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HIAWATHA MEETS THE GITCHE GUMEE INDIANS:
THE VISUALIZATION OF INDIANS IN TURN OF THE CENTURY
HIAWATHA PAGEANT PLAYS

by

Sherry Brydon, B.A. (Honours)

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of

Masters of Arts

Art History

Carleton University

OTTAWA, Ontario

28 April 1993

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THE VISUALIZATION OF INDIANS IN TURN OF THE CENTURY
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Submitted by Sherry Brydon, B.A.,
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts.

Ruth B. Phillips, Supervisor

John Shepherd, Director: SSAC

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

May, 1993

ABSTRACT

This thesis will examine the clothing worn in early-20th century Hiawatha pageant plays as affirmation of Indian cultural identity. In the 19th century, official Canadian government policy towards Native peoples centred upon assimilation programs which attempted to absorb them into mainstream society. Government policy held that the abandonment of Native dress was one of the most important indicators of successful assimilation. Although Indian agents and missionaries encouraged Indians to adopt European clothing, travellers and people living in urban areas wanted to see 'original' Indians, those who continued to wear exotic Indian dress. In the East, Woodlands Indians had long been subjected to government policies and outwardly did not appear to be 'original' or 'genuine' Indians to the outside White population. The Plains Indian, however, corresponded to White peoples' perceptions of Indianness in the latter half of the 19th century. To satisfy the expectations of the White audience, the Anishinabe of Garden River wore the dress of the Plains Indian in their 1900 dramatization of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's "The Song of Hiawatha." The play enjoyed a long period of production. As the play moved from community to community throughout the Northeast, Woodlands Indians soon integrated Plains dress as cultural and political symbol of their Indianness. In the 20th century, Pan-Indian dress became one of the main strategies that Woodlands people used to subvert the assimilation policies of the government and to keep their Indian

heritage in the forefront of White consciousness. Recognition of this important cultural expression is due.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis, I hope, reflects in some small measure the time in which I have benefitted as a student learning from Ruth Phillips. The idea for this work was hers and she allowed me full access to her research materials. Her continuous support and infinite patience are gratefully acknowledged.

Gerald McMaster provided important research materials and helpful insights on transcultural aesthetics. Trudy Nicks generously supplied primary documentation on the pageant plays.

Special thanks to the dedicated staff of Carleton University's Interlibrary Loans for tracking down my requests. Finally, any errors that may exist in this work are, of course, my own.

INTRODUCTION

In 1855, an American poet, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, published his epic poem "The Song of Hiawatha." During the first three decades of the 20th century, Indians dramatized Longfellow's poem as pageant plays for Euro-North American audiences. Under the direction of a Euro-Canadian organizer, Woodlands peoples worn Plains Indian clothing for these theatrical presentations. This thesis will demonstrate that although White society imposed this system of visual representation upon Woodlands Indians, Native peoples adapted their dress to satisfy their own sense of cultural identity.

The impact of the Hiawatha pageant plays was great. They acted as a catalyst for the development of a transcultural aesthetic, historically referred to as Pan-Indianism, which emphasized the importance of establishing a positive, collective self-representation. William Powers uses the term transcultural to describe a type of diffusion which occurs in the movement of Plains Indian music.¹ Powers cites Woodlands and Southwest singers who adopt and change a Plains song as an example of transcultural music. The word transcultural conveys a sense of the accommodation of a number of different cultural variables. In its broadest application, the term transcultural, in reference to dress, reaches back even further than the 19th century when Native peoples absorbed elements of European dress. For this study, transcultural is applied to Woodlands clothing which has been heavily influenced by the Plains aesthetic.

Throughout the 20th century, the use of transcultural clothing

has extended beyond the theatrical realm and developed into a strategy of resistance among many Woodlands Indians because they privileged visual representations of Indians as Indians rather than as assimilated people completely submerged into the Euro-Canadian culture. (Fig. 1 - 3) The Indian Department seemingly understood the impact of Native peoples' new assertion of Indian identity through conventions of dress when in 1914 Deputy Superintendent-General Scott "drafted an amendment to the Indian Act which barred Indians from leaving their reserves to "...participate in any show, exhibition, performance, stampede or pageant in aboriginal costume.""²

During the first decades of the 20th century, Woodlands peoples abandoned the use of European clothing on formal or special occasions and started collectively to assert Native identity to White society. The intent of this study is to document the history of the first five years of the Hiawatha pageant plays and to analyze the process of the introduction and incorporation of transcultural dress in this forum.³ (See Appendix A)

I will use an interdisciplinary approach to contextualize the two most important elements in visual representation in the Hiawatha pageant plays -- Indian dress and Indian encampments. A survey of the Euro-North American history of the representation of these elements will illustrate how their development during a century of image production from 1800 to 1900 informed audience expectations. These audiences guided the presentation of the Hiawatha plays and established the parameters within which Native

peoples would ultimately negotiate their own interests. For these reasons, I have drawn upon materials from art history, anthropology and ethnohistory to establish the interdisciplinary frame work for this thesis.

The profound cultural upheavals that Woodlands society experienced after European contact are reflected in each chapter of this thesis. The ability of Native peoples to adapt and retain a strong sense of their cultural identity is also revealed by this analysis. The first two chapters detail the elements which lead to the receptivity of "The Song of Hiawatha" by Native and non-Native people and, ultimately, their attraction to the Hiawatha pageant plays. Chapter One examines the Iroquois oral traditions of Hiawatha and his role in the founding of the Iroquoian Confederacy. The White interpreters of this history -- Joshua Clark, Henry Schoolcraft and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow -- are discussed in the second chapter. The third chapter details the history of the early Hiawatha pageant plays. Chapter Four focuses upon the Euro-Canadian visual representation of 19th century Woodlands Indian encampments and its relationship to the Hiawatha dramatizations. The fifth chapter, in four subsections, concentrates on Indian dress and surveys the prior Euro-North American visual representation of Plains Indian dress and the 'misrepresentation' of Woodlands dress; the Woodlands self-representation in clothing styles; the dress of Hiawatha pageant plays and transcultural aesthetics. The final chapter explores the applicability of anthropological theories of reconstructed ethnicity to Hiawatha pageant plays.

This study is presented as a preliminary attempt to redress the void that exists in the current secondary literature which currently contains no studies of the Hiawatha pageant plays or of their dress. The inquiry has been largely confined to published materials and archival documentation available in the immediate Ottawa area. Given this limitation, it is difficult to know how the participants viewed their involvement in the plays. The importance of locating the descendants of the pageant play participants must be underscored and it is an outstanding area of interest. As such, the limited scope of a master's thesis leaves a rich body of material yet to be considered.

The second goal of this thesis is to argue for the validity of transcultural aesthetic forms which have been generally dismissed by scholars as inauthentic forms of representation. Political and religious Pan-Indianism, in contrast, have attracted study by scholars and a published literature exists. James Howard as well as Stuart Levine and Nancy O. Lurie are often cited for their work. Recently, William Powers has contributed to Pan-Indian studies by examining the historiography of Pan-Indian literature. I have also drawn on a number of unpublished theses in order to analyze both the visual representation of historic Plains Indian dress and historical information about the Garden River reserve.

Primary sources for Hiawatha dramatizations were recovered from early-20th century newspaper and journal articles, archival documentary photography and Hiawatha pageant play ephemera. Nineteenth-century travel and personal diaries were also invaluable

to this study. I have listed, in Appendix B, important archival sources for the documentation of Hiawatha pageant plays. The Public Archives of Canada, the National Library of Canada, the Archives of Ontario, the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society, the Vermont Historical Society and the Michigan State Library were among the sources used in carrying out this study.

Endnotes

1. William Powers, War Dance (Tucson: The University of Arizona press, 1990), p.45. In this context, transcultural diffusion alludes to music which has dramatically changed from its origins.
2. Bruce Cox, "Historical Anthropology," In A Different Drummer: Readings in Anthropology with a Canadian Perspective, ed. Bruce Cox, Jacques Chevalier and Valda Blundell. (Ottawa: BCP Enterprises, 1989), p.32.
3. "The Hiawatha Plays," Archival Files, Frances Pailthorp documents, Petoskey Historical Commission, Michigan, pg.1. Around 1905, Armstrong had moved the Hiawatha pageant plays from Desbarats, Ontario to Conway, Michigan. According to published documentation, the visual identification of the individuals who were involved in the first five years establishes the date of production.

CHAPTER ONE

Native Oral Traditions

Hiawatha did not come into being directly from Longfellow's imagination but, as we will see in the next chapter, the Hiawatha of Longfellow's creation did bear some resemblance to the individual that the poem named -- the historical Iroquoian statesman, Hayonwhatha, a figure who occupies a central place in Iroquoian oral traditions.¹ Over the centuries, his identity has been continually transformed by Natives and non-Natives. It is, therefore, important to differentiate the transformations of Hayonwhatha. In Chapters One and Two, I will argue that there have been three distinct phases in this transformation: 1) the historical Hayonwhatha, 2) the historical/mythical Hayonwhatha and 3) the mythical/magical Hiawatha. Although Hayonwhatha changed with each transformation, a link to his historical identity, however strained, was maintained throughout the different phases. An examination of the various phases of Hayonwhatha transformations within Iroquoian belief system offers an explanation about the process in which Hayonwhatha became an important figure in Iroquoian mythology. This chapter will also provide the historical background for Longfellow's interpretation.

The Hayonwhatha of Iroquoian oral history is an enigmatic individual whose spiritual and moral legacy is still debated. The transformation of Hayonwhatha from an historical individual to an historical/mythical figure is revealed in the oral history of the

Iroquois. Accounts of Hayonwhatha are found in mythologies that relate to the founding of the Confederacy (the League or the Great Peace) of the Seneca, Oneida, Onondaga, Mohawk and Cayuga nations.

Myth cycles are complex assemblages of narratives. Not only do mythological narratives change with the passage of time but myths are also open to localized re-interpretations. The different versions of a particular myth often have sequences that appear to invert themselves.² Generally, however, these variations display consistent dominant themes.

An exact date for the historical union of the five nations into Iroquoian Confederacy is difficult to establish, and there is much debate and conjecture among scholars and Native oral historians concerning an origin date for Hayonwhatha. Scholarly consensus seems to have centred on the time period between the 15th century and the 16th century, while Native traditions indicate Hayonwhatha to have lived before the arrival of the Europeans. Elizabeth Tooker has examined the various scholarly viewpoints in her essay on the Iroquoian Confederacy and has concluded that:

The various Iroquois traditions give different estimates of the length of time the League had been in existence before Whites arrived. Nevertheless, although there is disagreement, virtually all suggested dates for the founding of the League fall in the period from A.D. 1400 or slightly before to 1600 or slightly before.³

Daniel K. Richter offers a more precise date of formation:

...if the exact shape of the League on the eve of the European invasion cannot be satisfactorily recovered, its broad outlines can be traced with some confidence. Archaeological evidence of economic exchanges within Iroquoia and a homogenization of material culture among the five previously isolated nations suggest strongly that the Peace was established sometime in the fifteenth

century.⁴

Thus, it would seem that while the history of the Confederacy does not reach back thousands of years, it was in place when the Europeans arrived.

There is also no consensus on the primary role played by Hayonwhatha in the critical literature. Although he has been referred to as a shaman, statesman, leader, reformer, legislator, chief, great orator, Hayonwhatha is must often described as a prophet and co-founder of the Iroquoian Confederacy. While some narratives refer to him as a prophet, only one scholar, Anthony Wallace, has examined Hayonwhatha's prophecy as the result of spiritual visitations which could also be interpreted as shamanic visions.⁵ In the context of our examination of Hayonwhatha's transformation from an historical to an historical/mythical figure, it is fundamental to question what cultural dynamic facilitated Hayonwhatha's incorporation into Iroquoian myth. Undoubtedly, the circumstances had to have been extraordinary as the inclusion of an historic individual into North America Native mythology is rare.

Hayonwhatha, and another figure, Dekanawideh, are acknowledged as the founders of the Iroquois Confederacy and their relationship will be examined in two distinct contexts. Within the first and most prevalent context found in the myths, Dekanawideh emerges as a flesh-and-blood person who counsels Hayonwhatha. The second context is lesser known and has been proposed by Wallace. In this context, Dekanawideh is identified as a supernatural being who communicates with Hayonwhatha. To distinguish the difference

between these two interpretations, an important narrative of Hayonwhatha and Dekanawideh which was recorded at the turn of the 20th century will be presented.⁶ Arthur C. Parker, a Seneca anthropologist, worked with Seth Newhouse, a Mohawk, on the Constitution of the Five Nations and the Code of Handsome Lake and published these narratives in the New York State Museum's Bulletin. Wallace relied on both of Parker's works for his interpretation.⁷ The Constitution of the Five Nations will first be related and then Wallace's analysis will be offered.

According to the narrative, prior to the formation of the Confederacy, the Iroquois nations lived as separate entities, perpetually at war among themselves regardless of tribe, village or family. All Iroquoian societies deteriorated under this strain, and social breakdown seemed imminent as people constantly lived in fear for their safety. Indeed, their conflicts, as characterized by never-ending cycles of revenge and retaliation, escalated to such a degree that the Iroquois became vulnerable to other Woodlands nations.⁸

The warring and fractious nature of the Iroquoian communities had to be quelled. Hayonwhatha began the peace process by confronting the most formidable of adversaries, Adodarhoh, a fellow Onondaga, whose powers were so great that he was believed to be a sorcerer.⁹ He was a merciless ruler who held his authority by reigning terror over his people. Meanwhile, a great dreamer had foretold Hayonwhatha's future peace mission with Dekanawideh. Aware that Hayonwhatha would not leave the Onondaga village because he

was a father to seven daughters there, a shaman, Ohsinoh, was contracted to dispose of them.¹⁰ One by one they all died by his sorcery. Hayonwhatha's family attempted to avenge him but the shaman escaped their retribution. Hayonwhatha retreated from his village and duties to wander alone in the forests and woods.¹¹ Slowly Hayonwhatha's despair and sorrow challenged his sanity.

It was in the woods, however, that his healing began. Hayonwhatha wove some rushes into three strings and said:

This would I do if I found anyone burdened with grief even as I am. I would console them for they would be covered with night and wrapped in darkness. This would I lift with words of condolence and these strings of beads would become words with which I would address them.¹²

Hayonwhatha elaborated the ceremony and created new mourning rituals. A young girl observed Hayonwhatha when he was enacting the ritual and she returned to her village to relate this experience. An invitation was extended to Hayonwhatha to visit. Hayonwhatha went to the village but was not asked for his advice. This happened again near another village shortly thereafter and the outcome was exactly the same. Finally he arrived at the village of Dekanawideh.

Hayonwhatha met with Dekanawideh and related the sorrow of his daughters' deaths. Dekanawideh shared Hayonwhatha's grief and sought to comfort him with words of condolence to accompany each string.¹³ This final act healed Hayonwhatha and Dekanawideh had thus inspired him to continue on the path for peace. The great dream had come to fruition. Hayonwhatha and Dekanawideh went back to Adodarhoh's village and cured his mind through song. Having been informed of Adodarhoh's radical transformation, the Oneida, Cayuga

and Onondaga nations joined the alliance. The Confederacy of the Iroquoian Nations was born.

The evidence for the other interpretation of Dekanawideh, as a being of a supernatural order, is found in the work of Anthony Wallace.¹⁴ Wallace offers a psycho-analytic reading of the myth which dehistoricizes it. In his analysis of the Confederacy founding myth, Wallace asserts that "the most important distortion...is ...the ascription of historical reality to the envisioned supernatural".¹⁵ More specifically, Wallace studies the myth which surrounds the creation of the Confederacy as a text documenting an Iroquoian revitalization movement, defined as "a deliberate, organized effort by members of a society to reproduce a more satisfying culture."¹⁶ Generally the catalyst for such a movement is a charismatic visionary who attracts a great following of the people.

Wallace outlines the five stages in the revitalization process as 1) the steady state, 2) the period of increased individual stress, 3) period of cultural distortion, 4) period of revitalization (with sub-elements of revelation, communication, organization, adaptation, cultural transformation and routinization) and 5) the new steady state.¹⁷ He then compares the Hayonwhatha and Dekanawideh mythology with the stages of his processual model. The steady state is the relatively peaceful time prior to the establishment of heavily populated villages. The second phase -- the period of increased individual stress -- represents the period of small-scale blood-feuds. Escalating

violence resulting in the need for palisaded villages distinguishes the third phase of revitalization -- the period of cultural distortion.

The multi-staged period of revitalization is first marked by the phenomenon of revelation when Hayonwhatha experiences a vision during his time of bereavement and intense distress. His mental state is taxed to such a point that:

he...experiences an episode of agitated depression, wandering alone in the woods, suffering from the delusion of being a cannibal monster named [Adodarhoh], with a crooked body, snakes in his hair, and great and destructive shamanistic powers.¹⁸

The turning point for Hayonwhatha, however, comes when:

he sees his face reflected in water in a kettle; it seems to him that it is not really the face of a monster. Thereafter he has a vision in which a supernatural being named Dekanawideh reveals himself and appoints Hiawatha [Hayenwatha] to be his messenger.¹⁹

The condolence ritual represents Dekanawideh's first spiritual message to Hayonwhatha. A ritual complex such as this comprises a fundamental element inherent to revitalization movements. Hayonwhatha communicates this ritual code of condolence to the different villages he comes to visit. His words begin to have an impact on the people and he gains followers. Hayonwhatha experiences additional visions and Dekanawideh sends further communication that will bind the Iroquoian nations. The phase of adaptation is characterized by the elaboration of the condolence ceremony and the establishment of the grand councils.²⁰ Cultural transformation and routinization are manifest when Hayonwhatha brings together the Onondaga, Oneida, Mohawk, Cayuga and Seneca. In

the final phase -- the steady state -- the Confederacy of Five Nations has become institutionalized and social balance is restored marking the revitalization of the Iroquoian culture.

Wallace concludes his analyses of the founding of the Confederacy myth by commenting on the changes that have taken place in the myth and their subsequent misinterpretation, such that Dekanawideh is not recognized as the embodiment of a vision. He states that:

Certain specific distortions, particularly a failure to label the actions and words of the supernatural Dekanawideh as the substance of the visions of the prophet [Hayonwhatha], are postulated as leading to a form of the myth in which Dekanawideh appears as an historical figure with supernatural powers, and as the leader of the movement.²¹

As already indicated, these distortions are the result of time and the nature of oral traditions in that, over a period of approximately five centuries, the Hayonwhatha vision became reformulated by a large number of narrators. In addition, Wallace points out that:

When to these distortions are added omissions of detail, minor misrenderings of names, reversals of order, and similar errors, the departures from the original text approximate the ethnologically known version of the myth.²²

In Wallace's view, Hayonwhatha was a prophet whose powerful visions were a catalyst for a revitalization movement.²³ The vision, or revelation, appears in the form of a supernatural being, Dekanawideh.²⁴

Wallace's interpretation of the mythology is a viable explanation both of how the Great Law of the Confederacy became

institutionalized and, more importantly, how the historical Hayonwhatha was transformed into the historical/mythical Hayonwhatha. Messages from Dekanawideh to Hayonwhatha conveyed new rituals that became ingrained in the activities of the Confederacy. These messages also imbued Hayonwhatha with an intensely spiritual and mystical quality. That the warring intra-tribal Iroquoian Nations would have listened to Hayonwhatha had he not been viewed as a shaman, empowered with remarkable visions is almost impossible to imagine. He had to be a vision-inspired prophet, an exceptional figure among the masses in order to effect such a major change, or reversal, of the social order. The notion that Hayonwhatha's encounter with Dekanawideh was visionary explains how the Iroquoian myth could assimilate an otherwise exclusively political and social event into their founding oral traditions. For these reasons, Hayonwhatha's great visionary experiences and the ultimate establishment of the Confederacy could stimulate an almost spontaneous incorporation of Hayonwhatha into the mythological cycle. Hayonwhatha's esteemed and secure place in Iroquoian mythology ensured that his legacy would become known to Native and non-Native alike.

Endnotes

1. Arthur C Parker, Parker on the Iroquois Edited with an Introduction by William N. Fenton. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1968), p.18. Different spellings will be used to help distinguish between the historical Hayonwhatha and Longfellow's Hiawatha. This distinction, however, is artificial and somewhat problematic given the blurring of identities. The spelling of Hayonwhatha varies with each myth. Since Seth Newhouse's work has been cited for this analysis, the spelling of Hayonwhatha in that text will be used.
2. Claude Levi-Strauss, Structural Anthropology (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1963), pp.206-230. Claude Levis-Strauss contends that the human mind orders reality according to binary laws of opposition. Since mythology is a product of the human mind, myths can be analyzed by establishing their opposition in a system of signs. Inversion is a correlational transformation which forms a new structural arrangement.
3. Elizabeth Tooker, "The League of the Iroquois: Its History, Politics, and Ritual" In Handbook of the American Indian, Vol. 15, Northeast. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), pp.418-420.
4. Daniel K. Richter, The Ordeal of the Longhouse (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), p.31.
5. Anthony Wallace, "The Dekanawideh Myth Analyzed as the Record of a Revitalization Movement" Ethnohistory, Vol. 5(2):118-130.
6. Arthur C. Parker, "The Constitution of the Five Nations or The Iroquois Book of the Great Law" In Parker on the Iroquois (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1968), p.14
7. Wallace also cites the following works in his analysis: Duncan C. Scott, Traditional History of the Confederacy of the Six Nations (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Vol. 5, 1912), pp.195-246.; P.A. W. Wallace, The White Roots of Peace. (Philadelphia, 1946).
8. Parker, p.16.
9. Spellings of Adodarhoh vary from account to account. Similarly, Adodarhoh has been identified as a chief, a shaman, a sorcerer and a cannibal monster.
10. Parker, p.18.
11. Parker, p.19.
12. Parker, p.20.

13. Parker, p.23.

14. Anthony Wallace, "The Dekanawideh Myth Analyzed as the Record of a Revitalization Movement" Vol. 5(2):118-130.

15. Wallace, p.127.

16. Wallace, p.127.

17. Wallace, p.119.

18. Wallace, p.123.

19. Wallace, p.123.

20. Wallace, p.124.

21. Wallace, p.127.

22. Wallace, p.127.

23. The historical phenomenon of Hayonwhatha may have occurred prior to the arrival of the Europeans or in the late sixteenth century when the Europeans were just undertaking significant incursions into Native lands. The Jesuits recorded the primacy that dreams and visions held for the Woodlands Indians but the missionaries failed to make any specific reference of Hayonwhatha. Other revitalization movements such as that of Handsome Lake or the Ghost Dance movement took place during the nineteenth century when the Europeans were more diligent in their recordings of native culture. Thus, Handsome Lake and the Ghost Dance are better documented as revitalization movements and recognized as such, while Hayonwhatha is not.

24. Wallace, p.123.

CHAPTER TWO

The Text -- Clark, Schoolcraft and Longfellow

This chapter will provide an historiography of Hiawatha as known by White culture. Before 1855, Hiawatha was, for Euro-North Americans, a little-known, vaguely historical Indian personality but in that year he became celebrated as the focus of a popular American epic poem by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow -- "The Song of Hiawatha." Longfellow offers a narrative poem about an important Indian prophet, Hiawatha, who guides the Anishinabe people in the ways of life. They live in a peaceful utopia and Hiawatha teaches them to cultivate corn and to master medicinal skills and pictographic arts. His marriage to Minnehaha binds the Anishinabe and Dakota people who had long lived in conflict. The community thrives for a time but then a winter famine strikes. Balance is restored with the return of spring and the coming of a missionary.¹ On the eve of his journey to the Islands of the Blessed, Hiawatha advises his people to embrace the new religion. (See Appendix C)

As we will see shortly, Hiawatha had appeared before Longfellow's interpretation in lesser-known, scholarly writings by Joshua V.H. Clark and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft. Longfellow presents Hiawatha as the quintessential noble savage, a representation that pleased Victorian tastes and gave Hiawatha widespread fame. Longfellow's Hiawatha was a composite hero figure, based upon the two aboriginal traditions of the Iroquois and the Anishinabe. Although Longfellow's work radically transformed the

historical/mythical Hayonwhatha into the mythical/magical Hiawatha, the poet retained some connections between the historical Hayonwhatha and the historical/mythical Hayonwhatha. His poem introduces Hiawatha as a prophet who brings a great peace and the knowledge of healing ceremonies to his people.

Longfellow is generally believed to be the first to meld Hiawatha with the Algonquian culture hero, Nanabozho. The poet's misinterpretation was not intentional but arose from a succession of errors. A chronological survey of the non-Native interpretations of the historical/mythological Hayonwhatha will best illustrate how central historical elements such as the Iroquois Confederacy in the original myths largely disappeared from Longfellow's poem and were replaced by new magical elements. The emergence of Hiawatha as an embodiment of the noble savage will also be examined.

The first errors in the non-Native recording of the historical/mythical Hayonwhatha are attributed to Joshua V. H. Clark in 1849.² Although he had been diligent in locating reputable sources -- two respected Onondaga chiefs -- Clark had produced a work that identified Hayonwhatha with the Onondaga's culture hero, Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha (or Tharonhiawgon). The anthropologist and historian Horatio Hale believed that Clark had confused these two beings on the basis of a similar pronunciation in the Onondaga language -- thaehyawa ki (Tharonhiawgon) versus hayehwatha (Hayenwatha).³ Clark's book seems to have been the first non-Native source to introduce the notion that the historical/mythical Hayonwhatha was associated with the distinct mythology of the

Onondaga culture hero, a supernatural being.

