ABSTRACT

Tourism work occupied an important role culturally, economically, and politically in American Indian communities throughout the US between 1900 and 1970. My dissertation looks at two case studies of Native American communities’ incorporation of tourism work: Anishinaabeg in northern Wisconsin and the northern Pueblos in New Mexico. Native Americans responded to changes in the political, economic, and natural environments through tourism work and development, in the process restructuring communities’ systems of labor and remaking identities. The intersection of work and recreation in sites of tourism helped create commodified ideas of “Indianness” and popularize stereotypical images of Native Americans. Tourism also became a tool communities used to create and build tribal industries and labor opportunities, to restructure communities’ labor systems, and to exert a voice in regional and national politics. My dissertation engages the following questions: How did Native American communities understand and negotiate the possibilities and perils of tourism work? How did communities organize socially, politically, culturally, and economically to perform work in the tourism industry? What forms of interactions did spaces of tourism facilitate between Native Americans and non-Indians? How did Native American communities’ engagements in tourism work remake tribal identities, especially connections to place, and conceptions of American Indian citizenship and sovereignty within and outside these communities?
This dissertation would not have been possible without the support of various individuals and institutions. I would like to thank my dissertation committee for their patience and insight over the course of the writing process. In particular, I would like to thank my advisor, James Barrett, who provided a remarkable balance of intellectual and moral support during my time in Urbana. Jim was able to both help keep me focused on the task at hand and also prevent me from being overwhelmed. His mentoring in all aspects of academic life – teaching, writing, research, and professional development – was instrumental in my navigating the graduate school. Were it not for his support and guidance, I cannot imagine having seen this process through, and I am grateful for his time and his encouragement.

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION .................................................................................................................. 1

CHAPTER 2: STAYING PUT IN AN ERA OF MASS MIGRATION: LOCATING AMERICAN INDIAN LABOR AND COMMUNITY IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY WISCONSIN AND NEW MEXICO .............................................................................................................. 21

CHAPTER 3: REORGANIZING WORK: COMMUNITY LIFE AND THE GROWTH OF TOURISM LABOR, 1900-1930 ........................................................................................................................................ 52

CHAPTER 4: REGULATING BEHAVIOR AND BUILDING INSTITUTIONS: NEGOTIATING RESERVATION TOURISM BEFORE WORLD WAR II ................................................................................... 90

CHAPTER 5: CREATING TOURIST PLACES, DEFENDING AMERICAN INDIAN SPACES: ETHNIC TOURISM AND REGIONAL IDENTITIES IN THE POST-WORLD WAR II ERA ...................................................................................... 129

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION .................................................................................................................. 163

REFERENCES ....................................................................................................................................... 173
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Between 1936 and 1940, a group of about ten Ojibwe from the Bad River Reservation engaged in a project sponsored by the Works Progress Administration. The project was focused on collecting information on and documenting “Chippewa Indian Folk Lore.”\(^1\) The resulting essays dealt with subjects including craft production, spiritual beliefs, issues of public health, and traditions of hunting, fishing, and gathering. Among the essays in the collection, one stands out based on its frank title: “The Chippewa Indian was Always Self-Supportive.” The essay, written by Fiorina Denomie of Bad River, recording the observations of James Lafernier, addresses the “so-called Indian problem” and connects the issues plaguing American Indian societies as byproducts of their treatment as wards of the government. Denomie’s essay celebrates the work ethic of the Ojibwe stating, “…[W]here conditions were equal, he was able to stand up with his white brother and earn his bread by the sweat of his brow.” It refuted stereotypes of American Indians as unmotivated and unproductive in its statements that, “All in all, the Chippewa is not lazy and he is eager to do all he can to better his condition, and having the heritage of the hardiness of his ancestors, he is equal to any task he is called upon to perform.” The essay closes by reiterating its primary message: “I repeat, the Indian was self-

supporting in primitive days; and today all he asks for is an opportunity to work to make him self-supporting.”

Such a characterization stood in sharp contrast to and reacted against early twentieth century popular portrayals of American Indians as unproductive. In the words of one 1901 Chicago Tribune article, American Indians were seen as “lazy, shiftless, often warlike savages or half savages, living in blanketed squalor on the Western plains.”

The difference in these two portrayals gets at the heart of what proved to be a key issue shaping American Indian policies in the nineteenth and twentieth century, the question of the relationship between American Indians and work. As government policies repeatedly fluctuated between a variety of proposed solutions to “the so-called Indian problem,” a continual question was if and how American Indian communities could care for themselves economically. Such concerns influenced debates over the “ward” status of American Indians, the curriculum offered in federal day and boarding schools, and programs to relocate American Indians to urban centers. They also underlay the racialization of American Indians.

The issue of tourism work and development is one avenue through which to consider not only the mythology of American Indians and work but also how American Indian individuals and communities came to reorganize economic strategies to incorporate a new industry in the twentieth century. Using case studies of Native American communities’ involvement in tourism work, Anishinaabeg in northern Wisconsin and northern Pueblos in New Mexico, my dissertation explores how different American Indian communities used tourism to adapt to changes in the political,

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2 “United States – Works Project Administration – Chippewa Indian Historical Project Records, 1936-40, 1942.”
3 “Indians to be Treated Like Other People,” Chicago Daily Tribune (December 8, 1901): 53.
economic, and natural environments. I argue that tourism work and development became a tool with which American Indian communities restructured local systems of labor, and that through their involvement in this work they laid claim to a continued role in regional economies, cultures, and politics. In particular, I explore how tourism work and development allowed communities to retain a connection to places significant to them and their identities and resist efforts at forced relocation through explicit policies or as a result of dispossession. Tourism work, such as guiding for visiting fishermen and making pottery to sell to tourists, were adaptations of previous economic and cultural activities that took on new forms and meanings as communities worked to survive and adapt, in the process pursing critical matters of identity formation, community-building, and self-determination.

Within the history of American Indians and work, tourism holds a complicated and sometimes contradictory position. Studying the history of American Indians’ involvement in tourism work is critical not only as a case study of American Indian labor but also because of its effects on popular perceptions that fed into stereotypes of Native Americans as unproductive.\(^4\) The work of performing “Indianness” for primarily Euro-American middle- and upper-class consumers became bound to imaginings of Native Americans in American culture during the early twentieth century. Tourist consumers of Native American material culture, performances, and identities labeled the work of performing “Indianness” to be non-work by linking these imaginings of Indian identity to their own leisure experiences. To feel they were receiving an “authentic” cultural

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experience, tourist consumers relied on the belief that their interactions with American Indians were not the product of work or performance but were instead the product of a “natural” and “primitive” way of life. In their romanticization of these encounters, tourists erased the work that produced them in ways that impacted understandings of Native Americans’ productive capabilities. In a nation-state that lauded a strong work ethic as a pathway to success, Euro-American consumers often ignored Native Americans’ work and naturalized the service of Native Americans to whites by defining tourism labor as non-work.

By refusing to see Native Americans’ tourism work as “real work,” Euro-Americans further promulgated racialized images of Indians as lazy and unproductive and rejected the central role of colonial violence in the underdevelopment of reservation economies. By drawing on popular ideas of “Indianness” as ahistorical or pre-modern and discrediting the work and innovation of Native American communities, US federal government directives dispossessed and denied nationhood to Native American communities, casting them either as dependents of the state or as people in need of cultural reform. Re-envisioning sites of tourism as sites of labor illuminates the processes by which Native Americans’ labor was invalidated in mainstream US culture, creating the racialized representations that fueled the political injustices of the twentieth century.

The history of tourism work held significance for other reasons as well. For both worker and traveler, tourism played a critical role in the creation of ideas of nation and citizen in the twentieth century. The importance of culture and ritual in constructing

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identities has been a well-documented aspect of nationalism and the creation of national identities.\(^6\) Scholars including Marguerite Shaffer have connected this history to tourism and explored the role of tourism in the creation of national identity. In See America First, Shaffer argues, “Between 1880 and 1940 the emerging tourist industry in the United States actively promoted tourism as a ritual of American citizenship.”\(^7\) This could take place in the touring of the country and visiting of national parks as Shaffer discusses or, as shown in works like that of Robert Rydell, by the visiting of fairs and exhibitions that conveniently packaged the lessons of nationalism and imperialism in a central location. World’s Fairs carried in their exhibits a series of lessons for fairgoers about racial hierarchies and imperial projects and the ideas of nation and progress that undergirded both.\(^8\) Whether in a central location or throughout a geographic area, scholars have shown how the lessons of travel and tourism helped to support a specific conceptualization of citizenship and consolidate a national identity for Americans around the turn of the twentieth century.

As Americans formulated ideas of nation and citizenship in rituals of travel and tourism, ideas of “Indianness” played an important role. In Playing Indian (1998), Philip Deloria argues that white Americans embarked on a quest to find an authentic social identity in the early twentieth century in reaction to the feeling of displacement.

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\(^7\) Marguerite Shaffer, See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 4.

\(^8\) Robert W. Rydell, All the World’s a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), 5, 6, 8.
associated with a crisis of modernity. Scholars including Deloria have considered how Americans co-opted aspects of “Indianness” in their search for truth. Leah Dilworth has connected such imaginings of Indian identity more specifically to travel and the marketing of the Southwest. She argues that as writers, artists, and entrepreneurs constructed a vision of the Indian Southwest, they created not only a regional but also a national identity as Americans came to use the Southwest as “a kind of American Orient” against which they could define themselves. These studies have shown how not only tourism but also tourism with American Indians as its object has aided in constructions of the American nation and ideas of citizenship.

Less thoroughly considered in such works is the manner in which these tourism encounters influenced ideas of identity and citizenship about the tourism workers with whom they interacted, specifically in this case American Indian workers. While Deloria’s study illuminates the importance of representations of “Indianness” to white American men’s conceptions of a national identity, it devotes little attention to the negotiations of identity occurring within American Indian communities in the period. Ideas of nationhood and citizenship for American Indians were being debated both within and outside American Indian communities throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As treaties were established and later broken and as communities were increasingly separated from their already limited landholdings, the future of the political relationship between the United States and American Indians was revisited continually in

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federal Indian policy. Nor was the vision for the future entirely clear within American Indian communities. In the early twentieth century, anti- and pro-assimilation interest groups clashed over federal government policies, the preservation of cultural practices, and communities’ integration into the US market economy. Studying reservations’ tourism industries and American Indians’ tourism work allows for an analysis of how the goals of government agents, various Native Americans, and tourists aligned and competed in ways that impacted identities, economies, and political rights. It reveals the overlapping and contradictory ways tourism figured into nation-building in American Indian communities as well as in the United States.

My dissertation also situates this discussion of tourism work within a history of changing ideas about race and ethnicity and American Indians, especially as these categorizations relate to government policies, popular culture, and labor practices. Scholars have looked at how understandings of American Indian cultures and racial and ethnic categorizations change over time. In particular, scholars such as Alexandra Harmon have looked at how ideas of race and ethnicity have figured into evolving categorizations to describe American Indian identities, categories that were developed and continually renegotiated through interactions between American Indian communities and non-Indians.11 Historians have looked at constructions of race as hardening in the midst of specific economic or political situations, such as during times when American Indians and Euro-Americans were competing over land or when categories such as

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“mixed-blood” and “full-blood” were invested with particular significance due to their use in federal Indian policies such as assimilation and allotment.\textsuperscript{12}

While deconstructing categories of race and ethnicity is not the main focus of my study, the history of tourism labor among Ojibwe and northern Pueblos reveals how categorizations changed over time based on the specific political concerns of moments. In this it contributes to histories that explore how and why racial categories are constructed within US history. Consideration of different cases also allows for an attention to how ideas of race and ethnicity were constructed regionally United States in the twentieth century. In particular, in the American Southwest, the influence of various occupying nations, Spanish, Mexican, and US governments, led to a complicated system of racial categorizations. These categorizations reveal the way understandings of American Indian racial and ethnic categorizations were distinct to certain time periods and the particular contexts in which they emerged.

In order to understand the nature of political struggles and identities in American Indian communities, it is important to pay attention to the terms that have shaped these debates in the twentieth century. Especially important in this regard have been understandings of sovereignty. Sovereignty is generally defined as having supreme authority over a given group of people and/or geographic space and has been integrally connected to conceptualizations of the modern nation-state. Benedict Anderson discusses sovereignty as a key component of his definition of a nation, describing the “imagined

community” of the nation to be “imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.”\textsuperscript{13} He roots this idea in a specific moment in the history of European political thought, writing “[The nation] is imagined as sovereign because the concept was born in an age in which the Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical, dynastic realm.”\textsuperscript{14} Thus, he situates the concept of sovereignty as rooted in the history of European nations.

This idea of sovereignty has been an important concept within a broad history of decolonization movements.\textsuperscript{15} The United States and other Western states having entered into treaties with the indigenous governments has been used to show that historically American Indian and other indigenous communities were recognized as sovereign nations.\textsuperscript{16} Such a historic recognition of sovereignty has been mobilized to assert claims to territory and resources as well as varying degrees of autonomy over indigenous nations’ affairs.

Even as sovereignty has been an important political idea and a sometimes useful conceptual tool in indigenous struggles, it has also been critiqued for a variety of reasons. As an idea rooted in European conceptualizations of the nation-state, critics have highlighted the difficulty in using a concept so deeply connected to colonialism in struggles to contest colonialism’s effects.\textsuperscript{17} Having its roots in Western Europe, it is not a concept that is itself indigenous. Framing anti-colonial arguments in the terms set by colonizing nations has the potential to lead to a discussion that privileges European

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., 7.
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., 4.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 26.
\end{flushright}
political concepts and history over those that emerge from within indigenous communities.

Others have attacked sovereignty as a concept not just foreign to but also incompatible with indigenous understandings of power. In *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*, Taiaiake Alfred labels sovereignty “an inappropriate concept” as it “implies a set of values and objectives in direct opposition to those found in traditional indigenous philosophies.”\(^{18}\) Alfred further identifies sovereignty as potentially dangerous:

> Non-indigenous politicians recognize the inherent weakness of assertions of a sovereign right for peoples who have neither the cultural framework nor the institutional capacity to sustain it. The problem is that the assertion of a sovereign right for indigenous peoples continues to structure the politics of decolonization, and the state uses the theoretical inconsistencies in that position to its own advantage.\(^{19}\)

Other modifications such as tribal sovereignty and self-government have likewise been contested. Vine Deloria, Jr. and Clifford Lytle identified the concept of self-government to be “inadequate” and “limited,” here again labeling self-government as “not an Indian idea.”\(^{20}\)

I use the terms activism and self-determination as deliberately broad categorizations to express the economic actions that pursued sometimes conflicting, sometimes overlapping political goals in the period between 1900 and 1970. The actions in this period are certainly connected to the more overt calls for sovereignty in the decades that followed, playing out on the local and national stage. But in the case of the


\(^{19}\) Ibid.

history of tourism labor and development, I would position them as one more answer to the somewhat broader formulation of the question of activism offered by Daniel Cobb and Loretta Fowler: “…[H]ow did Indians ensure the survival of their communities through the twentieth and into the twenty-first centuries?”

In exploring the political aspirations and actions of American Indian communities in this period, I join a group of scholars on American Indian politics focusing on eras other than the Red Power era, which Cobb and Fowler identify as having had “so complete a grasp on our historical imagination that it has come to symbolize the quintessence of Indian activism.” Moving outside of this era allows for an exploration of the broad range of activities that communities pursued in connection with their political goals. Just as studying activism outside that era when the American Indian movement made its mark is not an effort to diminish the importance of the political actions of the era, so too is my focus on events transpiring in rural and reservation communities not to be seen as an effort to diminish the contributions of those who moved to urban centers or joined more formal political organizations such as the Society for American Indians or the National Congress of American Indians. Rather than discounting such histories, I seek to reveal another side of activism and the movement toward self-determination, one which is less overtly political yet remains crucial in efforts to retain a sense of the distinctness of American Indian identities and political rights.

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22 Ibid.
In charting such activism, the idea of place is key in my dissertation. Place functions as a means to connect physical and cultural elements that work together to construct one’s sense of identity and belonging as well as being an aspect of political rights and ideas of sovereignty and nation. In her study of the relationship between place and self-determination in African American and American Indian women’s literature, Catherine Griffin identified the two arms that make up the idea of place as “the description of natural and social landscapes, and the implications of a relationship between those surroundings and a sense of personal belonging or identity.” Place is both connected to and distinct from the issues of land that have dominated discussions of American Indian politics and history. It is a means to discuss location in a way that is attuned to issues of land ownership and also part of a broader understanding of the relationship to locations and landscapes that can have spiritual and legal connections. For example, in cases such as the Ojibwe where treaties involved the idea of the use of lands, it is a meaningful way to articulate connections to the land and landscape that are different from Euro-American ideas of ownership but are nonetheless critical legal rights for communities. It also allows for a discussion of the importance of having a physical location and space to connect with an identity. The fluidity of place is important also in allowing for a process of identity formation which is on-going, as in cases where reservations came to become meaningful physical spaces or even new “homelands” for communities that occupied them. In discussing the importance of place to the rights

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23 Catherine Carrie Griffin, “‘Joined Together in History’: Politics and Place in African American and American Indian Women’s Writing” (PhD diss.: University of Minnesota, 2000), 30.
and identities of Ojibwe and Pueblo communities, I do not mean to suggest that these rural and reservation spaces are the only places where one can formulate a meaningful political identity. However, the histories of these two cases are indicative of both the potential successes and the high costs in the process of maintaining a connection to place.

Along with connections to scholarship exploring cultural aspects of nationalism and imperialism and American Indian activism, I also locate this work within scholarship studying the history of indigenous laborers. In the introduction to their collection, *Native Americans and Wage Labor*, Martha Knack and Alice Littlefield attributed the “scholarly silence about Indian labor” to a “restrictive definition of Native American economics as an issue of natural resources, specifically land.” They argue,

> Although the wholesale dispossession of land from the first Americans is a dramatic, visible, and economically powerful issue, and one that has great strategic importance to indigenous peoples in their claims for political sovereignty and financial redress, it should not be allowed to obscure another resource that Indians possessed and non-Indians came gradually to control – their labor.

On issues of land and labor, the case of tourism work and development among the northern Pueblos and Wisconsin Ojibwe reveal that issues of labor are not only an important addition to studies of American Indian economics focused on land but that issues of land and labor are linked together in this issue of place. Communities reinvented their economic lives in ways that included wage labor in order to maintain connections to place. To separate the two issues obscures the way work and place were

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27 See Harris, 274.
intertwined in the everyday lives of American Indian communities including the northern Pueblos and Ojibwe.

This project intervenes in the study of Native American labor history by redefining sites of work and labor itself to more accurately reflect the operation and organization of labor in Native American communities. Brian Hosmer and other historians of Native American workers have explored resistance and cultural persistence as indicators of a successful engagement with the US market economy. However, in the process of considering Native American workers and entrepreneurs, scholars have tended to privilege the histories of male workers and industrial laborers and to ignore home production and other labor that contributed to the maintenance of Native American households. Separating wage labor from other work such as commodity production, domestic labor, farming, hunting, fishing, and gathering at subsistence and surplus levels has constructed gendered boundaries in the study of Native American labor that do not reflect communities’ understandings of work. Tourism labor broadens historians’ conception of work and workplace due to its inclusion of various kinds of work such as commodity production, paid domestic labor, performance, and guide work. In doing so, it brings together types of work that have been separated by binary constructions of labor.

29 For a critique of this in labor history more generally, see Alice Kessler-Harris, “Treating the Male as ‘Other’: Redefining the Parameters of Labor History,” Labor History 34 (1993): 190-204.
according to gender or to their supposed reflection of “traditional” or “modern” economic systems.  

In conceiving of work in such terms, my dissertation responds to critiques of American Indian labor history such as those offered by Patricia Albers and joins work such as that of Clyde Ellis, Paige Raibmon, and Jessica Cattelino in offering a consideration of work that fits this more open categorization and discusses both cultural work and performance and the cultural implications of various forms of work.  

Albers argued that Native Americans have most commonly been considered as artists and performers rather than workers in popular and scholarly interpretations of American Indians’ involvement with tourists and tourism industry.  

As a result, certain types of work have been privileged, and the resulting images feed into stereotypes in which Native Americans’ work is frozen in time and American Indians’ themselves are relegated to history or the imaginations of others.  

To quote Albers: 

In popular discourse, the work that is considered a ‘real’ expression of Native American experience is marked and separated symbolically from most other forms of labor.  Woodcarving, basketweaving, and potterymaking are among several productive activities that are so isolated.  Treated in legendary terms as part of a timeless, sacred tradition and ancient lore, the so-called authentic work of Native Americans is situated in a popular play of mythic images rather than in a progression of actual historical events.

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30 For a cogent critique of the usage of “modern” and “tradition” in Native American historiography, see Colleen O’Neill, “Rethinking Modernity and the Discourse of Development in American Indian History, an Introduction,” 1-24.


32 Albers, 249.

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid., 248.
Albers argues that scholarship has tended to look at Native Americans’ roles as artists and performers but not as producers or laborers in a capitalist marketplace and argued for a consideration of such work that would place it back into a specific historical and economic context.\(^{35}\)

In particular, Cattelino’s discussion of labor and identity is provocative in this regard, and she pays attention to the different meanings of forms of labor engaged in by Seminoles that together fall under a broad rubric of tourism work. She writes, “Some choices – cattle, craft production, alligator wrestling – yielded more meaningful cultural practices and identities, while others – some forms of wage labor, smoke shops, casinos – have been income generators but not sites of indigenous cultural identity.”\(^{36}\) While these ideas are perhaps more accessible for anthropologists engaged in field work than for historians to explore, the arguments of Cattelino raise important issues for labor historians and highlight the need to explore meanings of labor and work in all its diverse forms.

My case studies locate two very different American Indian communities’ involvement in tourism work and development and place them into the context of specific regional economies and local cultures and histories. These two histories are certainly connected to a broader history of the rise and expansion of the tourism industry in the United States as well as to histories of federal Indian policies and the commodification of idea of “Indianness” that affected a variety of American Indian communities. However, exploring specific cases in their regional contexts allows for the clearest understanding of how communities used tourism work and development to respond to the specific set of

\(^{35}\) Ibid., 249.

\(^{36}\) Cattelino, 58.
changes that affected their lives. The cases allow for the discussion of some of the broader cultural and political trends that shaped local and regional conditions as well as for the identification of key differences in the tourism experiences of northern Pueblos and Wisconsin Ojibwe.

Along with key differences in the cultures, spiritual beliefs, and economic strategies of these two communities, they existed in two different incarnations of regional tourism. In Wisconsin, it focused on the outdoors and sport while tourism in New Mexico came to be much more focused on the arts and a specific cultural scene. In these two cases, the American Indian communities involved were influenced by and came to influence these forms of tourism in their labor and development strategies. In each case, however, the successes of the tourism industry came at high costs, and communities were unable in this period to control the shape of tourism when confronted with large corporations such as the Santa Fe railroad. The industry brought with it intrusion and destruction and the erosion of these communities’ land bases and political rights. What these two communities had in common were innovative strategies that found ways to turn tourism to their advantage in specific moments and pursue specific political and economic goals in the process.

My dissertation consists of four chapters, each of them looking at aspects of Ojibwe and Pueblo involvement in tourism labor and development and the political, economic, and cultural implications of this work. The first chapter traces the political histories that allowed both the northern Pueblos and Wisconsin Ojibwe to avert relocation in the nineteenth century, during a time when many American Indian communities were forced to uproot their lives and their communities and start again in another region. The
geographic locations in which the Ojibwe and Pueblos made their homes, build their cultures and, developed their community economic systems were critical to communities’ sense of identities. For each case, it also traces how political and economic transformations of the regions in which Ojibwe and Pueblos made their homes influenced these communities. Chapter 3 explores the creation of regional tourism industries in New Mexico and Wisconsin and how Pueblo and Ojibwe communities incorporated aspects of tourism work into their lives in the early decades of the twentieth century. How did tourism work fit and conflict with communities’ previous economic strategies? How did it intersect with federal polices of the era, particularly those associated with the assimilation programs of the US federal government? These are the primary questions considered in the chapter.

The final two chapters in my dissertation focus on the meanings of tourism work and development for political representations and activism of American Indian communities. Chapter 4 considers the development of policies within the tourism industry that were distinct to tourism operating on American Indian lands. Through the efforts of wage laborers, contract workers, and entrepreneurs in tourism as well as through communities’ resource management, Ojibwe and Pueblos were able to create distinctions between reservation tourism and other tourism operating the period. The reaffirmation of the distinct status of community lands held a political importance and also helped to create a distinct space within tourism markets for Native American producers and performers.

The final chapter explores American Indian tourism after World War II, arguing that American Indian communities were able to develop events and attractions that
secured them an important space in regional tourism, particularly by connecting with tourists interested in heritage and ethnicity. Claiming this role in regional tourism allowed communities to maintain their claims to place within their regions. They provided an important foundation for key battles over American Indian lands and resource management in the latter decades of the 20th century, especially against the backdrop of federal policies which sought to terminate relationships between the US government and American Indian communities. However, this alignment with ethnic tourism also had the potential to undermine sovereignty claims by aligning with the termination policy’s desire to treat American Indians as ethnic minorities within the United States rather than as members of tribal nations. My dissertation engages with questions of self-determination and nationhood. It also considers the importance of space and place in identity formation, labor, and political activism. Together, this story helps to illuminate how communities retained connections to place that would have important implications for future political struggles.

