, Cherokee, North Carolina.

By romanticizing the Indians of the past, Hunter's script effectively sought to *keep* the Eastern Band there. The application of salvage tourism reveals the ways in which the pageant's conceptualization of indigeneity centered on the marginalization and exclusion of the Eastern Band from the creation, production, and performance of *Unto These Hills.*

The dialogue in the scene is slightly elevated from that of the Lone Ranger's pal Tonto, for example, but not by much. At the behest of the Cherokee, namely Junaluska, Drowning Bear, White Path, John Ross, and Sequoyah, Tecumseh outlines his plan:

> *Tecumseh: Here is Tecumseh's plan! War against the whites. From the Northern lakes to the southern gulf we will join together in one great nation. Choctaw will sweep the coast from Florida to Mississippi. Creeks will burn the towns in Alabama and in South Georgia. From the peaks of Otter in Virginia to Catawba town in South Carolina the Cherokee will draw a line – never again will the white man cross that line.*

There are, according to Thompson, numerous inaccuracies in this scene. Citing Raymond Hayes's dissertation, he argues that Hunter employs the method of "telescoping," meaning that the playwright "has taken a group of historical figures who could never have met one another and put them all together in the same place at the same time for reasons of dramaturgical expediency."[98] In doing so, Hunter simultaneously suggests that Cherokee, North Carolina, rather than northern Georgia and Alabama, was the seat of the Cherokee nation and "ground zero for all the ground historic events unfolding in the drama."[99] While Hunter's subtle shift in location combined with the juggling of historical characters immediately raises questions surrounding the authenticity of the pageant, at the same time Hunter seemingly *elevates* the audience's perception of Cherokee history, Cherokee people, and Cherokee places. The conflation of places, people, and events demonstrates Hunter's concerted effort to develop a

[98] Thompson, 126, citing Hayes, 117.
[99] Thompson, 126.

storyline that would evoke particular responses from his audience: pride in the Cherokee's alignment with the United States with an underlying note of sympathy based on the Cherokee's eventual fate.

Drowning Bear is the first to speak in this scene, and he proudly announces that his father fought alongside George Washington. He vows that his people will never join the British. Sequoyah begins to question Tecumseh's reasoning for fighting, while Drowning Bear dismisses Tecumseh' decision to use "the weapons of the red man – bow and arrow, tomahawk, knife, and fire" against "the guns of the white man." As the men's tempers rise, Sequoyah speaks again:

> *Sequoyah: Years ago we lived in caves and grass huts – now we build warm houses. Many times we starved through the long winters – now we plant big fields of corn and potatoes, and store them in barns for the winters. Our fathers prayed to the spirits of these mountains – now we go to church and worship a Christian god. Where did the red man learn these things?*

The Cherokee characters are shown to recognize the non-Native elements of supposed assimilation, even against the unending onslaught of settlers, as a positive outcome centered on acknowledging a troubled past in the wake of a promising future.

Sequoyah and John Ross contend that, rather than fighting, the Indians should call the U.S. government to council and make a treaty to live in peace. Near the end of the scene Sequoyah proclaims, "We are not just Red Men – we are Americans!" Here, Hunter is arguing for the supposedly long-standing alliance between the Cherokee and the newly-formed United States. However, the historical nuances are again overlooked. A number of American Indian tribes fought *against* the colonists in the American Revolution, including the Cherokee, but the tragedy of the eventual Cherokee removal is heightened by linking the Cherokee-American association to the Revolution.

An angry Tecumseh exits, while the Cherokee once again vow to keep the peace with the white man, meaning the Americans. From there the action moves to the 1814 Battle of Horseshoe Bend during the War of 1812. Before the heat of battle erupts, Hunter once again reminds the audience of the Cherokees' devotion to peace:

> *Narrator: To the North flamed the hatred of the Shawnee. To the South rose the scorn of the Creeks. But the choice had been made. The Cherokees listened to Sequoyah and made their peace with the white man. Then suddenly the white man called on the Cherokee for help – help against these other Indians who threatened the young American nation. And, from a small farm here in the Great Smokies, a young Cherokee was among those who answered the call. His name was Tsali…Down from the high peaks and sunny foothills of the Great Smokies, from the broad valleys of Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, from cabins and huts, farms and villages, the Cherokee came – three thousand strong. Once again, just as they had in the Revolution, the Cherokee fought side by side with American soldiers.*[100]

By aligning the Cherokee with the U.S. government, especially in opposition to other Indian nations, Hunter intentionally increases the audience's sympathy for the Indians since the audience already knows how the story will end. Cherokee warriors did, in fact, fight in the War of 1812, most notably alongside Andrew Jackson at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend as part of the Creek War, a subset of the War of 1812. Led by Junaluska, the Cherokee were integral in defeating the Red Stick faction of the Creek, who had joined forces with the British.[101] This becomes a crucial point for Hunter in his script for *Unto These Hills*, not only because the Cherokee fought an allied British and Indian front, but because Junaluska saved Jackson's life – an act he would later regret.

This scene is then-General Andrew Jackson's first appearance, and a disagreement arises following an initial battle, one wherein Tsali and Drowning Bear

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[100] Kermit Hunter, *Unto These Hills*, 1950, courtesy of the Cherokee Historical Association, Cherokee, North Carolina.
[101] Susan K. Barnard and Grace M. Schwartzman, "Tecumseh and the Creek Indian War of 1813-1814 in North Georgia," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* Vol. 82, No. 3 (Fall 1998): 504.

rescue an injured Sam Houston. The Cherokee, following orders from Drowning Bear and Junaluska rather than Jackson, decide to attack the fort from behind. Jackson's initial ire dissolves, and he suggests that "maybe it takes an Indian to know how to fight an Indian." The action reaches its peak with Junaluska and Jackson left to battle a handful of Creek warriors. Junaluska quickly dispatches an anonymous warrior, while Jackson seems destined to face a different fate. Junaluska comes to his rescue as, according to the stage directions, "a savage fight ensues, knife against tomahawk, Cherokee against Creek." After Junaluska dispenses the second warrior, Jackson wordlessly extends a hand to Junaluska as the lights fade to black.

The dramatic irony – meaning that the words or actions on stage have a different meaning for the audience than for the characters – is heightened by the knowledge that these Cherokee warriors were some of Jackson's "staunchest allies" in the war, and they apparently boasted later on that Jackson could not have beaten the Creek without the Cherokee.[102] However, while Hunter's narrator informs the audience that the Battle at Horseshoe Bend was one of the great victories of the War of 1812, Hunter omits the fact that Jackson was responsible for the massacre of hundreds of Red Sticks and their families as well as neutral Creeks before the battle. Hunter also ignores that the Battle of Horseshoe Bend was, according to Tiya Miles and Michael Rogin, considered the greatest victory of American forces over American Indians, thanks to "the tremendous number of Native people who lost their lives."[103] Rather, the focus remains on the successful (though strained) relationship between Jackson and his Cherokee allies. Additionally, as Thompson contends, there is no historical evidence supporting the

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[102] Finger, *The Eastern Band of Cherokees: 1819-1900,* 7.
[103] Miles, *Ties That Bind,* 81; Michael Rogin, *Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian* (1975 Reprint New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1991), 156.

claims that Junaluska *personally* saved Jackson's life or that Tsali was one of the Cherokee warriors.[104] Again, as in the earlier scene with Tecumseh, Hunter increases the dramatic tension of the pageant by playing loosely with the historical narrative.

After the triumphant warriors return, the narrator declares that Indians and their white neighbors gathered to celebrate the victory:

> *Narrator:…in the Great Smokies, Drowning Bear's village reached far into the primitive past [and] brought back a dance of triumph, so that their white friends might see it – the Great Eagle Dance.*

According to the 2012 souvenir program for *Unto These Hills*, the Eagle Dance was an instant success and "the most colorful and exciting part of the show," despite its lack of authenticity.[105] Thompson has wryly noted that the Eagle Dance "was where people really got their money's worth with a full-on spectacle of drums, fire, and Indians dressed as animals." The above narration, for Thompson, serves as an important frame:

> The dance is explained in terms of military success to remove audience apprehensions about witnessing a pagan ceremony. It is described as primitive and of the past, thus authenticating it though the dance itself is really a combination of modern dance and ballet and not traditional Cherokee dance. Finally it places the audience in the moment by suggesting that it is being performed for White friends. The audience can be assured that they are legitimately witnessing what happened after the Battle of Horseshoe Bend as peers and guests.[106]

However, Beard-Moose points to the Eagle Dance as a symbol of the inconsistencies surrounding the production. She asserts that the Eagle Dance was used for "hunting and giving thanks," and it would not have required "the participation of the entire population and therefore would not be *the* important event of the Cherokee cyclical year."[107] Coupled with the artistic use of the Tsali narrative, *Unto These Hills* is decidedly

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[104] Thompson, 133.
[105] *Unto These Hills* souvenir program (Cherokee Historical Association, 2012).
[106] Thompson, 134.
[107] Beard-Moose, 33.

different from the first Apostle Islands Indian Pageant. As shown in Chapter 1, the Apostle Islands pageant was based on "correct historical data gathered from the writings of the earliest settlers on the Apostle Islands, the real cradles of Wisconsin's history."[108] In Cherokee, however, the "'spirit' of the truth" prevailed. The push for historical accuracy and authenticity that might have doomed the Apostle Islands pageant does not seem to have been of particular concern for *Unto These Hills* organizers. As in the Apostle Islands pageant, however, the incorporation of Native dances – or, at least, the dances the audience would want to see – proudly demonstrate that, despite countless efforts to the contrary, indigenous performances had survived.

Trouble arises in Scene 6, as gold was discovered in 1835 and the "frontier towns of North Georgia exploded with tumult and terror." Drunken gold miners accost a young Cherokee boy, who is protected by the storekeeper. Two smarmy government agents, John Schermerhorn and a Mr. Reed, explain now-President Jackson's plan to buy the Cherokees' land to the drunks in the store, who heartily agree. Schermerhorn then tries to persuade the Cherokee to sign the treaty:

> *Schermerhorn: Now, the treaty says the government will pay five million dollars for all this poor mountain land – five million dollars! The Cherokee get a big tract of land in the Indian Territory where the Western Cherokee now live, all absolutely free! Besides that, the Government will move the people, pay the bills, feed everybody on the way, and buy food and clothing for everybody for a full year after they get there!*

Tsali, Drowning Bear, and Will Thomas – known in later years by his full name, William Holland Thomas, who advocated on behalf of the Cherokee – question Schermerhorn and his motives, while Elias Boudinot agrees with the government official. The action then

[108] "Aged Indian to Be Drum Leader," *Superior Times*, September 29, 1923.

moves to Washington, where Junaluska, John Ross, Sam Houston, and Daniel Webster argue with President Jackson and Secretary of War Lewis Cass:

> *Jackson: ...Mr Webster and his Whigs in the Senate can preach all day about humanity, and justice and human rights. But the Cherokee have been offered a fair treaty, they voted to sell, and by the Eternal, that's that! Now, is there anything else?*
> *...*
> *Junaluska: One thing more, Mr. President.*
>
> *Jackson: Well?*
>
> *Junaluska: The Cherokee want to become citizens of the United States.*
>
> *Cass: Citizens?*
>
> *Jackson: Ha! That'll be a cold day in hell.*
>
> *Junaluska: But, Mr. President!*
>
> *Jackson: As far as I'm concerned, the Cherokee are moving to Oklahoma! (exits)*
>
> *Junaluska: If I had known this was going to happen, I would have let him die at Horseshoe Bend!*

In this scene, Jackson's willful condemnation of the Cherokee desire to become citizens of the United States highlights one of the pageant's strongest connections to conceptions of Cherokee history. Their apparent exclusion from American society in the 1830s mirrors the exclusion of members of the Eastern Band from the pageant a century later. Their authenticity, as determined by non-Native tourist interests, remained firmly rooted in the past.

The marriage of Tsali's daughter and Drowning Bear's son in the final scene of Act I is interrupted by soldiers with orders from Brigadier General Winfield Scott. According to the orders, the North Carolina Cherokee were to be in Chattanooga within

two weeks. As Act II begins, the Narrator lays out the drastic changes facing the Cherokee in 1838:

> *Narrator: Out of the great womb of destiny, into the doorway of the world, come the souls of men, created equal in the sight of God…Somewhere between on the plains of human life, caught in the monstrous mistakes that men devise to plague each other, it is the fate of some people to undergo pain and misery, and to be twisted on the rack of greed and hatred. The Cherokee…had so many friends among the white people that this terrible thing did not seem possible. But it was true, and now it was upon them.*

By revealing, rather than concealing, "the nation's past failings," the pageant painted American history as "a story of redemption."[109] The salvation of the Cherokee rested on their inclusion in American society, just as the salvation of Western North Carolina rested on the inclusion of the Eastern Band's history in the regional tourist economy.

A Constable and his assistant attempt to collect debts off the Cherokee, only to see their plot foiled by Major Davis. Junaluska implores Davis to help the Cherokee, who have been jammed into the stockade awaiting removal. Davis, angered that there are dozens of Cherokee still hiding in the mountains, declares them to be outlaws and avows that any who are caught will be shot on sight. Tsali's wife, Wilani, enters with a large bundle she struggles to carry. She drops it and has trouble picking it up, and a drunken soldier pushes her. She falls against some rocks, and the soldier smashes her head with the butt of his rifle. Tsali takes a knife from one of his sons and kills the soldier, and he and his sons run off. Junaluska and Davis argue over what should be done, and Davis utters his final decree:

> *Davis: That man must be captured and punished as an example. I want those four men brought back here!*
>
> *Junaluska: Tsali and his three sons?*

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[109] Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*, 49.

Davis: They killed an American soldier.

Drowning Bear: The soldier killed Tsali's wife.

Davis: That's not the point.

Will Thomas: Then what in Heaven's name is the point?

Davis: ...I want those men brought back here as an example to the others. I've got to stop this running away and hiding…I'll make a bargain with you. Get those four men back here, and the rest of those hiding in the mountains can go free.

Again, Thompson notes that there are numerous versions of the legend of Tsali, such as military reports and Will Thomas's interviews with ethnographer James Mooney. While these accounts are lacking in many respects, many scholars contend that Tsali's wife, who apparently never went by the name of Wilani, was not killed by soldiers or captured by drunken military men. Thompson argues that this "whole encounter is completely fabricated for the drama," creating a rationale for Tsali's violent actions against the soldiers.[110] However, in Hunter's script, Tsali is condemned to death for defending his wife against the violent actions of the soldiers. Drowning Bear and Will Thomas are ordered to find Tsali and deliver the message. In the following scene, Davis tells the Cherokee to be ready to leave in ten minutes. Tsali and his sons return and surrender after Davis promises that those in the mountains will not be punished. Tsali and the oldest sons are then taken offstage and shot. The scene of the Cherokee on the Trail of Tears follows.

The scene moves again to Washington, this time in the office of President William Henry Harrison. Drowning Bear and Will Thomas enter and, with the assistance of Daniel Webster, put forth several requests: a reservation in the Great Smoky

[110] Thompson, 143, 321.

Mountains *and* U.S. citizenship. Harrison is surprised, and asks why the Cherokee do not all move to the West if they are put upon by the whites. Drowning Bear, by now depicted as an elderly man, offers an explanation that succinctly defines American westward expansion:

> *Drowning Bear: Mr. President, Drowning Bear is an old man. He can remember his father telling how he fought at Yorktown with General Washington. First the white man came over the Blue Ridge, and built cabins in the coves of the mountains. Then he spread out all the way to the Mississippi. The march of the white man is toward the West, Mr. President, and someday he will take everything between the two oceans! It is foolish to hope that he will not trouble the Indian in the Western Territory – the white man's nature is not like that. Sooner or later he will cover the whole continent!...The Indian will never be safe, unless he is part of the government, like the white man himself. The only answer is to make the Cherokee American citizens!*

The pageant's focus on the Cherokee quest for citizenship again draws on the narrative of Cherokee history publicized and popularized by the pageant. Their supposed authenticity lay in these ever-crystallizing constructions of static Indianness that rested at the core of the pageant. Despite the flood of settlers, the loss of their land, and their mistreatment at the hands of the federal government, the Cherokee entreaties to the federal government maintain what Borstelmann calls "the logic of democracy."[111]

While Harrison balks at the idea of citizenship, he promises that the federal government will not trouble the Cherokee. The narrator informs the audience that Harrison died two weeks later, leaving his promises to the Cherokee unfulfilled. The final scene opens with the birth of Tsali's grandchild and a reassurance from Will Thomas that the Cherokee will one day have a reservation. An aged Junaluska enters, with only "a little time to live." After learning that his people have remained in their

[111] Borstelmann, 18.

homelands and are happy, Junaluska slowly crosses the stage and exits. The final words are spoken by the Narrator:

> *In the beginning was the land. In the beginning was freedom. In the beginning was peace. Once upon a time, out of the darkness of tragedy, a man said, "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills…" Once upon a time, out of the darkness of tragedy, a race of people looked beyond the years and devoted itself to the dream of its great leader when he said, "It is not that a man's skin is black, or red, or white. Choose the way of peace. Take all men as your brother." This, then, was the dream of the Cherokee. This, then, is the hope of all America!"*

According to the pageant, the dream of the Cherokee and the hope of all America was full participation in the American democratic system. Despite "the subjugation and destruction of people of color" in early American history, *Unto These Hills* demonstrated that the power of democracy would absolve past sins in the creation of a society characterized by equality.[112]

Mary Dudziak has argued that "the story of civil rights and the Cold War is in part the story of a struggle over the narrative of race and democracy." In the wake of Soviet propaganda that strove to highlight the hypocrisy of the United States, Dudziak demonstrates that the federal government sought to use the nation's troubling racial history as a means of recognizing its problematic past and its "inexorable march toward justice" through democracy.[113] While *Unto These Hills* shows no signs of being a direct display of American racial progress, Hunter's deliberate incorporation of a hopeful push for social change apparently began and ended with the Cherokee.

Despite the Eastern Band's attempts to push Hunter toward a historically-accurate portrayal of their history, the script presents a highly romanticized plot wherein the Cherokee seem doomed to lose their land. Historical hindsight, coupled with the desire

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[112] Borstelmann, 11.
[113] Dudziak, 250.

for a dramatic production, leaves much to be desired from Hunter's script. The theme of inevitability, one of the most pertinent problems in American Indian history, is evident not only in the script but in "The Story of the Cherokee," which Hunter wrote for the 1950 souvenir program. "It should be noted," Hunter proclaimed, that "the Indians, simple and plain-spoken as all primitive people are, were continually disappointed, confused, and angered by constant treachery, greed, and unscrupulousness on the part of white explorers and colonizers." He contended that, while the facts may not be entirely accurate, "many efforts were made officially to establish peace between the two races, [but] friction was increasingly aggravated by persons on both sides who had no vision of the future and little concern for peace or progress."[114]

The creation, production, and early success of *Unto These Hills* reveal the contested nature of authenticity, indigeneity, and history, as well as their confluence with salvage tourism. If American Indians could, theoretically, forgive the federal government, then the possibilities of equality and equal participation in the nation were endless. According to George Myers Stephens, writing in 1951, the pageant was "part of the Cherokee story, the reward for the character and tolerance of a people who preserved the white man of Western North Carolina as their friend."[115]

"Including three Cherokee Indians": Early Indian participation in ***Unto These Hills***[116]

As noted earlier, however, this "Cherokee story" was instantly lacking in one critical element – Cherokee actors in leading roles. Unlike Happy Canyon and the

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[114] Kermit Hunter, "The Story of the Cherokee," *Unto These Hills: A Drama of the Cherokee, 1540-1950* souvenir program (Cherokee Historical Association, 1950), 20-21, courtesy of the Cherokee Historical Association.
[115] Stephens, 217.
[116] "Cherokee Drama Being Rehearsed 'Round The Clock," *Waynesville Mountaineer*, June 12, 1950.

Apostle Islands Indian Pageants, *Unto These Hills* stands apart from the others in its casting decisions. According to John Tissue, Executive Director of the Cherokee Historical Association, the first cast was predominantly "a bunch of white kids from Chapel Hill."[117] This "bunch" was the Carolina Playmakers, part of a prestigious theatre program at the University of North Carolina. The 1950 souvenir program, for example, lists only "three native-born Cherokee in the cast": Ethelyn Saloli, who played Tsali's daughter, Nundayeli; Arsene Thompson, who would play Elias Boudinot for many decades; and Cain Saunooke, who held "the part of the Indian leader who greeted DeSoto on his historic expedition in 1540."[118] The rest of the major players, however, were either Chapel Hill students who were members of the Carolina Playmakers or well-established local actors, a pattern that continued well into the twenty-first century.[119]

The distinct omission of Cherokee Indians in a pageant *about* Cherokee Indians is striking. Perhaps the organizers used trained actors in order to create a professional production akin to the already-well-known *The Lost Colony*, and they may have feared that American Indians may not have performed as well on stage. More likely, however, the casting decisions reflected popular mid-century opinions of American Indians. Philip Deloria has argued that non-Native expectations in this era centered around constructions of Indians as having "missed out on modernity – indeed, almost dropped out of history itself."[120] Therefore, audiences at *Unto These Hills* likely would not have considered Indian performers to actually be authentic Indians. Rather, that honor would go to the

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[117] Interview with John Tissue, August 2, 2012.
[118] *Unto These Hills: A Drama of the Cherokee, 1540-1950* souvenir program (Cherokee Historical Association, 1950), 13-15, courtesy of the Cherokee Historical Association.
[119] The 1950 souvenir program only includes biographies of named characters, excluding, for instance, those portraying Indian Maidens, Indian Youths, Other Villagers, Spanish Soldiers, U.S. Soldiers, Loiterers, and Square Dancers.
[120] Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 6.

non-Native actors who would have infused their performance with the elements of apparently authentic Cherokees.

This is not to say that Saloli, Thompson, and Saunooke were the only Cherokee participants in the pageant. One newspaper noted that these three were joined by "some 25 Cherokee young people" in important – albeit unnamed – roles, such as dancers, archers, and participants in crowd scenes and more than 50 "original Americans" who worked as secretaries and stenographers, ushers, concession clerks, traffic directors, and costume sewers.[121] The focus here is on Cherokee labor used in the creation of the pageant and, for many audience members, only a passing, cursory interaction at the theatre. Again, the construction of indigenous peoples as industrious workers *for* the pageant rather than as leading players in Hunter's reenactment of their own history is a marked contrast to the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant, and this conscious decision reflects a distinct shift in non-Native expectations of Indians and Indianness after World War II. As this chapter has demonstrated, the expectations surrounding authenticity in Cherokee were never based on producing an accurate portrayal of tribal history by tribal members. Rather, the focus centered on what organizers considered their most important variable: the economic opportunities that arose by exploiting non-Native constructions of Indianness for non-Native audiences.

Conclusion

The July 3, 1950 edition of *The Waynesville Mountaineer* proclaimed that *Unto These Hills* was "far better than expectations," urging its readership to quickly plan a trip

[121] "Number Of Cherokees In Drama, 'Unto These Hills,'" *Waynesville Mountaineer,* August 3, 1950; "Cherokee Indians On The Stage," *Waynesville Mountaineer*, July 20, 1950.

to Cherokee. The paper praised the pageant, insisting that "Mere words cannot do justice in describing the drama, its beauty, the music, setting, color, and modernistic lighting that helps make history of centuries long ago live anew."[122] Several years later, John Gassner concurred, promising that *Unto These Hills* "suffers from no serious flaws." Gassner, who regularly contributed a column called "Broadway in Review" for the *Educational Theatre Journal*, noted that the production was "the stirring drama of people who became the victims of history as well as the rapacity of individual culprits…held together by the great double theme of justice and the struggle for survival."[123] He praised the stage direction, the lighting, and "the excellent choreography," and remarked that *Unto These Hills* deserved the success it had enjoyed the last three seasons. Gassner's approval of the pageant was reiterated at the box office. While *Unto These Hills* had opened its first season with a $25,000 debt, it claimed a net profit of $50,000 that same year thanks to the more than 100,000 people – an average of over 2,000 per performance – who saw the pageant.[124] George Myers Stephens declared that the production's "dramatic but well-balanced picturing of Cherokee history has made a schoolbook subject come alive for the American people."[125] This dramatic picturing, staged six nights a week, three months a year for more than half a century, capitalized on American Indian history as the springboard for economic growth.

In this chapter, the application of salvage tourism centered on non-Native constructions of Cherokee authenticity or the apparent lack thereof. Pageant organizers, frantically looking for a profitable tourist enterprise in the wake of World War II, became

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[122] "'Unto These Hills' Is Far Better Than Expectations," *Waynesville Mountaineer*, July 3, 1950.
[123] John Gassner, "Broadway in Review," *Educational Theatre Journal* Vol. 5, No. 4 (December 1953): 349.
[124] Finger, *Cherokee Americans*, 116; Hunter, "The Theatre Meets the People," 134; Stephens, 217.
[125] Stephens, 216.

so obsessed with this endeavor that they did not seem to recognize the potential behind casting members of the Eastern Band in leading roles. By 2005, however, the narrative that had thrilled non-Native tourist audiences for decades had clearly lost its allure. Attendance had steadily declined, leaving the Cherokee Historical Association on the brink of bankruptcy. Its relationship with the Eastern Band was also in shambles, due in large part to the association's continued refusal to compensate the tribe, alter the script, or encourage local tribal members to audition for lead roles. While *Unto These Hills* had initially been the sole regional tourist attraction, subsequent enterprises, including a casino on the Qualla Boundary, siphoned tourists and their dollars away from the pageant.

In the following Chapter, I will examine the contemporary application and rejection of salvage tourism in Cherokee in regards to the Eastern Band, the Cherokee Historical Association, and *Unto These Hills*. The association has revised the pageant three times since 2005, frantically searching for a way to salvage the production as a viable element of the tourist economy. The association has also been working to repair its strained relationship with the tribe in the wake of decades of contestations surrounding the pageant and tourism on and around the Qualla Boundary. However, the initial revision, spearheaded by Hanay Geiogamah of the American Indian Dance Theatre, provided such a staunch refusal of the narrative of salvage tourism that the pageant garnered a slew of responses from angry tourists. Since then, two more revisions have sought to place *Unto These Hills* within the ever-diversifying regional tourist economy. For some contemporary members of the Eastern Band, their participation in the pageant

has become a source of pride. As I will demonstrate in Chapter 4, salvage tourism has become a tool of resistance against the dominant narrative of Hunter's script.

Chapter 4

"We Are Telling Our Story": Salvaging *Unto These Hills*[1]

In 2006, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill issued a press release regarding the upcoming production of the Cherokee Historical Association's *Unto These Hills*. It promised "an all-new show, re-written as a celebration of Cherokee history and culture," a show that would be written and directed by an American Indian for the first time in the show's 57 seasons. It noted that the original script by Kermit Hunter had "sympathized with the Cherokee in its portrayal of the tragic removal of most of the tribe from its native Great Smoky Mountains to Oklahoma in 1838" although, according to then-CHA Executive Director James Bradley, "it left an impression of the Cherokee as a woeful and broken people."[2] After more than 50 years, the first major overhaul of *Unto These Hills* was guaranteed not to reduce the "spectacle" of the show, assuring potential audience members that the pageant would contain "abundant Cherokee music, abundant Cherokee dance and abundant Cherokee ceremony."[3]

The quite-literal dramatic shift from Hunter's well-known, albeit intensely problematic, script to a production that proudly vowed to serve as "a new kind of cultural preservation for the tribe" underscored numerous tensions that had been present in Cherokee since *Unto These Hills* premiered in 1950. However, as Mathew Thompson has argued, the pageant "is also a source of friction among its multiple audiences who

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[1] Interview with Eddie Swimmer, July 31, 2012.
[2] UNC News Release – "'Unto These Hills' rewritten, staged by Cherokee from tribe's viewpoint," The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill News Service, April 28, 2006, http://www.unc.edu/news/archives/apr06/seas042806.htm.
[3] UNC News Release – "'Unto These Hills' rewritten, staged by Cherokee from tribe's viewpoint," The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill News Service, April 28, 2006.

contest each other's authority to authenticate its narratives of the past."[4] As demonstrated in Chapter 3, the early tourist-driven initiatives were rarely generated by the Eastern Band of Cherokee Nation.[5] The post-WWII creation of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park and the expansion of roads and highways in the region proved irresistible for Indian agents, park officials, and local entrepreneurs who recognized that the history and culture of the Eastern Band could be used to generate tourist traffic and tourist dollars. Whereas Chapter 3 examined the mid-twentieth-century establishment of *Unto These Hills* as a pageant deeply wedded to salvage tourism's narrative of static indigeneity, in this chapter I move to illustrate the contemporary contestations over the pageant, focusing chiefly on the ways in which the Eastern Band's production of the pageant continually refutes the notions of salvage tourism.

Hunter's depiction of the Cherokee as "stereotypical Indians," as highlighted in Chapter 3, has pushed the Eastern Band to dismantle the original in order to produce a pageant that they, individually and as a whole, are proud to participate in and publicize. These tribal motivations, however, are simultaneously encouraged and hampered by several decades of declining attendance. As Thompson has noted, "the relationships among tourism, history, authenticity, and the growing cultural revitalization movement complicate any simplistic understanding of the politics of display."[6] As this chapter will reveal, the Eastern Band, along with the Cherokee Historical Association, have sought to reclaim the pageant and create a production that aligns more closely with the history of the Eastern Band. The initial script and staging of *Unto These Hills*, coupled with its

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[4] Matthew Thompson, "Staging 'the Drama': The Continuing Importance of Cultural Tourism in the Gaming Era" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, 2009), iv.
[5] See Christina Taylor Beard-Moose, *Public Indians, Private Cherokees: Tourism and Tradition on Tribal Ground* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009).
[6] Thompson, "Staging 'the Drama,'" 11.

domineering presence in the region, presents a considerable obstacle for those attempting to bring the pageant into the twenty-first century.

Whereas Chapter 3 examined playwright Kermit Hunter's initial script, this chapter centers on the three subsequent revisions of the pageants produced from 2006 to 2008, beginning with Hanay Geiogamah's production in 2006, Pat Allee and Ben Hurst's historically-driven version in 2007, and Linda Squirrel's contemporary reworking of *Unto These Hills*, which has been produced since 2008. Hunter's pageant has, for better or worse, become a defining element of the Eastern Band as well as the local economy, and it has become inextricably intertwined in the lives of the people whose lives it purports to portray. The Eastern Band, as with the Red Cliff Ojibwe and the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, has had to reckon with these productions as markers of memory, economy, and identity.