Another important figure in the misinterpretation of Hayonwhatha was Henry Rowe Schoolcraft. He began his work on Native oral traditions while employed as an Indian agent for the United States federal government beginning in 1822. Schoolcraft was assigned to work with the Anishinabe peoples living around the Great Lakes region. The complexity of Anishinabe oral history stimulated and challenged Schoolcraft's interest. He asserted an aboriginal link between history and folktale:

The boundaries between truth and fiction are but freely defined among the aborigines of this Continent, and it was found in this instance, that the individuals of the tribes who related the tales were also the depositories of their historical traditions, such as they were; and these narrators wove the few and scattered incidents and landmarks of their history into the web and woof of their wildest tales.⁴

Schoolcraft's interest in mythology also led him to non-Native sources; Clark's narrative on Onondaga mythology, in particular, attracted his attention. Schoolcraft re-published Clark's version thereby perpetuating Clark's confusion of the historical/mythical Hayonwhatha with the Onondaga culture hero, Tharonhiawgon.⁵ In addition, Schoolcraft had unknowingly collapsed the Anishinabe trickster Nanabozho with the Iroquoian historical/mythical Hayonwhatha to create a composite being.⁶ Richard G. Brumer, a biographer of Schoolcraft, writes that:

Schoolcraft on page 316 of Volume I of the Historical and Statistical Information had specifically equated [Nanabozho] with the Iroquois figure [Tharonhiawgon], while in Vol. III, pages 314-317 he equated [Tharonhiawgon] and Hiawatha.⁷

At the time, Clark and Schoolcraft disputed who should receive

credit for first recording this particular narrative.⁸ Elizabeth Tooker points out that:

Schoolcraft published this version, not acknowledging Clark as his source, later publishing a shorter version of it stating he had obtained it from one of the Onondaga chiefs acknowledged by Clark.⁹

It appears that Schoolcraft's interpretative work, as well as his scholarly integrity, was rather unreliable. Major aspects of Schoolcraft's interpretation of this composite being were then adopted by Longfellow.¹⁰

In "The Song of Hiawatha," which became one of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's most popular works, the poet had relied upon a number of sources including Schoolcraft, the writings of the eighteenth century Quaker historian and missionary John Heckewelder and Finnish epic poetry. Joseph Campbell believed that Schoolcraft's Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian tribes of the United States was a key source.¹¹ Longfellow's poem immortalized Schoolcraft's error of conflating Hayonwhatha's identity with Nanabozho, although the transgression went unnoticed for years. Only much later in 1922 when Stith Thompson was compelled to comment that "'The Song of Hiawatha" contains not a single fact or legend relating to the historical Hiawatha, but deals instead with the [Anishinabe] myth of [Nanabozho]" did anyone object to the interpretation.¹² Thompson's point, made almost seventy years after the fact, seems to have generated little concern. Other transgressions also took place.

Although Schoolcraft had modified the ribald accounts of

Nanabozho/Hayonwhatha, Longfellow further sanitized the historical/mythical Hayonwhatha by excluding his mischievous antics entirely. This alteration of Hiawatha's character brought about the final transformation from the historical/mythical Hayonwhatha to the mythical/magical Hiawatha. In Longfellow's poem, Hiawatha was no ordinary man, as magical phenomena occurred in his presence. He possessed enchanted mittens to "smite the rocks asunder" and moccasins that enabled him to "stride a mile" in one step.¹³ Hiawatha did not require a paddle for his canoe as "swift or slow at will he glided."¹⁴ Accordingly, a mythical/magical interpretation of Hiawatha emerged in Longfellow's work.

The writings of John Heckewelder was another literary source. As Newton Arvin explained, Longfellow had known this work since his student days:

He had poured over Heckewelder's book on the Indian tribes of Pennsylvania, and, like Cooper, had been much affected by it. The first consequence of this reading was a kind of dramatic debate with a classmate during his junior year -- an "English Dialogue between a North American Savage and an English Emigrant" -- in which Longfellow had played the sympathetic role of the savage...¹⁵

Longfellow maintained his enthusiasm for Indian culture into his adult years.

As a professor at Harvard in the 1830s, he attended a Sauk and Mesquakie dance performance that included the famous Illinois chief, Black Hawk. Longfellow also had the occasion to meet another Indian dignity, Kah-ge-ga-gah'-bowh. In 1849, this young Anishinabe chief had appeared in Boston to give a public presentation on Indian religion and oral traditions. Longfellow later welcomed the

chief as a guest into his home.¹⁶

"The Song of Hiawatha" was the culmination of this long-standing interest in Indian culture. This work made Indian legend accessible to the White public in a literary genre that was familiar to them, the metrical composition of a poem. Longfellow had been inspired by the unrhymed trochaic tetrameter of a Finnish epic poem called "Kalevala". Contemporary literary critics were split in their evaluation of his selection of meter. Some praised it while others rejected it as being too sing-song. Indeed the cadence of the verse quickly prompted some individuals to parody it. The two main characters, Hiawatha and Minnehaha, were not immune from this satirical treatment.

Hiawatha as the Noble Savage

Regardless of the reaction of critics, there were good reasons for the immense popularity of Longfellow's work with the general public; it neatly fit into one of the two pre-existing stereotypes of Native people -- that of the noble savage.¹⁷ This image, together with the competing stereotype of the Indian as the bloodthirsty warrior were both accepted as true representations of Indian culture. The image of the noble savage carried aristocratic connotations while the bloodthirsty warrior referenced Euro-North American ideas of barbarity and cruelty.

Identifying some of the traits of the noble savage, Robert Berkhofer writes that:

Along with handsomeness of physique and physiognomy went great stamina and endurance. Modest in attitude if not

always in dress, the noble Indian exhibited great calm and dignity in bearing, conversation, and even under torture. Brave in combat, he was tender in love for family and children.¹⁸

With the exception of procreation, all of these attributes can be applied to Hiawatha.

In "The Song of Hiawatha", Longfellow relies heavily on the romantic and sentimental appeal of the noble savage as both "pure" and "primitive". Since the turn of the 19th century, Europeans had lamented and deplored the changes in Indians with whom they had been contact, especially those who lived near heavily populated centres and had adopted European habits and elements of European dress.¹⁹ The only "untainted" Indians were held to be those who lived beyond the influence of Europeans. At a time when many Indians were outwardly adopting European ways, "The Song of Hiawatha" helped to recapture the noble savage ideal for White people.

Both the concepts of primitivism and of "purity" which were implied in this stereotype stood in stark contrast to the realities of 19th century North America. During this period, North America could be characterized as a world dominated by the interminable push for progress. Industrialization was the economic and social order of the day. The juxtaposition of the noble savage with the industrialized world of the Europeans presented a subtle form of self-critique. The appeal of primitivism was obvious because it corresponded to the innocence of preindustrial times.²⁰

Also inherent to the construction of the image of the noble savage was the conceptualization of his natural environment. The

noble savage lived in an idealized landscape imbued with the spirit and essence of the Garden of Eden. In an era of increasing technological complexity, the Victorians were strongly attracted by references to a simpler, more natural world. Victorians engaged these ideals of Paradise through an association of Indians with the natural wilderness. Ruth Phillips writes that:

this [expression] fits into a continuous tradition of representation that associated images of the earthly paradise with the continent of North America and with its Native peoples.²¹

Representations of Indians living in an arcadian landscape had been pictorially communicated in Woodlands tourist arts and White art for approximately 50 years and peaked in popularity at the same time as "The Song of Hiawatha".²²

Longfellow's description of the land of Hiawatha was an important theme, poetically articulated in his verse. Elements of plot narration are interspersed with descriptions of the landscape that conjure up a vivid and appealing picture of paradise. The links between Hiawatha and the landscape inspired powerful and lasting emotional associations. North American travellers in the 19th and 20th centuries often described the places that they visited by making references to or quoting from passages of "The Song of Hiawatha". A canoe trip in 1860, for example, inspired this reference: "[Mr. Price] had fifteen canoes with Indians and hunters. Each of us went in one up the rapids. Each canoe is made of birchbark, as Hiawatha made his."²³ A traveller in Acadie in 1869 wrote about another canoe trip:

Reclining by the river side in the vicinity of the

fishing camp, to see a handsome Indian youth bring up his canoe to the shallow landing-place in a graceful sweep, without the slightest concussion, and, lightly stepping out, draw her head up into the bushes, is to recall a just image of a Hiawatha.²⁴

The noble savage was thematically associated not only with an Edenic pristine landscape, but also with images of the "good" Indian. As Berkhofer noted, the noble savage possessed such benign qualities as refinement, calmness and tenderness.²⁵

So soothing was Longfellow's imagery of Indians that Sir Henry Wentworth Acland, the royal physician who accompanied the Prince of Wales on his trip to North America, comforted his Highness on the 1860 Atlantic crossing by reading "four cantos of Hiawatha ... including the striking one of Hiawatha's birth - and his Fasting".²⁶ This same royal occasion yielded what may be the first recorded instance to the idealization of Indians in terms of Hiawatha imagery by Native peoples themselves. A young Mohawk chief, Oron-hya-tekha (or Burning Cloud) from Six Nations who was chosen to offer a speech of welcome during the Prince's visit, was quoted by Acland as stating that "'Hiawatha' is intended to purify and perpetuate the Indian sentiment, and this is an admirable purpose."²⁷ Indeed, Longfellow's Hiawatha personified the idea of the "good" Indian and the great popularity of "The Song of Hiawatha" advanced this agreeable image as no other representation had. For Victorians, Hiawatha had struck a sentimental chord of benevolence and compassion. Similarly, some contemporary Indians approved of and supported the positive value of this image.

Finally, another idea associated with the image of the noble

savage was that of the Indians as a vanishing race. The westward movement of Europeans had displaced Indians from their lands. In her analysis of 19th-century poetry and historical romances, Deborah Doxtator has written that, accordingly, "the Indians in these stories must disappear -- they must sacrifice their existence in order to make way for the succeeding "Canadian" society."²⁸ However, with sacrifice came nobility. Robert Berkhofer points out that:

Just as it has been said that the Europeans could easily ennoble the Indian because of their remoteness from savage warfare, so commentators have argued that American authors and artists of the Eastern United States only conceived of the Indian as noble after that section of the country had eliminated its Indian problem.²⁹

Longfellow reinforced the theme of the vanishing Indian by ending his poem with the departure of Hiawatha westward for the Island of the Blessed.³⁰ This type of imagery with its emphasis on the fragility of life appealed to the romantic thoughts of the Victorians. Once again Berkhofer explains that:

Most romantic of all was the impression of the Indian as rapidly passing away before the onslaught of civilization. The nostalgia and pity aroused by the dying race produced the best romantic sentiments and gave that sense of fleeting time beloved of romantic sensibilities.³¹

Hiawatha's departure in the poem is a 'passing on'. Prior to his departure, however, a missionary comes to the Indians to proclaim the values of Christianity. Hiawatha advises his people to accept the teaching of Christianity. The reader is therefore invited to conclude that Longfellow's fellow Indians may not have vanished because civilization -- in the form of the missionary -- arrived

just in time to save them.

This theme of the coming of civilization in the final canto signalled two prevalent scientific theories concerning non-White cultures that were circulating in Victorian times -- social evolutionism and assimilation. The central concept of social evolution focussed upon the idea that humanity developed through a series of stages. Aspects of culture such as religion, technology and adaptive strategies could be ordered on a graph that ranged from the simple to the complex with Anglo-Saxons occupying the most "advanced" positions.³² Various other cultures could thus be studied and classified in terms of their development. Such models, it was believed, helped to explain the cultural diversity of humanity. One scholar of English literature, Edward Hirsh, has maintained that Longfellow incorporated ideas about the 'development' of the 'uncivilized' Indian into the 'civilized' Indian in his poem. He writes that:

In American terms, the Indians' passage from savagery to a low level of civilization could be treated as preparatory to the climatic arrival of high civilization represented by the white man, and [Longfellow's "The Song of Hiawatha"] could thus create the continuity that history had failed to provide.³³

Hirsh's analysis of "The Song of Hiawatha" therefore concluded that Longfellow is informed by aspects of the prevailing 19th-century theories on social evolutionism. When reality did not fit this model, literature could.

Missionary activity had been predicated upon a possible harmonization of Indian-White relations that would be achieved by the assimilation of Indians into mainstream White society.

Assimilationists believed that the adoption of European lifeways would better suit the interests of Native peoples. Assimilation was regarded by liberal Victorians as a policy that, while it would not save the culture, would at least protect the people from biological extinction. Ideas of the noble savage, social evolutionism and assimilation are thus all important frameworks in which to examine the poem. In the final cantos, Longfellow presents the reader with the two possibilities concerning the future of the noble savage envisioned by his contemporaries, Hiawatha as vanishing and the other members of his tribe as assimilating. While the later critical literature seems to emphasize the poem's realization of the theme of the romanticized noble savage, the poem also projects the end of Indian culture and shows Indians as acquiescing in the dominance of Euro-North American culture. As we have seen, the Hiawatha of Iroquois oral tradition was slowly moulded into the noble savage first by Schoolcraft and then Longfellow.

Hiawatha and Anishinabe Oral Traditions

Native receptivity to Hiawatha as he was portrayed in "The Song of Hiawatha" can be linked to Iroquoian and Anishinabe oral traditions, and in part, to Indian-White interaction. As we have seen in the first chapter, Iroquois oral traditions honoured the accomplishments of Hayonwhatha. Longfellow gave his Indian hero the name of an Iroquoian prophet. The poet also incorporated fundamental elements of Anishinabe mythology; key Anishinabe mythological beings such as Nokomis and Pau-Puk-Keewis were

represented in Longfellow's work. A brief study of the characterization of these beings in both Longfellow's work and Anishinabe oral traditions is essential to distinguishing the transformation that occurred when they were included in the "Song of Hiawatha". This brief account also helps to distinguish Anishinabe legends from Iroquoian traditions.

Nokomis holds a central place in the structure of Anishinabe mythology. Basil Johnston explains her presence:

Man's first mother was a supernatural being who resided alone in the heavens. Lonely, she asked for a companion. Kitche Manitou, feeling pity for the sky-woman sent her a consort by whom she conceived. But as soon as sky-woman conceived, her companion left her. Eventually, she gave birth to twins, who destroyed one another, leaving her alone once more.

Sky-woman, having lost love, companionship, and the gift of life through birth, desponded. Kitche Manitou again sent a companion to sky-woman. From the union that took place were born the Anishnabeg on earth.³⁴

Longfellow recognized the importance of Nokomis and made her the grandmother and guardian of Hiawatha.

The characterization of Pau-Puk-Keewis by Longfellow is largely in keeping with Anishinabe oral traditions. Basil Johnston relates that:

Papeekawis [Pau-Puk-Keewis] sometimes called Yenaudizih, was a man of many accomplishments ... the women loved him for his agility and elegance and fineness of features ... Papeekawis loved to gamble ... he was the patron of winds and dances, dancing for amusement and entertainment, always dancing out some drama in life.³⁵

Longfellow maintained these individual features of Pau-Puk-Keewis, while making him the close friend of Hiawatha rather than of Nanabozho as in Anishinabe tradition.

Longfellow also superimposed the story of Hiawatha onto other Anishinabe mythic themes, incorporating such Anishinabe mythic metaphors as the virgin birth and regeneration. Longfellow presented a powerful Anishinabe mythic motif in the canto relating Hiawatha's virgin birth. Such a motif represents a spiritual rebirth. In addition, the mythic motif of regeneration as expressed in the canto on the origin of corn corresponds to another important spiritual theme. This spiritual metaphor centres upon a "willing victim whose body [becomes] transformed into a source of nourishment".³⁶ Inherent in this metaphor is the theme that "from death springs life, out of death, new birth; and the grim conclusion drawn was that the way to increase life is to increase death."³⁷ These two elements are Anishinabe mythic motifs or archetypes which present a primordial image of the spiritual experience. The continuity between Anishinabe oral tradition and "The Song of Hiawatha" reinforced aspects of the Native belief system.

It would also seem that the White people who came into close contact with Indians held up Hiawatha as a model to them. As mentioned earlier, the young Mohawk chief, Oron-hya-tekha, had viewed Longfellow's Hiawatha as positive figure. George Kabaosa, one of the key actors in the first Hiawatha pageant play, remembered that "[he] had heard the poem of "Hiawatha" read by his Sunday-school teacher in his youth."³⁸ That "The Song of Hiawatha" was taught in Sunday school is not unusual. The local missionary would likely have regarded the poem as a way to bridge the two

cultures.

The three stages of the transformation of Hayonwhatha can be traced through Native oral traditions and non-Native accounts. Throughout these transformations, the receptivity of Native and non-Native to Hiawatha can also be followed. As we have seen, Native oral history had transformed Hayonwhatha from a historical person into a historical/mythical figure to preserve important cultural principals. In the late 1840s, Clark published a work that conflated Hiawatha with an Onondaga culture hero, Tharonhiawgon. Schoolcraft, in the 1850s, based his interpretation on Clark as well as adding the Anishinabe trickster-culture hero, Nanabozho, to the stew. Longfellow carried on the previous misinterpretations and further modified Hiawatha to make him conform to the sensibilities of White culture. Threads of Iroquoian and Anishinabe oral history were also maintained in "The Song of Hiawatha." The poem remained popular with Euro-North American culture throughout the second half of the 19th century. At the turn of the 20th century when Anishinabe people became involved in Hiawatha pageant plays, it would seem that Longfellow's work was also known to them.

Endnotes

1. Fred A. Crane, "The Noble Savage in America, 1815-1860: Concepts of the Indian, with Special Reference to the Writers of the Northeast" (Ph.d. dissertation, Yale University, 1952), p.322.
2. Elizabeth Tooker, "The League of the Iroquois: Its History, Politics, and Ritual" In Handbook of the North American Indians, Vol. 15, Northeast (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), p. 422. Tooker gives a brief account of the errors surrounding the identity of Hayonwhatha. Joshua Clark, Onondaga, or Reminiscences of Earlier and Later Times (Millwood, New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1973), p.23.
3. Tooker, p.422.
4. Joseph Campbell. Historical Atlas of World Mythology. Vol. 2: The Way of the Seeded Earth, Part 2 Mythologies of the Primitive Planters: The Northern Americas (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), p.169.
5. Tooker, p.422.
6. Crane, p.318. Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico. Part 1. (New York: Pageant Books, Inc.), 1959. p.546. Schoolcraft is identified in the above references as the individual who conflated Nanabozho with Hiawatha. Elizabeth Tooker, however, seems to suggest that Longfellow was responsible. Elizabeth Tooker. "The League of the Iroquois: Its History, Politics, and Ritual." p.22. Joseph Campbell, Historical Atlas of World Mythology. Vol 1: The Way of the Animal Powers. Part 2: Mythologies of the Great Hunt. (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), p.206. As Campbell has pointed out it is indeed' ironic that Schoolcraft should misinterpret and consolidate central figures from two rival groups -- the Algonquians and the Iroquoians.
7. Richard G. Bremer, Indian Agent and Wilderness Scholar: The Life of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft (Mount Pleasant: Clark Historical Library, Central Michigan University, 1987), p.419. Joseph Campbell, p.207. Campbell also identifies Schoolcraft's Algic Researches as the source for Longfellow's interpretations.
8. Bremer, p.419.
9. Tooker, p.422.
10. Mentor L. Williams, Schoolcraft's Indian Legends (Michigan: Michigan State University Press), 1956. See Appendix D "Parallel Passages in Schoolcraft's Indian Legends and Longfellow's Hiawatha."

11. Campbell, *Mythologies of the Great Hunt*, p.206.
12. Stith Thompson, Quoted in Ronald Peter Messer, "A Jungian Analysis of the Archetypal Significance of Nanabozho, the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero of Chippewa Mythology" (M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1980), p.77.
13. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, "The Song of Hiawatha" In The Poetical Works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Vol. 2. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1881), p.232.
14. Longfellow, p.244.
15. Newton Arvin, Longfellow. His Life and Work (Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1962), p.135.
16. Arvin, p.135.
17. Raymond William Stedman, Shadows of the Indian (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1982), p.254. Stedman, in his chronology of Indian stereotypes, asserts that "In The Conquest of Granada [of 1670], John Dryden applies the term "Noble Savage" to early Europeans. It will soon be fitted to the American Indian".
18. Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present (New York: Random House, 1978), p.28.
19. Isaac Weld, Travels Through the States of North America and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, during the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797 (London: Stockdale, 1799) p.259.
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21. Ruth B. Phillips, "Glimpses of Eden: Iconographic Themes in Huron Pictorial Tourist Art" In European Review of Native American Studies, 5:2 (1991), p.24.
22. Phillips, p.23.
23. J. B. Atlay, Sir Henry Wentworth Acland, Bart. K.C.B., F.R.S. Regius Professor of Medicine in the University of Oxford: A Memoir (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1903) p.269.
24. Capt. Campbell Hardy, Forest Life in Acadie. Sketches of Sport and Natural History in the Lower Provinces of the Canadian Dominion (London: Chapman & Hall, 1869), p.297.
25. Berkhofer, Jr., p.28.
26. Atlay, p.265.

27. Atlay, p.284.
28. Deborah Doxtator, Fluffs and Feathers: An Exhibit on the Symbols of Indianness (Brantford, Ontario: Woodland Cultural Centre, 1988), p.29.
29. Berkhofer, Jr., p.88.
30. Doxtator, p.33.
31. Berkhofer, Jr., p.88.
32. Berkhofer, Jr., pp.50-55.
33. Edward Hirsh, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1964), p.37.
34. Basil Johnston, Ojibway Heritage (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), p.149.
35. Johnston, p.153.
36. Campbell, Historical Atlas of World Mythology. Vol. 2 The Way of the Seeded Earth, Part 2 Mythologies of the Primitive Planters: The Northern Americas (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1989), p.131.
37. Campbell, Historical Atlas of World Mythology Vol.1 The Way of the Animal Powers Part 1 Mythologies of the Primitive Hunters and Gatherers (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), p.10.
38. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. The Song of Hiawatha by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow with Illustrations, Notes and a Vocabulary and an account of a visit to Hiawatha's People by Alice M. Longfellow. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1901), p.vi.

CHAPTER THREE

Hiawatha Pageant Plays

Tourism and Hiawatha

Native people began their initial involvement with the Hiawatha phenomenon as entrepreneurs. Recognizing the Victorians' fascination with wilderness locales and with Indians, they exploited Hiawatha imagery to mediate a position for their own interests. Driven both by economic necessity and artistic pride, Woodlands peoples had already entered into entrepreneurial relationships with White people through the sale of souvenir items. Since the early-19th century, Native women and men had made critical contributions to the family income by producing items for sale primarily to White women. Intricately worked baskets, heavily beaded purses and quill-embroidered fans were among the decorative arts that they made for the tourist market. As the Indians quickly discovered, the recreational migration patterns of Euro-North Americans were seasonal and predictable. In the years after the release of the poem, the popularity of "The Song of Hiawatha" presented the opportunity for the creation of new tourist venues.

As we saw in the last chapter, White people conjured up imagery of Hiawatha when they visited woodlands settings. They also named a number of tourist attractions and facilities such as waterfalls and tourist steamers after Hiawatha and his wife, Minnehaha.¹ By the summer of 1857 a steamer named Hiawatha was providing transportation and was described as a "noble first-class

steamer."² In the mid 1870s, the steamer, Minne-ha-ha, ferried sightseers on Lake George in the Adirondack mountains of upstate New York.³ One sightseer noted that:

This is the most beautiful lake we have seen for striking scenery...the proximity of the bold headlands and high peaks jutting out of this wild and picturesque sheet of water render it unique in its exquisite beauty...⁴

Thus, Longfellow's key figures such as Minnehaha directly came to be identified with both the Victorian passion for unspoiled lands and sightseeing. A tribute to the ideals of Hiawatha appears to have been taken in the form of tourist pilgrimages to pristine wilderness lands.

Similarly, within only seven years of the publication of "The Song of Hiawatha", a waterfall in the American state of Minnesota was named in honour of Minnehaha.⁵ The popularity of Hiawatha accelerated the establishment of the Falls of Minnehaha as a key tourist zone for Indians and Victorian travellers. Indeed, a postcard from the 1930s indicates how strong and sustained the association was. Identified as Minnehaha Falls, Minnesota, the front of the postcard contains this passage from "The Song of Hiawatha": "Where the Falls of Minnehaha/Flash and gleam among the oak trees/Laugh and leap into the valley." The back of the postcards reads: "The most widely celebrated of Natural Curiosities of the Northwest. Longfellow's Hiawatha has made Minnehaha an object of the curiosity and admiration of travellers." An excerpt in a National Geographic from the same period supported these statements and contended that:

Longfellow started one of Minnesota's most important industries. After the publication of "Hiawatha" [in 1855] the hotel proprietors at Niagara noisily bewailed the fact that all their business was going to that half-pint waterfall, Minnehaha.⁶

The long established Indian trade at Niagara Falls became the pattern for the souvenir trade that developed at the Falls of Minnehaha.