By dealing with the distinct features of regional tourism and trying to find ways to incorporate tourism work into community economic strategies, American Indian communities including the Ojibwe in Wisconsin and the northern Pueblos in New Mexico formed new connections between labor and politics in the twentieth century. The histories of tourism work and development in these two cases illustrate how communities adapted and innovated to meet a changing economic and political landscape. In the process they pursued their own political objectives in various forms of activism and retained a unique and distinct identity, seeking to protect community resources against strong outside cultural, political, and economic pressures. While the odds were generally
stacked against these communities, their efforts reveal an important story of how labor and development, politics and resource management converged within the history of two different American Indian communities.
CHAPTER 2

STAYING PUT IN AN ERA OF MASS MIGRATION:
LOCATING AMERICAN INDIAN LABOR AND COMMUNITY IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY WISCONSIN AND NEW MEXICO

On an April morning in 1852, Chief Buffalo of La Pointe, interpreter Benjamin Armstrong, and five others set out from Wisconsin on a trip to Washington to speak to the President of the United States, Millard Fillmore.¹ They carried with them a few provisions for the trip and a petition. Along their way to Washington, as they met people in their travels via birchbark canoe, steamboat, railroad, and on foot, they collected signatures in an effort to allow the Lake Superior Ojibwe to remain in Wisconsin. Benjamin reported favorable responses to the petition all around; when they circulated it in Ontonagon, he stated, “I did not find a single man who refused to sign it…”² In spite of these early successes, the trip was nearly derailed when, upon reaching Washington in June, Indian Commissioner Luke Lea ordered the party to return immediately to Wisconsin. He planned to send them back because they had not obtained permission to travel to Washington before embarking on their trip.³ However, with the help of Whig Senator George Briggs of New York, Chief Buffalo and the others were able to meet with and present their petition to the president, who agreed to rescind the Removal Order for

¹ Benjamin G. Armstrong, Early Life Among the Indians: Reminiscences from the Life of Benj. G. Armstrong (Ashland, Wis.: A.W. Bowron Press, 1892), 16.; Chief Buffalo is also known as Chief Pezheke or Chief Kechewaishke.
² Ibid., 17.
the Ojibwe.⁴ This meeting was followed by treaty negotiations two years later that created the Wisconsin Ojibwe reservations.⁵

While a great many stories of the nineteenth century start with uprooting and migration, the histories of the communities of Ojibwe and also the northern Pueblos were transformed in the mid-nineteenth century by the exact opposite, their ability to stay put. The middle of the nineteenth century constituted a time of great movement in America. During the decade of the 1850s, one out of every four Americans moved from one state to a different state. The decade of the 1850s also saw a greater number of Europeans immigrate to America than had immigrated in the previous seven decades combined.⁶ While the histories of Ojibwe and Pueblos involved different government bodies, different societies, and different documents, they had in common a result, which allowed two different American Indian communities to stay in the regions where they had been making their homes. In both cases, this was of vital importance to the communities, who were bound in their belief systems and in their labor practices to the place and environment in which they lived. In the end, the ability to stay put could not stop the wave of transformation happening around them. Nonetheless, it proved a critical moment in the economic, social, and political histories of these two places and peoples.

1848: A MOMENT OF TRANSITION

About 1500 miles apart from one another, political transformations took place in 1848 that affected the futures of Wisconsin Ojibwe and New Mexico Pueblos. Wisconsin became a state, altering the players with which Ojibwe interacted and continuing a

⁴ Ibid., 64-67.
⁵ Ibid., 68.
transformation of the economic, physical, and political landscape of the area where Ojibwe had made their home. Meanwhile in Pueblo country, 1848 witnessed the end of the Mexican-American War and the official transfer of the territory of New Mexico, including the area where the Pueblos made their homes, to the United States. Thus began an extensive process of debating the appropriate political categorization of Pueblos and the economic and political future of the territory of New Mexico. In each case, these communities entered the second half of the nineteenth century within periods of transformation.

At the time when Wisconsin became a state in 1848, Ojibwe had been dealing with Europeans in their homelands for two hundred years due to the prevalence of the fur trade in the region. However, interactions with the United States government were different than those they had with either the French or the British. Their early interactions with previous European fur traders and missionaries were marked by a desire to influence Ojibwe belief systems and benefit from their labor. Although economic life changed for Ojibwe due to the increased demand for furs and the use of the items they obtained in trade, they were not initially displaced or confronted with changes that made it impossible for them to carry on as they had before. This is not to say that there were not devastating consequences to such early interactions. Along with other American Indian communities involved in the fur trade in Wisconsin and elsewhere, the Ojibwe did experience disease and increased competition and warfare.\(^7\) However, with adaptations,

they were able to largely maintain their economic lives through these periods since the French and the British tended not to be interested in land as much as goods.\textsuperscript{8}

Likewise, in the initial dealings with the new American government, Ojibwe were not displaced from their lands. In the mid-1820s, the US government made treaties with American Indian communities that affected the region, including the 1825 Prairie du Chien treaty in which government officials sought to demarcate the territories of American Indians in the region. But these did not immediately affect the Ojibwe’s daily life as many regarded the area around Lake Superior where they made their homes as intimidating. Few ventured into the area and the lands were not seen as particularly desirable for settlement.\textsuperscript{9} The motivation for the first treaty ceding Ojibwe lands was not to open space for Euro-Americans to relocate but rather to enable the lumber industry to move into the area, which would have otherwise been prohibited by the Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts regulating Americans’ logging on Indian lands.\textsuperscript{10} The result, which was signed the year after Wisconsin was created as a territory in 1836, was the so-called Pine Treaty. Following this treaty, American lumberjacks had a substantial presence in northern Wisconsin.

The latter half of the 1830s witnessed an increased presence of the United States in other ways, as well. In 1837, a US government official was stationed as an Indian agent at La Pointe, which was closer in proximity than previous agencies.\textsuperscript{11} Interest in Ojibwe lands was again sparked toward the end of the 1830s based on rumors of copper

\textsuperscript{8} Ibid., 124.
\textsuperscript{9} Satz, 8.
\textsuperscript{10} Ibid., 13.
\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., 8.
deposits along Lake Superior and Isle Royale.\textsuperscript{12} In 1842, another treaty was signed ceding Ojibwe lands, this one known as the Copper Treaty. In both the 1837 and 1842 treaties, however, Wisconsin Anishinaabeg reserved the right to access and harvest fish, wildlife, and plants from the ceded area.\textsuperscript{13}


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\item \textsuperscript{12} Ibid., 33.
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In 1850, the Anishinaabeg of Wisconsin were confronted with the order that eventually led Chief Buffalo and his party to Washington. This order was the product of Andrew Jackson’s presidency and the passage of the Removal Act of 1830. Most commonly associated with American Indian communities of the South, especially the Cherokee and their infamous Trail of Tears, the Removal Act also applied to Native Americans in the Great Lakes region. In February 1850, in the midst of controversies over Ojibwe land use rights in the Minnesota Territory, President Zachary Taylor issued an executive order calling for the removal of Ojibwe from the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. They were to be relocated to unceded lands in Minnesota. This news came as a shock to those in Wisconsin who understood that they had ceded only trees and copper rights, not the rights to the land and its natural resources, in the 1837 and 1842 treaties. Additionally, they understood the agreement to hold that they would only be expelled from the area if they acted improperly in some way, such as exacting violence on white settlers.

The news of the removal order caused outrage not just among the Ojibwe who saw this as a violation of their agreement with the US government but also among others sympathetic to their position. Many in the Great Lakes region, including local residents, newspapers, and missionary groups, lobbied against the removal legislation. These campaigns took on even more vigor following the tragedy at Sandy Lake. In 1850, Wisconsin Ojibwe were made to travel to Minnesota to receive their annuity payments instead of collecting them in the normal location at La Pointe. Commissioner Lea’s idea

14 Satz, 10.
15 Ibid., 53.
16 Ibid., 42, 55.
17 Ibid., 56; Bieder, 147.
in this was to use it as a way to induce the Wisconsin Ojibwe to resettle further west.\textsuperscript{18}

When they arrived in Minnesota in October, they were made to wait another six weeks only to find that when the official arrived, he was empty-handed. Congress had not appropriated funds in time for them to receive payment.\textsuperscript{19} An estimated 400 Anishinaabeg died in the course of waiting and in the difficult winter trip home from exposure, illness, and hunger.\textsuperscript{20} Following news of this tragedy and of the widespread opposition to Ojibwe removal, Indian Commissioner Lea suspended the removal order in 1851 until it could be reviewed by the President.\textsuperscript{21}

The meeting between Chief Buffalo and his party and President Fillmore was followed up by treaty negotiation, which established the Wisconsin Ojibwe reservations. Bad River was the largest reservation at 124,332 acres; it was followed by Lac Courte Oreilles and Lac du Flambeau, each of which was 70,000 acres. The smallest was Red Cliff which was 7,321 acres. In the La Pointe Treaty, the Ojibwe of Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin ceded 7.16 million acres of land for $496 thousand in payments over 20 years.\textsuperscript{22} As had been the case in previous treaties, the Treaty of 1854 recognized the harvesting rights of Ojibwe in Wisconsin.\textsuperscript{23} Thus, as the Ojibwe entered the second half of the nineteenth century, they were confronted by a combination of familiar and unfamiliar circumstances. While they remained in the regions they identified as home, their relationship to the land was changed by the creation of reservations and their

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., 22.
\textsuperscript{20} Satz, 58.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., 61.
confinement to them. Nonetheless, the concessions they won in protecting harvesting rights would be crucial in allowing them to continue the fishing, hunting, and gathering that was critical to their economies and their survival.

In 1848, New Mexico Pueblos faced a similar moment of transition. In the case of the eight northern Pueblos of Taos, Picuris, San Juan, Pojoaque, Nambe, Tesuque, Santa Clara, and San Ildefonso, they found themselves confronting the third outside power to claim control over the region in which they made their home in the nineteenth century.

Each had different aspirations for the territory as well as a vision of race, which affected ideas about the place of Indian groups, including the Pueblos, in society. Thus, as the Pueblos interacted with these various governments, they took part in evolving notions of race and citizenship in the area of New Mexico, ideas that would have profound implications for their economic and political futures.

Important in all of these governmental transitions was the ability of Pueblos to remain in the region they identified as home and to retain control of their lands. Under Spain, the Pueblos experienced the effects of the colonial power including the imposition of governmental offices such as governor, which have since been incorporated into the Pueblo governing structure. However, in spite of a history of forced labor and seized goods, Pueblo lands were relatively well-protected during the period when Spain controlled the territory of New Mexico. Under Spain, Spanish authorities considered the Pueblos to be wards of the Spanish crown and their lands were kept as communal property.\(^{24}\) This also included common pasturelands that were critical to the Pueblos’ agricultural system.\(^{25}\) Non-Pueblos were forbidden from residing on Pueblo lands, land sales required the consent of Spanish colonial government officials, and Pueblo held rights to waters that crossed and bordered their lands.\(^{26}\) All of these factors kept the Pueblo land base fairly intact during the Spanish period.

In 1821, Mexico declared its independence from Spain, leading to a period of increased political equality for Pueblos. However, this was also a time in which Pueblo land rights were increasingly compromised. Following the Mexican Revolution, Pueblos

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\(^{26}\) Fixico, 59.
were granted citizenship by Mexico under the Plan of Iguala, which created no racial
distinctions for citizenship. This was likewise the case in the federal constitution adopted
in 1821.\textsuperscript{27} While this may at first seem to be a legal advance for Pueblos, it did not stop
the Mexican government from extending a paternal attitude. Additionally, as citizens, the
special protections that had been extended under Spain were taken away. Pueblo lands
were subject to trespassers and squatters, beginning a process that would lead to
confusion over land titles and disputes over Pueblo lands for the next century and
beyond.\textsuperscript{28} As Joe Sando bluntly stated in \textit{The Pueblo Indians} (1976): “The doctrine of
equal rights, so proudly proclaimed by the revolutionary government, soon became the
right for all equally to take Pueblo land.”\textsuperscript{29} Thus, while the Pueblos remained in their
homelands, their land base was increasingly compromised.

The Mexican period also saw an increase in Euro-American traders and trappers
in the region, especially in the town of Taos. Taos became an important population
center for emerging elite families and the formation of a group that came to be known as
the “American party.”\textsuperscript{30} This group contained key figures such as trader Charles Bent of
Bent’s Fort, Jedediah Smith, and Kit Carson.\textsuperscript{31} The Santa Fe Trail, developed by William
Becknell of Franklin, Missouri, increased trade and the availability of eastern goods in
the region dramatically in the 1820s. Members of the American Party in Taos also
received several land grants in the period, which encroached on Taos Pueblo lands.\textsuperscript{32}

This was indicative of a larger migration pattern of the era, which brought increasing

\textsuperscript{27} Edward H. Spicer, \textit{Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the
\textsuperscript{28} Joe S. Sando, \textit{The Pueblo Indians} (San Francisco: The Indian Historian Press, 1976), 67.
\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., 69.
\textsuperscript{30} Dunbar-Ortiz, 15.
\textsuperscript{31} Ibid., 75.; Edward Dozier, \textit{The Pueblo Indians of North America} (Prospect Heights, Ill. Waveland Press,
\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., 81.
numbers of Anglo-Americans to the region. Mexico’s immigration policies encouraged Euro-American settlers to its northern frontier after 1824 as a means to maintain order in a region geographically removed from the capital. Thus, along with changes in the political status, the period of Mexican rule witnessed important changes to the demographics of the region.

In 1846, Mexico and the United States entered into war, setting the stage for the next political transition. By 1848, the Pueblos were confronted with the third external regime of the first half of the nineteenth century, the United States. This transition in power was not entirely smooth. In 1847, Pueblo Indians and Mexicans participated in the Taos Revolt. During the Taos Revolt, Pueblos and Mexicans rose up against the occupation by Americans, killing American civil governor Charles Bent. Resistance forces were concerned about their land and citizenship rights and were unclear about how the United States would treat them. United States forces supplemented by local “Indian fighters” descended on Taos well-armed and after two days of fighting were able to put down the rebellion. Tomasito of Taos Pueblo, the leader of the resistance, was taken prison but killed before he could be tried; others involved in the revolt were tried and convicted of treason against the US. By 1848, the United States had secured its position in the territory and created a tumultuous start to their relationship with the Pueblos.

The acquisition of this land by the United States brought about important questions on what to do with the approximately 115,000 Mexicans living in the territory.

34 Dunbar-Ortiz, 97.
annexed, a population that included the Pueblos. Unlike many other Indian nations, the Pueblos had not signed treaties with any external power and were considered citizens under the Mexican regime. Following the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, those living within the boundaries of New Mexico territory were given a year to declare their intention to retain Mexican citizenship. The land was also home to approximately 75,000 Native Americans including about 15,000 Pueblos. Mexicans who remained in the territory and had not declared their citizenship after one year became US citizens. Among those remaining in the territory were the Pueblos, leading to a number of struggles in the following decades over questions of citizenship and land and water rights.

Many of the land disputes that followed centered around the question of whether the Pueblos could actually be considered Indians. In 1876, the case of United States v. Joseph spoke to this question in its decision that Pueblo land was not protected under the Non-Intercourse Act of 1834, which protected American Indian lands by prohibiting others from entering or settling on them. The decision stated, “They are Indians only in feature, complexion, and a few of their habits,” and contrasted the Pueblos to more nomadic tribes based on the “degree of civilization which they had attained centuries before” and “their absorption into the general mass of the population (except that they held their lands in common).” This ruling set a precedent of neither Pueblos nor their lands being considered distinct within New Mexican territory.

35 Gomez., 1, 4.
36 Ibid., 7.
37 Here, the US Supreme Court held up the earlier ruling of the New Mexico Territorial Court in US v. Lucero (1869), which had declared Pueblos not to be Indians.
If the *Joseph* decision showed Pueblos not to be categorized as Indians, however, their dealings with Congress and the Indian department often suggested the exact opposite. In 1852, the New Mexico territorial governor appointed a special agent to the Pueblo Indians. 39 US Congress provided funds for Pueblo agents and the Indian department conducted its affairs with Pueblos in a manner similar to their interactions with other Indian nations. 40 Those within the Indian department had tried since the beginning of the territorial period to bring Pueblos officially into the fold of Indian Affairs; James S. Calhoun, who served as Indian agent in New Mexico in 1849 and governor and superintendent of Indian affairs from 1851 to 1852, tried to position Pueblos as wards of the government as did many of his successors. 41 Additionally, policies regulating Pueblos’ voting rights seemed to contradict the message of the *US v. Joseph* decision. The territorial government passed legislation in 1854 stating that Pueblo Indians did not have the right to vote except in elections for overseers of ditches and in elections within their own pueblo, seeming to contradict the idea of them as citizens. 42 Pueblos were, however, allowed to sue in US courts. 43 This question of Pueblo’s race and citizenship rights continued to plague the United States from the point when Congress authorized the creation of a territorial government in 1850 to when New Mexico became a state in 1912. In 1913, the *Sandoval* case reversed the legal status of Pueblos. The decision declared them to be wards of the government and unable to sell

40 Sando, 73.
41 Rosen, 3.
42 Ibid., 8; Sando, 74.
43 Rosen, 8.
their land and events of the preceding decades brought a large number of land disputes that needed to be settled.\textsuperscript{44}

\textbf{LAND AND LABOR AMONG THE OJIBWE AND PUEBLOS: THE IMPORTANCE OF PLACE AND LABOR}

Understanding the land rights of both Ojibwe and Pueblos during the nineteenth century is critical because of the importance these lands held to both communities in terms of identity but also as a factor necessary for their survival. In both cases, lands in the region in which they made their homes were critical to securing food and to the social institutions built around this gathering and production. In the case of the Anishinaabeg of Wisconsin, their production patterns were characterized by a yearly circuit, which drew on rich environmental resources. Households worked seasonally, in the sugar bush producing maple sugar and syrup in the early spring, then, in the summer, in Anishinaabe fishing grounds, gardens, and berry patches. In their fishing they utilized hooks, nets, and spears and drew on the rich resources of local lakes.\textsuperscript{45} In their gardens, families grew crops such as corn, squash, pumpkins, and beans.\textsuperscript{46} The area of northern Wisconsin also provided various berries including blueberries, strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, and cranberries - key components of the Ojibwe diet. These berries also had important uses in medicine.\textsuperscript{47} After summer, families migrated to camps at wild rice beds in the late summer or early fall. Finally, in the late fall and early winter, households traveled to

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\textsuperscript{44} Fixico, 63.
\textsuperscript{45} Bieder, 31.
their hunting grounds.48 Key in this yearly cycle was the birchbark canoe, which allowed for relatively easy movement from location to location. Each family owned several and men and women worked together to construct the canoes.49 Toboggans and showshoes also helped facilitate winter travel.50 Through this cycle of movement, the Ojibwe were able to make the most of the offerings of the regional environment and, as such, became connected to the lands in which they made their homes.

This system of movement and production also shaped Ojibwe ideas of family and community and they moved in and out of larger gatherings as they traveled through this economic cycle. In the winter, households spent most of their time in dome-shaped wigwams, which held up to about eight persons. In summer, communities converged at more permanent summer villages.51 At sites such as summer fishing grounds, communities who lived separately during other times of the year gathered together and there was a social component to these times marked by dancing, courtships, trading, and the forming of alliances as well as work.52

Along with the influence of the natural environment, the Ojibwe production cycle was also heavily shaped by gender, with men and women engaging in gender-specific work in each location, contributing to the survival of households, clans, and the community. Men were responsible for hunting and trapping animals, including waterfowl, beaver, mink, fox, and bear, and fishing.53 Women processed the animals killed on the hunts, including tanning hides. Women also gathered wood and berries and

49 Ibid., 10.
50 Ibid.
51 Ibid., 9, 10.
52 Bieder, 31.
53 Danzinger, 14.; Tanner, 22.
tended gardens. They learned many of the skills necessary for things such as making mats and baskets and tanning hides in the period after age seven when boys and girls were separated and trained by adults of the same sex to perform the work that would be expected of them as adults. Some tasks required that men and women work together in harvesting wild rice with men navigating the canoe and women knocking rice into the boat using a stick. In the nineteenth century, Anishinaabe men’s wage labor in the lumber industry, railroads, and other industries had been included in local economic strategies that were well-suited to incorporating new forms of labor, especially seasonal work. Activities including wage labor could be folded into the seasonal work patterns as one more strand within highly diversified economic strategies.

Along with their importance to survival, hunting and fishing also held cultural significance for Anishinaabeg. The significance of this was shown by the fact that boys’ first successes in hunting and in fishing were acknowledged publicly in the community. Skills in hunting and fishing were seen as criteria for men to be elevated to leadership positions and for women to consider when choosing a husband. Thus, Ojibwe culture came to be shaped as well by the physical environment in which they lived making the woods of northern Wisconsin especially important to communities.

For the Pueblos, the land in which they made their homes was also an integral part of both ideologies and strategies of economic survival. The Pueblos overall are a loose

54 Danziger, 14, 97.
55 Tanner, 26-27.
58 Satz, 2.
59 Tanner, 22.
grouping of fairly autonomous communities. Those who have studied them have separated them into various groupings such as Eastern and Western as well as by language family. There are nineteen pueblos in New Mexico, including the eight northern Pueblos which are the focus of this study. These eight pueblos are comprised of pueblos from two different language families: Taos and Picuris are part of the Tiwa language family; San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Nambe, Pojoaque, and Tesuque are part of the Tewa language family. While these eight communities retain independent governing bodies and are distinct communities, they are united by similarities in beliefs and practices. The environment in which they make their homes influences some of commonalities between the pueblos, and it is possible to identify some shared economic strategies among the eight northern pueblos, especially as related to the physical conditions in which they lived.

The economic structure among the Pueblos, like many aspects of Pueblo life, was characterized by an appreciation for balance – a factor that played out in the division of work between men and women in the 19th century. Agriculture was an important part of Pueblo economic life and provided a seasonal-focus to the economics of the pueblo. Certain activities such as the cleaning of irrigation ditches in the spring needed the involvement of many persons from the community. Men were responsible for this cleaning as well as the maintaining of irrigation ditches, and participation in such activities was necessary in order to claim one’s place in the community. Extended

61 Sue-Ellen Jacobs, 184.
62 Sando, 30.
family units also did the planting. Meanwhile, Pueblo women engaged in activities such as digging up clay and sand for pottery and collecting manure for its eventual firing as pottery. This pottery was used by women for cooking, food storage, and for trade. During the season of intensive agricultural activity, families often moved to summer homes closer to the fields. Primary crops grown by the Pueblos were corn, beans, pumpkins, squash, wheat, as well as piñon, apples, peaches, apricots, and chile. Women were responsible for processing the food grown by men, particularly through techniques such as drying. Corn was ground by women and used in breads. The importance of farming for communities was further revealed by the corresponding ceremonial activities connected to agriculture and celebrated agricultural work and an appreciation of the natural world on which agricultural success depended. Thus, Pueblos too incorporated their economics and the environment in which they made their homes into their sense of community and into their culture.

Along with agriculture, Pueblos utilized other strategies such as hunting and fishing and some gathering. They hunted for rabbit, elk, deer, buffalo, and antelope. This was especially important during the winter months. In places like Santa Clara Pueblo, fishing played an especially large role, with catfish and carp as the most

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63 Ibid., 27.
64 Sue-Ellen Jacobs, 185.
65 Ibid.
67 Sue-Ellen Jacobs, 186.
69 Dunbar-Ortiz, 23.
70 Sando, 30.
71 Brown, 30.
abundant.\textsuperscript{72} Fishing techniques included hook and line, nets, and, occasionally, bow and arrow.\textsuperscript{73} Nets were made and owned communally, and fishing was commonly a group activity. Excess fish were dried for storage.\textsuperscript{74} Fishing and hunting too brought together community and place.

Labor that often depended on cooperation was made easier because of the way in which Pueblo communities were organized around the village center, with the plaza as the heart of the pueblo. Communities lived and worked in what might be thought of as public areas within the village, making cooperative labor easier.\textsuperscript{75} These more permanent villages were something that set Pueblos apart from many other American Indian nations in North America and were part of the basis of early debates about the status of Pueblos as compared to other indigenous peoples.

CHANGING SURROUNDINGS: THE TRANSFORMATION OF WISCONSIN AND NEW MEXICO IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Even as the Anishinaabeg in Wisconsin and the Pueblos in New Mexico retained their connections to places that were important to their identities and economies, the changes in the late nineteenth century transformed their relationships to the regions they knew, reshaping the position of these two communities within the areas in which they made their homes. Indeed the places they lived at the turn of the twentieth century looked markedly different from where they lived in 1848 due to a series of economic, demographic, and political transformations.

\textsuperscript{72} Hill, 59.
\textsuperscript{73} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{74} Ibid., 60.
\textsuperscript{75} Sue-Ellen Jacobs, 183.
The greatest catalyst for change in the economy of northern Wisconsin came with the boom of the lumber industry in the late nineteenth century. In 1899 Wisconsin led the nation in logging, producing 3.4 billion board feet of timber per year.\(^{76}\) Much of the land of interest to lumber companies in the era was located on reservations, and the selling of reservation timber became both a major strategy of economic survival and a source of exploitation. Between 1870 and 1890 about 400,000,000 board feet of pine, with an estimated value of $3,000,000, was harvested at Lac Courte Oreilles alone.\(^{77}\) Logging at Lac du Flambeau began in autumn of 1886 and nearly 10 million board feet of logs were driven downstream in 1887.\(^{78}\) However, the commercial lumber industry brought graft and corruption, which often kept Ojibwe communities from receiving the full payments owed them. Poaching of trees on Ojibwe lands by unauthorized companies was also a major problem.\(^{79}\) In US Senate hearings conducted in 1888-1889 and 1909-1910, committees found various abuses in the lumber operations which had taken place at both Lac du Flambeau and Lac Courte Oreilles, including the hiring of Euro-Americans before Ojibwe workers, paying less than the going rate for timber, and cutting trees without permission and on the wrong lands.\(^{80}\) At times, communities even took a role in regulating the operations of lumber companies. In 1895, the Bad River Ojibwe, at a band council meeting with the proprietor of the J.S. Stearns Lumber Company present, created a three-man Business Committee, which kept track of hiring practices of the company.

\(^{76}\) Danziger, 101.
\(^{78}\) Goc, 35.
\(^{79}\) Bieder, 168.
\(^{80}\) Pfaff, 39; Goc, 36.
and prices charged at the company store. This example shows how communities sought to deal with and manage the changes that came with lumber interests to the region.

Along with the logging industry came allotment in the region. Allotments, a US federal governmental process by which communal lands were broken down into individual plots, began to take place in Wisconsin even before the Dawes Act (1887), which promoted allotment in American Indian communities on the national level. In 1883, allotment of land began at Bad River and Lac Courte Oreilles. In November and December of 1886, 59 plots of land had already been approved for allotment at Lac du Flambeau. The process of dividing up lands and breaking up of communal land bases only accelerated as tourism expanded in the region in the decades to follow and those from Midwestern cities snatched up prime lakefront property to build their summer homes.

With the lumber industry came the railroad. In the late 1870s, the Wisconsin Central Railroad reached Park Falls and Ashland in northern Wisconsin. In 1883, Bayfield was accessible by railroad. By the late-1880s, the Chicago and North Western Railway reached the Lac du Flambeau reservation. In 1889, the company completed its line from Lac du Flambeau to Hurley, a well-known town in the lumber industry whose reputation was indicated in the expression, “Hurley, Hayward, and Hell.” These railways facilitated the growth of industry as well as an increase in travelers and new residents to the areas. Toward the end of the century, as it looked like the environment

81 Danziger, 101.
82 Goc, 146.
83 Ibid., 35.
84 Ibid., 24.
86 Ibid.
87 Goc, 147.
was being exhausted, lumber companies seeking to sell their lands actively promoted immigration from Germany and migration from other areas of the United States to northern Wisconsin.\(^{88}\) Both workers and new residents altered the demographic composition of the region in significant ways and the entrance of the railroad facilitated the incorporation of northern Wisconsin into the United States economically and culturally.

