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"To Show the Public That We Were Good Indians": Origins and Meanings of the Meskwaki Powwow

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On 19 June 1916, one hundred thousand tourists gathered together in Rock Island, Illinois, to watch an "Old Indian Village" go up in flames. President Wilson foreshadowed this theater of genocide earlier that evening. From the oval office, Wilson pushed a button that resulted in the electrification of the Fort Armstrong Centennial Celebration. The following morning celebrants woke up from this awesome display of regeneration through violence and attended a historical pageant named *Progress.*[1] Members of the Red Men of Davenport and the Ladies Auxiliary reenacted the 1780 battle in which George Rogers Clark descended on a Sac Indian village on the Rock River and destroyed it. After the 1916 reenactment, *The Rock Island Argus* reported that as the village smoldered, "an Indian prophet rose proclaiming the early close of the supremacy of the red man and the approach of the day when the white would rule." The newspaper promoted the event with a headline that read: "Tribal Ceremonies Exemplified, After Which Whites Attack and Leave Place Mass of Ruins." At first glance, the Fort Armstrong Centennial Celebration confirms the scientific racism of the age. But the Progress exhibit could not have taken place without the help of Meskwaki tribal members who were paid to build the Old Indian Village that later went up in flames. The Fort Armstrong Centennial Celebration was just one event in a series of field days, powwows, and pageants in which Native and non-Native worlds came together. Far from evidence of the inevitable decline of American Indians, Meskwaki participants used events such as the centennial celebration to make a case for community survival even as advocates of allotment and boarding schools sought to diminish tribal sovereignty.[2]

By 1916, the Meskwaki people had grown accustomed to hosting a range of Christian missionaries, anthropologists, hobbyists, and tourists who began

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Figure 1. *On 23 June 1916, Chief Pushetonequa posed for this photograph during the Rock Island Centennial Celebration. Courtesy of Special Collections, Augustana College Tredway Library, Rock Island, IL, John Henry Hauberg Papers. Available at Upper Mississippi Valley Digital Image Archive.*

traveling to their settlement during the last decade of the nineteenth century. For example, the Meskwaki chief, Pushetonequa, as well as a Sac and Fox descendant of Black Hawk, Logan Kakaqua, had established a working relationship with the industrialist and amateur historian John Henry Hauberg (see fig. 1). As one of the central organizers of the centennial celebration, Hauberg invited Meskwaki, Sac and Fox, and Potawatomi tribal members out of a commitment to authenticity and a desire for verisimilitude. While recruiting tribal members, each of whom received two dollars per day plus expenses for attending, Hauberg promised the twenty-five tribal members who attended the celebration that he was "sure" that "they would have a very fine time." With the help of Hauberg and the tourists he attracted, the Meskwaki people confirm historian Paige Raibmon's argument that engaging popular fantasies about Native people enabled American Indians to "assert their right to a place *within* modernity."[3]

By the turn of the twentieth century, the Meskwaki people found themselves locked in a struggle over cultural sovereignty with reformers and Indian agents who were sent to work with their people in Tama, Iowa. In

1901, just fifteen years before the centennial celebration, US Indian agent William Malin responded to a smallpox epidemic at the Meskwaki settlement by ordering their village to be burned. The epidemic struck with virulent force, killing between forty-five and fifty of the approximately four hundred members of the community. Malin saw the epidemic as an opportunity to destroy the central village and disperse the Meskwaki across the 2,800 acres of tribally owned land. Everything from wickiups, to ceremonial objects, to clothing was burned in an attempt to control the epidemic and advance assimilation. After 1901, the Meskwaki no longer lived in a central village. Families scattered across the reservation for fear of the epidemic's return. Malin was convinced that "the Indians emerged from the ordeal . . . with a higher and better conception of the white man's civilization."[4]

The fires of 1901 and 1916 signaled a new era for the Meskwaki people, as tribal members negotiated the competing demands of tourists interested in displays of primitivism, reformers committed to the assimilation of Native peoples, and a new class of professional ethnologists whose central mission, in Franz Boas's view, "should be the dissemination of the fact that civilization is not something absolute, but that it is relative, and our ideas and conceptions are true only so far as our civilization goes."[5] For Boas and his students (two of whom later did research among the Meskwaki), rigorous, professional ethnological research might counteract the social Darwinism that grew out of late-nineteenth-century science. In contrast, many reformers seemed to occupy a parallel universe in which nineteenth-century science was used to justify the assimilation of Native peoples.

By the turn of the twentieth century, the Meskwakis decided that they needed their non-Indian neighbors in new ways. After the smallpox epidemic and the destruction of their central village, the Meskwaki struggled to make an argument for their distinctive culture and the community that sustained it as the modern condition of "rootlessness and mobility" became normative across the Upper Midwest. But as historian James Clifford has shown, "distinct ways of life once destined to merge into the modern world reasserted their difference, in novel ways."[6] According to Meskwaki tribal historian Johnathan Buffalo, powwows and other public events gave his people the chance "to show the public that we were good Indians."[7] The Meskwaki decision to invite the public into choreographed powwows and "celebrations" illustrates anthropologist Loretta Fowler's point that these public ceremonies were "an expression of modern identities, values, and interpretations of the past."[8]

This article explores the connection between the 1901 fire that destroyed the central village of the Meskwaki people and the "progress" spectacle of 1916. At first glance, the Fort Armstrong Centennial Celebration seemed to celebrate the destruction of American Indian sovereignty in the midwestern United States. But Meskwaki participation in the 1916 event reflects a deliberate strategy by the Meskwaki people, many of whom sought to arouse interest in their culture in order to redefine the terms of engagement with their non-Indian neighbors. Tourists, hobbyists, and a small number of anthropologists enabled tribal members to promote this paradigm shift in Indian-white relations. The Meskwaki intentionally deployed American popular culture in the

defense of tribal sovereignty. By the time of the Fort Armstrong Centennial Celebration, the Meskwaki had created a number of venues, centered on their late-summer powwow, in which tribal members clearly asserted their right to cultural and political sovereignty within the twentieth-century United States.

The Meskwaki had not always been interested in public performances. In 1893, the Indian agent to the Meskwaki, W. R. Lesser, believed that the Meskwakis had "a supreme desire to be let alone." Lesser was clearly offended by the Meskwaki's expansive definition of cultural privacy. He wrote that "every Indian I met, either on the road, or at their homes, would invariably inquire 'Where you going?' 'What you want?'" Dramatic changes in north-central Iowa informed the Meskwaki's suspicion of agent Lesser. The old order, based on the Indian trade, had faded. Commercial agriculture, driven by the "corn-hog complex," came to dominate Iowa's farm economy. By the 1880s, Iowa surpassed Illinois as the leading corn producer in the nation. By this time vast rail lines shipped Iowa hogs to meat-packing plants in Chicago. In contrast, the Meskwaki maintained subsistence farms that required little engagement with the cash economy. The Meskwaki refusal to divide the settlement into individually owned farms challenged Iowans' belief in commercial agriculture and the sanctity of private property. In response to these trends, Lesser came to believe that the compulsory education of Meskwaki children might promote individualism and economic change. Secondly, he chastised Meskwaki ceremonialists for their ongoing commitment to the old ways.[9] The Meskwakis responded by working harder to divide their cultural system into public and private spheres, based in part on the prejudices of the outsiders surrounding them.

Agent Lesser particularly abhorred the clan-bundle ceremonies that are at the center of Meskwaki culture and identity. Each of the eight clans that make up the Meskwaki tribe possesses a sacred bundle that came to the clan through a vision by one of their ancestors long ago. Members of each clan group can draw on the strength of the clan bundle and the original vision that led to its creation "as long as the packs [are] properly maintained and their rituals performed." Lesser and his successors became obsessed with the clan-bundle ceremonies out of a recognition of their importance to the survival of Meskwaki culture. He believed that "their custom of dancing and dog feasts is a great barrier to civilization."[10] Horace M. Rebok, the US Indian agent from 1894 to 1899, confirmed Lesser's complaints, remarking that "our Indians practice the religion of their fathers with a strictness that admits of no innovations."[11]

Lesser's righteous indignation at Meskwaki conservatism characterized the increasingly strident calls for assimilation in both the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the wider American public. Prior to Lesser's arrival, the Meskwakis experienced Iowa as a relative sanctuary from the assimilation-minded missionaries who had confronted them in Indian Territory. In the 1850s, more than eighty Meskwakis left the reservation they shared with their Sac relatives in Indian Territory, just west of Missouri, in order to avoid the pressures of allotment and Christian conversion. Calls for the removal or assimilation of Native people had steadily increased as Indian Territory became the next

frontier of settlement after the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. The Meskwakis refused these stark options. Rather than face removal farther south with their Sac and Fox (Meskwaki) kinsmen (to what is now Oklahoma), most of those who were ethnically Meskwaki chose to return to their former homelands along the Iowa River. The move to Iowa brought an end to federal recognition of the Meskwaki people. Bereft of treaty annuities and other forms of federal support, they chose to return to their homelands rather than face assimilation in Indian Territory. This schism ended an alliance between the Sac and Fox people that dated to the early eighteenth century. After their return to Iowa, the Fox preferred to be identified by the name they gave themselves, the Meskwaki, or "people of the red earth." In July 1857, their return as private landowners, free from federal supervision, became possible when a farmer in Tama County, Iowa, sold the renegade Meskwaki eighty acres. In 1895, Moses Keokuk and Jack Bear, two members of the Sac and Fox of Oklahoma, recalled that "the reason these people went back to Iowa was that they hated the white man's ways, and did not want their children educated." In contrast, the Meskwakis had a more straightforward interpretation. Their ongoing attachment to their homeland and their displeasure with government chiefs such as Keokuk were reason enough for returning to Iowa.[12]