The Victorian desire for an experience of nature can also be gleaned from the travel writings of Reverend John Kirkwood. In 1887 he wrote that:

...we set out to visit the falls of Minnehaha...They are a few miles from the city, and reached by a beautiful country road, not unlike what we have often seen among the hills and dales of Scotland. There is, properly speaking, only one fall, coming, in a broad silver sheet, over a shelving rock, amid rich woods, and breaking at a considerable depth below...⁷

While the Reverend Kirkwood expressed great anxiety over the increasing escalation of tourism and commercialism, his words revealed the commercial presence of the Indians at the site. He described the event:

Perhaps it was somewhat marred to us by the unshapely wooden erections that have been placed on the fine point of view immediately opposite [the falls], intended for refreshments and the sale of fancy Indian work; and, also, by the ground being trampled and bared by the crowds which visit it from the neighbouring cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul. From these places both trams and trains come, at certain seasons, with large picnic parties.⁸

A trip to wilderness areas and tourist destinations thus began to encompass the phenomenon of Hiawatha. A still more explicit link between Longfellow's poem and contemporary native life soon

emerged. In 1900, the phenomenon of Hiawatha would expand even further inaugurating a new phase of intercultural relationships started.

The Early Dramatizations

At the turn of the 20th century, a band of Anishinabe Indians began to perform "The Story of Hiawatha" near their reserves as a pageant play for Victorian audiences. The first play took place in Desbarats, Ontario near Sault Ste. Marie on August 25th 1900. From 1900 until the 1920s, Hiawatha pageants enjoyed immense popularity and were presented in Quebec, New York, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana and England.⁹ The individual dramatizations in the eastern Woodlands were not independent of each other. The Desbarats production seems to have been the catalyst for the Quebec, Michigan, and New York presentations, and also possibly, given the geographical proximity of the locales, for the Minnesota performances. The manner in which the Montana pageant plays evolved is not yet known.

Hiawatha pageants gave theatrical realization to Longfellow's epic work.¹⁰ The noble savage was now dramatized in the flesh. The events surrounding the first five years of the Hiawatha pageant play illustrate some of the negotiations between Native and Whites that took place in the establishment of these productions.

Contemporary newspaper and magazine articles identify Louis Oliver Armstrong as the organizer of the first Garden River Hiawatha pageant play.¹¹ Armstrong had worked in Montreal for the

Canadian Pacific Railway Company [CPR] as a colonization agent. His association with the play began with summer vacations spent in Desbarats, Ontario in the mid 1890s.¹² It appears that he met the local Indians, the Anishinabe band of the Garden River Reserve on his earliest trips to the area.¹³ Over a period of several years, Armstrong returned each summer and established a relationship with the Garden River band.

The reconstruction of the events leading to the production of the original play must rely largely on one first-hand account written by Frank Yeigh in 1901. Writing for the Canadian Magazine he states that "[the Hiawatha play] materialized incidentally" from a trip to Boston by some of the Garden River Indians when they participated in the Sportsman's Exhibition in 1899.¹⁴ It would not be unfair, however, to question how incidental its origins were. Rather it is very possible that Armstrong may have been intending to approach the Indians with his ideas for some time. Armstrong's association with the Garden River Indians also suggests that he organized their involvement in the Sportsman's Exhibition as a prelude to contacting Longfellow's family. Although Longfellow had died years earlier in 1882, Armstrong must have realized the importance of receiving the patronage of his family.

While in Boston, George Kabaosa and his nephew, Wabonosa, met with Longfellow's daughters and formally requested their presence with an invitation on birchbark to attend the play the following summer.¹⁵ The daughters and their families travelled to Desbarats for the performance and were adopted into the tribe. Longfellow's

daughters were deeply moved by the play and commissioned a memorial stained glass window in honour of Buhkwujjenene, a distinguished Garden River chief, for the St. John's Church.¹⁶

Armstrong and the CPR worked in collaboration to produce and promote the Hiawatha pageant plays.¹⁷ In an effort to entice tourists to explore the different regions of Canada in the late-19th century, railway travel was often linked with opportunities to see Indians. The CPR had expanded its services to Sault Ste. Marie by 1888, and railroad services facilitated the transportation of tourists and sportsmen to "the Sault".¹⁸ Armstrong was committed to the play not only as its organizer but also as its financial backer. His belief in the play and in tourism for the surrounding area were so strong that he had a hotel built in Kensington to accommodate visiting American patrons.¹⁹

In the year of the first pageant, Armstrong wrote a travel brochure for the CPR which was entitled "A Canoe Trip ... through ... Temagaming the Peerless: In the Land of Hiawatha." While there was no specific mention of Hiawatha in the text, the writer did extol the beauty of the land and its accessibility. He also emphasized the presence of Indians as well as their legends.²⁰

By the second year of the play's production, the connection between the CPR and the Hiawatha play had become evident. The Sault Star noted that:

On Saturday last a large number of persons from the Sault and vicinity took advantage of the special excursion on the C.P.R. to view the surroundings at Kensington point and enjoy the sports and the production of the Indian play Hiawatha.²¹

Armstrong planned a day trip that the travellers surely appreciated:

The chief events of the forenoon were a canoe race between the Indians and white men, which was won by the Indians. A yacht race also was run but the wind was light and the race not particularly exciting. The great event of the day was the production of the play Hiawatha. After a bountiful repast of bear meat and venison -- or mayhap it was the [illegible] romantic mutton -- which was served up in true aboriginal style, with bread and butter, blueberries for dessert, the visitors were prepared to enjoy the intellectual treat of seeing Longfellow's famous poem produced in the native Ojibway tongue by the natives in their native costume.²²

(Fig. 4 & 5)

Since the late 1830s when the Garden River community settled near Sault Ste. Marie, Indians had been seeking employment in the Euro-Canadian wage economy. Sault Ste. Marie was a strategic location for both Natives and non-Natives as the waterways ensured a secure supply of food. Commerce between Natives and Whites was quickly established. By the 1860s, summer travellers regularly employed the services of the Natives "[who were] running the rapids in their frail canoes, when desired by citizens or strangers..."²³ These services also attracted the attention of visiting sportsmen and Native people were often hired as guides to accompany them into the woods and forests.

Other important sources of income for the Garden River Indians were the manufacture and sale of baskets, bark-work and rag mats to Whites.²⁴ One traveller in 1876 noted that:

At Garden River we glide in beautiful water past log-houses of white and red men, and at these places we run out and buy pretty baskets and mats of scented grass, bark and porcupine quill work.²⁵

When Armstrong broached the idea of performing dramatizations of "The Song of Hiawatha" to them, the Garden River Indians recognized the business potential. An event such as this would have increased markets for the tourist arts they were producing. Indeed, buyers are far more vulnerable to spending at times when an activity is linked to a special occasion such as a fair, spectacles or picnics.²⁶

Armstrong had engaged the Indians in discussions concerning the authenticity of Longfellow's work in view of their knowledge of Anishinabe mythology and legend. William C. Edgar, a journalist from The American Monthly Review of Reviews noted that Armstrong had wanted "to obtain the Indian version of the story" and had revised certain passages when corrected by his collaborators.²⁷ But as Edgar wrote: "Armstrong] was surprised to find how close a similarity existed between Longfellow's interpretation and the legendary lore of the Indians themselves."²⁸

Excited by the Indians' receptiveness to Longfellow's poem, Armstrong proposed the idea of adapting their interpretation as a dramatic performance. It could also be argued, however, that he needed the Anishinabe's approval on content if they were going to perform the drama. The Anishinabe were thus not passive participants, but controlled certain aspects of the play. Edgar wrote in his article that:

the Indians are loath [sic] to depart from their own notions, and resent innovations of any kind. There are several additional scenes in Hiawatha's history which might perhaps be given with excellent dramatic and musical effect, but the actors decline to present them. Particularly and emphatically, they refuse to portray the

great famine and the death of Minnehaha, nor will they sing her death chant.²⁹

The Indian's refusal to re-enact these scenes was very likely based upon the negative associations they evoked or possibly they resisted due to spiritual beliefs.

The Hiawatha dramatization combined Anishinabe dialogue, song, music and dance, interspersed with readings of Longfellow's poem by Armstrong. This mixture is typical of the pageant play format. Robert Krieg, in his discussion of the history of pageant plays, explained that:

Initially, [the term "pageant"] was applied to the wagon or platform on which entertainments were performed but later was applied to the entertainments themselves. These pageant entertainments had their origin in folk rites and customs. They include medieval mystery and miracle plays, [and] tournaments ... Essential to this traditional meaning of pageant are procession and spectacle although some forms of the pageant were dramatic, drama was not essential. Because of their origins in folk parades and because they have retained this popular, amateur status, the pageants are usually considered a democratic, communal form of entertainment.³⁰

The twenty-two cantos of the poem were compressed into thirteen scenes for the play.³¹ Each scene represented a key event from Longfellow's work that helped to establish the story and to encapsulate the narrative of the poem. Not surprisingly, the scenes focussed upon the most nostalgic and romantic aspects of the poem representing Hiawatha's passage from a youth to a respected individual in the community, his courting of Minnehaha, the marriage of Hiawatha and Minnehaha and the departure of Hiawatha "to the land of the Hereafter." Armstrong produced a booklet which accompanied the performance.³² Each scene was detailed with English

and Algonquian text and illustrated with photographs. The booklet stated, however, that "scenes are sometimes introduced that suit the locality or the cast in some special way."³³

The opening scene introduces the Great Spirit who instructs the people to stop their warring and announces his intentions to send a prophet. The Great Spirit promised that this prophet will bring peace and prosperity to them. The next two scenes focus upon Hiawatha's youth when he was raised by his grandmother, Nokomis and helped by Iagoo, a friend and story teller. The dramatic pitch of the plot increases with the scene that enacts Hiawatha's confrontation with his father, Mudjekeewis, the West Wind. Angered by his father's abandonment of his mother, Hiawatha attempts to kill him, but then succumbs to Mudjekeewis' immortal power. Telling Hiawatha of his love for him, Mudjekeewis counsels his son about his impending duties and responsibilities as a leader. Hiawatha accepts his father's words, returns to his people and advises them on the proper way to live.

Romance flourishes in the following scenes as Hiawatha courts Minnehaha and they wed. The next scenes emphasizes the hero's relationship with the community; Hiawatha instructs the people in the planting and harvesting the cornfields, and in the art of pictographs. The idyllic pace of life first begins to shatter when Hiawatha is challenged by Pau-Puk-Keewis, a young man in the village, and deteriorates further when Iagoo foretells the coming of the White man. Iagoo is mocked by the people but Hiawatha announces that he has had a similar vision and instructs the people

to welcome the newcomers. The Black Robe arrives and speaks the gospel using the Algonquian language.³⁴ The climax of the play comes in the final scene when Hiawatha, knowing that the missionary will assume his role as leader, leaves his people and departs to the West Wind.

Approximately thirty five actors presented these scenes. The individuals who became involved as actors in the Hiawatha pageant plays would have been motivated by a number of factors. One important motivation as already stated was the employment offered by the pageant. But, Native participation in dramatic expressions is also not without precedent. The ancient native traditions of public storytelling offer the most obvious indigenous parallels to the Hiawatha pageant plays, and we can speculate a further motivation for the Native community would have been the enhancement of the sense of *communitas* fostered by the production and presentation of the Hiawatha pageants. The involvement of the Kabaosa family was crucial to arousing the interest others in the Garden River community. They were a highly-regarded family from the Garden River reserve and their connection with the pageant play would have helped its acceptance.

In the next chapter, we will examine Armstrong's approach to the venture. He displayed a great interest in detail and, hoping to capture the ambience of 'the land of Hiawatha', he built an elaborate stage set at the Desbarats Islands that would appeal to the sensibilities of the Euro-North American public. The stage set emphasized the natural environment of the Indian encampment which

long constituted an important element in the Euro-North American visual representation of Native life.

Endnotes

1. William Thomas Crossweller, Our Visit to Toronto, the Niagara Falls and the United States of America being a short account of a tour in connection with the Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Toronto, Canada August 18 to 25, 1897. (n.p., Privately Printed, 1898), p.65. It was also not unusual for private sailing vessels to be named after Hiawatha. The names of Minnehaha and Hiawatha were often affixed to cigar-store Indians.
2. Williams, p.315.
3. M. Davenport, Under the Gridiron (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1876), p. 114.
4. M. Davenport, p.114.
5. Anthony Trollope, North America (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1862), p.141.
6. "Minnesota, Mother of Lakes and Rivers" In The National Geographic Magazine, Vol. LXVII, No. 3, March 1935, p.316.
7. Rev. John Kirkwood, An Autumn Holiday in the United States and Canada (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1887), p.199.
8. Kirkwood, p.200.
9. Frank Yeigh. "The Drama of Hiawatha, or Mana-bozho" In The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art & Literature, V.XVII, Toronto: The Ontario Publishing Co., Ltd, May 1901, pp. 207-217. Clarke, Helen Archibald. Longfellow's Country. (New York: The Baker and Taylor Company, 1909), p.221. Most of the sources for the documentation of the pageant plays are found in early periodical literature. These sources, however, do not agree over the date for the first play. About half of the references indicate a date of 1899 while the other half cite 1900. Newspaper articles written in the mid 1960s identify a 1901 date. Frank Yeigh's article "The Drama of Hiawatha, or Mana-bozho" which appeared in the July 1901 issue The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art & Literature records 1900 as the date of the first play. One book, Longfellow's Country, also dates the visit of the Garden River Indians in Boston as being 1900.
10. Rayna Green, "The Only Good Indian: The Image of the Indian in American Vernacular Culture" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1973), p.312. Rayna Green writes that "An English actress who had played Minnehaha in a dramatic adaptation of the poem "Hiawatha," posed for the figurehead in Boston in 1856."

11. Yeigh, pp. 207-217. "An Indian Play -- Hiawatha" In The Chatauguan. V. 38, c.1902-03. pp.300-302. "'Hiawatha,' Played by Indians in the Open" In Harper's Weekly, V.46, September 27, 1902, p.1347. William C. Edgar, "Hiawatha," as the Ojibways Interpret it" In The American Monthly Review of Reviews V.30, December 1904, pp.689-693. Carolyn Gilman and Mary Jane Schneider, The Way to Independence (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1987), p.253. The only evidence that other contemporary Hiawatha pageant plays were in production is a photograph from the book, The Way to Independence. In the pre-1901 photograph, a young woman, Anna Dawson, is dressed as Minnehaha. Since it has not been possible to document the circumstances of this photograph any further, it is not clear if she wore the garment for the purposes of the photograph or if she was involved in an actual Hiawatha pageant play.

12. Edgar, p. 690. The Harper's Weekly article written in 1902 states that Armstrong went to the Desbarats area "...four years ago, as a cottager...", p.1347.

13. Yeigh, p.207.

14. Yeigh, p.207.

15. Helen Archibald Clarke, Longfellow's Country (New York: The Baker and Taylor Company, 1909) pp.220-5. The wording of the invitation and a brief account of the first Hiawatha pageant play is presented in this book.

16. Janet Chute, "A Century of Native Leadership" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Hamilton: McMaster University, 1986), p.390.

17. It seems that Armstrong had retired from the CPR by 1905, if not earlier. "The Hiawatha Plays", Archival Files, Frances Pailthorp documents, Little Traverse Bay Historical Society, Petoskey, Michigan.

18. G. Mercer Adam, Canada: historical and descriptive, from sea to sea (Toronto: Bryce, 1988), p.35.

19. Dorothy Mackenzie, "... Playground Provides Setting for Hiawatha Play" Sault Ste. Marie Star, February 9, 1965.

20. Louis O. Armstrong, A Canoe Trip ... through ... Temagaming the Peerless: In the Land of Hiawatha. (Canadian Pacific Railway Company, 1900) Another travel brochure entitled "Canoe Trips in the Desbarats Islands" was also published by the Canadian Pacific Railway but a copy has yet to be located.

21. "A Day at Desbarats," The Sault Star, August 31, 1901.

22. "A Day at Desbarats," The Sault Star, August 31, 1901.

23. J. Disturnell, The Great Lakes, or Inland Seas of America; embracing a full description of Lakes Superior, Huron, Michigan, Erie, and Ontario; Rivers St. Mary, St. Clair, Detroit, Niagara, and St. Lawrence; Lake Winnipeg, etc.; together with the Commerce of the Lakes, and Trips Through the Lakes; giving a description of cities, towns, etc. forming altogether A Complete Guide for the pleasure traveller and emigrant New York: Charles Scribner, 1863, p.96.

24. Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. Annual Report. 1898. Province of Ontario. Ojibbewas of Lake Superior -- Eastern Division, Sault Ste. Marie, Garden River Band. p.14.

25. James Cleland Hamilton, The Prairie Province. Sketches of travel from Lake Ontario to Lake Winnipeg, and an account of the geographical position, climate, civil institutions, inhabitants, productions and resources of the Red River Valley (Toronto: Belford, 1876), p.2.

26. From 1903 to 1905, Desbarats was one of the venues for the annual exhibition of Women's Art Association [WAA]. Crafts both from the Association and the Desbarats area were displayed for sale. It is interesting to speculate if the WAA's exhibitions and the Hiawatha pageant plays coincided.

27. Edgar, pp.690-91.

28. Edgar, pp.690-91.

29. Edgar, pp.690-91.

30. Robert Edward Krieg, "Forest Theatre: A Study of the Six Nations' Pageant Plays on the Grand River Reserve" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Western Ontario, 1978), p.42.

31. Frank Yeigh's article indicates approximately seven scenes while Louis Armstrong's booklet notes thirteen scenes in the play.

32. Louis O. Armstrong. Hiawatha, or, Nanabozho and the Land of the Ojibways, (Desbarats? Ontario: Desbarats & Co., c.1901-04).

33. Armstrong, p.18.

34. Yeigh, p. 213. Rev. Frost played the part of the Black Robe during the first year of production.

CHAPTER FOUR

"Their Original Condition of Life"

Almost immediately upon their arrival to North America, Europeans responded to the aesthetic elements of Indian culture. With great zeal, Euro-North Americans produced drawings and paintings to represent visually Native peoples, their encampments and their dress. The frequent examples of scenes of Native encampments in 19th-century travel literature and Euro-Canadian art document its particular appeal among White people. Native peoples, in turn, promptly acknowledged the cross-cultural significance of this scene by creating their own visual representations of the Indian encampment both in graphic and three-dimensional arts made for sale for Whites. Such visual representations validated the essence and the continuity of their culture by emphasizing indigenous customs, materials and architecture. The elaborate outdoor and indoor Indian encampment stage-sets constructed for Hiawatha pageant plays constituted the most spectacular 20th-century articulation of this iconic scene.

The outdoor staging of the Hiawatha pageants was able to take full advantage of the scenery of Lake Huron at the St. Marys River. Both the Desbarats islands and surrounding waterways served as an expansive backdrop for the play.¹ In keeping with the requirements of the play, the scenes were staged on either land or water. (Fig 6) The main performance area, however, was at the water's edge. Red pines and scrub-balsams provided screening for the scenes. A small

bay separated the performance area from the audience.² A wooden platform for dancing was constructed around a central red pine tree. A large natural amphitheatre which was partially enclosed by surrounding hills became the seating area for the audience.³ Benches for the spectators were located on a gently sloping hillside. There was another performance area consisting of wigwams and tipis to the left of the benches. Beyond the installation of the platform and the benches, there seems to have been little alteration to the natural environment.

A prominent grouping of tipis and wigwams defined the village. Tripods were set up to represent such domestic activities as cooking and eating, and canoes were pulled ashore near the tipi encampment. (Fig.7) This scene had been described in Longfellow's verse. In his introduction he had written:

Round about the Indian village
Spread the meadows and the cornfields,
And beyond them stood the forest,
Stood the groves of singing pinetrees,
Green in summer, white in winter ⁴

Thus the staging of the Hiawatha pageant play around a village scene was faithful to the text.

The appeal of the scene of the Indian village for Euro-North Americans was remarkably strong. In his analysis of anthropological fieldwork, James Clifford offers insight into the Euro-North American's fascination of village settings. He writes that:

"Villages," inhabited by "natives," are bounded sites particularly suitable for intensive visiting by anthropologists. They have long served as habitable, mappable centers for the community, and by extension, the "culture." After Malinowski, fieldwork among "natives"

tended to be construed as a practice of co-residence rather than of travel, or even of visiting. And what more natural place to live with people than in their village? The village was a manageable unit. It offered a way to centralize a research practice, and at the same time it served as a synecdoche, a point of focus, or part, through which one could represent the "cultural" whole.⁵

As we will see, for non-Natives, the idea of the village as embodying a sense of a "cultural whole" within a bounded space predates the practices of 20th-century anthropology.

The Indian encampment scene has an established history in the representation of Indian culture both in Euro-Canadian literature and art. Early 19th-century travel literature also often recounted the determined efforts of Europeans and North American travellers to visit what they described as Indian encampments. The British seem to have been especially fascinated with Indian encampments. Charles Weld, in the mid-19th century, gives his personal account of one such visit:

On one of these [islands] the Indians were camped; but there was no sign of life nor could we detect amidst the dense foliage a landing place. A whoop from my companion was answered by an Indian, who burst through the bush, and motioned us to a little creek, where we disembarked. Following our swarthy guide, we came suddenly on a small clearing, in the centre of which was the lodge. A more picturesque spot could not well be conceived. The ground, mantle by a variety of wild flowers, sloped gently towards the Lake. Lofty trees shut out the oppressive sun, and a tiny brook gurgled sweetly as it leaped into daylight from the gloom of the forest. The lodge was constructed of birch bark, open at the top for the egress of smoke.⁶

The words he used to describe his experience construct an image of arcadia. Weld specifically urges the touristic interest of encampments on his readers:

The whole scene was sufficiently wild and novel to be

very interesting; and I sincerely recommend the tourist to turn aside from the beaten track to visit the Indians in the bush.⁷

Another Englishman remarked that "a village of [wigwams] situated on the bank of a river, and sheltered beneath a grove of lofty trees, is almost the climax of American scenery."⁸ Women travellers were not immune to the lure of the Indian encampment either. Isabella Bishop wrote that "after scrambling through a wood, we came upon an Indian village, consisting of fifteen wigwams. ... We went into one, crawling through an aperture in the bark."⁹ Perhaps more telling than either of these accounts are the words of Francis Hall. His reminiscences of his trip in 1816-7 included this experience of an Indian encampment:

A party of Micmac Indians were encamped on the shore. They were the first Indians I had seen in anything like their original condition of life, and are almost the only ones to be seen about Quebec.¹⁰

Hall's comment vividly shows how early English travellers were voicing their preconceptions about Indian life and lamenting changes in "their original condition of life."

While not always as effervescent in their description, Euro-Americans were also moved by the sight of an Indian encampment. In his 1840 journal, Charles Penny noted such encounters on two separate occasions:

There we found a Chippewa [Anishinabe] village of a dozen lodges -- the first real Indian village I ever saw. I was equally surprised & pleased on entering their lodges to find them so neat, comfortable and well provided.¹¹
[emphasis mine]

The appeal seems to have intensified, as six weeks later, he wrote that "...we proceeded to a large Indian lodge, where the beauty and

the chivalry of the forest were assembled in a grand dance."¹² The contrast of the Indian encampment to that of an English or Euro-North American city must have been striking. The solitude and quiet of the encampments were surely a welcome respite.

White artists also eagerly painted scenes of Indian encampments. One of the first of these was executed by John White, a British painter. (Fig. 8) Accompanying Sir Walter Raleigh on his second expedition to North America in 1585, White recorded two Indian villages of the southeastern Algonquians.¹³ The desire to document such scenes can be discerned in paintings that were produced in Canada over the next two centuries.

Most 17th-century French Canadian artists were clerics in the service of the Roman Catholic church.¹⁴ As such, the work they produced was tied to its religious program. The religious imagery included portraits of esteemed members of the Church, ex-votos and narrative works. This pattern of image making, however, was disrupted by a change in the political powers in the second half of the 18th century.

The first waves of British immigration after the Fall of Quebec in 1759 brought artists who sought to represent their new surroundings. These artists were trained in the topographical traditions of accuracy and detail.¹⁵ In addition to professional interest in precision and exactness, many British artists participated in the contemporary vogue for the picturesque. Both the pastoral simplicity and exotica of the Indian encampment appealed to the British sense of the picturesque.

Quebec held new promises for George Heriot as a Scotsman emigrating from Great Britain in 1792. He was employed as the deputy postmaster for Quebec and this position allowed him to travel throughout Upper Canada and Lower Canada. Thus the opportunities for him to pursue his art were unlimited. In 1807 he produced a work entitled Encampment of Domiciliated Indians displaying a busy, thriving community. (Fig. 9) Adults and children carry on with their daily activities while various canoes are pulled ashore next to six wigwams lining the waters edge. In the interests of depicting a total scene, artistic license has been taken with the nearest wigwam whose covering has been removed to show the activities of the interior. Euro-North American houses and a ship in the distance act as quiet reminders of a new reality.

Anna Jameson sketched an intimate drawing of Indian life at Mackinaw Island in 1837. (Fig. 10) The wigwam scene dominates the foreground while the background attests to an expansive horizon. Two wigwams are located near the shore's edge. The lack of trees for shading and fuel as well as the absence of a tripod suggest that this site was temporary - perhaps a stopping place on the way to a more permanent destination. A woman, wearing her protective mantle, stands front and centre before the wigwam. This woman appears quite natural to the setting in contrast to the two men who rest in front of canoe. They are highly posed - one reclining in the manner of a Greek river god. Each man wears a feather headdress and holds a spear-like weapon to convey a sense of the exotic. Jameson diligently depicts a sense of naturalism but can not

relinquish or resist the romantic representation of the Other.