The lumber industry also altered the natural environment in significant ways. To transport cut timber, companies used dams to make rivers serve their purposes in transporting logs. At Lac du Flambeau, they constructed a dam where the Bear River empties into Flambeau Lake in 1887.\(^{89}\) At Lac Courte Oreilles, the requests by lumber companies to redirect rivers to better suit their needs led to controversy in the community. In 1894, residents complained that a dam created flooding that led to the destruction of cranberry marshes and wild rice beds. When the dam broke, residents estimated that 492 bushels of cranberries and 600 pounds of wild rice were lost.\(^{90}\) Thus, in their pursuit of profits and efficiency within their industry, lumber companies changed the environment in ways that harmed Indian economies.

As the lumber industry died down, it left behind what came to be known as the cutover, an eighteen county region covering the northern third of Wisconsin that was largely deforested. The ecological results of this drastic change, including its negative effects on the fish population, would be long-felt in the area.\(^{91}\) It also created a

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\(^{89}\) Goc, 35.


dangerous situation for fires.\textsuperscript{92} According to one historian of Wisconsin, fires and the lumber industry went hand in hand to such as degree that they were seen as an expected part of a lumber economy.

Continuous technological improvement was encouraged not along by a competitive market and cost consciousness, but also by the regularity with which an appalling number of sawmills burned down each year. Almost invariably they arose phoenix-like from the ashes – bigger and more modern than ever.\textsuperscript{93}

However, such fires had significant consequences, personal and economic. For families who settled in the region, fires posed a danger in terms of loss of life and farms.\textsuperscript{94} In 1896, a fire at the Red Cliff reservation destroyed 6.5 million board feet of pine on reservation lands. This was followed by a fire that burned down the Gilbert Lumber Company sawmill located on the reservation.\textsuperscript{95} Fires also swept the Bad River reservation lands in 1894 and 1895.\textsuperscript{96} While fires were seen at times as part industry, they also had the potential to devastate the property and the lives of those who made their homes in the region.

The changes enacted on the natural environment by the lumber industry were compounded by the state of Wisconsin’s increasing regulation of Anishinaabeg access to natural resources. A series of policies regarding fishing and hunting emerged after the mid-nineteenth century including the outlawing of traditional gill netting in 1853 and the shortening of the hunting season and outlawing of night hunting in 1883.\textsuperscript{97} After 1887,

\textsuperscript{92} Jensen, 46.
\textsuperscript{94} Gough, 61-62.
\textsuperscript{95} Norrgard, 46.
\textsuperscript{96} Ibid.
the state of Wisconsin also employed conservation wardens to regulate fish and game and enforce state laws.\textsuperscript{98} As communities confronted the state’s bureaucratic structure, it was clear that their relationship to the land was changing.

For Ojibwe, finding means, such as wage labor, to supplement economic strategies centered around natural resources became increasingly important in the latter decades of the nineteenth century because of both the environmental impact of the timber industry and the increasing regulation of hunting and fishing by the State of Wisconsin. Along with farming and continuing seasonal labor practices as much as possible, Anishinaabeg worked on railroads, ships, and in lumber camps.\textsuperscript{99} Women also worked in connection with the lumber industry, cooking, making clothes for sale to lumbermen, and doing laundry.\textsuperscript{100} In 1894, a sawmill was built at Lac du Flambeau, which brought jobs to the community.\textsuperscript{101} It also brought the various components of a company town, including a church, school, post office, company store, and homes and churches.\textsuperscript{102} The town of Lac du Flambeau had a population of 1,000 by 1895; in 1901 the town elected its first officers and collected its first property taxes.\textsuperscript{103} As the town grew, the Anishinaabeg of the area had more and more contact with these newcomers to the region. Increased interaction with non-Indians brought Ojibwe into more consistent contact with racial and economic discrimination.\textsuperscript{104} As Ojibwe communities looked toward the twentieth century, it was clear that the region they knew so well was undergoing dramatic changes.

\textsuperscript{98} Ibid., 48.
\textsuperscript{99} Bieder, 168.
\textsuperscript{100} Jensen, 51.
\textsuperscript{101} Bieder, 169.
\textsuperscript{102} Goc, 36.
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{104} Bieder, 169.
Similarly, those in the eight northern Pueblos in New Mexico felt increasing pressures on economic activities that depended on land and the natural environment in the years following 1848. In the case of the northern Pueblos, this had much to do with their ambiguous status in the eyes of the federal government and with the legal transitions taking place during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Race came to play an important role in the culture of New Mexico in the latter half of the nineteenth century in both the way those in the region viewed themselves and how outsiders thought of the region. By the 1880s, railroads had been established in New Mexico territory and brought additional Anglo settlers to the region. This fed into a demographic transformation of the area; the Anglo population stood at about 1,500 in 1850, but by 1900 it was nearly 100,000.\(^{105}\) Even as the racial composition of the population transformed, the view of New Mexico in other parts of the United States cast it in racialized term. This played a role in delaying New Mexican statehood until 1912.\(^{106}\) Before New Mexico joined the Union, outsiders argued that it had to demonstrate that it had established a racial order that resonated with the rest of America and shed its label as a “mongrel land.”\(^{107}\) Anxieties about race in New Mexico played out in the national press; for example, an 1882 *New York Times* article stated the dilemma in blatantly racialized terms in its headline, “Greasers as Citizens: What Sort of State New Mexico Would Make.”\(^{108}\) These national discussions intensified an already contentious process in which ideas of race were being negotiated in the territory.


\(^{106}\) Gómez, 41.

\(^{107}\) Mitchell, 5.

\(^{108}\) Gómez, 63.
Race had been a significant issue in each of the regimes that influenced New Mexico culture during the nineteenth century and, when it was incorporated into the United States, these issues were far from settled. In particular, the position of Mexican Americans and Indians were reconsidered under each of these new regimes that emerged and these ideas had economic, political, and social implications for these populations. In the 1850s and 1860s, Pueblos occupied an “in-between” status of sorts, having been commonly characterized as different from other American Indian communities due to their settled, agricultural life and were thought of as “half civilized.” The influence of both Spanish and Mexican ideas of race can be seen in this status.

Under the Spanish, at the end of the 18th century, race in New Mexico was characterized by a five-tier hierarchy, which placed an individual from Spain or who had two Spanish parents, known as vecinos, at the top. The next tier was Indian/ Spanish mestizos, a group which comprised most Mexican elites. In the middle fell genizaros, Indians who had forcibly or voluntarily left their communities and joined Spanish settlements. Next came Pueblos, who lived in independent communities but had regular contact with mestizo communities. Finally, came other Indian communities such as Apache, Comanches, Navajos, and Utes, who operated outside the Spanish colonial governmental structure. Thus the practice of separating Pueblos from other American Indian communities was already in practice in the 18th century in the region. Herein lay the foundation of some of the difficulties the territorial government in New Mexico faced in establishing the status of Pueblo Indians.

109 Rosen, 2.
110 Gómez, 54; Dunbar-Ortiz, 56.
During the Mexican period, the large mestizo population placed a great deal of pressure on the Spanish racial system, leading to a restructuring of legal rights and racial status after the revolution. By 1810, more than 80% of Mexican population was mestizo or Indian, and the denial of their rights helped spark the revolt against Spain. Social and legal aspects of race were reconfigured after the revolution. After Mexican independence, *genizaros* and Indians were no longer separate classifications. Additionally, new citizenship rights after the Treaty of Iguala claimed to diminish the racial caste systems that had existed under Spain. Along with the reconfiguration of legal and political rights, ideas of race were renegotiated during the Mexican period.

Under the American regime, Pueblos fell below Euro-Americans and Mexican American in the racial hierarchy of New Mexico. Drawing distinctions between Mexican Americans and Pueblos, despite their economic, cultural, and geographic commonalities, could work to the advantage of Euro-Americans in creating tensions that could break up a potential alliance, one that had been demonstrated in the Taos Revolt. By the late nineteenth century, the racial hierarchy in New Mexico went Euro-Americans, Mexican Americans, Pueblos, and, finally, other Indians. The population of other races remained small in New Mexico around the turn of the twentieth century, but African Americans nonetheless played a rhetorical role in shoring up Anglo citizenship as the New Mexican press relied on tropes of the African American male rapist, often drawn from outside New Mexico, to help solidify a racial hierarchy in the region.

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111 Gómez, 56.
112 Dunbar-Ortiz, 91.
113 Gómez, 4.
114 Ibid., 7, 16.
115 Ibid., 82.
116 Mitchell, 103.
Citizenship and racialization was complicated for groups besides the Pueblos in New Mexico. Laura Gómez argues in *Manifest Destinies*, that Mexican Americans were constructed to be legally white but socially non-white in territorial New Mexico. There were also factors distinct within this system including what she refers to as “a kind of reverse one-drop rule” when it came to legal rights that held “one drop of Spanish blood allowed [Mexican Americans] to claim whiteness under certain circumstances.” Prejudice against Mexican Americans also played out in labor practices in the region, and Mexican Americans received lesser wages and were excluded from certain types of work in industries such as railroads and mining.

Such developments exacerbated tensions between various racialized communities in territorial New Mexico. Mexican Americans suffered great losses in land, wealth, status and political power between 1850 and 1900. Relations between Hispanos and Pueblos were also altered by the establishment of Indian reservations, which many Hispanics viewed as taking away from their landholdings, thus leading to tensions between the two groups.

The most significant transformations affecting Pueblos in the second half of the nineteenth century had to do with issues of land. The latter decades of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century saw increased dispossession of Pueblos’ lands and increased pressure on the regional environment due to newcomers. With these new residents came a transformation of the regional economy through the introduction of a

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117 Gómez, 4.
118 Ibid., 5.
120 Mitchell, 3.
credit system and, later, a predominately cash economy.\textsuperscript{122} Unlike Americans Indians who had been involved in regional trade such as the fur trade, Pueblo economies remained relatively self-sufficient up to the 19\textsuperscript{th} century. Their primary interactions had been with Hispano populations in surrounding areas whose agricultural practices greatly resembled those of the Pueblos.\textsuperscript{123} Dealing with the increasing Anglo population required a reconfiguring of Pueblo economies, especially as encroachment on Pueblo lands made it difficult to successfully farm.

A variety of factors combined to intensify pressures on New Mexico lands. Migrants to New Mexico altered the landscape through the growth of industries such as the livestock industry; whereas there were fewer than half a million sheep and 14,000 cattle in New Mexico in 1870, twenty years later those number rose dramatically to 1.5 million sheep and 200,000 cattle.\textsuperscript{124} Individual Pueblos had land conflicts with the railroads such as the case when in 1880 San Ildefonso complained that the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad had not paid them for land appropriated.\textsuperscript{125} Additionally, the towns of Taos and Espanola expanded to take over parts of Taos Pueblo and Santa Clara.\textsuperscript{126} This period also saw encroachment on Pueblo water and land rights as new farmers and ranchers moved into the territory. All of this added to the natural threat of destruction of crops by drought, flood or insects. The effects of disputed lands were felt keenly among the Pueblos and were perhaps the most significant transformation of the second half of the nineteenth century. At the time of the \textit{Sandoval} ruling in 1913, there were

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\textsuperscript{122} Ibid., 9.
\textsuperscript{123} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{124} Dunbar-Ortiz, 110.
\textsuperscript{125} Vlasich, 113.
\textsuperscript{126} Spicer, 172.
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approximately 12,000 people holding about 3,000 claims to Pueblo lands. While it affected only about 10% of all Pueblo lands, it involved nearly all available water for agriculture. Access to water was key for Pueblos and others being able to survive in the arid climate of New Mexico.

CONCLUSION

Even as the Ojibwe and the Pueblos averted the dramatic relocation experienced by many other American Indian communities, the worlds in which they made their homes changed dramatically due to population shifts, political change, and economic development. Pueblos and Ojibwe faced the twentieth century in the homelands they knew, but they nonetheless found that their ability to live as they had before was made difficult as these regions experienced economic and demographic transformations. Pueblos and Ojibwe, however, had already begun the process of trying to find a place for themselves in the changing environment and in the twentieth century this process would take on a new vigor. As these two communities looked ahead, the challenge they faced was to find ways to work in a new economy that retain the core of their communities and their identities.

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127 Dunbar-Ortiz, 115.
128 Fixico, 63.
CHAPTER 3

REORGANIZING WORK:
COMMUNITY LIFE AND THE GROWTH OF TOURISM LABOR, 1900-1930

In the mid-1920s, Harveycar Tours began offering to take travelers away from the crowded railway stations and out into the pueblos of New Mexico in order to afford them a unique travel experience. Their advertisements featured an image of New Mexico that stood in stark contrast to those presented during the push for New Mexico’s statehood; rather than downplaying the region’s multicultural, tri-ethnic heritage, the advertisements of Indian detours presented an image of Spanish Conquistadors and American Indians at the center of their promotional posters. In these advertisements, one can see New Mexico’s reimaging of itself and its celebration rather than ignoring of its multicultural heritage, a development that would be key in the way it charted its economic future.

Figure 4. “Roads to Yesterday.”
Source: Indian Detours brochure, ca. 1931, p 32-33, Box 4 (Ser. 6492), Folder – Publications 2, Farona G. Konopak Collection (1987-005), NMSRC.
Harvey Car Tours promised more than a geographic journey in their advertisements for Indian Detours, however. Ads stated the trip would provide a gateway to another time, “Roads to Yesterday.”\(^1\) The romanticization felt in the Fred Harvey promotional materials could be seen in other ways in the region as well such as in the architectural transformation of Santa Fe and in the rise of the arts and crafts movement in the 1890s and carrying into the early 20\(^{th}\) century.\(^2\) The economic future of New Mexico was clearly tied to this romantic re-imaging of itself in the early twentieth century, and as the Harvey Car advertisements made clear, Pueblos and other American Indians had a central role in this process.

In the early twentieth century, tourism work became an important part of local economies in New Mexico and various regions throughout the United States including Wisconsin. In the cases of Wisconsin and New Mexico, tourism work became a means of dealing with economic pressures produced by the alteration of the natural landscape in industrial development, changing political status, new policies enacted by state and territorial government, and the loss of land. In each region, tourism work emerged to deal with distinct local problems and took on a unique form based on the cultures and work patterns of communities. While there were common tropes included in tourism involving American Indians, the specific jobs available to American Indians were produced by local conditions.

This became particularly important as tourists and tourism work intersected with Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) policies of the era that pushed an assimilationist agenda

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1. Indian Detours brochure, ca. 1931, p 32-33, Box 4 (Ser. 6492), Folder – Publications 2, Farona G. Konopak Collection (1987-005), NMSRC.
and operated within a framework of racialized paternalism. Local Indian communities turned tourism work and tourists to their advantage as they countered OIA programs and platforms that sought to destroy their cultures and deny their humanity and autonomy. At times, tourism led to the creation of unlikely allies for communities, as seen in New Mexico in the Bursum Bill controversy. American Indian communities also derived unique meanings from the tourism work they performed including using it to maintain community bonds and, at times, even to contest exploitation. In the opening decades of the twentieth century, American Indian communities found ways to integrate themselves and their local economies into the expanding regional tourism industries. While these changes resulted from conditions of dispossession and disenfranchisement, communities also found ways to make the work they performed meaningful to them and their political and community goals.

REORGANIZATION OF LOCAL ECONOMIES IN WISCONSIN AND NEW MEXICO: THE RISE OF TOURISM

Pueblos and Ojibwe were not the only ones looking for new economic answers as they entered the twentieth century. The areas in which they made their homes were likewise entering eras of economic transition. As people in Wisconsin and New Mexico looked ahead at the turn of the twentieth century, they sought answers about the economic future of their regions. In the end, the answers proved to be two distinct versions of the same idea: tourism. For both those in Wisconsin and New Mexico, promoting tourism became a way to stimulate and build a local economy. In building their industries, they capitalized on unique aspects of their regions, including the American Indian populations living there.
To understand this economic transition, one must first look at changes in American tourism that made tourism seem to be a promising industry to those living in Wisconsin and New Mexico. Vacations were not a new idea in the United States at the turn of the twentieth century; however, a series of developments gave tourism in America a boost at the turn of the twentieth century. Generally, this shift involved increasing diversity of travel destinations and travelers and additional accessibility and travel options.

Over the course of the eighteenth century, vacations had mainly been a feature of the lives of America’s elite. Prior to the nineteenth century, the hardships of travel and lack of accommodations had created a situation in which few traveled for pleasure in America. Toward the close of the eighteenth century, a few resorts began to attract a group wealthy merchants, planters, and politicians. The elite company and a belief in the rejuvenating powers of water gave birth to a number of resorts including Saratoga, Cape May, and Nahant, which featured either mineral springs or seaside locations. These early resorts featured amusements such as bowling alleys and events such as dances and constituted some of the earliest forms of vacationing in the history of the United States.

Along with resort vacations, a few elite undertook more of a sight-seeing vacation in the early decades of the nineteenth century and places such as Niagara Falls were stops on such vacations as the Grand Tour. Such sites allowed for the appreciation of America’s natural beauty and scenery, an interest influenced by romanticism in the nineteenth century and the adaption of the ideas of writers such as William Wordsworth,

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4 Ibid., 17, 19-21.
Lord Byron, and Percy Bysshe Shelley. American writers such as James Fenimore Cooper and Washington Irving and artists of the Hudson River school further promoted this appreciation of American landscape.\(^6\) However, such travel necessitated a good deal of money as well as a network of friends, family, and colleagues, since there were few inns and places to stay along these routes, thereby excluding many potential travelers.\(^7\) As was the case with early resort vacations, travel opportunities were open to only a small percentage of white, wealthy, and socially well-connected individuals, making tourism development a rather limited arena.

By the latter half of the nineteenth century, the expanding middle class had begun to join the ranks of America’s tourists.\(^8\) The mid-nineteenth century saw technological innovations and growth of the transportation network of America with the expansion and improvements of rails, canals, and railways. Railroads in particular helped to create both desire among middle class Americans to visit new sites via advertising campaigns and the means to get them to these resorts. Vacation spots expanded beyond seaside and mineral spring resorts to include mountain and lake locales and came to be spread throughout various regions of the country. During the 1870s, vacation sites such as Lake Tahoe and Colorado Springs rose up in the American West. Indeed, vacationing became such a normal part of middle class life that it became one more way that the large and relatively economically diverse middle class of nineteenth century America held itself together and differentiated itself, in particular, from working-class Americans.\(^9\)

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\(^7\) Aron, 129, 131.

\(^8\) Ibid., 3.

\(^9\) Ibid., 45, 46, 51, 53.
The infrastructure of travel gave Americans more options as to how to spend their leisure time. With the expanding network of railroads, travelers could venture away from resort vacations and see America’s natural wonders, industrial and urban sites, and places of major historical significance. \(^{10}\) Sight-seeing vacations depended on the ability to move between locations with relative ease and since travelers might seek to view a number of different sites in a single trip or might wish to stay at each for a shorter amount of time than they had stayed a seaside resorts. Travelers also benefitted from an increasingly knowledgeable public that was not only informed by newspaper and other advertisements about potential destinations, but after the 1870s also increasingly made use of travel agents.

The growth of tourism infrastructure led to an increase in the numbers and in the economic diversity of American vacationers in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. One exception to this increased diversity was train travel to the American West, which remained prohibitively expensive. Round-trip coast-to-coast rail service cost upward of $300 in the 1870s and 1880s. However, East Coast tourists could travel as far as Colorado for less. Thus even as the trip west became more comfortable through innovations such as Pullman Palace cars, financially it remained accessible only to the very wealthy. \(^{11}\)

It was in the midst of such changes to the tourism industry that both Wisconsin and New Mexico began to develop their tourism industries. In the case of Wisconsin, those who had settled in the northern part of the state during the lumber boom sought ways to survive economically as the industry began to decline in the late nineteenth

\(^{10}\) Ibid., 4: 143-148.
\(^{11}\) Ibid., 138, 142.
century. More than just lumber camps, there were towns that had developed the basic structures by this point, and the bankers, merchants, and newspaper editors who had made their homes in northern Wisconsin were anxious to find new means to support communities in the 1890s. Many tried their hand at farming, but poor soil and a short growing season made farming in northern Wisconsin a challenging endeavor, despite the promises of the booster literature. More promising to some was building upon the foundation that had been laid for developing Wisconsin tourism. This industry became important to both Native and non-Natives living in the northern region of Wisconsin and the economy was transformed.

In the latter decades of the nineteenth century, railroad advertisers and entrepreneurs began creating both the image and early infrastructure for northern Wisconsin tourism. Certain tourism sites had existed in Wisconsin since the middle of the century including Bayfield, which had enjoyed a tourism industry since the 1860s. Sam Fifield, editor of the Ashland paper, established Camp Stella, the Apostle Islands’ first summer resort, in 1886. In the region nearer to the Lac Courte Oreilles and Lac du Flambeau reservations, two of the earliest spots were Minocqua and Eagle River, where local residents took advantage of the proximity of the Wisconsin Central Railway; the Milwaukee, Lake Shore, and Western Railroad; and the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway to build a tourism industry alongside lumbering in the 1890s. This process was aided by newspaper advertisements in urban papers, which helped to establish the

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12 Gough, 23.
region’s reputation as a haven for walleye and muskellunge fishing. Resorts were also in Boulder Junction, north of Minocqua, in the 1880s and 1890s. The Minocqua-Eagle River area saw about 1,200 recreational visitors a year by 1901. As lumber interests moved west, tourism became one way that northern Wisconsin re-imagined itself and charted its economic future.

Wealthy sportsmen made up the majority of recreational travelers to Wisconsin in the period before World War I. Pamphlets and advertisements produced by the Chicago and North-Western Railway focused on the boating, fishing, sporting, and other recreational activities a vacationer could enjoy in northern Wisconsin, which it celebrated as the “Enchanted Summer Land.” In such a description, Northern Wisconsin fell into line with other tourism promotion of the era, notably efforts by the Northern Pacific to promote Yellowstone Park as “Wonderland,” focusing on how the park represented a unique encounter with the natural world by use of terms including “enchanted.”

The Wisconsin American Indian population was largely erased from the landscape in early materials produced for tourists’ consumption. The area was depicted as marked by the past but not contemporary presence of Native Americans. Anecdotes highlighted how Native Americans had contributed the names of many places or discussed them as a part of regional history as in the case of Appleton, Wisconsin, which

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16 Jensen, 56.
17 Ibid., 60.
19 Shapiro, “Up North on Vacation,” 3.
was identified as the “scene of the State’s most bloody Indian wars.”

However, the contemporary presence of Native Americans was overwhelmingly ignored. The isolated instances in which American Indians briefly entered these descriptions were as guides. After recommending a trip into the wilderness, one travel book from the 1880s gestured toward the authority invested in Native Americans’ knowledge of the regional wilderness, writing, “...[A] guide is requisite, because, you know, the extent of the county is vast, and paths peculiar and deceptive. Secure the services of an intelligent Indian. Dispel all fear; he is tractable, and will pilot you safely.” While an exoticization of Native Americans may have fed into the anxiety that led the railroad to describe the guide as “tractable,” the passage also reveals that the main attraction for tourists was not Native Americans themselves but their ability to help vacationers access an untamed wilderness. As such, guide work might be seen as a form of specialized labor in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, in which Native American guides facilitated encounters with the natural environment, which was the true tourist attraction.

New Mexico, like Wisconsin, turned to tourism as a potential source of economic development around the turn of the twentieth century. The climate made agriculture difficult and overgrazing had exhausted many of the best lands in the region by the turn of the twentieth century. Manufacturing was not part of New Mexico’s economy in the period. Instead, early boosterism looked especially at the climate of New Mexico as a potential draw to the region. As was the case in Wisconsin, the natural environment

22 My Rambles, 83.
23 Ibid., 50.
played a central role in advertisements. Advertisements promised that the climate was ideal for those seeking a healthy environment in which to recover from respiratory problems, especially tuberculosis. This can be seen in early promotions such as “The Land of Sunshine,” which offered “a few plain facts about Albuquerque as a business center and health resort.” A similar publication from about 1896 on Albuquerque and surrounding country wrote of the area:

As a health resort the City offers a climate that can hardly be duplicated. Situated at an altitude of about 5,000 feet, Albuquerque is favored with a winter of ordinary mildness, and no oppressively warm summers. With an average of about 350 days of sunshine per year and an atmosphere remarkable for its dryness, the conditions are especially favorable to those afflicted with tuberculosis and thousands have been greatly benefited or cured.

In cases such as the 1914 publication by the Commercial Club of Albuquerque, “Why Albuquerque, New Mexico Will Make You Well,” these promotional pamphlets become quite grandiose in their claims of the sunshine’s healing effects, writing:

Reason No. 2 – Albuquerque has the Sunshine – 200 to 320 days annually of cloudless sunshine, a good deal of sunshine in the remainder; sunshine that kills the germs of tuberculosis five minutes after they are exposed to it; sunshine that is grateful but not oppressive. There is no sunshine like this anywhere but in New Mexico. It is healing, germicidal and invigorating.

Santa Fe’s climate, altitude and healing potential were also celebrated in publications such as the 1890 pamphlet, “Santa Fe as a Health Resort.” Boosters looking to

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26 “The Land of Sunshine,” Box 1, Item 6, Albuquerque and New Mexico Pamphlet Collect, 1880-1961 (MSS 112 BC), Center for Southwest Research, Zimmerman Library, UNM Albuquerque (hereinafter CSWR).


28 “Why Albuquerque, New Mexico Will Make You Well,” Issued by the Authority of the Commercial Club, Albuquerque, NM, 1914, Item 22, Box 1, Folder 3, Albuquerque and New Mexico Pamphlet Collection, 1880-1961, (MSS 112 BC), CSWR.

29 Rev. Edward Willcocks Meany, “Santa Fe as a Health Resort” (Santa Fe New Mexican Printing Company, 1890), File 108, Hewett Collection, Fray Angélico Chavez library (hereinafter cited as Chavez
encourage both travelers and those who might relocate to the area to visit celebrated the environment New Mexico provided.