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, the Meskwaki added to their acreage and paid taxes to the state of Iowa through work as farm laborers, the leasing of land, the sale of furs, and the occasional cultural performances for neighboring whites. In 1867, when the federal government restored recognition to the Meskwaki people, the tribe began adding to their acreage through treaty annuities and proceeds from the sale of their former reservation lands in what is now Kansas. By the turn of the century, the Meskwaki had amassed nearly three thousand acres of privately owned land. Because this land had not been granted to the tribe through treaty, federal jurisdiction over the settlement was extremely limited. Under the law, the Meskwaki were treated as private residents of the state of Iowa. Their anomalous position, as a sovereign, private community with federal recognition, frustrated US Indian agents and the Meskwaki's non-Indian neighbors. Champions of assimilation, such as Lesser and Rebok, wanted the coercive authority that typically came with federal recognition.

But even without those powers, economic necessity required the Meskwaki to make subtle adjustments in the traditional seasonal economy, based on women as farmers in the summer months and men as hunters in the winter months. In 1869, the local newspaper reported that "during the winter season most of them go away to hunt or trap."[13] However, during the last three decades of the nineteenth century, the increased use of drainage ditches and farm tiling by non-Indian farmers across the state of Iowa destroyed the habitats of small fur-bearing animals, including mink, otter, and muskrat, upon which Native hunters depended. "Game laws and barbed wire fences" further limited hunting and fishing in the region.[14] Meskwaki men made up for the decline of fur-bearing animals through public performances for non-Indian audiences. In 1870, the *Tama Citizen* reported a Fourth of July celebration in which "there was a Muskwakie Indian war dance for which the Redskins received $20."[15] These

economic adjustments did not lead to deeper cultural concessions from the tribe, particularly with regard to religious practices and education. In 1897, Rebok admitted that "although there has been a mission at the agency for about fifteen years not a single Indian has adopted the Christian faith."[16]

Between 1894 and 1901, non-Indian frustrations with Meskwaki cultural and political sovereignty led to a wide-ranging contest for power in Tama County. Rebok initiated conflict in 1894, when he became the Meskwaki Indian agent. He organized a philanthropic organization devoted to assimilation named the Indian Rights Association of Iowa. As editor of the *Tama County Democrat*, Rebok became the spokesperson for non-Indian discontent with Meskwaki resistance.

In July 1895, Rebok enlisted the support of the Dakota statesman, graduate of Carlisle Academy, and physician Charles Eastman, who approached the Meskwaki with a message of reform. As a missionary for the Young Men's Christian Association, Eastman recalled that "one of the strongest rebukes I ever received from an Indian for my acceptance of these ideals and philosophy was administered by an old chief of the Sac and Fox [Meskwaki] tribe in Iowa." Eastman began his July visit by giving a speech before Meskwaki elders. He recalled that his confidence rose because he had "made, I thought, a pretty good speech."[17] Nevertheless, a Meskwaki elder laconically replied that,

> the white man had showed neither respect for nature nor reverence toward God but, he thought, tried to buy God with the by-products of nature. He tried to buy his way into heaven, but he did not even know where heaven is. "As for us," he concluded, "we shall follow the old trail. If you should live long, and some day the Great Spirit shall permit you to visit us again, you will find us still Indians, eating with wooden spoons out of bowls of wood."[18]

The elder's rebuke hinges upon the use of wooden bowls and spoons carved from the burls of trees. Known as the "ceremonial runner's bowl," they were made to commemorate a time "long before these white men came," when ceremonial runners determined everything from when it rained to when sacred ceremonies were performed. Such bowls were thus an ethnic marker of enormous significance. They symbolized a time when the Meskwaki were culturally sovereign, free from the heavy hand of dependency on non-Indians.[19]

Eastman's failure did not weaken Rebok's commitment to reform. In February 1896, Rebok convinced the state of Iowa to transfer the Meskwaki settlement from the administration of the state to the federal government. Rebok succeeded in his efforts through effective propaganda in the local media, coupled with damning reports of Meskwaki resistance that he sent to the commissioner of Indian Affairs. In one such publication, he precipitated the crisis by claiming that "we have here today the worst problem to deal with . . . among any Indians of the United States." In order for progress to be achieved, Rebok believed that reformers had "to break the power and influence of the chiefs and medicine men."[20]

After 1896, residents of the settlement became wards of the federal government. Rebok believed that the Indian agent could withhold subsistence rations or cash payments from treaties to traditional Meskwaki families. Parental authority and tribal sovereignty was no longer possible. Rebok proudly asserted that "prior to this legislation the agent could exercise little or no authority and the Indians were well aware of this fact and often took advantage of it." As private property held in common by tribal members, Meskwakis "who did not approve of the course of the agent at times would order him from the grounds and even attempt to enforce their demand."[21]

In September 1898, Rebok and his allies furthered their assault on Meskwaki culture when they founded a boarding school approximately four miles from the settlement in Toledo, Iowa. Members of the Indian Rights Association now had the institution, and the authority, to advance Meskwaki assimilation. Chief Pushetonequa soon arrived at the center of the boarding school controversy. Not surprisingly, he was also a crucial supporter of Hauberg in his efforts to bring Meskwaki performers to the Fort Armstrong Centennial Celebration. Pushetonequa came to power in 1881, when members of the Bear Clan (the tribe from which hereditary leaders derive) decided that the son of the deceased chief was too young for the task. Prior to Rebok's ascension to power, traditionalists supported Pushetonequa. After 1896, Rebok challenged Pushetonequa's authority by claiming guardianship over orphaned Meskwaki children and promoting compulsory education. At least initially, Pushetonequa fought back. According to members of the Indian Rights Association, he warned them that "you may come and kill us, but we will not give you our children."[22] Meskwaki families further resisted Rebok by refusing to accept their treaty annuity payments. They feared that the payments amounted to a bribe in exchange for their children.[23]

Trust in their chief held until November 1898, when Pushetonequa chose to enroll his children in the boarding school. His opponents saw this move as tacit acceptance of Rebok's plans for them. Enrollment jumped from less than five children in 1895 to more than fifty children in 1899. According to Allie Busby, a non-Indian teacher familiar with the Meskwaki, the "industrial education" at the boarding school was designed to "fit the Indian to earn his own living" and "cast from him the indolence of his race."[24]

Creative tension between Old Bear "traditionalists" and Young Bear "progressives" has informed Meskwaki histories of the boarding school controversy ever since.[25] Old Bear historian Donald Wanatee has written that in exchange for supporting the boarding school, Pushetonequa received an annual salary of $500 as well as government recognition of his chiefly status. Pushetonequa contributed to his controversial legacy. For example, Pushetonequa used his non-Indian allies to further his advantage over his Meskwaki opponents. During negotiations regarding the Fort Armstrong Centennial Celebration, Pushetonequa warned Hauberg not to "write any other men of the tribe if you want good men." As a result of Pushetonequa's actions, Wanatee writes, tribal members "found themselves in a position of definite subordination to the power of the federal agent," as well as the government chief, Pushetonequa. When Pushetonequa died in 1919, his son,

Figure 2. *On 22 June 1916, Pushetonequa's allies in the Young Bear family posed for this photograph during the Fort Armstrong Centennial Celebration. Courtesy of Special Collections, Augustana College Tredway Library, Rock Island, IL, John Henry Hauberg Papers. Available at Upper Mississippi Valley Digital Image Archive.*

Young Bear, succeeded him (see fig. 2). As a consequence, both Pushetonequa and Young Bear presided over an ongoing political fracture in the political and ceremonial life of the community.[26]

Concomitant with their desire for compulsory education, members of the Indian Rights Association attacked the right of traditional Meskwaki medicine men to heal their kinsmen. Rebok first tried to force Meskwaki families to visit a non-Indian doctor hired by the Indian agency. In January 1899, Rebok's frustration with Meskwakis who preferred traditional healers led to the arrest and imprisonment of Y-ta-tah-wah, a noted healer in the tribe. Rebok charged Y-ta-tah-wah with "practicing medicine in Iowa without a permit."[27] Old Bear Meskwaki, and Rebok opponent, Jim Peters won Y-ta-tah-wah's release. Peters then filed a false imprisonment charge against Rebok and Malin, which resulted in a cash settlement in Y-ta-tah-wah's favor.