British artist William Henry Bartlett's 1838 image of an Anishinabe Indian encampment was also romantic, with heavy lush foliage that buffeted encampment against the outside world. (Fig. 11) The tranquil sensibility of Bartlett's presentation is pure arcadia. Paul Kane set out in the mid 1840s with the same ambitions that drove the American artist, George Catlin. Believing that Indians were on the verge of vanishing, Kane became almost totally absorbed by the desire to record their culture. Kane travelled to the Great Lakes region to sketch the Anishinabe; one of his first studio works was Indian Encampment on Lake Huron.¹⁶ (Fig. 12) Some artists, such as William Armstrong, returned continually to the scene of the Indian encampment; his Indian Camp, Ontario of 1872 is an example of such studies. (Fig. 13)

The scene was also popular with British dignitaries who were amateur artists. Lord Dufferin during his visit to Walpole Island in the late summer of 1874 executed a rough sketch of a wigwam, cooking tripod and residents. (Fig. 14) Gardner D. Engleheart who accompanied the Prince of Wales for his 1860 tour devoted one of his etchings to a portrayal of a Micmac encampment. Engleheart documents a scene in which two European women and a child emerge from the interior of a wigwam.

Images of Indian encampments were equally prevalent in the popular media. The Montreal Pocket Almanack, and General Register for 1843 illustrated a detailed engraving of a Micmac encampment for its audiences. (Fig. 15) For one of its 1858 editions, The

Illustrated London News ran a depiction entitled Ojibwa Encampment near the Falls of the Rainy River. (Fig. 16) Travel books also featured illustrations of the Indian encampments. (Fig. 17) Indian camp, Pine Grove appeared in Harper's Weekly. (Fig. 18) Thousands of people would have seen these works.

The representations of all these groups, artists, amateurs and popular media tended to be accurate and their encampment scenes clearly identify Native peoples as the inhabitants of the North American landscape. Within the iconographic type, Indians are not depicted as aggressors armed to do battle, and their presence is not intended to be interpreted as threatening. In fact, Native peoples were shown as living a good and honourable life within their natural setting. Their houses were sound, their canoes were strong, mats and baskets provided further comfort. Tripods with cooking pots indicated the everyday availability of food. The people were shown as well-clothed and animatedly tending to their daily activities.

Many of the artists emphasized elements of the picturesque in their visual representation of the Indian encampment. The people and their way of life were romanticized but the artists did not glorify the notion of the noble savage, nor was the exotic aspect overplayed. Artists focussed upon domestic images rather than heroic ones, and Native peoples were depicted wearing the dress that was appropriate to their situation.

As already indicated, White artists felt compelled to capture this way of life because of their belief that Indian culture would

soon be forever altered. Evidence for this could be found in the cities and surrounding areas where Indians lived in poverty and despair. Indians were being displaced and forests were being felled for farming as settlers quickly made their way West from the populous East. The artists were painting an arcadia whose time would soon be spent.

The longevity of the encampment scene as subject for the artist seems to have been directly related to the actual existence of these encampments. White settlement expanded to the West and North and Native peoples were dispossessed of their lands. Artists could not paint what did not exist, and painters such as Paul Kane were beginning to move further West in the 1840s seeking Indians who lived either in distant areas or the Plains.

The changes imposed on Native peoples in the transition to new styles of housing must have been traumatic. Even though Euro-Canadian society pressed Native peoples to forsake their way of life, Whites continued to yearn for the picturesqueness of the Indian encampment. For them, however, the disappearing Indian encampment could be recreated in another way. In the late-19th century, three-dimensional models of Indian encampments were created for visitors to American World's Fairs, British Great Exhibitions and French Expositions Universelles.¹⁷ All of these nations presented exotic colonized cultures in "mock village," a quasi-entertainment format. Frederick E. Hoxie's examination of the American government's representation of Native peoples at late-19th century World's Fairs documents their unmistakable appeal for

Euro-North Americans.¹⁸

The Office of Indian Affairs, the Smithsonian Institute and the United State Centennial Committee controlled the representation of Native culture at the 1876 Centennial World's Fair in Philadelphia.¹⁹ Dual but conflicting representations of Indian culture formed the Government Building's exhibition.²⁰ The government's assimilation policies of the last two decades of the 19th century were marked by their commitment to the integration of Indians into mainstream American society. Thus, the Government Building promoted themes of contemporary native life in respect to 'advancements' in areas of education, employment and Christianity. The Smithsonian, on the other hand, provided objects from their archaeological and ethnographic collections to display 'traditional' culture.²¹

The Smithsonian was also anxious to have an Indian encampment. Many Native peoples showed preliminary interest in this form of representation as well:

... the most noteworthy proposal came from Spotted Tail's band of Sioux. Spotted Tail, who was trying to keep his young men from leaving their reservation to join Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull on the plains, suggested that he be allowed to represent the American Indian at Philadelphia. This idea was probably encouraged by the local Indian agent, Edward A. Howard, who suggested that 100 families be transported to the exhibition with "their Lodges, Costumes, Camp Equipage, and 50 Ponies, in order to Establish a Regular Indian Camp so as to enable the White people to see what so few have yet been able to see, the Native Indian in his original style."²²
[emphasis mine]

Although the United States Congress, which had ultimate authority over the World's Fair, did not approve of the Smithsonian's plans,

the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition did have an Indian encampment.²³ Robert W. Rydell wrote that:

A small Indian encampment apparently was situated at the base of Saint George's Hill on the fairgrounds and placed under the supervision of the famous Texan scout and Indian fighter George Anderson. The Indians, described by one newspaper as "the creme de la creme" of Indian society, were presented and generally viewed as leftovers from a bygone age.²⁴

Doubtless this Indian encampment chagrined the government and dismayed the Smithsonian.

Government dedication to assimilationist policies began to wane by the time of the 1893 Chicago World's Fair when the Anthropology department of the Peabody Museum developed an exhibit which included:

a feature rejected by the [1876] Centennial's apostles of progress: living natives from Indian reservations. These people included Navajos, Senecas, Kwakiutls, Penobscots, and Pueblos (the last group lived on the midway in plaster replicas of their adobe homes). Smaller groups of Sioux, Apaches, Nez Perces, and other settled along the lake front, demonstrating and selling their handicrafts.²⁵

This time the government fully participated in the representation of the Indian village.

Hoxie wrote about the 1893 Chicago World's Fair that:

The Indians' tribal past was no longer to be presented by glass cases filled with implements and clothing. The "object lessons" of the Chicago fair were alive. They could teach something about "the development of man on the American continent" only if the public could imagine them as objects from the past -- breathing substitutes for artifacts on a shelf. [Putnam] and his colleagues were diverting the fairgoer's attention from the future to the past and identifying their Native American contemporaries as relics and throwbacks.²⁶

Yet social evolutionary theories proved hard to give up. In that

respect, the Indian Office promoted the assimilationist line with "model classrooms, [and demonstrations of] "civilized" skills."²⁷ That the American government could not reconcile the conflicting views of Native cultures projected by official policy and by its museum research branch is evident in its presentations. The romance of Native life seemingly proved too great.

In her examination of the mock village concept, Annie Coombes concluded that:

Far more successfully than the museum whose exhibits could only signify the colonized subject, the exhibitions literally captured these potentially dangerous subjects and reproduced them in a 'safe' and contained, and yet accessible and supposedly open, environment. This usually meant constructing mock 'villages' stocked with items that were purportedly characteristic and representative of a particular culture. Often peopled by troupes of professional performers from different African societies, Ceylon, or other participants for Ireland and Scotland, these 'villages' were always favourites for press attention. ...they cultivated, at one and the same time, both a sense of the availability and the containability of those societies represented. The 'villages' successfully fostered a feeling of geographical proximity, while the sense of 'spectacle' was calculated to preserve the cultural divide. The possibility of possession as well as a sense of being an active participant at an 'event' rather than simply a passive observer were other aspects of the exhibition that were lacking in the museum experience.²⁸

Undoubtedly, Coombes' point that the audience could be engaged in the village scene but still safely removed from the action was an additional point of appeal for the Victorian public. The World's Fair encampments, however, were obviously a poor approximation of actual Indian encampments. The placement of the villages within the entertainment sections of exposition sites established their status for Whites as expressions of spectacle. Having surveyed the Euro-

North American visualization of the Indian encampment scene, it is apparent that White society had almost conventionalized representations of Indian life.

In contrast to the World's Fair encampments, the stage sets of the Hiawatha pageant plays featured the absolute quintessential encampment scene. The overall familiarity of this format as well as its exceptional staging likely facilitated the audience's acceptance of the Hiawatha pageant plays. For exterior performances the setting of the Indian encampment relied heavily upon the natural beauty of Lake Huron. Hiawatha pageant plays were thus far more effective for their representation of an arcadian world. One vital element, however, could not be replicated for the dramatization -- the Falls of Minnehaha. To create the ambience of this waterfall, it seems that a Boston artist, Francis West was commissioned to paint a sizeable backdrop.²⁹ (Fig. 19)

A painted backdrop of woodlands and mountains was also erected for indoor performances.³⁰ Indoor Hiawatha pageant plays took place during the winter months. The Chicago Sportsman's show in 1902 and the version staged at Madison Square Gardens in New York sometime prior to the fall of 1904 are examples of these plays.³¹ Topographical elements were also created for the indoor performances. An area of land large enough to contain a wigwam, several canoes and a cast of 25 was simulated. The addition of shrubbery helped to blend the set with the backdrop. Some of the indoor sets were quite ambitious, including a small lake in front of the encampment.³² (Fig. 20)

From the early-19th century, Native peoples had participated directly in the recreation and visualization of the Indian encampment representing their own villages in a variety of media. One of the earliest depictions of an Indian encampment by a Native person collected in the first decade of the 19th century can be found on a paddle in the Jasper Grant collection.³³ (Fig. 21) One of the incised scenes depicts a man sitting outside his wigwam smoking a pipe before a tripod with a suspended pot. Another early example is a Miami mukuk (or small bark container) collected 1820-21. It depicts two wigwams. Each wigwam shelters two people on either side of a cooking pot. (Fig. 22)

As actual Indian encampments began to disappear, Indians created miniature three-dimensional representations of the encampment for the White tourist market. Constructed of bark, these works usually entailed the modelling of a wigwam and a canoe on a small oval or round base. By the end of 19th century, the form of most miniature wigwams was conical. The conical wigwam was the fundamental type of wigwam structure and was used by the Indians who lived in the Maritimes, the Eastern Subarctic and the Woodlands. It has been described as "... the principal shelter for hunting tribes of the northern Atlantic coast and across much of the eastern Subarctic."³⁴ One of the earliest souvenir wigwams collected by Lord Elgin between 1847 and 1854 differed, however, from the standard model.³⁵ (Fig. 23) The Elgin example could perhaps be more aptly described as a "long lodge".³⁶ This type of wigwam seems to have been favoured in the Great Lakes region and

was used by several families for winter occupation.

The Elgin wigwam was embroidered with dyed porcupine quills depicting the key concerns of the inhabitants of this shelter -- hunting, which ensured survival. One side illustrates an Indian man who is identified by the feathers in his long dark hair. The man holds a rifle and stands poised to shoot a bird whose dominant size commands attention. (The opposite side depicts a couple). Hunting, as the traditional economy of Anishinabe peoples, was increasingly threatened in the mid-19th century by Whites who were competing for an agricultural land base. During this same time, the first modern treaties -- the Robinson-Superior and Robinson-Huron -- were being enacted. The provisions of the treaties required the Indians to relinquish vast tracts of land in return for annuities and reserves.³⁷ Although Indians retained their rights to hunt and fish on unoccupied Crown lands the future must have seemed ominous.³⁸ The image seems to assert the rights of Native people to hunt as negotiated in the treaties.

A favourite indicator used by the Department of Indian Affairs to gauge the success of Indian assimilation, as dictated by policies that had been in place since the 1830s, was the adoption of agriculture. Various programs had been set up by the Department of Indian Affairs to encourage Native peoples to cease hunting and to engage in farming as their means of subsistence. Southern Canadian Indians were as adamant in their rejection this foreign way of life as were American Indians in adjacent areas. They devised new mixed economies in order to remain independent. As we

have seen, one important part of their economy was the creation of commodities for sale to Whites. The imagery on many of these articles can be read as asserting, to some degree, the primary concerns of the Indian peoples -- the man depicted on the Elgin wigwam was certainly not plowing up any fields.

Perhaps the earliest printed reference to miniature wigwams is found in a description of the Canadian Exhibition of the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition. An article in The Queen reporting on these displays also indicates the way that non-Native viewers read these objects:

In one corner of the large portion of the exhibition set aside for Canada, there is a stall, indeed several where all the different kinds of wares are sold that visitors to Canada buy at Niagara and elsewhere, at stores where the presiding genius as often as not is an Indian. ... The Canadian birch bark articles are most attractive. The material is smooth and very tough, in colour resembling cork, and is worked in porcupine quill dyed to any tone needed, or in moose hair with devices representing flowers or figures in Indian costumes. The choice of articles of the kind is large. It includes canoes and letter cases, ... [and] wigwams, admirable copies of the original...³⁹ [emphasis mine]

While the representation of the wigwam as a symbol of the encampment asserted a strong sense of Indian identity, it was also intensely personal. Initially, the creation of miniatures of the home and their sale to the dominant Euro-Canadian society who were responsible for the ending of that way of life must have sometimes involved Indians in painful contradictions. Through time, the sense of loss to which these models referred was probably replaced with nostalgia. Created for the tourists, miniatures have remained a stock item to this day. Thus, the final articulation of the Indian

encampment remains securely a part of Native cultures.

The Indian encampment embodied through the miniaturization of a wigwam and canoe instilled a sense of ancient Indian culture. In effect, the wigwams were a historical reference of the Indian's ancient standing with the land. As well, the use of Native materials and construction further enhanced the signification of Indianness. In the early-20th century, some Native entrepreneurs sought to establish tourist shops or Indian villages on their reserves. Frequently these shops were identified to the White public as "Indian villages". While the actual store was typically housed in a log cabin type building, tipis, canoes and totem poles were prominently arranged in front of the shop, appealing through imagery that which was familiar to the target White consumer group. Perhaps the ultimate Indian village materialized in the Indians of Canada Pavilion at Expo 67 in Montreal. (Fig. 24) Designed in collaboration with Native peoples from across Canada, the Indians of Canada pavilion reflected the key component elements of the Indian village -- totem pole, a stylized tipi structure and canoes pulled ashore on a waterfront. A subsequent Indian village constructed at Wendake (Lorette) was directly modelled after the Expo 67 pavilion. (Fig. 25)

The visual representation of Indian encampments by Euro-North Americans has a long and continuous history. In the latter half of the 19th century, Whites were particularly intent upon depicting 'original' Indian culture. While the encampment scene was an especially favoured subject, an equally compelling focus of Euro-

North American artistic endeavours was the aesthetic treatment of Native dress. In this context as well, 19th-century artists would reach a consensus on the representation of 'original' Indians and their dress.

Endnotes

1. Yeigh, p.208.
2. Yeigh, p.208.
3. Yeigh, p.208.
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21. Trennert, p.7.
22. Trennert, pp.8-9.
23. Trennert, p.10.
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25. Hoxie, p.88.
26. Hoxie, p.88.
27. Hoxie, p.88.
28. Annie Coombes, "Ethnography and the formation of national and cultural identities" In The Myth of Primitivism (New York: Routledge, 1991), pp.192.
29. Yeigh, p.208. The attribution of the painted backdrop is suggested by a passage from the first written account of the play. It reads: "The designing of the dresses and accessories, as indeed the stage management of the whole entertainment was under the direction of Mr. Armstrong, aided by Mr. Francis West, a Boston artist, both of whom have long been students of Indian history and habits."
30. Armstrong, Hiawatha, or, Nanabozho and the Land of the Ojibways, p.20. Ontario Archives photograph Acc. 10748, S16351.
31. Chief Hah-tah-e-nah, Seneca Nation. The Real Hiawatha reprint Akron, (New York) Herald, 1904. Ontario Archives documentation for Acc. 10748 - S16355, S16356.
32. A photograph of the Kaboosa family taken in Plattsburgh, New York featured a small scale Indian encampment. Although the family members are wearing the pageant costumes, it is difficult to determine whether this event was associated with the Hiawatha plays. Ontario Archives Acc. 10745, S-16532.
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CHAPTER FIVE

Dress

Visualizing the Plains; 'Misrepresenting' the Woodlands

The dress worn in the 1900 Hiawatha pageant play was not representative of Anishinabe clothing styles or even of Woodlands clothing generally. Indeed, the clothing worn by the actors followed Plains styles. Armstrong made this deliberate choice of clothing because White people at the turn of the 20th century had come to identify the visual representation of the Plains Indian as the symbol of Indianness. This association developed during the course of the 19th century as White artists increasingly conflated the image of all North American Indians with the Indians of the Plains. Thus before turning to an examination of the clothing worn in the Hiawatha plays, we must first look at the way White artists represented Plains and Woodlands Indians.

The most powerful factor in the process of visualization was the attraction Plains Indian imagery held for White people. In the early 1830s when White artists recorded the first images of the Plains Indian, their audiences were immediately receptive. For Whites living in the populated centres of the East, the seemingly free existence of Plains life contrasted gloriously with the stark urban realities of 'civilization.' Easterners recognised that the Indian peoples of the East had long been politically subdued and their cultures modified through contact and repression. In particular, depictions of Plains eagle-feathered headdresses and

skin garments excited White interest. Flamboyant representations of people ostensibly unaltered by European influence reinforced the romanticized notions held by White people. White artists provided the public with the image that they had come to anticipate -- the Plains Indian. The extent of the popularity was so great that over the period of the next century, and a standardized stereotype of the Plains Indian emerged.

John Ewers, has traced the visual and conceptual development of the Plains Indian as the symbol for all North American Indians. Ewers believed that the work of Charles King Bird had the most resounding impact on White consciousness. (Fig. 26) He explained that:

More significant factors in the early diffusion of the Plains Indian image were the oil portraits of several members of an Indian delegation from the Lower Missouri and Platte Valley tribes who arrived in Washington late in the year 1821. Although Charles Bird King painted these Indians for Thomas McKenney, Superintendent of Indian Trade, he executed several replicas of these paintings that were diffused more widely -- one set being sent to Denmark, another to London. The original portraits formed the nucleus of the National Indian Portrait Gallery, which became one of Washington's popular tourist attractions before it was almost completely destroyed in the Smithsonian Institution fire of 1865.¹

Early after initial contact with Plains tribes, large audiences in the United States, England and the Netherlands had the opportunity to see Bird's paintings.

Peter Rindisbacher, a Swiss artist, is credited as the originator of a widely circulated representation that would become thoroughly ingrained in Plains image-making. The classic image of the Plains warrior on horseback was rendered from his experiences

on the Red River during the early 1820s. (Fig. 27) This drawing, entitled Sioux Warrior Charging, was published in a sporting magazine in 1829.

The works of George Catlin are recognized as contributing to the more widespread popularization of the Plains Indians.² Motivated by the belief that the Plains Indians, like their Woodland counterparts, would soon succumb to defeat at the hands of the American army, Catlin dedicated his energies to recording their threatened lifeways. In 1832 and later in 1834, Catlin recorded images during trips to the peoples in the Upper Missouri area and down into the Southern Plains. Catlin's Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians was released in 1841. The majority of works in this publication revealed Catlin's particular interest in the peoples of the Plains.

Catlin had two acclaimed contemporaries, Alfred Jacob Miller and Karl Bodmer, who engaged in similar forms of depiction. In Miller's The Trapper's Bride, the woman wears a Plains type dress. The dress features generous fringe work around the edge of the sleeves and hem. (Fig. 28) The warrior on the horse wears a feather headdress and Upper Missouri Plains shirt. Miller's work had a light romantic flavour to it that was much admired by the public.

The skilled renderings of Karl Bodmer, however, occupy a different position in the visual representation of the Plains Indian. In contrast to Miller, his work is notable for its accuracy of detail and its clarity of form. (Fig. 29) The publication of his material appeared in Prince Maximillian's scientific work in the

late 1830s, Reise in das Innere Nord-America in den Jahren 1832 bis 1834. His works, with good reason, were well-received by the public and helped to popularize the Plains Indian in Europe.

Ewers also examined the powerful influence of the Wild West shows in the stereotyping of Plains imagery.³ From the early 1880s until 1917, Wild West Shows enjoyed an unmatched success as live entertainment where reenactments of scenes of the American frontier were presented. Plains Indians were featured in sham battles, stage coach attacks and war dances. Wild West shows were a further factor that taught White audiences to see the Plains Indian as representative of all other Indian nations. (Fig. 30)

Popular fiction of the 1860s as found in dime novels churned out Plains Indian imagery on a unprecedented scale. (Fig. 31) Novels relating the conflicts between the "warring" Plains Indian and the American army were especially popular. The actual battles also generated considerable coverage in the press. War artists -- some in situ, others at their desks -- kept newspaper readers entertained with dramatic imagery of the Plains and American Army wars. These portrayals were further complemented by the written accounts of Army officers who informed the readers about the bravery and courage of the Plains Indians.

Closely related to the stereotype of the Plains Indian is the 'misrepresentation' of Woodlands peoples by artists who combined elements of Woodlands and Plains clothing together into one assemblage. Carried to the extreme, artists displaced Woodlands expressions entirely with Plains clothing. Catlin-based

reproductions were as celebrated as originals and, as Ewers noted in his study, they misidentified prominent Woodlands individuals with Plains tribal affiliations.⁴ For example, in a tobacco advertisement, the name of the famous Woodlands Illinois leader, Black Hawk, is attached to Mato-tope (or Four Bears), a Mandan chief whose image is derived from a work done by Catlin in 1832. (Fig. 32 & 33) This commercial image thus became a widely diffused representation. Indeed, Rayna Green's study of the image of the Indian confirms that Plains representation became a convention in commercial graphics.⁵ These mistakes should not be considered mere oversights, but rather historical inaccuracies which displaced Woodlands culture in order to privilege the stereotype of the Plains Indian.

'Misrepresentations' of Woodlands culture are easy to find and occur most often in popular culture. Artists of 'high' culture, however, were also enticed by the Plains Indian image. In 1860, Emanuel Leutze painted a work which he entitled The Founding of Maryland. (Fig. 34) This painting represents a climactic moment that commemorates a non-event, the Algonquian Indians' acceptance of Euro-American presence set sometime in the 17th century. An analysis of dress in The Founding of Maryland establishes that there is a significant bias towards Plains clothing. The woman on the right of the scene wears a Dakota style dress with a fully beaded yoke and fringed sleeves. This dress is associated with styles contemporary to the time of the painting's execution. Two of the men wear headdresses which appear to be related to the

Blackfoot standup bonnet and both possess Plains-style rawhide shields. One of the men, however, is dressed in Woodlands clothing. The man engaged in the handshake is draped in a pre-contact skin covering and an 18th-century Woodlands style headdress composed of a feather cluster and red-dyed down.

The depiction of Woodlands peoples in Plains clothing is also noted in Victor Nehlig's Pocahontas and John Smith. (Fig. 35) Painted in 1870, this work portrays the famed Pocahontas, daughter of the Algonquian leader Powhatan, as she beseeches her father to spare the life of Captain John Smith in 1607. The Plains Indian dress in Nehlig's painting has a strong Upper Missouri accent to it. The shirts have an early-18th century Plains style cut of an untailored shirt edge with the legs of the animal skin acting as extensions. Stripes of quill work appear to cover the seams at the shoulder. The arm sleeves are detailed with fringe work. Moreover, the top half of the shirts are painted with a deep blue pigment. The painted treatment of a warrior's shirt in this way denoted the victorious demise of one's enemy. One shirt has a rosette -- a symbol that was especially prevalent on Northwestern Plains clothing. Plains Indian symbols for military prowess can be seen in the ochre stripes on the men's leggings. In addition, John Smith's would-be slayer wears a buffalo robe with blanket strip draped over his shoulder. This garment, too, illustrates the quill-embroidered strip and rosettes typical of Plains dress.

The imagery that was produced as a direct result of the publication of Longfellow's "The Song of Hiawatha" contributed

further to the 'misrepresentation' of Woodlands clothing styles. The great success of the poem prompted many artists to depict its scenes and characters. The resulting body of Hiawatha imagery repeats the pattern of 'misrepresentation' of Woodlands and Plains imagery that we have just examined. We will turn now to a considerable body of visual representation inspired directly by "The Song of Hiawatha."

The earliest artistic interpretation of Hiawatha imagery was the work of John Gilbert. Gilbert's illustrations appeared in 1856 in England, the year after the poem's first release. As Ewers discovered, Gilbert based his illustrations upon Catlin's work. Ewers wrote that:

...Gilbert...did not copy Catlin slavishly but leaned upon him in representing the poet's ancient Ojibwa of the southern shore of Lake Superior as typical Indians of the Upper Missouri. His portrait of "Paw-puk-keewis," for example, is but a slightly altered version of Catlin's Mandan hero, "Four Bears."⁶

Thus, visual identification of the imagery of Hiawatha with Plains culture, and Catlin's work in particular, was immediate.

In 1858, Currier & Ives, America's premier popular lithographer, published a small series of prints which celebrated Longfellow's "Song of Hiawatha." The German artist, Louis Maurer, produced Currier & Ives' Hiawatha's Wedding. (Fig. 36) The other titles by Maurer included Hiawatha's Wooing and Hiawatha's Departure. The romantic focus reflected the Victorian times and, more specifically, the firm's characteristic perspective.

Hiawatha's Wedding, shows the love-smitten Hiawatha hand in hand with Minnehaha who is about to take leave of her home and

father for her new life with Hiawatha. His clothing reflects a hybrid of Plains dress and Woodlands dress. Plains elements include the fringed shirt and leggings, stylized war bonnet, the quill work on the arm sleeves and the quasi rosette on the front of the shirt. Woodland dress elements appear in an extremely delicate bear claw necklace and moccasins.