The early twentieth century witnessed yet another expansion in the diversity of American tourists and several cultural trends helped to account for the success of tourism in these two regions. With regard to tourists, the twentieth century saw increasing numbers of working-class Americans taking part in tourism as well as middle-class African Americans. To avoid the discrimination they faced at certain resorts and tourism hotspots, African Americans developed their own vacation destinations in the early twentieth century including Highland Beach on the Chesapeake Bay, American Beach in Florida, and Idlewild in Michigan. In other cases, African Americans continued to travel to popular destinations like Atlantic City but developed hotels, boarding houses, and bathing establishments that targeted African American guests. As working-class whites increasingly took part in tourism, they too developed their own preferred vacations distinct from those of middle-class whites; in particular, camping, fishing, and visiting relatives were popular in the period before most of the working class enjoyed paid vacation time.\footnote{Aron, 208, 216}

Because of all this, the early twentieth century saw the greatest spurt in tourism growth in the region. Between 1897 and 1919, the number of resorts in Vilas Country’s Lakeland region increased from 13 to 106, allowing for the accommodation of about 5,000 visitors. The number of women visiting northern Wisconsin also increased so that by 1915 the number of female visitors equaled the number of men.\footnote{Jensen, 56-57.} Visitors commented

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that they enjoyed the break northern Wisconsin offered from large resort vacations.\textsuperscript{32}

The rise of automobile tourism after World War I also helped to expand tourism in regions like Wisconsin to the middle and the working classes.\textsuperscript{33}

The shift in tourist demographics brought a shift in tourism advertising in both New Mexico and in Wisconsin. In each case, American Indian populations took on a more central role. In featuring American Indians in a prominent position, these advertisements connected with several important cultural trends of the early twentieth century including the rise of ethnology and anthropology, an interest in the “Other,” and anti-modernism. This interest in Native American populations was especially pronounced in the case of New Mexico where marketing the “mystery of Pueblo culture” figured prominently in the advertisements of Fred Harvey and the Santa Fe Railway. The Fred Harvey Corporation, legendary for its creation of the Harvey hotels and restaurants with uniform food and uniformed waitresses became a signature of travel in the American West in the twentieth century. The company was instrumental in creating the tourist experiences and imagery used to draw travelers to the region.

The Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway (AT & SF) or known also as simply the Santa Fe Railroad reached New Mexico in the spring of 1878 but, despite, its name, the city of Santa Fe was not on the main line of the railroad but rather was reached by a spur line at Lamy after 1880. It was after 1895 when the company filed for bankruptcy that the Santa Fe Railroad increased its efforts at promoting Southwestern tourism. As


\textsuperscript{33} Shapiro, “Up North on Vacation,” 3.
part of this promotion, the railroad began to commission artists for the artwork and photographs that would characterize the railroad’s advertising campaigns. William Haskell Stimson, who headed the advertising department from 1900 to 1933, oversaw the creation of the stylized logo and the images that would make the railroad and region famous. Starting in 1907, the Santa Fe railroad began producing and distributing an annual calendar filled with images of the “Santa Fe Indian” and in 1911 began producing decks of playing cards.

From the start of the century, part of the attraction of Fred Harvey’s hotels and other enterprises was based on the promise of direct contacts with American Indians and the products they produced. For those who made the trip to Albuquerque, the Santa Fe Railway after 1902 offered the Indian Building, located between the station and the Alvarado Hotel. During stops of twenty-five minutes to an hour, railroad passengers could see the ethnographic displays of the Indian Museum, witness artists engaged in weaving or other forms of crafts in the Indian Building, and buy items in the curio shop or from Indians selling in front of the building. The Fred Harvey Indian Department, which directed the collections of art and the sales rooms of the company, was guided by key figures such as Herman Schweizer and J.F. Huckel. Particularly to those living in the bustling cities of the East and Midwest, this imagery and material culture of the Southwest and particularly of American Indians drew attention to the railroad and fostered the interest and desire of potential travelers.

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36 Dilworth, 84-85.
37 Howard and Pardue, 10.
An interest in the unknown “other” had already shaped vacationing men’s personal interactions in the name of sport in locales including Lac du Flambeau. By the first decades of the twentieth century, glimmers of this interest also began to seep into promotional literature. As Lac du Flambeau began to appear in travel guides, the roots of a shifting interest in tourism can be detected. In both the 1915 and 1916 editions of the pamphlet “Lakes and Resorts of the Northwest,” put out again by the Chicago and North Western Railway, information about fishing opportunities was followed by reference to the Lac du Flambeau community. After indicating Lac du Flambeau offered a good location fishing for muskellunge, black bass and pike, the description continued, “The Indian village and their modes of living, as seen on the reservation, is well worth the trip itself.” After 1912, the Indian Village or Old Village developed as an enclave on the reservation that consciously resisted the influence of Euro-American society in residential decisions and in personal contacts and work patterns. Other tourists contacted the superintendent about when might be the best time to visit the reservation, asking in one such case in her letter, “When would all the Indians be together?” and “Do they have any dances or celebrations soon?” Like the focus on the Indian Village, such statements in letters suggest an interest on the part of tourists in observing aspects of American Indian life during their time in Wisconsin.


39 Ibid.


41 Letter from Margaret A. Hensling to Indian Agent, Lac du Flambeau, Wis., July 9, 1913, July – August 1913, Box 16 – July 1913 – December 1913, General Correspondence of the Superintendent, 1911-1927, Lac du Flambeau Agency, RG 75, NARA – GL, Chicago.
The marketing potential of Indianness was not lost on the proprietors of resorts in the region. One such owner of a local resort sought to make use of the romance of Indianness to try to popularize their resorts. W. S. Witten wrote to the Lac du Flambeau superintendent in 1914 asking for “the names of the different chiefs or some of the noted chiefs among the Chippewa” to be incorporated into the clubhouse, dining room, and cottages they were building. While the appeal of this representation of “traditional” Indian life may have begun to take root in the minds of Wisconsin tourists in the early decades of the twentieth century, it did not develop to the extent that it did in other regions such as the Southwest.

In advertising campaigns that focused on romanticized depictions of Indianness, railroads and other entrepreneurs were able to pull together several cultural trends of the period that made American Indians the object of interest among many white American travelers. First, ethnology and anthropology became an important factor in sparking interest in American Indian life and, in particular, in the region of the American Southwest. While interest in American Indian cultures was not new, the creation of the Bureau of Ethnology as part of the Smithsonian Institution in 1879 helped to lend a more systematic element to the investigation of American Indian cultures. This systematic approach combined with an urgency based on a continuing idea that Indian cultures were rapidly “vanishing” to produce a good deal of work toward the collecting of artifacts and the preserving of records of cultural practices. Museums in the second half of the

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43 Dilworth, 15.
nineteenth century such as the Smithsonian Institution developed collections to preserve artifacts of American Indian life. The Smithsonian Institution first began collecting artifacts from the southwestern Pueblos in 1879, and, once the railroad made the region more accessible to those from other parts of the country, others followed suit.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, anthropology found a place in American universities, applying scientific principles to the study of cultures. In the early twentieth century, figures like Franz Boas served to connect natural history museums and universities and spurred the growth of the field of anthropology. Even scholars who followed Boas’ rejection of evolutionary understandings of culture and his interest in “traditional” aspects of Native American life, however, believed that Native American cultures were destined to disappear in the face of modernity. Students of Boas, including Ruth Benedict and Ruth Bunzel, continued to work with and research Pueblo cultures in the 1910s and 1920s, and anthropology became an important part of regional culture of the Southwest.

The work of anthropologists coincided with an effort to transform the image of Santa Fe in a way that reflected the tri-cultural heritage of the region. Around the time New Mexico became a state in 1912, the city of Santa Fe was engaged in remaking its own image. Edgar Lee Hewett was the catalyst behind the creation of the Museum of New Mexico-School of American Anthropology, which went on to oversee the development of “Santa Fe style.” Hewett also served on the Santa Fe Planning

47 Dippie, 231.
Committee, which in 1912 faced the task of reversing Santa Fe’s thirty-year economic decline. The city created the Pueblo revival architectural image that became key in stimulating its economy through the development of tourism. It was in this period that Santa Fe began fostering its image as the “City Different” and renovating the buildings that would become emblems of the Spanish-Pueblo revival architectural style, notably the Palace of the Governors with its famous portal. This new architectural style was characterized by low, wide buildings, with flat roofs, natural-colored adobe walls, and recessed portals. It celebrated the city’s multi-ethnic heritage, which had been greatly downplayed during its efforts at statehood.49

Early ethnologists also took an interest in the Lake Superior Ojibwe, notably Frances Densmore. For example, during the spring of 1911-1912, Frances Densmore corresponded with the superintendent at Lac du Flambeau in order to try to secure a woven sash made by Mrs. Eniwabay that would be displayed at the National Museum in Washington.50 Desmore published several works on the culture of Ojibwe including her work *Chippewa Customs* in 1929. Her most notable works were those concerning American Indian music, and she published a two-part history of Ojibwe music between 1910 and 1913.51 Here, too, the culture of the Ojibwe became an object of increased interest across America.

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49 Wilson, 117, 121, 122, 124-125.
50 Letter from Frances Densmore to W.N. Sickels, June 22, 1911, folder - May and June 1911; and Letter from Frances Densmore to W.N. Sickels, Feb. 19, 1912 and Letter from Frances Densmore to W. N. Sickels, Jan. 22, 1912, folder - January and February 1912, 1911 General Correspondence of the Superintendent, 1911-1927, Lac du Flambeau Agency, RG 75, NARA – GL, Chicago.
Alongside and overlapping with these academic trends in archaeology, ethnology, and anthropology also were several trends in popular entertainment, most clearly demonstrated in Wild West shows and World’s Fairs. Historians including L.G. Moses and Clyde Ellis have explored how thousands of American Indians made a living through dancing in Wild West shows, fairs and exhibitions from the 1880s to the 1930s, pursuing economic goals and a taste for adventure.\textsuperscript{52} Wild West shows, popularized most notably by William “Buffalo Bill” Cody, employed American Indian performers who took part in enacting episodes from the “winning of the West” for a captive audience of mostly white Americans. The significance of these performances lay in their contrast to government policies of the 1880s – 1920s, which through boarding schools, the dividing of tribal lands, and other policies sought to assimilate American Indians into Euro-American culture.\textsuperscript{53} While these shows were important in shaping future portrayals of Indianness in American culture, they focused on a frontier experience associated primarily with the Great Plains.\textsuperscript{54} Thus, they account for a popular interest in American Indian cultures but not specifically for those interested in Ojibwe and Pueblo cultures.

A more comprehensive approach was taken in the displays at World’s Fairs in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Both the Pueblos and Ojibwe had a presence in the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Ojibwe people danced at the World’s


\textsuperscript{53} Moses, 278.

Fair. The Anthropological Building, put together with the influence of parties from the Harvard Peabody Museum and the Smithsonian Institute, contained a replica of Taos Pueblo. Historians have explored the important connections between constructions of race, imperialism, and expositions such as World’s Fairs, considering the ways in which the expansion of capitalism and the promotion of the racialization and colonization of various peoples in fairs’ displays happened alongside and fed into one another.

Alongside displays of the technological advances of industrializing societies, visitors to fairs also viewed living exhibitions of colonized peoples from around the globe. In these interactions, white audiences could reaffirm their own whiteness by “gazing” at racialized displays, which helps to account for their popularity among fairgoers.

At the same time World’s Fairs were celebrating the accomplishments of the world’s industrialized powers, others were looking to American Indians as part of a movement focused on the dangers of industrialization and modernization. During the early decades of the twentieth century, a reaction against urbanization and other developments manifested in a cultural push toward antimodernism. Concerned with the artificiality, materialism, and moral and spiritual emptiness of modern life, antimodernists, who were often part of the northern middle and upper classes, looked outside of their own experiences to try to find cultural expressions that they considered

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more sincere and meaningful. They turned in their quest toward “Oriental and medieval religious beliefs, preindustrial arts and crafts, and so-called primitive cultures.”

In *Playing Indian* (1998), Philip Deloria articulated the importance of the idea of the “authentic” in the identity white Americans embarked on a quest to find in the early twentieth century. Deloria described the function of authenticity as follows:

The authentic serves as a way to imagine and idealize the real, the traditional, and the organic in opposition to the less satisfying qualities of everyday life…. Because those seeking authenticity have already defined their own state as inauthentic, they easily locate authenticity in the figure of an Other. This other can be coded in terms of time (nostalgia or archaism), place (the small town), or culture (Indianness).

In the search for a true American identity, Americans turned to ideas of Indianness, and popular images of Native Americans were deemed organic and authentic. These ideas were spread through the rise of organizations such as the Boy Scouts of America and the Camp Fire Girls. Such images were posited as an alternative for the artificiality of modern America.

Romanticized views of American Indian life not only inspired some Americans to join new organizations and explore new spiritual beliefs in the period around the turn of the century but led others to uproot their lives altogether. As Americans looked for something different, many turned to the Southwest, which through the writing of people including Charles Lummis became fixed in the imaginations of those living in the East as

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58 Smith, 8.
60 Deloria, 101.
61 Ibid.
62 Ibid., 101.
a foreign country within the United States. For women like Elsie Clews Parsons, Mary Austin, and Mabel Dodge Luhan, the Southwest represented new opportunity, a place in which they could pursue a feminist vision that allowed for self-fulfillment. These women connected their vision of feminism to their antimodernist interest in primitivism and sought to co-opt their perceptions of Pueblo gender roles to support their feminist ideology.

Perhaps more than any other, Mabel Dodge Luhan has come to represent the idea of the Southwest as a potential for new expression. She relocated from the East to the Southwest in December 1917, eventually married Antonio Luhan of Taos Pueblo, and helped to build a community of artists in the Southwest. The artist colony at Taos preceded Luhan’s arrival, having begun in 1898 with Bert Phillips and Ernest Blumenschein and grown as the rise of tourism created a demand for romantic paintings of Native Americans including those used in Santa Fe Railroad advertisements. Nonetheless, her relocation inspired many friends to follow suit and she helped inspire the bohemian culture of Taos. The style and culture she established as the organizer of a Greenwich Village salon in the 1910s, keeping company with Emma Goldman and Gertrude Stein, carried through to her experiences in the Southwest. Kristin Hoganson writes, “In Taos, [Mabel Dodge Luhan] built a house that mixed French sofas and Mexican chairs, Navajo rugs and Indian tables, Buddhas and Virgins. The striking mix identified her as a woman not beholden to narrow conventions, as a woman open to the

64 Margaret Jacobs, *Engendered Encounters: Feminism and Pueblo Cultures, 1879-1934* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 57-81.
66 Smith, 187-188; Rodriguez, 88.
artistry of the world.”  The emergence of artist colonies in locations like Taos and Santa Fe was another aspect of this phenomenon in which Americans took an increased interest in ideas of Indianness. While they may have rejected the commercialization it represented, the work of Mabel Dodge Luhan and her fellow artists and writers further helped promote the popularization of tourism to the American Southwest.  

FAMILY, COMMUNITY, AND TOURISM WORK AMONG THE OBJIBWE AND PUEBLOS

As the regions of New Mexico and Wisconsin developed their tourism industries in the early twentieth century, American Indian communities found ways to make their place in them. These endeavors had a variety of effects for communities. Much attention has been paid to the exploitative nature of this work and its contribution to patterns of dispossession is clear, but it also became a means for building alliances that would be valuable during the era of assimilationist federal policy.

In addition to the regional economic problems faced in Wisconsin and New Mexico, the Ojibwe and Pueblos also faced economic problems unique to their communities. In the case of Wisconsin these problems had to do especially with treaty rights and issues of tribal sovereignty. In the 1908 case of State v. Morrin, the Wisconsin Supreme Court ruled that Anishinaabe off-reservation harvesting rights, established in the treaties of 1837 and 1842, were abrogated when Wisconsin became a state in 1848. These conditions intensified the need for Ojibwe to seek out new forms of work.

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68 Rodriguez, 89.
69 Satz, 85.; Larry Nesper, *The Walleye War: The Struggle for Ojibwe Spearfishing and Treaty Rights* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 51. For a discussion over the cultural and legal battles that
Pueblos were facing challenges of their own due to continued disputes over land and difficulties in agriculture in the early decades of the twentieth century. Shortly after New Mexico became a state, the 1913 case of the United States v. Sandoval reversed the Joseph decision and stated that Pueblos should be treated like other tribes and afforded the protection of the US government. However, by this time much of the damage was done. Interior Department surveys beginning in 1914 revealed that about 3,000 non-Indian families amounting to about 12,000 people held claims on Pueblo land grants. Even after the passage of the Pueblo Lands Act in 1924, sorting out claims and arranging for compensation for or restoration of lands proved a lengthy process, and the board did not finish its work until 1938. In many cases, land was not returned and the compensation was deemed inadequate to cover the loss.

Along with the strain from land disputes, the Great Depression’s effect on agriculturalists including the Pueblos helps to explain why economic diversification would have been particularly important in the early 20th century. Agriculture was unable to meet community needs at times, as in the 1927 survey of home conditions at Taos Pueblo where the surveyor’s answer to the question of whether the district was producing enough to meet its own needs was simply, “No.” A 1923 report identified water shortages at San Ildefonso as having reached dangerous levels. The seriousness of the situation was conveyed as the superintendent projected, “…[I]t looks as if it is but a

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70 Dunbar-Ortiz, 115.
71 Survey – Home Condition – Taos Pueblo – New Mexico – Completed 3/4/27, Indian office circular #5; 050-Statistics – Taos Pueblo 1925-27; Box 8 – 050-051; General Correspondence Files, 1912-1938; Northern Pueblos Agency, Record Group 75; National Archives, Rocky Mountain branch, Denver, CO.
matter of time when San Ildefonso will be numbered among the extinct Pueblos.”

Agriculture continued to be problematic in other pueblos as well during the 1920s, especially at San Ildefonso and Tesuque, because of the difficulty of obtaining sufficient water for farming. Pueblos also faced problems with insects such as crop damage by grasshoppers done in 1928, which affected a number of the northern pueblos including Santa Clara. In pueblos where farming was particularly difficult in the period, tourism provided an important means to supplement income.

While tourism provided an economic strategy among Wisconsin Anishinaabeg and northern Pueblos in New Mexico, it manifested itself in different and distinct ways in each case. The activities that were most profitable within tourism work varied. These differences can be ascribed to the culture of each community and to the patterns of work into which tourism labor was integrated, thus showing that tourism work was, at the end of the day, one more form of work. While tourists’ expectations focused on a more abstract sense of the draw of exoticized cultures, tourism work operated within communities in ways that were material and economically quantifiable. It included elements of artistic expression as well as more mundane work that contradicted the mythology and romanticism of tourism literature.


73 1927 Annual Report, Supt. Crandall, p. 11, 051-Statistical-Annual Report-Narrative and Statistical-1927(2); Box 8, General Correspondence Files, 1912-38, Northern Pueblos Agency, National Archives, Rocky Mountain Branch, Denver, CO.

74 1928 Annual Report, Supt. T.F. McCormick, 051-Statistical-Annual Report-Narrative and Statistical-1928(1); Box 8-050-051; General Correspondence Files, 1912-1938; Northern Pueblos Agency, National Archives, Rocky Mountain Branch, Denver.

In the early twentieth century, Anishinaabe tourism work included wage labor, commodity production, performance, and guiding work. These activities were united by their focus on an influx of outsiders as their audience and consumers. Within the burgeoning tourism economy of northern Wisconsin, fishing was a primary factor that attracted tourists to Anishinaabe reservations. Anishinaabeg men were able to capitalize on this through their work as fishing guides, one of the earliest and most reliable forms of tourism work in Northern Wisconsin, fitting well with the image of Wisconsin as a site for outdoor recreation and adventure. In 1916, guides at Lac Courte Oreilles made between $3.00 and $3.50 per day and the superintendent at the Hayward Indian School reported that many men worked in this way. Guide work was also an important source of income at Lac du Flambeau in the 1910s. The importance of fishing in communities was likewise reflected in the fish hatchery at Lac du Flambeau, which in the early 1920s began to sell permits to the tourists who came to the reservation to fish. Regulated and supervised by the new fish warden, tourists by 1922 had purchased $1400 worth of permits to fish on the reservation. Fishing provided a foundation upon which other tourism work was built.

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76 By comparison, Pueblos working in the late 1920s in the beet fields as common laborers made between $2.50 and $3.00 per day. 1928 Annual Report, Supt. T.F. McCormick, 051-Statistical – Annual Report – Narrative and Statistical – 1928 (1); Box 8 – 050-051; General Correspondence of the Superintendent, Northern Pueblos Agency, National Archives, Rocky Mountain Branch, Denver. Letter from Supt. Hayward Indian School to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Oct. 27, 1916, Circulars-Replies to – 1914-16, Box 1 – 1914-22, General Correspondence of the Superintendent, 1914-31, Hayward Indian School, Record Group 75, National Archives, Chicago.


79 Ibid.
With the arrival of tourists came a new market for commodity production. This became another avenue along which Wisconsin Ojibwe were able to develop tourism work in order to meet their economic needs. Beadwork, the most common activity listed for Lac du Flambeau women in superintendents’ annual reports, engaged 200 people at Lac du Flambeau in 1911, bringing in $2,000. A decade later, beadwork and articles manufactured from buckskin brought in $3,000 in each of two consecutive years. In those same years, basketmaking and birchbark work brought in $2500 each year. At Lac Courte Oreilles, women found a ready market for beadwork in tourists, selling from $800 to $1000 worth in a year, making this a key source of revenue. Women’s role in this industry and the profit derived from the work was reflected in 1920 when Superintendent Balmer brought up women’s craft sales as well as men’s guide work as a reason the fish hatchery at Lac du Flambeau should be rebuilt to help attract tourist dollars. In years with good berry crops, women also sold berries to tourists. Thus women were able to build upon the foundation of sporting in Wisconsin tourism, and women’s work and sales came to be a critical part of tourism’s potential to bring cash to communities.

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83 Letter from Superintendent, Hayward Training School to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 6, 1916, Circulars – Replies to – 1914-16, Box 1, 1914-16, General Correspondence of the Superintendent, 1914-31, Hayward Indian School, RG 75, National Archives, Chicago.
84 Letter from James W. Balmer, Superintendent Lac du Flambeau, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. September 23, 1920. 79867-20-Lac du Flambeau-338, Box 55, Lac du Flambeau Agency, Central Classified Files (#121), 1907-1939, Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington, DC.
85 Letter from James W. Balmer, Superintendent Lac du Flambeau, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 26, 1922, Reports of Industrial Surveys, (#762), Lac du Flambeau, Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington, DC.
Beginning in the 1910s, agricultural fairs in Wisconsin became a way to show the agricultural achievements of communities and help foster potential commodity markets. Even Superintendent Dady of Red Cliff who reported that the sale of beadwork was very limited saw the display of “Indian handiwork” as valuable in attracting attention to the Red Cliff exhibit at the Wisconsin State Fair.\(^86\) Lac du Flambeau aided the expansion of markets through its participation in annual agricultural fairs after 1915.\(^87\) By its fifth annual agricultural fair in 1920, OIA Superintendent James Balmer reported that tourists would have purchased all craft items on the first day of the fair if officials had not prevented it.\(^88\) Thus, fairs provided an additional place where communities could gain exposure for craft items and foster relationships with future consumers. In focusing on activities and commodities that reflected the beauty of Wisconsin’s natural environment, Anishinaabeg tourism fit with tourists’ demand for the region. Wisconsin tourism’s promoters attempted to sell the state as a site of outdoor recreation and adventure.\(^89\)

In the case of the Northern Pueblos, culture and commodity production became key in their ability to integrate themselves into the growing tourism economy of New Mexico. Along with architectural restyling occurring in Santa Fe, the city promoted a series of events to draw crowds to the city. Beginning in 1919, the modern Santa Fe Fiesta, celebrated briefly in 1911 and 1912, was celebrated annually under direction of

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\(^{86}\) Letter from Superintendent and S.D.A. J.W. Dady to Frank C. Brown, Jan. 18, 1919, Bead Work – 1919, Box 1 – A-Br, Administrative Correspondence of the Superintendent, 1908-22, Red Cliff Agency, Record Group 75, National Archives, Chicago; Letter from J.W. Dady to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 7, 1915, Fair – 1915, Box 3 – Da-Fa, Administrative Correspondence of the Superintendent, 1908-22, Red Cliff Agency, Record Group 75, National Archives, Chicago.


\(^{89}\) On the marketing of Wisconsin tourism in the 1920s and 1930s, see Aaron Alex Shapiro, “‘One crop worth cultivating’: Tourism in the Upper Great Lakes, 1910-1965,” (PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 2005), p. 211-221.
Museum of New Mexico staff. In 1922, Kenneth Chapman helped to organize the First Annual Southwest Indian Fair and Arts and Crafts Exhibition, which would later become the annual Santa Fe Indian Market. In the 1930s, Southwest Indian Fair Committee or New Mexico Indian Fair Committee, particularly influenced by Maria Chabot, started holding weekly Saturday markets under the portal of the Palace of the Governors. By the late 1930s, American Indian vendors came to Santa Fe regularly to sell goods under the portal. The artists in the early twentieth century came primarily from Tesuque, and were joined in the 1920s and 1930s by vendors from other Tewa pueblos, notably San Ildefonso, which had developed a name for itself based on the famous pottery of Maria and Julian Martinez. Thus, Pueblo producers were able to connect with new potential buyers as part of the expansion of Santa Fe tourism.

The proximity of the northern pueblos to Santa Fe also made them critical in the emerging automobile tourism industry. Tour companies such as Koshare Tours, headed by Erna Fergusson and Ethel Hickey, which operated between 1921 and 1926 took a lead in capitalizing on this form of tourism. Brochures promised fascinating motor trips from Albuquerque and, in keeping with the image New Mexico tourism was cultivating, “Indian Dances, Indian Towns, Cliff Dwellings and Ancient Ruins.” They promised to reveal “the delights of a land as yet but little known to the traveler,” inviting customers to

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91 Ibid., 51.
92 Ibid., 53.
93 Ibid., 59.
95 “The Koshare Tours,” Box 1, Folder 4A, Item 42, Albuquerque and New Mexico Pamphlet Collection, CSWR.
“get away from the railroad and shake hands with a thousand years.”\textsuperscript{96} The opening piece in the brochure by Harvey Fergusson identified New Mexico as “The Country of the Pueblos” and “...home of the one unspoiled primitive people remaining in North America.”\textsuperscript{97} Here contemporary ideas of the vanishing Indian play out in the tourism literature as readers were implicitly warned that it was a race against the clock to see the Pueblos before they became “spoiled” by modern society. The brochure also features the language of exoticization in its attempts to spark readers’ curiosity, promising, “It is impossible here to describe the charm of the pueblo country and its strange dances and festivals – the snake dance, the corn dance, the buffalo dance, the eagle dance, the fire dance....”\textsuperscript{98}

This model of automobile tourism was also taken up by the Indian Detours Company, which was founded by R. Hunter Clarkson. The first tour took place on May 15, 1926.\textsuperscript{99} The Harvey Company’s Indian Detours attracted a good deal of attention due at least in part to the media coverage of their female couriers with their claims of authority on Southwest and American Indian history and their smart dress. Press releases from the early 1930s described the women’s dress noting their “striking uniform” with its “wealth of Navajo hammered silver and turquoise jewelry.”\textsuperscript{100} Departing from Las Vegas, New Mexico, these three-day excursions visited sites including Tesuque, Santa Clara, and San Juan Pueblos as they made their way first to Santa Fe and then to Albuquerque. As was the case with Koshare tours, the Harvey Indian Detours brochures

\textsuperscript{96} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{97} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{98} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{99} Weigle, 130.  
\textsuperscript{100} “Desert Guide Will Speak to Scouts,” June 2, 1930, \textit{Pasadena Start News}, Box 1, Folder 2, R. Hunter Clarkson Collection (1951-031), NMSRC.
included images that promised close encounters and the opportunity for direct contact with American Indians. The variety of services over the years expanded, offering, among its various options, a tour that featured a 3-day Taos detour by the early 1930s. Similarly to Fergusson’s advertisements, Harveycar Tours promised Indian Detours would provide a gateway to another time, through “Roads to Yesterday.” Such advertisements sought to spark visitors’ interest by connecting with the romantic movement that led to the architectural transformation of Santa Fe and the rise of the arts and crafts movement in the 1890s and carrying into the early 20th century. What unites these ideas is the promise of the opportunity to travel not just across space but to get the chance to visit vanishing cultures with imagery of American Indians as the centerpiece.