Y-ta-tah-wah's legal vindication emboldened the Old Bear faction to challenge legally Rebok's right to force Meskwaki children to attend the local boarding school. The federal court of the Northern District of Iowa ruled in favor of the Meskwaki in this case as well. Presiding Judge Oliver P. Shiras found that the Indian agent and school superintendent "cannot by force or

compulsion take the Indian children from the reservation . . . without the consent of the parents." Joseph Caldwell, a local judge and member of the Indian Rights Association, reported that "when the news reached the Indians, the school was practically depopulated in a day."[28] The defeat of the boarding school and Y-ta-tah-wah's victory diminished Pushetonequa's power over the reservation.[29]

Amid this context of forced economic and legal coercion, the Meskwaki began using cultural performances before non-Indian audiences to offset the power of reformers and supplement the tribal economy as wage labor became essential for survival. The Meskwaki may have been inspired to do so by members of the Ho-Chunk Nation in Black River Falls, Wisconsin, with whom they share a long history of alliance and intertribal visiting. In 1895, Meskwakis traveled to Black River Falls to perform "an Indian War Dance" before a large number of non-Indians. By 1898, they had created similar venues in Iowa. Preston Duncan, a tribal elder in the Meskwaki Nation, was told that visitors from the Ho-Chunk, Potawatomi, Dakota, Omaha, Menominee, and a host of Oklahoma tribes supported the Meskwaki powwow in the early days. But in Duncan's opinion, the Meskwaki powwow has always been a distinctively Meskwaki event. Growing out of the corn harvest ceremony, the powwow "was like Thanksgiving, being thankful for corn and beans, and there was no money involved." Though tribal and non-Indian visitors influenced the powwow, the event grew out of Meskwaki culture and the harvest dances that were part of their seasonal round. Although the powwow was open to the public, it became a new means of expressing old values. The Meskwaki's non-Indian neighbors understood that the Meskwaki had "two kinds of dances." A local teacher, A. D. Bicknell wrote that one series of dances is "sacred" and performed for and "by the faithful alone," while their "annual thanksgiving" in August is performed "with an open door to the white man."[30]

In 1902, the August "thanksgiving" had evolved into a field-days event that resembled a county fair with foot races, games, and agricultural competitions. By 1913, the annual powwow had replaced the field days. As a result of these prolonged encounters with reformers, tourists, hobbyists, and professional ethnologists, the Meskwaki had become keenly aware of their iconic status as archetypes of frontier history and premodern masculinity. They used cultural performances such as the powwow to satisfy outside interest in nostalgic renderings of Native culture. The powwow also became a kind of cultural shield. As one tribal member put it, "come and look at us, we'll sing and dance. After the four days, we'll close our doors."[31] The Meskwaki used the powwow to cultivate support for the Meskwaki community even as it shielded its most sacred rituals, particularly the clan-bundle ceremonies, from public view.

The Meskwaki maintained their relevance and survival by engaging the growing interest in Native American cultures among tourists, hobbyists, and anthropologists alike. As the Upper Midwest shifted toward commercial agriculture and related industries such as farm machinery in cities such as Rock Island and Chicago, the Meskwaki began finding advocates among non-Indians who were increasingly critical of modernity. The Meskwaki sensed this

cultural shift toward individualism, urbanism, and anonymity. The Meskwaki knew far more about mainstream beliefs and practices than their non-Indian visitors did about them. Local Tama County historian Caldwell marveled at Meskwaki Chief Pushetonequa's ability to mingle with neighboring whites. According to Caldwell, Pushetonequa "judiciously courts the friendship and favor of influential men of the neighboring towns." As a consequence, his knowledge of non-Indians "frequently surprises those who have dealings with him."[32] Pushetonequa's astute observations helped the Meskwaki engage American interest in nostalgic renderings of the frontier. Tribal members married nostalgic yearnings for the past to events in which culture was offered as a modern commodity.

As reformers began their assault on Meskwaki cultural sovereignty, a new wave of ethnic adventurers and professional ethnologists began visiting the settlement. In 1897, William R. Jones became the first professional ethnologist to visit the Tama community. Born in 1871 on the Sac and Fox Reservation in Oklahoma, Jones's father was a tribal member and his mother was English. After his mother's death when he was a year old, his Sac and Fox grandmother raised Jones. Upon her death, when he was nine years old, Jones moved between a Quaker boarding school in Indiana and near Stroud, Oklahoma, where he lived as a cowboy with his father. Like many people who were transformed by the widespread economic and cultural transitions at work in American society, Jones felt sadness and awe at the advent of industrialization. Upon returning to his childhood home in 1907, the year of Oklahoma statehood, Jones's wrote that "I wish the Plains could have remained as they were when I was a 'kid.'. . . I cannot put into words the feeling of remorse that rose within me at the things I saw." The Oklahoma oil boom had brought with it everything from grocery stores to wire fences. For Jones, changes in the land foreshadowed a new reality that "the virgin prairies were no more."[33]

The passing of natural abundance, of the outdoor life, led Jones to accept a one-way ticket to Virginia, where he enrolled at the boarding school designed for African American freedmen, the Hampton Institute. He went on to study the emerging field of ethnography under R. W. Putnam at Harvard University. Putnam then recommended him to the noted anthropologist, Franz Boas. In 1904, Jones received his PhD under Boas at Columbia University. Sac and Fox relatives marveled at his accomplishments and the distance his triumphs had created between his world and theirs. In an interview with one Sac and Fox woman in 1918, the elder recalled that Jones "never lost a syllable" (of his Indian language), but "it was even hard to understand him" when he returned home from eastern schools.[34]

Putnam, Boas, and other noted anthropologists such as James Owen Dorsey urged Jones to use his heritage as a means of acquiring scientific information from the Sac and Fox and related tribes. Jones took their advice and initiated fieldwork among the Meskwaki in 1897. He lived with a family in their summerhouse made of cattail woven mats set atop bent willow branches to form a dome-shaped wickiup. He was also adopted and given a name, Megasiáwa, or Black Eagle. Jones returned his host family's kindness by taking them to the local circus. His father even traveled to the settlement to meet

his host family. Jones respected his adoptive family's wishes by agreeing to withhold publication of his ethnographic research until after his interlocutors' death in order to protect the family from derision for sharing sacred knowledge with outsiders. Jones's unparalleled access included the clan-bundle ceremonies and a thanksgiving, or green corn ceremony, which took place on 15 August 1897. He noted that "the Indians have been holding their prepatory feastings, prayers, and singing. When all the gens [clans] have done this, then the dance will come off."[35]

As a student of Boas, Jones was a historical particularist who was interested in collecting and interpreting regional folktales that might open windows into the core values and principles of the Meskwaki people. Accordingly, Jones devoted part of his time in the Upper Midwest to discovering authentic Algonquian traits by untangling fact from fiction in Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's famous poem, *Song of Hiawatha*. Jones argued that "the background of the *Song of Hiawatha* is the mythology of the Ojibways. Now by means of these tales [collected by Jones] one can pick out just what is Indian and what is poet's fancy." Engaging public audiences in romantic, seemingly inauthentic performances clearly bothered Jones. Though Jones struggled to discover the authentic in the *Song of Hiawatha*, he completely ignored the field-days event. His efforts to separate authentic, "core" values from what he believed were inauthentic innovations failed to dissuade the Meskwaki.[36] After Jones's death, the Meskwaki incorporated a Hiawatha pageant into their annual powwow. Jones's allegiance to synchronic analyses grounded in precontact practices made it difficult for him to understand what religious studies scholar Michael D. McNally describes as the "cultural politics involved when Native people played Indian."[37]

Between 1897 and 1907, Jones spent a majority of his time on the settlement. He produced a number of articles and voluminous field notes derived from his observations. But in spite of his familial relations with the Meskwaki, Jones maintained his cultural distance.[38] In June 1902, Jones recorded that "I had a narrow escape this morning from a delectable bite of cooked dog." He described a "parasitic crowd of Pottawattomies, Chippewas, Winnebagoes, and others" at a Meskwaki ceremony who were "dancing like mad and whooping war-whoops like warriors in a fight."[39]

Like Rebok, Jones believed that the clan-bundle ceremonies were vestiges of a past world that were doomed to extinction. The Meskwaki belief in cultural privacy, in their right "to shield themselves from unwanted scrutiny," seemed to foreshadow their demise. Jones's ritual observances, which took place at the height of Rebok's assault on Meskwaki sovereignty, catalog the Meskwaki commitment to cultural privacy. Jones noted that the Meskwaki placed guards outside of ceremonial longhouses during the clan-bundle ceremonies. According to Jones, "no one enters except those who are invited. White people are not wanted to look in through the door and cracks during dancing and feasting." For Jones, the Meskwaki rejection of integration would ultimately be the undoing of Native people who had failed to adjust to modernity and middle-class standards of belief and behavior. Jones's ambivalence about Native cultures ultimately led to his undoing. In 1909 the Ilongot

people of the Philippines killed him after he pressured them to provide him with artifacts that they could not produce according to his timetable.[40]