Interestingly enough, the Plains Indian representation of dress is absent in Minnehaha's clothing. Rather, her garment retains elements of Woodlands dress combined with the stylistic conventions of the type of the Indian/Carib Queen. Her moccasins are similar to Hiawatha's in that they are Woodlands style. A most unusual part of her attire are two purses which appear to be attached to a wraparound belt. The basic shape of these purses conforms to the Victorian inspired purses which Algonquian and Iroquoian women made primarily for sale to White women. (Fig. 37) The bottom edge of her skirt is suggestive of Great Lakes ribbon work. Somewhat fanciful elements are displayed in the short-sleeved frock with zig-zag edging over a full skirt. Rayna Green believes that in such representations women were actually wearing "the short dress of the Eastern Woodlands female with the capped sleeves, flounced overskirt ... of the Victorian lady."⁷

The contribution of the Indian/Carib Queen is evident in Minnehaha's feathered skirt. This visual convention is a holdover from the 16th and 17th centuries.⁸ (Fig. 38) Green explains that:

... the Indian queen, the figure abstracted in part from the famous and well-known "Four Continents" representation in which the Caribbean or Brazilian Indian stood for the New World, while the Turk stood for the

Orient, the eighteenth century gentleman (English or French) for the Continent, and the Moor for Africa. [The] "Queen" had all the physical attributes of neo-classical statuary and the costume and surroundings of the Brasilo-Caribbean Indian, the jungle-like environment, the jewelry, the fur and skin trappings, the tropical animals.⁹

The Canadian artist Frances Anne Hopkins also painted the young heroine in Minnehaha Feeding the Birds c.1880. (Fig. 39) Minnehaha's quiet repose, nurturing gesture and gentle disposition amid a tranquil, natural setting reflects contemporary Victorian tastes. Similar to Miller's artistic interpretation of women's clothing, Hopkins gave Minnehaha's garment a generalized Plains sensibility. With the exception of the sleeves, the top of her two-piece outfit is unadorned. A band of quill work seems to start at the back of the garment and then to wind itself forward around the arm sleeves in a most peculiar manner. Long quill-wrapped and beaded fringes are worked at regular intervals along the bottom edge of the band of quill work to give a pleasing horizontal effect. The hem of the blouse is also quill-wrapped and free-hanging.

In the final examples of Hiawatha imagery, the mixing of Plains and Woodlands aesthetic systems can once again be seen. Felix O. C. Darley's Scenes in Indian Life: A Series of Original Designs Portraying Events in the Life of an Indian Chief, from 1843, had impressed others with his illustrations of Plains Indian life. His accuracy, however, was somewhat lacking because he was prone to collapsing various Indian cultures together.¹⁰ Forty years later, Darley carried on this tradition as an illustrator for "The

Song of Hiawatha" in the 1881 publication of The Poetical Works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. (Fig. 40) His work demonstrates the now predictable 'misrepresentation' of Woodlands culture.

For the 1890 Holiday edition of "The Song of Hiawatha" Frederick Remington, another famous painter of the west, was commissioned to do the illustrations. He produced twenty-two paintings for plates as well as three-hundred seventy-nine sketches for the publishers, Houghton Mifflin.¹¹ His Hiawatha illustrations reflected his harsh and austere but nonetheless romantic treatment of the Western landscape and Indians. His depictions, like so many before him, showed Woodlands Indians in Plains dress. (Fig. 41)

An introduction to the 1901 reprint of the 1890 Holiday edition, however, qualified his illustrations with this statement:

Mr. Longfellow made Indian pictures in verse and Mr. Remington has made Indian pictures in design, studying to make them correspond in spirit with the poet's conception, but not attempting to square the poet's description with the actual realities of Indian life as he knows it by observation.¹²

It would seem that Remington understood that the illustrations depicting of Woodlands Indians wearing Plains clothing was somewhat problematic. Indeed, a biographer wrote that:

Because he intended the Hiawatha illustrations to be decorative, he insisted on a printed disclaimer in the book that they were "designed to serve directly as accompaniments to the poem," like music, and that "he had followed the poet in using a certain freedom of treatment." Nevertheless, the full-page illustrations were criticized later because "he dressed the ancient forest-dwelling [Anishinabe] of the Great Lake region" who were the subjects of the poem "in clothing of the late nineteenth-century Indians he had known on the Western grasslands." The drawings used as margin decorations were mainly of nineteenth-century Indian objects, the artifacts Remington had been buying on his

Western trips.¹³

Disclaimer or not, Remington's illustrations and margin decorations of Native material culture served as a reference for the readers. Some of Remington's margin decorations were also used throughout Hiawatha pageant play souvenir booklets circa 1901-4.¹⁴ (Fig. 42 & 43)

As we have seen, during the 19th century, the Indian of the Plains became firmly fixed both in popular culture, and, to a lesser extent, in White 'high' art traditions. Whether a person visited a museum or the local grocery store the imagery of the Plains Indian was everywhere. For Whites, the Plains Indians communicated sentimental ideas of freedom and bravery. Whites focussed upon the dominant visual aspects of Plains culture; the feather headdresses, skin clothing and elaborate fringe work constituted an assemblage which distinguished the image of the Plains Indians both from the image of acculturated Woodlands peoples as well as from the image of the Whites. The Euro-American phenomenon of the Plains Indian stereotype swept north to Canada and overseas to Europe.

Even Longfellow's "The Song of Hiawatha," which was located geographically in the eastern Woodlands, did not motivate artists to produce images with appropriate Woodlands clothing styles. Although artists like Remington were aware of the problem, they did not research or try to reproduce the clothing styles of Anishinabe peoples at the time of European contact or later. Mid-19th century Plains dress provided the canon of 'authentic' Indianness in

Victorian popular culture.

Self-presentation -- Shingwaukonse, Augustine and Buhkwujjenene of Garden River

What style of dress did Woodlands people actually wear during the period when the Plains Indian stereotype achieved dominance in the consciousness of White society? To answer this question, it is essential to develop a sense of the Woodlands style of dress from the 1820s to 1900. It is not within the scope of this study to examine systematically Woodlands styles of dress. Briefly, however, it is possible to distinguish four main kinds of dress: special occasion dress, ceremonial dress, business/entertainment dress and everyday dress. Clothing is an important means of self-presentation through which a person expresses his or her personal identity and community alliances. While each of these different types of dress existed at the local level, clothing styles varied from region to region. For the purposes of this study it is illuminating, however, to examine the clothing styles of one particularly well-documented Garden River family, that of Shingwaukonse, as his descendants became the key participants in the early Hiawatha pageant plays. Their clothing practices will illustrate some of the transformations in Woodlands dress during the 19th century.

Shingwaukonse (1773-1854) and his two sons, Augustine Shingwauk (Ogista) (1800-1890) and Buhkwujjenene (1811-1900) all became distinguished chiefs among the Garden River people. Henry Schoolcraft seems to have been the first Euro-American to comment on the dress of Shingwaukonse when in 1822 he recorded that:

2

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

The interpreter introduced him by the name of Little Pine, or [Shingwaukonse], and as a person of some consequence among the Indians, being a meta, a wabeno, a counselor, a war chief, and a orator or speaker. He had a tuft of beard on his chin, wore a hat, and had some other traits in his dress and gear which **smacked of civilization.**¹⁵ [emphasis mine]

While this description does not elaborate upon the particulars of Shingwaukonse's clothing, Schoolcraft evidently did not appreciate the incorporation of European materials into Indian dress. The inclusion of such materials had, however, occurred almost immediately upon cross-cultural contact, and in some places, even before contact, where trade networks facilitated a circulation of goods. For more detailed accounts of the Native response to European trade goods, and Indian clothing generally, we will turn to the writing of travellers who visited to the Great Lakes area in the late-18th and early-19th centuries, as well as some extant examples of Indian clothing collected during this period.

In the early 1790s, Elizabeth Posthuma Simcoe, the wife of John Graves Simcoe, the first Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Upper Canada, made these observations about Native dress:

Some Indians of the [Anishinabe] tribe came from near Lake Huron. They are extremely handsome, and have a superior air to any I have seen; ... Some wore black silk handkerchiefs, covered with silver brooches, tied right round the head, other silver bands, silver arm bands, and their shirts ornamented with brooches; scarlet leggings or pantaloons, and black, blue or scarlet blankets.¹⁶

European trade silver and bright, colourful cloth which was made into leggings, breechcloths and blankets (or mantles) were clearly the rage in Native fashion. Native peoples also favoured beads, silks and ribbons. Men traded furs for printed calico shirts.

Several years later, Issac Weld Jr. reported that cloth, beads and ribbons were combined to create a pair of leggings for special occasion dress. He wrote that:

...[leggings] are commonly made of blue or scarlet cloth, and are formed so as to fit close to the limbs, like the modern pantaloons; but the edges of the cloth annexed to the seam, instead of being turned in, are left on the outside, and are ornamented with beads, ribands, & c. when the leggings are intended for dress.¹⁷

Native people absorbed European goods according to their own sense of aesthetics, creating dress and ornamentation in assemblages that distinguished themselves as being uniquely Indian, and these unfailingly inspired comment from Europeans. Examples of these garments can be found in museum collections.¹⁸ (Fig. 44 - 53)

The Garden River community was established in the 1830s.¹⁹ It was noted about Shingwaukonse that:

[he] resided periodically on the British side of the St. Mary's straits in the years following 1820, but did not become a head chief or exercise territorial prerogatives in this area until after 1827.²⁰

Several other travellers have recorded their impressions of Shingwaukonse. In 1838, an adventurous young English woman, Anna Jameson visited the Garden River reserve. Providing some biographical background on Shingwaukonse for her readers, Jameson wrote that:

The chief of this Chippewa village is a very extraordinary character. His name is [Shingwaukonse], the Little Pine, but he chooses to drop the adjunct, and calls himself the Pine. He is not an hereditary chief, but an elective or war-chief, and owes his dignity to his bravery and to his eloquence. Among these people, a man who unites both is sure to obtain power. ... [Shingwaukonse] led a band of warriors in the war of

1812, was of Fort Malden, and in the battle of the Moravian towns. Besides being eloquent and brave, he was a famous conjuror. He is now a Christian, with all his family; and Mr. MacMurray [a missionary and brother-in-law to Henry Schoolcraft] finds him a most efficient auxiliary in ameliorating the condition of his people.²¹

Jameson went on to remark that Shingwaukonse challenged Sir Francis Bond Head, a colonial administrator and former Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, on his handling, or rather mishandling, of Indian affairs.²² As Jameson had also noted, Shingwaukonse was equally valued for his expertise as a warrior. During the War of 1812, British generals had consulted with Chief Shingwaukonse in the planning of military strategy for one of their campaigns against the Americans.²³ Their collaboration was a success and the battle was won in the summer of 1812. Shingwaukonse also led Anishinabe forays against the Dakota. On the home front, Shingwaukonse's abilities as a hunter were unrivalled.

Jameson had met Shingwaukonse five years after he had been baptised and converted to Christianity.²⁴ Shingwaukonse's conversion to Christianity, however, did not diminish his position within the community. His conversion probably reflects the influence that the missionaries had in the general population. The Christian missionaries demanded that its converts forsake aboriginal forms of dress. For missionaries and government officials, dress was the most visible overt sign that an individual had rejected his or her "pagan" Indian heritage.

Johann Kohl, a German geographer and ethnologist, recorded his visit to Garden River in the fall of 1855. Although Shingwaukonse had died a year earlier, recollections of him were vividly

preserved amongst the members of the Garden River community and Kohl related them in his writings. As a young boy, Kohl noted, Shingwaukonse had experienced a remarkable vision which foretold his future as a great leader.²⁵ His position of authority was in part associated with the spiritual power associated with this vision, thus, following Native tradition. Kohl noted that Shingwaukonse possessed a sizeable collection of birch bark scrolls which he had used to recall ritual songs and ceremonies. Indeed, Shingwaukonse had respected the spiritual ways of the Midewiwin, a ritual healing society.²⁶

Remarkably, Kohl also provides a detailed description of Shingwaukonse's dress prior to his conversion to Christianity that supplements Schoolcraft's limited observations. His source was a man who acted as a messenger to Shingwaukonse in the 1830s. Shingwaukonse had been participating in a Midewiwin ceremony and the messenger recalled that:

The chiefs ... were in their grandest holiday state, adorned with all their eagle feathers, medals, bears'-claw necklaces, and other insignia derived from European and native; with their faces painted bright red and other glaring colours, and wrapped in their long white blankets, on which the signs of their totems were sewn with blue thread. In the middle of the wigwam a white cloth was spread out, at the ends of which they sat opposite each other. By their side lay their open medicine-bags, with their contents displayed on the white cloth. They consisted of small pieces of copper and other metal, bones, shells of various sizes and colours, small packets of roots, papers or bags of red, or green, or yellow coloured powders, and other substances unknown to me, many wrapped in swan's-down. Painted or written birch-bark books also lay among them. Behind [Shingwaukonse] packets of peltry were piled up -- beaver and bear-skins -- as well as coloured calicoes, silks, and many yards of blue and scarlet cloth. I soon perceived that they had been imparting to each other,

explaining, and exchanging their various family and tribe secrets.²⁷

This account makes clear that during his days as a Midewiwin practitioner, Shingwaukonse had worn the elaborate kind of ceremonial dress that was closely tied to aboriginal spirituality and ritual practice. Totem representations and medicine bags were directly displayed on clothing. Adornment such as face paint and bear claw necklaces were also a part of this religious dress complex.

Such direct references to the Midewiwin religion could not be displayed by Christian Indians. Changes in religiosity thus resulted in transformations of dress. Medicine bags were among the first ritual items to be given up after a person had converted to Christianity. The increasing encroachment of White settlement intensified the pace of such changes during the 19th century, to such an extent, that, as we shall see, Garden River clothing styles underwent a transformation approximately every twenty-five years.

A comparison between Kohl's account from the 1830s and a photograph taken of Shingwaukonse well after his conversion reveals the changes of dress brought about by Christian influence. A drawing which appeared in an 1849 edition of the London Illustrated News shows Shingwaukonse seated to the right of two other Anishinabe, Nebenaigooching (The Eclipse) and Menissinowenninne (The Great Warrior). (Fig. 54) Shingwaukonse's headdress is Woodlands style with a circular head piece and a splayed plumage of bird feathers. Around his neck he wears what seems to be rows of beads and possibly wampum. Atop this ornamentation, Shingwaukonse

also wears the silver medal he had just received from the British Government for his role in the War of 1812.²⁸ A finger-woven sash with zigzag design elements is worn diagonally across his chest in the manner that was popular among Woodlands peoples. His shirt is full-length with short fringework around the bottom edge. Coarse fringework embellishes the cuff. The shoulders are decorated with beaded or quilled epaulettes, a style which is associated with Northern Cree and Anishinabe Metis dress. Shingwaukonse seems to be wearing Woodlands style leggings. Fingerwoven garters are secured below the knees. The moccasins with their central puckered seam reveal an Anishinabe origin. Artistic license may have been taken with the pipe Shingwaukonse holds; it has the odd appearance of a combined fan and pipe construction.

This type of dress did not have direct associations with the Midewiwin society because it employs none of the religious paraphernalia or exotica of ceremonial dress. Yet important references to Indianness were retained in adornment such as feather headdresses, epaulettes, fringework, silver medals, wampum, sashes and garters. Throughout the 19th century, Christianized Indians wore special occasion dress such as this to assert their Indian identity while acknowledging the formality of certain public events.

Shingwaukonse died five years after the sketch was drawn. In the third quarter of the 19th century, the dress of Shingwaukonse's sons -- Augustine Shingwauk and Buhkwujjenene demonstrates another shift in clothing styles. In 1870, Augustine Shingwauk, at age

seventy, was moved by a deep concern for the Garden River children and their future. He asked Father Edward Wilson, the local missionary, to accompany him on a campaign to petition the church for school funding. Shingwauk had past experiences with meeting officials as a decade earlier he had met with the Prince of Wales during his 1860 Royal visit and received a medal.²⁹

Chief Shingwauk and Reverend Wilson travelled to Toronto and St. Catharines and approached the mission leaders and congregations for funds to build a school for the children. Their efforts were successful, but it became obvious that more campaigning was needed to secure funds for the proposed Garden River school. At that point, Father Wilson broached the idea of an overseas campaign to Shingwauk's brother, Buhkwujjenene and he accepted.

Travelling with Reverend Wilson in 1872, Buhkwujjenene went to England to begin a series of lectures and speeches as means to raise funds for a school. Chief Buhkwujjenene's arrival in England was greeted with much fanfare. He toured throughout the country and wore special occasion dress for his speaking engagements. Reverend Wilson recalled that:

Nearly every night there was a meeting, and often we had two or three engagements in the course of a day. Never did an Indian chief have such a hard time of it. Wherever he went, he wore his blanket coat, his feather in his hat, his leggings and moccasins, and the skunk skin on his arm.³⁰

The appeal of an Indian chief decked out in Indian clothing was an irresistible enticement for the British. (Fig. 55) Reverend Wilson recorded the reaction of the White audience to Buhkwujjenene's formal dress:

Quite a sensation was caused not only in the house but in the neighbourhood by the new-comer's arrival. It was strange to see him sitting in his blanket coat in an easy chair beneath the gas-lights in the drawing-room, strange to see him conducting a lady in to dinner and sitting at [the] table awaiting the arrival and removal of the various courses, strange to see him walking the streets with his medals on his breast, his skunk skin and leggings and feather in his hat, or riding in the same attire on the top of an omnibus,; and yet amid it all he bore himself with such perfect grace and self-possession that every one admired and wondered at him.³¹

Wilson clearly recognized different styles of dress that could be worn during the 1870s. He writes that:

A photographer in the neighbourhood soon heard of {Buhkwujjenene's} arrival and asked him to sit for his portrait. Several likenesses were taken -- representing him as a Christian Chief in his ordinary dress; and as a Chief of former days in feathers and Indian costume. [emphasis mine.]³²

The photographic session which Wilson refers to may have produced the images which appear in Little Pine's Journal, a book edited by Wilson. (Fig. 56 & 57) The first image shows Wilson holding a bible and standing beside Buhkwujjenene who is undoubtedly wearing clothing that Wilson believed was 'the dress of a Christian chief.' The blanket coat was European in cut, knee-length, with a front opening and adorned with what appears to be fur edging at the collar and the cuffs. While it is difficult to determine whether he wears a Woodlands style leggings or European trousers, garters are visible below the knee. A skin pouch appears to be secured to the belt at his waist, and Buhkwujjenene also holds a pipe and carries a walking stick. His head is uncovered. Illustrations of Buhkwujjenene addressing the public indicate that Buhkwujjenene wore the 'Christian' dress on some of these occasions. (Ill. 58)

The other illustration shows Buhkwujjenene wearing his 'Indian costume' at public gatherings. (Fig. 59) Buhkwujjenene's 'Indian costume' sports an Eastern Woodlands style of feather headdress. A headband forms the main structural support with splayed feathers and plumes near the front. It seems to be very similar to the one worn by Chief Shingwaukonse, however, his headdress also has upright feathers and plumes secured at intervals around the headband. (Fig. 54) Buhkwujjenene's shirt seems to be of calico, and a strap worn crosswise over his chest gives the appearance of a shoulder bag, long popular among Woodlands Indian men. Furs and neck ornamentations complete Buhkwujjenene's outfit.

During Shingwaukonse's era, 'Indian costume' had been the only mode of special occasion dress worn by Christianized Indians. Buhkwujjenene, however, could choose from two types of special occasion clothing -- 'Indian dress' or 'Christian dress.' Wilson, in describing one of the assemblages as a 'Chief of former days in feathers and Indian costume', reveals the White perceptions concerning the difference between these clothing styles. Wilson obviously relegated this type of dress to the past and identified the contemporaneity of the 'Christian dress.' The decreasing use of distinctive styles of Woodlands Indian dress, such as the feathered headdress and necklaces marks the escalating adoption of European clothing styles in the use of special occasion dress.

The government's program of directed assimilation was moving briskly forward during the final decades of the 19th century. In the minds of the missionaries and government policy makers, even

Indian dress worn for special occasion was probably too closely associated with native spirituality and therefore was viewed as a hindrance to assimilation. Missionaries actively discouraged the use of special occasion dress on the reserve even though it may have only been worn for annuity payments, photographs and meetings with Indian agents. Wearing Indian special occasion dress off the reserve, however, seems to have been an entirely other matter. (Fig. 59) On the occasion when Buhkwujjenene wore his Indian dress, Wilson noted that:

One of our best meetings was a garden-party at Mitcham Vicarage. There was a large gathering of ladies and gentlemen beneath the dark spreading cedars on the soft lawn. The Chief put on his feathers and ornaments, and at once became the centre of attraction.³³

Although Indian special occasion dress possessed a certain exuberance of expression denied in the Christian manner of special occasion dress, the British response to both forms of special occasion dress was soundly appreciative. Both were exotic enough to satisfy British expectations of Indianness. Perhaps the distance of British people from North American Indians helped to give a positive value to Buhkwujjenene's presentation of Woodlands Indian identity in both forms of special occasion dress.

Reverend Wilson's ideas about the differences between "pagan" Indian dress and Christian Indian dress, however, seems quite clear from remarks he made during a missionary tour to the Savanne River near Lake Superior in 1878. On the occasion of an annuity payment, he wrote that:

Several Indians were about awaiting Mr. Wright's arrival, and there as a wigwam full of them close to our tent;

they were all pagans, and their appearance very different to those of our neighbourhood; the men had their hair plaited in two large plaits, the tails of which were joined halfway down the back, generally they had not hats and their costume consisted of a shirt, a beaded belt around the waist, trousers and moccasins. They were evidently dressed in their best for the grand occasion. Nearly all wore silver earrings, some of them consisting of a string of five-cent pieces, and others had necklaces of bear's claws and other strange fancies; their pipes were carved out of soap-stone polished smooth, many of them were armed with ornamental tomahawks, and they had long knives concealed in bead work sheaths.³⁴

Even if Reverend Wilson regarded these Indians as "pagans", he could not resist indulging in a detailed description of their dress. This contradiction in attitude towards Indians is both typical and striking. Missionaries wanted Indians to assimilate to mainstream Euro-Canadian but could not reconcile the demise of the Indians as the exotic 'other.' Nostalgia and sentimentalism sometimes won over their pragmatic beliefs.

Whereas Reverend Wilson approved of the Christianized dress of Garden River, the average European traveller was more interested in the dress of the non-Christian or "pagan" Indians. Most believed that Indians living in the East such as Garden River had been morally and culturally corrupted by European contact, and they were more apt to describe approvingly non-Christian expressions of Native dress. Thus, Kohl had described Shingwaukonse's ceremonial dress from years ago rather than the contemporary Garden River dress. As well, Jameson, who had met the Christianized Shingwaukonse remarked neither on his dress nor on that of the Garden River community. Conversely, Jameson devoted much of her attention to relating the varied elements of the non-Christianized

Potawatomi and Ottawa assemblages of dress. Travellers longed to see Native peoples wearing a style of dress that was to their minds picturesque or exotic. Indians in European dress held little appeal for travellers, while for the missionaries, government officials and the local White population such change marked the Indians' 'progress' towards civilization.

Euro-Canadian reaction to Garden River dress is difficult to document directly. Wilson did not comment on Chief Augustine Shingwauk's dress or on public reaction to it during their trip to Southern Ontario -- perhaps its similarity to Euro-Canadian dress discouraged direct comment. To the eyes of the local White population, the Garden River Indians and other Christianized Woodlands Indians had become largely acculturated and unremarkable.

For Anishinabe people, however, both forms of special occasion dress -- non-Christian Indian and Christian Indian -- possessed distinctly Indian aspects, retaining references to Native attitudes towards self-representation in clothing. Finally, while distinctions among the various styles can be made, assemblages of dress were not identical from one individual to another. That is, Native people freely mixed elements according to their tastes. For example, a photograph of Bukhwujjenene's brother, Chief Shingwauk, was shown wearing a mix of non-Christian Indian and Christian Indian special occasion dress. (Fig. 60) An image of him as an elderly man, probably taken near his death in 1890, shows him wearing a European style coat with wide lapels combined with a Woodlands style feathered headdress.

Indeed, chiefs readily moved between different types of dress as Reverend Wilson noted when he met an Anishinabe chief, Black-stone on a 1878 Lake Superior missionary tour. He wrote that:

One of the first persons we encountered on alighting from "the cars" was the redoubtable chief "Black-stone" who, dressed up in paint and feathers, had given the Bishop a piece of his mind last year on the subject of Paganism versus Christianity He was accompanied by one of his councillors, and both were, on this occasion, in European dress.³⁵

The belief that the style of dress directly expressed the degree of assimilation and the differences of opinion that existed, is also apparent in mid-19th century newspaper articles. On the occasion of the 1860 Prince of Wales visit to Canada, the editor of the Christian Guardian decried the wearing of special occasion dress. He wrote that:

The Indian Department brought the Indians out in the different places to present themselves before the Prince [of Wales] and the Duke [of Newcastle]. Did they also instruct them how to appear? The Indians ought to have presented themselves in their ordinary dress, and they ought to have exhibited the signs of that degree of civilization to which they have attained. That would have shown that they were partially civilized and Christianized, and that they were capable of further improvements. That would have made the Duke feel that they had some intelligence, and therefore that they would make some good use of any lands or privileges that might be granted to them. But they were exhibited every where as savages. They were instructed to present themselves half-naked, with painted faces, feathers in their hair, the most grotesque forms of savage dress, and with every appearance of savage ferocity. The effect of all this would be to make the Duke feel that lands could be no use to them, and that they were incapable of valuing or improving that which might be conferred upon them. We do not say that such was the purpose for which the Indians were made to appear as wild savages: but there can be no doubt that such would be the effect.³⁶

This passage illustrates the strategic decisions involved in the

choices made by the Indians and their mentors. This writer was openly hostile to the Indian style of dress believing that it would hurt the Indians' chances to receive fair compensation from the government. Indians, on the other hand, asserted their own expressions not Europeanized ones.