For those pueblos accessible to automobiles and with traditions of producing items that appealed to tourists, such sales could alleviate some of these economic hardships. This was illustrated in economic reports of the late 1920s and 1930s. A 1927 report by Superintendent Crandall of the Office of Indian Affairs Northern Pueblo Agency stated that the Pueblo Indians at Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, and Santo Domingo were expert pottery makers and had been increasing their pottery making and finding a ready market especially since the advent of the Harvey tours.

A report the following year by T.F. McCormick noted,

The pottery has been greatly improved in the last year. The villages of Tesuque, Santa Clara, and Santo Domingo derive an income from the sale of their pottery. Last year sales would exceed $5,000.00. The total sales of the pottery throughout the entire jurisdiction for the past year will exceed $10,000.

101 Indian Detours brochure, ca. 1931, p 32-33, Box 4 (Ser. 6492), Folder – Publications 2, Farona G. Konopak Collection (1987-005), NMSRC.
102 Wilson, 110-112.
103 Box 8, Folder 051 – Statistics – Annual Report – Narrative and Statistical – 1927 – folder (2), General Correspondence Files, 1912-1938, Northern Pueblos Agency, National Archives and Records Agency, Rocky Mountain Branch, Denver, CO (hereinafter cited as Northern Pueblos General Correspondence, Denver).
Here again McCormick credited the Harvey Transportation Company as providing the
great source of purchasers. In 1930, C.I. Nespit estimated that the sale of pottery in the
pueblos, particularly the high-quality pottery of Tesuque, Santa Clara, San Juan and San
Ildefonso, amounted to $35,000. This figure can be compared to an estimated $5,000
of revenue brought in by pottery in 1923. Of 1930 income, $12,150 came from San
Ildefonso of whom Nespit wrote,

Ten years ago San Ildefonso Pueblo was in extreme need. Today, through a
revival of their arts and crafts, their per capita income from their own effort
exceeds that of any other pueblo or Indian people of the southwest. Fortunately,
too, it is growing with the years and has economic significance of great
promise.

These figures show the promise of pottery sales as a means to supplement Pueblo
incomes.

Along with selling to those traveling to the pueblos with tour groups,
communities organized in the period to gain a share in the tour companies’ profits. This
was particularly illustrated in the case of the Puyé Cliffs at Santa Clara Pueblo. A 1928
report highlighted local concerns that while 100 automobiles and busses visited the cliffs
during the month of April alone, no fee was being charged. This led a number of Santa
Clara residents to oppose the Harvey Company and tourists. The Santa Clara Pueblos
filed complaints with the Indian Office in hopes of receiving compensation for the
thousands of visitors each year, but as the report points out, this could be difficult given a

104 Box 8, Folder 051 – Statistical-Annual Report – Narrative and Statistical – 1928 (Folder 1), Northern
Pueblos General Correspondence, Denver.
105 Box 8, Folder 051 – Statistics – Annual Report – Northern Pueblo – 1930 – Folder (2), Northern
Pueblos General Correspondence, Denver.
106 Box 10, Folder 051 – Statistics – Annual Report (Northern) – 1920-1921, Northern Pueblos General
Correspondence, Denver.
107 Box 8, Folder 051 – Statistics – Annual Report – Northern Pueblo – 1930 – Folder (2), Northern
Pueblos General Correspondence, Denver.
conflict of interest by which the Assistant Secretary of the Interior himself had recently
visited the cliffs with the Fred Harvey Detours.\textsuperscript{108} Here again, Pueblos drew on the
specifics of local economies, production patterns, and, in this case, the natural
environment at Santa Clara Pueblo to shape their niche in the tourism market.

Whereas guide work was important to the Anishinaabeg in Wisconsin, it was less
critical in the case of the Pueblos, perhaps because it failed to fit well into previous
economic strategies. In the late 1920s, very few Pueblos left their communities in search
of wage labor during the summer months because they were engaged in farming.\textsuperscript{109}
Similarly, when it came to activities such as leading pack trips for dude ranches and
dancing at resorts in Manitou Springs and Colorado Springs that would have taken people
away from communities during the summer months, it was reported that “few” within
communities took part in these occupations.\textsuperscript{110} By having tourists come to the pueblos or
by selling items in Santa Fe, artists were able to avoid the problem of being away for long
periods of time. This had been the case when Pueblos traveled to Las Vegas, New
Mexico or Denver, Colorado to sell their pottery and might have to stay for as long as a
month before their pottery sold.\textsuperscript{111} When tourists traveled on or closer to the pueblos,
some of these problems of lengthy absences were alleviated.

While tourism work was incorporated into the work lives of both Ojibwe and
Pueblos, it did have important effects on the way work and community were organized in
these two societies. As communities integrated these new forms of work, they had to

\textsuperscript{108} Box 8, Folder 051 – Statistics – Annual Report – Narrative and Statistical – 1927 – folder (2), Northern
Pueblos General Correspondence, Denver.
\textsuperscript{109} 1928 Annual Report, Supt. T.F. McCormick; 051-Statistical-Annual Report-Narrative and Statistical-
1928(1); Box 8 – 050-051; General Correspondence of Superintendent, Northern Pueblos Agency, National
Archives, Rocky Mountain branch, Denver.
\textsuperscript{110} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{111} Interview with Fidel Naranjo, Santa Clara Pueblo, by Michael Weber, July 5, 1968, Translated by Field
Naranjo, Tape #104, Transcript, p. 1, Reel 10, American Indian Oral History Project, CSWR.
reorganize the performance of the various tasks necessary for survival. The incorporation of these tasks of tourism can be seen clearly when one considers the role of tourism work in industrial surveys conducted in Ojibwe communities in the early 1920s. Overall, the 1922 surveys conducted at Lac du Flambeau record the continuation of mixed economic strategies and gendered labor systems.

Of 135 households surveyed at Lac du Flambeau, the surveyor indicated some kind of labor for 125 women. The most common kinds of labor listed were bead work (71 women); making moccasins (67 women); making maple sugar and syrup (59 women); gathering, selling, and/or canning berries (42 women); making birchbark items (33 women); making reed mats (33 women); making rag rugs (30 women); tanning hides (19 women); and harvesting wild rice (19 women). Twenty-three women indicated some kind of wage work, with eleven women working at resorts and four others engaged in work, such as doing laundry and cooking for tourists, which was clearly linked to vacationing. The latter work would not have been altogether different from that performed in connection with the lumber industry. Another five women were involved in some kind of business including a hotel and a popshop.112 Of the 92 households at Lac du Flambeau that included a male who worked in some regard as the head of household, forty-six listed wage labor in combination with some other form of work such as hunting, gathering, and fishing or commodity production.113 Men’s and women’s labor were integrated into diversified economies, which continued to incorporate a variety of economic strategies. In the case of Lac Courte Oreilles, 138 household surveys were

112 Surveys of Indian Industry, 1922, NA-GL.
113 Ibid. While the vast majority of children were indicated as attending school or simply being married having their own homes, occupations were listed in eighteen cases, all except one of which included some wage labor. This suggests that children’s work was not considered in other cases. Two grandmothers included in the surveys listed work in commodity production and gathering activities.
conducted. While these provide less detail than those conducted at Lac du Flambeau, they mark men’s work as fishing guides and in other aspects related to the tourism economy and women’s contributions in the realms of gardening, stock raising, and wage labor, once again suggesting a continued gendering and balance in work.\footnote{Reports of Industrial Surveys, (#762), Hayward Indian School. Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington, DC.} \footnote{Barbara Babcock, “‘A New Mexican Rebecca,’” 403, 428, 431.} \footnote{Jacobs, 10.}

In the case of the northern Pueblos, there are some indications that tourism work may have proven more transformative, especially with regard to gender. Women’s pottery became central in imaginings of the Southwest. Again and again, Pueblo women and pottery were central in advertising campaigns and, as Barbara Babcock points out, over the course of the twentieth century the image of a Pueblo woman carrying an \textit{olla} or water jar became the central image Anglos used to represent the Pueblos. Its centrality had profound implications for both how artists imagined themselves and how communities organized to perform work.\footnote{Edward H. Spicer, \textit{Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960} (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962), 179.} With the production of pottery for the tourism market, the labor Pueblo women had performed for centuries took on new significance as women contributed cash to households. In some cases, Pueblo women’s production became the primary source of income for families.\footnote{At San Ildefonso Pueblo, the influence of women who earned a good deal through sale of their pottery and gained a degree of independence was said to have influenced a split within the pueblo.} \footnote{Jacobs, 10.} These shifts had the potential to create divisions within families and communities.

Along with the economic and social impacts of tourism work, it came to intervene in politics in important and perhaps unexpected ways in the early twentieth century. This
can be seen most clearly in the alliances formed that shaped federal Indian policies in the two cases. In the case of northern Wisconsin, the controversy centered around federal policies of assimilation and the issue of dance. Following the Dawes Act of 1887, the federal government set a course that focused on the assimilation of American Indians through land allotments and the promotion of farming. These economic measures were a branch of a broader program designed to promote individualism and the value of private property. Other programs of the era included boarding school education, which separated parents and children to break cultural bonds and children, and the regulation of various behaviors which were thought the impede the “progress” of American Indians’ toward the United States’ ideas of civilization.\textsuperscript{118}

Among the practices singled out in this regard as potentially detrimental was dancing. In the 1910s and 1920s, particularly following Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke’s famous Circular 1665 (1921) in which he denounced dances, efforts were undertaken to record instances of dancing and to regulate it.\textsuperscript{119} Burke wrote to Lac Courte Oreilles in 1925, expressing his concern about the potential influence of tourism:

In an inspection relative to your reservation, it is stated that there has been a great influx of tourists to that part of the country who encourage Indians to engage in their old-time pow-wows, dances, etc., with the result that they neglect their homes and make little preparation for winter. This condition, of course, is undesirable and every effort should be made to remedy it so far as is practicable.\textsuperscript{120}

\textsuperscript{118} For more information on this era of US federal Indian policy, see Frederick E. Hoxie, \textit{A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920} (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).
\textsuperscript{119} On the regulation of American Indian dances, see Ellis, \textit{A Dancing People}, especially Chapter 3, “‘There is no doubt the dances should be curtailed’: Indian Dances and Federal Policy on the Southern Plains, 1880-1930” and Jacobs.
\textsuperscript{120} Letter from Charles H. Burke, Commissioner, to Mr. James P. Ryder, Supt. Hayward School, Nov. 28, 1925, Reservation – 1925-25, Box 7 – 1924-1926, General Correspondence of the Superintendent, 1914-1931, Hayward Indian School, Record Group 75, National Archives, Chicago.
At Lac du Flambeau, the OIA agency had fought a nagging but largely unsuccessful battle against phenomena that they identified as hindrances to assimilation of the reservation during the 1910s. Key among their concerns was dancing, which a 1916 report identified as “a very important factor in the slow progress which has been made by these Indians.”\textsuperscript{121} In the 1925 report the superintendent reflected on an increasing commercialization of dances and on dances’ new role as a revenue-producing activity on the reservation.\textsuperscript{122}

The popularity of these dances came to be seen as a threat to agency authority at Lac du Flambeau in the 1920s. Superintendent Hammitt proclaimed his helplessness to prevent the dances that the public and tourists expected at the reservation. He wrote in 1927, “To endeavor to stop [Indian tribal dances] by drastic measure would inflame the ‘Dear public’ and cause endless trouble.”\textsuperscript{123} At the same time he also observed how the exchange between Anishinaabeg performers and tourists had deflected OIA policy. He lamented, “Were it not for this same public and the tourist, [the dances] would have probably been dead by this time.”\textsuperscript{124} This suggests that in responding to the demands of the consumer, Anishinaabeg were able to insulate themselves against the power of the Lac du Flambeau Agency in its efforts to control dancing on the reservation.

The debates over dances also reveal how definitions of tourism labor and work more generally were politically charged in Wisconsin and other places in the early twentieth century. In attempting to assert authority at Lac du Flambeau, Superintendent

\textsuperscript{123} Annual Report, 1927, p. 2, Superintendents’ Annual Reports, Lac du Flambeau, NA, M1011.
\textsuperscript{124} Ibid.
Hammitt refused to include dances within his own definition of work. He readily acknowledged that money could be made through dances, but he remained unwilling to see dances as a form of legitimate labor, on a par with farming. Expressing his frustration with Flambeau residing in the Old Village he wrote, “[T]he dance gives them a little ready cash. The answer is, therefore, plain, ‘Why work!’”125 If cash revenue was not enough to allow Superintendent Hammitt to include dances within his definition of work, one might imagine those at Lac du Flambeau who two years later saw $1000 in gate receipts for dances or those who received the 50¢ per person in gate receipts for dances held on summer Sundays in Reserve might have seen performing for tourists differently.126 Tourist dollars intervened in ideological debates about which forms of work could be considered proper and constructive among local communities and the Office of Indian Affairs, and economic evidence at times challenged the theoretical ideas of government officials about work and uplift.

In the case of New Mexico also, the influence of tourism and primitivism that promoted an interest in the American Indian Southwest intervened in political debates of the assimilationist era. In this case, the Pueblos found allies among those in the Taos artist colony and their political associates who proved valuable in the debate surrounding the Bursum Bill. The Bursum Bill was named for its sponsor, New Mexico state senator Holm O. Bursum, who introduced the bill in 1922 as a means of solving on-going disputes over Pueblo landholdings. The Bursum Bill would have provided a means for non-Indians living on Pueblo lands to gain the titles to those lands. In response, the

125 Annual Report, 1926, p. 4, Superintendents’ Annual Reports, Lac du Flambeau, NA, M1011,
Pueblos organized the All-Pueblo Council, a political body able to present a united front against the bill, and reached out for political allies to help raise awareness of Pueblo land issues and defeat the bill. They found them in many of the artists and writers who had relocated to the Southwest. With the help of these allies, including John Collier who would come to reshape federal Indian policy during his tenure as Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the 1930s and 1940s, the Bursum Bill was defeated, constituting a major victory for Pueblo activism and highlighting the surprising potential that grew out of an interest in and popularization of the Southwest.

CONCLUSION

While the cases of dancing regulation among the Ojibwe and the Bursum Bill’s defeat point to moments of triumph in the early decades of the twentieth century, there is certainly also good reason to be reserved in one’s celebration. The work engaged in by American Indians in the course of tourism was certainly exploitative. While railroads counted their profits, communities of American Indians experienced a commercialization and commodification of their cultures from which they saw little economic yield. At the same time, the efforts of Pueblo and Ojibwe communities to integrate themselves into tourism economies constituted an important response to the evolving economic developments of the regions in which they made their homes. Through their incorporation of tourism labor, these communities revealed both the flexibility of the economic structures and their continued ties, in ever evolving forms, to their homelands.
CHAPTER 4

REGULATING BEHAVIOR AND BUILDING INSTITUTIONS:
NEGOTIATING RESERVATION TOURISM BEFORE WORLD WAR II

On a cloudy morning in the fall of 1936, members of the Lac du Flambeau band gathered for a meeting scheduled to accept nominations for the new tribal council. The temporary Indian chairman opened the meeting and expressed his confusion and dismay at the scene that greeted him. About forty people had gathered for the meeting, most of them older members of the tribe. He questioned the poor turnout, having believed that there was a good deal of interest in the Indian Reorganization Act, the federal government’s proposal to reform its policies through the creation of local government bodies. The first response came from a middle-aged woman who took the opportunity to chastise those absent. She remarked that young members of the tribe were not interested in these matters and that the meeting would have to proceed with the older members representing the tribe’s interests. A younger man spoke next. He was himself absent from the reservation for much of the year because he was attending the University of Wisconsin, but he spoke on behalf of the youth of the tribe. He explained that poor attendance was not due to a lack of interest in or an ignorance of the implications of the Indian Reorganization Act. It was a pleasant day and there had been a sudden influx of tourists to the area. The younger men of the reservation were thus unexpectedly called upon to serve as fishing guides for tourists. Not to work would have meant more than the loss of the five dollars they would earn that day; the decision could have also jeopardized their future work as guides. An elderly man from the tribe then spoke up, echoing the woman’s earlier critique of the young members of the reservation. Didn’t they know that
this kind of a meeting was worth more than even the money that would be earned in many days’ work.\footnote{Albert Huber. “Meeting at Lac du Flambeau.” \textit{Indians at Work: A News Sheet for Indians and the Indian Service} 4:5 (October 15, 1936): 26-28.}

The episode at Lac du Flambeau is indicative of conversations occurring in the first decades of the twentieth century in a variety of American Indian communities about how work, community, and politics would fit together in a new economic environment. As the tourism industry boomed in areas surrounding Native American communities such as those in Wisconsin and New Mexico, American Indians increasingly entered tourism-related work. The work that this comprised varied in its form. Some engaged in wage labor while others took part in short-term contract labor, some sold commodities while others attempted to develop their own businesses.

In a variety of different forms, American Indian individuals and communities found ways to integrate themselves in the first decades of the twentieth century into the expanding tourism market. The question remained, however, as to what this work would mean for other aspects of community life as seen in the debates about balancing work and politics at Lac du Flambeau and in other places. An examination of tourism work before World War II reveals not only the integration of these forms of work into existing community labor patterns but also efforts by individuals and communities to find means to exert some control over work conditions and the shape of tourism itself. In various ways, American Indians were able to develop spaces where they worked not just in the service of others’ tourism enterprises and aesthetics but were able to develop and defend their own spaces within the tourism industry. While these were certainly not spaces free
of the influence of other parties, they offer an opportunity to envision what some Native Americans’ tourism goals looked like heading into the mid-twentieth century.

As government officials, interest groups, tourists, and Native communities fought over issues of authenticity in the 1920s and 1930s, Native American communities identified other issues that might collectively be seen as part of more independent forms of tourism, one connected to a Native American ethic of tourism and rooted in the tourism that happened on local community lands. This ethic focused on regulating tourists’ behavior, promoting local entrepreneurship and tribal business, defending Native American spaces, and managing community resources. It enabled community members to retain their connection to spaces in danger of losing their distinct status due to allotment. It also aided in the development of economic strategies suitable to rural economies. This chapter looks at examples of Native American labor, entrepreneurship, and tourism development to better understand this emerging Native American ethic of tourism.

WAGE LABOR AND TEMPORARY SHORT-TERM CONTRACT WORK

Recent scholarship has seemingly answered the call set out by Alice Littlefield and Martha Knack when they lamented a situation whereby, “Studies of North American Indian economic life [had] largely ignored the participation of indigenous people in wage labor” and, when it was considered, treated it as something that resulted from federal government programs, from World War II labor shortages, or from urbanization. Such scholarly considerations regarded wage labor as antithetical to American Indian life and

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community. Studies such as those by Colleen O’Neill, Brian Hosmer, and Paige Raibmon have demonstrated in different eras the ways in which various American Indian communities were able to integrate wage labor into their existing work patterns and economic lives. In discussing aboriginal migrant workers in the Puget Sound region, Raibmon writes, “The hop industry initially appears to be a straightforward example of modern capitalist wage labor, but it is also closely bound to an array of indigenous priorities.” Similarly, in the case of tourism work, communities had the ability to incorporate wage labor such as working at summer resorts or for tourism companies in ways that were not inherently disruptive to the overall system of work in communities. The seasonality of tourism work was compatible with the season labor patterns of both Pueblo and Anishinabe communities.

As they entered into wage labor and also into temporary, short-term contract labor, there are indications that American Indian workers, like other workers throughout the United States, sought means to demand respect in their employment. Such was the case when workers demanded fair compensation that recognized their value as laborers and their humanity. For example, Jose Domingo Naranjo, a policeman at Puyé, took advantage of the forum provided in the 1928 meeting of the US Pueblo Council to speak against the Harvey Company in the following statement:

…” I will say a few words about the Harvey people. The Harvey company seems to want to use me as a slave. I have been there three years and I found out they

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4 Raibmon, 4.
were very crooked. They promised to pay me to haul wood. After I haul it they refuse to pay; they say they never told me to haul wood…

Significant in this statement is Naranjo’s comparing his work conditions to those of slaves. In doing so, he demands a recognition of the agency involved in his labor and of the mutual respect and trust involved in entering into a labor contract.

In other cases, demands within the realm of tourism work seemed to reflect communities’ recognition that they offered unique skills and labor such as was the case in negotiations between dancers from Taos Pueblo and organizers of the Santa Fe Fiesta. Governor Jose La Cruz Concha of Taos Pueblo wrote to the Northern Pueblo Agency in 1927 complaining about the accommodations provided at the Santa Fe Fiesta. Like Naranjo, his demands reveal that workers expected a degree of respect to be afforded them as workers and a fair compensation for their labor. Other Pueblo governors similarly wrote back and forth to organizers about issues of compensation, meals provided, transportation, and board for families of participants in such events. These attempts to negotiate compensation and appeal wrongdoings were efforts to deal with the new parameters of working conditions in the tourism industry and exert control over working life.

Working in settings of wage labor could also have other important meanings for American Indian laborers. Community, socializing, and the continuation of cooperative work patterns were likely key motivations for the Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwe who participated in the Apostle Island Indian Pageant in the mid-1920s. Despite having earned only about $8.00 for their participation in the 3-week pageant during the 1924

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5 Box 16, Folder 064 – Tribal Relations – Correspondence, 1928 – Folder (1), Northern Pueblos General Correspondence, Denver.
6 Box 17, Folder – Indian Customs - Feasts, Fiestas, Festivals, 1912-1935, Northern Pueblos General Correspondence, Denver.
event, about 225 Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwe returned the next year, where they earned about the same amount.\(^7\) The opportunity to engage in sports and visit with friends and relatives between performances may have been more attractive than the meager pay.\(^8\) Such labor may be seen as an extension of an important aspect of Ojibwe work culture where during activities such as berry picking and wild rice harvesting, community togetherness and labor were intertwined.\(^9\) In continuing a collective labor experience in certain aspects of tourism work, Ojibwe performers were adapting this culture of labor to a new environment and finding means to make tourism work serve their own interests and goals. While wage laborers and short-term, temporary contract workers have had less overt control over their work conditions and compensation than other workers, they nonetheless found moments to exert agency within the new tourism marketplace.

**INDEPENDENT CONTRACTORS AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP**

Along with creating opportunities for wage labor and temporary, short-term contract work, tourism also presented possibilities to foster Native American entrepreneurship. This was shown in business initiatives and regulations throughout the first decades of the twentieth century and with the means in which communities directed resources provided by the programs of the Indian New Deal. The Indian New Deal was part of an important shift in Office of Indian Affairs policy that took place during the administration of John Collier, who had a background as a social worker and whose

\(^7\) Letter from P.S. Everest, Superintendent La Pointe Indian Agency, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 19, 1925, 1363-La Pointe 1924-047, Box 2, La Pointe Agency, Central Classified Files (#121), 1907-1939, Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington, DC.

\(^8\) Letter from P.S. Everest, Superintendent La Pointe Indian Agency, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 10, 1924, 1363-La Pointe 1924-047, Box 2, La Pointe Agency, Central Classified Files (#121), 1907-1939, Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington, DC.

views on American Indian affairs were greatly influenced by time he spent in the Taos artists’ colony, his subsequent work in the American Indian Defense Association, and ideas of cultural relativism associated with Boasian anthropology.

With the passage of the 1934 Wheeler-Howard Bill, American Indian communities who chose to take part began a process of political and economic reorganization. Federal programs represented a shift away from policies associated with the Dawes Act and geared toward the assimilation of Native American communities. The Indian New Deal programs, instead, set out to propel communities toward political and economic self-sufficiency. While these programs have been criticized as imposing governmental structures, which were not always compatible with the functioning of American Indian political systems, the economic arm of these policies provided important resources that were used to spark economic development on reservations. In the cases of Wisconsin Ojibwe and the Northern Pueblos of New Mexico, communities made use of external programs to promote tourism development and further economic transformation that had been underway before the programs began. This can be seen most clearly in the realms of entrepreneurship and business development.

Falling somewhere between wage laborers and business owners were fishing guides in the early twentieth century. Their work required a specialized set of skills and

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they had more control over when they worked than did laborers engaged in short-term contracts such as the performers at the Apostle Island Indian Pageant or the Santa Fe Fiesta. However, they were engaged in providing a service and required to adhere to certain customary understandings of behavior and a certain standard of work in order to receive compensation. Overall, fishing guides filled a number of roles. They earned their reputation based on their skill and knowledge as well as factors such as personality, and some tourists wrote requesting the same guides, such as Lac du Flambeau’s Charles Poupard, year after year. Guides developed reputations among sportsmen by word-of-mouth as shown by a tourist who wrote, “I am advised by Mr. Armstrong that Bert Sky[e] is a very good guide and his wife a very good cook and I would like to arrange their services...” Guides could be arranged through local resorts, through the agency superintendent, or, for those more familiar with the area, directly with the guides themselves.

Along with knowledge about the area, guides were expected to provide boats or launches to visiting fishermen and also to cook or provide shore lunches during the fishing trips. The type of boat a guide provided factored into the wages he was paid.