In July 1911, another ethnologist and linguist named Truman Michelson arrived and began recording Meskwaki ritual performances. For the next twenty years, Michelson developed a close relationship with Pushetonequa's rivals in the Old Bear ceremonial community. Like Jones, Michelson became an expert on the clan-bundle ceremonies at the center of Meskwaki ritual life. For Michelson, who, like Jones, worked with Boas, the intersection of language and culture offered a window into "fundamental ethnic ideas" that might offer insights into Meskwaki culture as a whole. Innovative ritual practices such as the powwow bridged the gap between insiders and outsiders, private and public, and were not meaningful expressions of the core values that reflected Meskwaki culture. As a descriptive ethnographer interested, like Jones, in synchronic assessments of cultural systems, Michelson had few rivals. As a result, Michelson never bothered to record the innovative cultural adjustments crafted by the Meskwaki during his tenure in the community.[41]

Nevertheless, Michelson's numerous publications include passages in which Meskwaki interlocutors reveal their discontent with the assimilation-minded reformers surrounding them. One of Michelson's informants believed that "the white man has ruined the Indians. Before he was ruined by the white man, the Indian long ago had his own laws. That was the way of the Meskwaki." He then violated taboos against the sharing of information with outsiders; a decision informed to some extent by the creation of the boarding school and the imposition of federal power over the Meskwaki settlement. Michelson's informant felt justified in disclosing privileged information. He rationalized that "the young people do not believe in this to-day . . . it is no longer used to-day, as all the children go to school."[42]

The anthropologists, historians, boosters, intellectuals, and local reformers who visited the settlement contributed to a community at war with itself. Anthropologists hungry for material culture and traditional knowledge furthered the division between the Old Bear and Young Bear factions. After purchasing a sacred pack from one of his informants, the seller asked Michelson "that it be not disclosed for some time, in order that he might not suffer socially or politically for having disposed of his sacred pack." But it is also clear that Michelson's informants were not entirely aware of what he would do with their material affects. His linguistic ability, coupled with his long tenure among the Meskwaki, led some to believe that he would be yet another guardian in a long line of sacred-pack keepers. His informant assumed that Michelson would "take care of the sacred pack . . . [that] he will soon have to give a gens [clan-bundle ceremony] festival, he must remember it . . . he will surely be helped by it if he takes good care of it."[43] Michelson's legacy among the Meskwaki is, at best, mixed. The publication of numerous reports detailing the clan-bundle ceremonies, and the purchase of some sacred bundles, both remain sources of contention on the Meskwaki settlement.

In 1913, when Hauberg first visited the settlement, tribal members came to know a person who was neither a professionally trained anthropologist nor a reformer obsessed with assimilation. Hauberg was motivated by the value of

living Native cultures and their possible revitalizing effect on local communities and the young men who would eventually lead them. For Hauberg, the centennial celebration and the powwow fit within a broad effort to reconnect himself and his community to the first pioneers and the Sac and Fox people with whom they lived.

Like Buffalo Bill, who was born just across the Mississippi River in LeClaire, Iowa, Hauberg was interested in the redemptive power of Indian performance. Hauberg hit upon a solution to the challenges of a new age, predicated as it was on managing capital and resources. Machines and cities, in his view, were the antithesis of manhood. He began to use history to bridge the gap among generations, economies, and cultures. Through a combination of powwows, historical programs, camps, and tours of actual Indian communities, Hauberg offered new perspectives regarding Indian people that moved beyond reenactments of frontier violence. A wealthy lumber magnate by day, Hauberg came to view history as his true calling. His self-described "Indian room" at his mansion was "filled with books about the ghosts of the Sacs, the Foxes." Asked why he became so obsessed with history, he "guessed that it's just a manifestation of the collector's spirit. Some people collect stamps or guns or antiques. My interest has been history."[44]

Though Hauberg and other white middle-class men shared an obsession with what historian E. Anthony Rotundo calls the "masculine primitive," it is clear that Hauberg moved beyond fantasies of American Indian adventures.[45] Men such as Hauberg believed that neurasthenia and other disorders associated with urban, industrial America could be cured through camping organizations and, of all things, knowledge of history (see fig. 3). Dr. Charles W. Eliot, president emeritus of Harvard, went so far as to say that "the organized summer camp is the most important step in education that America has given the world."[46] In their view, history and nature would restore pride in place and person.

In 1909 Hauberg created what became known as the "Big Hike." Tailored for boys around the ages of eleven and twelve, Hauberg described these big hikes as "an individual attempt to hold boys' interest in the Sunday School program."[47] Struggle in the wilderness thus revitalized Protestant Christianity and offered the perfect cure for "sissified" boys. Hauberg believed that hiking would not only improve their masculinity but also save their souls in the process. He argued that "the outing . . . which leaves the most possible to the boy's own devices, comes nearest to the Boy Scout ideal."[48]

Most big hikes involved a trip to the Meskwaki settlement, and it soon became the most popular destination on Hauberg's itinerary. Accordingly, Hauberg blended cross-cultural encounters with Native people, physical tests, and character-building exercises into a stew of historical masculinity. Caring for horses and sleeping outdoors were common. Hauberg and the twenty to thirty kids he hauled along with him often took pride in the calamities they experienced on the trail. At the annual banquet held after the completion of each big hike, kids recited poems lauding the benefits of drinking alkali water and sleeping in a cold rain. Hauberg supported these sentiments. He believed that he had "never heard any of the fellows say they were thankful

Figure 3. *On 20 July 1914, three boys who were probably attending Camp Hauberg reenacted frontier violence at a monument commemorating an engagement with Black Hawk during the War of 1812. Courtesy of Special Collections, Augustana College Tredway Library, Rock Island, IL, John Henry Hauberg Papers.*

for so much rain, mud and inconvenience, but character building goes on with quickened pace where hardship is met and overcome." In 1914, Hauberg reminisced about one particularly tough outing with Meskwaki elder Clif Ellis. Hauberg expressed his "heartiest thanks for your splendid hospitality, for we were scarcely more than a lot of drowned rats." Yet it proved for him to be "the most successful of all our outings . . . [because] the Indians proved to be most fascinating" (see fig. 4).[49]

Hauberg's interest in Christ-like male leaders and models of masculinity led him to the person of Chief Black Hawk.[50] Through the memory of Black Hawk, Hauberg wanted to infuse the rivers, streams, and historic sites of the Upper Midwest with an almost sacred character. Modern transience, coupled with what he perceived to be the feminizing effect of white-collar work, might be combated by the history of the Black Hawk War and interaction with Black Hawk's survivors. In a manual designed to promote same-sex camps for girls and boys, Hauberg created a historic tour of the Rock River by canoe. He suggested that "the most exciting year within the time of recorded history was the year 1832 when Black Hawk was on a rampage, and in your mind's eye you may see a thousand of his people in canoes and dugouts, paddling their way up, over the same course you are now doing." He created canoe trips that

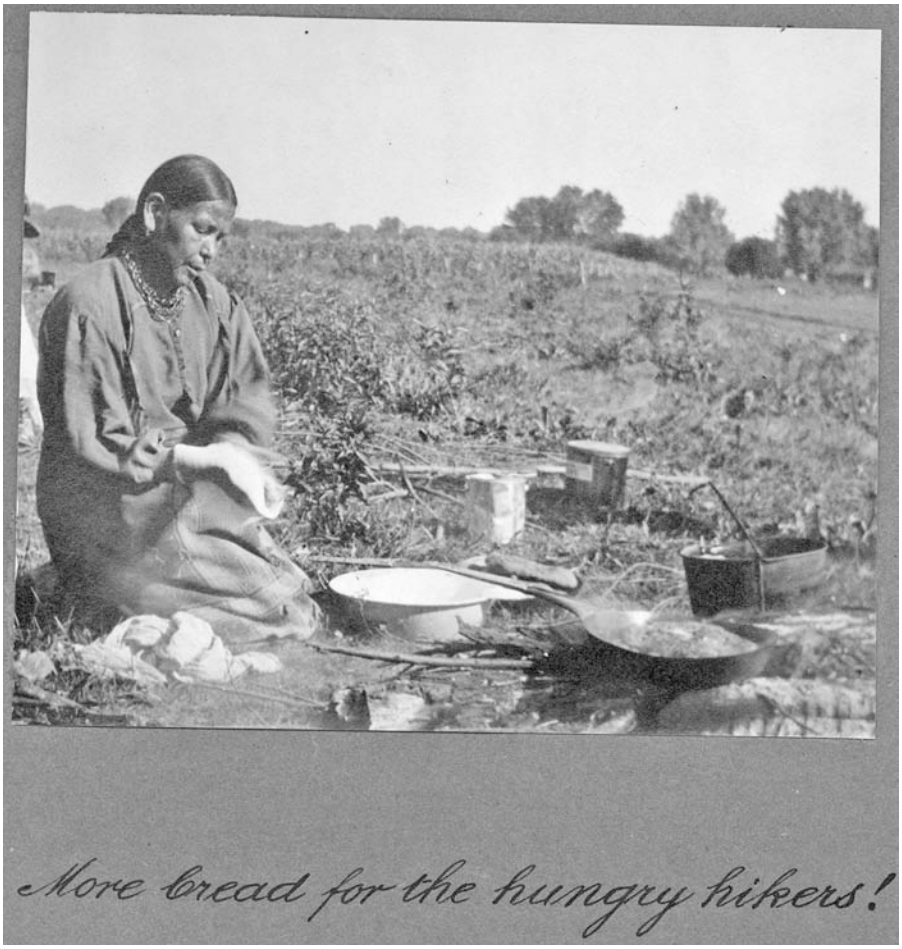

Figure 4. *In July 1921, Mrs. Keosotuk prepared fry bread for a group of non-Indian visitors to the Tama Settlement. Courtesy of Special Collections, Augustana College Tredway Library, Rock Island, IL, John Henry Hauberg Papers. Available at Upper Mississippi Valley Digital Image Archive.*

began and ended on historic ground. It was on the Mississippi and the Rock rivers that boys and girls might finally imagine the past, link nature to Native people, and come to a stronger understanding of their region's importance. Hauberg celebrated the "numerous wooded islands uninhabited and as wild as in Indian days," all of which "give a sense of closer companionship with Nature."[51] In this way, nature became an opportunity for civic education as well as a journey into America's masculine heritage.