The Cherokee Historical Association filed for bankruptcy in 2004, and the Eastern Band voted to aid the association and, by extension, the pageant, which has led members of the Eastern Band to take on more prominent roles in the pageant both on stage and behind the scenes. The subsequent revisions, coupled with growing tribal participation, exposes the underlying tensions between these differing applications of salvage tourism. Why, we may wonder, would the Eastern Band work to salvage a pageant that is so clearly out of step with constructions of not only indigenous history but with contemporary Natives? Why should the Eastern Band continue to have a stake in the production of *Unto These Hills*? In this chapter, I argue that it is clear that the Eastern Band no longer wants to perpetuate Hunter's construction of static Indianness, and the

contemporary productions of the pageant center around the repudiation of certain elements of salvage tourism.

On the other hand, however, the current staging and casting has become a marketing tool for the pageant and the region's tourist economy. According to a local tourist website, *Unto These Hills* is "One of the longest-running outdoor dramas in the U.S." that has "thrilled and entertained more than six million people since 1950. Recently rewritten to better reflect the Cherokee's true history and culture, the play is a 'must-see' when visiting the Smokies."[7] Another calls it

> A spectacular reimagining of the Cherokee story…an outdoor drama that stirs the soul nightly. With sensational artistry this critically acclaimed production portrays the gripping legacy of the Cherokee people through the zenith of their power, through the heartbreak of the Trail of Tears, and finally culminating in the present day where the Cherokee people continue to rewrite their place in the world: a place based in traditional Cherokee values and modern sensibilities. Thousands of years in the making, *Unto These Hills* covers ritual, betrayal, love, action, suspense, and loss.[8]

But these re-imaginings of Cherokee history cannot escape the past, much like Indian history itself cannot ignore the events that, even without dramaturgical interference, create such a heart-wrenching narrative.

As shown in the previous Chapter, the initial script was written by Hunter, a graduate student at the University of North Carolina who may have been more concerned with romanticism, melodrama, and, likely, ticket sales rather than a historically-accurate depiction. This outdated script for one of the longest-running American Indian historical pageants was used until 2005, and the show has subsequently undergone a series of drastic revisions. According to John Tissue, the 2012 Executive Director of the Cherokee

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[7] "*Unto These Hills*," Cherokee Smokies, http://www.cherokeesmokies.com/unto_these_hills.html.
[8] "Welcome to 'Unto These Hills.' Where Cherokee history dramatically comes to life." Cherokee, North Carolina, http://visitcherokeenc.com/play/attractions/unto-these-hills-outdoor-drama/.

Historical Association, "The tooth of the Hunter script was a fantastic story, but it wasn't terribly accurate and it was kind of patronizing. The tribe was embarrassed."[9] The Cherokee Historical Association, which owns the rights to the production, is currently struggling to balance the expectations of its largely non-Native audience – many of whom would return year after year or, having come as children with their parents or grandparents, may now bring their children or grandchildren – with the concerns of the Eastern Band, whose members have seen their history misinterpreted for more than half a century.

Unlike the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant, which was deemed a failure after a few short years, *Unto These Hills* enjoyed decades of success and the subsequent influx of hundreds of thousands of tourist dollars. This chapter examines the shifting narrative of the pageant, declining attendance, the growing participation of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, and the changing nature of tourism in the region. Christina Taylor Beard-Moose's work centers around what she considers to be the "public" and "private" faces of the Eastern Band, comparing the very public tourist industry with private elements of Indianness that are critical to their self-identification and self-determination. Matthew Thompson's dissertation focuses on his first-hand account as an employee of the Cherokee Historical Association and participant in *Unto These Hills…A Retelling*, the 2006 production of the pageant that sought to distance itself from Hunter's script. While their fieldwork provides indispensable accounts of the contemporary nature of tourism in Cherokee, neither Beard-Moose nor Thompson could have anticipated the uncertainty, unrelenting revisions, and still-declining attendance and revenue that continue to dog the pageant.

[9] Interview with John Tissue, August 2, 2012.

Salvage tourism manifests itself in an entirely different way through the contemporary production of *Unto These Hills.* While the original *Unto These Hills* focused on producing a narrative of salvage tourism through depictions of historically-static Cherokee, the current focus in Cherokee centers on the literal attempts to salvage the pageant while working against the constructions of salvage tourism. The growth of competing tourist attractions, most notably Harrah's Cherokee Casino, which was built in 1997, has forced the pageant to vie for tourist dollars.[10] At the same time, the pageant is struggling to salvage and rebuild its relationship with the Eastern Band after decades of purposeful commodification and exploitation. The initial success of the pageant and tourist dollars that supported the local economy created a relationship based on what Matthew Thompson calls "guarded ambivalence," thanks in large part to "the context of the drama's story, and the location of the theater on Indian land."[11]

In this chapter, I examine the history of *Unto These Hills* since 2005 through the lens of salvage tourism. I outline the challenges facing the Cherokee Historical Association, the pageant, and the Eastern Band. I then move to a fieldwork-based analysis of contemporary Cherokee, including the backstage environment at *Unto These Hills*, before approaching the current production through a combination of historical and dramaturgical methodology. This portion of the Chapter is grounded in the research I conducted in Cherokee during the 2012 run of *Unto These Hills*, which included archival research as well as ethnographic fieldwork through my interviews with members of the cast and employees of the CHA. Finally, as *Unto These Hills* is still a tangible, albeit ever-shifting pageant, I survey the continued contestations surrounding the production.

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[10] See Beard-Moose, *Public Indians, Private Cherokees: Tourism and Tradition on Tribal Ground*; and Thompson, "Staging 'the Drama': The Continuing Importance of Cultural Tourism in the Gaming Era."
[11] Thompson, 47.

The mercurial nature of the tourism industry acknowledges not only the uncertainty surrounding the lifespan of *Unto These Hills* but highlights the questions regarding the potential for further changes. For the Eastern Band, especially those who participate in the pageant, their growing sense of pride in the production has helped boost indigenous participation and expanded programs centered on education and cultural heritage. Regardless of what happens with *Unto These Hills*, the Eastern Band of Cherokee have become much more involved in the tourist industry on their own terms, pushing for a production that finally tells the history they want to tell.

Changes in Cherokee: Searching for success through ***Unto These Hills***

In its early years, *Unto These Hills* was unquestionably an economic success as more than half a million tourists streamed into Cherokee in just the first five seasons, creating what Thompson calls "a pop culture phenomenon."[12] The heyday for tourism in Cherokee has alternately been considered the 1950s-1970s and the 1960s-1980s, a time when "Cars were bumper to bumper through the whole town from May to October."[13] According to Beard-Moose, more than three million people attended *Unto These Hills* between 1950 and 1990, which translated to an average attendance of 2,133 per performance.[14] The pageant's best years were from 1950 to 1983 where, with the

[12] Thompson, 49.
[13] Beard-Moose, 103, 144. Beard-Moose continually refers to the peak of mass tourism from 1960-1980, although it is important to note the timeline given by one of her sources, Henry Lambert – an Eastern Band member who made a living by "chiefing," the practice wherein a Native man would dress up as a stereotypical American Indian (usually garbed as one would expect to see a Plains Indian) and talk to tourists and pose for photographs within the Eastern Band's lands (Beard-Moose, 80-86). According to Beard-Moose's 2006 interview with Lambert, the high point of the tourist industry among the Eastern Band was from the 1950s to the 1970s (Beard-Moose, 144).
[14] Beard-Moose, 33.

exception of 1979, yearly attendance well exceeded 100,000 visitors.[15] However, the box office numbers reveal that the first three decades of success have been followed by three decades of decline. Matthew Thompson has similarly argued that tourist revenues began to decline during the economic recession of the late 1970s and early 1980s. This may be due to the fact that *Unto These Hills* has recently faced increased competition from Gatlinburg and Pigeon Forge, Tennessee, which sat at the western entrance to the Great Smoky Mountains National Park and housed major attractions like Dolly Parton's Dollywood theme park.[16] The growth of additional tourist venues reveals the surge in and diversification of regional economic and tourist-driven development, all of which serve as competition for the tourists who had heretofore had few options for this type of entertainment and may have turned to *Unto These Hills* out of habit or lack of other possibilities.

By the turn of the twenty-first century, the future of the pageant had not improved. As shown below, attendance had dropped by nearly 18,000 from 2000 to 2004. A slight spike in 2002 gave way to a precipitous drop of almost 10,000 fewer attendees the following year. In 2005, the final year Hunter's script was performed, attendance rose by about 8,000. While the burst of tourist interest seems incongruous with the decision to close the Hunter production, attendance in 2005 was still nearly 10,000 tickets below the numbers for 2000. As a frame of reference, attendance had been steadily dropping, with minor fluctuations, since the early 1970s: attendance went from around 140,000 in 1970 to around 106,000 in 1980 to around 92,000 in 1990. Therefore, it is clear that tourist interest in *Unto These Hills* was unquestionably plummeting,

[15] Thompson, 329.
[16] Thompson, 15.

seemingly hurtling toward an inevitable demise. Thompson's work has demonstrated that the Cherokee Historical Association took a rather lackadaisical approach to record keeping and that they may have been unaware of how significant these issues had become.

Table 1: *Unto These Hills*, 2000-2005[17]				
YEAR	ATTENDANCE	SHOWS	AVERAGE	VS. YEAR BEFORE
2000	63,715	62	1,028	N/A
2001	60,382	62	974	-3,333
2002	62,421	62	1,007	+2,039
2003	52,952	62	854	-9,469
2004	45,943	62	741	-7,009
2005	54,120	62	873	+8,177

Eventually, however, the extraordinary overall drop in attendance and the subsequent hit to the local economy forced the Cherokee Historical Association to recognize that Hunter's version of *Unto These Hills* would no longer be as profitable as it had been in the past, and that its storyline was outdated. Thompson has asserted that "The sun has set on *Unto These Hills'* glory days and its role as the major tourist draw has been usurped by the casino. To the burgeoning cultural revitalization movement in Cherokee the accommodations served by *Unto These Hills* are of less consequence today."[18]

Similarly, as Beard-Moose has argued, many members of the Eastern Band had told tourists to avoid the show, and others refused to take their family and friends. According to James Bradley, the 2006 Executive Director for the CHA, many tribal

[17] These numbers are based on attendance figures from John Tissue, the 2012 Executive Director of the Cherokee Historical Association. The numbers in Matthew Thompson's appendix are similar, albeit not identical. Thompson makes numerous references to the CHA's haphazard filing and bookkeeping systems, and these discrepancies are likely a result of those inconsistent methods.
[18] Thompson, 19.

members believed that "It's not *us* up there, just white ideas of us."[19] Bradley's succinct explanation of the troubles surrounding contemporary Native aversion toward the pageant echoes the concerns raised more than a half-century earlier. The drastic distinction between the nineteenth-century Cherokee depicted on stage and the contemporary Eastern Band demonstrates the divide between the historical and cultural accuracy the Cherokee anticipated in the production and what is actually portrayed on stage. The fact that Hunter's script, which members of the Eastern Band had deemed problematic *before* it opened in 1950, was a definitive element of the tourist industry in Western North Carolina for more than half a century reveals the continually contested nature of American Indian historical pageantry in regards to the expectations of the audience versus the actual Indians whose histories are exploited for touristic desires and local economic gain.

Rather than continuing the narrative of salvage tourism that left the Eastern Band firmly marginalized and inextricably stuck in the past, the Eastern Band is continually working to push back against the static nature of salvage tourism's take on authenticity. This is most easily identified through the 2006 production of *Unto These Hills…a Retelling*, staged by legendary performer, director, and playwright Hanay Geiogamah. This production rattled many non-Native audience members who had grown accustomed to the comfortable "authenticity" of Hunter's original script. Many non-Natives held strong personal connections to the Hunter script, and many voiced their frustrations with the CHA's decision to alter the pageant. One woman, for instance, called the CHA and insisted the Hunter script be brought back: "We were at the [2006] show two weeks ago and we didn't like it. Then we heard that you're bringing back the old show. If that's

[19] Beard-Moose, 139.

true then we'd like to bring our family back."[20] Subsequently, the multifaceted decision to completely rework the pageant had to reconcile the pageant's long and often-problematic history both on and off the stage. The Cherokee Historical Association had long been run by non-Natives, which exacerbated tensions between the production and the Eastern Band.[21] The 2006 retelling, however, marked the first time in the pageant's history that tribal members played critical roles in the creation of the pageant.[22]

"How Did it Begin?": ***Unto These Hills…A Retelling***[23]

Indigenous opposition to the pageant – and, by extension, the Cherokee Historical Association – had long colored the relationship between the CHA and the Eastern Band. Many members of the Eastern Band continually challenged and disputed CHA activities, including a 1951 early attempt by the Eastern Band to collect 10% of the Association's gross receipts that was summarily dismissed by the CHA. The Eastern Band continued to push for a CHA contribution to tribal operating expenses into the 1970s, only to be met with further refusal. Harry Buchanan, the first chairman of the CHA, pointedly opined that he could not "foresee much change of the drama ever making any money in the future, and I am not inclined to give the Tribe a percentage of the income from a project that is losing money."[24] By 1997, however, Harrah's Cherokee Casino had opened its doors, and the casino immediately became a major player in the tribal economy. Its influence in the region quickly spread, and it has also affected the entire economy of the Western North Carolina region. It was the largest tourist destination in the state, and it

[20] Thompson, 2.
[21] Thompson, iii.
[22] Thompson, 1.
[23] "Betrayed," Mel Brooks, *The Producers*, 2005.
[24] Thompson, 51-78.

was also the largest employer west of Asheville, North Carolina.[25] In contrast, the Cherokee Historical Association's foundation was crumbling, and the association filed for bankruptcy in 2004.[26]

In a stunning turn of events, the Eastern Band opted to bail out the CHA, and tribal members moved into management positions and began to look at revising *Unto These Hills*. According to Beard-Moose, the new management of the Cherokee Historical Association had two main directives for the new *Unto These Hills*. As shown in Chapter 3, a majority of the Cherokee cast members had long been confined to the anonymous, silent roles of the crowd scenes, and the CHA reportedly intended to move them into "vital speaking roles." Secondly, the new production would seek to "repair and replace errors" in the Hunter script in order to make it "more culturally accurate."[27] In order to create this more historically and culturally accurate pageant, the Eastern Band defined six points that would, at long last, push *Unto These Hills* into the twenty-first century:

1. To tell the story in a Cherokee storytelling tradition instead of as a linear set of vignettes.
2. To add dialogue and songs in the Cherokee language wherever possible.
3. To add actual Cherokee dances and the corresponding chants/songs, and to eliminate the anglicized versions.
4. To replace the key staff positions with Cherokees, where possible, and with other American Indian tribal members everywhere else.
5. To hold only one set of auditions so that all interested Cherokees could audition.
6. To have a Community Review Committee play a large part in the overhaul.[28]

Therefore, in the summer of 2006, Hanay Geiogamah, a playwright, director, professor, and co-founder of the American Indian Dance Theatre, came in to mount a new

[25] Thompson, 79.
[26] Thompson, 24.
[27] Beard-Moose, 139.
[28] Beard-Moose, 140.

production of the pageant, which would be called *Unto These Hills…a Retelling*.[29] Attaching Geiogamah to the project was likely a coup for the CHA, due to his widespread fame and success in various performative arenas. Norma Wilson called his *New Native American Drama: Three Plays* "distinctive, both in being the first substantial collection of Native American Drama and in their unique organic structures."[30] Under his direction, the AIDT premiered in 1987 and toured both nationally and internationally. "The American Indian Dance Theatre: Finding the Circle" played on PBS's *Great Performances* in 1990, and the *New York Times* noted that "The hallmark of this company is authenticity, at least to an extent reasonable within the context of any staged production. These are serious artists conveying basic facts of their lives and cultures. There are no musical-comedy whoops and tomahawks here."[31]

Even here, though, the overtones of "authenticity" demonstrate the strength of salvage tourism. Geiogamah's work is dynamic, drawing on numerous cultural elements from various tribes in order to create powerful productions that proudly illustrate the ways in which American Indians are more than just static historical characters. His revisionism, couched in terms of entertainment and collective indigeneity, shows that contemporary productions of Indians and Indianness are not necessarily bound by historical constructs.

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[29] Jacquelyn Shea Murphy, *The People Have Never Stopped Dancing: Native American Modern Dance Histories* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 263; UNC News Release – "'Unto These Hills' rewritten, staged by Cherokee from tribe's viewpoint," The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill News Service, April 28, 2006, http://www.unc.edu/news/archives/apr06/seas042806.htm.
[30] Norma Wilson, "New Native American Drama: Three Plays" (review), *Studies in American Indian Literatures*, New Series, Vol. 7, No. 4, Review Issue (Winter 1983): 84.
[31] John J. O'Connor, "TV Weekend; American Indian Dancers and Sammy Davis Tribute," *The New York Times*, February 2, 1990, http://www.nytimes.com/1990/02/02/arts/tv-weekend-american-indian-dancers-and-sammy-davis-tribute.html.

Unlike Hunter's script, which featured an unnamed narrator with a "deep baritone voice,"[32] Geiogamah used Selu and Kana'ti, the Corn Mother and the Great Hunter, two pivotal figures in Cherokee history, as narrators.[33] The new production incorporated the seven Cherokee clans portrayed by actors in masks and costumes. Geiogamah also doubled the number of dances in the production, which is not surprising given his knowledge of and passion for indigenous performance. James Bradley enthusiastically supported the new production, noting that "The new show has the Cherokee rising up from the ruins" of the past depicted in Hunter's production, and that Geiogamah's pageant had "more of a spiritual awareness of what being Cherokee means now, and how we implement that."[34]

Beard-Moose, who had seen the previous version numerous times and whose anthropological fieldwork had taken her to Cherokee in 1996 and 2006, found the revamped production "very refreshing." While the production still gave credit to Hunter's original production, it was still "something completely unique." More importantly, she noted that "It was remarkable to hear the Cherokee language spoken onstage by Cherokee performers. Gone from the old version is the overwhelming sense of morbidity and defeat."[35]

Thompson's fieldwork, however, tells a different story. His behind-the-scenes viewpoint examines the nearly insurmountable challenges to retelling *Unto These Hills*. The specter of Hunter's script and the CHA's approach to the pageant and the Eastern

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[32] "'Unto These Hills' Is Far Better Than Expectations," *Waynesville Mountaineer*, July 3, 1950.
[33] Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 13-15.
[34] UNC News Release – "'Unto These Hills' rewritten, staged by Cherokee from tribe's viewpoint," The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill News Service, April 28, 2006, http://www.unc.edu/news/archives/apr06/seas042806.htm.
[35] Beard-Moose, 141.

Band permeated almost every aspect of the 2006 production, from auditions and rehearsals to performances and audience and participant feedback. The initially optimistic production staff spent two days auditioning local tribal members with the hope of "casting locals as the stars of their own show."[36] However, it soon became terribly apparent that the locals did not necessarily share their enthusiasm. A preteen boy refused to sing in Cherokee, eventually admitting that he only wanted to be in the show in order to make money. A tribal elder who had been in 33 previous productions was taken aback when Geiogamah asked her to sing or read lines for a potential speaking role – not once in more than three decades had she been offered the chance to audition for a role outside the crowd scenes.[37]

It is painfully clear that *Unto These Hills* had never been a Cherokee pageant. While the production had used Cherokee history, Cherokee land, and famous Cherokees as inspiration, contemporary members of the Eastern Band had never been considered an integral component of the pageant's actual storyline. The ambivalence that had long characterized the Eastern Band's relationship to *Unto These Hills* extended to the rehearsals, where writer/director Geiogamah and choreographer Marla Bingham, a Mashpee dancer and choreographer,[38] often struggled to keep participants focused. Disputes between performers and the production staff echoed deep animosity from decades of non-Native interference in the pageant, even with the common goal of presenting a more accurate and more enjoyable production.[39]

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[36] Thompson, 221.
[37] Thompson, 222-225.
[38] Shea Murphy, *The People Have Never Stopped Dancing*, 211.
[39] Thompson, 259-266.

Despite Bradley's enthusiasm and Beard-Moose's encouraging review, the 2006 production of *Unto These Hills…a Retelling* was not considered a crowd favorite. Eddie Swimmer, an Eastern Band member and director of the 2012 pageant, noted that Geiogamah's production would have done very well as a touring production. However, he contended that the new production was "way out there" for the pageant's returning clientele, who had become accustomed to a comfortable and mostly invariable narrative. *Unto These Hills…a Retelling* "was a disaster," according to 2012 CHA Executive Director John Tissue. "It wasn't finished. The original idea was to update the Hunter script with more accurate historical and cultural references…but it never developed."[40]

Linda Squirrel, the 2012 CHA Executive Assistant, agreed. "It was a shock to everyone because it was so far different than what people were accustomed to seeing. It was a great *production*, but not really a play. It was visually stunning, but the story wasn't there." Thompson, for instance, has argued that the 2006 pageant was "a fundamentally different way of relating to the past" that offered "an alternate history unbound from the personal memories of the audience and in opposition to the nostalgia that coats the genre of outdoor drama."[41] The varied explanations for audience reactions to *Unto These Hills…a Retelling* speaks volumes about the expectations of tourists, especially in regards to the long-outdated story of Cherokee history, culture, and removal that played out on stage in Cherokee.

Geiogamah, writing in 2013, contended that

> Effective and compelling theater is always just a step or two ahead of the zeitgeist of the community it serves, and this is true for American Indian theater. Indian people respond positively and enthusiastically when they do make it to a production of an Indian play that presents believable,

[40] Interview with John Tissue, August 2, 2012.
[41] Thompson, 29.

> honest, realistic, non-Hollywood stereotype characters doing and saying things that sound like Indians and reflect the ways Indians actually live.[42]

Geiogamah's staging of *Unto These Hills…a Retelling* appears to have done just that. However, this is not what the largely non-Native audience had grown accustomed to seeing every summer in the Mountainside Theater. Geiogamah's powerful rejection of the narrative of salvage tourism demonstrated that American Indians as a whole, not simply the Eastern Band, were able to simultaneously engage with modernity while embracing their cultural traditions. The Indians in Geiogamah's pageant were not static representations of stereotypical Indians. Instead, Geiogamah proudly presented a production that included American Indians as meaningful participants. The tensions and failures surrounding this reconceptualization of *Unto These Hills…a Retelling* are just as important as whether or not the pageant was considered a "success."

Almost 10,000 more visitors came to *Unto These Hills…a Retelling* in 2006 than the year before which, despite the flood of audience disapproval for the production, may have provided an initial sense of relief for the CHA and the Eastern Band. Beard-Moose's and Thompson's fieldwork, however, both ended in 2006, leaving them unable to predict the subsequent changes that would follow the Geiogamah production. Still, their notes reveal a concerted attempt to rebrand and remarket the pageant, even if the audience did not find it as appealing, entertaining, or perhaps as authentic as the Hunter script. The incorporation of more Cherokee dances and the Cherokee language demonstrates how certain cultural elements of the Eastern Band have been given a larger role in the pageant revisions than in previous years.

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[42] Hanay Geiogamah, "American Indian Theater 2013," in *The World of Indigenous North America,* ed. Robert Warrior (New York: Routledge, 2015), 332.

It is interesting to note, however, that, despite the concerted attempts to create a more Cherokee show, elements of supposed "authenticity" were continually "compromised" in hopes of creating a more *entertaining* pageant. Thompson, for example, highlights several instances wherein Gieogamah pushed past what some deemed authentic elements for the sake of his aesthetic vision. During a rehearsal for the new Eagle Dance sequence, for instance, Geiogamah and one of the American Indian Dance Theatre dancer weighed the pros and cons of altering the steps of the dance. The dancer felt Geiogamah's idea was "a little off" compared to the rest of the dance and too closely resembled a powwow step. Geiogamah, however, did not mind it. The change would be "roundly contested by some Cherokee members of the audience," demonstrating the continued challenges surrounding authenticity and entertainment. The head drummer, Eastern Band member John-John Grant, similarly questioned Geiogamah's vision after the director asked that drums be used in the Children's Suite of dances – Bear, Corn, and Quail – instead of the traditional rattles.[43] Geiogamah's rejection of wholly authentic dance steps and musical orchestrations again pushes past constructions of static indigeneity. At its core, rather than crystallizing salvage tourism's notions of what constituted Cherokee-ness, Geiogamah moved to showcase the ways in which American Indians could be – and were – substantially incorporated into the production.

Thompson, an anthropology student, spent 2006 working at the Cherokee Historical Association and was cast in Geiogamah's staging of *Unto These Hills*. He noted that the reactions of the Cherokee and of the tourists were often mixed, with some

[43] Thompson, 243, 248.

praising the retelling and others vehemently opposing it. Responses, for Thompson, fell into three categories:

> First is ambivalence concerning the notion that the Cherokee should turn a commercial profit over the theatrical display of their culture and history. Second is the belief that the drama should instead answer to a higher calling of educating the American masses as to the tragedy of Indian removal. Third is anger when the desire to see that tragedy acted out on stage is deferred and replaced instead with an uplifting message of perseverance.[44]

Thompson's analysis of the mixed audience reactions to the pageant uncovered numerous disparities regarding expectation. The notion of ambivalence toward the Eastern Band garnering a profit from this performance is particularly striking. Brian Hosmer has advanced what he contends to be the "rather commonsensical proposition that Indian people could understand the workings of the capitalist market system and at least attempt some constructive adaptations," arguing that indigenous participation in the marketplace simply lends itself toward political and economic independence.[45] One disgruntled audience member wrote to the CHA in 2006, bemoaning the extent to which the association had "commercialized and re-written the truth…You should be embarrassed to charge money for this version of the history of the Cherokee people."[46] The increasing economic independence from the pageant, notably through the growth of the casino, coupled with the "uplifting message of perseverance" emphasizes an ever-present inability to recognize and reconcile Indians' ability to not only participate but succeed within the modern economic structures. At the same time, however, the fact that the CHA purposely chose to depict a narrative that did not rely so heavily on the tragedy of

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[44] Thompson, 282.
[45] Brian Hosmer, *American Indians in the Marketplace: Persistence and Innovation Among the Menominees and Metlakatlans, 1870-1920* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1999), xi-xii.
[46] Thompson, 306.

the Trail of Tears and instead offered proof of tribal and cultural survival directly opposed the declension narratives that had long defined popular accounts of indigenous history.

As with the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant, Geiogamah's *Unto These Hills…a Retelling* was deemed a failure. However, it is clear that Geiogamah never intended to create a distinctly and stereotypically "authentic" pageant. His construction of authentic Indianness unquestionably countered Hunter's focus on static narratives, and his insistence that American Indian participants be more than just anonymous faces in the crowd reveals the contestations behind decades of salvage tourism in Cherokee. Again, as with the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant, the constructions of "failure" demonstrate the ways in which authenticity, indigeneity, and expectations collided in Geiogamah's production.

After the 2006 production of *Unto These Hills…a Retelling,* the next few years would prove to be just as dramatic. While the Geiogamah version seems to have focused more on entertainment than portraying a specific, linear historical narrative, the CHA quickly moved in another direction for the 2007 production. Rather than fleshing out the portions of the production that had been deemed unfinished and undeveloped, the CHA scrapped the Geiogamah pageant and brought in Pat Allee and Ben Hurst, who had been integral to the updates to the Museum of the Cherokee Indian.[47] *Unto These Hills*, as written by Allee and Hurst, premiered in 2007. This script, however, was focused more on offering a historical narrative rather than a theatrical production. "We tried to put the

[47] Interview with John Tissue, August 2, 2012.

history back into it, but it was too much history," Swimmer said. "Man, if you went to the bathroom, you lost a decade."[48]

Tissue concurred, calling it "a very dry play." He noted that the Hunter script did not contain much history, then the Geiogamah show had very little history but very authentic dance, and "the pendulum swung the whole other way" with the Allee and Hurst production. "There was too much going on, and people couldn't follow it," added Squirrel. For Swimmer, Tissue, and Squirrel, the difficulty seemed to lie in finding the appropriate balance of history and culture, of educating and entertaining, and of innovation and tradition. Attendance at the 2007 season of *Unto These Hills* was the second-lowest since 2000, and nearly 14,000 *fewer* people saw the pageant in 2007 versus 2006. Despite two attempts to revitalize and revamp the pageant, the legacy of Hunter's production cast a long shadow over the Cherokee tourist economy, seemingly threatening to collapse under the weight of its previous success and the contemporary inability to mirror that triumph.

Nevertheless, the Cherokee Historical Association was undeterred. Squirrel undertook the task of rewriting the show in 2008 because she wanted to "correct the historical inaccuracies of the initial show, to incorporate Cherokee dances, and to aid in helping the local people be in the show as actors, not just standing in the crowd as they did for so many years."[49] She was not discouraged by Geiogamah's and Allee and Hurst's previous attempts that had not lived up to the high expectations of the CHA, the Eastern Band, and the tourist audiences. Using Hunter's script as an imperfect model, Squirrel set out to create the elusive *Unto These Hills* that would educate and entertain its

[48] Interview with Eddie Swimmer, July 31, 2012.
[49] Interview with Linda Squirrel, August 2, 2012.

audience while portraying the Eastern Band in a more historically and culturally accurate – and sensitive – manner.

The rapid-fire, radical changes to *Unto These Hills* that took place from 2006-2008 demonstrate numerous issues surrounding contemporary American Indian historical pageants. Questions of economic exploitation loom large over Cherokee. Some scholars, such as Edward Bruner, argue that "Mass tourism routinely recycles dying industries, dead sites, past colonial relations, and abandoned ethnographic tropes to produce industrial parks, living historical villages and enactments," a moniker that Beard-Moose applies directly to the historical and contemporary iterations of *Unto These Hills*.[50] The continued success of Harrah's Cherokee Casino, which was well-established by the time the pageant was reworked, highlights the extent to which the local tourist economy had diversified.

However, the notion of salvage tourism again appears in this moment of uncertainty. As noted earlier, the Cherokee Historical Association went bankrupt in 2004 and was only resuscitated through the intervention of the Eastern Band.[51] By 2008, after closing the Hunter production and attempting two radically different pageants within two years on the heels of bankruptcy, *Unto These Hills* had the unenviable task of salvaging its pageant, its audience, its cast, and its role in the local and regional tourist economies. The CHA's refusal to allow the Geiogamah or Allee and Hurst productions to run for longer than a year demonstrates the high stakes involved in salvaging the production. These decisions mirror the drastic alterations to the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant. Rather than relying on minor modifications, the pageant committees opted to completely

[50] Edward Bruner, *Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 33; Beard-Moose, 50.
[51] Thompson, 24 and 85.

revise their respective shows in order to capitalize on what they perceived to be the exceptional earning power of their productions.