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12 Letter from Louis J. Pierson, Chicago to Indian Agent, Lac du Flambeau, Wis., July 15, 1912, July – August 1912, Box 15, July 1912-June 1913, General Correspondence of the Superintendent, 1911-1927, Lac du Flambeau Agency, RG 75, NARA – GL, Chicago.; On the qualities sought in a guides, see also, Bill Parenteau, “‘Care, Control, and Supervision’: Native People in the Canadian Atlantic Salmon Fishery, 1867-1900,” The Canadian Historical Review 79:1 (March 1998): 23-25
13 Letter from J.A. Peabody, Signal Engineer, Chicago and North Western Railway Co., Chicago to Mr. Sickels, Indian Agent, Lac du Flambeau, Wis., July 10, 1913; July-August 1913; Box 16, July 1913-December 1913; General Correspondence of the Superintendent, 1911-1927, Lac du Flambeau Agency, RG 75, NARA – GL, Chicago.
15 Letter from Superintendent to Mr. Howard Ame, March 10, 1914; 1914-15 “A”; Box 17 1914-14 A-E; General Correspondence of the Superintendent, 1914-1931, Lac du Flambeau Agency, RG 75, National Archives, Chicago.
While the common rate of pay for guides in northern Wisconsin was about $3 to $3.50/day, guides could make $2 - $5/day depending on whether they used a motorboat or a rowboat. Factors such as the type of boat or cooking skills sometimes shaped fishermen’s selection of a guide. In 1922, Charles Poupart had seven boats. Successful guides also held an important connection to the past. Skill as a hunter and fisherman were components of strong leadership for Ojibwe bands in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

For Anishinaabeg working as guides on reservations lands, certain regulations promoted their labor and helped establish a distinct form to reservation tourism in the early twentieth century. Along with requiring visiting fishermen to acquire a permit, Office of Indian Affairs’ regulations also required the employment of an Indian guide or the patronage of a resort on the reservation. Describing this policy, the Lac du Flambeau superintendent reinforced the way this policy was designed to promote labor opportunities specifically for Native Americans. He wrote, “About the only other rule we insist upon is that no white guides be employed. We expect Indians to have the

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15 Letter from Supt. Hayward Indian School to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 10/27/1916; Circulars, Replies to – 1914-16; Box 1 – 1914-22; General Correspondence of the Superintendent, 1914-31; Hayward Indian School; RG 75; NARA – GL, Chicago.
16 Letter from Supt. Hayward Indian School to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 10/27/1916; Circulars, Replies to – 1914-16; Box 1 – 1914-22; General Correspondence of the Superintendent, 1914-31; Hayward Indian School; RG 75; NARA – GL, Chicago.; Letter from Supt. White to Carl O. Beroth, Chicago, IL, April 13, 1916; “B” Misc. letter, 1916; Box 21; General Correspondence of the Superintendent, 1914-1931, Lac du Flambeau Agency, RG 75, National Archives, Chicago.
19 Letter to Mr. H.L. Reno, c/o Logan and Bryan, Commission Merchants, Chicago, IL from Supt. Sickels, June 22, 1914; “R”; Box 19 – 1914-15 P-S; General Correspondence of the Superintendent, 1914-1931, Lac du Flambeau Agency, RG 75, National Archives, Chicago.
monopoly of this work on the Reservation.”²⁰ Requiring the employment of Indian
guides was also another way to ensure tourist dollars made their way to community
members and to compensate for fish taken from reservation waters.²¹

In requiring Indian guides, Anishinaabe communities challenged the aesthetics of
wilderness set up by national parks in the period in a critical way, through the continued
presence of Native Americans. As Mark David Spence has argued, uninhabited
landscapes that came to represent Nature for visitors had to be actively created in settings
such as Yosemite, Yellowstone, and Glacier National Parks through the removal of
Native American populations from park lands.²² Spence further argues that these newly
emptied park landscapes became the archetypes for the American wilderness and the
models for future preservationists.²³ In creating a outdoors experience in which
Anishinaabeg were not only a presence but a required part, communities presented an
alternative vision of wilderness in northern Wisconsin and a form of conservation that
was about retaining connections between Native American communities and lands rather
than an American wilderness based on Indian removal.

In continuing to write Native Americans into their vision of outdoor recreation,
communities developed local economic opportunities for tribal members. Visitors and
local resort owners did not always respond positively to this and tried to resist the
monopoly of Indian guides in a number of ways. Tourists themselves often tried to get

²⁰ Letter from Superintendent, LdF School and Agency to Mr. Louis L. Harms, Rock Island, IL, June 11,
1914; 1914-15 “H:”; Box 18, 1914-15 “F” – “P”; General Correspondence of the Superintendent, 1911-
²¹ Letter to Mr. C.E. Shields, Rock Island, IL, from E.B. Merritt, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
May 8, 1914; Sa-Sn – 1914-15; Box 19 – 1914-15 P-S; General Correspondence of the Superintendent,
1914-1931, Lac du Flambeau Agency, RG 75, National Archives, Chicago.
²² Mark David Spence, Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of National Parks
(New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 4-5.
²³ Ibid.
around these regulations, appealing to Congressmen or other state and federal
government agencies. In one such case, a man wrote to the Wisconsin Fish and Game
warden asking, “[I]f you could tell me if by a special permit or otherwise I could do away
with the necessity of hiring a guide.” He appealed to the sympathy of the warden stating,
“I could not afford the extra expense; and it would mean giving up my vacation trip for
this season.”24 The response to a similar request for exemption from hiring an Indian
guide at Lac du Flambeau reinforced Native American control on reservation lands,
stating “[T]he Indians consent to the admission of white men to the reservation for the
purpose of fishing and camping only because it enables them to work as guides…”25
Another response reminded the person requesting exemption that “Permits to fish on this
Reservation are not given to white persons as a matter of right but simply as a
privilege.”26

Other objections were more blatantly anti-Indian in their responses to these
policies. The regulation invited anger on the part of tourists such as C.E. Shields who
characterized Indian guides as “lazy” and “worthless” and objected to the inconvenience
of having to obtain Indian guides since “very few of the Resorts will have them” and
“there are no places to stay on the Reservation.”27 Another potential tourist wrote: “We
are willing to hire our boats from the Indians but do not want the Indians around us at

24 Letter from C.L. Reinhardt, Chicago, IL to Game and Fish Warden of Wisconsin, June 27, 1915; 1914-
1915 “R”; Box 19 – 1914-15 P-S; General Correspondence of the Superintendent, 1914-1931, Lac du
Flambeau Agency, RG 75, National Archives, Chicago.
25 Letter to Swagar Sherley, House of Representatives, from Frank Pierce, First Assistant Secretary,
7/29/09; 12790 – 09 – Lac du Flambeau – 113.1; Box No. 6 – 76877-1908-112 to 96139-1915-113.1; Lac
du Flambeau; Central Classified Files, 1907-39; Entry 121; RG 75; National Archives, Washington, DC.
26 Letter to Hon. Roscoe C. McCulloch, from E.B. Meritt, July 14, 1916; 74677 – 16 – Lac du Flambeau
– 115; Box No. 7 – 53315-1918-113.1 to 58018-1927-115; Lac du Flambeau; Central Classified Files, 1907-
39; Entry 121; RG 75; National Archives, Washington, DC.
27 Letter from C.E. Shields to Hon. Clyde H. Tavenner, April 27, 1914; Sa-Sn – 1914-15; Box 19 – 1914-
15 P-S; General Correspondence of the Superintendent, 1914-1931, Lac du Flambeau Agency, RG 75,
National Archives, Chicago.
While some tourists may have carried through on threats such as those expressed by Shields to “go elsewhere if it is absolutely necessary to have them [Indian guides],” policies continued to protect the Anishinaabe hold on this important form of labor thus developing critical opportunities to work near communities.

This regulation not only evoked negative responses from some tourists but also caused resort owners in the surrounding areas to clash with government officials and Ojibwe communities. Boats from outside resorts were not allowed on the reservation unless they employed an Indian guide. Those who failed to comply with the regulation faced punishment as trespassers on the reservation, which included in one case the confiscation of one man’s boat and oars. Resorts found ways to try to subvert these requirements such as sending letters requesting guides too late for their requests to be met. They then retained the appearance of compliance while avoiding the expense. In other cases, local resorts tried to challenge the cost of guides. In 1916, Mr. W.S. Witten of the nearby Ojibwe Lodge wrote to the superintendent at Lac du Flambeau, declaring that “[W]e are not willing to pay $3.00 per day as requested by the guides on the Reservation. We believe the guides should be paid $2.50 per day and where we find one who knows the fishing grounds the party who employs him can pay him whatever he

28 Letter to Cato Sells, July 8, 1916; 74677 – 16 – Lac du Flambeau – 115; Box No. 7 – 53315-1918-113.1 to 58018-1927-115; Lac du Flambeau; Central Classified Files, 1907-39; Entry 121; RG 75; National Archives, Washington, DC.
30 Letter from Supt. Sickels to Mr. Douglas Fray, Chicago, June 13, 1914; Wo-Wr 1914-15; Box 20 – 1914-1915 S-Wh; General Correspondence of the Superintendent, 1914-1931, Lac du Flambeau Agency, RG 75, National Archives, Chicago.
31 Letter from Supt. White to Mr. Ed Walsh, Minocqua, Wis., Wa – Wh – 1914-1915; General Correspondence of the Superintendent, 1914-1931, Lac du Flambeau Agency, RG 75, National Archives, Chicago.
32 Letters from Supt. Sickels to Mrs. A.H. Darrow, Minocqua Wisconsin, August 18, 1914 and June 16, 1914; 1914-1915 – D; Box 17 – 1914-1914 – A-E; General Correspondence of the Superintendent, 1914-1931, Lac du Flambeau Agency, RG 75, National Archives, Chicago.
thinks he earns.” His objection focused on the competition in northern Wisconsin
tourism, and he stated, “[I]t will hurt our business very much if we have to pay more than
other resorts.”

Fishing guides responded to the pressures and prejudices of visiting sportsmen
and nearby resort owners in a number of ways. In ways similar to the interactions
between big game hunters and indigenous guides in British Columbia around the turn of
the twentieth century discussed by Tina Loo in her 2001 article “Of Moose and Men,”
competing masculinities must certainly have influenced the interactions between
fishermen and guides in northern Wisconsin. Using James Scott’s conceptions of “the
arts of resistance,” Loo conjectures that guides resisted the masculinities white hunters
were constructing of themselves by making jokes at their expense, behind their backs or
speaking their native languages. Such interactions surely also took place in Wisconsin
lakes.

Recognizing the power of their unique position, Lac du Flambeau fishing guides
took steps to organize and work together to determine wages and influence conditions of
labor. When Mr. Witten attempted to lower their wages, the guides held a meeting to
discuss their response. During the 1930s, guides took steps to formalize this collective

31, 1916; Box 24 - 1916-17 – S (Supt.) – Z; 1917-23 A – AH; General Correspondence of the
31, 1916; Box 24 - 1916-17 – S (Supt.) – Z; 1917-23 A – AH; General Correspondence of the
Historical Quarterly 32:3 (2001): 296-319. See also, James Scott, Domination and the Arts of Resistance:
36 Letter from L.W. White to Mr. W.S. Witten, Union Stock Yards, Chicago IL, June 14, 1916; “W” Jan. 1,
1916-Dec. 31, 1916; Box 24 - 1916-17 – S (Supt.) – Z; 1917-23 A – AH; General Correspondence of the
approach through forming the Indian Guide Association in 1935. The old post office served as the guides’ headquarters and information bureau. Once again, this group was formed in response to tourists and summer homeowners employing white guides instead of Ojibwe, claiming that Indian guides were unreliable, failed to keep appointments, and were not satisfactorily performing their work. The Indian Guide Association shows how communities responded to protect the rights of Native American laborers and build institutions to support them.

Along with work of fishing guides, early reservation tourism could also serve to support tribal businesses, such as the resorts of the Gauthier family of Lac du Flambeau. In the 1910s, Ben C. Gauthier, a Lac du Flambeau Ojibwe, followed in the example of his uncle, who had built a resort on Long Lake, by building his own big log resort on Sand Lake. The superintendent reported that a great number of tourists stayed at these resorts each year during the 1910s. This was likely due at least in part to the regulation that stated those patronizing a reservation resort were allowed to fish on reservation waters without needing to hire a guide. Such resorts also provided employment opportunities for those living at Lac du Flambeau such as Agnes Archdale, who worked in the kitchen.

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37 Letter from Peru W. Farver, Clerk in Charge, to J.V. King, Acting Supt. Indian Agency, Ashland, Wis., Apr. 15, 1935; 24024 – 35 – Lac du Flambeau – 912; Box No. 109 – 71694-1931-910 to 973-1936-928; Lac du Flambeau; Central Classified Files, 1907-39; Entry 121; RG 75; National Archives, Washington, DC.
39 Letter from J.V. King, Acting Superintendent, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, DC, May 3, 1935. 24024 – 35 – Lac du Flambeau – 912; Box No. 109 – 71694-1931-910 to 973-1936-928; Central Classified Files, 1907-39; Entry 121; Lac du Flambeau; RG 75; National Archives, Washington, DC.
40 Letter from Supt. Sickels to Henry H. Rice, Milwaukee, Feb. 10, 1914 stated the resort was nearly completed; 1914-15 – R; Box 19 – 1914-15 P-S; General Correspondence of the Superintendent, 1914-1931, Lac du Flambeau Agency, RG 75, National Archives, Chicago.
41 Letter from Supt. Balmer to Thomas Barnard, Chicago, March 7, 1913; “Ba”; Box 25 – 1917-23 – Al – BAL; General Correspondence of the Superintendent, 1911-1927, Lac du Flambeau Agency, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, GL-Chicago.
and waited tables at Ben C. Gauthier’s resort in the 1930s. She later recalled of the period, “[Resorts] and guiding, that’s the only jobs there were…” Along with running the hotel and arranging for boats for tourists in the area, the Gauthiers offered “Indian curios” as well as general goods in their store and rented cottages. Though it was difficult for such businesses to survive, they provided an important means of revenue for entrepreneurs and, as shown in the case of Archdale, employment for others on the reservation.

Additionally such initiatives could combat racist ideas that American Indians were not suitable entrepreneurs in terms of their intellectual capacities. Such a sentiment can be seen in writings of Lac du Flambeau superintendent W.N. Sickels in 1911:

The Flambeau Indians compare quite favorably with others as to industry and ability to support themselves up to a certain standard – but like most members of the Red race they are lacking in thrift and perseverance. They are but as children – most of them – reckoned from the white man’s standard, and it is hard to inculcate in their minds the value of their money, any ideas of economy, business management, future welfare, effects of alcohol, or anything else.

While not explicitly stated, such beliefs were likely connected to government officials’ decisions to push for selling of valuable lands rather than encouraging Anishinaabeg themselves to develop hotels and other tourism infrastructure. In the 1910s, at reservations such as Lac du Flambeau, government officials encouraged the selling of prime lakefront property as a means of bringing in cash to the reservation and also of

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43 Interview with Agnes Archdale and Liza Brown conducted by Verdaine Farmilant, in Memories of Lac du Flambeau Elders, ed. Elizabeth M. Tornes (Madison: Center for the Study of Upper Midwestern Cultures, 2004), 89.
44 Ibid.
45 Gauthier Store letterhead, The Gauthier store March 11, 1913-Apr. 17 1917; Box 22, 1916-17 G-Sw; General Correspondence of the Superintendent, 1914-1931, Lac du Flambeau Agency, RG 75, National Archives, Chicago.
46 Annual Report 1911, W.N. Sickels, p. 1; Annual Reports, 1909-1916, Lac du Flambeau Agency, Record Group 75; National Archives, Great Lakes Branch, Chicago.
attracting future tourists.47 These cases placed the development of hotels and other profit-generating institutions in the hands of outsiders.

Others found ways to profit from tourism without formal shops or businesses, and various initiatives of the era reflect an interest in creating opportunities for commodity sales.48 Ojibwe women sold goods directly from their homes in the Old Village at Lac du Flambeau, hanging bracelets and other goods from a string across their window so that tourists could see what they were making and stop to buy goods.49 Initiatives in the 1930s reflected a broad interest in tourism and development. Seventy-five attended a general meeting of men in the community concerning ways to promote the tourism trade in the 1930s.50 The era of the Great Depression also brought work programs to the reservation as part of the Indian Emergency Conservation Works or, after 1937, the Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Division (CCC-ID).51 Such production was further encouraged between 1939 and 1941, when a unit of the Indian Weaving Program operated at Lac du Flambeau producing, among other things, items to sell to tourists.52 In 1939, the Lac du Flambeau Commerce Club was formed. Toward the advancement of the reservation and the growth of tourism, the commerce club called for the development

47 Annual Reports for 1910, 1912, and 1914.
48 Such production and sale represents an important contribution to discussions of women’s in-home production both for wages and for their own marketing. For discussions of the history of homework, see Eileen Boris and Cynthia R. Daniels, ed. Homework: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Paid Labor at Home (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989).
49 Interview with Agnes Archdale and Liza Brown conducted by Verdaine Farmilant, in Memories of Lac du Flambeau Elders, 89.
50 Letter from Perú W. Farver, Clerk in Charge, to J.V. King, Acting Supt. Indian Agency, Ashland, Wis., Apr. 15, 1935; 24024 – 35 – Lac du Flambeau – 912; Box No. 109 – 71694-1931-910 to 973-1936-928; Central Classified Files, 1907-39; Entry 121; Lac du Flambeau; RG 75; National Archives, Washington, DC.
of an Indian fair each August, better roadways and signs for tourists, and craft shops.\textsuperscript{53} Such initiatives reflect an interest on the part of those without their own businesses in creating venues for sales to tourists.

Arts programs that were part of the New Deal initiatives of the 1930s and 1940s helped to foster Native American arts sales and entrepreneurship among the Pueblos as well. Concerns in New Mexico over the need to promote traditional arts and crafts had driven the work of members of the New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs and the School of American Research throughout the 1920s and 1930s. The New Mexico Association of Indian Affairs used various methods to inform potential buyers about the conditions of production such as only including “traditionally made objects” in their prize lists.\textsuperscript{54} The need for protection and promotion of Native American arts was most famously addressed in the 1935 Indian Arts and Crafts Act where federal policy recognized the value of Indian art and the threat that imitation art posed. Pueblo pottery was among the forms of “Indian handicraft and art” singled out when the Indian Arts and Crafts Board was charged with “developing and improving” American Indian arts.\textsuperscript{55} As was the case with organizations active in New Mexico, the Indian Arts and Crafts Board also sought to regulate the labeling of products to inform potential buyers, thereby warding off imitation arts and protecting the domain of American Indian artists.\textsuperscript{56}

Along with creating a distinct market for American Indian artists, programs associated with the Indian Market and later New Deal programs also provided artists with


\textsuperscript{54} Margetta Dietrich, “The History of the Indian Market,” Folder 106; Box 9685; Southwestern Association on Indian Affairs (SWAIA) (1976-037), NMSRC.


critical materials and space in which to work. One means by which Kenneth Chapman and School of American Research staff members saw the Indian Market as furthering American Indian arts was by providing artists with better quality materials.\(^{57}\) Lack of materials had posed a problem for artists as in Picuris Pueblo in the late 1930s. The NMAIA reported that potential producers “desired work, were happy to participate in the Indian markets, could do embroidery but required materials.”\(^{58}\) John Collier’s Indian New Deal programs likewise promoted Indian arts and crafts by providing space and resources. In the mid-1930s, for example, Nambe women participated in a weaving club.\(^{59}\)

While such programs provided valuable resources, community members at times rejected their instructional nature. A 1939 article in the *New Mexico Morning Examiner* quoted a Pueblo woman speaking against outsiders coming to the Pueblo to speak on pottery making. She stated: “I don’t need nobody to teach me about pottery!”\(^{60}\) Thus, even those women who were interested in participating in craft production were not necessarily interested in the instructional nature that came with them, especially in cases where they might have been more knowledgeable and skilled than those teaching.

In other cases, communities were able to assert their distinct identities through these programs and cater them to local artistic strengths. In Santa Clara Pueblo, for example, women informed the NMAIA that they were not interested in doing embroidery

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58 Annual Meeting, New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs, November 20, 1938, Box 9684, Folder 38, Southwestern Association on Indian Affairs (SWAIA) (1976-037), NMSRC.
59 Rhoda Tubbs, “School-Community Relations at Nambe Day School” *Indians at Work* 6:2 (November 1, 1934): 35-36. New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs, Minutes of Meeting July 1, 1936, Box 9684, Folder 38, Southwestern Association on Indian Affairs (SWAIA) (1976-037), NMSRC.
60 Elizabeth DeHuff, “The Procession of the Pots,” *New Mexico Morning Examiner* 5 March 1939, quoted in Margaret Jacobs, *Engendered Encounters*, from the Elizabeth De Huff papers, Box 9.
but were interested in pottery making. Thus, women who worked with these programs weighed a number of different factors in their decisions to participate. While they could receive both materials and exposure for their arts, they sometimes had to relinquish a degree of their artistic freedom in order to take part. While producing one’s own art for sale represented a form of independence, perhaps more pronounced than that felt by workers such as fishing guides, the connection to these programs diminished some of that autonomy.

These programs and organizations were, however, valuable in connecting Pueblo artists with markets. Pueblos combined the use of the markets set up by these programs with, in some cases, the development of their own markets. Since the 1920s, Pueblo communities took part in the Indian Market during the Santa Fe Fiesta, an event that helped to gain exposure for Pueblo artists and to put them in touch with potential buyers. The Indian Market began in 1922 as the Southwest Indian Fair held at the National Guard Armory (later the Hall of Ethnology) and after 1936 became an annual event. Dr. Kenneth Chapman and School of American Research staff members supported the fair, seeing it as an opportunity to encourage Indian artists by bringing potters to Santa Fe where they could receive higher payments for their work, and artists took advantage of this market. After 1936, the Indian Fair committee merged with the New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs and employed Maria Chabot as their executive secretary.

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61 Annual Meeting, New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs, November 20, 1938, Box 9684, Folder 38, Southwestern Association on Indian Affairs (SWAIA) (1976-037), NMSRC.
62 Margetta Dietrich, “The History of the Indian Market,” Folder 106; Box 9685; Southwestern Association on Indian Affairs (SWAIA) (1976-037), NMSRC.
63 Ibid.
Under her direction, the Indian markets began Saturdays during the summer under the portal of the Palace of the Governors.  

Participation in these markets was valuable to Pueblo artists for a number of reasons. First, these markets drew tourists, both because of their regulation of the work included and due to descriptions that celebrated the “spectacle” of the markets. One such publication’s “Where to Buy” section described the markets with a sense of romance:

For those who are fortunate enough to be in Santa Fe during the summer months and over Labor Day, the Saturday Indians Markets under the portal of the old Palace of the Governors are as picturesque spectacle as can be seen anywhere, and visitors find them an interesting place in which to shop. Early in the morning on market days, Indian women and their babies, carrying their wares wrapped in pieces of calico or bulging from grocery cartons, arrive by car, truck or bus and arrange themselves for the day. Their backs to the wall, they seat themselves either on the ground, wrapped legs straight out before them, or on low stools, and spread in front and about their potteries (as they call them) beaded trinkets, drums, both full size and toy, dressed dolls, jewelry, baskets, moccasins, tanned goatskins, paintings, large and postcard size, and unpredictable articles.

This romanticizing was attractive to many potential buyers of the era, and participating served as a valuable marketing tools for artists.

Artists could also draw on the authority of the New Mexico Association of Indian Affairs through displaying their work and gaining recognition at the fair, since the Association suggested prize ribbons could serve “a guide to purchasers who want to acquire something more than souvenirs.” Artists displayed prize ribbons from such events as a source of pride and also, no doubt, as a marketing tool. Along with

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64 Ibid.
65 *New Mexico Indians: A Pocket Handbook* (Santa Fe: New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs, 1941), p. 30 in Folder 65; Southwestern Association on Indian Affairs (SWAIA) (1976-037), NMSRC.
66 Margetta Dietrich, “The History of the Indian Market,” Folder 106; Box 9685; Southwestern Association on Indian Affairs (SWAIA) (1976-037), NMSRC.
67 *New Mexico Indians: A Pocket Handbook* (Santa Fe: New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs, 1941), p. 30 in Folder 65; Southwestern Association on Indian Affairs (SWAIA) (1976-037), NMSRC.
recognizing specific artists, different communities were acknowledged for arts specific to their community as in the case of Nambe being presented with a golden eagle for the revival of weaving in 1936.68

While association with the programs connected them with a more elite category of art buyers, it also necessitated adhering to a set of aesthetic norms sought out by those collectors. Even so, cases from other American Indian communities have shown how some artists created objects that appealed to tourists while allowing them to control the form. For example, Hopi artist Wilson Tawaquaptewa sold katsina dolls to tourists in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s that adhered to buyer expectations enough to satisfy consumers but were different enough from true representations so as to not take away from the sacredness of those given by Katsinas at dances.69 For others, participation in the spectacle was likely seen as a separate part to this work altogether and answering tourists questions or dealing with constant stares must have been oppressive for many artists who likely would have rather had the focus centered on their work. The lessons buyers carried over from experiences like World’s Fairs and Wild West shows would, however, established few barriers respectful of the privacy of Pueblo artists.

While the regulation associated with these programs could help advance certain artists and particular forms of art, it could also prove restrictive as in the case of Tesuque pottery, which was continually critiqued in the period for not meeting the standards established by the Indian Market’s organizers. When Kenneth Chapman attempted to educate tourists via signs laying out the markers of a good piece of pottery, the NMAIA

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68 Report on Santa Fe Markets July and August 1936; Box 9684, Folder 38, Southwestern Association on Indian Affairs (SWAIA) (1976-037), NMSRC.
reported: “The Governor of Tesuque was particularly indignant that we should warn unsuspecting purchasers to beware of the show-card colored pots typical of his village.”

However, overall, Pueblo artists took advantage of the ability to connect with potential buyers at the markets. By the late 1930s, Pueblos, including Tesuque, lobbied NMIA for the continuation of the Saturday Indian Market during the summer months. In cases such as the Nambe weavers, organizers reported, “They had been unable to sell their goods in the pueblo and welcomed the opportunity to display them in an Indian market.” For others, the markets provided a way to insulate communities from tourists’ intrusions. When discussing Santo Domingo’s participation in the July and August 1936 markets, the New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs reported their sentiment as follows: “[W]e rather take blankets to the tourists in Santa Fe instead of the tourists coming to Domingo.”

During 1938, the New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs sponsored eight markets, the final one being the Fiesta Market. More than 300 Indian artists participated in the 1938 Fiesta Market from Indian communities including the Northern Pueblos.

Along with providing a space to market goods, the Santa Fe markets became a site where Pueblo artists learned what items attracted tourists and influenced one another. Margetta Dietrich described the phenomenon by which Indian artists adapted their work to tourists’ needs, writing:

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70 Report on Santa Fe Markets July and August 1936; Box 9684, Folder 38, Southwestern Association on Indian Affairs (SWAIA) (1976-037), NMSRC.
71 Executive Committee Meeting – Feb. 22, 1938, New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs, Box 9684, Folder 38, Southwestern Association on Indian Affairs (SWAIA) (1976-037), NMSRC; Annual Meeting, New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs, November 20, 1938, Box 9684, Folder 38, Southwestern Association on Indian Affairs (SWAIA) (1976-037), NMSRC.
72 Report on Santa Fe Markets July and August 1936.
73 Ibid.
74 Annual Report of the Chairman, New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs, November 20, 1938; Box 9684, Folder 38, Southwestern Association on Indian Affairs (SWAIA) (1976-037), NMSRC.
A multitude of small objects appeared, particularly the attractive dyed corn or melon seed necklaces, which instantly became popular. It took the Indians a very short time to learn that the average tourist wants something small enough to carry with him, such as ash trays, small bowls, toy drums and dolls, or jewelry, and that he is not very discriminating in his taste. More adaptations appeared than formerly, such as woven belts in narrow widths suitable for non-Indian women’s dresses, pottery candlesticks and leather bags or purses. Fewer large storage jars appeared and the prices for the few brought to the Market increased.\textsuperscript{75}

Similarly in the case of San Juan Pueblo, artists benefited not only from the selling each week at the market but also from gaining knowledge about what to bring for the following week: “One of the great advantages of the weekly markets was the possibility for re-orders on specific articles – filled with accuracy and willingness by the Indians from week to week.”\textsuperscript{76} Pueblos also influenced each other with their economic successes. For example a 1932 report stated, “The incised pottery at San Juan is now on a firm commercial basis… An interesting development is that San Ildefonso is now copying this technique in black on white.”\textsuperscript{77} The ability to create a community of artists was likely an appealing prospect for these artists, but, once again, the intrusion of outside observation on these interactions would have lessened their appeal.