In the first decade of his travels to Indian country, Hauberg remained committed to exaggerating the Meskwaki as premodern primitives, untouched by civilization. He failed to notice that his primary intermediary, Pushetonequa, promoted large-scale innovations in Meskwaki culture based on his own

Figure 5. *In July 1921, a Christian hiking organization created by Hauberg, known as the "Black Hawk Prairie Club," traveled to Tama. In this photo, Hauberg's wife, Susanne Denkmann, poses with Pushetonequa's widow and an unidentified man in the background. Courtesy of Special Collections, Augustana College Tredway Library, Rock Island, IL, John Henry Hauberg Papers. Available at Upper Mississippi Valley Digital Image Archive.*

savvy assessment of popular stereotypes. Several of Hauberg's photographs, including "Bridging the Great Divide," capture staged handshakes intended to make it seem as if Indians and whites were meeting for the first time. The "Great Divide" photo features an awkward handshake between Hauberg's wife, Sue Denkmann, and Pushetonequa's widow. Denkmann looks past the aged widow. She seems repulsed by the encounter (see fig. 5). He created additional images of contrived encounters in which he refers to himself as the "Big Chief" on the settlement. By the 1930s, Hauberg had largely abandoned the need to stage faux encounters between savagery and civilization. In 1940, Hauberg became an adopted member of the Meskwaki Bear Clan during the Rock Island powwow. Hauberg wrote that "they braided my scalp lock, tied the roach to it, had me smoke a pipe blowing in 4 directions, and all inds. [Indians] Present filed past and shook hands with me."[52]

Unlike Jones and Michelson, who believed in the science of professional anthropology, Hauberg yearned for moments in which he and his students might develop a personal, albeit romantic empathy for the Meskwaki people. Hauberg's initial renderings of frontier violence were ultimately challenged by his developing rapport with community members. He then began to feel the awkwardness that accompanies moving from tourism toward a more personal

relationship with his interlocutors. As the anthropologist Karen Brown has written, "when the lines long drawn between participant-observer and informant break down, then the only truth is the one in between and anthropology becomes something closer to a social art form, open to both aesthetic and moral judgment."[53] As Hauberg collected history among the Meskwaki, Sauk, Potawatomi, and Kickapoo inhabitants of the Upper Midwest, he began to face a serious moral dilemma. The Indians he met during several decades had been kind to him. Far from vanishing Indians and stock characters, the Native people he met became three-dimensional people to Hauberg as a result of his ethnographic journeys. Many Native people appreciated his efforts and collaborated with him until his death in 1955.

Others used implicit forms of rejection to teach Hauberg a lesson and to remind him of the enduring strength of their community. In 1918, Hauberg made a second journey to Kansas and Oklahoma, in search of Black Hawk's survivors. After a brief stay among the Prairie Band Potawatomi in Mayetta, Kansas, he traveled on to Prague, Oklahoma, where he met with Jackson Wakole and family, members of the Sac and Fox Nation. The elder of the family, Mrs. Wakole, was the great-granddaughter of Chief Black Hawk. But she made it clear that Hauberg would not bully her. Instead, her twelve-year-old grandson, a young man Hauberg guessed "to be the oracle" of the family, spoke for her. After two days of intrusive questions regarding ceremonial grounds and burial sites, the Wakoles sent Hauberg home, largely empty-handed. Regarding the exchange, Hauberg wrote that "I finally left them, feeling somewhat defeated. They were so tight in their communications to me. I would stand there like a fool, not knowing where I was at, they in the mean time, looking good natured and talking to each other in Indian, and the boy dropping monosyllables at me."[54] Though Jones and Michelson's search for objective description virtually eliminated traces of their personal experiences from their field notes, Hauberg seemed to embrace an openly reflexive style of participant-observation among Black Hawk's survivors. His research notes contain innumerable commentaries about his highly personal struggle to commemorate the past through ethnographic research.

Taken together, anthropologists and assimilation-minded agents armed with federal jurisdiction posed a far greater challenge to Meskwaki cultural survival than ethnic adventurers such as Hauberg. His interest in the Meskwaki powwow and the history of the Sac warrior, Black Hawk, served the interests of Meskwaki ceremonialists who were eager to avoid further scrutiny of their ritual life. Even Michelson came to admire him as an amateur historian and an advocate on behalf of the Meskwaki people. In 1921, Michelson applauded Hauberg for his efforts, giving him "warmest thanks for the time and money you have so generously given to perpetuate the early history of the American race." Pushetonequa's son, Young Bear, began using Hauberg as a legal advocate for the tribe. In 1928, Young Bear asked Hauberg to prove that treaties guaranteed the Meskwaki "perpetual right to exclusive hunting" in their former homelands.[55]

The Meskwaki deployed American popular culture against a host of internal and external foes. Anthropologists and amateur historians alike

became vehicles for the expression of a consistent argument for cultural sovereignty, driven by the Meskwaki community, in an era of assimilation. The Meskwaki turned toward American popular culture and the rise of ethnic tourism, to advocate for their people.[56]

In the progressive era, film, radio, photography, and print journalism simplified mainstream exposure. Unmediated, Native people could finally speak for themselves. Technology thus became a powerful vehicle for self-expression and relevance in the twentieth century. The Fred Harvey Company, which tirelessly promoted tourism in the Southwest, frequently deployed Native artists in their ad campaigns. Nampeyo, the "the most noted pottery-maker in all Hopiland," appeared in Harvey's campaigns. Similarly, the Sac and Fox athlete, Jim Thorpe, became an articulate advocate for himself through print journalism.[57] Silent films, including Thomas Edison's *The Sioux Ghost Dance* (1894) and Edward S. Curtis's *In the Land of the Headhunters* (1914) spurred interest in Native cultures. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, crowds of tourists, drawn by films and advertisements, flocked to Oraibi to see the Hopi Snake Dance. Outside interest in the Snake Dance became so intense that the tribe eventually closed it to non-Indians in the 1920s.[58]

Between the burning of their actual village in 1901 and the burning of their fictive village in 1916, the Meskwaki responded to a similar constellation of outside interests. As the literary historian Lucy Maddox makes clear, American Indians in the progressive era were "being positioned within various, and often widely divergent, discourses of American progress."[59] The smallpox epidemic became a moment of opportunity for assimilation-minded missionaries and government agents who intended to combat the perceived barbarism of Native communities through boarding schools, the introduction of commercial farming, and conversion to Christianity. In contrast, centennial organizers emphasized cultural distance by assuring tourists that "real red men" would attend. The centennial program went even further, featuring several idealized portraits of the nineteenth-century Sauk warrior, Black Hawk, set beside a contemporary photograph of Logan Kakaqua, "old chief Black Hawk's direct descendant" who "will be one noted visitor." American Indian guests at the centennial emboldened the event organizers. In florid prose, they promised all who attended "a seething, bubbling caldron of joy." In this way, the Fort Armstrong Centennial Celebration falls into a typical early-twentieth-century pattern of events featuring "Indian others" as reminders of premodern values for audiences of native-born and immigrant Americans.[60] Indian participants in the centennial celebration capitalized on the resurgent popularity of American Indians among residents of the Upper Midwest.