By 2012, the fifth year Squirrel's *Unto These Hills* was produced, attendance had continued to decline. However, as the following section will illustrate, the steadily dropping attendance did not seem to faze the CHA or the pageant's participants. During my time in Cherokee, I noted that the atmosphere – both on stage and behind the scenes – glowed with a tangible pride in the production with an eye on the future of *Unto These Hills*, the town of Cherokee, and the Eastern Band.

Backstage and in the audience at ***Unto These Hills***

On my first night in Cherokee, it took me less than five minutes to walk from the aptly-named Pageant Inn to the Museum of the Cherokee Indian, where two school buses waited to take audience members up to the Mountainside Theatre. A man and two teenage boys ran toward the buses, while a woman and a younger girl took their time, either confident that the bus would wait for them or that they could catch a later ride. Three museum employees greeted those who stepped onto the bus. An effervescent older couple sat in the front of the bus, which already had a few people on board: families with kids, middle-aged couples, and one teenage girl who had paired short black shorts with a *Flashdance*-style pink T-shirt that had a brightly-colored dream catcher on the front. People clad in jeans and long-sleeved shirts carried blankets and sweatshirts on the bus, well aware of the impending chilly mountain air. Once the bus was mostly full, the driver wove past the fairgrounds on the left and a set of wooden stairs on the right that, I

had been told, was meant for people willing to hike to the theatre. Cars lined the twisting, turning, tree-lined road since the parking lot was already full.

Once the busload of people disembarked, I discovered that "Mountainside Theatre" is anything but a misnomer. It truly does look like it was carved into the side of the mountain, and innumerable trees formed a gorgeous backdrop for the set. Just as the promoters for the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant had insisted that recreating the natural scenery would be an insurmountable cost, the Mountainside Theatre had been deliberately built to capitalize on the beauty of the Great Smoky Mountains. A rock formation stood center stage, built around two slender trees. Two small, house-like set pieces on tracks were already in place, one on stage right and one on stage left. The sound and lighting elements, while essential for a production in a nearly 3,000-seat outdoor arena, were as subtle as possible, hidden along the wall structures and at the top of the theatre. As I wandered around the theatre, waiting to take my seat before the pageant began, several people approached me to ask where their seats were. Despite my street clothes, it was quickly apparent that these tourists assumed that any generically phenotypical Indian within the confines of the Theatre must have been an employee.

Despite the long and troubled history of the pageant and the contentious relationship between the Cherokee Historical Association and the Eastern Band, it was easy for Squirrel to balance Cherokee history with the expectations of the audience. "It was very easy, especially with Tsali, because his true actual history *was* dramatic," she mused. "And that was puzzling to me – why he was portrayed differently in the other show. There's so much history that *is* dramatic. Why did they try to do that?" she asked with a laugh.

Squirrel's script is loosely based on Hunter's original, although her script seeks to incorporate more cultural elements and correct the historical embellishments. While many elements are similar, if not identical, Squirrel has made conscious choices that situates the pageant more deeply within the history of the Eastern Band as a people, not a commodity. The pageants opens in the Cherokee language, and the actors portraying Selu and Kana'ti, the ancestral mother and father of the Cherokee, offer a short narrative prologue. According to Theda Perdue, Kana'ti provided meat for his family while Selu provided corn and beans, and their relationship was part of a balanced system where "women balanced men just as summer balanced winter, plants balanced animals, and farming balanced hunting."[52] Squirrel's immediate use of two key figures in Cherokee history deliberately demonstrates Cherokee notions of gender. Selu is an equal participant in the story, as opposed to the very male-dominated narrative depicted in the Hunter script.

Selu and Kana'ti serve as visible narrators for the pageant, as opposed to Hunter's unseen narrator. As opposed to Hunter's introductory scene with De Soto, an easily identifiable foreigner who immediately provided an oppositional structure, their integral role in the pageant and their proximity to the action immediately centers the production as a distinctly Native narrative. This is made clear through the program notes, which emphasize that Selu and Kana'ti "invite you to witness the history of the Cherokee as told through their eyes."[53] At the same time, the program simply notes that the opening scene takes place "pre-1800s." As shown in Chapter 3, Hunter's pageant began with the 1540 arrival of de Soto before quickly leaping several centuries. The significance of this

[52] Perdue, *Cherokee Women*, 1-2.
[53] *Unto These Hills* souvenir program (Cherokee Historical Association, 2012).

chronological shift proves that Squirrel has purposefully situated the pageant around the historical events and cultural elements that are distinct to the Eastern Band rather than focusing on non-Native historical events that peripherally included Indians.

Selu and Kana'ti, standing atop a high point on the main set piece, watch the villagers dance.[54] As in the original, the next scene outlines the wars of resistance that began to foment in 1811, when Tecumseh's power was "like that of a shooting star." Tecumseh's anger is powerful, especially as he outlines his grievances against the whites and insists that it is time for the Indians to return to their old ways. He scornfully addresses John Ross's heritage, calling him a "white rabbit." Here, as in Hunter's script, Tecumseh is the symbolic representation of the angry Indian who would rather fight the whites instead of attempting to live harmoniously with his new neighbors. The Cherokee, however, refuse to join forces with Tecumseh, noting instead that they will live in peace with the whites, who have brought wonderful things like schools and religion.

The next scene, however, centers on a Warrior Dance. A handful of men – seven one night and five the next, likely due to cast shifting based on illness or injury – clad in red pants streak their torsos, arms, and faces with red paint as smoke moves across the stage. The tempo of the dance increases as the men move with crouching steps into a "V" formation. They make several slashing motions with their weapons in time to the music before a final triumphant yell echoes through the night sky. A performance of a Warrior Dance would likely have been terrifying for Hunter's audience since it would have been a tangible demonstration of the power of indigeneity and indigenous culture.

[54] The following account of the pageant is based on my attendance at the pageant from July 31 to August 2, 2012.

The jittery 1950s would not have been seen as an appropriate time to acknowledge the power of Native masculinity, even if it was meant to be shown in a purely historical context. However, it is clear that the Cherokee are not going to war against white America. Rather, based on the previous scene and the program notes, the audience is assured that "In an attempt to stop other Indians from threatening the new American Nation, the Cherokee agree to help General Andrew Jackson at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend."[55]

The scene of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend is, again, based on the original. However, in Squirrel's script, Sequoyah makes it a point to ask about the white men's paper with marks on them, clearly setting up the invention of his syllabary. It is a subtle gesture, however, and one that I only discovered the second night I watched the pageant. It is a quick interaction, one that could be easily overlooked. Jackson and Junaluska quarrel over the best way to fight the battle, and Jackson is furious when he learns that the Cherokees have deliberately disobeyed his orders. However, the disagreement is quickly forgotten as howling Creek warriors rush the stage. Again, Jackson seems doomed to die at the hands of a hostile Indian, only to be saved by the powerful Junaluska. However, unlike the original, where Jackson and Junaluska silently shake hands, Jackson declares that he "will not forget the Cherokee," a statement that is powerful in its simplicity as well as its implications. Again, the focus is on the foreshadowing that surrounds Jackson's statement, as the audience is likely aware of how the Cherokee story will end.

A celebratory dance greets the returning warriors. Unlike the masculine, ominous overtones of the Warrior Dance, this dance is reminiscent of a stereotypical hoe-down.

[55] *Unto These Hills* souvenir program (Cherokee Historical Association, 2012).

The ladies and the gentlemen cheer and twirl, the choreography becoming a whirl of swinging dresses and stomping boots. Sequoyah again talks of writing, this time to two girls as the scene ends. A subsequent scene outlines the many accomplishments of the Cherokee, such as Boudinot's newspaper, Sequoyah's syllabary, and the creation of the Cherokee Constitution and Supreme Court. There is a distinct sense of pride in these developments, albeit with a lingering feeling of dread. As with Dudziak's analysis of Cold War propaganda materials, the conspicuous depiction of Cherokee civilization and assimilation serves to distance the contemporary characters from those of the past who were unable to recognize the consequences of their actions.[56]

The scene quickly transitions to drunken, blustering miners, who demand that the storekeeper attend to their needs rather than those of the Cherokee. One miner references the Indian Removal Act and literally tries to push the Cherokee "West," and a brawl breaks out. This is likely intended as a bit of comic relief, due to the slapstick-style antics that briefly ensue. Squirrel's incorporation of Cherokee achievements in opposition to uncouth, uncivilized non-Natives is a pointed reversal of the "savage vs. civilized" motif that traditionally placed Indians in the former category and non-Natives in the latter. Again, the sins of the few stand in for the sins of the nation, a nation that would, it is implied, eventually atone for these sins through a more benevolent treatment of American Indians.

The action moves to a wedding scene, which this time is interrupted by the huffing and puffing Reverend Schermerhorn, played with such a strong Southern accent

[56] See Mary L. Dudziak's analysis of *The Negro in American Life*, a pamphlet distributed by the United States Information Agency that, rather than concealing "the nation's past failings," revealed them in the hopes of "presenting American history as a story of redemption." Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 49-53.

that he practically snarls his vowels. As outlined in the previous Chapter, Schermerhorn was a key accomplice in the plot to force the Cherokee off their lands. He is accompanied by John Ridge and Elias Boudinot, who tell the others that removal is all but inevitable. The next scene, which closes Act I, opens with Drowning Bear – called Yonaguska in Squirrel's script – seemingly dead, and a trio of girls sings "Amazing Grace" in Cherokee. Yonaguska awakens from his vision and tells those around him that they must abstain from the white man's poison – alcohol – and hold on to the land. Two young girls run on stage to tell Yonaguska and Will Thomas about Schermerhorn's arrival and that there are rumors that Cherokee land is free for the taking. When Junaluska hears of Jackson's involvement, he bellows, "If I had known Andrew Jackson would betray the Cherokee, I would have let him die at Horseshoe Bend!" Squirrel uses Junaluska's fury to further underscore the catastrophic effects of Cherokee removal: despite their assimilation and military alliances, especially when fighting *for* the United States against other Indian nations, it would all be for naught. The government would still repay them by forcing them out of their homes and off their lands toward a desolate, unknown place called Indian Territory.

Act II also opens with a narration from Selu and Kana'ti, who inform the audience that, while the land was signed away without tribal authority, the Cherokee never gave up their customs. As the Eagle Dance begins, the stage is lit by a large spotlight. Seven dancers circle as two more wearing large sets of eagle feathers enter the circle. More dancers enter, and soon the stage is filled with more than a dozen dancers. The lead dancer enters and bows to the Eternal Flame, which burns prominently stage right. Other dancers kneel and extend their arms, moving as if they are soaring through

the sky. Smoke filters across the stage as the lights flash, and the dancers receive thunderous applause. As noted in Chapter 3, the Eagle Dance has long been a point of contention among participants, audiences, and tribal members. Previously, however, the dance was couched in terms that would have pacified its non-Native audience: it is explained as a demonstration of "military success to remove audience apprehensions about witnessing a pagan ceremony…The audience can be assured that they are legitimately witnessing what happened after the Battle of Horseshoe Bend as peers and guests."[57] In Squirrel's script, however, the dance is prefaced for its role as a means of cultural perseverance: "At the point of despair, the Cherokee people reach deep within their past and bring forth the mighty Eagle Dance."[58] The dance is no longer performed solely for the entertainment of the largely non-Native audience. Instead, in the wake of devastating edicts issued by the federal government after the underhanded signing of the Treaty of New Echota, the Eastern Band is moved to perform "the most important and revered dance of the Cherokee people."[59]

The action quickly moves to Washington, where John Ross, the Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation and an ardent opponent of removal, and Sam Houston question the validity of the Treaty of New Echota and ask President Jackson to help the Cherokee. In another subtle shift from the original script, Squirrel has replaced Junaluska – whom Hunter used as a delegate to Washington – with John Ross. As Thompson has demonstrated, Junaluska, "who probably never traveled to Washington to meet with the President," had formerly received "credit for the negotiations conducted by John Ross in

[57] Thompson, 134.
[58] "Scenes from the Drama," *Unto These Hills* souvenir program (Cherokee Historical Association, 2012).
[59] "Cherokee Dances," *Unto These Hills* souvenir program (Cherokee Historical Association, 2012).

opposition to Ridge."[60] Jackson refuses, and orders his generals to immediately remove the Indians. This scene, set far downstage left (the audience's right), is intended to unnerve the audience members, some of whom begin to shift uncomfortably in their seats.

The quiet of the empty, dimly-lit stage is shattered by the movement of two large wooden fences just beyond the raised portion used in the previous scene. These two fences are meant to simulate the stockade that had held the Cherokee after they were forcibly removed from their homes and before they were sent to the West. The actors playing the Cherokee move from the audience's right to left, only to stop as John Ross's wife, Quatie, stumbles and falls. Unable to continue the journey, she dies onstage in her husband's arms.

Ross asks Reverend Samuel Worcester to read Psalm 121 after Quatie dies, and Worcester obliges. It is a marked change from Hunter's script. While the Psalm is still preceded by a death, in this instance it is the wife of the Principal Chief, not the execution of a man and his sons. Here, Quatie stands as a singular representation of the thousands of lives lost before, during, and after the Trail of Tears; as a wife and mother, she is a tangible symbol of the promise of life lost through removal. In the Hunter script, Tsali and his sons were executed offstage. Their literal removal from the stage excused the audience from having to witness their deaths, and they could determine for themselves the level to which they became personally and emotionally involved in the narrative. Quatie's onstage death, though, is inescapable. The audience is forced to witness her passing and recognize the devastating effects of Indian removal.

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[60] Thompson, 139.

Whereas Elias Boudinot had previously stood center stage and read the Psalm in Cherokee, now it is a white missionary who lived among the Cherokee and made the hard journey west with them. Thompson has sardonically contended that Worcester and his wife were only written into the pageant because audience members would likely recognize his name: "There is no documentation to suggest that they ever lived in North Carolina or knew Drowning Bear and Tsali."[61] However, removing Boudinot from the scene and replacing him with Worcester further strengthens the pageant's dramatic arc. Quatie is laid to rest by a friend of the Cherokee, while Boudinot and Ross's political oppositions underscore the rifts within the Cherokee Nation in the years leading up to removal.

The Cherokee continue their journey across the stage, and the stage goes black. The trees are barely visible against the night sky, and the stillness is pierced by the sounds of crickets chirping as a breeze blows through the theatre. A name is heard over the speaker on the right side of the theatre. Then another, this time from the left side, followed by maybe half a dozen more over the various speakers throughout the theatre. These names belong to some of those who died on the Trail of Tears, some of the countless Cherokee men, women, and children who lost their lives in between their beloved mountains and the desolation that awaited them in Oklahoma. It was hard to tell if the goosebumps that suddenly appeared on my arms and legs were from the chilly mountain air or the powerful performance.

In the following scene, the soldiers have tracked down Tsali and his family. The soldiers grope his daughter and daughters-in-law, threatening to rape them. This is again a different dramaturgical arc than the narrative put forth in Hunter's script. In the

[61] Thompson, 140.

original, drunken soldiers kill Tsali's wife, which leads him to, in turn, kill them. Both acts of violence – one, perhaps an unintended murder, and the second, intentional (albeit not carried out) acts of sexual violence – are focused on indigenous women, and the Cherokee men's retaliatory actions are never questioned. In Squirrel's narrative, two soldiers are killed in the ensuing fight, and the family flees.

Colonel Foster, who replaces Hunter's character of Major Davis, tells Yonaguska that he will hold several families captive until Tsali is brought before him. However, if Tsali returns, the families will be released and the Cherokee hiding in the mountains will be allowed to stay. Yonaguska and Thomas find Tsali, who decides to surrender after learning of Major Davis's order. Colonel Foster and his men have followed the men to Tsali's hiding spot and insist on carrying out their orders. In Hunter's script, Ann Worcester, the missionary's wife, begged Davis to spare Tsali's youngest son, but in the contemporary production, Tsali's grandson is spared. Tsali asks to see his wife for the last time, but Foster refuses, saying that there is no time for that. His sons are escorted offstage. Gunshots ring out, signaling their deaths. Tsali refuses the blindfold offered to him, and, unlike Hunter's production, asks that his friends shoot him instead of the soldiers. He climbs halfway up the scenery stairs set center stage and begins to speak, but his words are cut short by gunshots. The stage goes red, then black. Here, as in the earlier death of Quatie, the audience is unable to avoid Tsali's death.

The pageant ends, as Hunter's does, with the return of an aged Junaluska. While the program notes that Junaluska returned to North Carolina in 1842, where he lived until his death around 1856, neither pageant provides a distinct time frame for this scene. Junaluska's eventual return continues to mark Cherokee as an authentically Indian place.

Selu and Kana'ti proudly speak of Cherokee survival through removal, through boarding schools, through the federal government's continued efforts to strip the Indians of their culture, language, and religion. As opposed to the generalized, Cold War-era rhetoric that proclaimed that that dream of the Cherokee – and the hope of all America – was that "It is not that a man's skin is black, or red, or white. Choose the way of peace. Take all men as your brother," Squirrel's pageant ends with an unmistakable display of indigenous pride in their survival despite a horrific history.

Hunter's 1950 pageant and Squirrel's 2008 revisions are not, for the most part, drastically different. Squirrel's deliberate reconfiguring of certain moments in the pageant offer a more nuanced, and more culturally and historically accurate, depiction of Cherokee history. While the changes may seem inconsequential, the pageant's modifications seem to have made an enormous difference among the Eastern Band despite the pageant's inability to retain or improve its attendance. By refuting Hunter's construction of salvage tourism, Squirrel's script proves that the Eastern Band will no longer be marginalized in the telling of their own history.

"Tremendous authenticity and power": The Eastern Band and ***Unto These Hills***[62]

Chapter 3 examined the early omission of Eastern Band members from the cast of *Unto These Hills*. In recent years, however, the Cherokee Historical Association, which has also undergone a shift toward Eastern Band leadership, has pushed to include more American Indians in all aspects of the production. Earlier portions of this chapter highlighted the difficulties the association faced in its initial reworking of the pageant,

[62] "Cherokee Faces in the Cast," *Unto These Hills* souvenir program (Cherokee Historical Association, 2012).

such as auditioning Eastern Band members who had long been consigned to the background. By 2012, however, fourteen of the thirty-four named characters were played by American Indians. Ten of those roles went to Eastern Band members, including the key roles of Junaluska, Tecumseh, and Sequoyah. The cast list for the Villagers, War Dancers, and Traditional Eagle Dancers were primarily comprised of American Indians, while the Modern Eagle Dancers and Hoedown Dancers were mostly non-Native.[63]

As noted earlier, promotional materials, including souvenir programs, continually emphasize the participation of American Indians in the current productions of *Unto These Hills*, particularly those enrolled in the Eastern Band. The 2012 program, for instance, also includes a page highlighting the

> Many dedicated Cherokee who help make up the all-important crowd scenes in the drama. The presence of these descendants of the Cherokee who were forced from their homes in 1838 lends tremendous authenticity and power to the play. The cast members pictured on this page are only a few of the remarkable people who play such a vital role in the success of *Unto These Hills*.

This construction of "tremendous authenticity," while highly problematic, is a marked distinction from Hunter's pageant. A 1950 newspaper article, for instance crowed, "Cherokee Indian women have become so modern in appearance that they have to use make-up – to make them look like Indians – for roles in the drama."[64] Similarly, *Unto These Hills* had been the outlier among the three pageants analyzed in this dissertation in regards to the literal make-up of the cast. The Apostle Islands Indian Pageant and the Happy Canyon Indian Pageant and Wild West Show had and have, respectively, used regional Indians to draw tourists since their inceptions. The irony, of

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[63] The 2012 souvenir program for *Unto These Hills* used * to denote a member of the Eastern Band of Cherokee, while ** marked a cast member as a member of another federally recognized tribe.
[64] "Indians Use Make-Up – To Look Like Indians," *Waynesville Mountaineer*, August 7, 1950.

course, lies in the fact that the Eastern Band has only recently been marketed as a demonstration of the pageant's authenticity.

Unlike the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant, which widely publicized its use of authentic Indians, *Unto These Hills* drew a majority of its cast from the University of North Carolina Playmakers.[65] There was no trifecta of Indian history told by Indian people in an Indian place in Cherokee. Rather, *Unto These Hills* organizers likely intended to create a more professional production through the use of trained white actors in the leading roles. It is in this regard that *Unto These Hills* stands apart from the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant and Happy Canyon, which is the focus of Chapters 5 and 6. While the latter two both employ(ed) non-Native actors, those performers were and are typically consigned to non-Native roles. The Apostle Islands Indian Pageant used both local non-Native actors as well as, it seems, a handful of professional white actors from Chicago.[66] Happy Canyon, as I will demonstrate in the following Chapters, enlisted local residents who were likely descended from earlier settlers and pioneers.

This divergence, especially in the context of the 1950s, is noteworthy. As noted earlier, many historical pageants, Indian or otherwise, attempted to utilize Indians in order to highlight the authentic nature of the production. Perhaps, by the 1950s, a vast majority of non-Natives would not have believed publicity materials promoting the use of authentic Indians. Less than 30 years earlier, the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant had sent two Ojibwe men to a meeting in Duluth and a handful of Indians to Chicago in order to

[65] Interview with John Tissue, August 2, 2012.
[66] Gil Larsen, Apostle Islands Indian Pageant photographs, 1924. Courtesy of Bayfield Heritage Association, Bayfield, Wisconsin.

encourage tourists to come to the pageant.[67] In Pendleton, as Chapters 5 and 6 will illustrate, indigenous participation was key to not only the initial success of the Round-Up and Happy Canyon but to its continued success. Perhaps the potentially charming and rustic characterizations hyped by the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant and Happy Canyon through the use of authentic indigenous participants would not have worked in Cherokee in the 1950s, especially since *Unto These Hills* was competing for the same audience as *The Lost Colony* and a handful of other tourist attractions.

These differences, however, and the irony of the situation are not currently important to the Eastern Band members who participate in *Unto These Hills*. As this final section will illustrate, indigenous participation in the pageant reaches far beyond the box office numbers. Chapter 3 confirmed that the Eastern Band had initially had *Unto These Hills* thrust upon them and yet, after more than sixty years, the Eastern Band seems to have finally broken free from the shackles of Hunter's production. This is not to say, of course, that all members of the Eastern Band have enthusiastically leapt onto the bandwagon of the new *Unto These Hills*. There are, likely, members who have still chosen to distance themselves from the production. However, the dramatic changes both on and off the stage have proven that there is more to a successful Indian pageant than pure profit.

Pushing Past the Fourth Wall: Backstage at the Mountainside Theatre

I met Eddie Swimmer, the 2012 director of *Unto These Hills*, in front of the Museum of the Cherokee Indian and hopped in his truck. We drove up the winding path

[67] "1,000 Members of Classification Clubs Will Attend Indian Pageant," *The Rotarian*, May 1924; "History of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant," *Bayfield Progress*, August 26, 1924.

to the theatre, and he pulled in behind the theatre. This was not the typical backstage of a typical proscenium theatre, and the only wings in sight were on the birds that whirled overhead. Cast members ambled toward the backstage area, laughing and joking with each other. The stillness of the mountain was quickly disrupted by the flurry of activity backstage at the Mountainside Theatre as the cast and crew prepared for yet another performance. It was the end of July, and by now the backstage action was as choreographed as the dances and fight scenes in the show. The production, staged six nights a week from the beginning of June through the middle of August, meant that everyone's pre-show rituals were firmly established. The crew examined the tables of props, ensuring that everything the actors needed during the show, from rifles and baskets to jugs and tomahawks, was exactly where it needed to be. On stage, a handful of actors ran through the fight scenes to minimize the risk of an accident.

Swimmer seemed to be in five places at once. A Cherokee Indian born and raised in North Carolina, he had already spent several summers at the helm of the pageant. He took part in the pageant's crowd scenes while in high school, and then again a few years later.[68] He toured with the American Indian Dance Theatre, performed at several Olympic ceremonies, and choreographed a hoop dance for a Broadway production of *Annie Get Your Gun*. He dreams of turning the Mountainside Theatre into an artists' haven for actors, dancers, musicians, and writers, where they can "live and breathe the arts throughout the summer" during the day and act in the pageant at night.[69] Even after the numerous rewrites, Swimmer admitted, "We heard 'Go back to the old story.' We wanted to go back to it, but not with the Hollywood, stereotypical Indians. We wanted to

[68] Interview with Eddie Swimmer, July 31, 2012.
[69] Interview with Eddie Swimmer, July 31, 2012.

do it our way…I'm very pleased with it, and I feel like it's the best. We wanted to take some of the old story, the old drama, and do it with the politically correct history of the Cherokee Nation." Swimmer shrugged, echoing the struggles of countless pageant producers: "But it's really hard to make history exciting sometimes."[70] The chronic case of entertainment-versus-authenticity had flared up again, a tug-of-war that continued to affect the expectations of the pageant's participants and audiences.

Soon after, one of the dancers gathered the cast to stretch. Every square inch of space was utilized, and the dancers squeezed onto the bridge that leads to the backstage parking lot as a girl called out the stretches. A handful of performers were clearly trained dancers, while others moved somewhat awkwardly from one position to another. Some listened to music on their iPods, while others simply talked. The bridge railings became an impromptu ballet barre as some started to branch out and stretch the muscles they needed to work through, while kids jumped across the dancers' outstretched limbs like hopping over puddles after a rainstorm.

A handful of cast members relaxed in the corner, waiting for the stage manager's call about the impending curtain time. Mike Crowe, Jr., Stephen Swimmer, Eddie Morrow, Tsali McCoy, Leslie Lossiah, and Danielle Hornbuckle are all members of the Eastern Band. While some slyly suggested that they participate in the pageant for the money, others were just happy for a chance to teach their own history as opposed to having it told by someone else. The cast's varied motivations demonstrate the continually changing role of *Unto These Hills* among the Eastern Band, especially in light of the recent attempts to create a production that provides a more historically accurate depiction of Cherokee history and Cherokee people.

[70] Interview with Eddie Swimmer, July 31, 2012.

Crowe, a former Marine who was reprising his role as Junaluska, cut an imposing figure. He had worked at the Oconaluftee Indian Village, a replica of an eighteenth-century Cherokee village, as well as with the Warriors of Ani Kituwah (also spelled AniKituwha), a dance troupe that specializes in the Cherokee War Dance, the Eagle Tail Dance, and social dances such as the Bear Dance, Beaver Hunting Dance, and the Friendship Dance.[71] As an enrolled member of the Eastern Band and as one of ten enrolled members portraying a named character in the 2012 production, Crowe's participation highlights personal as well as tribal motivations for *Unto These Hills*. "A lot of us do it [participate in *Unto These Hills*] to keep the Native presence," Crowe said. The pageant's cast and crew includes Eastern Band members and other members of federally-recognized tribes along with non-Native participants. For the indigenous participants, though, the desire to educate is also a critical motivation, driven largely by the decades of salvage tourism promoted by Hunter's original narrative.

In his fourth year at *Unto These Hills,* Morrow had been double-cast as Sequoyah, the creator of the Cherokee syllabary, and Reverend Bushyhead, a Cherokee minister. "We do a meet and greet after the show to talk to the audience, especially those that bring their kids," Morrow said. "Those of us in the local cast are always learning new things, too, and it's a lesson for the resident cast that's brought in. They learn to admire the culture and not see us as stereotypical Indians."

Despite the renewed tribal interest and participation in the pageant, attendance has declined significantly in recent years. From 2000 to 2011, attendance nearly dropped in half.

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[71] *Unto These Hills* souvenir program (Cherokee Historical Association, 2012); "Oconaluftee Indian Village," Visit Cherokee, http://visitcherokeenc.com/play/attractions/oconaluftee-indian-village/; "Warriors of AniKituwha," Museum of the Cherokee Indian, http://www.cherokeemuseum.org/html/anikituhwa.html.

Table 2: *Unto These Hills*, 2000-2011	
YEAR	ATTENDANCE
2000	63,715
2005	54,120
2011	36,575

However, the declining attendance and increasing casino activity may not be the death knell for *Unto These Hills*. According to Thompson, "touristic performance as a means of cultural expression" in Cherokee remains important even as other enterprises, such as Harrah's Cherokee Casino, "have since eclipsed older attractions such as the drama, village, and museum." Thompson argues that the casino has become a key player in Cherokee cultural tourism as well as the Eastern Band's "ethnic renewal" by providing the financial resources that have allowed the tribal government to assume control of how its history and culture are represented. Even though "many tribal members are now accepting of the casino and grateful for the resources it provides, it is not embraced as are the cultural attractions which are believed to draw a more desirable type of tourist and to communicate a vital message about the past, present, and future of the Cherokee people."[72]

On the surface, it would appear that there are monumental struggles facing the Cherokee Historical Association, the Eastern Band, and *Unto These Hills*. However, concentrating on the ways in which the Eastern Band has fought to resist Hunter's focus on salvage tourism offers a different interpretation. In the 1950s, the Eastern Band had to rely more heavily on the small tourist niche created by the pageant, "chiefing," and arts and crafts. Now, though, the economic growth is driven by tribal gaming, allowing the Eastern Band to diversify its own economic interests through this added development.

[72] Thompson, 22-23.

The casino, then, has effectively altered the function of the pageant. Since *Unto These Hills* is no longer the only tourist enterprise, the region is no longer dependent on the pageant as the sole source of income. The casino has allowed the tribe to subsidize the pageant while expanding its economic footprint.

The cast also offered several reasons as to why the show still holds a purpose for the Eastern Band. "It's about preservation," said Lossiah. "It says that we're still here, and we strive every day to learn more about it." Her fellow actors nodded in agreement.

"As long as there are local people to come in and tell our story, we will, for generations to come. Some might be here for the paycheck, but we're here to tell our story," Morrow added. "People can go to a museum to see our history, but we bring it to life before them and let it unfold. What you learned in school, what the textbooks tell you, this isn't it. You get to hear it from our side."

"We do it for our parents, grandparents, great-grandparents, and all our ancestors," Crowe said. "We try to preserve our dances and culture for those who weren't allowed to and for those who were in the boarding schools."

"There are four- and five-year-olds speaking fluent Cherokee. That's what we're striving for," added Lossiah.

"We are telling our story," Eddie Swimmer said in a separate interview. "Our history didn't end with the Trail of Tears. We're still here, we're still strong."