Alongside Santa Fe’s Indian Markets, northern Pueblos developed their own locations to sell goods. Picuris Pueblo set up a community store in 1935 to further the sale of pottery.\textsuperscript{78} In other pueblos, artists sold pottery from their homes or in the plaza, often utilizing the reputation of certain artists or tourists’ desire for a particular pottery

\textsuperscript{75} Margetta Dietrich, “The History of the Indian Market,” Folder 106; Box 9685; Southwestern Association on Indian Affairs (SWAIA) (1976-037), NMSRC.
\textsuperscript{76} Report on Santa Fe Markets July and August 1936; Box 9684, Folder 38, Southwestern Association on Indian Affairs (SWAIA) (1976-037), NMSRC.
\textsuperscript{77} Annual Report, 1932, Eastern and New Mexico Associations on Indian Affairs, Report of Field Investigators; Box 9684, Folder 38, Southwestern Association on Indian Affairs (SWAIA) (1976-037), NMSRC.
\textsuperscript{78} New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs, Annual Meeting Minutes, Sept., 27, 1935, Box 9684, Folder 38, Southwestern Association on Indian Affairs (SWAIA) (1976-037), NMSRC.
technique linked to the pueblo to bring tourists to artists. Specific artists also found other ways to subvert the individualism that came with tourists’ appreciation of a certain artist and, instead, use their reputation to the advantage of the larger community. After being advised that her pottery would sell more easily if it were signed, Maria Martinez offered to sign the pottery of any potter in the community who asked her to do so.\(^{79}\) By the mid-1930s, San Ildefonso had developed such a good market in their own pueblo that members of the New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs doubted their willingness to travel to participate and sell in events such as combined Pueblo fairs and markets.\(^{80}\) Buying pottery from San Ildefonso artists offered the opportunity not only to buy directly from artists but also to see potters’ work in their homes, buy directly from their in-home salesrooms, and possibly see them engaged in pottery making.\(^{81}\) As in the case of Indian markets, there was a sense of romance infused into descriptions of tourists’ voyages:

> When tourists drive into Santa Clara Pueblo, children or the potters themselves run into the plaza carrying baskets filled with small pieces of pottery. They form a circle, placing objects on the ground, and wait silently and hopefully for the tourists to select an ashtray, a little animal or a candlestick. Large pieces of pottery are seldom brought out, but if a prospective customer shows interest, he may be invited to a potter’s house.\(^{82}\)

For some, this likely represented not only an effective marketing technique but was also a matter of convenience, enabling artists to avoid trips to Santa Fe.

> In addition to creating spaces that exclusively dealt in American Indians arts, selling at the Santa Fe markets, in the pueblos, and in community stores also placed

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\(^{80}\) New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs, Minutes of Meeting June 11, 1936, Box 9684, Folder 38, Southwestern Association on Indian Affairs (SWAIA) (1976-037), NMSRC.

\(^{81}\) “Indian Pottery by the Roadsides,” *Indian Art Series* No. 5 (1936); Folder 90; Box 9684; Southwestern Association on Indian Affairs (SWAIA) (1976-037), NMSRC.

\(^{82}\) *New Mexico Indians: A Pocket Handbook* (Santa Fe: New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs, 1941), p. 30 in Folder 65; Southwestern Association on Indian Affairs (SWAIA) (1976-037), NMSRC.
Pueblos in charge of negotiating sales, rather than having to sell to a trader or shop. The negotiation techniques utilized suggest that some were adept at influencing sales:

I said to one old lady who had sold a forty-five-dollar storage jar and some other large pieces, ‘You did pretty well today, didn’t you?’ ‘No,’ she said, ‘I only sold three or four pieces, that’s all. Why don’t you buy something from me so I won’t have to go home and say I only sold three or four pieces?’\(^{83}\)

In the end, Indian Market organizers reported artists got more money for items they sold themselves than when such items were sold by non-Indians, which may also explain why some preferred to control sales themselves rather than selling to traders or dealing with stores.\(^{84}\) While these initiatives differed from the individual entrepreneurial pursuits like that of Ben Gauthier at Lac du Flambeau, they nonetheless represented a means to foster the business of individual artists and exert more control over forms of tourism than would have been possible in outside forums such as the various venues in Santa Fe.

**RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT AND MANAGEMENT**

Along with the creation of community businesses such as the Picuris Pueblo store, American Indian communities organized in the atmosphere of tourism development to find ways to manage their various resources. These efforts represent yet another form of entrepreneurship, in this case one which necessitated the input of various community members and local political bodies. They reflect a continued goal of protecting the holdings of communities against outside economic and cultural pressures and shaping the way tourism impacted these tribal resources. In these endeavors, one sees the clearest

\(^{83}\) Annual Report of the Chairman, New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs, November 20, 1938; Box 9684, Folder 38, Southwestern Association on Indian Affairs (SWAIA) (1976-037), NMSRC.

\(^{84}\) Margetta Dietrich, “The History of the Indian Market,” Folder 106; Box 9685; Southwestern Association on Indian Affairs (SWAIA) (1976-037), NMSRC.
articulation of a vision of American Indian tourism development and labor of the early
decades of the twentieth century.

Among the resources communities sought to protect, perhaps the most valuable
was the land itself. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century was marked by a
pattern of dispossession. As increasing numbers of settlers moved into areas to which
American Indian communities had been relocated, pressures to attain their land renewed.
The history of land loss in this period has much to do with the history of allotment of
tribal lands both before and as a result of the Dawes Act of 1887. In the decades that
followed, across the United States, American Indian communities experienced an
extreme loss of land, with American Indian landholding decreasing from 138 million
acres in 1887 to 86 million acres in 1934.

Along with land allotments, the leasing of tribal lands also cut into American
Indian land holdings. After 1907, the Indian Department, which had previously held
policies limiting the possibility of leasing tribal lands began relaxing policies and
allowing for the leasing of tribal lands without explicit approval by the Interior
Department. Moving into the twentieth century, leasing of tribal lands allowed outside
forces, particularly various corporations, to reap the benefits of mineral reserves on tribal
lands and also their use for such things as grazing. These arrangements sometimes had
the long-term result of separating American Indians from control over their lands more

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87 McDonnell, 45.
permanently.\textsuperscript{88} Those who lobbied for the leasing of American Indian lands often based these arguments on the idea that tribes were unable to manage their natural resources “efficiently.”\textsuperscript{89}

The period also saw several key blows to American Indian rights more generally. Defending the unique status of reservation lands was a contentious issue in the period because of critical development on the national stage. The Supreme Court’s 1903 \textit{Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock} decision proved devastating for Indian tribes throughout the US in that it declared that Congress could abrogate the provisions of treaties. This decision, once again, jeopardized Indian lands and rights to access natural resources. Not only did it undermine treaty provisions such as that of the Treaty of Medicine Lodge Creek (1868), which was the treaty in question in the \textit{Lone Wolf} case which protected tribal lands by requiring tribal consent for land cessions, it also brought into question aspects of the Dawes Act intended to protect Indian lands by requiring tribal consent for sale of surplus lands and allowing for presidential discretion in allotment.\textsuperscript{90} The case brought increasing pressure on Indian lands and accelerated the rate of allotment.\textsuperscript{91}

The Wisconsin Ojibwe certainly fit into this pattern of dispossession and the history of land loss over the course of the twentieth century illustrates the devastating effects of allotment and land sales on tribal land holdings. Individual land dispersal left little land as communal holdings, and among individually owned lands, sales had created a checkerboard pattern to American Indian lands. While the original land of the Bad River reservation included extensive lakefront property on Lake Superior, by the mid-

\textsuperscript{88} Ibid., 51.
\textsuperscript{89} Ibid., 50.
\textsuperscript{90} Frederick E. Hoxie, \textit{A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920} (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 154-155.
\textsuperscript{91} Ibid., 156, 164.
1960s very little of this remained in Indian hands. Overall, of the approximately 124,000 acres established as the Bad River Reservation in the Treaty of 1854 due to land sales and allotment, only 6% was owned collectively by the tribe. Only 4% of the original 70,000 acres of the Lac Courte Oreilles Reservation was tribally owned land in 1965. In the case of Red Cliff, 37% of their apportioned lands were tribal lands in 1965. At Lac du Flambeau, 39% of the reservation’s approximately 70,000 acres of land were tribal lands in 1971. Such statistics reveal that communities were working with less and less land over the course of the twentieth century. Ironically, the same natural attributes that made the Ojibwe lands an important asset for community tourism development also piqued the interest of developers and those seeking to building summer cottages, and this, along with economic hardships that led many to be in desperate need of cash, led to land sales of valuable and meaningful lakefront property.

While Pueblo lands were not subject to allotment, having not been governed by any treaty agreements with the United States, they nonetheless experienced pressures on land, loss of land in the period, and a resulting re-conceptualization of tribal land holdings. In her study of land tenure in New Mexico, Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz argues that in the early twentieth century increasing tensions within communities resulted from a

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93 Ibid., 15.
condition whereby lack of available land kept Pueblos from being able to assign arable lands to those looking to farm.\textsuperscript{97}

Perhaps the most dramatic land loss, however, came with in the case of Blue Lake. When President Theodore Roosevelt created the Carson National Forest in northern New Mexico in 1906, he incorporated Blue Lake and surrounding areas belonging to Taos Pueblo. More than simply an economic blow, these lands were of great religious importance to the community; they were the site of a yearly pilgrimage and the location of religious training for Taos boys.\textsuperscript{98} As part of Carson National Forest, Blue Lake was eventually opened up to those seeking outdoor recreation, a purpose that conflicted with the sacredness of the lands to Taos.\textsuperscript{99} This instance, once again, shows the roots of land loss in the early twentieth century and also shows the negative impact of recreation and tourism development on American Indian communities. Just as land leasing was justified in the period based on an idea that American Indian communities could not manage their resources, so too was the seizure of Taos tribal lands based on an idea of an incapability of American Indians’ resource management.

In light of these developments, tribes moved to effectively manage and protect tribal resources. The cases of fishing and hunting on reservation lands, of profits derived from places like the Puyé Cliffs at Santa Clara, and the regulation of tourists’ behavior each reflect the importance of establishing and reaffirming the distinction of American Indian lands. Demanding the recognition of these lands and attempting to direct the

\begin{footnotes}
\item[99] R.C. Gordon McCutchan, \textit{The Taos Indians and the Battle for Blue Lake} (Santa Fe, NM: Red Crane Books, 1991), 12-13, 15.
\end{footnotes}
funds from land and resource use back to members of the community were critical early priorities in tourism on American Indian lands.

Already in the 1910s in northern Wisconsin, certain areas on Ojibwe reservations had earned their reputation as great places to fish. Sportsmen returned year after year, often in groups. They stayed for periods from a few days to a few weeks. In the 1910s, men from nearby locations like Minocqua and places further away such as Chicago wrote to inquire about the ability of white men to fish in the lakes of the Lac du Flambeau reservation.\textsuperscript{100} In particular, a number of men requested the right to fish on Fence, Sugar Bush, and Crawling Stone lakes. Campers wrote to the Office of Indian Affairs’ superintendent at Lac du Flambeau inquiring about the possibility of camping on Little Crawling Stone Lake, Sand and Little Sand Lakes. Having established its reputation among a community of regional sportsmen, particularly those from Chicago, Anishinaabeg communities now needed to control the conditions of outsiders fishing on the reservation.

This was important for a number of reasons. First, the early decades of the twentieth century witnessed a number of key battles about Ojibwe rights to hunt and fish both on and off reservation lands. Since the establishment of closed seasons for hunting deer, prairie chickens, quail, and pheasant were established in 1851, the state of Wisconsin had been involved in the regulation of hunting and fishing.\textsuperscript{101} After 1887, the enforcement of state conservation laws, originally handled by local policemen, was

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\textsuperscript{100} General Correspondence of the Superintendent, 1911-1927, Lac du Flambeau Agency, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, GL-Chicago.
\end{flushright}
transferred to state fish wardens, who three years later became fish-and-game wardens.\textsuperscript{102}

Beginning in the 1880s, Anishinaabeg in northern Wisconsin faced what would become a century-long battle concerning off-reservation hunting and fishing rights in the state of Wisconsin.

However, alongside these confrontations came debates about the rights to and regulation of on-reservation fishing and hunting. In 1896, Wisconsin issued a declaration that reflected its belief that treaty rights and reservation boundaries did not limit the state’s territorial sovereignty and that the state had the power to restrict Anishinaabe hunting and fishing.\textsuperscript{103} In the 1901 John Blackbird case, Blackbird, a Bad River Anishinaabeg, was arrested for netting fish within the boundaries of the Bad River reservation. In the initial trial, Blackbird was convicted in the Ashland Municipal Court. The case was appealed to the federal district court in Madison which decided that the state had no authority over Anishinaabeg on-reservation hunting and fishing because Indians within the boundaries of their reservations fell under the jurisdiction of Congress. However, the 1908 Wisconsin Supreme Court case \textit{State v. Morrin}, made no such distinction between reservation and non-reservation lands, and the ruling held that Anishinaabeg treaty rights to fish and hunt off and on reservation were abrogated with the creation of the state of Wisconsin.\textsuperscript{104}

Given the controversies over conservation and hunting and fishing rights, it is not surprising that regulating the ability of white fisherman to fish on the reservation represented an important issue for communities. Outside fishermen were required to secure permits in order to fish on reservation lakes on both the Lac du Flambeau and Lac

\textsuperscript{102} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{104} Ibid., 135-136.
Courte Oreilles reservations in northern Wisconsin. Those who failed to do so were considered trespassers on reservation property. In 1914, Assistant Commissioner E.B. Merritt explained that the Indian Office had allowed Superintendents on reservations the right to place restrictions on white fishermen on reservation lands. This measure came in response to Native Americans’ complaints that reservations were being emptied of fish with no compensation going to local communities; such regulations were intended to compensate for fish and game removed by outsiders. By the 1920s, the permits Lac du Flambeau tourists bought helped to successfully fund a fish hatchery. Regulated and supervised by the new fish warden, tourists purchased $1400 worth of permits during the 1921 season to fish on the Lac du Flambeau reservation. In setting rules for the visit to the reservation and structuring tourists’ visits, the Flambeau reinforced the idea that reservation lands remained separate from other lands in the state of Wisconsin and they laid claim to their ability to control their own lands. Santa Clara also issued fishing permits in the 1920s for $1 to fish in Santa Clara cañon. By 1934, the price for year-long permits was $3 of which a maximum of 35 were issued per year or 50¢/ day with no

105 Letter from Supt. Balmer to Thomas Adams, June 25, 1916; “Ad”; Box 24; General Correspondence of the Superintendent, 1911-1927, Lac du Flambeau Agency, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, GL-Chicago; Letter from Supt. Hayward Indian School to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 10/27/1916; Circulars, Replies to – 1914-16; Box 1 – 1914-22; General Correspondence of the Superintendent, 1914-31; Hayward Indian School; RG 75; NARA – GL, Chicago.
106 Letter from Supt. White to Mr. C.L. Reinhardt, Chicago, IL, July 1, 1915; 1914-1915 “R”; Box 19 – 1914-15 P-S; General Correspondence of the Superintendent, 1914-1931, Lac du Flambeau Agency, RG 75, National Archives, Chicago.
107 Letter to Mr. C.E. Shields, Rock Island, IL, from E.B. Merritt, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 8, 1914; Sa-Sn – 1914-15; Box 19 – 1914-15 P-S; General Correspondence of the Superintendent, 1914-1931, Lac du Flambeau Agency, RG 75, National Archives, Chicago.
109 Ibid.
110 Letter to Mr. Frank Womelsduff, Espanola, New Mexico from C.J. Crandall, Superintendent, Northern Pueblos Agency, Santa Fe, May 12, 1927; 005 – General and Statistical – Chronological – Letters to all Others, 1927 (Folder 2); Box 1 – 001-005; General Correspondence Files, 1912-1938; Northern Pueblos Agency; RG 75; National Archives – Rocky Mountains, Denver.
more than 10 issued each day. Here, too, this can be seen as an important effort to manage the impact of tourism on community resources and retain the unique status of lands.

The maintenance of the idea and recognition of American Indians lands, even in the midst of an ongoing decrease in the actual amount of lands was extremely important to the recognition of community. As Jean O’Brien demonstrated in her study of the Naticks in New England in the 17th and 18th centuries, the idea of a community of Massachusetts, Pawtucket, and Nipmuck peoples having “vanished” was not necessarily due to the actual extinction of the population but rather became a popular belief based on displacement and the loss of a community land base. She writes, “At the center of this story of survival and transformation is land: struggles over the possession and ‘proper’ use of lands, ways different peoples viewed the connection between land and identities, and the means by which land served to mark the place of Indian people in New England.” She points out the parallels to the 19th and 20th century story of Indian displacement.

Access to reservation lands and resources was also a critical issue during the Great Depression years, as communities in northern Wisconsin sought to survive this economic turmoil. By 1931, the work that had been available in surrounding

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111 Letter from C.E. Faris, Supt. To Mr. L.T. Hardy, Espanola, NM, dated May 8, 1934; 115 – Administration and Control – Fishing Permits – Santa Clara Canyon – 1927-1934; Box 18 – 106-124; General Correspondence Files, 1912-1938; Northern Pueblos Agency; RG 75; National Archives – Rocky Mountains, Denver.
112 Letter from Frank Bond, Dealer in Wool and Sheep, Albuquerque, NM to Mr. T.F. McCormick, Supt. Northern Pueblo, Sept. 1, 1927; 115 – Administration and Control – Fishing Permits – Santa Clara Canyon – 1927-1934; Box 18 – 106-124; General Correspondence Files, 1912-1938; Northern Pueblos Agency; RG 75; National Archives – Rocky Mountains, Denver.
114 Ibid., 10.
communities had become scarce.115 The disappearance of wage labor, along with the scarcity of game, fish, berries, and wild rice, resulted in poverty and destitution on the Lac du Flambeau reservation.116 As the economic crisis worsened in the region and the country in the 1930s, the focus of the reservation shifted from economic development to survival.117 During 1932 and 1933, Extension Agent P.D. Southworth led a campaign to develop the Lac du Flambeau garden project, to aid families in producing food necessary to avert starvation.118 “Logging operations have ceased,” Agricultural Extension Agent Southworth wrote in 1932, “fishing is at a low ebb, guiding is practically non-existant [sic], and canneries have failed to open, making the garden program absolutely essential.”119 Without adequate means to support even themselves, the early 1930s witnessed a shift from surplus production and development to straining efforts to produce at even subsistence levels.120

Ojibwe efforts to use agriculture and natural resources to avert starvation reinforced the importance of retaining access to land. This situation was coupled with renewed legal controversies over on-reservation fishing and hunting rights in the 1930s when the State of Wisconsin ruled that lands that had been allotted and fully patented became part of the territory of the United States and thus under the jurisdiction of the

118 BIA – Lac du Flambeau P.D. Southworth file (Agric. Extension Work (1933); BIA – Lac du Flambeau P.D. Southworth file (Agric. Extension Work (1933); Summaries of Monthly Extension Reports, May 1932 – September 1933, all in Decimal Correspondence Files, 1917-1935, Lac du Flambeau Agency, RG 75, National Archives Great Lakes Branch, Chicago, IL.
119 Summary of Monthly Extension Reports for May, June 15, 1932; Box 7 – 900s; Decimal Correspondence Files, 1917-1935; Lac du Flambeau Agency; RG 75; NARA – GL, Chicago.
120 1932 Annual Report, signed E. W. Jermark, dated March 14, 1932, Superintendents’ Annual Reports, NA, M1011, p. 3.
state in the 1933 case, *State v. Johnson.*\(^{121}\) Thomas St. Germaine of the Lac du Flambeau band represented the defense on the *Johnson* case. Renewed attacks on Ojibwe hunting and fishing rights and the lack of available cash and wage labor reinforced the importance of protecting reservation lands in the 1930s.

Efforts at resource development can be seen in other ways in northern Wisconsin in the period as well. In the fall of 1936, the Lac du Flambeau tribal council decided to allocate money for advertising to attract tourists to the region.\(^{122}\) Under the CCC-ID, Lac du Flambeau built an expanded fish hatchery on Pokegama Lake.\(^{123}\) In 1939, the hatchery succeeded in artificially propagating black bass, further advancing the appeal of the reservation for sportsmen.\(^{124}\) In 1938, the reservation borrowed money from the Indian Reorganization Act’s revolving loan funds to develop summer cottages on Fence Lake in the reservation.\(^{125}\) In 1941, signs and roadways were improved in conjunction with the Indian Service and the Works Progress Administration.\(^{126}\) These efforts show how initiatives of the 1930s and 1940s focused on tourism as a key part of the economic future of northern Wisconsin Ojibwe communities. Even Indian Emergency Conservation Work (IECW) in the region was connected to tourism as IECW foreman J. Henry Broker reported on the favorable reactions of the approximately 2,000 non-residents who stayed at Lac du Flambeau during the summer.\(^{127}\)

\(^{121}\) Silvern, 137.
\(^{124}\) “Wisconsin Indians Build a Big Business Around their Fish Hatchery,” *Indians at Work* (June 1940): 13.
\(^{127}\) “Many Visitors at Lac du Flambeau” in From IECW Foreman Reports. *Indians at Work* 3:2 (September 1, 1935): 50.
In New Mexico, American Indian communities took actions to protect reservation land and ensure they were being used to meet communities’ needs. In the case of Santa Clara Pueblo, the community sought a share in the tour companies’ profits from the Puyé Cliffs at Santa Clara Pueblo. In the late 1920s, the Puyé Cliffs were a stop on Harvey’s Indian Detours, followed by a “basket lunch at Santa Clara Pueblo.”\textsuperscript{128} A 1928 report highlighted local concerns that while 100 automobiles and busses visited the cliffs during the month of April alone, no fee was being charged. This led a number of Santa Clara residents to speak against the Harvey Company and tourists. The Santa Clara Pueblos filed complaints with the Indian Office in hopes of receiving compensation for the thousands of visitors each year.\textsuperscript{129} By 1930, an admission of 50¢ was charged leading to an income of $584.00 for the month of June 1930.\textsuperscript{130} The 1930s Works Progress Administration New Mexico Guidebook describe the cliffs as being “supervised by the United States Indian Service and the Santa Clara Indians to whom the land belongs” and mention that “An Indian attendant is in charge.”\textsuperscript{131} Here again this marked the area as “Indian space,” separate from other places one might visit during their travels to the Southwest. While this may have made it all the more appealing to visitors, it likewise held political significance.

The idea that outsiders should remember the distinct status of Native American lands also was an issue for those traveling the Pueblos for other reasons. Efforts to

\textsuperscript{129} Box 8, Folder 051 – Statistics – Annual Report – Narrative and Statistical – 1927 – folder (2), Northern Pueblos General Correspondence, Denver.
\textsuperscript{130} Box 8, Folder 051 – Statistics – Annual Report – Northern Pueblo – 1930 – Folder (2), Northern Pueblos General Correspondence, Denver.
eliminate offensive behavior by tourists can be seen in cases such as in 1927 with the appeal for R.H. Clarkson to have Harveycar couriers prevent tourists from giving Pueblo children coins and cigarettes.\textsuperscript{132} The cases of tourists traveling to Pueblos for dances likewise illustrate the regulating outsiders’ behaviors while within spaces designated for Native Americans. By the 1930s and 1940s, Pueblo Feast Days and other dances commonly appeared on schedules of events advertised to tourists. One such publication in 1941 listed dances for Taos, San Juan, Picuris, Nambe, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, and Tesuque, with Taos alone having seven events listed.\textsuperscript{133} With so many events being advertised to tourists, it is no surprise that the Pueblos sought to influence the conduct of those visiting. Guidebooks addressed this issue stressing that visitors should be “well-behaved,” “carefully observant,” and “solicitous not to intrude.”\textsuperscript{134}

Pueblos regulated and, in some cases, charged for the use of cameras in the 1930s and 1940s.\textsuperscript{135} These policies were reinforced by the US government in measures like Order 1432, signed by Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes and E.J. Armstrong, Acting Commissioner in 1939, which stated: “The photographing, for whatever purpose, professional or amateur, commercial or otherwise, of (1) ceremonial performances, dances, etc., and (2) places or persons, within any of the Pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona, is subject to the consent of the governing officers of such Pueblo.”\textsuperscript{136} The order further stated:

\textsuperscript{132} Letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, from T.F. McCormick, Supt., Northern Pueblos Agency, September 26, 1927, Box 17, Folder 096 – Organizations Interested in Indians – Indian Defense Association, 1927-1934, Northern Pueblos, General Correspondence, Denver.
\textsuperscript{133} New Mexico Indians: A Pocket Handbook (Santa Fe: New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs, 1941), in Folder 65; Southwestern Association on Indian Affairs (SWAIA) (1976-037), NMSRC.
\textsuperscript{134} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{135} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{136} Correspondence, 1939, Box 1, Administration Files, 1938-1942, Red Cliff Agency, RG 75; NARA – GL, Chicago.
In all cases, throughout the Indian country, any maker of pictures on tribal lands must consult beforehand the tribal officers. Limitations which they may impose must scrupulously be regarded, and any charges asked by the Indians must be paid. Indians are not landscape or objects, but human beings with their privacies and dignities as such; and Indian places, though bearing no outward sign, may be as sacred in the Indian mind as any religious sanctuary in the white world.\footnote{Ibid.}

In all of these cases, tourists were reminded of the distinct status of Native American lands and their own “outsider” status in these places. Practices in the period stressed the idea that Native American lands were separate from the rest of the United States, that Native American resources should be protected, and the profits derived from these lands should be returned to communities and used to serve communities’ interests.