Leading men in the Meskwaki community used Hauberg and others like him as intermediaries on behalf of popular audiences. They tapped into a widespread yearning for Indians in buckskin to appear at powwows, state fairs, and larger events such as the Fort Armstrong Centennial Celebration. By affording non-Indians the opportunity to visit the settlement at a time when culturally accessible ceremonies are practiced, the Meskwaki relieved themselves from prolonged scrutiny of their everyday lives. Moreover, non-Indian

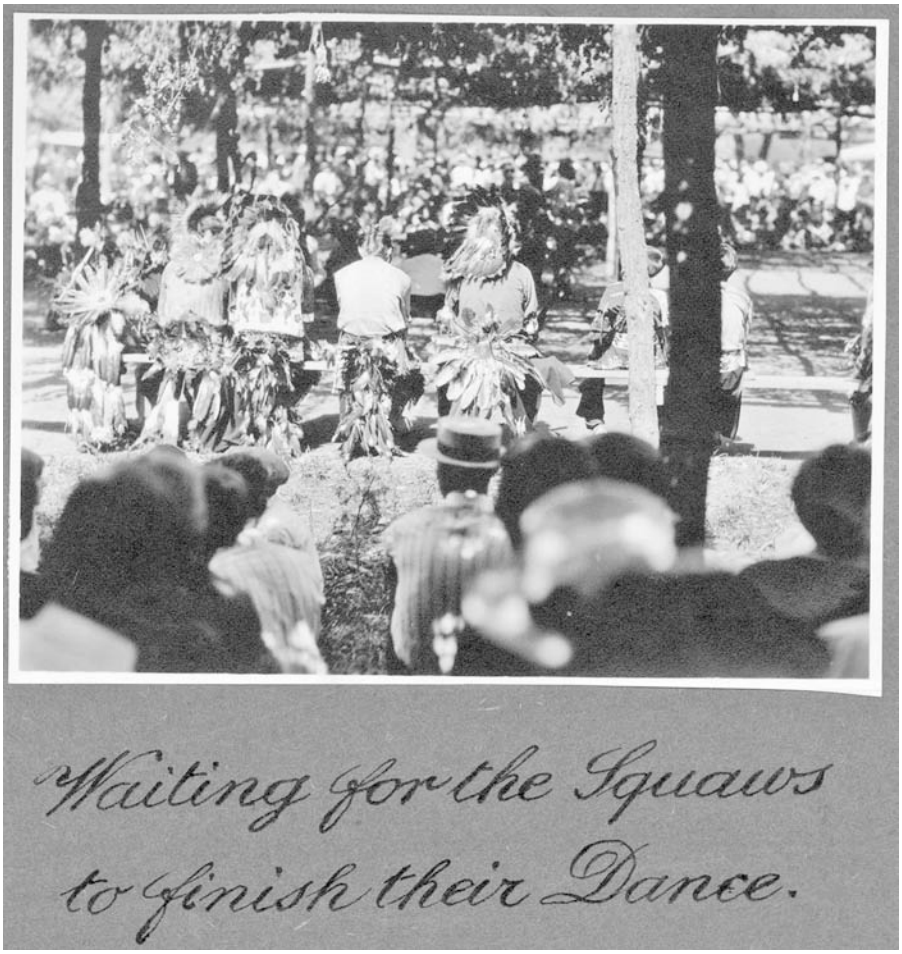

Figure 6. *In August 1922, Hauberg took this photo of Meskwaki dancers at the powwow in Tama from the spectators' perspective. Courtesy of Special Collections, Augustana College Tredway Library, John Henry Hauberg Papers. Available at Upper Mississippi Valley Digital Image Archive.*

audiences provided an added boost to the settlement economy. In the early years, spectators witnessed "Indian boys selling cold drinks and young Indian girls in red blankets selling beadwork." In November 1922, after a trip to the Meskwaki powwow earlier that August, one couple thanked Hauberg for sponsoring their trip (see fig. 6). Thanks to Hauberg, they "realized that the world was ours, as far as the Indians were concerned, when we were with you."[61] Unbeknownst to the couple, the Meskwaki delivered tourist fantasies to them without actually revealing the core elements of Meskwaki culture.

Prior to the Fort Armstrong Centennial Celebration, Hauberg worked tirelessly to convince the Meskwaki and the Sac and Fox kinsmen to attend

the event. In May 1916, Hauberg wrote a letter to Pushetonequa in which Hauberg assured him that "your women could no doubt sell a great deal of beaded work, and they had better come with a lot of it, as we expect to have a large crowd of people here."[62] Buffalo credits Chief Pushetonequa for capitalizing on outside interest in tribal customs and artifacts, and notes that "Chief Pushetonequa was quick to see the potential of the festival [the powwow] as a cash income for the tribe." As a consequence, the Meskwaki "established a policy of charging whites" for admission to their August "harvest ceremonies."[63]

In this way, the Meskwaki community used popular audiences to provide a grassroots argument for their community's survival at a time when reformers preoccupied with assimilation besieged their community. Nevertheless, the Department of the Interior waged an ongoing campaign against these public performances. For example, in 1923, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke told "all Indians" that "something must be done to stop the neglect of stock, crops, gardens, and home interests caused by these dances or by celebrations, pow-wows, and gatherings of any kind."[64] The proliferation of public performances throughout the United States, conducted by innumerable Indian communities, made it impossible for Burke and others like him to erase Indian cultures. Similar powwows proliferated across the Midwest in particular. Like their Ho-Chunk neighbors in Wisconsin, the Meskwaki "combined Indian participation with a commercial orientation to non-Indian spectators."[65]

The Meskwaki brought together the competing interests in their culture through a series of performances whose central act became their annual powwow. Public performances served popular audiences interested in static reminders of a masculine and patriotic frontier past. But more importantly, in the early-twentieth-century "ethnic marketplace," powwows also constituted a community-based argument for progress through accommodation.[66] The tribe's powwow committee deliberately interspersed theater productions, band concerts, and agricultural contests within more conventional displays of Indian dancing. The Meskwaki also guaranteed white visitors authenticity even as they reminded their guests of tribal sovereignty. Powwow posters created by the tribe emphasized that "this is an Indian celebration . . . managed entirely by the Mesquakie tribe."[67] Beginning in the second decade of the twentieth century, tribes across the United States began to manage and control their own public performances. As such, these events became increasingly popular alternatives to Wild West shows, and other events managed by non-Indians.[68] In addition to the thousands in attendance at the centennial celebration, the Meskwaki powwow drew between two and four thousand people annually between 1913 and 1929.[69]

The Meskwaki powwow grew out of the more traditional green corn ceremony that is common among the Woodland Algonquian tribes. These harvest ceremonies usually occur in mid-August across the Woodlands. It is a time in which the corn is ripe, and a much-deserved break from months of agricultural labor is in order. At this time of abundance, entire Native communities make it a point to gather together and host visitors from other

tribes. After visiting the Meskwaki powwow from 16 to 21 August 1922, Hauberg noted that "The entire Mesquakie Tribe and their visiting friends from tribes in Nebraska, Wisconsin, and Oklahoma and elsewhere enjoy their 'Thanksgiving' festivities in accordance with the favor of Providence in giving to them abundant crops and freedom from pestilence."[70]

By the early twentieth century, Indian communities across the United States could no longer support themselves through subsistence farming and seasonal hunting. Native people were challenged in fundamental ways by this economic transition. How would ceremonies that celebrate precapitalist agrarianism be adapted to an economic world based on wage labor and private land ownership? For the Meskwaki, the annual powwow became their way of maintaining the relevance of the green corn ceremony. Tribal members continued to gather together, host outsiders, and celebrate the harvest. But after 1913, the tribe also sustained their economy—and independence—by converting this component of their culture into a commodity. As a thanksgiving festival, the green corn ceremony appealed to cross-cultural audiences in search of ethnic experiences that fit within their modern worldview. The Meskwaki powwow also created innumerable opportunities for cultural performance across Iowa and Illinois. The abrupt transition of the Meskwaki people toward the measured commodification of their culture came in response to the unrelenting pressures faced by reservation-based communities, particularly in the first two decades of the twentieth century.[71]

The strange cast of characters who visited the settlement at the turn of the twentieth century provoked an innovative response from the Meskwaki. The powwow became an effective tool for currying favor with outsiders, demonstrating the possibilities for cultural pluralism, and shielding the clan-bundle ceremonies at the heart of Meskwaki culture from public view. Public rituals such as the powwow were also carefully regulated so that dances of special importance to the tribe remained culturally coded and beyond the comprehension of outsiders. The tribal powwow committee accomplished this division of the public and private aspects of the powwow in 1919, when they hired Edgar R. Harlan of the State Historical Department of Iowa to explain "the dances and customs" of the community. For the first six years of the powwow, non-Indian visitors observed the powwow, which was conducted entirely in the Meskwaki language, without interpreters. With the 1919 powwow, the tribe employed men such as Harlan, who conveyed shallow renderings of "aboriginal tribal dances" to non-Indian audiences.[72]

Non-Indian audiences were treated to a series of cultural performances that featured "friendship dances," flute playing, agricultural contests, and other events meant to convey "the progress of the race."[73] Iowa governors and various state representatives became scheduled speakers at the powwow. At the time, few, if any, events in central Iowa promised audiences ranging between two and four thousand people. Outsiders were thus treated to a culturally palatable version of Indianness that did not upset their confidence in either progressive notions of history or positive understandings of American nationalism. Concomitantly, the Meskwaki enjoyed the largest single gathering of their community—a kind of family reunion—amid the tourist spectacle

unfolding around them. Buffalo argues that the Meskwaki powwow is "not a religious event in itself but has a little content. This side of the powwow is kept away from the main event. And what religious [content] is part of the main event, only those who believe and understand know of it."[74] Because the Meskwaki chose not to explain their powwow's religious elements, it became a multilayered performance that allowed for a wide range of interpretive lenses for the people in attendance.