Despite the decades-long demonstrations of Kermit Hunter's narrative of static Indianness, the Eastern Band is continually working against these notions of salvage tourism. As I move to the final case study, I argue that the notion of salvage tourism can be applied to more than just a tangible place or a specific narrative. The Pendleton

Round-Up and Happy Canyon Indian Pageant and Wild West Show, produced in Pendleton, Oregon since 1910 and 1916, respectively, use salvage tourism in an entirely different way. In the early 1900s, it was the idea that a particular identity needed salvaging. For many non-Natives in Pendleton, their lives and livelihoods had centered around the construction of Pendleton as part of the wild, wild West. By 1910, however, the changing landscapes and economic enterprises were shifting toward a more settled lifestyle, leading many to fear that their Western identity was rapidly disappearing. The Round-Up and Happy Canyon were created as a means of assuring Pendletonians and tourists that the West was still alive and well in Pendleton.

Unlike the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant, the Round-Up and Happy Canyon have thrived for decades. Unlike *Unto These Hills*, Happy Canyon has only attempted to rework the pageant once, and the mixed results quickly brought back the original production. By the turn of the twenty-first century, however, the fear of losing a Western identity is no longer at the core of the Round-Up and Happy Canyon. For the members of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation who participate in the events surrounding Round-Up and Happy Canyon, the second week of September has become an outlet for regional Indians to proudly perform their culture and their traditions.

Happy Canyon is undoubtedly the strongest and most successful case study in this dissertation. The motivations behind this success, however, reveal distinct disparities between the participants, the promoters, and the public. In its early years, local Indians likely participated because the Round-Up and Happy Canyon offered a space to *be* Indian at a time when the federal government continually sought to repress indigenous peoples

and cultures.[73] Now, however, the Indians who come to Round-Up and Happy Canyon offer a counter-narrative to the purposely and proudly anachronistic narrative of salvage tourism presented in Happy Canyon since 1916.

[73] See Roberta Conner, "Round-Up Reminiscences: 'You Can't Eat Lound-Up!'" and "From Generation to Generation: Tribal Participation" in Michael Bales and Ann Terry Hill, *Pendleton Round-Up at 100 Oregon's Legendary Rodeo* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009).

Figure 7 (above): The intersection of Drama Road and Tsali Boulevard in Cherokee, North Carolina.

Figure 8 (left): Directional signs for tourist attractions in Cherokee, North Carolina. The Cherokee Historical Association is housed in the grey building with the red roof in the background of the photo.

All photos by the author (2012).

Figure 9 (above): An *Unto These Hills* cast member stretches backstage.

Figure 10 (below): Pre-show entertainment at the Mountainside Theatre.
All photos by the author (2012).

Chapter 5

"Days of Old West are Lived Again"
The Happy Canyon Indian Pageant & Wild West Show[1]

> *It is all a Chapter taken out of the history of the old West – a Chapter which every American with red blood in his veins should read in the real before it passes by and, like the old West, forever disappears on the horizon of time. But to understand, one must look with one's own eyes on these things. Then you will feel the stir and the thrill of life of these golden lands of hopes and achievements, where man extends a generous and hospitable welcome to those who cross his trails; it is a spectacle which makes you go away with a bigger, finer feeling toward life, and a genuine respect and appreciation for the quiet, modest manhood and womanhood who have "taken chances," have risked limb and even life at times in their sports of daring and skill, that you may see how their fathers once struggled in earnest against unequal odds in order to attain the Winning of the West.*[2]

In the summer of 1910, a businessman from Pendleton, Oregon, and a former Indian superintendent rode out to a council on the nearby Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation. The Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla Indians had been moved to the reservation through the Treaty of 1855, which had exacerbated the long-simmering tensions between the Indians and the white residents of Pendleton. Many children from the reservation had been sent to boarding schools as far away as Salem, Oregon, in the Western part of the state. It was difficult for the Indians to go to their traditional salmon, root, elk, and deer camps, which hampered their livelihoods and lifestyles. A handful of businessmen in Pendleton were planning a round-up – what we would now consider a rodeo – for that September, and they wanted to invite the Indians to town for the events. They promoted the round-up as a time for the Indians to gather at what had been one of their salmon camps before the treaty, trade with the whites,

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[1] "Days of Old West Are Lived Again at Happy Canyon," *Daily East Oregonian*, September 20, 1917.
[2] Charles Wellington Furlong, "The Epic Drama of the West," *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, Vol. CXXXIII (June-November, 1916): 377.

participate in parades, and dance for the crowds in the arena. After the council, the two delegates, unsure of the Indians' willingness to participate, turned for home and went back to Pendleton. As legend has it, as they stood on the loading docks of the Pendleton Woolen Mills on the morning of the first round-up in September of 1910, they saw a cloud of dust rising along the horizon. The tribe had accepted the invitation, and they set up their Round-Up camp where they had set up their salmon camps so many decades earlier. And so the Pendleton Round-Up was born, a celebration of Western life and livelihoods that has become an iconic pilgrimage for generations of locals and tourists.[3]

Four years later, in September of 1914, Charles Wellington Furlong stepped off the No. 17 train in Pendleton, "full of enthusiasm for the cowboy carnival" and ready to "again tell the world of it in the magazines for which he writes."[4] Furlong, a world traveler, explorer, and author, had traveled West from Boston in order to see the fifth annual Pendleton Round-Up, a local rodeo that was, slowly but surely, turning Pendleton into a place renowned for its "superiority in cowboy pastimes."[5] Furlong, who would later publish an article on the Round-Up with the fitting title of "The Epic Drama of the West" for *Harper's Monthly Magazine* as well as a monograph entitled *Let 'Er Buck: A Story of the Passing of the Old West*, was entranced by Pendleton's rodeo and Pendleton's people, whom he considered to be the "pioneer winners of the West, the protectors and sponsors for a more effete and thinner-blooded civilization which followed

[3] Based on an interview with Randy Thomas, Round-Up Publicity Director, September 10, 2014; William F. Willingham, "The First 100 Years of the Pendleton Round-Up," in Michael Bales and Ann Terry Hill, *Pendleton Round-Up at 100 Oregon's Legendary Rodeo* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), 17.
[4] "Noted traveler-author arrives for the Round-Up," *Daily East Oregonian*, September 21, 1914.
[5] "Crowds begin to arrive here for Round-up; ideal weather greets vanguard of visitors," *Daily East Oregonian*, September 21, 1914.

in their wake."[6] In his earlier travels to the Round-Up, Furlong had, to the delight of his hosts, "become so enthusiastic that he even tried to ride one of the bucking bulls."[7] Unlike the East Coasters who breathlessly read his flourishing tales from the comfort of their homes, Furlong traveled to Pendleton in order to become part of the Round-Up experience – to try his hand at a bucking bull, to "feel the touch and sense the romance of the Old West" as cowboys and Indians and townsfolk alike converged on Pendleton to participate in this epic recreation of a mythic past.[8]

A few weeks earlier, the *East Oregonian* had announced the newest addition to the Round-Up: "'Happy Canyon' will be the name of the frontier town in the fair pavilion where the Round-up crowds will find entertainment during the evenings of the big carnival week," the paper proclaimed. "It has been thus christened and the name, while suggesting the days of a romantic past, is also indicative of the gayety which will prevail there."[9] The crowds, which grew larger with every passing year, had created a demand for entertainment after each day's rodeo events. The enormity of the crowds had begun pushing Pendleton's streets to its limits, and the potential inability to contain the rowdy throngs dogged the Round-Up leaders. More than 15,000 spectators jammed into the arena to see the first day's events in 1914, making it the largest opening night in the Round-Up's still-young history.[10]

In this chapter, I argue that, as in the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant, Pendleton's boosters, businessmen, and residents aimed to capitalize on their commodification of the

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[6] Furlong, "The Epic Drama of the West," 368.
[7] "Noted traveler-author arrives for the Round-Up," *Daily East Oregonian,* September 21, 1914.
[8] Furlong, "The Epic Drama of the West," 369.
[9] "'Happy Canyon' will be name of town in fair pavilion," *Daily East Oregonian,* September 2, 1914.
[10] "Crowd of 15,000 cheers Round-Up events," "Immense crowd here for 1st day," *East Oregonian,* September 24, 1914.

region and its resources. However, I contend that the concept of salvage tourism in Pendleton surrounded its self-ascribed identity as the cornerstone of the Western ideal. Pendleton's identity and Western cachet depended on its representation as a "wild and wooly and wicked" Western town, and the changing social and economic environment in the early twentieth century had threatened to render the town as not only no longer Western, but no longer economically viable.[11] The power of place played a similarly important role in determining the success of the Round-Up and Happy Canyon. Unlike Bayfield, though, Pendleton was, despite its anxiety over its literal and figurative position, legitimately part of the last of the greatness that was *still* West.[12] What, Pendletonians likely wondered, or who, would they be if they *weren't* Western? While the Apostle Islands pageant's promotional materials focused on Indian lore, the final product was, as shown in Chapter 1, centered more on regional history than Native history. In Pendleton, however, the opposite occurred. Happy Canyon initially started in 1914 as "a program filled with drama and comedy of a distinctly Western type" provoking "laughs every minute."[13] Even though American Indians had been part of the Round-Up since its inception in 1910, Happy Canyon did not add the Indian portion of the show until 1916.

American Indians are simultaneously visible and invisible in the early years of the Round-Up and Happy Canyon. As this chapter will demonstrate, their increased presence and role in Pendleton's Western celebration, particularly in the expansion of Happy Canyon, reveals an interesting paradox. The initial productions, notably the Round-Up

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[11] "Days of Old West are lived again at Happy Canyon," *Daily East Oregonian*, September 20, 1917.
[12] To paraphrase L.E. McKenzie's six-stanza poem composed on the shore of Lake Superior – "History of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant," *Bayfield Progress*, August 26, 1924.
[13] "'Happy Canyon' will be open to public Wednesday evening," *East Oregonian*, September 21, 1914.

and the first few productions of Happy Canyon, centered on promoting and perpetuating a particular image of white Americanness centered within the settlement of the West: primarily the demarcation of white masculinity as defined by its gendered domination of the landscape. While American Indians were undoubtedly present in Round-Up events and, eventually, in Happy Canyon, organizers clearly created a distinction between the Native Americans and the white Pendletonians. This manufactured mythos of native – meaning white – identity in Pendleton sought to construct a particular image packaged not only for tourists but for the Pendletonians themselves who fought to maintain their connection to the West. Through the Round-Up and Happy Canyon, these contested and overlapping ideas about what it meant to be native to Pendleton in the early twentieth century expose the uncertainties of claiming an authentic identity. The real and imagined histories of Pendleton collided with the purposeful intent to capitalize on what seemed to be an increasingly intangible item: a real, live, Western rodeo and night show in a real, live, Western town with real, live, Western cowboys and Indians.

Salvage tourism, as I have constructed it, refers to the ways in which local businessmen, boosters, and other invested parties commodified a particular people, place, event, or lifestyle in order to create interest and generate revenue based on the notion of disappearance. As noted in the introduction to the dissertation, salvage tourism worked in different ways (and with varying degrees of success) in Bayfield, Pendleton, and Cherokee. Whereas the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant capitalized on fears surrounding the potentially vanishing wilderness (and, subsequently, the vanishing Ojibwe), I contend that here it was the white Pendletonians who were afraid of losing their identity. They were, more than anything, attempting to salvage themselves.

Unlike the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant, which brought in outside writers and directors and even professional actors from Chicago, the Round-Up and Happy Canyon championed themselves as real and raw, the epitome of the Western experience and, thus, the most authentic portrayal of Western history. The first Round-Up, hastily cobbled together in 1910, not only established Pendleton's claim to authenticity but *validated* it through the ease with which the production came together. As Furlong would later note, a visitor to Pendleton in September would "rub elbows with many an old Indian fighter" and, thanks to Happy Canyon, "you are in a little frontier world of fifty years ago," a place where "many of these players are in reality the characters they portray":

> Not even a rehearsal is held. The "boys" are simply told what is expected of them and when they are to do it. "Whoopie! Wow! Wow!" emanates from the open space…You see bad men and vigilantes come riding through town; the bar-room has its shooting scrape, and cowboy and cowgirl gracefully reel through their dances on horseback and take part in ranch and town games of various kinds…[14]

For Furlong and the thousands who flocked to Pendleton, the frontier world of yore was more than just the stuff of books and magazines: like Lerner and Loewe's *Brigadoon*, the charming, anachronistic ideal of the Western town came to life for those who truly believed.[15] There was no need for lengthy rehearsals in Pendleton, because those who participated had no need to rehearse the sundry details of their seemingly everyday lives. Unlike the slick, polished Wild West shows that required extensive rehearsals before appearing before its audiences, the Round-Up and Happy Canyon, in turn, seemingly sprung up overnight, as "the town of 'Happy Canyon' has grown from nothing to a

[14] Furlong, "The Epic Drama of the West," 376.
[15] *Brigadoon*, a 1947 musical by Alan Jay Lerner and Frederick Loewe, told the story of a town in the Scottish highlands that only appeared once every hundred years – thus, when it *did* appear, the town and its citizens were charmingly anachronistic.

thriving frontier metropolis and, commencing Wednesday evening, will be a scene of commercial activity and hilarious festivity."[16]

The urgency that categorized the push to create the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant mirrored the urgency in Pendleton, albeit for different reasons. Happy Canyon, which began as a both a show and a place where visitors could take part in a wild frontier town, intended to capitalize on the proven commodification of the West. The creation of the Round-Up in 1910, the addition of the first night show in 1913, the move to a Wild West-type of vaudeville entertainment in 1914, and the subsequent addition of the Indian portion in 1916 reveal the multilayered appeal and function of the wild Western history. Even as Wild West shows toured the nation and the world, Pendleton was able to create a commodity structured around its insistent portrayal of itself and its residents, both Native Americans and white Pendletonians, as the personification of the West. Unlike the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant, which focused on bringing in outside tourists, Pendleton designed a celebration that would appeal to its own residents as well as outsiders.

Despite the numerous contrasts between the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant and Happy Canyon, one distinct similarity remains clear: the preoccupation with the commodification of a seemingly vanishing ideal, whether it be the pristine (and endangered) environment, the splendid (and endangered) local Indians, the defining (and endangered) characteristics of a bygone way of life, or the historical and personal (and endangered) connection to an epic narrative. By examining the history of the simultaneous creation and commodification of the broad Western narrative and its application in Pendleton, it is evident that the salvage tourism constructed through the

[16] "'Happy Canyon' will be open to public Wednesday evening," *Daily East Oregonian*, September 21, 1914.

Round-Up and Happy Canyon centered on the vanishing characteristics that defined the region and its residents.

The West, as they say, is history.

Selling and salvaging the West: Commodifying Pendleton

> *Happy Canyon is the result of the overworked condition of the Roundup directors. The Roundup could entertain the people in the afternoon, but there was nothing for them to do in the evening.*
>
> *"Put on a night show," everyone advised.*
>
> *"Put on a nightcap," the directors answered. "We don't even have the time to do that. If we attempted it we'd be putting on a night show in the asylum down here."*[17]

In the mid-nineteenth century, "There was no wilder town in the reaches of the wild, wild West at the turn of the century" than Pendleton, the "sin and six-gun capital of the cow country…peopled by men who shot first, talked later, [and] drank their whiskey raw." [18] However, this Western lifestyle the Round-Up and Happy Canyon promoted was already vanishing by the inaugural Round-Up in 1910. According to William F. Willingham, bronco-busting tournaments and Indian war dances described a time "at least twenty-five years in the past, when cattle and cowboys dominated the rangeland of Eastern Oregon and the so-called Bannock War of 1878 caused turmoil on the Umatilla Indian Reservation." Even as thousands of cattle were rounded up in Pendleton in the 1880s and driven to markets in Wyoming and Montana, sheep raising and wheat farming were already encroaching on the cattle ranges. By 1910, wool and wheat controlled the

[17] "Pendleton is All Ready to Let 'Er Buck at Roundup," *The Sunday Oregonian*, September 12, 1915.
[18] Mildred Allison, "Annual Event comes long way," reprinted from "East Oregonian Souvenir Edition, September 1959" in Umatilla County Historical Association's *Pioneer Trails*, Vol. 4, No. 1, September, 1979, 3.

agricultural landscape in northern Oregon.[19] Randy Thomas, the 2014 Round-Up Publicity Director, concurred: "Pendleton was afraid of losing its identity. It was afraid that its economy was dwindling," he said. "It was changing from cattle country to raising sheep and raising more wheat, and they were just confused and they were wanting to do something as an economic boost."[20] The idea of a local rodeo, then, served several purposes. It would draw riders and audiences to Pendleton, which would help the economy, and it would be an overt reminder of Pendleton's glory days, leaving residents and visitors satisfied in Pendleton's continued claim to an authentic representation of the Wild West.

The *East Oregonian* quickly recognized the appeal of the Round-Up's old-West aura, noting in 1911 that "Realizing that the spectacular old West of our forefather's days is rapidly being settled and converted into thriving farms and peaceful cities." Therefore, the people of Pendleton "built one of the finest stadiums in the Northwest, with the idea of holding a grand three-days entertainment each year, at which time cowboys and cowgirls from the ranges and Indians from the reservation of the Northwest will participate in a hairraising Round-Up."[21]

As with the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant, settlement and development in Pendleton was cause for concern. Thriving farms and peaceful cities, while notable markers of agricultural development and what we can consider "civilization," did not exactly paint Pendleton as particularly wild and Western. While boosters in northern Wisconsin sought to "rewild" the region through preservation and conservation, using the pageant as a means to draw attention to the region in order to spur preservation,

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[19] Willingham, "The First 100 Years of the Pendleton Round-Up," in Bales and Hill, 13.
[20] Interview with Randy Thomas, Round-Up Publicity Director, September 10, 2014.
[21] "Why is the Round-Up?" [sic] *East Oregonian*, September 11, 1914.

Pendleton boosters sought to "rewild" their town by revisiting their own history in order to draw attention to and incite preservation of a "vanishing" way of life. According to James Feldman, white American views of what they considered the wilderness shifted in the nineteenth century. A renewed appreciation for the "wild, natural qualities of North America," a viewpoint encouraged by railroad companies, pulled people out of the city and into the destinations that were "remarkable for their scenery."[22] Rather than seeking to preserve the changing environment, boosters and businessmen in Pendleton aimed to preserve their claim to a wild history, one filled with cowboys and Indians and settlers and pioneers. Rather than presenting the history of Native peoples as the basis for their own, Pendleton initially sought to preserve its *own* authentic atmosphere through its deep connection to not only the events of its past but its sustained participation even as Pendleton's environment and economy were shifting away from these wild roots. Claims to authenticity functioned differently in Pendleton than it did in Bayfield, and yet the result was the same: attempting to boost tourism by capitalizing on fears of disappearance.

The Round-Up, of course, was not built in a day, but its humble beginnings have become the stuff of legend. At first glance, a city attorney seems an unlikely father of a rodeo, night show, faux frontier town, and Indian pageant. Despite being "a city boy, with no knowledge of ranches and rodeos, only a nodding acquaintance of rough cowhands," J. Roy Raley decided that an annual rodeo was just what the town of Pendleton needed.[23] Raley's inspiration is debatable: some say the Round-Up's origins lay in a "demonstration of Western horsemanship" at a Fourth of July celebration in

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[22] James Feldman, *A Storied Wilderness: Rewilding the Apostle Islands* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013), 95.
[23] Allison, "Annual Event comes long way," 5.

1909, while others credit the 1909 Eastern Oregon District Fair.[24] According to the *East Oregonian,* Raley had noticed that "the city of his birth had no distinctive celebration such as many cities had," leading him to ask friends and colleagues to help create such an event.[25] Still others, like Round-Up Publicity Director Randy Thomas, contend that it was two-fold:

> So some of the businessmen, they went to Portland and they saw the Rose Festival, which is two years old in 1910, and they came back and they said, "We can do something like that!" Kind of in combination with the fact that the Buffalo Bill Cody show had come through here a couple of times and kind of met with yawns from the locals. Because they were all actors and they were in makeup to be cowboys and Indians and they did tricks. But the people in Pendleton, who were both Indians and authentic cowboys, they kind of yawned and said, "We can do that, but with real cowboys and real Indians."[26]

This potential combination, then, becomes the catalyst for the Round-Up. Buffalo Bill and his actors, according to Pendletonians, were just that – actors. The people in and around Pendleton, though, were the *real* Westerners, people who deserved to have a celebration devoted to their efforts and their Western way of life in the wake of similar events in towns throughout the West. This commodification of authenticity, then, establishes the foundation for potential success in Pendleton as the people of Pendleton were less than impressed with Cody's show and decided that they could create a better show than the one brought in by this flashy showman. Buffalo Bill's commodification of their Western lifestyles through the use of what Pendletonians considered to be inauthentic performers reveals a key element for the economic success and fame that Pendleton was seeking. Here, performance works in two modes: an embodied, or

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[24] Willingham, 13.
[25] "How the Round-Up Grew From Modest Beginning to Show of World Proportions," *East Oregonian Round-Up Souvenir Edition,* September 11, 1913.
[26] Interview with Randy Thomas, Round-Up Publicity Director, September 10, 2014.

authentic, performance versus an imaginary, or inauthentic, show. The opportunity to capitalize on their own authenticity, then, allowed Pendletonians to position themselves in opposition to the pretend-play of Wild West shows.

Unlike the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant and *Unto These Hills*, both of which underwent extensive pre-production preparations, plans for the Round-Up went into motion a mere two months before it opened: "For two months the amateur crew of rodeo producers knocked on doors, wrote letters and traveled the early West of the twentieth century. They borrowed money, begged stock and moon-lighted equipment from every rancher on the open range."[27] Some supervised the construction of the rodeo grounds and grandstands, while others organized a parade and arranged for reduced train fares on railroads throughout the Northwest.[28]

The success of the first Round-Up, which opened at the end of September 1910, was practically instantaneous, much to the delight of the city's businesses and residents alike. More than 7,000 spectators showed up on the opening day, forcing organizers to turn many away and then, overnight, build enough bleachers to hold a few thousand more.[29] Billed as "A Frontier Exhibition of Picturesque Pastimes, Indian and Military Spectacles and Cowboy Racing and Bronco Busting for the Championship of the Northwest," the *East Oregonian* attributed much of its success to its participants:

> The Round-Up has been called a pastoral drama but the implication of that name is deceptive…The word "drama" suggests the presentation of the artificial by the unreal which is just what the Round-Up is not. The men before the gaze of the audience in the daily exhibits are not actors, they are real characters, and there is nothing theatrical, "stagy" or melodramatic in their performances…They know nothing of the art which clothes the unreal with the robes of realism, they can only be themselves and do with

[27] Allison, 3.
[28] Willingham, 17.
[29] Willingham, 17.

> perfect naturalness and with the ease, skill and proficiency to which they have attained, the feats which they have learned in the routine of their daily existence. The actor's is the realm of fiction, the Round-Up performer's the province of truth, and the cowboy's audience never experiences the disappointment of dropping from an imaginary to the actual world at the falling of a curtain, is never forced to sigh and say, when it is all over, "After all, it was not real."[30]

These stories of the Round-Up's early years add to its self-attributed sincerity as a product of the wild, wild West. The Round-Up is not presented as a stuffy, artificial, staged production that would thrill the more genteel Eastern populace. Rather, the ability to create a successful Round-Up that rose like a Phoenix out of the ashes of the old West attests to its claim as the legitimate forerunner of Western history. The Round-Up engineers authenticated the rodeo by borrowing livestock and equipment, legitimate instruments in the daily lives of Pendletonians, from local ranchers who were, unlike Buffalo Bill's costumed pretenders, the real men who had built the West.

The name itself is particularly evocative. After the Civil War, there were nearly half a million wild cattle on the Texas plains who had to be rounded up, branded, and shipped to another destination, and the population doubled almost every four years. It was rough work, initially done by young, unmarried men who honed their talents on the open ranges and were not at all shy about demonstrating their mastery of working with horses and cattle.[31] On the Fourth of July in 1869, cowboys from a handful of ranches in northeast Colorado gathered to determine which cowboy was truly the best at his job. This is, according to Joel Bernstein, considered the first rodeo – or, at the very least, the first recorded one.[32] The term rodeo, however, was not applied to these displays of

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[30] "A Frontier Exhibition" advertisement, *Daily East Oregonian*, September 29, 1910; "Why is the Round-Up?" *East Oregonian*, September 14, 1911.
[31] Joel E. Bernstein, *Wild Ride: The History and Lore of Rodeo* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 2007), 20.
[32] Bernstein, *Wild Ride*, 16.

cowboy braggadocio until 1916.[33] Instead, the early contests were called round-ups, meaning the literal rounding-up of cattle and cowboys. In Pendleton, the continued use of the term round-up, rather than changing to rodeo, could have served as an attempt to signal the town's sustained connection to the lifestyle the Round-Up portrayed.

A large portion of the allure of theatrical productions such as plays and musicals resides in the components that highlight its histrionic capabilities. Scenery and props transform a theatre space, giving the illusion of being, as in the case of *My Fair Lady*, on the streets of London one moment and in the spacious home of Professor Henry Higgins the next. Audiences are invited, if not expected, to put their faith in the impossible, the unreal, in order to truly capture the theatrical experience. The Round-Up, however, sought to pull its audiences closer, to allow, if not force, them to see a window to a not-so-distant-but-far-enough-away past. The Round-Up itself is not a pageant, unlike the later Happy Canyons, but it is a production. Unlike the often-scripted narrative structure of the Happy Canyon pageant, one cannot predict which Round-Up rider will draw which bull, or which rider will win. Despite the different constructions of performance, embedded within the Round-Up and Happy Canyon, I contend that both productions demonstrate the ways in which these specific regional histories become codified and commodified through these touristic enterprises.

The Round-Up's early years drew talented horsemen and women whose skills created the environment that, as the *East Oregonian* crowed, authenticated and legitimated the rodeo events, the Round-Up, and Pendleton itself. As Furlong eloquently noted,

[33] Bernstein, 10.

> Many an actor who carried the principal parts against the background of this greatest of national melodramas still stalks in the flesh. There are yet to be found, tucked away in stray corners, the cattle rancher, cowboy, sheriff, horse-thief, ranger, road agent, trapper and trader, the old stage driver, freighter, gambler, canoeman, the missionary, pioneer woman, old-time scout, the placer-miner, the Indian – all pioneer types, primeval actors in this dramatic Odyssey of American adventure and development, the building of the West.[34]

The initial emphasis on the non-Native history of Pendleton while simultaneously recognizing the important role of American Indians is not surprising, as it demonstrates the era's popular opinions regarding Western settlement, particularly the settlement by white men. With the exception of the pioneer woman and the generic Indian, all of Furlong's "pioneer types" and "primeval actors" are, theoretically, the white men who would have theoretically built the West. Pendleton's pride lay in its ability to claim this history as its own, regardless of the countless number of towns throughout the West who could, and who may have, made strikingly similar claims.

After three successful years of rodeo events, Raley and his fellow Round-Up organizers decided to offer evening entertainment for the ever-growing number of people who came to Pendleton for the Round-Up. Raley and a few other Pendletonians had also been thoroughly unimpressed with that year's Umatilla-Morrow District Fair, which had started in 1912 in nearby Hermiston, a town about 20 miles north and west of Pendleton. They also scoffed at the fact that admission had gone from 25 to 50 cents without what they considered to be an equal increase in entertainment value.[35] The 1912 District Fair, also known as the Hermiston Hog and Dairy Show, was the last of several collaborations

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[34] Charles Wellington Furlong, *Let 'Er Buck: A Story of the Passing of the Old West* (New York: Overlook Press, 1921, reprinted 2007), xxxi.
[35] Happy Canyon souvenir program, 1967, 7.

between the counties, as legislation passed in 1913 no longer permitted a bi-county fair.[36] The Morrow County Fair would live long and prosper, but the Umatilla County Fair temporarily fell victim to the popularity of the Round-Up.

Once again convinced they could do better than the local fairs, Round-Up organizers debuted the first night show in 1913 with the mind-boggling title "The Pageant of the West – an Outdoor Dramatic Production, Symbolizing the History and Development of the Great West."[37] In a move echoed by the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant a decade later, likely having determined that Round-Up crowds wanted entertainment, not education, organizers unveiled their newest creation in 1914: a throwback to the days of the good old frontier town. Again, regardless of the inspiration, it is crucial to note that Raley and his counterparts had recognized the potential economic boon to be found in reliving the old West, even if the old West no longer existed, even in Pendleton. Local newspapers furiously promoted the Round-Up's new evening entertainment, aptly named Happy Canyon: "Not only will they be entertained each afternoon with the thrilling pastimes of the cowboy and Indian," the *East Oregonian* announced, "but in the evening too they will have an opportunity to revel in the picturesque and romantic life of frontier days."[38]

The Happy Canyon committee purposely refused to publicize many specifics regarding the pavilion and the show. However, the committee was positive that "The visitor at the Round-up this year will not go away feeling that nothing had been provided

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[36] "Fair History," Umatilla County Fair, http://www.co.umatilla.or.us/fair/fair_history.html; Ron Ingle, "A tale of two centennials," Northwest Opinions, *East Oregonian*, August 4, 2014, http://www.northwestopinions.com/East-oregonian/letter-a-tale-of-two-centennials/.
[37] "Happy Canyon Night Show" 2012 souvenir program, 15.
[38] "'Happy Canyon' promises to visitors big time this year," *Daily East Oregonian*, September 11, 1914.

to amuse him in the evening."[39] A few days before the 1914 Round-Up opened, rodeo headlines in the *East Oregonian* were only bested by headlines on recent World War I battles overseas. The paper announced that advance ticket sales for the rodeo were the biggest in its history, noting that every train that entered the city brought more visitors and that the streets were already congested with traffic. Special delegations from Washington cities were arriving, and the paper warned locals and visitors to be on the lookout for potential robbers and pickpockets.[40]

Through the development of the Round-Up and Happy Canyon, Pendleton employed a similar rhetoric of disappearance to the one that the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant would use in the 1920s. The salvage tourism that boosters promoted functioned as a catalyst for tourists who, yet again, fully believed that the inevitable taming of the West put Pendleton on the verge of becoming a vanishing commodity. However, rather than focusing on the disappearance of the local Indians, Pendleton promotional materials centered on the Round-Up and Happy Canyon as a means of salvaging the wildness of the West in the wake of, again, the inevitable march of progress. The tourists (and locals) who flooded Pendleton demonstrate that, even in this Western state in the early twentieth century, the cowboys-and-Indians motif of the West was a powerful draw. Tourists could, in one trip, witness a multitude of Western-themed events within the rodeo arena and throughout Pendleton. The addition of Happy Canyon, then, offered the chance to fully experience life in the wild, wild West. The pavilion that housed Happy Canyon included banks, saloons, stores and shops, a hotel, post office, gambling houses, and

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[39] "'Happy Canyon' promises to visitors big time this year," *Daily East Oregonian*, September 11, 1914.
[40] "Annual Seat Sale for the Round-Up biggest on record," "Walla Walla, Waitsburg and Dayton people coming," "Look out for crooks is warning given visitors," *East Oregonian*, September 22, 1914.