Finally, it is important to note that Shingwaukonse, Augustine Shingwauk and Buhkwujjenene were all chiefs who enjoyed a special status in their community. They were in a somewhat better position to acquire materials or to inherit special clothing and accessory items to use for their public responsibilities than the average person living in Garden River.

During the final decades of the 19th century, the majority of Garden River Christians undoubtedly wore European clothing as their everyday wear. Frock-like tops and long skirts, shirts and trousers were the standard items of clothing. Three photographs circa 1900 show the adoption of European clothing by Anishinabe men, women and children. (Fig. 61 - 63) Special occasion dress would have been difficult for average people to procure because Garden River had never really experienced any degree of prosperity. And there probably would have been very few events that called for special occasion wear.

European dress had a far greater impact on the clothing of Christian Woodlands Indians in the 19th century than any other style of dress. There is no evidence that Plains dress was adopted on a widespread scale, although at least one individual did possess a Plains Ojibwa shirt; Augustine Shingwauk used a Plains Ojibwa

shirt as a part of his special occasion wardrobe.³⁷ (Fig. 64) Originally a Woodlands people, the Plains Ojibwa had moved west onto the Plains in the late-18th century due to the decline in the fur trade and the expansion of White settlement.³⁸ Shingwauk's shirt is typical of Plains Ojibwa clothing in that it deviates from standard Woodlands and Plains conventions of dress to blend the two in a unique way. The combination of large areas of bead work and quill work is unusual by both Woodlands and Plains conventions; the bands of beadwork are sewn from shoulder to cuff of the sleeves and a large quill-worked rosette is displayed on the chest. The placement of this rosette over painted horizontal stripes is also atypical of Plains clothing. Furthermore, the cuff was not usually exploited as a decorative feature in Plains clothing, whereas on this shirt a wide cuff is visible on the left sleeve. A few long hide fringes are confined to the points at the shoulder and neck rather than evenly spaced in typical Plains fashion. All of these unusual elements combine to make the shirt distinctly Plains Ojibwa, a hybrid of two cultures. As James Howard noted, Plains Ojibwa people "... combined the dash of the Plains costume with the skilled techniques and sense of color of the Woodlands peoples."³⁹ Augustine Shingwauk probably acquired this shirt through trade and regarded it as an important enough garment to wear for a formal photograph. It is also interesting to note that he wears a Woodlands style headdress with the shirt. A date for this photograph is not known but it can probably be placed between 1860 and 1890. Shingwauk's possession of a Plains Ojibwa shirt in

the latter half of the 19th century suggests that the influence of the Plains Ojibwa culture had filtered through to the Garden River community even if only in this one example. Indeed, the 1849 Illustrated London News shows Menissinowenninne wearing a Plains-Ojibwa style of shirt that is quite similar to Augustine Shingwauk's shirt. (Fig. 54)

This survey of 19th century Garden River clothing illustrates both the escalating incorporation of European clothing as well as the great variety of dress styles worn at that time. We have also seen Euro-North American perceptions about Woodlands Indian dress shifted according to the positioning of the observer, the time period and the geographic area. The Woodlands adoption of European dress had further complicated the ability of White observers to distinguish Indian culture as the 'Other.' At the same time, in the latter half of the 19th century, the visual representation of the Plains Indian had captured the imagination of White society and provided a clear idea of how 'real' Indians should look. By 1900, when Shingwaukonse's great grandson, George Kabaosa became involved in the early Hiawatha pageant plays, these factors would bring about a further shift in dress, causing pageant play costume to conform dramatically to the visual representation of the Plains Indian.⁴⁰

Hiawatha Pageant Play Costume

To be historically accurate, the costuming of a pageant play about the life of Hiawatha would have had to utilize late 15th

century Woodlands styles of clothing. In accordance with Longfellow's "The Song of Hiawatha", the featured peoples in the dramatization were the Woodlands Anishinabe of the Central Great Lakes and to a lesser extent, the Plains Dakota of the Central Plains. Thus the costuming in the play should have clothed the characters in the pre-contact styles of dress of these two groups.

It seems that it was Armstrong's intention to present the play in a manner consistent with Anishinabe culture. In 1902, Harper's Weekly reported that:

Mr. Armstrong broached the subject of a dramatization of "Hiawatha," not only as a unique exhibition, but as an inspiration to the Indians to revive a knowledge of their ancient customs, ceremonials, arts and styles of dress, which was in a fair way to be lost.⁴¹ [emphasis mine]

Yet Armstrong gravitated towards the general consensus of 'Indianness' as defined by White culture. Indeed, Frank Yeigh, the journalist who reported on the first Hiawatha pageant play for the Canadian Magazine, noted that:

The costumes were as historically correct as possible, being based upon Catlin's colour plates of Indian characters. The designing of the dresses and accessories, as indeed the stage management of the whole entertainment, was under the direction of Mr. Armstrong, aided by Mr. Francis West, a Boston artist, both of whom have long been students of Indian history and habits. The unsparing use of war paint by the actors, their highly-coloured garments, and their feathered head-dresses completed an attire that was effective.⁴² [emphasis mine]

In 1905, a Michigan art teacher named Frances Pailthorp noted that Armstrong had encouraged the participants in the play to make their own clothing. She remarked that "the Indians spent hours decorating their suits of cream doe skin with quill and bead work."⁴³ The

outfitting of the entire cast would have been a monumental task and Armstrong had likely encouraged the practice of making one's own clothing from the start. Armstrong may have also provided models (as well as loaned items) for the pageant play from his collection of Indian objects. An article from the Montreal Family Herald and Weekly Star about the 1905 Canadian Handicrafts Exhibition stated that:

There are fine suggestions in the old specimens of Western basketry and beadwork, and in the large exhibit of stoney [Plains Assiniboine] Indian articles lent by Mr. L. O. Armstrong.⁴⁴

The citation of Catlin's work as authoritative and the use of Armstrong's collection of Assiniboine material as a reference would both have promoted the use of Plains Indian dress.

Descriptions of Plains Indian dress can furthermore be found in passages in "The Song of Hiawatha" itself:

He was dressed in shirt of doeskin,
White and soft, and fringed with ermine,
All inwrought with beads of wampum;
He was dressed in deerskin leggings,
Fringed with hedgehog quills and ermine,
And in moccasins of buckskin,
Thick with quills and beads embroidered.
On his head were plumes of swan's down,
On his heels were tails of foxes,
In one hand a fan of feathers,
And a pipe was in the other.⁴⁵

Classic George Catlin imagery is suggested by Longfellow's words.

Against this background, the Hiawatha pageant play clothing has a particular importance; it introduced a collective sensibility of Indianness. In essence, the dress communicated a new form of self-representation informed by what I will call a transcultural

aesthetic. This can be defined as a hybrid complex which combines the aesthetic features of different cultures.

We will now turn to a close examination of the early pageant play clothing to trace the interrelationships of transcultural dress, pre-reservation style Plains dress and contemporary Woodlands dress, and the extent to which each was worn. There are two principal types of transcultural dress, intertribal dress and Metis-style dress.⁴⁶ Intertribal dress is heavily influenced by the Plains style of clothing but it may also merge with some elements of another tribal or regional tradition such as Woodlands. Metis-style clothing combines both Indian and European traditions of dress.

Intertribal clothing was the more common type of transcultural dress in the early Hiawatha pageant plays. William Powers offers this explanation of intertribalism:

The essential feature of intertribalism is that its components -- music, dance, and material culture -- diffuse rapidly not only throughout the whole Plains area but also beyond it.⁴⁷

A Northern Plains dress influence dominated in the intertribal style of Hiawatha pageant play clothing. Specific Plains tribal influences such as Crow or Cheyenne (Central Plains) can sometimes be noted in the dress assemblage.

Two photographs of the woman who played the role of Minnehaha in Chicago in 1902 reveal a decidedly intertribal orientation. (Fig. 65 & 66) Her dress is Plains style with long fringes at the bottom edge of the sleeves. Although the usual application of beadwork in the bodice area was a curving field of beads, a wide

band of bead work has been attached across the front and the back of the upper part of the garment respectively. Such bands of bead work would have been sewn to the top centre of the arm sleeves from the neck to the end of the sleeve. Another uncommon feature in this band of bead work is the application of beads to a secondary support rather than directly to the surface of the dress. The triangular motif with the "door" on the band of bead work was a popular feature of late-19th century Cheyenne work.⁴⁸ She also wears a Crow style men's necklace which is composed of a series of beaded and rolled loops. In the other photograph of this actress, a Cheyenne influence in her moccasins can be noted in the use of a white background and horse or deer figures around the edge. (Fig. 66) Over her dress, she wears a Southwest style of blanket.

Two of the actors in the play were not Anishinabe. The parts of Arrow-maker and Pau-Puk-Keewis were taken by two Kahnawake men.⁴⁹ Thus, it is not surprising to find a number of Iroquoian dress elements included in the costuming of the cast.⁵⁰ Pau-Puk-Keewis wears a headdress with broad scallops and with a fence of feathers around the band. (Fig. 67) It features elaborate Iroquoian beadwork with the typical white edging and circular medallion in the centre front. The forerunners to this headdress are the 19th century gustowehs.⁵¹

Elaborate beadwork such as this was worn by Iroquoian entertainment troupes in the late-19th century. It can also be found on special occasion dress. The heavy beadwork was produced by the technique of embossing, raised work caused by the addition of

extra beads on the length of thread. Another photograph shows a similar preference for heavy Iroquoian beading on the cuff of Minnehaha's dress. (Fig. 68) This particular dress only seems to have been worn during the first season, as subsequent photographs show Minnehaha wearing intertribal garments.

George Kabaosa, his daughters and eldest son posed in their pageant costumes for a studio photograph. (Fig. 69) The eldest son wears a beaded collar piece or yoke with semi-floral elements. This dress element was popular among Iroquoian and Anishinabe peoples during that period; it was worn on special occasions as a part of one's formal dress and as entertainment dress. (Fig. 70) The older man, George Kabaosa, wears a garment that has a triangular neck flap with fringes that resembles the shirts of the Southern Plains. The five-pointed star was a greatly favoured Plains motif that was painted on clothing and other items. This particular version of the five-pointed star was beaded and seems to have popularity in Woodlands entertainment dress in the late-19th century. The shirt appears to have representations of animals on either side of a central five pointed star.

During the first four years of the pageant plays, two different men appear to have played the role of Hiawatha.⁵² (Fig. 71) A studio photograph shows a young man posing in a three-quarter position. He wears a Northern Plains style war bonnet with trailers and a shirt with the extremely long and fine fringes typical of the Southern Plains peoples. The leggings are Plains style with a narrow band of bead work that has geometric elements on a light

background. At his waist is wrapped a type of belt which appears to have a large beaded five pointed star.

A second photo shows the other actor who portrayed Hiawatha wearing a completely different costume. (Fig. 72) Although it is not evident in this particular photograph, he also wears a war bonnet. His leggings are similar in styling to those worn by the other actor except for the ermine skin pendants attached to the outer edge of the leggings. The knee garters appear to be either finger-woven or heddle-woven sashes and are accented with white glass beads. The garters are a northern Great Lakes type. The pouch which is secured to a belt at the waist is a Plains style tobacco bag. The shirt is definitely of Plains origin. The bead work around the upper area of the garment, however, is not typical of a men's shirt. Heavily beaded yokes of contrasting lines of colour were an element of dress that is particular to the dresses of Northern Plains women. A men's shirt usually had quill work strips along the sleeves and sometimes down each side of the front.

The second type of transcultural clothing appears to be based on Metis-styled dress elements. A comparison between Plains Metis clothing and the related style of dress that appears in the Hiawatha plays reveals the links between the two styles. In the early part of the 19th century, the Metis people of Manitoba and Northern Ontario began to create a unique style of dress combining costume elements from the heritages of the Cree or Anishinabe women and European men.⁵³ The cut and style of coats and trousers were European with fitted construction, a front opening and cuffed

sleeves.

The Native contribution to the Metis assemblage was the material, which was tanned moose, caribou or deer skin, and the application of quillwork, fringework and painting. The finely executed quillwork was embroidered or woven in geometric and floral designs. (Fig. 73) Plains Metis coats were tailored tapering in at the waist. The fringe work on coats could vary from long and fine to short and wide and was often quill wrapped at the top. In the Great Lakes region, Metis coats tended to be long, and tubular in shape, and the application of paint rather than embroidery was favoured. Similar to Plains Metis styles, quillworked epaulettes were also incorporated on Great Lakes Metis coats. European styles provided the model for Metis trousers. Fringe work usually ran the length of the leg on the outside seam and sometimes woven quillwork strips were also applied.

Metis-styled shirt and trousers are worn by the first man on the right of a photograph of an encampment scene. (Fig. 74) Beadwork is not evident and it is ornamented by fringes and the dark-colouration of the skin. There is generous fringing on the coat. Sometimes fringework was also employed to create the illusion of a yoke. That is, fringe was applied across the upper front, then over the shoulders and around back of the garment. Metis-styled trousers with full legs, seat and belt loops can be seen in this same example. A dense fringe runs down the outside of each leg.⁵⁴

Nokomis and her infant grandson, Hiawatha, are pictured in one photograph. (Fig. 75) The two-piece assemblage of this outfit is

reflective of both 19th-century Woodlands dress styles and of European dress with its frock style top and long skirt. The fringe work at the shoulders, sleeves, seams and hems of the top and skirt, however, suggest a Metis influence. The moccasins are an Anishinabe type but without any characteristic beadwork. An element of Plains dress is present in the small cluster of fringes at regular intervals midway on the front of the skirt.

It is important to question whether these garments are prototypes as derived from Metis models or actually early-20th century Metis clothing. These examples are most likely Metis-styled prototypes because even though the clothing maintains the European styling and Native material, it lacks the exquisite embroidery found in Metis quillwork and painting. Only a couple of the play's participants wore this type of clothing, but it was quickly adopted circa 1912 as a 'chief's suit' by John Gibson of Grand River. (Fig. 1)

Transcultural aesthetics, or more generally, transcultural exchange, reaches thousands of years back to ancient history. The late-19th and early-20th centuries, however, mark a period of particular cultural stress for Woodlands peoples. Assimilation policies and repressive legislation sought to suppress the distinctive aspects of Native culture. Transcultural dress must be contextualized against this background to appreciate how it acted to maintain a sense of cultural identity and promote political solidarity while, at the same time, documenting an aesthetic and technical decline. In the pageant clothing technical decline may

also have a practical explanation. Theatrical clothing is made for the viewpoint of the audience. That is, the distance of the audience from the performance usually necessitates an enlargement and increased boldness of design elements. Finely finished clothing could not be appreciated from a distance. Despite this factor, it would seem that loss of knowledge and skill contributed to some decline in quality.

The successful combination of technical execution and pleasing aesthetics forms the basis of quality work. For Native clothing, elaborate beadwork, intricate quillwork, and excellence in fringe work, tanning and painting are among the aesthetic and technical concerns that should be considered. For the most part, the intertribal clothing demonstrated detailed work, skilled design organization and extensive decoration while lacking a strong sense of creativity. Aesthetic complexity was somewhat weakened by an unfamiliarity of the new Plains style and form. Painting, beadwork and quill work typical of fine Plains clothes were largely absent and the fringework was coarse.

The "rules" of Plains dress were relatively unknown to the actors and thus a Woodlands man could appear with a shirt with the decoration of Plains women's dress. Viewed from another perspective such cross-gender borrowing can be regarded as an aspect of transcultural art. In the early-19th century, Huron women often wore European men's top hats which they swathed with bright silk or cloth. In the 20th century, Plains women sometimes adopted men's headdresses.

The dress worn in the Hiawatha pageant plays did not represent the vision of an individual or of a particular tribe -- it expressed an inclusive and collective Indian vision. The relatively smooth adoption of transcultural clothing can be gleaned from a 1904 article in The American Monthly Review of Reviews. William Edgar wrote that

[The Anishinabe] maintain that the costumes, dances and songs of the play as it is now given are correct, and any suggestions to alter them in the slightest particular are disregarded.⁵⁵

Although the use of intertribal and Metis-styled dress did not mark a major inconsistency in the representation of Anishinabe culture, Hiawatha pageant plays did have an impact upon Woodlands clothing practices. However, Native peoples who did not play host to the Hiawatha dramatizations, such as those living in Southern New England, seem to have maintained late-19th century Woodlands clothing styles. (Ill. 76) Yet, as we have seen, for the Anishinabe, the transcultural aesthetic in the early pageant plays was significant primarily because it marked an assertion both publicly and privately of a clear Indian identity.

Transcultural Aesthetics

Throughout the first quarter of the 20th century, Hiawatha pageant plays were instrumental in promoting transcultural aesthetics on a widespread scale. Transcultural aesthetics are closely aligned with Pan-Indianism, a term which refers to a loose late-19th century complex which manifested itself in a wide variety

of social phenomena. A working definition for Pan-Indianism does not exist and the use of this term is now regarded as problematic by Native peoples and others.⁵⁶ William Powers, an anthropologist, has recently published a book on Plains powwows in which he traces the historiography of Pan-Indianism in anthropological studies.⁵⁷ Powers believes that anthropologists have sometimes missed tribally specific expressions in their quest to examine Pan-Indianism.⁵⁸ Powers explains:

Although the idea that Pan-Indianism strives towards the creation of a new ethnic group, the American Indian, is novel and interesting, it is unlikely that this definition can be regarded seriously, given what we know about the distinctiveness and variety of American Indian tribal cultures.⁵⁹

More importantly, he reiterates Nancy Lurie's statement that Native peoples object to the term because it has racist implications.⁶⁰ Powers, however, does not offer any new terminology.

Although, the term 'transcultural aesthetics' is also awkward, it will perhaps serve in the interim. In the previous chapter, transcultural aesthetic expressions were described as hybrids which combine the aesthetic features of different cultures. It is important at this point to clarify the differences between what Powers calls intracultural aesthetics (traditionally linked to Pan-Indianism) and transcultural aesthetics. Intracultural aesthetics, the movement of aesthetics between, for example, Northern and Southern Plains people has received scholarly attention. Transcultural aesthetics, the movement of aesthetics between Plains and Woodlands or Woodlands and Europeans has not been studied to the same degree as intracultural aesthetics. A Woodlands person in

Plains clothing would have been identified as wearing Pan-Indian clothing and it would not have been developed any further. The term, transcultural aesthetics, both stresses the cross-cultural nature of the expression and denotes the importance of the visual aspect. The following discussion, however, must also rely on the historical terminology in reference to other manifestations of this phenomenon.

Anthropologists virtually ignored the larger phenomenon of transcultural aesthetics even as it grew in importance in the early-20th century. The silence surrounding this subject matter illustrates the biases of the academic community in the dominant society. The lack of tribal specificity in transcultural aesthetics has caused many anthropologists and art historians to dismiss the objects produced because it is viewed as being inauthentic. The notion of authenticity is currently being addressed as an issue within post-modernist discourse.⁶¹ Prior to post-modernist analysis, the privileging of early contact forms of representation over later forms went unchallenged. While anthropologists did recognize that change was occurring in Native cultures, it was not their main focus of interest. Anthropologists generally sought out Native representations which they qualified as being uncontaminated by modern society or non-native cultures -- in other words, the "primitive", the locus of authenticity.⁶²

In some ways, the concept of periodization is closely tied to the ideology of authenticity. Only the objects that have been recovered from the distant past rigidly define the authentic and

therefore merit study. Ruth Phillips notes that:

One of the most revealing -- and damning -- features of the representational practices of Native American art history is that its standard periodization contains no modern era at all. Surveys normally go from the prehistoric, to the historic, and then directly to the contemporary. It is as though Native American artists, in keeping with predictions of their imminent disappearance, had been rendered invisible through much of the twentieth century.⁶³

A brief historiography of religious and political Pan-Indian studies in Canada and the United States will demonstrate how the anthropological and art historical disciplines have treated transcultural aesthetics. In addition, it is also helpful to have an understanding of the historical background of religious and political Pan-Indianism in order that the development of transcultural aesthetics can be more fully recognized. Finally, it is important to point out that the connections among religious and political Pan-Indianism and transcultural aesthetics vary regionally and temporally.

Hazel Hertzberg, a scholar who has done an extensive study of 20th century political and religious American Pan-Indianism, maintains that Indians who became attracted to the movement:

Had unusually extensive contacts both with white society and with a broad spectrum of tribes from widely separated geographical areas. Pan-Indians were typically of part-white or intertribal descent, often married whites or members of other tribes, spoke English at a time when relatively few Indians did so, had at least a few years of formal education, engaged in occupations typical of white society, and often belonged to Christian churches and other non-Indian organizations. In the period in which Pan-Indianism emerged, this group was more numerous and those who comprised it were in closer contact with each other than at any previous period. Their experience as participants in multiple cultures made them particularly aware of change, afforded them the ideas and

skills to respond to it, and aroused in them the need to establish an Indian identity beyond the tribe and within the [North] American social order. Pan-Indian movements offered to their adherents a socially recognized expression of their position in and between several worlds, a projection of their own situation, formalizing and legitimizing it.⁶⁴ [emphasis mine]

This description of the cultural forces that propelled the Pan-Indian movement can also be applied to transcultural aesthetics.

Religious Pan-Indianism, the oldest form of Pan-Indianism, emerged in the 1870s through the spread of the modern peyote religion, but its ultimate origins can be traced back to pre-Columbian patterns of exchange.⁶⁵ One of the key characteristics of religious Pan-Indianism is that it is closely related to the reserve system. Hertzberg relates that "of all the varieties of Pan-Indianism, it was religious Pan-Indianism which reached the largest number of Indians and from them received the most enduring loyalty."⁶⁶ Indeed, peyotism seemed to sweep all points west of the Mississippi River.⁶⁷ In the early 1950s, the peyote religion moved up to a number of reserves in Manitoba and Saskatchewan.⁶⁸ Many Iroquoian Indians, however, maintained a strong belief in the Longhouse religion and rejected peyotism. Some Algonquian Indians adhered to Christianity while others continued to practise Midewiwin rites. In the late-19th century, the Good Tidings religion, an offshoot of the Ghost Dance movement moved north to Saskatchewan and lasted until the 1950s but was confined to the Round Plain reserve.⁶⁹ While the peyote cult religion had some impact among Canadian Indians, religious Pan-Indianism in general in this country was limited.

Reform (or political) Pan-Indianism gained momentum nationally through various American organizations which sought to promote Indian identity in contemporary society. Adherents of reform Pan-Indianism believed in the American melting pot concept:

they expected that melting would take time, they recognized that it would require an often painful process of adjustment, and they were determined to control and direct it as much as possible so that the Indian contribution would be worthy both of the Indian past and of the American future in which they would share.⁷⁰

Unlike reform Pan-Indianism, fraternal Pan-Indianism concentrated its efforts along social and cultural activities and tended to romanticize Indian culture.⁷¹ Religious, reform and fraternal Pan-Indian movements were not uniformly adopted by all Indian nations but their influence was nevertheless pervasive.

In Canada, political Pan-Indianism was thwarted by federal government policy. Providing a brief history of national political activism, Frideres writes that:

In the nineteenth-century, several efforts were made by Natives to create regional and national political organizations. The demise of these organizations was generally the result of suppression by the federal government and internal discord among the Natives themselves. These problems continued to plague Native political groups well into the twentieth century.⁷²

In their commitment to the continued disempowerment of Native peoples at the national political level, the federal government passed legislation against organizing and lobbying in the Indian Act of 1927.⁷³ In 1943, Jules Sioui, a Huron who was affiliated with the North American Indian Brotherhood, circulated a document to Canadian chiefs requesting their presence at a general meeting in Ottawa.⁷⁴ Chiefs from across Canada gathered in Ottawa to assert

their rights at the Indian Conference. (Fig. 3) The government, however, tried to discredit him and to disengage potential participants. Frideres notes that: "Only since the mid-1950s have Native organizations become multifaceted, complex in structure, and representative of Natives from all across Canada."⁷⁵ Thus, a political Pan-Indian movement did not exist in Canada when the Hiawatha pageant plays were staged at the turn of the century. Transcultural aesthetic expressions thus proceeded political Pan-Indian activity. I will argue that dress was a central element among these expressions and constituted an important means for asserting the Native perspective.⁷⁶ As I have said, transcultural aesthetics express cultural multiplicity rather than uniformity.