Photography heightened the popularity of their community and focused it around public events that could be monitored by tribal members. In 1917, photojournalists from the *Iowa Magazine* attended the powwow. Through fanciful images of Meskwaki in Plains Indian headdresses, and equally whimsical prose, the *Iowa Magazine* brought the powwow to popular audiences. According to *Iowa Magazine*, the powwow "brought us back to grandfather's day, when the red men . . . shot wild turkey and deer—and white folks." The Meskwaki deliberately appealed to reminiscences of frontier violence by advertising the event as a "Heap Big Pow Wow and War Council." Much to the journalists' dismay, experiencing authentic Indians bedecked with "tomahawks and feathers" was shattered by the rude interruptions of "little red men" hawking snacks to the tourists. To their chagrin, boys and girls harangued tourists, announcing "Peanuts, Mister? Five Cents a Bag." The journalists and their audiences desired cultural distance. Non-Indians preferred to be allowed to make their own inferences about Indian country.[75]

Pushetonequa's son, Young Bear, happily obliged outsiders by leaving them alone. When the journalists asked Young Bear for permission to photograph the powwow, Young Bear chastised them, saying, "Hurry up with what you have got to say because I'm busy. This is our big day." Young Bear's confident dismissal shocked the journalists. One journalist wondered "who would have expected Young Bear to come back at me like that." Chastened by Young Bear's strength of purpose, they apologized, and explained that "authentic photographs of your warriors in their war paint and feathers" would bring "more dollars to come in the gate next year." The journalists' obvious conflation of tourists with dollar bills seems to have persuaded Young Bear. Photography thus became a potent vehicle for promoting the Meskwaki powwow.[76]

Engaging the needs and desires of non-Indian audiences became an essential part of Meskwaki cultural survival for several reasons. First, their reputation for cultural conservatism heightened public interest in their ways. Second, their relative isolation from their Indian neighbors, most of whom had been successfully removed from the Midwest, increased curiosity about their community. Finally, in 1917, the creation of the Lincoln Highway made the settlement easily accessible by car. This chain of events had lifted the veil of privacy that the Meskwaki had known between the 1850s and the 1890s. By extension, the powwow and related public performances fulfilled white spectators' progressive belief in the vanishing Indian. The nearly schizophrenic divide between publicly staged cultural performances and private clan-bundle ceremonies led many visitors to believe that the Meskwaki cultural system had become a shallow rendering of its past complexity. Some non-Indian residents of Tama now believe that "their culture is pretty much gone now. If you have

ever gone to the powwow, you can see that being Indian is pretty much a show for the white tourists."[77] Non-Indian audiences could attend the powwow with a comfortable and idealized understanding of Native people.

Anthropologist Michael Harkin has argued that events created for tourists act as "a *cordon sanitaire* around tourist arenas, separating them off from the more authentic aspects of local life."[78] A central problem with the neat divide between inauthentic public performances and authentic private ceremonies is that they assume that local powwows and other public displays of indigenous identity hold little value for tribal members. Popular encounters between American Indians and non-Indian audiences thus seem insincere; they are popular fictions created for a mass market. But more often, Indian participants attach a host of meanings to such events. They are commodities intended for mass consumption, to be sure. But they are also social arenas in which cultural transmission takes place, unbeknownst to the popular audiences who attend these events. McNally has found that Anishinaabe participants in Hiawatha pageants "claimed the stage . . . as a space of their own shaping, a place of conspicuous Native presence rather than absence." Buffalo adds that "all of the dances" in the Meskwaki powwow "have an origin in a religious event." During the powwow "we are having our religious dances in secret, and the public doesn't know what we are doing." The genius of this approach stems from the recognition that visitors "are thinking in their own cultural contexts."[79]

Recent scholarship that explores the relationship between "Indian play" and the construction of American national identity has shown how imagined, stereotypical renderings of Indianness helped non-Indians adjust to the challenges of urban, industrial life.[80] Yet it is also clear that the Meskwaki and their Indian neighbors struggled mightily with similar challenges brought on by the imposition of wage labor and the quest for assimilation at the turn of the twentieth century. In response to these challenges, members of the Meskwaki community became active participants in the construction of popular fantasies about American Indians. They played a vital and deeply subversive role in these public displays of Indianness. Their participation was not simply economically motivated. In this way, the Meskwaki and their non-Indian audiences were not so different. Both converged on American popular culture and used it as a means of making sense of twentieth-century life. Far from a sign of cultural demise, the Fort Armstrong Centennial Celebration and the Meskwaki powwow advanced the interests of culturally conservative members of the Meskwaki community who were searching for an alternative to the path laid out for them by Indian agents and reformers committed to assimilation.

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NOTES

1. "The Fort Armstrong Centennial and Tri-Cities Celebration," item 16, folder 5, box 40, John Henry Hauberg Papers (Special Collections, Augustana College, Rock Island, IL) (hereinafter cited as Hauberg Papers); "Tribal Ceremonies Exemplified, After Which Whites Attack and Leave Place Mass of Ruins," *Rock Island Argus*, 20 June 1916, 8.

2. Larry Nesper, "Native Peoples and Tourism: An Introduction," *Ethnohistory* 50 (Summer 2003): 415–16.

3. John Hauberg to Jesse Kakaque, 22 May 1916, folder 6, box 40, Hauberg Papers; "Expense Account of Tama and Black Hawk Indians," 30 June 1916, folder 6, box 40, Hauberg Papers; Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late Nineteenth Century Northwest Coast* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 28.

4. Johnathan Buffalo, "Green Corn Dance to Annual Powwow: A History of the Annual Meskwaki Powwow." *Meskwaki History*, CD-ROM, ed. Johnathan Lantz Buffalo and Dawn Suzanne Wanatee (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 2006); William G. Malin, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1903)*, 149. According to Preston Duncan, a Meskwaki elder and powwow participant, the Meskwaki prefer the term *wickiup*, which translates simply as "house" in the Algonquian language family, of which Meskwaki is a part. Preston Duncan interview with author, 2 July 2009 (all field notes are in author's possession).

5. Franz Boas, "The Principles of Ethnological Classification," in *The Shaping of American Anthropology, 1883–1911*, ed. George W. Stocking Jr. (New York: Basic Books, 1974), 66. For more on the Boasian critique of evolutionism and racialism, see Ira Bashkow, "A Neo-Boasian Conception of Cultural Boundaries," *American Anthropologist* 106 (Fall 2004): 448.

6. James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 3, 6; Johnathan Buffalo interview with author, 8 November 2006.

7. Buffalo is the director of historic preservation and the NAGPRA representative for the Sac and Fox tribe of the Mississippi in Iowa.

8. Loretta Fowler, "Local Contexts of Powwow Ritual," in *Powwow*, ed. Clyde Ellis, Luke Eric Lassiter, and Gary H. Dunham (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 68.

9. W. R. Lesser, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1893)*, 151; Dorothy Schweider, *Iowa: The Middle Land* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1996), 134–35; Allinson McBurnie, "Education and the Mesquakie" (PhD diss., Iowa State University, 1974), 58.

10. Lesser, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1893)*, 151. On the clan-bundle ceremonies, see Charles Callender, "Fox," in *Handbook of North American Indians: Northeast*, vol. 15, ed. Bruce G. Trigger (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978), 643.

11. Horace M. Rebok, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1898)*, 163.

12. The land purchase was made possible in 1856, when the Iowa legislature authorized the Meskwaki to purchase land. For more on their return to Iowa, see Michael D. Green, "'We Dance in Opposite Directions': Mesquakie (Fox) Separatism

from the Sac and Fox Tribe," *Ethnohistory* 30 (Fall 1983): 130; "Address from Delegates of the Sac and Fox Nation Residing in Oklahoma Relative to Claim Made by the Sac and Fox Indians Residing in Iowa," 53rd Cong., 3d. Sess., Senate Misc. Doc. No. 72.

13. *Oxford Weekly Reader*, 7 August 1869.

14. A. D. Bicknell, "The Tama County Indians," *Annals of Iowa* 4 (1896): 203.

15. Buffalo interview. For more on the environmental impact of farm tiling and drainage systems, see John O. Anfinson, *The River We Have Wrought: A History of the Upper Mississippi* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003); *Tama Citizen*, 7 July 1870.

16. Horace M. Rebok, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1897)*, 150.

17. Charles Alexander Eastman, *From the Deep Woods to Civilization: Including Excerpts from* Indian Boyhood (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley and Sons, 2001), 271–72.

18. Ibid.

19. Truman Michelson, *Contributions to Fox Ethnology* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1927), 17, 33.

20. E. C. Ebersole, John R. Caldwell, and Horace M. Rebok, *History of the Indian Rights Association of Iowa and the Founding of the Indian Training School* (Toledo, OH: Indian Rights Association of Iowa, 1897), 12.