"other institutions such as flourished in the 'days of '49.'"[41] Additionally, each institution was "in actual operation" with play money currency called "10 buck" bills, where one buck equaled one penny and the ten buck bills were the only accepted currency within the pavilion. Before the general merriment, however, organizers had planned for an hour-long program whose features would "be remindful of the early pioneer days."[42] By recreating a Western town within an already decidedly Western town, Happy Canyon served as a kind of time machine for tourists. Perhaps those who came to Pendleton wanted to escape more than just the hustle and bustle of their city lives, especially as World War I continued to rage overseas. The cultivation of Happy Canyon as an immersive experience, coupled with the growing popularity of the Round-Up and the demonstrated appeal of Western-themed entertainment, developed from a flourishing focus on the disappearing Western ideal as propagated through history and period popular culture.

<u>The power of the West and the politics of American identity</u>

I might have had a sidekick with a funny name
Running wild through the hills chasing Jesse James
Ending up on the brink of danger, riding shotgun for the Texas Rangers.
Go West, young man, haven't you been told?
California's full of whiskey, women, and gold
Sleeping out all night beneath the desert stars with a dream in my eye and a prayer in my heart

I should've been a cowboy. I should've learned to rope and ride,
Wearing my six-shooter, riding my pony on a cattle drive,
Stealing the young girls' hearts just like Gene and Roy,
Singing those campfire songs, oh, I should've been a cowboy.[43]

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[41] "'Happy Canyon' promises to visitors big time this year," *Daily East Oregonian,* September 11, 1914.
[42] "'Happy Canyon' promises to visitors big time this year," *Daily East Oregonian,* September 11, 1914; "'Happy Canyon' will be name of town in fair pavilion," *Daily East Oregonian*, September 2, 1914..
[43] "Should've Been a Cowboy," by Toby Keith, 1993, *Toby Keith*, Mercury Records.

The American fascination with the wild, wild West and with performances of Western history has its roots deep within American history. Even though Wild West shows, which debuted as early as the 1870s, had lost their luster (and many had gone bankrupt) by the 1930s, they were supplemented by popular and prolific authors like Zane Grey. Westerns dominated television and film through the middle of the twentieth century and, by the 1990s, country singers still centered songs around the thrilling elements that made the West the West. Musicians sang the praises of Jesse James, the Texas Rangers, *Gunsmoke*, cattle drives, and camp songs, invoking the names of notable cowboy performers like Gene Autry and Roy Rogers. Toby Keith's homage to the West, "Should've Been a Cowboy," debuted in 1993 and became the most-played country song of the decade.[44] What seems like a simple, catchy tune about the whiskey, women, and gold of the West stands as a symbol of the continued potency of Western mythology and popular culture.

In 1893, less than twenty years before the first Pendleton Round-Up, a thirty-two-year-old historian from the University of Wisconsin presented a paper at the World's Congress of Historians and Historical Students that had been organized as part of the Columbian Exposition in Chicago.[45] In "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," Frederick Jackson Turner bemoaned what he considered to be the disappearance of the American frontier, a victim of continued Westward movement and Americanization. For Turner, the frontier was the meeting point "between savagery and civilization," the place where American social development was continually reborn. The

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[44] Craig Shelbourne, "Toby Keith Jams, Notches 50 Million Airplays," March 1, 2007, http://www.cmt.com/news/country-music/1553672/toby-keith-jams-notches-50-million-airplays.jhtml.
[45] Clyde A. Milner II, "Introduction," in *The Oxford History of the American West,* ed. Clyde A. Milner II, Carol A. O'Connor, Martha A. Sandweiss (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 3.

frontier was where the colonist, initially European and encountering Indian ways of life, became something distinctive. According to Turner, "The wilderness masters the colonist…In short, at the frontier the environment is at first too strong for the man. He must accept the conditions which it furnishes or perish, and so he fits himself into the Indian clearings and follows the Indian trails." Through his travels and travails, though, the colonist changed the frontier and was simultaneously changed by his experiences, creating "a new product that is American. At first, the frontier was the Atlantic coast. It was the frontier of Europe in a very real sense. Moving westward, the frontier became more and more American."[46]

Unsurprisingly, the key participant in Turner's lecture is the white man who simultaneously transforms the frontier while the frontier transforms the man, who is then left irrevocably changed. Women and American Indians are mere supporting players in this performance of the West: Kit Carson's mother is the only woman mentioned in Turner's address, and only because she was a descendant of Daniel Boone. There is no mention of the women who packed up their families and headed into the Western unknown, struggling to survive in what can only be called a new world. There is no mention of African Americans, of Asian Americans, or of the European immigrants who built the railroads or contributed to the growth of towns and industries. Turner's focus is, as William Deverell writes, "white, Anglo-Saxon, cowboy and cavalry man, gunfighter and lawman, town-builder and banker: the West was heroic, grand, tough, and, above all,

[46] Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," 1893 in Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962), 4.

ruggedly masculine."[47] Turner also alludes to American Indians, but only as relics of the past, anachronistic and unchanging, doomed to disappear along with the frontier.

While the tone of Turner's eulogy for the "closing of the frontier" seems melodramatic, his speech typified the identity crisis facing white Americans. If the frontier was no more, the American dream of a wild, untamed wilderness to conquer was dead, having disappeared beneath the preordained march of progress as a victim of the crisis of industrialization. The supposed consequences lay in the notion that, without a frontier to master, the white American man would have nothing left to conquer, leaving him without adversaries or rivals whose defeat would only further his cause. The dusty plains had become paved streets, the landscapes had become dotted with neatly plotted ranches, farms, and even towns, and those seeking individual opportunity were often at the mercy of those who had already claimed land from Indians. As noted earlier, Pendleton's economy had moved from cattle ranching into wheat and sheep. While these herds and crops were surely profitable ventures, grazing sheep and amber waves of grain likely did not evoke the same thrilling imagery as would cowboys driving their cattle across the rough terrain of the West. The settlement of the West came at the price of Pendleton's wildness, a characteristic that became a rallying cry in the early years of the Round-Up.

Native history, however, offers a tangible contradiction to Turner's thesis. Despite the popular notion that Indian resistance ended with the massacre at Wounded Knee in 1890, Indian history in the West remains much more complex. As Philip Deloria argues, "The self-defining pairing of American truth with American freedom rests on the

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[47] William Deverell, "Fighting Words: The Significance of the American West in the History of the United States," in *A New Significance: Re-envisioning the History of the American West,* ed. Clyde A. Milner II (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 36.

ability to wield power against Indians – social, military, economic, and political – while simultaneously drawing power from them."[48] For Turner and his contemporaries, the West had already been won. And, through this victory, the United States had lost one of its most defining characteristics. For Pendletonians, this bittersweet "victory" came with a hefty price: their claim to an identity based in their ability to wrest a hardscrabble living after wresting the land from their Native adversaries. White American history in the West had, for decades, been defined by their contact with and victory over the rugged, ruthless environment and the people who were already there. Charles Wellington Furlong, writing on the Round-Up and the passing of the Old West in 1921, asserted that

> It were better for the Nation if the blasé, effete, lily-livered youths, which the complexities and hectic movement of our modern life tends to develop, learned through honorable physical contest the satisfaction of a well-balanced body and character, the power of self-control, the constructive force of positiveness and that joy of spiritual uplift through a frank and sympathetic contact with Nature and a certain healthy revision to type.[49]

For Furlong, Turner's worst fears had come to life. Unlike those who had come before them, Furlong believed, the American youth were no longer rugged and robust, tough enough to subdue an enraged bucking bull or round up a herd of cattle. They were no longer able to withstand the hardships that accompanied the successful taming of a wild frontier. Without that "honorable physical contest," according to Furlong, the youth of America were no longer sufficiently masculine because they had not had to prove themselves against a host of strong and powerful adversaries.

Just as non-Natives in northern Wisconsin feared the loss of the resources and people who had helped define the region, Furlong and his contemporaries feared that the loss of the frontier meant the simultaneous loss of the white American identity that was

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[48] Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 191.
[49] Furlong, *Let 'Er Buck,* xiii.

inextricably intertwined with the wildness of the West. The Round-Up and Happy Canyon, however, offered more than just an escape from the conveniences of modern, industrialized life: it offered audiences the chance to relive, if only for a week, the history of a place that had, just decades before, been as wild as their imaginations. By 1913, the *East Oregonian* confidently asserted that the Round-Up had, in its short life, "improved year by year until now it is unquestionably the peer of all outdoor entertainments in the world."[50] Its phenomenal growth emphasized the dominance of the Western mythology, even in a place where the historical basis for the myth had not entirely, at least for some, disappeared in the wake of shifting uses of the land.

The Turner thesis grabbed white America by the horns and held on tightly. Even as it has undergone significant academic revisions, both in terms of praise and disdain, a large number of scholars have sought to debunk the Turner thesis. Patricia Limerick, for instance, called it an "unsubtle concept for a subtle world," blaming the "f-word" for, in the words of Stephen Aron, "perpetuating the triumphalist fantasies of white men and for closing off the West's present condition from historical analysis."[51] Despite a substantial body of literature that seeks to offer a more inclusionary approach to this history, the West retains its mythic quality, most notably in popular culture.[52]

The Turner thesis offered the simplest understandings of the American West, even as the closing of the frontier aroused national feelings of dread, fear, and nostalgia.[53] The

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[50] "How the Round-Up Grew From Modest Beginning to Show of World Proportions," *East Oregonian Round-Up Souvenir Edition*, September 11, 1913.
[51] Stephen Aron, "Lessons in Conquest: Towards a Greater Western History," *Pacific Historical Review* (Vol. 63 No. 2, May 1994): 126.
[52] One of the most telling examples in this "New Western History" is *The Oxford History of the American West*, ed. Clyde A. Milner II, Carol A. O'Connor, Martha A. Sandweiss (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).
[53] L.G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians 1883-1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 12.

frontier's supposed disappearance, akin to the supposed disappearance of American Indians, exacerbated the commodification and consumption of the West and its idealized, idolized characters. Places like Pendleton, then, served as a tangible manifestation and continual performance of how the West was won. Coupled with the ideology of Manifest Destiny, the loss of the frontier symbolized the inexorable, inescapable, *justifiable* expansion of white America. Nearly fifty years before Turner spoke in Chicago, national debates raged across the nation regarding the annexation of Texas. American writer John L. O'Sullivan was among those who were astonished, if not incensed, that some decried the annexation. O'Sullivan denounced those who "thwart[ed] our policy and hamper[ed] our power, limiting our greatness and checking the fulfillment of our *manifest destiny* to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions [emphasis added]."[54]

Manifest Destiny was a practice long before O'Sullivan coined the term, but its application in the West became, for many white Americans (particularly white American men), a touchstone, a defining characteristic of American domination, success, and superiority on a national and even international level. In Oregon, the Treaty of 1855 had created the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation through the cession of six million acres of land. The creation of the reservation, however, had not fully alleviated the tensions between Natives and non-Natives. Indeed, as noted earlier, many point to these hostilities as the reason why Round-Up organizers invited Indians to

[54] John L. O'Sullivan, "Annexation," *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* 17, no.1 (July-August 1845) in *Documents of American Prejudice: An Anthology of Writings on Race from Thomas Jefferson to David Duke*, ed. S.T. Joshi (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 128.

participate in the first round-up.[55] The uneasy application of Manifest Destiny in Pendleton is examined in fuller detail in Chapter 6, and yet the early functions of the Round-Up and Happy Canyon necessitated the implementation of the Western narrative that highlighted the history of removal in order to justify not only the treaty, but the subsequent capitalization on the contentious relationships that characterized the supposed superiority of white masculinity in the West.

This is not to say that these particular images of the West, mainly Indians, were not mythologized and commodified before Turner's thesis. Instead, the fascination initially arose in the Eastern portion of the nation where Indians and Indian history had been largely erased and subsumed by non-Natives and *their* history through what Jean O'Brien calls "the 'last of the [blank]' syndrome, whereby local historians occasionally tell stories about people they identify as the last Indian who lived in places they claimed as their own."[56] These ascribed identifiers, largely genealogical or cultural, maintained Indianness as static characteristics that grew increasingly more difficult to identify within the broader landscape of American culture, as evidenced by the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant promoters who conflated the area's wild and supposedly Western characteristics. American Indians, then, became an integral part of American history. They were worthy, if ultimately inferior, opponents, and their apparent defeat at the hands of non-Natives justified and sanctioned white American progress. Philip Deloria contends that, "If a mostly imagined Indianness spoke in compelling ways to issues of class, gender, and nationalism within white America, and if Indianness shaped and was shaped by a series

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[55] See Roberta Conner, "Round-Up Reminiscences: 'You Can't Eat Lound-Up!'" and "From Generation to Generation: Tribal Participation" in Michael Bales and Ann Terry Hill, *Pendleton Round-Up at 100 Oregon's Legendary Rodeo* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009).
[56] Jean O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010) xxiv.

of struggles between the United States and a wide array of very real Native people, playing Indian has had even more intricate dimensions."[57]

In Pendleton, however, Native and non-Native history collided in the creation of the Round-Up and Happy Canyon. Despite the protestations to the contrary, the Round-Up and Happy Canyon were still, in a sense, performative. By temporarily suspending the reality of their early-twentieth-century lives, participants were intentionally returning to an idealized, historicized, and commodified past. Rather than playing Indian, *per se*, white residents in Pendleton were thrilled at the idea of playing native, which would delineate and distinguish them as active accessories in not only these re-creations of Western history but in the *creation* of the history itself. By playing native, white Pendletonians exchanged one history for another. They situated *themselves* as the true natives of the West, the ones who had literally built the town from nothing, who wrestled the land into submission, and who staked their claim to the wild West through their own blood and sweat.

For many white Americans, conflicts with Indians proved their own power and preeminence. In *The Winning of the West*, Theodore Roosevelt, who was still several years away from the White House, contended that no other "English-speaking race" had dealt with such a strong adversary in attempts at colonization. American Indians, according to Roosevelt, "formed one of the main factors in deciding the fate of the continent…By the time the English had consolidated the Atlantic colonies under their

[57] Deloria, *Playing Indian,* 187.

rule, *the Indians had become what they have remained ever since, the most formidable savage foes ever encountered by colonists of European stock*."[58] [emphasis added]

For Roosevelt, Indians solidified American supremacy through their resistance to colonization – especially through their inability to "avert the white conquest." Whereas Turner drew from Indian history as a means of creating Americans as an amalgamation of Europe and Native America, Roosevelt used Indians to highlight white America's supposedly superior strength. Thus, the allure of the West drew not only from American history but from American Indians as well. The *East Oregonian* alluded to these connections, as did Furlong: "Even now, however, one could feel the touch and sense the romance of the Old West," he declared, "for along every trail and road which converged to Pendleton cowboy and cowgirl came riding in to the jingling of spur and the retch of leather. So, too, came the Indians from their reservations."[59] Even if indigenous participation did not receive equal billing in Round-Up publicity, the use of Indians was still essential in order to generate a true Western experience.

Roosevelt continued, contending that, "Had the Indians been as helpless as the Native Australians were, the continent of North America would have had an altogether different history. It would not only have been settled far more rapidly, but also on very different lines."[60] Roosevelt condensed several centuries of Native/non-Native violence, death, and destruction into a succinct celebration of American, not European, ability. White America, according to Roosevelt, overcame not one but several adversaries:

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[58] Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West* (1889-96; reprinted New York: Current Literature Publishing Co., 1905), vol. 1, pp. 17-18, 31-40 in *Documents of American Prejudice: An Anthology of Writings on Race from Thomas Jefferson to David Duke,* ed. S.T. Joshi (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 138-139.
[59] Charles Wellington Furlong, "Round-Up vivid picture of early days," *Daily East Oregonian,* September 24, 1914; Furlong, "The Epic Drama of the West," 369.
[60] Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West,* 138-139.

British, French, Spanish, *and* indigenous. For Roosevelt and his contemporaries, this four-pronged triumph and the power of each individual opponent exemplified the absolute authority with which white America deserved to reign. The battle over the retelling of the history of Pendleton depended on the audience's acceptance of the white male-dominated narrative, a narrative wherein American Indians were merely the foils whose role in Western history merely served to elevate the success of their opponents.

As the permeable line of the American frontier continually moved westward, American Indians remained at the forefront of the American imagination. However, when most Americans encountered what they considered to be authentic Indians, if they did at all, they merely saw two-dimensional figures in print or static statues. Those who dreamed about the West's thrills and excitement had to settle for written accounts, photographs, and paintings.[61] By the late nineteenth century, though, live depictions and reenactments became an electrifying and exhilarating way to consume the West, thanks in no small part to the man, the myth, the legend himself: William F. Cody, better known simply as Buffalo Bill. His infamous Wild West shows, and others like it, brought a captivating version of Western history to life. Plains Indian performers, usually clad in magnificent traditional attire and expertly riding magnificent horses, were a tangible manifestation of the winning of the West, live and in person. As L.G. Moses notes, Wild West shows without Indians would have "remained raucous, but hardly wild," and the same could be said of the West itself.[62] Indians in Wild West shows were living proof of the American conquest, albeit safely confined within an arena. Wild West shows toured across the country and around the world, offering a sanitized synopsis of a supposedly

[61] Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians 1883-1933,* 4.
[62] Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians 1883-1933,* 1.

accurate American saga. Indian resistance and prowess in battle proved their worth as rivals while simultaneously upholding white American authority. Philip Deloria maintains that Native resistance "came to be defined through the ascendant ideology of the vanishing Indian, which held its contradictions in suspension with ferocious power. Indians had a predestined doom, and that knowledge helped erase or justify the later military campaigns against them." This disappearance, though, was considered "bittersweet and lamentable, with the disingenuous air of sadness that Renato Rosaldo has labeled "'imperialist nostalgia.'"[63]

In Pendleton, creating a space where cowboys and Indians could *be* cowboys and Indians in turn commodified the participants. Through the Round-Up, Happy Canyon, and other related events, town boosters purposely sought to generate an engrossing, romanticized Western experience. The purposeful recreation of the past, as opposed to simply referencing days gone by, served to distinguish Pendleton as more than just a nostalgic representation. The Round-Up and Happy Canyon were authentic manifestations of Pendleton's history that relied solely on the resources of its residents who were, in turn, genuine actors in the drama of the West.

"In war paint and feathers": Early Indian participation in the Pendleton Round-Up[64]

The story of how American Indians were invited to Pendleton for the first Round-Up in 1910 has become one of the great legends surrounding the Round-Up's now-esteemed inception. In 1909, Roy Bishop and his brothers, whose retail merchant father had married the daughter of a prominent Oregon textile mill owner, bought the then-

[63] Deloria, *Playing Indian,* 186-187.
[64] "Big Parade This Morning," *Daily East Oregonian,* October 1, 1910.

defunct Pendleton Woolen Mills and began manufacturing blankets based on the color and design preferences of both local and Southwest Indians.[65] The following summer, as plans for the Round-Up began to fall into place, Bishop, thanks to his "personal acquaintance with the Indians" through the Woolen Mills, rode out to the reservation with Major Lee Moorhouse, the former superintendent of the reservation, to invite the Indians.[66] The participation of authentic Indians, like the participation of authentic cowboys, would heighten the Round-Up's claims to legitimacy. As William Willingham has shown, the Indians of the Wild West shows, while still marketed as authentically Indian, were mainly used in historical reenactments centered on stagecoach attacks and military skirmishes that painted them as the antithesis of modernity and Euro-American civilization. The Round-Up, however, likely due to the still-fresh memories of the region's contentious history, wanted to celebrate its history without highlighting the hostilities, especially after the Indians refused to participate in a staged battle if they were not allowed to shoot back.[67]

This is not to say that the dominant narrative did not still prevail. The Indians who came to town for the Round-Up set up their tipis behind the arena and "gave demonstrations of traditional dancing, horsemanship, and skills in beadwork, leatherwork, weaving, and basket making."[68] Their encampment, coupled with their war dances, "daring horsemanship" in the Round-Up races, and "full war regalia" in the Westward Ho! parade, still underscored the focus on performances of authentic

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[65] "Company History," Pendleton Woolen Mills, http://www.pendleton-usa.com/custserv/custserv.jsp?pageName=CompanyHistory&parentName=Heritage.
[66] "How the Round-Up Grew From Modest Beginning to Show of World Proportions," *East Oregonian Round-Up Souvenir Edition*, September 11, 1913; Willingham, 17.
[67] Willingham, 16-17.
[68] Willingham, 16.

Indianness. The *East Oregonian* called the Indian features "among the most pleasing of the entire celebration," citing the Indian war parade comprised of more than 100 Indians "all bedecked in war paint and feathers" and their grand entry on horseback. The war dance performed on Saturday was even better than the earlier ones and was "greatly enjoyed" by the audience.[69]

As Roberta Conner has succinctly noted, the Treaty of 1855 had reduced Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla tribal landholdings by 92-percent only fifty-five years before the first Round-Up. The federal policy of allotment had opened up 140,000 acres of the Umatilla Reservation for settlement, and the Pendleton Notch Act had authorized the sale of tribal lands to the city, part of which had been built on the reservation. Twenty years before the first Round-Up, Indians still needed permission from Indian agents in order to leave the reservation, and only after revealing "the destination duration, and purpose" of the trip.[70] Participation in the Round-Up, then, offered the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation to revisit their old camps, spend time with friends and family, sell their handiwork, and, perhaps most importantly, be comfortably and confidently Indian at a time when the policy of the federal government aimed to eradicate cultural markers that were indicative of indigeneity. It is impossible to determine the individual motivations for the tribal members who came riding over the hill into Pendleton for the first Round-Up, but it is critical to note that their participation functioned on several levels. Whether they were culturally, politically, socially, or economically driven, the tribes' decision to partner with white Pendletonians reveals a cognizant understanding of the conditions surrounding not only the Round-Up but the

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[69] "Big Parade This Morning," *Daily East Oregonian*, October 1, 1910.
[70] Conner, "Round-Up Reminiscences: 'You Can't Eat Lound-Up!'," 47.

fact that their indigeneity would be celebrated, not scorned. While the conditions were rarely perfect, including poor camping conditions in the 1930s and rising racial prejudice after World War II, American Indians were significant contributors to the Round-Up and, later, Happy Canyon.[71]

Despite the thunderous applause that greeted the Indians in the parade or after their dances in the arena during Round-Up week, the Indians were not particularly publicized participants in Happy Canyon's frontier skits in 1914 and 1915. It would not be until 1916 that Raley, with the help of tribal member Anna Minthorn Wannassay, added a "sequence of Indian life before the coming of the white man" to the Happy Canyon show.[72] The historical record does not indicate the particular motivations behind the decision, but perhaps the organizers recognized the draw of the Indian participants. Maybe they believed that the Wild West was not exactly "wild" without American Indians, or that the thrilling history of the cowboys and pioneers was heightened by the inclusion of Indians.

By 1917, though, Happy Canyon began to boast about the Native participation in the upcoming production:

> In a clearing among the trees just above the rocky wall will be an Indian village with real Indians lying about or doing the tasks customary to tribal villagers. The peaceful life will give way to excitement upon the arrival of a scout with news of the passing of an emigrant train. In a moment the braves will don their war paint and feathers and do the war dance. They will then ride away only to return with a white girl captive whom they will tie to a stake. Just as they prepare to burn her, a cowboy will affect a daring rescue and dash with her up the mountain trail pursued by Indians. To escape they will plunge over the waterfall into the rapids below at the moment a band of cowboys below open fire on their pursuers.[73]

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[71] Conner, "Round-Up Reminiscences: 'You Can't Eat Lound-Up!'," 59.
[72] Conner, "Round-Up Reminiscences: 'You Can't Eat Lound-Up!'," 47.
[73] "Mountain forest changes into frontier town; transformation takes place at Happy Canyon," *Daily East Oregonian*, August 29, 1917.

Even as the Round-Up and latter half of Happy Canyon continued to focus on the narrative of white masculinity on the frontier, the addition of the Indian portion of the show highlights the continued commodification of regional Indian history. Only now, however, that history becomes the basis for these performances of the cowboys *vs.* Indians binary, rather than the cowboys and Indians of earlier years. Indian participation and representation in Happy Canyon and other Round-Up events, both historically and in contemporary terms, form the basis for Chapter 6, including an analysis of the script, which has not, for better or for worse, changed since the Indian portion of the show was added in 1916. Nevertheless, white Pendletonians' invitation to participate in the Round-Up, as well as the Native acceptance of that invitation, demonstrate the ways in which indigeneity and authenticity established a critical component of Pendleton's celebration of its Western identity.

"It's curtain time, and away we go": Surveying the success of Happy Canyon[74]

> *More than ever before the Pendleton Commercial association is lending itself this year to the task of continuing the success of the Round-up. Not only has it taken upon itself the entertainment of the visitors in the evenings, but its activities include the promoting of excursions to other fairs in order to boost Pendleton's show, the institution of a move to secure the suspension of all business in the city during the hours of the exhibition and the assumption of the duties of welcoming the visitors to Pendleton.*
> *...President Tallman, who has charge of the "Happy Canyon" entertainment in the fair pavilion, reported that his committee is working assiduously in preparing an evening amusement that will supplement the frontier carnival in a most fitting way.*[75]

[74] "Another Op'nin,' Another Show," Cole Porter, *Kiss Me, Kate* (1948).
[75] "Commercial Association is Working to Boost Round-Up," *Daily East Oregonian*, September 9, 1914.

When the doors to Happy Canyon swung open for the first time, visitors were privy to "a glimpse of towns as they used to be in this section in an early day."[76] There was room for 3,000 spectators in the bleachers with standing room for another 1,000.[77] While it is likely true that no one would want to visit a show set in a "Sad Canyon," the moniker was deliberately evocative of an earlier settlement on the Umatilla River about twenty miles west of Pendleton. After a particularly lively meeting of the settlers' dancing club in the winter of 1868, one of the men moved to christen their community Happy Canyon. By attaching the name to the Round-Up's "pseudo-frontier town," organizers intended to capitalize on the historical legitimacy of a town that had been built "when civilization was young here."[78] Similarly, the continued success of the Round-Up, as well as the prospective economic boost from Happy Canyon, depended largely on whether or not the organizers could create a satisfyingly authentic Western experience through the rodeo and subsequent evening entertainment.

A flurry of activity preceded the 1914 Round-Up and Happy Canyon. Businesses were scheduled to close at 1 p.m. rather than the typical 5 p.m. to allow everyone who lived and worked in Pendleton to head down for the festivities.[79] The *East Oregonian* was positively giddy with excitement, predicting that the crowds would be just as large as they had been the year before, as noted by the fact that the director of accommodations was already scrambling to find rooms to rent out to visitors.[80] The society pages gleefully noted that local residents were so excited about the prospective fun to be had at Happy Canyon that "a number of social affairs planned for guests during Round-up

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[76] "'Happy Canyon' has historical ancestor," *Daily East Oregonian,* September 14, 1914.
[77] "'Happy Canyon' promises to visitors big time this year," *Daily East Oregonian,* September 11, 1914.
[78] "'Happy Canyon' has historical ancestor," *Daily East Oregonian,* September 14, 1914.
[79] "All businesses will close afternoons of Round-Up," *Daily East Oregonian,* September 21, 1914.
[80] "Round-Up crowd will be just as large as in 1913," *Daily East Oregonian,* September 21, 1914.

evenings have been cancelled and parties are being formed to attend the festivities downtown."[81] The committee, as coy as ever, promised that the show would contain "some peculiarly frontier stunts that promise to create a few ripples of merriment" as well as "a few dramatic scenes significant of frontier life" that would live up to its name.[82]

On a day when 15,000 people came to town for the Round-Up, likely the largest Wednesday crowd to date, Happy Canyon debuted September 23, 1914 to a crowd of 3,000 spectators who had "crammed and jammed their way" into the pavilion."[83] The *East Oregonian* sang its praises, calling it "some great town," according to the unanimous verdict of the opening night audience, that not only entertained the Round-Up crowds but was "in harmony with the big wild West show and…will add to the fame of Pendleton as the 'Let 'er Buck' town."[84] The day after opening night, carpenters set to work building more seating and enlarging the entrance to alleviate the congestion that hampered the previous night's production. Nobody, including the Commercial club committee that had produced the show, had expected such a tremendous response from the colossal crowd.

In just five years, the Round-Up was able to nearly triple the population of Pendleton seemingly overnight. Of those 15,000 attendees, approximately 3,000 – or more than half the population of Pendleton at the time – came to Happy Canyon on opening night. Local pride and surprise at the large attendance for the 1914 Round-Up and Happy Canyon provide an intriguing comparison for the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant which, as shown in Chapter 1, ultimately fell victim to the unrealistic

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[81] "Society pages," *Daily East Oregonian,* September 21, 1914.
[82] "Frontier stunts will please the visitors to Happy Canyon," *Daily East Oregonian,* September 22, 1914.
[83] "Immense crowd here for 1st day," "Crowd of 15,000 cheers Round-Up events," "3000 people enjoy wild days of '49," *Daily East Oregonian,* September 24, 1914.
[84] "3000 people enjoy wild days of '49," *Daily East Oregonian,* September 24, 1914.

expectations of the pageant promoters. The Apostle Islands Indian Pageant pulled in 18,000 visitors in its first year, but pageant promoters had hoped to draw five times that number. They were, of course, wholly underwhelmed. The inaugural Round-Up drew 7,000, which was many more than the committee anticipated. The first night of the fifth Round-Up, though, drew 15,000 fans and the first Happy Canyon had 3,000 audience members, demonstrating that exponential growth took years of providing quality entertainment. While expectations in Bayfield in 1924 far surpassed expectations in Pendleton in 1914 – and audience numbers for the first Apostle Islands Indian Pageant far surpassed the first Round-Up – the attendance records prove that the tricky business of success was truly in the eye of the beholder.