Hertzberg has commented upon what I am calling transcultural aesthetics in terms of its relationship to early-20th century American religious and political Pan-Indianism. The most politically inclined Pan-Indianists rejected the Plains Indian image as a representation of Indianness. Hertzberg wrote that:

Reform Pan-Indians bitterly attacked the cigar-store, wild west image and attempted to substitute for it an image of a sober, industrious, up-to-date middle-class citizen. Religious Pan-Indians attempted to project an image remarkably similar to the reform one, but with more Indian or Pan-Indian elements added, and with a more rural orientation. Fraternal Pan-Indians, while exercised over the unfavorable aspects of the Indian image, often conformed to the positive ones, especially the romantic redman syndrome.⁷⁷

Further reactions to transcultural aesthetics can be gleaned from Hertzberg's work on individuals involved in the reform movements. One reform group, the Society of American Indians [SAI] attracted the Seneca anthropologist at the New York State Museum, Arthur

Parker as its leader. Hertzberg noted that:

Under Parker's leadership, the Society of American Indians eschewed anything which savored of the medicine show Indian, though Indian costume might be worn in certain circumstances, provided these were dignified and controlled. Being an Indian was to Parker an inner quality rather than an outward show. He himself dressed quietly and conservatively like the middle-class New Yorker which, in part, he was. A few years before his death [in 1955], he wrote on the back of a photograph of the Six Nations at Brantford, Ontario, "Dressed in Sioux costume at 500th anniversary of the founding of the League of the Iroquois. Indians to be recognized as such must 'play' Indian!"⁷⁸

For individuals such as Parker, Indian dress, regardless of tribal specificity, denied the future with its insistence on the past. He believed that it conveyed regressive political messages in contrast to politically minded Canadian Indians.

The SAI had sought to suppress this imagery, but in the early 1920s the use of dress to emphasize Native identity flourished. In 1923, the SAI convened in Chicago and Hertzberg contends that:

... the meetings ... were far overshadowed by the Indian encampment held in connection with the conference in a forest preserve near the city. Thousands of Chicagoans journeyed to the camp to see the Indians "in full regalia" and to watch Indian dances and ceremonials. Obviously the citizenry was much more interested in the exotic Indian past than in the reality of the Indian present. ... The Pan-Indian message that reached the public was the powwow rather than the conference. The image of the Indian projected by the Society was very different from the one of a decade earlier, when the picturesque Indian past had been deliberately subordinated to debate on the Indian present and future.⁷⁹

Transcultural aesthetics took hold despite SAI's efforts to shift the emphasis towards Euro-American clothing practices. While Hertzberg has provided some commentary upon transcultural aesthetics in the United States, overall academic inquiry into

early-20th century transcultural aesthetics has been extremely limited. Indeed, as indicated earlier, a counterpart in the Canadian literature does not exist.

In the 1955, James Howard, an anthropologist, published "Pan-Indian Culture of Oklahoma."⁸⁰ His study of the different Plains and Woodlands groups living there recognized that a collective Native identity was gaining strength in expression. Howard touched upon the subject of transcultural aesthetics when he noted that Southern Ponca dancers were adopting "porcupine and deer hair roaches of the Plains and Eastern Woodlands areas" but he did not really emphasize the transcultural nature of the expression or trace the movement any further. As Barbara Hail explains "...[the roach] made a popular headdress among historic Eastern tribes, and spread to the Plains in the second half of the nineteenth century."⁸¹ Howard left transcultural aesthetics largely unexplored. More recently, perceptions about transcultural aesthetics as well as early-20th century expressions have changed and have been viewed in a more sympathetic light. The assertion of pride in transcultural aesthetics is evident in the book Lost and Found Traditions. Released in 1986, it surveys the contemporary Native North American art over a two decade period.⁸² Trudy Nicks, an anthropologist at the Royal Ontario Museum, has published work on early-20th century material and is currently writing a comprehensive book that will examine the period from 1900 to 1990.⁸³

Until the 1960s, the discipline of art history was totally

removed from the study of Native art in general. Similar to anthropological studies, art historical treatments of Native art from the 1950s until the 1970s also stressed the "authentic" pieces.⁸⁴ The oldest examples of art -- 19th century and earlier -- were recovered from museum and private collections for publication in museum catalogues and books. With the exception of some Northwest Coast material, a gap remains in published information on early-20th century Native art.

A broadening of the art historical canon to include early-20th century Native visual representations occurred in the late 1980s. The canon has also recently been opened up by scholarly publications. In 1984, Tom Hill's "Indian Art in Canada: An Historical Perspective" examined early-twentieth-century arts.⁸⁵ Five years later, Gerald McMaster, the curator of contemporary art at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, published a survey essay which traced the practice of Native arts across Canada from the first half of the 20th century.⁸⁶ Transcultural aesthetics in Canadian Native art history studies, however, remains to be fully explored.

Overall, anthropologists and art historians have reacted with indifference to early-20th century transcultural aesthetics. Yet new approaches are currently being employed in the disciplines of anthropology and art history. Anthropologist Allan Hanson maintains that "culture is an invention" and "there is no essential, bounded tradition ... the ongoing reconstruction of tradition is a facet of all social life."⁸⁷ As such, contemporary anthropological inquiry

asserts "that the analytic task is not to strip away the invented portions of culture as inauthentic, but to understand the process by which they acquire authenticity."⁸⁸ In the discipline of the 'new art history,' Phillips asserts that

Students of non-Western art have ... long understood the necessity of interdisciplinary work that locates art within broad contexts of social and economic use. The models of new art history indicate ways to broaden those contexts still further so that Native American art forms are not examined within hermetically closed aesthetic sequences of Native objects, but against the cross-cultural background of Native/non-Native economic, social, and political relations. In its desire to demystify the work of art, new art history has replaced it with a concept of 'visual representation' that participates in the larger category of 'social production.'⁸⁹

Contemporary approaches in art history and anthropology have drawn closer in their interpretations of representation due the revisionist views of post-colonialism and post-modernism.⁹⁰ As a collective Native expression in Canada, the Hiawatha pageant plays were among the earliest and most influential manifestations of transcultural aesthetics. Transcultural aesthetic forms referred to an underlying resistance to the dominant culture by articulating a sense of Native unity. In their contacts with White culture, Native peoples increasingly chose to wear this style of clothing. Chiefs, in particular, chose to wear transcultural clothing at special occasions when White authorities were present.

Endnotes

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2. Ewers, p.20.
3. Ewers, p.26.
4. Ewers, pp.22-24.
5. Green, p.284.
6. Ewers, p.24.
7. Green, p.211.
8. Green, p.194.
9. Green, p.195.
10. Ewers, p.22.
11. Allen P. Splete and Marilyn D Splete, Frederic Remington - Selected Letters (New York: Abbeville Press, 1988), p.39.
12. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, The Song of Hiawatha. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1901), p.4.
13. Harold and Peggy Samuels, Frederic Remington: A Biography (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1982), pp.125-6.
14. Armstrong, Hiawatha, or, Nanabozho and the Land of the Ojibways.
15. Henry R. Schoolcraft, Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes of the American Frontiers: with Brief Notices of Passing Events, Facts and Opinions, A.D. 1812 to A.D. 1842 (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Co., 1851), p.110.
16. Elizabeth Posthuma Simcoe, The Diary of Mrs. John Graves Simcoe: Wife of the First Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Upper Canada, 1792-6 (Toronto: Briggs, 1911), p.184.
17. Travels Through the States of North America, and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, During the Years 1795., 1796, and 1797. quoted in Karlis Karklins, Trade Ornament Usage Among the Native Peoples of Canada (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada,

1992), p.26.

18. Glenbow Museum, The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), pp.66-67.

19. Helen Hornbeck Tanner, Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1987), p.132.

20. Chute, p.89.

21. Anna Jameson, Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc. 1990), p.479-80.

22. Jameson, p.481 Shingwaukonse delivered many speeches of protest against the Canadian government. See Penny Petrone, ed., First People First Voices (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), pp.59-60.

23. Jameson, p.378.

24. Chute, p.138.

25. Johann Kohl, Kitchi-Gami: Life among the Lake Superior Ojibway (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1985), p. 375.

26. Kohl, p.384.

27. Kohl, p.381.

28. Kohl, p.377-9. Shingwaukonse also received other silver medals from the British Government. As Kohl indicates, however, he gave these medals away to fellow warriors and friends.

29. Rev. Edward F. Wilson, Missionary Work Among the Ojibway Indians. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1886), p.105.

30. Wilson, p.105.

31. Wilson, pp.99-100.

32. Wilson, p.100.

33. Wilson, p.106.

34. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., Thunder Bay District, 1821-1892 (Toronto: The Champlain Society for the Government of Ontario University of Toronto, 1973), p.183.

35. Arthur, ed., pp. 193-194.

36. Enemikeese (David Sawyer), The Indian Chief: An Account of the Labours, Losses, Sufferings, and Oppression of Ke-Zig-Ko-e-Ne-Ne (London: 1867), p.147-148.
37. A date has not been established for this photograph.
38. Ted Brasser, "By the Power of Their Dreams." In The Spirit Sings (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1987), p.126.
39. James H. Howard, The Plains-Ojibwa or Bungi (Nebraska: J & L Reprint Company, 1977), p.60.
40. Chute, p.390.
41. "'Hiawatha,' Played by Indians in the Open" In Harper's Weekly, p.1347.
42. Yeigh, p.208.
43. "The Hiawatha Plays" Archival Files, Frances Pailthorp documents, Petoskey Historical Commission, Michigan, pg.1.
44. Canadian Guild of Handicrafts. The Exhibition of Handicrafts. 1905.
45. Longfellow, The Poetical Works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, 1912, p.236.
46. Gerald McMaster states that the word intertribal, in the context of the cross-tribal borrowing of dress, is consistent with powwow discourse.
47. Powers, p.41.
48. Richard Conn, A Persistent Vision: Art of the Reservation Days (Colorado: Denver Art Museum, 1986), p.44.
49. "Roasts the Play at Desbarats," The Sault Star, 1 September 1904, p.6.
50. "A Day at Desbarats." The Sault Star. 31 August 1901. An article written for The Sault Star in 1901 remarked that a Micmac Indian from New Brunswick had danced in a performance of Hiawatha. There is no description of his clothing, however.
51. Ruth Phillips, "Moccasins into slippers: Woodlands Indian hats, bags, and shoe in tradition and tranformation" In Northeast Indian Quarterly, Vol. 7 No. 4, Winter 1990, pp.26-36.

52. Exact dates for matching an individual with a role are difficult because the information is unclear. The souvenir book, Hiawatha, or Nanabozho and the Land of the Ojibways and The American Monthly Review of Reviews' article "Hiawatha," as the Ojibways Interpret it" both seem to indicate that two different men had the role of Hiawatha in 1904.

53. Ted J. Brasser, "In Search of metis art" In The New Peoples J. Peterson and J.S.H. Brown (eds.), (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985), p.224.

54. Conn, p.82. This style of trousers can also be found among the Lakota in the 1890s.

55. Edgar, p.691.

56. Powers, p.93.

57. Powers, p.93.

58. Powers, p.52.

59. Powers, p.108.

60. Powers, p.92, 108. Powers contends that "there is a danger predicting this kind of synthesis, since the only other means of recognizing a homogeneous population is by turning to the concept of "race" as a diagnostic feature."

61. Sidney Littlefield Casfir, "African Art and Authenticity: A Text with Shadows" In African Arts, Vol.25, No.2, April 1992.

62. Aldona Jonaitis, "Franz Boas, John Swanton, and the New Haida Sculpture at the American Museum of Natural History" in The Early Years of Native American Art History (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992), p.47.

63. Ruth Phillips, "What is 'Huron Art': Native American Art and the New Art History" The Canadian Journal of Native Studies, Vol. IX, (1989), p.172.

64. Hazel W. Hertzberg, The Search for an American Indian Identity (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1971), p.300. Hertzberg's study focuses upon the late nineteenth-century to the twentieth century, the modern period of Pan-Indianism. Some scholars, such as Douglas Edward Leach, have noted that political Pan-Indianism occurred in the seventeenth century when intertribal northeastern Indians consolidated their forces in King Philip's war.

65. Hertzberg, pp.239-40.

66. Hertzberg, p.284.

67. Hertzberg, p.294.
68. Howard, p.215.
69. Alice B. Kehoe, The Ghost Dance (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1989), p.45. James H. Howard, The Canadian Sioux (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1984), p.174.
70. Hertzberg, p.307.
71. Hertzberg, p.304.
72. James S. Frideres, Native People in Canada (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1983), p.233.
73. Frideres, p.233.
74. Frideres, p.233. Jean Goodwill and Norma Sluman, John Tootoosis (Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1984), p.177.
75. Frideres, p. 233.
76. Ralph T. Coe, Lost and Found Traditions (Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1986), p.125. Transcultural aesthetics can inform objects as diverse as the encircled cross to items such as quilts.
77. Hertzberg, p.319.
78. Hertzberg, p.57.
79. Hertzberg, pp.198-199.
80. James Howard, "Pan-Indian Culture of Oklahoma" Scientific Monthly, November 1955, pp.215-50.
81. Barbara Hail, Hau Kola! (Rhode Island: Brown University, 1980), p.117.
82. Coe, p. 282. Pan-Indian terminology which is used in this book.
83. Trudy Nicks, "Indian Handicrafts: The Marketing of an Image" Rotunda, Vol.23, No.1, Summer 90, pp.14-20.
84. One of the first art historical books on Native art was produced for the exhibition -- "People of the Potlatch" -- at the Vancouver Art Gallery in 1956.
85. Tom Hill, "Indian Art in Canada: An Historical Perspective" In Norval Morrisseau and the Emergence of the Image Makers. (Toronto: Methuen, 1984).

86. Gerald McMaster, "Tenuous Lines of Descent: Indian Arts and Crafts of the Reservation Period" in The Canadian Journal of Native Studies, IX, 2 (1989), pp.205-236.

87. Allan Hanson, "The Making of the Maori: Culture Invention and Its Logic" American Anthropologist, Vol. 91, (1989): 890-902; Quoted in Richard Handler and Jocelyn Linnekin, "Tradition, Genuine and Spurious" Journal of American Folklore 97:273-290.

88. Hanson, p.898.

89. Phillips, p.169.

90. Phillips, p.168.

CHAPTER SIX

Pageant Plays and Reconstructed Ethnicity

The receptivity of the Garden River people to the Hiawatha dramatizations can be further understood in terms of theories of reconstructed ethnicity. This term is defined by its inventor, Dean MacCannell, as "the maintenance and preservation of ethnic forms for the entertainment of ethnically different others."¹ Certainly, since the arrival of the Europeans, aboriginal cultural features such as religion, economy and dress had undergone dramatic disruptions. Ironically, the Europeans would play an important role in defining the criteria for the reconstruction of Native identity. Dean MacCannell and Josef Gamper offer theoretical insights concerning ideas of reconstructed ethnicity and ethnic tourism.

The reservation period was an era which began in the 1880s and lasted four generations until approximately the 1950s. During this period, Native peoples in the southern Great Lakes were forced to abandon their ancient lifeways and remain in permanent settlements on restricted areas of land. The cultural changes were dramatic as entire patterns of life shifted. Abruptly, hunting economies were forced to adjust to a wage economy. The adoption of Christianity displaced or reconfigured Native religious observances. Demoralized by the imposition of a foreign system of life, many different Indian groups in this region languished. It was a period of both upheaval and transition that has been generally dismissed by scholars as being insignificant and degenerate in terms of cultural

expression. Of the reservation era in general, Richard Conn, an ethnologist, relates that, "until recently, most historians ... considered the reservation system a diaster that had forever sapped Native American culture of its substance and vitality."²

The parallel situation in Canada, the reserve, had both positive and negative aspects to it. On the one hand, the small land bases of the reserves could not adequately sustain their populations. On the other, the reserve acted as a refuge from the dominate Euro-North American culture in which the values of the Indian community could be to some extent protected. Cultural expressions away from the reserve such as the Hiawatha pageant play were modified to suit the sensibilities and expectations of White audiences. Theories of reconstructed ethnicity help to crystallize some of the distinct dynamics involved in the interaction between the Indian actors and the White audience. MacCannell believes that reconstructed ethnicity is determined by group-level contacts between Natives and non-Natives whose interactions form a reconstructed ethnic identity.³

Christian Feest's study of Pocahontas plays by Pamunkey Indians of Virginia offers a good example of this process and a striking parallel to the Hiawatha pageant plays. Whites influenced two important aspects in such Indians plays -- the markers of ethnic identity and the validation of the Indian culture.⁴ The Pamunkey asserted their identity in terms of the presentation of an account of an acclaimed ancestor and the assertion of their own particular clothing styles. Discussing the validation of their

culture by an outsider group, Feest notes that:

At about the [1890s], the Pamunkey began to make use of the Pocahontas story to validate their Indian identity in the eyes and minds of their White contemporaries. Emotionally it was perhaps the strongest plea for a redefinition of the Pamunkey's identity and social status. It established common ground by referring to a myth dear to white Virginians, but it drew different conclusions from the same premises. Essentially, this procedure conforms to the pattern of adopting White criteria for the definition of ethnic identity in an attempt to make the native point of view understood.⁵ [emphasis mine]

MacCannell, in his discussion of reconstructed ethnicity, examines ethnic tourism which is distinguished as "tourism [that] promotes the restoration, preservation, and fictional recreation of ethnic attributes."⁶ This specific type of tourism is dependant upon expressions of cultural or ethnic identifiers. MacCannell, however, views the dynamic as being largely negative. He maintained that ethnic tourism is exploitative and disruptive to the lives of the participants. Although in the case of Christian Anishinabe such identifiers were imposed from the outside, they were accepted by Indians as a way to maintain and to promote their Indian identity.

Josef Gamper counters MacCannell's position by citing examples where ethnic tourism has actually prompted the native participants to rediscover their traditions over time.⁷ Indeed Gamper's views are supported by the phenomenon of the Hiawatha pageant plays. It has been the argument of this study that these performances proved to be a powerful catalyst for the reassertion of Native identity at the turn of the 20th century when that identity was being challenged by the government and the missionaries, and that clothing was a key element in the visual realization of

reconstructed ethnicity. The escalating adoption of Euro-North American clothing styles during the previous one hundred years, had eroded the knowledge of the Woodlands style of dress. In respect to the theory of reconstructed ethnic identity, the ethnic marker of Indian culture for Whites circa 1900 was Plains Indian dress. The Plains Indian stereotype was a common point of reference for each culture and it was a decidedly positive one.

Plains clothing, in comparison to Woodlands clothing, represented a continuity of dress that to a great extent had survived unbroken despite the policies of the government or efforts of the missionaries. It thus was a symbol of Indian perseverance. The Anishinabe used Plains Indian dress in the recovery of their identity from assimilationist policies of the government. The Anishinabe absorbed Plains expressions because they were fundamentally a representation of Indian dress. Even though local Woodlands expressions of dress were not entirely absent from the pageant plays, intertribal and sometimes Metis-styled dress, at that particular moment in time, communicated the Indian identity more effectively than any other form. White culture affirmed the validity of the Indian culture at Hiawatha pageant plays by recognizing its existence and glorifying its visual representation.

Transcultural dress would later become synonymous with Pan-Indian ideology, thereby turning around the White preconceptions of clothing to incorporate a larger Indian meaning. In the first half of the 20th century, transcultural dress would become entrenched among many Woodlands people as a public and formal manner of dress.

The Plains Indian stereotype would have been frozen in the 19th-century imagery had it not been for Woodlands peoples who interceded by absorbing transcultural dress to fulfil their own political and cultural agendas and realities. The Hiawatha pageant plays were important initial events in the process of the gradual reclaiming of Native heritage in a colonized country.

Endnotes

1. Dean MacCannell, "Reconstructed Ethnicity Tourism and Cultural Identity in Third World Communities" In Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 11, (1984), p.385.
2. Conn, p.18.
3. MacCannell, p.375.
4. Christian Feest, "Pride and Prejudice: The Pocahontas Myth and the Pamunkey" In European Review of Native Studies, 1:1, (1987): 7-8.
5. Feest, pp.7-9.
6. MacCannell, p.377.
7. Josef Gamper, "Reconstructed Ethnicity: Comments on MacCannell" In Annals of Tourism Research, (1985), p.251.

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this thesis has been to demonstrate that Hiawatha pageant plays stimulated the widespread adoption of intertribal and Metis-style clothing among Woodlands Indians. The early Hiawatha pageant plays combined the aesthetic influences of different peoples who were culturally significant to the wearers. I have therefore argued that early-20th century Woodlands peoples maintained a sense of cultural stability through the use of transcultural dress.

This thesis also addresses a void in current secondary literature on early-20th century Indian material culture but there is work that remains to be done. Tracing the development of transcultural dress in Anishabe, Iroquoian and Metis cultures from the late 19th century to the present awaits study. The documentation of the comprehensive history of the Hiawatha pageant plays is another important task ahead.

In an era of suppression, the Hiawatha plays gave Native peoples a rare outlet in which to express their Indian heritage. The plays were staged at the margin between government assimilation policies and actual practice. Native peoples took control of that opening and used the Plains Indian stereotype, in particular, to publicly assert a positive Indian identity to White peoples. The mutual recognition of fundamental qualities of Indianness by both the dominant White society and Woodlands peoples thus cross-culturally validated Indian identity as meaningful and vital.

Transcultural dress dominated Woodlands Indian aesthetics for six decades from 1900 to the 1960s. The wearing of transcultural dress quickly became a self-conscious cultural and political act that asserted Native identity first of all. When Native peoples began to attain greater political empowerment within the federal power structure in the 1960s, a greater appreciation for regional aesthetics began. The return to tribal dress illustrated pride in community heritage and commitment to the local values. Many Woodlands peoples have turned away from transcultural dress aesthetics during the past few decades. In recent years, however, the leader of the Assembly of First Nations, regardless of tribal origin, wears a Plains feather headdress at official events and intertribal dress is still worn on the powwow circuit by Woodlands peoples. (Fig. 77)

Appendix A

Chronological List of Known Hiawatha
Pageant Play Performances

Desbarats, Ontario	1900-1905 1923 1965, 1968
Chicago, Illinois	c.1901-1902
White Earth, Minnesota	1903
New York City, New York	c.1903
Montreal, Quebec	1904
Round Lake, Michigan (Conway and Little Traverse Bay)	1905-1917
Cattaraugus, New York	1906
London, England	1906
Montreal, Quebec	1908
Lake Champlain, New York	1909
Crow Reservation, Montana	1909
Paul Diabo Benefit (Kahnawake)	1925
Pipestone, Minnesota	1949 to present

Appendix B

Archival and Library Sources
for Hiawatha Pageant Play Documentation

1. Department of Indian and Northern Affairs
Ottawa, Ontario

Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year
Ended June 30 1902. No. 27 (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1902).
2. National Archives of Canada
Ottawa, Ontario

RG10, V.3092, F.285,050
3. National Library of Canada
Ottawa, Ontario

Armstrong, Louis O. Hiawatha, or, Nanabozho and the Land of
the Ojibways. Desbarats? Ontario: Desbarats & Co., c.1901-4.

Little Pine's Journal. The Appeal of a Christian Chippeway
Chief on Behalf on his People. Toronto: Copp, Clark and Co,
Printers, 1872.

Souvenir Book of the Land of Hiawatha Sault Ste. Marie,
Ontario, Canada. Toronto: Valentine-Black Co., 192?
4. Canadian Guild of Handicrafts
Montreal, Quebec

The Exhibition of Handicrafts 1905
Exhibition of Canadian Handicrafts 1905
5. Buffalo & Erie County Historical Society Library
Buffalo, New York

Chief Hah-tah-e-nah. Seneca Nation. The Real Hiawatha. reprint
Akron, (New York) Herald, 1904.

Cary W. Hartman. Hiawatha. President of the Indian
Association of America. (Buffalo, N.Y: Floyd Genthner Press,
c.1904?)

Hiawatha: The Indian Passion Play. Souvenir Program.
Dramatization of Longfellow's Poem. Produced by Indians of all
Nations. Personal Direction of Mr. F.E. Moore.
6. Rochester Museum and Science Centre

Rochester, New York

Dixon, Joseph K. Wanamaker Primer on the North American Indian. Hiawatha Produced in Life. Philadelphia: Wanamaker Originator, 1909.

7. Little Traverse Bay Historical Society
Petoskey, Michigan

Frances Pailthorp archival documents

8. Vermont Historical Society

W.D. Lighthall and L.O. Armstrong. The Book of the Play of Hiawatha the Mohawk depicting the Siege of Hochelaga and the Battle of Lake Champlain. This libretto is necessary to fully enjoy the stage production. 1909.

The Champlain Tercentenary. Report of the New York Lake Champlain Tercentenary Commission. Albany: J.B. Lyon Company, State Printers, 1911.

The Champlain Tercentenary. Final Report of the New York Lake Champlain Tercentenary Commission. Albany: J.B. Lyon Company, State Printers, 1913.

9. Michigan State Library
Library of Michigan
Lansing, Michigan

C.L. Lockwood. The Indian Play "Hiawatha" in the Land of the Ojibways. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Grand Rapids and Indiana Railway, 1912.

Photographs

10. Canadian Pacific Railways
Montreal, Quebec

Three photographs of Hiawatha pageant play from 1923. Neg. No. 10471, 10472, 10477.

11. Public Archives of Canada
Ottawa, Ontario

Quebec Tercentenary July 1908 PA-24715
c.1920 Hiawatha pageant plays C-2685, C-2686, C-2687, C-2688, C-2689, C-2690, C-2692 & C-2694.