21. Rebok, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1898)*, 163.

22. Ebersole et al., *History of the Indian Rights Association*, 17.

23. McBurnie, "Education and the Mesquakie," 71.

24. Allie B. Busby, *Among the Musquakies* (Vinton, IA: Herald Book and Job Rooms, 1886), 74.

25. For the best discussion of the tension between "Old Bear" and "Young Bear" Meskwaki, see Douglas E. Foley, *The Heartland Chronicles* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), esp. 153–55.

26. Pushetonequa quoted in John Hauberg to Clif Ellis, 25 May 1916, folder 6, box 40, Hauberg Papers; Donald Wanatee, "The Lion, Fleur-de-lis, the Eagle, or the Fox: A Study of Government," in *The Worlds between Two Rivers: Perspectives on American Indians in Iowa*, ed. Gretchen M. Bataille, David M. Gradwohl, and Charles L. P. Silet (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1978), 79; Fred Gearing, Robert McNetting, and Lisa R. Peattie, *A Documentary History of the Fox Project* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 75. For further analysis of the boarding school era, see Foley, *Heartland Chronicles*, 44–45.

27. McBurnie, "Education and the Mesquakie," 73. See also J. R. Caldwell, *A History of Tama County, Iowa* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1910), 44–45.

28. Caldwell, *History of Tama County*, 44.

29. Foley, *Heartland Chronicles*, 153–55.

30. Grant Arndt, "Ho-Chunk Powwows: Innovation and Tradition," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 91 (Spring 2008): 33; Bicknell, "The Tama County Indians," 208.

31. Buffalo interview.

32. Caldwell, *History of Tama County*, 65.

33. The earliest biography of William Jones is Henry Milner Rideout, *William Jones: Indian, Cowboy, American Scholar, and Anthropologist in the Field* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1912), 19–20, 128. Jones's commentary regarding the development of the southern plains is also quoted in Renato Resaldo, *Ilongot Headhunting, 1883–1974: A Study in Society and History* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1980), 6–7.

Information on his early life can also be found in William Jones, "Ethnography of the Fox Indians," *Bureau of American Ethnology*, Bulletin 125, ed. Margaret Welpley Fisher (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1939). See also James W. Van Stone, "Mesquakie (Fox) Material Culture: The William Jones and Frederick Starr Collections," *Fieldiana* (29 May 1998): 1–89.

34. John Hauberg interview with Mrs. Haley, folder 5, box 40, Hauberg Papers, 3.

35. Rideout, *William Jones*, 45–47.

36. For Boas's belief in "core" beliefs and values, see Stocking Jr., *The Shaping of American Anthropology*, 7.

37. Buffalo, "Green Corn Dance to Annual Powwow," 14; Michael D. McNally, "The Indian Passion Play: Contesting the Real Indian in Song of Hiawatha Pageants, 1901–1965," *American Quarterly* 58 (March 2006): 105.

38. Rosaldo, *Ilongot Headhunting*, 8.

39. Quoted in Rideout, *William Jones*, 86. The "Ghost Dance Lodge" referred to in this excerpt was, in actuality, a clan longhouse that is used for the clan-bundle ceremonies and the periodic feasts conducted to remember the dead.

40. Jones, "Ethnography of the Fox Indians," 95; Michael F. Brown, *Who Owns Native Culture?* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 27–28; Rosaldo, *Ilongot Headhunting*, 259–63.

41. Stocking Jr., *The Shaping of American Anthropology*, 7.

42. Truman Michelson, "Notes on the Ceremonial Runners of the Fox Indians," *Bureau of American Ethnology*, Bulletin 85 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1927), 1, 5, 39.

43. Michelson, "Notes on the Ceremonial Runners," 71. Mark R. Harrington, another ethnographer who played a central role as a collector on behalf of the German-American entrepreneur George Heye, visited the Meskwaki settlement during the first two decades of the twentieth century.

44. Richard White, "Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill," in *The Frontier in American Culture*, ed. James R. Grossman (Chicago: Newberry Library, 2004); "Collector Examines Rare Portrait," *Davenport Daily News*, 25 February 1950, n.p.

45. E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 227–32.

46. H. W. Gibson, "The History of Organized Camping," *The Camping Magazine* (May 1936): 21.

47. John Henry Hauberg, *The Big Hike for the Summer Vacation Period* (Rock Island: Augustana Book Concern, 1924), 3–4.

48. Ibid., 9, 11.

49. John Henry Hauberg to Clif Ellis, 30 July 1914, folder 2, box 40, Hauberg Papers.

50. "Tipi Order of America," folder 3, box 40, Hauberg Papers; McElvain to Hauberg, 21 September 1920, folder 6, box 40, Hauberg Papers.

51. "Camp Hauberg," folder 1, box 33, Hauberg Papers.

52. "Bridging the Great Divide!" July 1921, image number 27_BHPC_1921_14, Upper Mississippi Valley Digital Image Archive, http://www.umvphotoarchive.org (accessed 25 July 2007); "John Henry Hauberg at the Black Hawk State Watchtower, being adopted into Bear Clan of Mesquakies," 2 September 1940, image number 27_40_5_58, Upper Mississippi Valley Digital Image Archive; Hauberg's field notes on

the image, folder 5, box 40, Hauberg Papers.

53. Karen Brown, *Mama Lola: A Vodou Priestess in Brooklyn* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 12.

54. Hauberg field notes, item 144, folder 3, box 40, Hauberg Papers.

55. Young Bear to Hauberg, 1928, folder 3, box 40, Hauberg Papers; Truman Michelson to John Henry Hauberg, 1921, image number 27_BHPC_1921_78, Upper Mississippi Valley Digital Image Archive; Young Bear to Hauberg, 1928, folder 3, box 40, Hauberg Papers.

56. Larry Nesper, personal communication at American Society for Ethnohistory Annual Meeting, November 2005.

57. Quoted in Leah Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1996), 89.

58. Ibid., 62–63; Brown, *Who Owns Native Culture?* 25.

59. Lucy Maddox, *Citizen Indians: Native American Intellectuals, Race, and Reform* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 3.

60. Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 95–127; "Tribal Ceremonies Exemplified, After Which Whites Attack and Leave Place Mass of Ruins," *Rock Island Argus*, 20 June 1916, 8.

61. Buffalo, "Green Corn Dance to Annual Powwow," 4–5; inside of birthday card, November 1922, letter, image number 27_BHPC_1921_82, Upper Mississippi Valley Digital Image Archive.

62. John Hauberg to Pushetonequa, 25 May 1916, folder 6, box 40, Hauberg Papers.

63. Buffalo, "Green Corn Dance to Annual Powwow."

64. Truman Michelson (handwritten note on p. 3 of photo album), 1921, image number 27_BHPC_1921_78, Upper Mississippi Valley Digital Image Archive; "A Message," Charles Burke, Department of Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, 24 February 1923, *Meskwaki History* CD-ROM.

65. Grant Arndt, "Ho-Chunk 'Indian Powwows' of the Early Twentieth Century," in Ellis et al., *Powwow*, 47.

66. On service to the progressive nation, see Maddox, *Citizen Indians*, 94; George Pierre Castile, "The Commodification of Indian Identity, *American Anthropologist* 98 (December 1996): 744.

67. Powwow poster, 1928, owned by Johnathan Buffalo, Cultural Preservation Officer, Meskwaki tribe.

68. Clyde Ellis, "The Sound of the Drum Will Revive Them and Make Them Happy," in Ellis et al., *Powwow*, 18. Sac and Fox Indians from Oklahoma, close relatives of the Meskwaki, performed as part of the Miller Brothers 101 Ranch Real Wild West Shows in 1907 and 1908. See L. G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Image of American Indians, 1883–1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 179.

69. Buffalo, "Green Corn Dance to Annual Powwow."

70. John Hauberg (handwritten note on p. 55 of photo album), August 1922, image number 27_BHPC_1921_83, Upper Mississippi Valley Digital Image Archive.

71. For a thoughtful analysis of the economic transition at work in Indian communities across the Midwest in the early twentieth century, see James B. LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis: Native Americans in Chicago, 1945–75* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 24.

72. Meskwaki Powwow poster, 1919, *Meskwaki History* CD-ROM.

73. Powwow programs, 1922 and 1928, *Meskwaki History* CD-ROM.

74. Buffalo, "Green Corn Dance to Annual Powwow."

75. "Iowa Indians—Heap Big Pow Wow," *The Iowa Magazine* 2 (February 1918): 3.

76. Ibid., 5–6.

77. Quoted in Foley, *The Heartland Chronicles*, 10. For the discussion of "hiding in plain view," see Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 116–40.

78. Michael Harkin, "Staged Encounters: Postmodern Tourism and Aboriginal People," *Ethnohistory* 50 (Summer 2003): 578.

79. Buffalo interview; McNally, "The Indian Passion Play," 107. To cite just one example, the Swan Dance, which, for the Meskwaki, is a war dance, is typically performed at the annual powwow. But tribal members are happy to hide its origins and meanings from non-Indian audiences, knowing that they would prefer to think of it as an Indian version of Julius Reisinger and Pyotr Tchaikovsky's ballet, *Swan Lake*.

80. Deloria, *Playing Indian*; Steven Conn, *History's Shadow: Native Americans and Historical Consciousness in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 1.