The staged portion of the Happy Canyon show included a performance by the town band, a heroic rescue from a fire at the "Stagger Inn," a cowgirl-costumed young lady who sang on horseback, "bad men" shooting up the "town," a stagecoach drive, a mounted quadrille (a choreographed performance by four couples on horseback), and "a dozen other events [that] were pulled off with rapidity and dash." The biggest hit, however, was the bullfight, done only "as the American cowboy does it." The meanest, maddest longhorn in the Round-Up herd was turned loose, followed by cowboys who teased the steer into a fury. Ten cowboys, including Charles Wellington Furlong in disguise, recklessly ducked and dodged the steer as the audience thrilled at the sight, cheering for the cowboys with wild applause once the mighty beast had been contained. Here, was the real live manifestation of the winning of the West, the taming of the unforgiving, uncultivated frontier at the brawny hands of none other but the white

American man whose power and rise to the top was only enhanced by the strength of his opponents.

Happy Canyon's authenticity was also duly praised.[85] Despite the ostensibly theatricalized (and racialized) demonstrations within the production as well as in the staging of the frontier town, visitors to the Round-Up and Happy Canyon were fully convinced that Pendleton had produced a rodeo and night show that was not only entertaining but genuine. Its validity, of course, was based in the careful representations depicted in Pendleton. The romanticized (albeit slightly tongue-in-cheek) storefronts, the saloons, gambling halls, and dance pavilion, coupled with the tricks and thrills and spills of the show, intentionally showcased a version of the West that would resonate with its audiences.

After the show, the audience was turned loose in the "town" to enjoy the four saloons, which only sold soft drinks. As the purpose of Happy Canyon was to control the potentially rowdy crowds, non-alcoholic beverages would certainly help quell the boisterous visitors. Besides the saloons, those lucky enough to get a ticket could visit stores, bank, gambling hall and other institutions, all of which were ready to accept the town's "ten-buck notes."[86] The saloons and gambling parlors were particularly popular, as was the dancing hall that was so crowded that dancing was nearly impossible. Old fiddlers played at the Red Dog Saloon as they had decades earlier, the "Western spirit" charging "the very air with its contagion." The newspaper called Happy Canyon a pronounced success, one that made for a "merry-mad throng" who all went home, of

[85] "3000 people enjoy wild days of '49," *Daily East Oregonian,* September 24, 1914.
[86] "Happy Canyon opens tonight," *Daily East Oregonian,* September 23, 1914; "'Happy Canyon' promises to visitors big time this year," September 11, 1914.

course, quite happy.[87] Despite the carpenters' best efforts, they could not keep pace with the thousands of people clamoring to experience Happy Canyon. Thursday's crowds were even larger than Wednesday's, as every single seat and space filled up long before the show started. Hundreds more had to wait outside for the program to conclude so they could try their hand at claiming a spot in the make-believe town. Happy Canyon was so full of people, they said, "They could hardly be stirred with a stick."[88] The third performance elicited similar responses, as a "crowded mass of humanity" filled the seats during the program and the streets afterwards. The program "was received with wild delight by the spectators, every number being applauded vociferously." The fictitious businesses of Happy Canyon closed well after midnight, and, apparently, "in this it was typical of the old West, too."[89]

The unprecedented and unexpected success of Happy Canyon demonstrates that the Wild West was alive and well in Pendleton despite local fears. This commodification of the magical, mystical, mythical West sated the desires of Westerners seeking to assure themselves of their continued presence and relevance in the region. They had successfully salvaged their identity as "the quiet, modest, manhood and womanhood who have 'taken chances,' have risked limb and even life at times," having "struggled in earnest against unequal odds in order to attain the winning of the West."[90] The key, however, lay in the realism of the participants. The *Daily East Oregonian* called it "one of the most realistic depictions of a frontier town" that caused its audience to "forget you

[87] "3000 people enjoy wild days of '49," *Daily East Oregonian,* September 24, 1914.
[88] "Carefree crowd enjoys the fun of Happy Canyon," *Daily East Oregonian,* September 25, 1914.
[89] "Happy Canyon again scene of big crowd," *Daily East Oregonian,* September 26, 1914.
[90] "The Round-Up the biggest spectacle of its kind," *Daily East Oregonian,* September 26, 1914.

are sitting on the soft side of a board."[91] These were not actors who had to be carefully coached in the mannerisms of the cowboy, who had to learn to walk and talk and dress convincingly. No, these were the men who never thought twice about wrestling an angry longhorn, men who could bring the West to life with their fiddles in 1914 the way they had forty years earlier. They were the people of Pendleton, the people of the West.

The 1914 Happy Canyon proved to be a rousing success. It took in nearly $6,000 before expenses (which totaled nearly $5,000, including a hefty construction bill, leaving a net balance of $875), and it filled a desperate need to entertain the crowds after the days' rodeo events.[92] Pendleton basked in its success, even after the "cowboys, cowgirls and Indians who provided the entertainment" went back to the "range, cowcamp or reservation or to some other city."[93] The town had proved itself worthy of its Western heritage, so much so that the committee decided to keep the admission price at 25 cents "even though a five dollar show is prepared."[94] A retired range rider who had "camped on the ground where Pendleton now stands before there was a shack built" wrote to the *East Oregonian* to praise the Round-Up for providing such an entertaining spectacle that he planned to return the next year.[95]

The momentum that drove Happy Canyon to its initial success continued the following year. The Commercial club planned to make the 1915 production bigger and better than the inaugural show, and the *East Oregonian* reminded its readers that Happy

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[91] "The Round-Up the biggest spectacle of its kind," *Daily East Oregonian,* September 26, 1914.
[92] "Frontier village closes to regret of large throng," *Daily East Oregonian,* September 28, 1914; "'Happy Canyon' a success with net balance of $875," *Daily East Oregonian,* October 2, 1914.
[93] "Pendleton back to normal after city's guests depart," *Daily East Oregonian,* September 28, 1914.
[94] "'Happy Canyon' a success with net balance of $875," *Daily East Oregonian,* October 2, 1914.
[95] "Old timer recalls many incidents of early Western days," *Daily East Oregonian,* December 5, 1914.

Canyon was to the Round-Up "what the dessert is to a well prepared dinner."[96] The committee again declined to reveal many details, although they did promise "bucking horses, bulls and burros to be ridden…a horde of cowboys and cowgirls to do all kinds of stunts…painted Indians to dance and yell…comedy stuff…singing and – most exciting of all – a fighting steer that will make the animal used last year seem lame."[97] Once again, the crowds flocked to Happy Canyon after the opening day at the Round-Up. More than 3,000 crammed into the pavilion that housed almost everything that could characterize an old-time frontier town, and the entertainment portion certainly delivered:

> Cowboys and cowgirls put on a horseback quadrille, bucking horses, steers and burros were mounted, "Spender's Bank" was held up by desperadoes, Indians whooped and yelled as they pursued a fleeing white man full of arrows and then gave way before shooting cowboys. The village fire department rescued whole families from the burning "Stagger Inn" and the village band rendered selections…It was some little old show when taken all together and not until after midnight did the fun cease, and even then the streets were crowded by people loth to take to their beds.[98]

The entertainment quality and performative elements in Happy Canyon seemed to increase exponentially in the first few years. Part vaudevillian sketch comedy and part history, Happy Canyon strove to create a production that was at once organic and scripted, raw and polished, real and imagined. Tourists and locals alike packed the pavilion for the show and the subsequent entertainment, clamoring each year for a glimpse of the terrifying longhorns or for a chance to win big at the gambling hall. Happy Canyon deliberately commodified its history and its people in order to capitalize on the supposedly disappearing characteristics that had fashioned Pendleton back in the days of the Old West that came alive again every September.

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[96] "Happy Canyon Will be Made 1915 Feature," *Daily East Oregonian*, August 4, 1915; "Happy Canyon," *Daily East Oregonian*, August 5, 1915.
[97] "Old Days to be Lived Again in Frontier Style," *Daily East Oregonian*, September 22, 1915.
[98] "Roulette draws throngs to bet Round-Up bucks," *Daily East Oregonian*, September 23, 1915.

"A long and colorful history": Indians and settlers in Happy Canyon[99]

> *The Round-Up would not be the Round-Up without Indians. They have gathered here since the 1910 show. It would still be a rodeo, but certainly one lacking in the color and pageantry that the Indians provide. They come each year to put up their teepees behind the arena, dance on the turf, participate in the Westward Ho! parade and show their style and grace to the thousands of visitors.*[100]

Round-Up organizers had quickly realized that it would be difficult to truly represent life on the frontier without the Indians, whose "encampment, dramatic war dances, and daring horsemanship in the races added 'color and novelty' to create an 'inspiring spectacle'" for the inaugural Round-Up, and the Indians soon proved to be as much of a magnet as any other event.[101] William F. Willingham has argued that the Round-Up's use of Indians "could legitimately claim greater authenticity than that attempted in the Wild West shows" because Indians in Wild West shows performed in "historical re-enactments that purported to describe how the white settlers and the United States Army overcame Native American 'savages' to bring Euro-American civilization to the West." Therefore, Wild West shows pitted Indian attacks on stagecoaches, wagon trains, and settlers' cabins against the "valiant cowboys, scouts, or the cavalry." At the Round-Up, though, Indians set up camp and "gave demonstrations of traditional dancing, horsemanship, and skills in beadwork, leatherwork, weaving, and basket making. They celebrated their Indian heritage without emphasizing hostilities between themselves and whites."[102]

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[99] Happy Canyon souvenir program 1967, 3, courtesy of the Pendleton Round-Up & Happy Canyon Hall of Fame.
[100] Allison, 7.
[101] Willingham, 17.
[102] Willingham, 16.

While Willingham's argument explicates the first five years of indigenous participation at the Round-Up, it does not definitively rationalize the Indian portion of Happy Canyon. Even as souvenir programs insist that "relations between tribes and with emigrants were generally extremely peaceful," although there were, at times, "misunderstandings that did develop due to conflicts of culture," Happy Canyon includes both implicit and explicit depictions of suggested and executed violence.[103] While claiming to depict "the settling of the American West, beginning with a portrayal of the Native American way of life prior to the arrival of Europeans, continuing with the arrival of Lewis and Clark, followed by the prairie schooners of the pioneers of the Oregon Trail and concluding with a reenactment of a frontier town's rollicking main street mishaps," the pageant underscores the seeming inevitability of non-Native Western progress and their lack of culpability in the American historical narrative of Manifest Destiny and westward expansion.[104]

Despite the success of Round-Up and the first few Happy Canyon shows and the audiences' raucous reactions to Indian performances in the arena, it was not until 1916 that Raley decided to add "a sequence of Indian village life before the coming of the white man" to Happy Canyon.[105] According to numerous souvenir programs, Raley, who had "all of the family background necessary to write an accurate and entertaining account of the history of development of this region" (his father, Colonel J.H. Raley, was a lawyer and "a former Indian fighter" in the Oregon Territory who had come West on the Oregon Trail), collaborated with local tribal members on the Indian portion of the

[103] Happy Canyon souvenir program 1967, 3; Happy Canyon souvenir program 2012, 10.
[104] "Senate Concurrent Resolution 2," 2011, Happy Canyon souvenir program 2012, 31.
[105] Happy Canyon souvenir program 1967, 7.

pageant.[106] Numerous sources have named Anna Minthorn Wannassay, a Cayuse Indian who graduated from the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in 1906, as Raley's main co-collaborator.[107] Wannassay had "participated in dramatic arts" at Carlisle, and she was likely asked to help with the Indian portion of the pageant due to her education and, of course, her indigeneity.[108]

This decision to add an Indian portion to the Happy Canyon show after two successful productions is intriguing. Perhaps Raley sought to further extend the olive branch of indigenous participation in Round-Up events, and perhaps he also understood that the history of the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla Indians was not told anywhere else. As Roberta Conner has pointed out, "For many in the audience, this pageant and the Indian roles in the Round-Up were undoubtedly their only education about these tribes."[109] The additional commodification of indigenous history generated through the expansion of the narrative seems a plausible, if not entirely generous, possibility.

However, I posit another suggestion. While the United States was still several months away from officially entering World War I, the national and international worries and anxiety surrounding the war were nevertheless inescapable. Just as the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant incorporated a scene where "Indian Yanks" saved a troupe of American soldiers, and just as *Unto These Hills* used Cherokee history as Cold War nationalist rhetoric, the incorporation of Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla history into the Happy Canyon show offered its non-Native audience the comforting, reassuring

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[106] Allison, 3; Happy Canyon souvenir program 2012, 3; Happy Canyon souvenir program 2012, 15.
[107] "Anna Minthorn Arrives," *Daily East Oregonian,* April 7, 1906.
[108] Conner, "Round-Up Reminiscences: 'You Can't Eat Lound-Up!'," 47.
[109] Roberta Conner, "From Generation to Generation: Tribal Participation" in Michael Bales and Ann Terry Hill, *Pendleton Round-Up at 100 Oregon's Legendary Rodeo* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), 264.

narrative that went hand-in-hand with, as articulated earlier, Philip Deloria's construction of "playing Indian."

Conclusion

> *And so cowboy and cowgirl, old-timers, trappers, and buckskin scouts pass by and, like the Indians in their wonderful paraphernalia and horses bedecked with gorgeous trappings, sit that inimitable close saddle so characteristic of riders to the saddle born and bred. In this moving contingent you see the literal passing of the old West.*[110]

The day after the first Pendleton Round-Up debuted in front of a crowd of 7,000 people in 1910, the *East Oregonian* smugly noted that "Most people with red blood in them like horses and they like races and rough riding. This is a fact that has been demonstrated often. It has been well demonstrated by the general interest that has been aroused over the holding of the Round-up."[111] There were cowboys and Indians everywhere, according to the newspaper, and every available place to sit or stand was filled, and hundreds of people were still waiting outside for their chance to enter. The successful commodification of the Western narrative as told through the Round-Up and Happy Canyon demonstrates that, even in the West itself, the fables of the frontier were enticing and alluring. The fact that Pendleton, a town of less than 5,000 people, could draw more than three times its population for a single day's rodeo events reveals the manifestation of salvage tourism in the West. Despite the changing social and economic structures, Pendleton was able to successfully present itself as the embodiment of the Western ideal. The continued participation of local American Indians barely half a century after a treaty that decimated tribal landholdings illustrates the complex

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[110] Furlong, "The Epic Drama of the West," 374.
[111] "Great Northwest Round-up ushered in – let 'er buck; Carnival of Cowboys on" and "The Round-Up," *Daily East Oregonian,* September 29, 1910.

maneuvering involved in these performances, especially in the wake of increasingly restrictive federal Indian policies and rising tensions between Natives and non-Natives.

Like the Turner thesis, the writings of John L. O'Sullivan and Theodore Roosevelt, and Wild West shows, the Round-Up and Happy Canyon annually offered a concrete, experiential performance of a distinctive tale of the old West. Chapter 6 will demonstrate how the manifestation of this Western nostalgic narrative continually comes to life in the twenty-first century, proving that Happy Canyon is intriguing not simply through its longevity but through its development into, for many Natives, a simultaneous family tradition and a cultural and economic institution. However "real" the Round-Up and Happy Canyon might have been with scouts and stagecoach drivers, ranchers and rangers, its Western stock was raised significantly by the participation of local Indians, most notably the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation.

Just as the Ojibwe did for the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant and the Eastern Band (or at least the idea of the Eastern Band) did for *Unto These Hills*, these Western Indians serve to validate the Round-Up and Happy Canyon as well as the identity of the white Pendletonians. It is here, then, where the Round-Up and Happy Canyon converge at the confluence of memory and anxiety, where the past and present meet in a presentation of commodified nostalgia surrounding the romance of the mythic West. These celebrations emerged at a time when white Pendletonians were struggling to find themselves amidst a changing economic environment, a time when they needed to save themselves from extinction. As Chapter 6 will reveal, however, the salvage tourism industry in Pendleton has become both a boon and a source of contention for Natives and white Pendletonians. By continually attempting to preserve and recreate events and

rituals of the past, the Round-Up and Happy Canyon have come to pride themselves on their dedication to the narrative of the wild, wild Western lifestyle that comes to life in Pendleton every September. As the final chapter will reveal, continued Native participation in the Round-Up and Happy Canyon demonstrates the ways in which American Indians perform their own interpretations of indigeneity within the confines of the rodeo and pageant arenas.

Chapter 6

"We All Have a Part to Play": The Continued Allure of Pendleton

> *Even now, however, one could feel the touch and sense the romance of the Old West, for along every trail and road which converged to Pendleton…came the Indians from their reservations…over half a thousand strong, these red men of mountain and plain soon had their lodge-poles pointing skyward, and, like mushrooms in the night, a white tepee village had sprung up in the picturesque cottonwoods near the Pendleton ford of the old Oregon Trail.*[1]

The beautiful paint horse galloped on from stage left. The Indian rider, clad in a breechcloth and magnificent war bonnet, held the reins with one hand as his other hand supported a large American flag. The horse and his bareback rider thundered across the dusty ground as the band began to play the "Star-Spangled Banner." The audience leapt to its feet as men fumbled to remove their baseball caps and cowboy hats, and the staccato beats from hundreds of cowboy boots temporarily drowned out the band. The rider guided the horse up a long ramp, past a waterfall, and along a backdrop painted with pine trees. The lights dimmed as they ascended, and only a single spotlight followed the pair as they made their way to center stage. As the final notes rang out through the arena, the rider stopped his horse, and the flag fluttered into stillness. For a split second, the only audible sounds were the horse's hooves on the wooden set before the audience broke into rousing applause.

This scene, the "salute to old glory," is the finale of the Happy Canyon Indian Pageant and Wild West Show, a production staged each year in conjunction with the

[1] Charles Wellington Furlong, "The Epic Drama of the West," *Harper's Monthly Magazine* (Vol. CXXXIII, June-November 1916): 374.

Pendleton Round-Up in Pendleton, Oregon since the early twentieth century.[2] The finale's mash-up of Indians and Americana elicits differing, if not completely contradictory, reactions. Some may argue that the American flag and the national anthem signify the ways America has consumed American Indians through allotment and assimilation policies, while others may see the odd juxtaposition of an Indian on horseback galloping around an arena holding Old Glory as a symbol of American Indians' persistence and survival despite the fact that the Indian portion of the scripted production ends in 1855. Perhaps it is neither, and its meaning hearkens to the pageant's early days during World War I as a sign of nationalism and support for the American boys overseas. Regardless of motivation and interpretation, Happy Canyon stands as a tangible and, perhaps most importantly, *live* depiction of the wild, wild West nearly a century after its inception. Its glory is rooted in its embodiment of authenticity. Unlike the first Apostle Islands Indian Pageant, which consistently called attention to itself as a dream-like *reenactment* of Indian history, Happy Canyon maintains its grip on the traditional elements that keep it inextricably linked to a specific narrative of American history.

In this chapter, I highlight the strange contemporary application of salvage tourism in Happy Canyon. By examining the motivations of indigenous performers and constructions of authenticity and indigeneity against the backdrop of local historical narratives, I question what it means for indigenous people to reenact scenes from their histories for non-Native tourist audiences, what is at stake for these performers and their communities, and how memory and authenticity function within these commodified

[2] Happy Canyon souvenir program 1967, courtesy of the Pendleton Round-Up and Happy Canyon Hall of Fame, 8.

spaces. Even as Pendleton becomes purposely and proudly anachronistic every year, it is still seeking to preserve traditions and a lifestyle that, as demonstrated in Chapter 5, were already vanishing by the first year of the rodeo and pageant. At their core, the Round-Up and Happy Canyon must rely on the continued participation of local American Indians in order to maintain their connection to an authentic account of the American West. The key, however, lies in *performances* of authenticity: decades-old regalia for the Indians (and boots, hats, and Western shirts for the cowboys) coupled with generational participation and a strong sense of community volunteerism. Some participants, such as 2014 Happy Canyon Princesses Jory Spencer and Marisa Baumgartner, see Round-Up week as an opportunity to showcase tribal traditions. "It's about expressing your individuality and the part you play in this traditional show and this community," Spencer said, "and how you have carried on your family's traditions and the parts *they've* always played. It's kind of a pride thing: proud of who you are, proud of what you represent, proud of your community, and how they've made it all this way since 1910."[3]

In Pendleton, salvage tourism is no longer driven by the fears of a vanishing people or a vanishing identity – indeed, the opposite is true. Happy Canyon has become a proud demonstration of the strength of Pendleton's history, of the story told by its Native and non-Native residents. Happy Canyon continues to thrive nearly a century after its inception, demonstrating that the power of salvage tourism may lay in faith as well as fear. Pendleton no longer needs to prove itself as a personification of the West, due in large part to the enduring legacy of the Round-Up and Happy Canyon. Unlike the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant, which only survived for a few years, Happy Canyon has

[3] Interview with Clay Briscoe, Happy Canyon Royalty and Indian Director, and Jory Spencer and Marisa Baumgartner, 2014 Happy Canyon Princesses, September 11, 2014.

shown that the pull of the West is exceptionally strong even within the West itself. Unlike *Unto These Hills*, which has been unable to match its early box office success, Happy Canyon has continued to serve as one of the largest economic generators in the region. After salvaging the nineteenth century in the early twentieth century, Happy Canyon's role in the twenty-first century has become a comfortable, comforting commemoration of the past in the present. There are Native families in Pendleton, on the reservation, and throughout the area who have participated since the inaugural Round-Up in 1910, families who have camped in the same spots for generations, families who wear the regalia of their ancestors, and families who have handed down the same roles in the pageant from mothers to daughters to granddaughters. Every September in Pendleton, salvage tourism becomes a reclamation of history and identity, an opportunity to collectively perform a dramatic rendering of a dramatic past.

As elucidated in Chapter 5, the Pendleton Round-Up premiered in 1910 and, after a few years of a vaudeville-type "wild West" show, organizers added an opening act depicting Native history in the region until the Treaty of 1855 wherein the Umatilla, Walla Walla, and Cayuse tribes ceded 6.4 million acres to the United States and agreed to become the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation.[4] The production, now called the Happy Canyon Indian Pageant and Wild West Show, premiered in 1916 and now includes more than 500 Native and non-Native cast members each year. With the exception of a failed attempt at revamping the show in the early 2000s, the script has remained mostly unchanged. For nearly a century, the Indian pageant has ended with the Treaty of 1855 and the Indians' continued movement westward at the behest of the

[4] "History and Culture," Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, http://ctuir.org/history-culture.

federal government and their seemingly imminent replacement by non-Natives. For four nights every September, as the lights dim and the audience members find their seats, American history comes to life in a dusty arena just a few steps from paved roads and big-box stores.

Whereas Chapter 5 explored the early years of the Round-Up and Happy Canyon, this chapter moves to the present for a contemporary analysis of Pendleton's Round-Up week. The Round-Up celebrated its centennial in 2010 and, barring unforeseen circumstances, Happy Canyon will soon reach that milestone. While their collective longevity is indeed remarkable given the fickle nature of tourism, I am not interested in analyzing the year-to-year productions. Rather, as with the Apostle Islands Indian Pageants and *Unto These Hills*, these two Chapters work together to highlight, in this instance, the contestations and continuities of these lingering performances of "cowboys and Indians." This chapter shifts from the historical framework of Chapter 5 by using oral interviews and ethnographic research conducted during the 2012 and 2014 Round-Ups to offer an "on the ground" analysis of Round-Up week.

Location, location, location: Situating Pendleton in the West

> *...there is no better way to understand the history and culture of the Western United States than by traveling to Pendleton the second week of September.*[5]

As a contemporary tourist environment, Happy Canyon presents an idealized, romanticized version of Western history, one wherein the celebratory atmosphere masks an often-violent usurpation of Native lands through treaties and outright force. This

[5] Former U.S. Senator Gordon Smith, "Foreword," in Michael Bales and Ann Terry Hill, *Pendleton Round-Up at 100 Oregon's Legendary Rodeo* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), 7.

narrative, one wherein the Native portion of the pageant concludes in the mid-nineteenth century, remains firmly rooted in the fetishized realm of Manifest Destiny illustrated in Chapter 5. On the surface, Happy Canyon smacks of the commodification and commercialization of the "cowboys and Indians" fantasy with Indians marginalized not only within the performance arena but through a nostalgic narrative that has remained relatively unchanged since 1916. By presenting Native and non-Native history through simplistic, mid-nineteenth-century terms, it would seem that Happy Canyon is able to ignore the more troubling aspects of Western history: the transcontinental railroad and its exploitation of immigrant Irish and Chinese labor, and the gold rush and its devastating effects on California Indians in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the forced internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II and the struggle over Mexican labor, among others, in the twentieth century. As with the 1924 production of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant, Happy Canyon can hearken back to a simpler time without focusing on the settlement and development that tamed the West by offering a production that resonates with Western mythology. As with *Unto These Hills*, the tragic overtones serve to heighten the audience's emotional attachment and connection to the pageant.

However, Happy Canyon and its history are more nuanced than that. Along with the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant and *Unto These Hills*, the Round-Up and Happy Canyon are tourist enterprises built on regional connections to local Indians and Indian history coupled with the history of non-Native settlers and pioneers. The Native/non-Native binary plays a major role in the production because the pageant is derived from the duality enshrined in the narrative of Indian and frontier history. In this chapter, I

demonstrate that the complex motivations surrounding Happy Canyon, its producers, its performers, and its audiences are simultaneously reflective of and in contradiction to the history it presents. Many participants – even though there are some who disagree – take pride in Happy Canyon's seemingly unshakeable production history, and yet I argue that Happy Canyon's continued performances of such a distinct era in American history reveal a dichotomy between its ostensible authenticity and its deliberate reconstruction of a narrative that has proven to be extremely profitable.

Akin to the Round-Up, Happy Canyon prides itself on its "distinctive quality and portrayal of both historic and cultural events during the era of Lewis and Clark and the Oregon Trail."[6] Their collective claim to a genuine depiction of Western history has helped them survive two world wars – although they were suspended in 1942 and 1943 because of the war effort – the Great Depression, threats of boycotts, grandstand fires, and more.[7] The tensions within these contested notions of pageantry and performance underscore the challenges of performing and perpetuating these local histories, especially with regard to Native histories and Native participants. Indigenous identities have long been challenged, compromised, and contained, and perhaps Round-Up week truly *does* create an environment wherein American Indians can showcase their tribal traditions and emphasize cultural survival. According to Happy Canyon Royalty and Indian Director Clay Briscoe, "It's a real, real privilege for Happy Canyon to have that relationship with the tribes that are here, because we're the cowboys, and we have the Indians, and our

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[6] Senate Concurrent Resolution 2, March 8, 2011 in Happy Canyon souvenir program 2012, 31.
[7] Mildred Allison, "Annual Event comes long way," reprinted from "East Oregonian Souvenir Edition, September 1959" in Umatilla County Historical Association's *Pioneer Trails*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (September 1979), 4, 6; Roberta Conner, "Round-Up Reminiscences: 'You Can't Eat Lound-Up,'" in Michael Bales and Ann Terry Hill, *Pendleton Round-Up at 100 Oregon's Legendary Rodeo* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), 59.

Happy Canyon show integrates both of those."[8] Conversely, however, perhaps the politics of representation and identity mirror the long-held tensions between local Indians and non-Native farmers, ranchers, cowboys, and settlers. While indigeneity is celebrated (and commodified) at Round-Up and Happy Canyon, the fact remains that the events staged in Pendleton require a manageable and marketable form of Indianness.

But what would it mean for Happy Canyon, the Round-Up, producers, participants, investors, local businesses, tourists, and Pendletonians if the pageant's narrative changed? The Happy Canyon Board of Directors attempted to transform the pageant in the early 2000s, but the changes were not well received. Some of those modifications remained, most notably those that were considered essential to the pageant's continued goal of educating its audience. At the same time, however, we must acknowledge the production's current economic viability against the expectations of the audiences and the participants even as the pageant has to reckon with the long shadow of popular constructions of Western history. If Happy Canyon changed its storyline, what effects would that have on the local economy? Is it worth telling the truth if nobody comes to the show? Happy Canyon is rooted in Western mythology which, as shown in Chapter 5, is crucial to its success. Lastly, Happy Canyon features many families – both Native and non-Native – who are descendants of previous participants, and this pride continues to drive Happy Canyon while simultaneously authenticating the production.

It is, then, a manifestation of a myth.

Since 1910, Pendleton has continually commodified and capitalized on its cachet as a place with a decidedly Western heritage. This, in turn, acknowledges how critical

[8] Interview with Clay Briscoe, Happy Canyon Royalty and Indian Director, and Jory Spencer and Marisa Baumgartner, 2014 Happy Canyon Princesses, September 11, 2014.

place is to maintaining this singular narrative. Unlike Bayfield, Red Cliff, and the Apostle Islands, Pendleton's rich history allows it to quite literally cash in on its legitimated location in the wild, wild West. While it is impossible to ascertain the goals and motivations of the hundreds of participants who combine forces to make Round-Up week a success year after year, I seek to move beyond the binary of exploitation versus agency and create a nuanced examination of the complicated choices facing the indigenous peoples and performers who have played key roles in the success of the Round-Up and Happy Canyon for more than a century. Lastly, I offer an analysis of the Happy Canyon Indian Pageant and Wild West Show, a performance that invites the audience to witness scenes of Indian life, conflict with white settlers, and a vaudevillian-style comedic rendering of nineteenth-century frontier life. The general scenes of the Indian pageant have not changed since 1916, and I assert that the narrative annually performed at Happy Canyon centers on indigenous "disappearance" in the West while simultaneously refuting that through the use of Native participants. This struggle, as outlined in a later portion of this chapter, is most evident in the dramatic apex of the pageant: after the Treaty of 1855, wherein more than six million acres were ceded to the federal government, hundreds of Indians reenact their ancestors' forced removal to the reservation. Therefore, it is clear that the American Indian participants in the Round-Up and Happy Canyon have been – and remain – an "embodied form of history."[9]

The town of Pendleton sits in northeastern Oregon about three hours east of Portland and an hour south of Walla Walla, Washington. Originally established as a trading post on the Oregon Trail in 1851, Pendleton is intensely proud of its Western

[9] Adria Imada, *Aloha America: Hula Circuits Through the U.S. Empire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 32.

identity.[10] "This is a historic spot," Round-Up Publicity Director Randy Thomas said, gesturing to the rodeo arena and Indian village, "because this is where it began. The tribe came to town, and they camped right here in this spot. The first rodeo was right here in this spot." He turned and motioned to SW Court Avenue, which brings visitors to Round-Up. "The street out in front where you were sitting by the bucking horse is the actual location of the Oregon Trail as it came through Pendleton."[11] As with the Apostle Islands Indian Pageants, the idea of place is integral to the Round-Up and Happy Canyon. Pendleton, unlike Bayfield, has the *veritas* to back up this claim as a mainstay of Western history.