12. Ontario Archives
Toronto, Ontario

Photographs of Hiawatha pageant plays and Kabaosa family. Acc.
10123 S16351 - S16360

13. Smithsonian Institute
National Museum of the American Indian
New York City, New York

Hiawatha pageant play at Cattaraugus Reservation, New York
1906. Neg. No. 35316, 36317, 35319, 35320, 35321

14. Robert Stacey Collection
Toronto, Ontario

Postcards

15. Warwick Bro's & Rutter Ltd., Toronto
4122P pageant play cast members
16. J. Valentine Company, Montreal
100,272 Hiawatha & Minnehaha in canoe
100,254 Nokomis
100,259 pageant play cast members
17. G.A. Weese & Son, Toronto
No. 741 Hiawatha & Minnehaha in canoe
18. M.A. Whedon, Minneapolis.
No. 139 Hiawatha
19. H.A. Olson Specialty Co., Publishers, St. Paul, Minneapolis
Falls of Minnehaha
20. Illustrated Post Card Co., Montreal
Hiawatha and Pau-Puk-Keewis

Museum Collections

21. Private collection of three beaded headbands and one beaded fringe published in Beadwork & Textiles of the Ottawa.

Appendix C

Summary of Longfellow's "The Song of Hiawatha"

The length of 'The Song of Hiawatha' makes it difficult to encapsulate briefly but the following summary has been abridged as much as possible. The titles of the cantos are Longfellow's.

The introduction presents the Anishinabe and Dakota peoples. Nawadaha, a musician relates the legend of Hiawatha and the Anishinabe.

1. The Peace-Pipe

Gitche Manito smokes the peace pipe and uses it to send a 'smoke signal' to call a council among the different warring Woodlands and Plains nations. Gitche Manito reminds the people of the vast rich resources which surround them and questions their animosity. He asks the warriors to end their fighting and promises to send a Prophet, who will help them to live well. They are warned, however, to listen to the Prophet's counsel or they will suffer the consequences. The warriors comply with the Gitche Manito's wishes.

2. The Four Winds

Mudjekeewis proves his courage by taking the sacred belt of wampum from Mishe-Mokwa, the Great Bear, who he has slain. Mudjekeewis gains great honour, prestige and power. Because of his deeds, Mudjekeewis is able to claim the west wind as his home. He gives the other three winds to his children whose personalities embody respectively the distinct character of the north, south and east winds.

3. Hiawatha's Childhood

Nokomis falls from the moon and from her union with a star begets a daughter, Wenonah. Wenonah matures into a beautiful woman. She is warned about Mudjekeewis but he seduces her and she in turn falls in love with him. Wenonah gives birth to Hiawatha and then dies of a broken heart leaving her son to be raised by Nokomis. Iagoo, a great storyteller and Nokomis' friend, gives Hiawatha his first bow. Hiawatha deftly uses it and the village honours his hunting skills by holding a feast.

4. Hiawatha and Mudjekeewis

Hiawatha becomes a young man. He questions Nokomis about his parents and she tells him about his father. Hiawatha travels to the west wind to confront him. They fight and Hiawatha learns of his father's immorality. Mudjekeewis challenges his son to live a moral life as an example to the Anishinabe people. On his return home, Hiawatha stops among the Dakota to get arrowheads from the Arrow-maker. Hiawatha meets Arrow-maker's daughter, Minnehaha.

5. Hiawatha's Fasting

Hiawatha fasts for a vision that will aid his people. His vision symbolizes the life and death cycle of maize, or corn, through the personification of a young man, Mondamin. Hiawatha continues his fasting and in a subsequent vision wrestles with Mondamin. Mondamin instructs Hiawatha that upon his death, Hiawatha must bury him in a certain way so he can be reborn as maize. Hiawatha does so and brings the knowledge of cultivating maize back to his people.

6. Hiawatha's Friends

Hiawatha's two closest friends, Chibiabos and Kwasind, are introduced. Chibiabos is a great singer who is much admired by the community. Kwasind is lazy young man but one day he redeems himself by catching Ahmeek, King of Beavers.

7. Hiawatha's Sailing

Hiawatha builds a canoe from the bark of a birch tree, boughs of a cedar, roots of a tamarack and the resin of a fir tree.

8. Hiawatha's Fishing

Hiawatha goes fishing and catches the big one, Mishe-Nahma, King of Fishes.

9. Hiawatha and the Pearl-Fisher

Nokomis tells Hiawatha about Megissogwon, the great Pearl-feather who is a magician and the Manitou of Wealth and Wampum. Megissogwon killed Nokomis' father and is regarded as an evil being. Nokomis instructs Hiawatha to slay him. During his mission, Hiawatha kills Kenabeek, the great serpent. Hiawatha then confronts Megissogwon who taunts him and their battle begins. Hiawatha tries his magic mittens in an attempt to kill Megissogwon. Hiawatha next tries his war club and bow but he fails again. Then a woodpecker advises Hiawatha to hit a vulnerable spot on Megissogwon's head and in this Hiawatha succeeds. Keneu, the great War-eagle, brings all of Megissogwon's wealth to Hiawatha. Once Hiawatha reaches home, he distributes the wealth among everyone.

10. Hiawatha's Wooing

Hiawatha falls in love with Minnehaha. Nokomis advises Hiawatha to marry a woman from among the Anishinabe not the Dakota, their rivals. Hiawatha can not be dissuaded. On his way to Minnehaha's village he kills a deer and later offers it to her. Hiawatha tells them about his grandmother, his childhood and his village. Hiawatha believes that the love he and Minnehaha share represents the peace between their nations. Hiawatha asks Arrow-maker if Minnehaha can be his wife. Arrow-maker gives his consent but indicates that it is Minnehaha's decision. Minnehaha accepts Hiawatha's proposal. Together they leave the village of the Dakotas and return to his people. Arrow-maker laments his daughter's departure.

11. Hiawatha's Wedding-Feast

The whole community attends Minnehaha and Hiawatha's wedding. There is dancing, singing, storytelling and feasting. Pau-Puk-Keewis performs the Beggar's Dance. Afterward, Chibiabos sings songs of love and longing. Then Iagoo tells tales of great journeys and hunting feats. The guests ask him to tell another story and he begins the tale of Osseo, the Magician.

12. The Son of the Evening Star

The tale takes place a long time ago "when the heavens were close to us, And the Gods were more familiar." It is the story of Osseo, the son of the Evening Star. A hunter has ten daughters all who marry with the exception of the youngest and the fairest, Oweenee. She has suitors but does not care for them. Oweenee marries instead old Osseo. Cruelly mocking the praying Osseo, the eldest sister wishes his death. Osseo falls into a cavern and then emerges as a young handsome man. Simultaneously, Oweenee is transformed into an old, frail woman. The other sisters and their husbands laugh. Osseo does not reject her and accompanies her to a feast. Then Osseo hears a voice which tells him that the magic spell is finished. The sisters and their husbands become various birds. Oweenee, however, remains as she was. Osseo pleads for Oweenee to be returned to her former self. The Evening Star, Osseo's father, comes to him. The Evening Star warns Osseo about the evil spirit, the Wabeno. Oweenee and Osseo have a son. The boy grows and one day Osseo lets the aunts and uncles out to fly about so that the young boy can practice with his bow and arrow. He shoots one bird, it falls and transforms into a woman. Her blood breaks the spell when it falls to a planet, the Evening star. Iagoo ends the tale by telling the audience that the birds transform again into Little People, the Pud-wudjies who live in the forest. Chibiabos sings a song about a young woman's passion for her lover.

13. Blessing the Cornfields

The Anishinabe prosper in their village. Corn (or Mondamin) grows in the fields. Mondamin draws a magic circle around the fields to protect it from thieves, insects and birds. Kahgahgee, the King of the Ravens mocks Minnehaha and Hiawatha's effort to bless the cornfields. Hiawatha sets a trap for the birds which threatened the cornfields. The trap kills all the birds except for Kahgahgee. In the fall, the crop is harvested.

14. Picture-Writing

Hiawatha devises a system of writing to preserve the memories of his people.

15. Hiawatha's Lamentation

Evil spirits jealously contrive to kill Chibiabos and Hiawatha. Hiawatha senses the danger and warns Chibiabos to be careful. One day, however, Chibiabos goes out by himself to hunt on the waters of Gitche Gumee where the evil spirits were waiting. He falls through the ice and dies. Hiawatha mourns for seven weeks and

he goes through healing ceremonies. Chibiabos rises from the bottom of the lake and journeys four days to the Islands of the Blessed. Hiawatha brings this sacred art of healing to all.

16. Pau-Puk-Keewis

Pau-Puk-Keewis gambles with the men in the village and wins many riches. He visits Hiawatha but no one is there to welcome him. Arrogant with his luck in winning, he vandalizes Hiawatha's home, destroys his mountain chickens, and kills Kahgahgee, the raven. Kayoshe, the sea-gull, sends news of this to Hiawatha.

17. The Hunting of Pau-Puk-Keewis

Hiawatha returns, swears vengeance and begins his pursuit. Pau-Puk-Keewis flees but then comes upon a beaver dam and asks the beavers to change him into one of them. The beavers agree and once inside the lodge Pau-Puk-Keewis vainly asks to be made into the largest beaver. Again, the beavers agree with Pau-Puk-Keewis' request. Despite Pau-Puk-Keewis' effort to hide, Hiawatha finds him. The other beavers escape the lodge but Pau-Puk-Keewis is trapped by his great size. Hiawatha and the other hunters kill Pau-Puk-Keewis but his ghost steals away from them. Once again Hiawatha pursues him. Pau-Puk-Keewis meets a bird and asks to be transformed. Pau-Puk-Keewis is transformed into a large bird but does not take heed of the counsel of the bird who changed him. Hiawatha continues hunting him. Finally, Pau-Puk-Keewis tries to take refuge in the rock caverns. Hiawatha calls upon thunder and lightning to break through the rock. Pau-Puk-Keewis is found dead there and Hiawatha changes him into eagle.

18. The Death of Kwasind

Out of jealousy, the Puk-Wudjies, the Little People, kill Kwasind, the Strong Man.

19. The Ghosts

Ghosts in the guise of strangers enter the village. Hiawatha welcomes them and receives them as guests in his home. For many days, Hiawatha, Minnehaha and Nokomis allow their guest to take the best portions of food and forgive their discourteous behaviour. Late one day, Hiawatha hears the strangers crying and asks them what is causing their grief. They tell Hiawatha that they are ghosts who have come to test his good will. The ghosts reward Hiawatha's actions by warning him of a greater trial to come. The ghosts give Hiawatha instructions about how to prepare graves.

20. The Famine

A severe winter brings famine to Hiawatha's village. Two ghost approach Minnehaha who lies weak and dying. Hiawatha desperately hunts for food and beseeches the Gitche Manito to help. Minnehaha feels death touch her and cries out for Hiawatha. Hiawatha hears her cry and returns to find her dead. He mourns for her and believes that he too will soon follow.

21. The White Man's Foot

The winter passes and Iagoo returns from his travels with news of the coming of the White man. The men and women of the village laugh and do not believe him. Hiawatha tells them that it is so. Iagoo recounts the words of the Gitche Manito who tells the people to welcome the newcomers and accept them as friends. Iagoo has a vision in which the Gitche Manito foretells of a future when the White man will prosper and the Anishinabe nations will decline.

22. Hiawatha's Departure

Hiawatha's grieving ends and as he turns towards the sun he sees a distance form. Then Hiawatha sees the Black Robe and joyfully welcomes him into his village and his home. All the warriors, holy men and healers greet the Black Robe who begins to preach. Everyone accepts his message and they leave to spread the news. Hiawatha tells Nokomis that he must leave and asks her to attend to the Black Robe. He then says goodbye to the people and tells them to listen to the words of the Black Robe. Hiawatha departs by canoe into the evening light for the land of the Hereafter.

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Figure 1

Chief's suit. c.1912
John Gibson of Six Nations, Grand River, Ontario
Canadian Museum of Civilization III-I-327 a,b

Fig. 4. Idealized portrait of Handsome Lake done by an unknown Seneca artist about 1920 and prominently displayed in the Newtown Longhouse, Cattaraugus Reservation. Shallow relief carving on thin wood, diameter about 60 cm. Photograph by William C. Sturtevant. June 27, 1957.

Figure 2

Portrait of Handsome Lake
c.1920

Handbook of the American Indian
Vol. 15, p.448

Figure 3

1943 Indian Conference in Ottawa
Jules Sioui of Wendake and Chief Poking Fire
of Kahnawake are among the participants who
are wearing special occasion dress.

Canadian Museum of Civilization
Contemporary Indian Art file Quebec 1920-1940

HIAWATHA PLAY

Ojibway Indian Actors

DESBARATS, ONT.

(22 miles east of Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.)

Reached from all points on
the Canadian Pacific
Railway System.

Play begins on

JULY 1 and ends SEPT. 5

Hotels will be open longer.

Two hotels at Play ground. Fishing,
shooting, canoeing, swimming,
sailing, camping, & pre life.
One hundred islands.

Figure 4

Advertisement for Hiawatha Play.

July 1903

"The Sault Star." 16 July 1903. n.p.

Figure 5

Cast of 1900 Hiawatha pageant play at Garden River
"The Drama of Hiawatha" Canadian Magazine,
Vol. XVII, N.3, July 1901, p. 209.

Figure 6
Partial view of Hiawatha stage set at Garden River
National Archives of Canada/PA-185666

Figure 7

Hiawatha scene with Minnehaha, Hiawatha and Arrow-maker
"The Drama of Hiawatha" Canadian Magazine,
Vol. XVII, N.3, July 1901, p. 213.

Figure 8

Drawing of an encampment by John White
Native American Architecture. p.54.

PLATE 46

ENCAMPMENT OF DOMICILIATED INDIANS
George Heriot. 1807

Figure 9

George Heriot
Encampment of Domiciliated Indians 1807
The Face of Early Canada. plate 46.

*Penetrating by Anna Jameson of Indian Lodges on Mackinaw Island 1837
 1. Ross Robertson Collection, Metropolitan Library*

Figure 10

Anna Jameson
 Drawing of an encampment at Mackinaw Island 1837
The Embroidered Tent. n.p.

Figure 11

William Henry Bartlett
Wigwam in the Forest c.1840
Canadian Scenery, Vol. 1, title page.

Paul Kane *Indian Encampment on Lake Huron* 1845-6 Canvas 48.2 x 74.6 cm

Figure 12

Paul Kane
Indian Encampment of Lake Huron 1845-6
Art Gallery of Ontario

Figure 13

William Armstrong
Indian Camp, Ontario 1872
W. H. Coverdale Collection of Canadiana. Plate 5.

Figure 14

Lord Dufferin
Sketch drawn at Walpole Island 1874
National Archives of Canada/C-121587.

Figure 15

Drawing of Indian encampment 1843
The Montreal Pocket Almanack, and General Register,
for 1843
National Archives of Canada/C-111640

Figure 16

H.L. Hime

Ojibwa Encampment near the Falls of the Rainy River 1858

The London Illustrated News

National Archives of Canada/C-61753

Figure 17

A View of a part of Lake Superior 1857
Appleton's Illustrated Handbook of American Travel. p.45.

INDIAN CAMP, PINE GROVE.

Figure 18

Indian Camp, Pine Grove 1876
Harper's New Monthly Magazine. Vol. LIII, p.392.

Figure 19

Indoor Hiawatha pageant play
The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario. n.p.

Figure 20

Hiawatha play with artificial lake
Hiawatha, or, Nanabozho and the Land of the Ojibways. n.p.

Figure 21
Indian encampment scene on paddle 1800-1809
Patterns of Power. Plate 39c.

Figure 22

Miami mukuk c.1820-21
Museum fur Volkerkunde, Vienna.
Cat. No. 11997

Figure 23

Model Wigwam 1847-1854

Earl of Elgin and Kincardine Collection, Scotland
The Spirit Sings: A Catalogue of the Exhibition. p.69.

Figure 24

Indian of Canada Pavilion at Expo 67
National Archives of Canada 2296-3.

MAT-TOTEM du VILLAGE HURON (face à la maison du Grand-
chef Max Gros-Louis) (Photo Pierre H. Sarrasin.)

Figure 25

Wendake Indian village
La Nation Huronne. p.109

Figure 26

Charles Bird King
Petalesharro c.1820
The Indian Legacy of Charles Bird King. p.33.

Plate 15-4 Probably the first published illustration of a Plains Indian warrior on horseback, appearing in 1829 (from Fwery, 1963)

Figure 27

Peter Rindisbacher
Sioux Warrior Charging 1829
This Land was Theirs, p.583.

1st. Alfred Jacob Miller. *The Trapper's Bride*.
 Canvas, 100 x 120 cm. Jordan Art
 Museum, Omaha.

Figure 28

Alfred J. Miller
The Trapper's Bride 1850
The West as America. p.176.

3 of/de 3

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

Karl Bodmer
Wahktageli 1833
People of the First Man. p.45.

Figure 30

An American 1894
Buffalo Bill and the Wild West. n.p.

Lib. of Congress, top, Rare Book Div., bottom, Microfilm Shelf, No. 38932.

Fig. 8. Illustrations from 2 of the dime novel series published by Beadle and Adams. Although the illustrations were drawn by a small group of artists, one man was responsible for the majority of them. Most covers were probably executed after the artist read the first 1 or 2 chapters of the book. top left, Cover from reprint of *Malaeska; The Indian Wife of the White Hunter*, by Ann S. Stephens, about 1860. The story takes place during the colonial period in New York City and the Catskill Mountains. top center, Frontispiece from *The Seminole Chief; (Billy Bowlegs) or, The Captives of the Kissimmee* by Lt.-Col. Hazelton, Aug. 29, 1865. top right, Cover from *The White Brave; or The Flower of the Lenape Lodge* by Capt. Murray, June 18, 1872. The story centers on a Delaware chief in 1799. bottom left, Cover from *The Fighting Trapper; or, Kit Carson to the Rescue* by Capt. James F.C. Cooper (Edward S. Ellis), May 21, 1879. bottom center, *Red Renard the Indian Detective; or, The Gold Buzzards of Colorado*, by William F. Cody, Sept. 29, 1886. Whether Cody wrote all his novels himself is disputed. bottom right, *Captain Ready the Red Ransomer; or, Nick Peddie's Wild West Inheritance* by Leon Lewis, Feb. 1, 1888 (Johannsen 1950, 1:8-9, 31, 81, 86, 95, 2.6, 59-60). Drawings probably all by George G. White. Engravings for Dime Novels by Nathaniel Norr and Company, New York, and for Dime Library by John Karst, New York.

Figure 31

Dime store novels 1860-1888
The Handbook of the North American Indian. Vol. 4. p.536.

Figure 69. "Black Hawk," n.d. Tobacco ad. Photo by Rayna Green from the Collection of Business Americana, Museum of History and Technology, Smithsonian Institution.

Figure 32

"Black Hawk" Tobacco Ad
 Rayna Green. "The Only Good Indian:
 The Image of the Indian in American Vernacular Culture." Figure
 69.

Figure 33

George Catlin
Mato-tope 1832
Artists of the Old West. p.69.

Figure 34

Emanuel Leutze
The Founding of Maryland 1860
The West as America. plate 80.

Figure 35

Victor Nehlig
Pocahontas and John Smith 1870
The West as America. plate 71.

Figure 36

Louis Maurer

Hiawatha's Wedding 1858

The Great Book of Currier and Ives's America. p.210.

Figure 37

purses, Woodlands & Maritimes
Mohawk Micmac Maliseet back cover

Figure 38

The People and Island Which Have Been Discovered... ca.1505
The White Man's Indian plate 2

Figure 39

Frances Anne Hopkins
Minnehaha Feeding Birds c.1880
Frances Anne Hopkins 1838-1919. plate 33.

Figure 40

F.O.C. Darley

Scene of Hiawatha c.1881

The Poetical Works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. p.274.

"All the tribes beheld the signal"

Figure 41

Frederick Remington
Scene of Hiawatha 1890
The Song of Hiawatha. (Boston 1901) opposite p.18.

INDIAN UTENSILS.

1. Axe and quiver. 2. Stone mortar and pestle for grain. 3. Fish-hooks, common to northwest coast. 4. Shell spoon. 5. Fire-bag of C'owfoot, head chief of the Black-foot. 6. Rawhide cradle, Apache. 7. Pipe. 8. Stone "metat" for grinding corn.

Figure 42

Frederick Remington
Margin decorations 1890
The Song of Hiawatha (Boston 1901), n.p.

17.

DATE OF DEATH: 11/11/1961

Y. S. M. 2. 4. 6. 8. 10.

O.P. Pak Kewas
 Neme kuh we she tui n kore paze she
 me wan n kore a lino mok nua w
 Che me nua b hime g yun kaly che me
 nua b hime g nua w komaung
 nua w Che me me g zis e yang
 Olu nah wan che b e s u
 Nua g nua me tui wish e nua
 Chibabos we ne nua nua e hime
 Kew kore w e nua nua w che me
 nua b hime g kaly che me g k
 We k komaung nua w che
 Me g zis e wad

Tag nos. 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921,

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$$Y = \{y_i \mid 0 \leq i \leq m, n = 2, 3, \dots\}$$

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Enuh Gah ke nuh ra goo ahnooj kah
 Kahya gah ke nuh bah nah dad
 Enuh ode nan dah moowire wung
 Egewh uhke wan ze yang
 Kahya ah nooj kah ah dis oka win.

Qichu Mowochan — ruze ad azha, moqad kahya

[illegible]

CHIE WAI BAO & JE. GASOUD M. BILAL

*Par Pak Keras kahye opohkenahgaurunna Kahye okand
win ooh Par Pak Keras.*

(Here scenes are sometimes introduced from *Hamlet* that are not mentioned in the play.)

Figure 43

Frederick Remington

Margin decorations 1890

Hiawatha, or, Nanabozho and the Land of the Ojibways. p.19.

Figures 44 - 47

Left to Right:

Scarf with Brooches, Eastern Great Lakes late 18th century
 Headdress, Eastern Great Lakes c.1780

Breast Plates, Eastern Great Lakes c.1780

Breechcloth, Eastern Great Lakes c.1780

The Spirit Sings: A Catalogue of the Exhibition. p.66

Figures 48 - 49

Shirt, Great Lakes late 18th century

Leggings, Cayuga late 19th century

The Spirit Sings: A Catalogue of the Exhibition, p.66

Figures 50 - 51

Blanket, Iroquois 19th century
Moccasins, Eastern Great Lakes late 18th century
The Spirit Sings: A Catalogue of the Exhibition, p.67

Figures 52 - 53

Sash, Eastern Great Lakes c.1776

Garter Pendants, Eastern Great Lakes c.1776

The Spirit Sings: A Catalogue of the Exhibition, p.67.

Figure 54

Little Pine, The Eclipse and The Great Warrior
Illustrated London News, September 15, 1849. p.180.
Robert Stacey Collection.

Figure 55

Buhkujjenene in England c.1872
Missionary Work among the Ojebway Indians. p. 97.

E.F. WILSON and BUHKWUJJENENE

At Wilson's father's house in London, England, during their 1872 "Teaching Wigwam" fund-raising tour.

Figure 56

E.F. Wilson and Buhkwujjenene c. 1872
Little Pine's Journal p.8. Robert Stacey Collection.

CHIEF BUHKWUJJENENE

In traditional dress during his English tour, 1872. Buhkwujjenene addressed many audiences with Wilson translating.

Figure 57

Chief Buhkwujjenene c. 1872
Little Pine's Journal. p.8. Robert Stacey Collection.

Figure 58

Chief Buhkwujjenene addressing a British audience c.1872
Missionary Work among the Ojebway Indians. p.102.

Figure 59

Chief Buhkwujjenene addressing a British audience c.1872
Missionary Work among the Ojebway Indians. p.106

CHIEF AUGUSTINE SHINGWAUK
(1800 - 1890)

Figure 60

Chief Augustine Shingwauk. n.d.
Little Pine's Journal. n.p. Robert Stacey Collection.

GROUP OF CHRISTIAN INDIANS, GARDEN RIVER.

Figure 61

Group of Christian Indians, Garden River. c.1904
Sketches of Indian Life. opposite p.40.

Figure 62

Anishinabe women and children c. 1900

The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario. n.p. (Archives of Ontario S-2471)

Figure 63

Anishinabe women, men and children c.1904
Sketches of Indian Life. opposite p.18.

Augustine Shingwauk (pictured above with his wife)

Figure 64

Chief Augustine Shingwauk and wife n.d.
Ontario Indian. "Shingwauk School." October 1980, p.22.

Figure 65

Minnehaha 1902
The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario. n.p.

Figure 66

Minnehaha c.1902
Archives of Ontario - S16357

Figure 67

Pau-Puk-Keewis c.1900
 "The Drama of Hiawatha, or Manabozho" Canadian Magazine,
 V. XVII, N.3, July 1901, p.217.

Figure 68

Minnehaha c.1900
"The Drama of Hiawatha, or Manabozho" Canadian Magazine,
V. XVII, N.3, July 1901, p.213.

Figure 69

George Kabaosa with daughters and son c.1902
Archives of Ontario - S16354.

*Collar with floral motifs
(photograph courtesy of
National Museums of
Canada)*

Figure 70

**Woodlands beaded collar n.d.
Mohawk Micmac Maliseet, p.24.**

Figure 71

Hiawatha in the Drama of 1904
Hiawatha, or, Nanabozho and the Land of the Ojibways. p.7.

Figure 72

Hiawatha c.1904
National Archives of Canada/PA-185667.

Figure 73

Metis-Cree coat. c.1840-60
Art of American Indian Frontier. p.173.

Figure 74

Hiawatha encampment scene c.1904
National Archives of Canada/PA-185665.

Figure 75

Nokomis and child. c.1904
National Archives of Canada/PA-185668.

Figure 76

Lemuel M. Fielding 1920
Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 15, p.186

Figure 77

Women's Dance. Jim Skye Dancers 1992
Native American Dance. p.31.

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