The town has an unshakeable Western aura during Round-Up week. Souvenir programs have long called Pendleton a "Western Brigadoon," a small town that comes alive the second full week in September every year as cowboys, Indians, and tourists flock to the town for the rodeo and the pageant.[12] Pendleton becomes an unabashedly and unapologetically version of its current self, staging a celebration of a distinctly Western America dripping in nostalgia. What began as a small-town round-up followed by an Indian pageant and Wild West show several years later has morphed into, for some, a week-long manifestation of the Old West with an exhaustive number of events and participants: there are Indian beauty pageants, a parade, dance contests, live music, carnival rides, and day-long rodeo events. Vendors cram the sidewalks, parks, parking lots, and even city streets, selling food and beverages, souvenirs, and Western apparel.

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[10] Wolf Schneider, "Pendleton: No Oregon town has more Western cachet," *Cowboys and Indians: The Premier Magazine of the West*, September 2009.
[11] Interview with Randy Thomas, Round-Up Publicity Director, September 10, 2014.
[12] *Brigadoon*, a 1947 musical by Alan Jay Lerner and Frederick Loewe, told the story of a town in the Scottish highlands that only appeared once every hundred years – thus, when it *did* appear, the town and its citizens were charmingly anachronistic.

By the turn of the twenty-first century, the pageant itself boasted nearly 500 participants. The dizzying array blurs the line between commemoration and commodification, capitalizing on the seemingly unending obsession with the American West and the fascination with American Indians.

"Tradition, tradition"?: Complicating constructions of indigeneity and modernity[13]

> *Swinging out of the arena, the present occupants of the country leave before you its former owners – the red men. For a time the vast audience is held spellbound by the marvelous riot of color of the Indian ceremonials – the crowning 'glory' of the Round-Up as one witnesses it within the great open-air stadium – the magnificent pageant of the red man, pulsing with the barbarous rhythmic thrumping of Indian drums.*[14]

The September sun beat down on the dirt path between the rodeo arena and the Indian village as the Indians, dressed in regalia that had been handed down through their families for generations, gathered for their entrance into the arena. Dressed in a cowboy hat and flannel shirt, an older gentleman strode up to a young Native man and gestured to the brilliant-colored headdress. The man in the flannel shirt asked the Native man if he could take a few pictures of the headdress. The Native man nodded and made a quarter-turn to allow the man to see him – and his headdress – in profile. After snapping a couple photos, the man in the flannel shirt handed the camera to his wife so she could take a picture of him posing with the Native man. Satisfied with his souvenirs, the visitor shook hands with the performer and continued down the dusty path with his wife behind the arena. Over the loudspeaker, the rodeo announcer proudly heralded the upcoming Indian performance: "They are our friends; they are our partners," he intoned, noting that the Indians had been part of the Pendleton Round-Up since its inception in 1910.

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[13] "Tradition, Tradition!," music and lyrics by Jerry Bock and Sheldon Harnick, *Fiddler on the Roof*, 1964.
[14] Furlong, "The Epic Drama of the West," 374.

On what appeared to be a silent cue, the gates to the arena swung open and the Indians streamed into the arena, just as they did in the 1910s when Charles Wellington Furlong traveled to Pendleton on assignment for *Harper's Monthly Magazine*. But today, as the Indians danced and a drum group played and sang, another announcer issued an invitation to the Round-Up attendees: "Come visit the village," he said. "Take pictures, ask all the questions you want." After several songs, the Round-Up Queen and her court of Princesses joined the Indians for a friendship dance. After this final dance, and again as if by a silent cue, the dancers began to make their way out of the arena and back to the Indian village. They were followed by more than a few tourists and rodeo aficionados – some with cameras, some who walked straight into the village, and still others who stood uneasily by the gated entrance to village, unsure of how close was comfortable.[15]

For more than a century, the Pendleton Round-Up and Happy Canyon Indian Pageant and Wild West Show have promoted a plotline that celebrates and commodifies a distinct narrative of the Native and non-Native history of the American West, one wherein Indian performers "authenticated the Wild West in ways that no mere cowboy could match."[16] What began as a simple rodeo and night show has become a weeklong celebration of the mythic West and the largest economic generator for not only Pendleton but all of Umatilla County.[17] Every second week of September, the entire town of Pendleton, not just the rodeo and pageant arenas, transforms into a performance space as

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[15] Interactions, performances, and announcements witnessed by the author during the 2014 Pendleton Round-Up and Happy Canyon Indian Pageant and Wild West Show.
[16] Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 60.
[17] Rob Collins – the Pendleton Round-Up Indians Director – said the Chamber of Commerce did a study a few years ago that estimated a $34 million impact for the county, and he believed it would be even higher now (Interview with Rob Collins, September 10, 2014). Randy Thomas, Pendleton Round-Up Publicity Director, also called the Pendleton Round-Up the "largest single economic impact in Umatilla County" (Interview with Randy Thomas, September 10, 2014).

indigenous homelands become a convergence of settler/pioneer/cowboy/Indian histories and the descendants of these narratives.

Earlier Chapters have questioned the prospective motivations of indigenous performers as well as the tricky situation of working through ideas of how agency functions in performative arenas such as pageantry. One of the most potentially troubling constructs for scholars of indigenous performance and performers, however, lies in the binary of tradition versus modernity. Colleen O'Neill has argued that while asserting "tradition" may be "a way to maintain cultural and economic sovereignty and to counterbalance the impact of colonialism on American Indian culture, the modern/traditional dichotomy nonetheless remains problematic for those concerned about issues of culture and economic development."[18] Jessica Cattelino has similarly noted that culture and economy cannot be analyzed as separate categories but are instead "mutually constitutive."[19] Scholars such as Boyd Cothran, Adria Imada, and Paige Raibmon have investigated the seemingly disparate constructions of commodified indigeneity, most notably in the ways in which indigenous performers refuted and reconstructed their audiences' preconceived and anticipated images of indigeneity. It is essential to note that American Indians have long been caught in the impossible trap of assimilation versus authenticity. Those who incorporated elements of Euro-American culture into their lifestyles were immediately dismissed as inauthentic, while those who held tightly to the

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[18] Colleen O'Neill, "Rethinking Modernity and the Discourse of Development," in *Native Pathways: American Indian Culture and Economic Development in the Twentieth Century,* ed. Brian Hosmer and Colleen O'Neill (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2004), 11.
[19] Jessica R. Cattelino, "Casino Roots: The Cultural Production of Twentieth-Century Seminole Economic Development," in *Native Pathways: American Indian Culture and Economic Development in the Twentieth Century,* ed. Brian Hosmer and Colleen O'Neill (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2004), 67.

beliefs of their ancestors were deemed "savage" and "primitive," unable to accept change that was, in the eye of the beholder, essential for survival.

Here, however, the American Indians in Round-Up week are simultaneously traditional and modern, blurring the lines of what would stereotypically denote an "authentic" Indian. Less than an hour removed from the dances in the rodeo arena, teenage boys wander through the Indian village with their skateboards and girls with hair straighteners look for a power source. Some tipi poles are topped with U.S. flags, while Seattle Seahawks flags flutter atop others. Young girls, their hair still pulled tightly into braids decorated with long trappings, have swapped their regalia for shorts and tank tops. A Native man emerges from the village clutching his camera, and a Coleman air mattress peeks out from underneath a tipi. These self-constructions of indigenous identity are, in the words of Philip Deloria, the "juxtaposition between the expected and the unexpected."[20] These incongruous pairings offer insight into the narrative encouraged – and perhaps enforced – by the Round-Up and Happy Canyon. Indians in the rodeo arena, Happy Canyon pageant, Westward Ho! parade, Indian dance contest, and junior and senior American Indian beauty pageants, along with the young women chosen to be Happy Canyon Princesses, perform their own ideas of Indianness alongside non-Native notions of what supposedly authentic Indians should look like.

The juxtaposition of indigeneity and modernity extends to Indians and the economy. The American system of capitalism has wrongly placed Indians, in the words of David Arnold, as the "unwitting victims of American progress." Their supposed inability or unwillingness to assimilate led to economic as well as cultural inequality, "providing the growing nation with abundant land and resources for industrial

[20] Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, 3.

exploitation while Indians themselves remained at the margins of these economic developments."[21] These problematic demarcations assume that, as with cultural markers of indigeneity, there is no room for change in how Indians engage in local economies.

There is also, according to Philip Deloria, "an industrial-strength scholarly literature on the Wild West."[22] While that fact is indeed undeniable, there is also a rising body of literature by scholars including L.G. Moses, Clyde Ellis, and Linda Scarangella McNenly that examines potential causes behind indigenous participation in Wild West shows. However, as this chapter will demonstrate, individual economic gain is not likely a primary factor in determining indigenous participation. Those who dance in the arena during the Round-Up receive a chip which they then exchange for $5 (which is, from the perspective of an indigenous academic, intensely problematic, as the line of Indians winding through the village eerily echoes a line for commodities or annuity payments). Those who set up a tipi get $10 which, as David Wolf wryly noted, was barely a fraction of the cost of buying, transporting, and setting up a tipi for the week.[23] Those who act in the pageant itself also receive a modest stipend but, according to Happy Canyon Properties and Publicity Director Corey Neistadt, "It's not much. It's enough to – if some beading breaks, to get it fixed on their regalia. But it's something to help defray the cost of all the stuff that they do."[24]

This is a marked departure from other forms of commodified indigeneity. Clyde Ellis has argued that economic opportunities for Indians markedly declined after the

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[21] David Arnold, "Work and Culture in Southeastern Alaska: Tlingets and the Salmon Fisheries," in *Native Pathways: American Indian Culture and Economic Development in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Brian Hosmer and Colleen O'Neill (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2004), 162-163.
[22] Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, 58.
[23] Interview with Sophia Bearchum Enos and David Wolf, September 11, 2014.
[24] Interview with Corey Neistadt, Happy Canyon Properties and Publicity Director, September 11, 2014.

1890s. Indeed, the 1928 Meriam Report noted that per capita income for Indians was $100-$200, which was vastly below a national average of close to $1,350.[25] Scholars have pointed to numerous conditions on reservations that may have lead Indians to seek employment with Wild West Show promoters or at small fairs and town celebrations, including promised wages (regardless of how modest they may have been); the opportunity to travel, potentially overseas in Europe; a temporary chance to escape the reservation; or the chance to make money by simply being Indian.[26] While scholars such as Ellis, Moses, and McNenly are simultaneously drawn into a discussion of the exploitation of indigenous performers, a mere $5 payment for dancing at the Round-Up forces this discussion to move past the realm of exploitation.

The Round-Up and Happy Canyon are an anomaly in the realm of indigenous performance simply because the opportunity for economic gain is not and has never been an incentive for Indian participants. The absence of a large payday – or any payday at all – for indigenous participants means that Round-Up week is not, as Nicholas Rosenthal argues in his essay on gaming in southern California, a means of "empowering Indian people to take control of their economic destinies."[27] If money is not a primary motivating factor, then, we must wonder if the ties of generations of familial participation strong enough to pull hundreds of Indians to Round-Up week every year. Additionally, if government officials in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries routinely banned cultural markers such as songs and dances while simultaneously allowing these to

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[25] Clyde Ellis, "Five Dollars a Week to be 'Regular Indians,'" in *Native Pathways: American Indian Culture and Economic Development in the Twentieth Century,* ed. Brian Hosmer and Colleen O'Neill (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2004), 194.
[26] Ellis, "Five Dollars a Week to be 'Regular Indians'" in *Native Pathways: American Indian Culture and Economic Development in the Twentieth Century,* 195.
[27] Nicholas G. Rosenthal, "The Dawn of a New Day? Notes on Indian Gaming in Southern California," in *Native Pathways: American Indian Culture and Economic Development in the Twentieth Century,* ed. Brian Hosmer and Colleen O'Neill (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2004), 93.

be performed in what they considered to be safe or sanitized realms of performance, I question if the impetus lies in the opportunities, however potentially confining they may be, to celebrate tribal heritage and cultural survival.

Similarly, I examine how these performances of indigeneity function within the context of commodification. In her analysis of hula dancers in the U.S. empire, Adria Imada notes that Haunani-Kay Trask has asserted that, "As a tourist commodity, hula seems inauthentic and fake, conveniently serving the needs of the neocolonial, multinational corporate tourist industry."[28] If we apply that mindset to the Indians of Round-Up and Happy Canyon, though, these performers become inextricably and *forcibly* linked to the narratives they perform. Instead, I argue that we must consider a variety of potential motivating factors through a nuanced examination of multiple levels of Round-Up week.

"To witness life as it was": Unwrapping Happy Canyon[29]

> *The story of Happy Canyon is one close akin to that of Pendleton; both are part of the same frontier spirit. No history can be reported that expresses true meanings and feelings of those who lived it. For those that have participated as characters or as audience…Happy Canyon is a reality that awakens for four evenings each September, giving us all an opportunity to assume a new identity with our past.*[30]

Local establishments and the streets of Pendleton slowly but surely begin to fill up as the day's Round-Up events conclude. Over at Mac's Bar & Grill, barely two blocks from the Round-Up arena, a young lady – who has likely been enjoying some beverages on this hot September day – screams as she falls backwards over her chair, her

[28] Imada, *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the U.S. Empire*, 15.
[29] Research notes, Happy Canyon Indian Pageant and Wild West Show, September 10, 2014.
[30] Happy Canyon souvenir program 1967, 7.

cowboy boot-clad feet kicking wildly as she struggles to right herself. Several young men in cowboy hats spring to her side, gallantly scooping the lady and her dignity off the floor. It quickly becomes clear why the Round-Up organizers decided to put on a night show to entertain its visitors.

As the sun moves toward the horizon, the Happy Canyon arena begins to buzz with anticipation. The Happy Canyon Princesses sit atop their regal horses near the entrance, seeming to never tire of the admiration they garner from wide-eyed visitors. Local children in frontier costumes – part of the pioneer cast – chase each other underneath the grandstands. The clang of cowboy boots ring hollow through the metal bleachers as people find their seats. A little boy, likely no more than six years old, grins from ear to ear as he trudges up the steps, stopping occasionally to adjust his chaps or double check his tiny holster for his bright plastic pistol. The tiny cowboy gallantly accepts the compliments from those seated on the aisles who ooh and aah over his attire.[31]

Happy Canyon is performed outdoors in an enormous arena. One would be hard-pressed to find a theater that could hold a team of longhorn cattle, an attack on a stagecoach, or a two-story waterfall. Once the clock hits 7:45, the metaphorical curtain rises, just as it has since 1916, inviting its audience into the wild, wild West. Happy Canyon is the longest-running outdoor pageant and Wild West Show in the United States, comprised of generations of dedicated volunteers.[32] As a continued act of public history performed for a largely non-Native audience, Happy Canyon annually reiterates a traditional storyline of American Indian history, one wherein the Indian "welcomes all,"

[31] Research notes, Happy Canyon Indian Pageant and Wild West Show, 2012 and 2014.
[32] Research notes, Happy Canyon Indian Pageant and Wild West Show, September 10, 2014.

"signals peace," "signals danger," "dons warpaint," and inevitably "retreats," his lands replaced in a "wink of the eye" by a "rip-snorting Western town."[33] Like countless celebratory historical pageants, as examined by David Glassberg, the notes for Happy Canyon's opening scene highlight the "open-arms" construction of indigenous history that vindicates non-Native trespass onto Native lands along with the hearkening back to a "simpler" time:

> *The Indian…welcomes all.*
> *To the North – to the South – To the East – To the West his arms extend.*
> *Including all. All are welcome.*
> Dawn reveals the mountains with their wildlife and an Indian village where events occur as in ages past. There was grain to be ground – baskets to be woven – hides to be dressed – game to be caught. There is time for play, and for romance. A maid is courted and the wedding dance performed. The families exchange gifts. The family and clan was the home and center of life – the tepee their shelter.[34]

The production begins with just enough daylight left to illuminate the set. Half a dozen tipis are scattered across the set, which also includes trees and painted scenery. It opens with a tableau of an Indian and a military man, and a narrator speaks in a Native language. As the lights dim on the two men, the Indian rider on the lead paint enters, followed by others who move toward the tipis or carry a deer across the stage. Native participants enter from every possible part of the stage – some move from the second level of the set down to the dusty main floor, while others enter from behind set pieces. The community is preparing for a wedding, and singing and drumming give way to a dance. The men and women line up across from each other for the dance, and the newlyweds move toward their new home. The narration, added in the early 2000s, offers an educational counterpart to the silent performance unfolding before the audiences'

[33] Happy Canyon souvenir programs, 2012 and 2014, 7.
[34] Happy Canyon souvenir program 2012, 7.

eyes. This scene mirrors the early scenes of the Apostle Islands pageant and *Unto These Hills*, and it also exemplifies the vast majority of opening scenes for American historical pageants wherein peaceful indigenous people lived harmoniously, immediately setting the contrast for the conflicts with non-Natives that would, according to many pageants, would inevitably follow.

> *The Indian…signifies peace*
> *With pipe bow and arrows – all is at peace*
> Four Indian boys return home. They have scouted a rival tribe and have won honor. All have fulfilled their vision quest and have established their own identity. They are now entitled to be known as braves. They signal the chief to call the tribe together. They tell of their brave deeds – and the tribe approves and the chief rewards.[35]

The paint horse and his rider lead a party into the arena, the men who tell their tales of victory. As with the early scenes in the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant, the storyline is one of intertribal rivalries and battles, but Happy Canyon leaves the conflict offstage and up to the audience's imagination. While the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant sought to capitalize on the thrilling entertainment elements of intertribal violence, Happy Canyon merely alludes to warfare, painting a scene of near-harmony with only slight references to hostilities. The staging of this scene may intend to highlight the increasing tensions between Natives and non-Natives later in the pageant, even though the implication of violence is always an interesting dramaturgical tactic since the audience is free to decide for themselves what may have happened off-stage. As thrilling as these scenes could have been, it is critical to remember the timing of the pageant as well as those behind the scenes. As shown in the previous Chapter, Raley's co-collaborator, Anna Minthorn Wannassay, had graduated from Carlisle several years earlier and, as local Pendletonians were quick to point out, relations between the tribe and local non-Natives had been

[35] Happy Canyon souvenir program 2012, 7.

strained for decades. Perhaps an Indian battle – even between tribes, rather than between Indians and non-Indians – would have been too much Indianness for the white audience in 1916.

> *The Indian…Sacajawea*
> *Sacajawea, bearing her baby in the Indian cradle board (tekash) – directing Lewis, Clark and party to the West*
> Footsore and tire, she falters – but carries on, into the camp she leads them – strangers in a strange land.
> "Pale faces" seldom seen before – objects of awe, of fear, and of curiosity. They are strangers, but they are welcome. The first white man had appeared, others shall follow.[36]

While few of the scenes are delineated with a chronological determinant, the third scene, depicting the arrival of Sacajawea leading Lewis and Clark, places the action around the early 1800s. Several women perform a welcome dance as the men pantomime welcoming the visitors and trading goods. The women's welcome dance stands in sharp contrast to the early encounters portrayed in the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant, which sought to distinctly and unequivocally delineate Natives from the non-Natives. There are no attempts to burn a Franciscan friar at the stake. Rather, the explorers are quickly accepted. The women's dance and the use of Sacajawea illustrate the "welcoming" nature that was often used to justify westward expansion, especially through the depiction of Sacajawea as symbolic of the helpful Indian. By showing the Indians' benevolence toward Lewis and Clark, this scene is also reminiscent of the early scenes of *Unto These Hills* that portrayed the Cherokee as staunch allies of the United States. Their peaceful negotiations will, the audience implicitly understands, eventually give way to hostilities and outbreaks of violence based on misunderstandings and supposedly insurmountable cultural differences.

[36] Happy Canyon souvenir program 2012, 7.

> *The Indian…signals danger*
> *Signal fires warn of danger. The people have clashes with the white man.* The war party advances; blood has been shed; the chief's son has been killed by the palefaces, in retaliation a white girl is held captive. The grief-stricken chief appeals to the Medicine Man. The answer is war! Again the drums beat. While strategy is planned…scouts and plainsmen rescue the captive maiden.

But peace does not last. A white girl, whose blond hair makes her even more easily distinguishable from her Indian captors, is pulled across the stage, her hands tied with a rope held by a woman on horseback. Another Indian participant takes the rope and hurries the girl up to the second level of the set where she is surrounded by Indians and tied to a stake. She screams continuously, nearly drowning out the ominous music and the narrator's summary of discord between the Indians and the white traders and settlers. Molly Varley has argued that white Americans in the Progressive Era often turned to constructions of Indian captivity to

> prove that their violent national development had been just, that their individual suffering had been nationally heroic, that their contact with Indians and the wilderness still characterized the "soul" of their nation, and that those people who actively remembered captives served as the vital link between the frontier past and the modern future – the link that would ensure continuation of frontier qualities in the twentieth century.[37]

Varley also contends that the commemoration of captivity narratives were a lens through which white Americans could view particularly vexing "modern" problems, from finding a place for smaller towns in the increasingly industrialized nation to the role that the seemingly primitive Indians and Indian qualities would play in "modern national identity." Therefore, a scene portraying the capture of a white girl by Indians would serve as a means of defining "Americanness" by renewing non-Native constructions of

[37] Molly Varley, *Americans Captured: Progressive Era Memory of Frontier Captivity* (Norman: University Press of Oklahoma, 2014), 4-5.

the frontier narrative.[38] For Happy Canyon, this scene illuminates the anxieties surrounding the still-present contestations surrounding the non-Native settlement of the region against the backdrop of indigenous challenges to that settlement.

The Native men return on horseback, seemingly from a confrontation with the whites, and a medicine man character moves center stage to work on an injured man. Again, as in the earlier scene, there is merely the suggestion of violence, leaving the audience to ascertain for themselves what may have happened offstage. Here, however, it is implied that the combatants are no longer Native. Rather, as demonstrated by the capture of the girl, who continues to scream, it is clear that the Indians have returned from fighting the settlers. As the medicine man works, he sets off a smoke bomb, which signals the man's recovery. The men sing and dance, and their voices pierce the night sky. The dance is interrupted by frontiersmen who ride on stage to save the girl, who, after being untied from the stake, jumps nearly two stories down into a pond, pulls herself onto a horse, and rides furiously offstage. The indirect portrayals of violence that had been confined to the audiences' imagination have begun to manifest themselves on stage, demonstrating that the hostilities between the Natives and the non-Natives are inching ever closer to an epic showdown.

> *The Indian…dons warpaint*
> *In brilliant paint and war bonnet, the Indian brandishes his tomahawk in defiance of the invader.*
> Yet, "Westward Ho!" – the covered wagons arrive. It is night; by the campfire, the settlers make merry with songs and dances which are halted by a surprise attack by the Redman. The United States Cavalry gallops in with blazing guns to quell the conflict.

The emigrants enter, some on foot and some riding in a covered wagon pulled by a team of longhorn cattle. The narrator notes that, despite tensions in the region, nearly a

[38] Varley, *Americans Captured: Progressive Era Memory of Frontier Captivity,* 5.

quarter million settlers came West in the mid-1800s. Phrases like "divine providence" and "Manifest Destiny" hang in the air. The emigrants remain, as do disease, war, and death. The Indians have momentarily disappeared from sight, and the emigrant cast sings and dances to good old tunes such as "Wagons West are Rolling," "Home on the Range," and "Skip to my Lou" as the audience starts to clap in time to the music. The festivities are interrupted by a man on horseback who has clearly been shot with an arrow, which insinuates that a battle between Indians and emigrants took place offstage. As his fellow travelers help him off his horse, some Indians pop up from behind the scenery while others ride in from stage left. The U.S. Cavalry conveniently rides in from stage right, and the Indians on horseback and the cavalry circle the wagon. The Indians ride off stage left and the cavalry off stage right, but not before firing a shot at the last Indian hiding among the scenery, who dramatically drapes himself over a cliff.

These two scenes, the fourth and fifth out of six, arguably contain the most implicit and explicit depictions of conflict and violence. But it is not, as the programs note, simply an inevitable and unavoidable clash of cultures. As numerous scholars have shown, there were political and economic motivations as well, and to relegate these scenes to merely episodes of "culture clash" is to elide or even ignore the harsh realities of Western history. William F. Willingham has argued that American Indian participation in the Round-Up allowed Indians to celebrate "their Indian heritage without emphasizing hostilities between themselves and whites," unlike the Wild West shows that depicted "Native American attacks on wagon trains, stagecoaches, and a settler's frontier

cabin."[39] However, in this regard Happy Canyon is distinctly different than the Round-Up. These instances of theatricalized violence, rather than promoting peace and harmony, seem to intentionally insinuate that the aggressive acts of non-Native settlement and development in the region justified the means.

> *The Indian…retreats*
> *The warbonnet is laid away; smoke from the peace pipe ascends.*
> The chief, magnificent, even in defeat, leads his people from their old hunting grounds and camp to new – standing guard until the last moccasined foot has passed over the trail.

This final scene – set in the mid-nineteenth century, the period most non-Natives associate with American Indians – is the last we see of the Indians. The Treaty of 1855 was intended to prevent war and open the region to non-Indian settlement, leading to the dramatic apex of the pageant. As a narrator outlines the terms of the 1855 treaty, where more than six million acres were ceded, likely hastened by the discovery of gold, in return for a reservation for the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla Indians (now called the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation), the Native cast members enter from stage left and move across the stage. The narration continues, informing the audience that the treaty, intended to prevent war, did not: a treaty negotiator who had pushed for a peaceful coexistence was brutally slain, and sixty unarmed women, children, and old men were killed on the banks of the Grand Round River. The treaty was ratified in 1859, a month after Oregon became a state. Their traditional lifeways were suppressed, leading to near-starvation on the reservation.[40] As the Native cast members move across the stage, their trajectory for the audience is from the East to the West,

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[39] William F. Willingham, "The First 100 Years of the Pendleton Round-Up," in Michael Bales and Ann Terry Hill, *Pendleton Round-Up at 100 Oregon's Legendary Rodeo* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), 16.
[40] Research notes, Happy Canyon Indian Pageant and Wild West Show, 2014.

signaling the Indians' continued movement westward. Some cast members, including small children, are on horseback. One woman's horse pulls a travois across the stage as men and women dismantle the tipis. The narration ceases as the action continues, all under the watchful eye of the Indian rider on the lead paint horse.

The stillness is broken by the raucous entrance of a packed stagecoach, whose occupants include a handful of whooping can-can girls. Several men on horseback race on stage to rob the stagecoach, which serves as the introduction to a boisterous production of slapstick comedy bits that overlap at a furious pace, leaving the audience breathless by the end of the show. Now that the Indians have left the arena, a series of lights embedded in the set pieces are turned on, leaving the audience temporarily unable to see what is happening. During the momentary blackout, cast and crew members are unhooking and opening portions of the set that will become the merry frontier town. When the arena lights come up again, the Indian village is no longer there. In its place – both literally and symbolically and in the span of a few short minutes – the Western town of Happy Canyon appears, and the audience is treated to a vaudevillian-like performance of "Rattling stage coaches, dance halls, pony express, bank robbery, fires, romance…and all the hurdy-gurdy of by gone days of the 1840s."[41] By supplanting the Indian village with the frontier town, Happy Canyon reiterates a traditional historical narrative wherein Indians disappear by the middle of the nineteenth century. This narrative, which serves as justification for white American claims to lands that Indians no longer occupy, allows the audience to mourn the passing of the frontier before returning to the conveniences of everyday life.

[41] Happy Canyon souvenir program 2012, 7.

The remaining action is set against a backdrop of storefronts that outline the frontier industries of Pendleton such as the Woolen Mill, Lee's Laundry, a blacksmith, a mercantile, a saloon with the stereotypical swinging doors, a bank, Goldie's Palace, the Happy Canyon Dance Hall, a jail, and a restaurant, among others. Happy Canyon has created a number of vignettes over the years which, if they were all included, would probably create "a four-hour show, if we wanted."[42] According to Happy Canyon Properties and Publicity Director Corey Neistadt, Happy Canyon purposely rotates through the acts. An Annie Oakley-style act, for instance, was included for a number of years, then shelved, then brought back again. A newly-crafted carpenter act called for the cast member to carry a comically-long board on stage and to intermittently turn and inevitably slap someone with the board.[43]

A man clad in a red union suit, played by Neistadt in 2014, goes into the outhouse, and a rapscallion tosses some sparklers in after him.[44] The four walls (and the roof) explode, leaving the man exposed on the seat. Two nervous men, guns drawn, each tiptoe backwards, inevitably running into each other. The stage begins to fill with characters, including a man in a sombrero and woven poncho. There was, however, another notable recent addition. According to Neistadt,

> We have the "passing race" scene at the end of the Indian portion before the stagecoach comes on, and it's so much like two shows and there's no crossover there…[it] didn't work last night because we didn't have a prop, [but] we have some Indians come in the East gate leading two horses, and they trade a horse for a saddle. So we're trying – the Indians didn't disappear. They were still here, they were members of the community – although back then, socially, there was racism and everything, obviously – where there were two distinct cultures. But you know, we really needed to

[42] Interview with Corey Neistadt, Happy Canyon Properties and Publicity Director, September 11, 2014.
[43] Interview with Corey Neistadt, Happy Canyon Properties and Publicity Director, September 11, 2014.
[44] Interview with Corey Neistadt, Happy Canyon Properties and Publicity Director, September 11, 2014.

> show that they didn't just disappear, they were still part of everything that happened in Pendleton.[45]

Despite the committee's best intentions, the vignette was not entirely comprehensible on the first night. While it worked better the following night, as someone had been able to procure a saddle to "trade" for the Indian pony, the action occurs entirely off to the side of the arena. Additionally, while it alludes to the understanding that Indians had not disappeared from Pendleton, its inclusion in the early portion of the Wild West show still signals the long-held notion of inevitable erasure, especially as it overlaps with the next comedic vignette.

A crew of young boys race on stage, ignoring the "No Swimming" sign on the fence as they strip down and dive in. They are caught, and the soaking wet boys do their best running back impersonations as they jump and juke out of the grasp of the disapproving adults. Three characters clad in white pants, white shirt, a long black braid, and the conical hat typically associated with Chinese laborers enter and interact with several other cast members. Here, as with the inclusion of a sombrero-wearing man, Happy Canyon is alluding to the racial makeup of the region by deploying stereotypes. However, as stock, stereotypical characters, the audience is allowed to see them merely as they are on stage: categorizations and caricatures, without any background or historical analysis.

The action continues as a gunfight breaks out between robbers on horseback and the gallant sheriff who, of course, emerges victorious. A man in overalls is wounded, leading to the plaintive inquiry wondering if there is a doctor in the house. A crowd gathers around the man, who is moved downstage and placed on a makeshift operating

[45] Interview with Corey Neistadt, Happy Canyon Properties and Publicity Director, September 11, 2014.

table. A commotion breaks out in the stands as a white coat-wearing, suitcase-clutching man races down the stairs into the arena, entering with such speed that he tackles the nurse. He proceeds to wash his hands in a bedpan, sneeze into his gloves, "chop" off one of the man's legs and "saw" off the other (as the man was moved onto the makeshift table, his legs were hidden in the prop and replaced with fake limbs and shoes). The man, whose overalls are now of course much too long, hoists himself off the table, stumbles for a few steps, and eventually runs into a round-off back handspring.

A covered wagon driven by Dr. Hal. A. Tosis rides on stage, promising cures for all ailments. A crazed-looking man with a comically long gun enters, swinging the gun from side to side, forcing the other cast members to continually scream and duck for cover. He swings the gun toward the sky and pulls the trigger, causing a fluffy white bird to "fall" from the sky. The Asian characters rush forward to grab the animal, and they scurry back toward the laundry storefront. A young lady emerges at the second-floor window of Goldie's Palace, which has "caught on fire." An old-fashioned and hilariously inept fire-fighting crew runs on stage. They rescue the girl, and an older man in nothing but a red union suit also emerges. He may be safely on the ground, but a buxom woman with a broom – presumably his wife – begins to chase him with a broom, and he dives into the pond to escape her ire. Another group on horseback rides into the arena, including well-dressed, sidesaddle-riding ladies and a preacher, who struggles to avert his eyes when the dance hall girls break into the can-can.

The series of vignettes, which presumably changes from year to year, still follows a particular script that intends to create a distinct portrayal of life in the West. From the dance hall and bordello girls to the preachers, gunfighters, and sheriffs, Happy Canyon

continually centers on the romanticized and nostalgic, albeit comedic, elements of popular Western culture and history. Richard White has argued that the West is "a product of conquest and of the mixing of diverse groups of peoples. The West began when Europeans sought to conquer various areas of the continent and when people of Indian, European, Asian, and African ancestry began to meet within the territories West of the Missouri that would later be part of the United States."[46] However, Happy Canyon's simplistic and easily relatable narrative allows its audiences to be thoroughly entertained with the storyline they likely expect to see.

When the vignettes conclude, the Happy Canyon Band performs, and four couples on horseback execute a mounted quadrille that shows off incredibly intricate choreography and horsemanship. The band's rendition of "The Star-Spangled Banner" interrupts the applause, and the audience leaps to their feet as the lead rider on the beautiful paint horse appears, one hand on the reins and the other holding the American flag. The lights dim once the horse and his rider have made their way to the top of the stage, save for the lone spotlight. Yet another performance of Happy Canyon has come to an end. Philip Deloria contends that

> The words and deeds spilling out of Wild West performances and public relations materials told three broad stories of expectation about Indian people. First, and most apparent in the show itself, was a story about Indian violence and American character. Underpinning this story was a second one, concerning the pacification that had necessarily preceded the Indian performances found in the Wild West. That story was most frequently on display in the camp area backstage. The show preferred to bury a third set of narratives dealing with Indians as modern people. Even when such stories emerged – and they did so only when strategically necessary – they focused crudely on the Wild West's role as an engine of assimilation and social progress.[47]

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[46] Richard White, *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A New History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 4.
[47] Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, 60.

Happy Canyon brings all three of these elements to light, albeit somewhat superficially. The "story of Indian violence" focuses on demonstrating onstage tensions, while leaving the more direct violence offstage. The suggested pacification is more readily evident in the hundreds of tipis that sit behind the Round-Up arena and next to the Happy Canyon arena. While Happy Canyon does not necessarily bury the narrative of modern Indians, it also does not promote it. The Westward Ho! parade, the American Indian beauty pageants, the promotional materials, and the Round-Up and the pageant all center on publicizing and promoting the narrative of traditional indigeneity. The following section will illuminate the various and complex motivations behind the participation of members of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation. There are, unsurprisingly, simultaneous similarities and differences in their responses, harmony and dissonance, and yet their responses demonstrate that the Round-Up and Happy Canyon have become an integral component of indigenous culture, if not the local indigenous economy.

"To celebrate what has become a common heritage": Native participation in Happy Canyon[48]

The American Indian who participate in Round-Up week can garner potential payouts through events such as best dancer, prettiest female dancer, oldest married couple, among others, but there is no base salary provided for these performers akin to those earned in the era of the Wild West show. Indigenous participation in the Round-Up economy provides gains for vendors, restaurants, local businesses, hotels, grocers, gas stations, and innumerable other businesses, but the Indians themselves do not receive a payment for their salary that is in any way commensurate with what they contribute to

[48] Happy Canyon Indian Pageant and Wild West Show Chief's Message, September 10, 2014.

Round-Up week. In fact, a majority of the Indians incur numerous expenditures leading up to and during Round-Up week. Many take vacation time from their jobs, and buying a tipi for the Indian village can run upwards of $400.[49]

There is no doubt that the Round-Up and Happy Canyon Boards of Directors are well aware of the importance of Indians to their respective events. Happy Canyon President Jason Hill traveled to Chillicothe, Ohio to see "Tecumseh!," a theatrical pageant that depicts "the epic life story of the legendary Shawnee leader as he struggles to defend his sacred homelands in the Ohio country during the late 1700's."[50] Hill, failing to contain his smile, proudly noted his Ohio host's awe at Happy Canyon's use of "real" Indians.[51] However, the emphasis on a culture of volunteerism ultimately precludes the Boards from needing to pay the Indian participants anything more than a small token of their appreciation. As noted in Chapter 5, according to local legends that are near-universally accepted as the truth, some of the businessmen behind the first Round-Up rode out to the reservation with an offer: if the Indians came to town for the Round-Up, they'd be allowed to "do [their] music, to do [their] dancing, to trade with everybody."[52]

But Round-Up and Happy Canyon are about more than sheer exploitation of Indians and Indianness. Adria Imada has asserted that hula dancers throughout the U.S. empire "negotiated with colonization and tourist commodification as self-aware agents, brokers, and political actors," and I argue that the Indians who participate in Round-Up

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[49] Interview with Sophia Beachum Enos and David Wolf, September 11, 2014.
[50] "Tecumseh!," Tecumseh! Outdoor Drama, http://www.tecumsehdrama.com/index.html.
[51] Interview with Jason Hill, Happy Canyon President, September 11, 2014.
[52] Interview with Randy Thomas, Pendleton Round-Up Publicity Director, September 10, 2014.

events do the same.[53] The interviews I conducted during Round-Up week push past the confining binaries of traditional and modern, exploitation and agency, and commercialism and capitulation into the space promoted by Adria Imada wherein indigenous actors were – and are – neither oppositional nor accommodating.[54] As noted earlier, it is impossible and irresponsible to generally confer a sense of motivation to these indigenous participants. Rather, I seek to demonstrate that, while the Round-Up and Happy Canyon continually promote their traditional, unchanging narrative, the range of individual motivations changes over time. While these motivations are, of course, often different and perhaps conflicting, Round-Up week is still portrayed as a celebration of Western frontier history.

"You always have this tradition you can come back to": The Round-Up's Indian Village[55]

Rayne Spencer sat on the grass under her family's tent. Her mother, Bobby, sat on a lawn chair behind her, twisting and pulling Rayne's hair into two braids. At nineteen, Rayne had participated in several Round-Up events as a child, including the junior beauty pageant, although as she grew older she became more involved in sports. However, her family had returned to the Round-Up, and her sister, Jory, was one of the 2014 Happy Canyon Princesses. As Bobby braided Rayne's hair under the watchful eye of her grandmother, the women explained their decision to partake in the events of Round-Up week.

"I think it's really cool and it's just something unique that we do here," Bobby said. "Even though we don't actually work in Happy Canyon – at least, we're not in the

[53] Imada, 17.
[54] Imada, 18.
[55] Bobby Spencer, Interview with Bobby Spencer and Rayne Spencer, September 12, 2014.

show – and I see Rayne…now she's like, "Look, mom, I'm making moccasins!' It kind of helps – you always have this tradition you can come back to. It incites kind of a spark, I think."

"Even if I'm not participating, I just take pride in what it's like to be an Indian because people put so much time and effort into everything they do here," Rayne added. "Also, since a lot of kids are growing up not being engulfed in the traditions, that…even if it's little, like riding in the arena, the kids will start learning to do that. They see other people doing that and that's what they're going to want to do. It helps keep the traditions going."[56] For the Spencers, Jory and Rayne's growing interest in tribal culture precipitated their return to the Round-Up, even though they were not actors in the Happy Canyon pageant. Rayne's work on the reservation allowed her to see daily applications of language and culture, even among younger children. Her tangible pride in her tribal traditions was easily demonstrated by the three women's lengthy discussion regarding proper braiding technique, and it firmly established her belief in the positive components of Round-Up and Happy Canyon, although she readily admitted that she had not seen the show "in a long time."

For Viola Minthorn, whose family has been part of the Round-Up and Happy Canyon since their respective inceptions, the pageant was an opportunity "to tell people *our* story…and they can see that transition, you know – that we had the land but then you can see what the white people did."[57] Minthorn, who has participated in the marriage scene and the finale, which she called "the sad scene," echoed Rayne Spencer's enthusiasm. She noted that her sisters also participated, but she proudly outlined her

[56] Interview with Bobby Spencer and Rayne Spencer, September 12, 2014.
[57] Interview with Viola Minthorn, September 11, 2014.

young niece's participation: "It's kind of awesome to see that next generation," she said. "We get to dress them up and they have to do what we used to do, so we get to teach them that…I like keeping our traditions alive. I speak to her in our language and dress her, and she's so little that she catches on really quick. It's really cool to see."

As young women, Minthorn and Rayne Spencer may be indicative of their generation's approach to the Round-Up and Happy Canyon. Again, as noted throughout this chapter, it is not my intent to use two dozen interviews to generalize the motivations of nearly 500 participants. However, both clearly summarized not only their own education in tribal history and culture, but that of their younger family members. Minthorn and Spencer recognized that Happy Canyon was a place for Natives, non-Natives, and tourists to come together and celebrate their history. "We have the cowboys' sides and we have our Native American sides," Minthorn said, "and it's good for the tourists to see both sides."

Tessie Williams, who was inducted into the Pendleton Round-Up and Happy Canyon Hall of Fame in 1991, took a break from preparing the evening's meal for more than a dozen rodeo courts. A long-time cultural leader for the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, she gestured around the village: "Look at all these people," she said. "They all dress the way they enjoy themselves, they respect themselves. And that's the way the pride in them shows." She did not hesitate when asked how she felt about the Native history portrayed in Happy Canyon. "A lot of people have been a part of it, and I think more acts have been fabulous and changing and making things right and

portraying the people that they portray. They feel it, and they're part of it. So they enjoy what they do."[58]

Chief Carl Sampson sat outside his tent with several family members. Like Minthorn, his family traced their participation to the first Round-Up. "I've been doing this all my life," he said. "It's a part of us. Meeting and greeting old families and getting to know them again." He boasted about his nine-year-old grandson, a champion fancy dancer and mutton buster. As far as Happy Canyon was concerned, however, he conceded that "some parts aren't really what they should be, but they've done a pretty good job." While he, like the others, believed that the traditions of Pendleton and Happy Canyon would continue to succeed, he also alluded to what he considered to be the decline of Pendleton outside of Round-Up week.[59] "We were one of the poorest tribes…and some of the others were well-off because they had a lot of good economy. But now *we're* one of the strongest because of the Wildhorse Casino. We're getting even with the white man," he laughed. "Taking all his money away from him."

It was evident that, for Sampson, as well as the other Native participants I interviewed, Round-Up week was not key to personal or tribal economic gain. However, unlike Minthorn, Williams, and the Spencers, Sampson clearly pointed to the decades of violent unrest that characterized the region's settlement:

> When the treaty was made and signed in 1855 over in Walla Walla – that's my part of the country right there – my leader, Pio-Pio, was murdered by the Oregon militia. They don't like to call it that, they like to call it a big defeat…but that's not what happened. They murdered my leader…the

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[58] Interview with Tessie Williams, September 11, 2014. Information regarding her induction into the Hall of Fame from "Pendleton Round-Up & Happy Canyon Hall of Fame," http://pendletonhalloffame.com/?page_id=40. Information regarding her role in the tribal community from "Heroic at 80," Tamastslikt Cultural Institute, https://tamastslikt.wordpress.com/2011/12/16/heroic-at-80/, December 16, 2011.

[59] Interview with Chief Carl Sampson and family, September 11, 2014.

> militiamen cut off his ears, they cut strips off his back…they cut both his hands off, both of his feet, and the scalped him. When they scalped him they made buttons out of his skull and gave them to those soldiers also. When they cut off his ears they put his ears in whiskey to kind of maintain it and they took it to the Oregon state capital. And they put him on display down there, right in front of God and everyone to look at…But it seems like…there's hard feelings a lot of times between us and these good old cowboys down here. I kind of resent them a lot of times. Growing up here, I know how they felt…[60]

The murder of the Walla Walla leader is absent from the narrative of Happy Canyon. The juxtaposition of the silent Indians in the arena against the backdrop of the Indian Village creates a startling contrast, one that continually enhances and exacerbates the tensions portrayed in the pageant.

Conclusion

As noted throughout Chapters 5 and 6, the pageant's collective cast of Natives and non-Natives is a testament to not only its economic power but its role as familial tradition, as many of those who participate each year have inherited their roles from parents, grandparents, and even great-grandparents.[61] Again, participation varies within the tribe and even within families.[62]

However, the events of Round-Up and Happy Canyon are still performances, which elicits questions as to how to reconcile performing historical elements with contemporary indigeneity, and how to compare pride in retaining tribal knowledge while performing the historical narratives that mostly non-Native audiences want to see. As with the Round-

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[60] Interview with Chief Carl Sampson and family, September 11, 2014. A similar version of the death of Pio-Pio (also called Pio-Pio-Mox-Mox) appears in an essay entitled "Pio-Pio-Mox-Mox" by J.F. Santee in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* Vol. 34, No. 2 (June 1933): 164-176.
[61] Happy Canyon Indian Pageant and Wild West Show, September 14, 2012.
[62] Roberta Conner, "Round-Up Reminiscences: 'You Can't Eat Lound-Up!'" in Michael Bales and Ann Terry Hill, *Pendleton Round-Up at 100 Oregon's Legendary Rodeo* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), 54.

Up, Happy Canyon continually reiterates its authenticity by promoting its lack of rehearsals: unlike the actors in the Apostle Islands Indian Pageants and *Unto These Hills*, indigenous participants in Happy Canyon are able to lay greater claim to authenticity. The 1967 souvenir program, for instance, announced that Happy Canyon allowed audiences to "unfold a glimpse of the past – the children following in the moccasined footsteps of their elders without rehearsal or advanced direction."[63]

The fallacy of Happy Canyon, of course, lies in the fact that after decades, if not centuries, of government meddling, the lifestyles depicted in Happy Canyon no longer exist in their early forms. But again, we must question what these depictions mean for the participants as opposed to the audience. While the influx of tourist dollars certainly help – although exactly *who* it helps might be debatable – the fact remains that Round-Up and Happy Canyon continue to serve as an outlet for these elements of performative culture. Despite the focus on the commodified (and continually commodifiable) past, the Round-Up and Happy Canyon may have served as a boon for their indigenous participants because did they became a space, albeit one created by and for non-Natives, for the practices of indigenous ways of life that were disavowed by the government. While it is not enough to overlook the problems within the show, it is still an intriguing examination of the power of pageantry for not only Pendleton but for those who participate.

Unlike the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant and *Unto These Hills*, on the surface, Happy Canyon is not broken – it has a narrative that has worked since 1916. Even though academia has, for the most part, moved toward a more inclusive narrative, altering the show's narrative would likely be devastating for all those involved and would likely

[63] Happy Canyon souvenir program 1967, 4.

lead to a serious decline in attendance and revenue. Therefore, offering an examination of indigenous motivations helps consider whether or not the legacy of traditional participation sufficiently justifies the narrative of Happy Canyon.

Figures 11-13: Three distinct eras portrayed in Happy Canyon. Photos by the author (2014).

Figure 14 (above): The opening of Happy Canyon.
Figure 15 (below): The finale of Happy Canyon.
All photos by the author (2014).

Conclusion

"Should you ask me, whence these stories?": The legacy of American Indian historical pageantry[1]

By the shores of Gitche Gumee,
By the shining Big-Sea-Water,
Stood the wigwam of Nokomis,
Daughter of the Moon, Nokomis.
Dark behind it rose the forest,
Rose the black and gloomy pine-trees,
Rose the firs with cones upon them;
Bright before it beat the water,
Beat the clear and sunny water,
Beat the shining Big-Sea-Water.[2]

In 2007, the Hiawatha Club of Pipestone, Minnesota announced that its *Song of Hiawatha* Pageant would live for just one more season. Produced in the small town of Pipestone, which sits about 200 miles southwest of the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, since 1948, organizers cited declining attendance, due largely to a myriad of factors.[3] Mick Myers, then the head of the Pipestone Chamber of Commerce and a member of the Hiawatha Club that produced the pageant, cited increased competition in the region from casinos and a pageant based on the life and writings of Laura Ingalls Wilder less than 40 miles away. According to Jay Gabler, writing in 2008, the pageant was "a living time capsule," having survived the heyday of civic pageantry as well as "the time when it would occur to anyone that it would be a great idea to dress several dozen European-Americans in headdresses and enact a Native American legend as told by a white New Englander."[4] Several years earlier, however, the National Park Service

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[1] Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *The Song of Hiawatha* (1855; reprint Chicago: J.G. Ferguson Publishing Company, 1968), 1.
[2] Longfellow, *The Song of Hiawatha*, 27.
[3] Mark Steil, "Pipestone's Hiawatha Pageant to close after 60 years," Minnesota Public Radio News, December 30, 2007, http://www.mprnews.org/story/2007/12/21/hiawathawraps.
[4] Jay Gabler, "Pipestone's Hiawatha Pageant end 60-year run," *TC Daily Planet*, July 24, 2008, http://www.tcdailyplanet.net/article/2008/07/22/pipestones-hiawatha-pageant-ends-60-year-run.html.

proclaimed that the pageant had become "an important link between Pipestone National Monument, the town of Pipestone, the surrounding region, and a public interested in history and culture." The pageant was a boon for the local economy as it annually brought "visitors, media attention, and a sense of vitality to the Pipestone area" and "contributed to an enlivened cultural and economic environment."[5]

As with the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant, *Unto These Hills*, and Happy Canyon, the *Song of Hiawatha* pageant has a complicated history. In the 1930s, children at the Pipestone Indian School acted in the pageant under the direction of one of their teachers, who also happened to be the principal's wife. The initial pageant only lived for a few years – drought claimed the creek that had served as the backdrop, and World War II soon became a more pressing issue. The pageant was resurrected shortly after the war ended, continuing the publicized connection, however slight, between Pipestone's quarries and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem.[6]

According to Sally J. Southwick, the town of Pipestone has long associated itself with the enduring legacy of Longfellow's poem. By the 1940s and 1950s, civic and community leaders began to "reassert themselves as cultural custodians of local Indian heritage…This phase of Pipestone's identity development resembled that seen with historical reenactments and museums elsewhere in the United States, particularly in the communal sense of custodianship over carefully defined local heritage and identity based on generalized images of American Indians."[7] In Pipestone, as in Bayfield, Cherokee,

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[5] National Park Service, "The Park and Its Neighbors: The Hiawatha Club," 2004, http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/pipe/adhi8.htm.
[6] National Park Service, "The Park and Its Neighbors: The Hiawatha Club," 2004, http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/pipe/adhi8.htm.
[7] Sally J. Southwick, *Building on a Borrowed Past: Place and Identity in Pipestone, Minnesota* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005), 9-10.

and Pendleton, the pageant was meant as a means to not only capitalize on Indian history but to grant the collection of non-Native organizers the ability to tell a particular version of indigenous history. By deliberately positing themselves as the purveyors of regional Native (and non-Native) histories, pageant organizers and producers sought to create, publicize, and popularize a version of history that would, by all accounts, seem irresistible to tourists.

However, the urgency that characterized the premieres of many American Indian historical pageants came full circle in 2007, as promotional materials sadly noted that the upcoming Pipestone production would be the "60th and final year."[8] The decline of Pipestone's pageant encapsulates the main themes of this dissertation, notably the fickle nature of the tourist industry and the continued regional attempts to commodify and capitalize on regional (and romanticized) Native history. Like the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant, the *Song of Hiawatha* relied on the beauty of the region and its historical connections and connotations.[9] The deliberate use of non-Natives in the lead roles in Pipestone resonates with the long-held policies and practices in Cherokee that affected the historical association's relationship with the Eastern Band. Finally, as with Happy Canyon, the *Song of Hiawatha* pageant proudly remained faithful to the original production, albeit with a different outcome than in Pendleton.

The rise and fall of Pipestone's pageant mirrors the fate of countless other American and American Indian historical pageants throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The vast majority of these pageants, including the three at the center of this dissertation, initially began as regional enterprises bent on creating or enhancing the

[8] Steil, "Pipestone's Hiawatha Pageant to close after 60 years."
[9] Steil, "Pipestone's Hiawatha Pageant to close after 60 years."

tourist environments and economies of their respective locations. The Apostle Islands Indian Pageant, *Unto These Hills*, and Happy Canyon were created by and performed for non-Native tourists seeking an escape from the havoc of modern life. The deliberate use of American Indian history as the basis for these pageants demonstrates the widespread power of the potential economic windfalls to be gained by commodifying indigeneity. From Wild West shows and world's fairs to local celebrations, indigenous peoples and their images became fodder for commercial enterprises.

From the shores of Lake Superior to the mountains of North Carolina to the dusty ranges of Oregon, images of Indians permeated the regional tourist environments. Boosters and businessmen pounced on the notion of turning their respective towns into havens for city folks who had grown weary of the hustle and bustle of modern American life. As noted in the introduction, John Troutman and Philip Deloria have respectively suggested that "popular fantasies of Indianness" and the simultaneous "romanticization of Indianness" played pivotal roles in the growing anti-modern movement at the turn of the twentieth century.[10] American Indian historical pageants, then, were just one of the ways in which countless small, often remote towns jostled for the upper hand in the tourist economy.

There were many potential benefits for towns like Bayfield, Cherokee, and Pendleton. Bayfield residents had been continually frustrated by what they considered to be the stopping point of tourism in the southern part of the state. As noted in Chapter 1, the *Superior Telegram* insisted that 300,000 cars headed West every summer, but few made it to the northernmost region of Wisconsin, the place where "the forests and the

[10] John Troutman, *Indian Blues: American Indians and the Politics of Music, 1879-1934* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012), 154; Philip Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 191.

streams and the lakes are the most attractive."[11] The unrelenting ebb and flow of industries based on resource extraction had left the landscape nearly unrecognizable and seemingly unsalvageable. Boosters sought to create an emotional connection between visitors and the region, hoping that the combined force of love and money and influence could somehow stop the destruction.

In Pendleton, however, the "destruction" that drove city leaders to host a round-up and an Indian pageant and Wild West show stemmed from what they considered to be the destruction of their identity as Westerners. Rather than exploitive resource extraction, the economy in Pendleton was shifting toward a more staid wheat and wool environment, not the "wild and wooly" lifestyle that had defined Pendleton in its early years. By producing the Round-Up and Happy Canyon, non-Natives in Pendleton were able to convince themselves that, despite the changing landscape of the economy, they were still the wild Westerners they had always considered themselves to be. By incorporating local Indian history into the production and incorporating local Indians into the Round-Up, Pendleton purposely portrayed its history as inextricably embedded in the fabric of the Western narrative.

In Cherokee, the Eastern Band's history had continually been fodder for commercial enterprises. By the end of World War II, a graduate student from the University of North Carolina had commandeered this history, turning it into a melodramatic production that was so keen on depicting its notions of authentic Indians that it completely marginalized and excluded the Eastern Band. After a fifty-five-year run, though, the original *Unto These Hills* had proven that it was no longer commercially viable. The Cherokee Historical Association, desperately seeking a way to salvage the

[11] "Thousands to See Pageant," *Superior Telegram*, September 27, 1923.

pageant, presented three revised versions in as many years. The Eastern Band, which saved the CHA from bankruptcy, has continually pushed the pageant away from the chains of salvage tourism. Rather than reiterating the tired trope of static, seemingly authentic Indians, the pageant has moved toward a celebration of the Eastern Band through the tragedy of the Trail of Tears and into their subsequently triumphant survival and continually growing presence in the region.

At first glance, the pageants in northern Wisconsin in the 1920s, northeastern Oregon since 1916, and Eastern North Carolina since the 1950s are seemingly incompatible, and their differences seem to far outweigh their similarities. The Apostle Islands Indian Pageant only lasted a few years and, one might argue, left little impact on the region and its peoples. Happy Canyon opened in 1916 and, with the exception of two years during World War II, continues to have an enormous economic impact on not only the town of Pendleton, but on all of Umatilla County. *Unto These Hills*, which premiered nearly forty years after Happy Canyon, was an early success but, like the *Song of Hiawatha*, struggles to remain relevant, interesting, and economically viable.

The narrative arc of Happy Canyon remains virtually unchanged, aside from the descriptions added in the early 2000s. The first script for *Unto These Hills* was performed from 1950 until 2005 and, despite three subsequent revisions, the pageant continues to search for ways to remain culturally and economically relevant. The Apostle Islands Indian Pageant produced a different show in each year of its short life, desperately seeking a magical quick fix to bolster its attendance. The Pendletonians in charge of the Round-Up and Happy Canyon had been floored by the flood of visitors in their respective early years, forcing local carpenters to add extra seating overnight in an

attempt to corral their eager audiences. It seems it was expected that *Unto These Hills* would be a success, as the Cherokee Historical Association deliberately hired experienced contributors and carefully researched earlier successful pageants such as *The Lost Colony*.

Despite serving more than 30,000 patrons in its first two years, Apostle Islands Indian Pageant organizers, who had dreamed of entertaining more than 100,000 tourists in the first year alone, deemed the pageant an abject failure and shuttered the pageant in the wake of significant debt without allowing themselves the opportunity to generate to build a loyal following over several years. However, their firm, unshakeable confidence in the pageant's potential ability to attract hundreds of thousands of people to a place that, just fifty years before, had been practically inaccessible demonstrates the pervasive belief in the commodification of Indians and Indian history.

Despite the differences among them, these three American Indian historical pageants are manifestations of a critical component of the history of indigenous performance and performances of indigeneity. Neither the Apostles Islands Indian Pageant, *Unto These Hills*, nor Happy Canyon came to life as a means of preserving Indian history for the local and regional Indians whose histories formed the basis of each pageant. Rather, as shown in each case study, the concept of salvage tourism is the thread that binds these three together. This dissertation has demonstrated that salvage tourism functioned in unique ways in each pageant, each region, and each time period examined herein. The first Apostle Islands Indian Pageant sought to salvage the local economy after decades of destructive resource extraction by generating publicity and ideally turning public sentiment toward regional preservation. By the time the Apostle

Islands National Lakeshore legislation arose in the 1970s, the rhetoric of salvage tourism centered around preserving and conserving the Apostle Islands, including the Bad River and Red Cliff reservations, for recreational tourism.

In Cherokee, North Carolina, salvage tourism manifested itself in the early part of the Cold War. Previous attempts to commodify the history of the Eastern Band focused on smaller endeavors surrounding the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. By the twenty-first century, however, *Unto These Hills* is struggling to save itself amidst a diversified tourist economy. In the early twentieth century, businessmen in Pendleton, Oregon feared the loss of their distinctly Western identity in the wake of a shifting economy. Therefore, they set out to produce a round-up that would not only draw interested visitors but that would demonstrate their continued connection to the wild, wild West. The immediate and unexpected success led to an interactive frontier town, vaudeville-style Wild West show, and an Indian pageant. Unlike the desperate efforts of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant and *Unto These Hills*, the Round-Up and Happy Canyon have diversified their own interests, leading to continued success.

It is critical to note that in all three instances American Indians, Indian history, and images of Indians were seen as the most promising and potentially profitable endeavor. Despite the three pageants' uses of Indians and Indian history, salvage tourism has never directly applied to the Indians whose histories have inspired the pageants. Rather, the pageants' respective organizers and promoters clearly recognized the economic potential that could be derived from these productions. That is not to say that the Indian participants have blindly participated, unknowingly allowing themselves and their histories to be exploited. Instead, this dissertation has demonstrated that indigenous

participation was crucial to the authenticity of the Apostle Islands Indian Pageant and the Round-Up and Happy Canyon, as well as the current production of *Unto These Hills*. Purposely equating Native participants – or, in the case of the original *Unto These Hills*, the romanticized ideal of the Indian – with the landscape and the pageant itself served to heighten the overall aesthetics of each pageant.

This dissertation has revealed how American Indian historical pageants, individually and collectively, have functioned within distinct regional tourist economies in distinct areas. I have examined the motivations of pageant organizers, promoters, local boosters, as well as the indigenous participants. The historiography has mainly dealt with indigenous participation in Wild West shows, Indian fairs, and powwows and rodeos, but this dissertation has demonstrated the importance of American Indian historical pageants because they sought to commodify Indians and Indianness in a distinctly regional tourist environment. The fact that some of these pageants still exist and, in some cases, are still wildly successful forces the discussion of indigenous agency to move from the past to the present.

Despite their many differences, one constant remains. American Indian historical pageantry is a lens for the past and the present, the historic and the dramatic. And, in the spirit of the dramatic and the historic, I end with the words of William Shakespeare. This dissertation has taken me from the Great Smoky Mountains to the slowly rolling hills of northeastern Oregon back to my own reservation along the south shore of Lake Superior. I have sat backstage at the Mountainside Theater in Cherokee, watching the cogs of an aging, albeit well-oiled, pageant prepare for a performance. I have walked miles in cowboy boots in Pendleton, watching proud descendants of cowboys and Indians and

pioneers reenact their popular version of history. I have walked down Pageant Road, looking for any vestiges of the mammoth pageant staged nearly a century earlier. And, above all, I have learned that

All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players;
They have their exits and their entrances,
And one man in his time plays many parts…
Last scene of all,
That ends this strange eventful history.[12]

[12] William Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, act 2, scene 7.

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