CONCLUSION

Through the defense of reservation lands, promoting local employment for community members, and developing tribal industries in tourism, Native American communities began a process of carving out distinct spaces within regional tourism industries. This was the product of efforts of American Indian wage and contract workers, entrepreneurs, and political bodies, and the combined effort of these parties sought in various ways to elicit the recognition and respect of American Indians’ involvement in tourism. These efforts were not always successful, as seen poignantly in diminishing access to natural resources for Ojibwe in the period and the loss of Blue Lake in New Mexico. Nonetheless, this work had important meanings to those involved. Local labor opportunities meant the chance to stay near communities and tribal lands, something that would become all the more pronounced in the face of relocation programs of the post-World War II era which led many Native Americans to move to cities.
Developing local tourism opportunities for Native American enabled a continued presence both in regional tourism industries and in regional politics heading into the second half of the twentieth century.
CHAPTER 5

CREATING TOURIST PLACES, DEFENDING AMERICAN INDIAN SPACES: ETHNIC TOURISM AND REGIONAL IDENTITIES IN THE POST-WORLD WAR II ERA

At the start of his memoir *Travels with Charley* (1962), John Steinbeck sets out the task at hand:

My plan was clear, concise, and reasonable, I think. For many years I have traveled in many parts of the world. In America I live in New York, or dip into Chicago or San Francisco. But New York is no more America than Paris is France or London is England. Thus I discovered that I do not know my own country. I, an American writer, writing about America, was working from memory, and the memory is at best a faulty, warpy reservoir. I had not heard the speech of America, smelled the grass and trees and sewage, seen its hills and water, its color and quality of light. I knew the changes only from books and newspapers. But more than this, I had not felt the country for twenty-five years.¹

As Steinbeck and his poodle Charley set out in his truck outfitted with a camper top that he named Rocinante, after Don Quixote’s horse, they set out on a journey which was both exceptional and increasingly common. While not every traveler embarked on their trip with the luxuries of a truck outfitted with a “double bed, four-burner stove, a heater, refrigerator and lights operating on butane, a chemical toilet, closet space, storage space, windows screened against insects” and a typewriter and paper to record the entire journey, John Steinbeck and Charley were not unique as they set out, in the words of the book’s subtitle, “in search of America.”²

Americans took advantage of the increasing ease and freedom of travel to see what they had been missing and see America itself in the early decades of the Cold War. This was influenced by several factors. Automobiles became more common in American

² Ibid., 7.
families due to credit buying and postwar prosperity. Additionally, the American roadways became the benefactor of Cold War anxieties that demanded the ability to move around the country more efficiently in the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956, also known as the National Interstate and Defense Highways Act. While many returned from their travels in the same state as Steinbeck, jittery and lost as he was unable to navigate the last stretch of road to his home, the quest to see America via a road trip proved an important component of American culture in the post-World War II era.3

Travel changed for Americans, and so did the destinations they visited as tourists. As Americans were able to travel to more remote areas of the country, communities attempted to script what visitors would think of them by constructing tourism landmarks, building attractions, and organizing events. American Indian communities took part in this process as well. Through the organization of local events and the development of attractions, American Indian communities maintained claims to place and identity during the era of termination in the 1950s and 1960s. Communities cemented their place among the ethnicities celebrated in regions of the US, particularly within tourism.

In so doing, they remade the role of American Indian communities within public perceptions of these regions. In this chapter, I explore the development of several attractions and annual events that became the core of American Indian participation in regional tourism in northern Wisconsin and in New Mexico. Through these events, communities were able to attract tourists and cement their claims to place in New Mexico and Wisconsin and, by extension, in America. The claims to place that they made in this period were all the more important because the festivals and annual events had people at their core. Rather than uninhabited “ruins,” the space claimed in these events was

3 Ibid., 277.
inhabited by communities. These claims to community and place made an important political statement and constituted a key form of community activism in the face of termination policies. It also set the stage for American Indian communities’ involvement in economic development programs in the 1960s. However, in aligning themselves with ethnic and heritage tourism, American Indian communities also offered a portrayal of their relationship to America and their identity as citizens that served to support the political goals of some but contradict those of others within communities mainly around the idea of American Indians as an ethnic category. The claims to place asserted in post-World War II tourism carried with them a message of American Indians as participants in America, a critical victory against the idea of the “vanishing Indian,” but the message of tourism held that American Indian communities would participate in the future of America as an ethnic group. This ethnic identity would prove advantageous at some moments and create political obstacles at other moments in the upcoming years of political activism. But either way the degree to which it became ingrained in understandings of American Indian identities had significant political consequences. Against the backdrop of termination, the lessons of tourism were particularly politically charged and potentially contentious.

TERMINATION AND THE RETHINKING OF AMERICAN INIDAN ACTIVISM

To understand the significance of the lessons of post-World War II tourism, it is important to consider the political climate in which they took place, especially with regard to US Indian policy in the post-World War II era. Following World War II, the US government undertook a series of measures known collectively as termination
policies. These constituted an effort to end any special relationships between the federal government and tribal governments and to integrate American Indians more fully into US citizenship. Termination involved measures such as the dismantling of reservations, the relocation of American Indians to urban centers, and the settling of outstanding land disputes between tribes and the United States. Chief among the legislation associated with this move was House Concurrent Resolution 108 (1953), which was designed to end federal supervision of Indian affairs by making American Indians subject to all the same laws and entitled to the same rights as other American citizens, and Public Law 280 (1953), which authorized certain states to assume civil and criminal jurisdiction on reservation lands. In doing so, the federal government undertook an effort to unilaterally end all its treaty-based responsibilities.

The factors motivating termination’s supporters varied, ranging from cost-cutting to desires to access to valuable lands, from assimilation to recognition of the service of American Indian veterans, from settling outstanding land claims to responding to international criticism of American racial policies during the Cold War.⁴ During the era, leaders such as D’Arcy McNickle argued that the future of American Indians would be better served through development plans for reservations similar to those in the Marshall Plan than through termination policies.⁵ Recent scholarship has looked at this period as key in the history of American Indian activism, arguing that the extent to which Red Power has stood in for American Indian activism obscures a much larger history of

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⁵ Ibid., 1304.
American Indian political engagement and mobilization. Daniel Cobb in *Native Activism in Cold War America* (2008) considers the role of a much wider range of activities, arguing that

writing grants, holding community meetings, convening summer workshops for college students, organizing youth councils, giving testimony at congressional meetings, authoring books and editorials, and manipulating the system from within were means of exercising power and acting in politically purposeful ways.

He continues, “These acts, as well as the ‘hidden transcripts’ of informal political behavior, were no less invested with meaning than takeovers and occupations.”

To Cobb’s list of overlooked activism, I would add the work of creating and popularizing tourism events and sites in the era following World War II because it re-asserted the unique status of American Indian communities and helped to further develop tribal businesses. Viewed against the backdrop of termination policies, this activity sends a powerful message about community preservation and lays claim to American Indian space within the United States. However, the form in which the lessons of place claims were received by tourist audience both recognized connections between American Indian communities and place but also often translated these ideas into a pan-Indian rather than a tribal nation-specific identity. As Americans added American Indian communities to their imagined roadmaps in the era of post-World War II tourism, they did so under the rubric of an ethnic, pan-Indian identity.

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POSTWAR ECONOMIC PROSPERITY, AUTOMOBILE CULTURE, AND HERITAGE TOURISM

To understand how American Indian communities were able to create spaces in tourism that could be used to their political advantage, it is first important to understand the changes occurring in American travel and tourism more generally in the post-World War II era. Many of these changes were tied to the expansion of automobile tourism. While automobiles were certainly not new on the American landscape in the post-World War II era, they nonetheless took on new economic and symbolic power in an era marked by an image of American prosperity demonstrated by the consumer power of the American public.

Such an attitude and the importance of consumption was demonstrated by the centrality of consumer items to even the venue of international politics as demonstrated in the 1959 “kitchen debate” between vice president Richard Nixon and Soviet Premier Nitika Krushchev at the American National Exhibition in Moscow.⁸ In an episode of Cold War cultural significance, the two men debated the pros and cons of the communist and capitalist systems they represented based on the consumer objects that filled the American suburban home, represented in the model home at the exhibit, and the gender roles that accompanied this ideal. In Nixon’s statements, American freedom was directly connected to this kind of consumption. In her study of Cold War America, Elaine Tyler May described this as follows, “This model home, filled with labor-saving devices and presumably available to Americans of all classes, was tangible proof, Nixon believed, of the superiority of free enterprise over communism.”⁹

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⁹ Ibid., 18.
While the availability of such conveniences to all Americans was certainly a myth in an era when racially restrictive covenants continued to shape America’s housing patterns and the suburbs that developed were guarded against racial diversity, the mythology of the American consumer dream was nonetheless a powerful idea. Automobiles were a key part of that, especially as the creation of suburbs necessitated a means to move around greater distances, and new car sales in America quadrupled between 1946 and 1955, leading to the condition where, by the end of the 1950s, three-quarters of American households owned at least one car. As a marker of status and a bearer of increased mobility, the car was an integral part of the idea of post-World War II consumer freedom in America. Along with the freedom a car might offer in daily life, an automobile also offered more options to travelers, an idea which dominated the discourse on automobile tourism throughout its rise over the course of the twentieth century.

CHANGES IN TOURISM AND THE APPEAL OF ETHNIC TOURISM

By the time increasing numbers of Americans set out to explore what America looked like “off the beaten path,” American Indian communities had been dispossessed of much of their prime lakefront property as was seen in the case of Wisconsin Ojibwe. As compared to tourism and resort centers, American Indian communities lacked an extensive tourism infrastructure. Even so, these conditions did not entirely exclude them from post-World War II tourism. In fact, the increasing mobility and freedom of American tourist consumers in some ways worked to the advantage of American Indian

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tourism industries, which became less dependent on outside entrepreneurs such as railroads to provide necessary infrastructure to allow visitors access to communities or to produce the advertisements to attract tourism. Communities were able to create a place for themselves in this era by connecting with increasing numbers of automobile tourists willing to travel to specific sites and events.

As regions competed to attract the attention of these travelers, they used various methods to convince travelers that they were worth the drive. The creation of events such as festivals and heritage sites became perhaps the most promising economic option for rural tourism. Creating tourism attractions such as festivals and theme towns were often seen as an answer to the problems of a struggling rural economy.\(^\text{12}\) This strategy became an important way to expand tourism in both northern Wisconsin and New Mexico. In the years following 1950, for example, Hayward, Wisconsin held an annual Musky Festival each June. By the mid-1950s, the event was said to attract 25,000 visitors each year and include bands, carnivals, a parade, the crowning of the “Musky Queen,” log rolling, Indian dances, horse shows, and street dances.\(^\text{13}\) Such events reveal the potential automobile tourism offered for rural tourism workers and developers, and the popularization of local events such as the Musky Festival are indicative of a tourism market in which small-scale operations stood a better chance of being competitive.

Along with festivals, areas developed roadside attractions and sites, publicized though travel literature, that could provide a stopping off point for weary travelers and bring tourists and their dollars to the area. In the postwar era, ideas of heritage and


history became especially powerful in attracting these postwar travelers and shaping these attractions. Michael Kammen in *Mystic Chords of Memory* points out the parallel between the increase in American cars and the increased interest in historical places, writing,

> In the year 1895 there had been twenty historic houses and four registered automobiles in the United States. By 1955 about 1,000 historic restorations existed along with some 61,301,000 cars. In 1954 approximately 48 million people visited historic sites and buildings in the United States. ... Tradition had been made readily available to the mobile middle class.  

Regional entrepreneurs took advantage of this opportunity to attract visitors interested in learning about or even experiencing a taste of the past first-hand in “living exhibits.”

> A year before Disneyland offered visitors the chance to step back to turn-of-the-century America in “Main Street, USA,” entrepreneur Tony Wise sought to create his own escape for visitors to northern Wisconsin with Historyland.  

Beginning in 1954, Tony Wise developed a reconstruction of a lumber camp and a boomtown one mile outside of Hayward in order to celebrate the region’s past and provide a boost to the struggling economy. The idea of Historyland was to create a sort of “living museum” where people could experience a modified, sanitized, family-friendly version of life in northern Wisconsin lumber camps. To amass the goods needed for Historyland, Wise founded the Sawyer County Historical Society in 1951 and called upon locals to donate and identify photos and artifacts from the area’s lumber days, which peaked between

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15 Ibid., 557.
Historyland began with the Northern Wisconsin Logging Camp and Museum and the Cook Shanty Restaurant, eventually expanded to include seven theme restaurants, an ice cream parlor, logging and craft demonstrations, and a restored logging boomtown with shops, saloons, a hotel, and musical performances. It attracted crowds with events such as the Annual Lumberjack Championships. In 1961, Historyland was included alongside places like Baraboo, the town which gave birth to the Ringling Brothers Circus, on the State of Wisconsin Historical Society’s Historic Sites sheet.

The popularization of these regional attractions presented an opportunity for entrepreneurs to succeed in the tourism industry through the promotion of a regionally specific identity and local attractions, in the pursuit of which tourists might be willing to visit locations they would otherwise drive by.

In addition to increasing the overall number of historical sites, the postwar era witnessed a broadening of whose history was being celebrated in the attractions. Ethnicity became a major factor in postwar history tourism. One factor contributing to this trend was an increasing openness to and acceptance of the celebration of ethnic identity in America. In festivals as well as set attractions such as theme towns, ethnicity became something to be observed and celebrated, a key part of American culture. This served as a stark contrast to earlier celebrations of the past in American historical pageants, and the history celebrated in this era reflected a greater appreciation of diversity than had been possible in the face of xenophobia and racism marked by anxieties over ethnicities and immigration restrictions such as the Immigration Act of 1924 that marked

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18 Ibid., 118, 121.
19 Ibid., 115.
the first decades of the twentieth century. As ethnic Americans of European origins ceased to be part of America’s “immigrant problem” and achieved the status of whiteness in America in the post-World War II era, ethnic festivals became an accepted part of the American cultural landscape in a way they had not previously been. After World War II, ethnic Americans, often without first-hand knowledge of their ancestors’ countries of origin, set out to celebrate the everyday lives of their predecessors. At the center of heritage celebrations were the items of everyday life and folk culture such as food, crafts, holidays, and dance. Such cultures were commodified and packaged in ways that were safe for consumption by white, middle class American tourists.

A second main factor that led to the appreciation of and desire to travel to ethnic tourism sites had to do with an increasing anxiety over cultural homogeneity in the postwar era. In a society of increasing standardization, people sought out difference - a difference that led people to things unique and local. This helps to explain why, along with celebrating their own heritage, travelers were also attracted to celebrations of the heritage of others. In their incarnations of ethnic culture, Steven Schnell argues that the dress and cultural performance of ethnic theme towns such as Little Switzerland constituted a celebration of small-town American community, the local, and family history in the face of the broader national culture. This was also shown in examples such as tourism to Lancaster, Pennsylvania’s Amish community. Weaver-Zercher argues

25 Ibid.
that “a trip to Lancaster’s Amish country ... provided many twentieth-century Americans with an opportunity to visit a less urban, less materially driven America that seemed more robust and happily less complicated than the present they occupied.” Weaver-Zercher continues, “By conceiving of Amish life in these terms, middle-class Americans found this culture worthy of respect and, in many cases, worthy of consuming.” Festivals also responded to this anxiety in offering something that was separate from everyday American life. Festivals too have been seen as a response to feelings of cultural dislocation caused by increased mobility and globalization. Theme towns, re-enactments, and ethnic festivals offered Americans an escape from the homogenization of mid-twentieth century America and a means to ground themselves in the face of postwar anxieties. The level of difference offered in such portrayals was at a level deemed “safe” for consumption by middle-class tourists; a comfortable cultural experience that must be contrasted to the racial tensions that marked the American urban experience in the post-World War II era and exploded into violence in moments such as the Detroit race riots of 1943 and 1967. Ethnic tourism then can be seen as offering an appealing and comfortable level of difference for post-war tourist consumers, and the lessons about ethnic identity taken away from such events was shaped by this condition.

CREATION AND POPULARIZATION OF AMERICAN INDIAN ATTRACTIONS AND EVENTS

Among the factors that attracted travelers to particular areas and events was an interest in American Indian cultures. In 1962, the Chicago Sun Times held a contest on

the topic of “Why I Would Like to Visit an Indian Reservation on my Vacation,” receiving 135 entries from children. The winners received Indian portraits. The contest as well as tourism development studies revealed a wide interest among travelers in Wisconsin in the way Indians lived and in visiting historical reconstructions of earlier American Indian communities. Likewise, according to a 1967 study of New Mexico travelers, Indian reservations along with sites such as Carlsbad Caverns and National Parks constituted an important factor in attracting 15-20% of travelers surveyed to New Mexico. Among New Mexicans traveling within their state, Indian and Spanish cultures appealed to a “sizeable minority.”

American Indian arts and crafts in the Southwest were also a feature of Americans’ imaginative travel in the period and, along with sites such as New York City and Niagara Falls, became part of View-Masters’ images in the late 1940s. View-Master disc #294, “Indian Arts and Crafts, New Mexico, USA,” copyrighted in 1948, featured among its images “A Pueblo Basketmaker,” “Pottery Making,” and “Pueblo Indian Artist.” View-Master discs for Taos, New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico, and the Indian Tribal Ceremonial in Gallup, New Mexico likewise featured images of Pueblos as aspects of the travel sites they highlighted. Clearly, then, American Indians were on the minds of American travelers in the years following World War II.

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29 “A Study of Tourism in New Mexico, An Executive Summary,” prepared for the Department of Development, State of New Mexico (June 1967), 10.
30 Ibid., 14.
32 View-Master Box, Box 2 (Ser. 6490) - Santa Fe County; Newspapers; Santa Fe Newspapers, Box 16214, Farona G. Konopak Collection (1987-005); New Mexico Archives and Records Center, Santa Fe.
This potential was not lost on Historyland’s creator Anthony Wise. Along with his reconstructed lumber camp, Wise also developed a portion of Historyland devoted to American Indian culture. In 1959, he added the “Indian Village” to Historyland. For the Indian Village at Historyland, he hired Ojibwe from Lac Courte Oreilles to sing and dance and to demonstrate how to make birchbark canoes, bead moccasins, prepare wild rice, and tan hides. This was also an exhibition space where clothing and other

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33 Ibid., 126; Magelssen, 162; Shirley Rose Higgins, “Wisconsin Can Solve Old Family Travel Problem: Backseat Children,” Chicago Tribune (19 June 1966), 14.
articles were on display.\textsuperscript{34} In descriptions of the offerings within the Indian Village, interactions with Ojibwe were highlighted as both sources of information and bridges between the past and present. For example, the advertisements promised, “Full-blood Indians making birch bark canoes, just as their ancestors made them years ago ... Sounding Thunder will explain the construction to you as you watch.” The same advertisement questioned, “Ever wonder how Indians made all kinds of clothing from deer hides? Yellow Bird will show you and explain the procedure at the tanning rack near the village.”\textsuperscript{35} Along with these demonstrations, powwows were held three times per week in the summer.\textsuperscript{36} Among the first performers advertised were Charlie and Helma Belille; Bi-de-way-jik (Sounding Thunder); O-zow-bi-niss (Yellow Bird); On-e-ku-gaba-we-quay; Ba-go-bay-ge-jik (Hole in the Day), and An-dag-crow.\textsuperscript{37} Such demonstrations represented a new and different incarnation of authenticity, one in which past and present were in dialog in a way they had not been in the performances of authenticity demanded by anti-modernist audiences. The distinction between being the demonstrator of an aspect of Ojibwe culture and being oneself a cultural artifact held political significance for the parties involved and cast the encounters in a different light than those of the turn of the twentieth century.

While Historyland’s Indian Village grew out of the vision of Anthony Wise, it became a venue Lac Courte Oreilles Anishinaabeg could use for various purposes. It

\textsuperscript{34}“Chippewa Indian Pow-Wows Start July 4th and 5th: Historyland to Hold Indian Dances Every Sunday, Tuesday, Thursday,” \textit{Historyland News} Vol. 1 (1 July 1959), 3; Folder 39; Box 13; Anthony Wise Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society.
\textsuperscript{35}“Authentic Indian Village Follows the Four Seasons,” \textit{Historyland News} Vol. 1 (1 July 1959), 3; Folder 39; Box 13; Anthony Wise Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society.
\textsuperscript{36}“Chippewa Indian Pow-Wows Start July 4th and 5th: Historyland to Hold Indian Dances Every Sunday, Tuesday, Thursday,” \textit{Historyland News} Vol. 1 (1 July 1959), 1; Folder 39; Box 13; Anthony Wise Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society.
\textsuperscript{37}Troester, 127; Magelssen, 166.
created a space for inter-tribal gatherings. By 1960, the Independence Day powwow (celebrating its 3rd anniversary that year) at Hayward had become an opportunity for not only Anishinaabeg but also Potawatomi, Menominee, Sac and Fox, and Ho-Chunk to gather and celebrate. The *Minneapolis Tribune* estimated that 300 American Indians might gather for the 1960 powwow. In describing the events, Tony Wise, by this time a director at the Wisconsin Historical Society, referred to the powwow as “an exercise in friendship between the tribes, a lesson for the world today passed down from America’s earliest yesterday.” These events also helped to increase the profile of tourism in northern Wisconsin. In 1963, the All Tribes Indian Powwow hosted at Historyland by the local Ojibwe made the *Chicago Tribune*’s list of “Top Festivals Scheduled Thruout U.S. This Month.” These events also likely helped to attract attention to other activities, such as the Indian dances held twice a week in 1950s in Hayward at the City Park. By 1966, Historyland included the Ojibway Indian Nation Museum. According to a 1965 study of tourism development at Lac Courte Oreilles, “The developments at Historyland have provided the Chippewas of Lac Courte Oreilles Reservation national and international publicity which could not be bought with any amount of money.”

While Aninishaabeg at Lac Courte Oreilles were cooperating with Tony Wise to help make their place on the tourist landscape, other more independent activities were

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39 Ibid.
40 Ibid.
41 Ibid.
42 “Top Festivals Scheduled Thruout U.S. This Month,” *Chicago Tribune* (2 June 1963), N4.
44 Tourist and Recreational Resources: Lac Court Oreilles Indian Reservation - Wisconsin,” 24.
being undertaken in other communities. One such example was the Indian Bowl at Lac du Flambeau. Ben Gauthier, who was the first president of Lac du Flambeau’s Chamber of Commerce, and George Brown Sr. along with non-tribal members including the owner of the local business Simpson Electric formed the Indian Bowl Association in 1950.45 The Wa-Swa-Gon Indian Bowl opened at Lac du Flambeau in 1951. Built on the site of the lumber mill that closed in 1912, the structure seated 2,500 and became a venue where members of the tribe put on pageants and dances for spectators.46 According to anthropologist Larry Nesper, these performances were seen neither as traditional dances nor as powwows but rather as “fun-type” dances specifically designed for public display.47 At times, these performances took the opportunity to celebrate important moments in Lac du Flambeau’s history, such as in 1954 when they included pieces marking the centennial of their last treaty with the US federal government, and to tell the stories that connected them to their lands.48 Like the All Tribes Indian Powwow, the 4th of July celebration at the Indian Bowl became a noted event on the Wisconsin tourism calendar, listed along with Norwegians’ celebration of Syttende Mai and Swiss festivals at New Glarus as one of Wisconsin’s ethnic festivals in the summer of 1964.49

In New Mexico as well, Pueblos developed events that helped foster community as well as mark their place in regional tourism. The first Pueblo organized ceremonial, an important counterpoint to events such as the Santa Fe Indian Market and the Gallup

47 Ibid., 457.
48 Ibid., 459-61.
Inter-Tribal Ceremony, took place at Santa Clara Pueblo starting in 1957.\footnote{Jill Sweet, “Tewa Ceremonial Performance: The Effects of Tourism on an Ancient Pueblo Indian Dance and Music Tradition,” (PhD diss., University of New Mexico, 1981), 1.}

Anthropologist Jill Sweet defines ceremonials as “performance events that exist apart from traditional Tewa ritual calendars and that involve audiences largely composed of tourists.”\footnote{Ibid., 140.} Promoted by people including former Santa Clara governor John Chavarria, the event came to be known as the Puye Cliff Ceremonial.\footnote{Matthew J. Martinez, “Double Take: Tourism and Photography Endeavors among the Northern Pueblos of the Rio Grande,” (Ph. D diss., University of Minnesota, 2008), 108.} In the early years, a fee of $1.50 was charged for the event.\footnote{Sweet, “Tewa Ceremonial Performance,” 144.} While the first ceremonial included only dancers from Santa Clara, in later year, dancers from nearby pueblos including Tesuque, Nambe, Taos, San Ildefonso, and San Juan were also invited to perform.\footnote{Ibid., 142.} The Puye Cliff’s Ceremonial Committee publicized the event each year by notifying newspapers including the \textit{Santa Fe New Mexican}, \textit{The Albuquerque Journal}, and the \textit{Albuquerque Tribune}. Local newspaper and television stations and the Santa Fe and Espanola Chambers of Commerce also helped to promote the events.\footnote{Ibid., 143; 1964 Puye Cliff Ceremonial advertisement, Folder 1788, Box 10768, Subseries 7.5 Pueblos, Albert H. Schroeder Collection, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.} Travel publications offered ringing endorsements of the event. For example,

\begin{quote}
[T]he Indians bring Puye to life again each summer, by holding a colorful festival there over a weekend late in August. Hundreds of people trek up to the mesa where they sell their lovely arts and crafts. In the ancient plaza, dances are beautifully executed. Fortunately, the entrance fee which one pays entitles him to take photographs; there are inviting subjects everywhere he looks.\footnote{Bertha P. Dutton, “Let’s Explore! Indian Villages Past and Present,” No. 1 - Santa Fe Area (Museum of New Mexico Press, 1962), p. 48, Folder 1719, Box 10767, Subseries 7.5 Pueblos, Albert H. Schroeder Collection, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.}
\end{quote}
Advertisements could also be found in more distant papers such as the *Denver Post*. In 1968, an NBC special, “Discover America,” was filmed at the Ceremonial.

A few years after the creation of the Puye Cliffs Ceremonial, Nambe followed suit and began the annual Nambe Falls Ceremonial in 1961. The origin of the Nambe Falls Ceremonial came in response to a problem, the need to raise funds for a new Catholic church. The date of July 4th was chosen as one likely to be able to accommodate tourists’ schedules, thus aiding in the fund-raising potential of the event. Dances were presented by Nambe, San Ildefonso, and Picuris at the first ceremonials and lunches were cooked and sold by the St. Francis Women’s Club. After being held at the Nambe village the first year, the location for subsequent ceremonials was moved to Nambe Falls, an area which, like Puye Cliffs, was of spiritual significance to the community.

The event was organized by the church committee and the Nambe governor and until 1975, when the new church was completed, all proceeds went to the church fund. An entrance fee was charged of 35¢ for adults and 20¢ for children in 1961. The fee was raised to 50¢ in 1962 and then raised again to $1 in 1968. The event was highlighted in publications such as the 1962 pamphlet by Bertha Dutton for the Museum of New Mexico, “Let’s Explore! Indian Villages Past & Present,” which called attention to the beautiful setting of Nambe Falls and identified the event as one in which visitors were welcome.

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57 Sweet, “Tewa Ceremonial Performance,” 143.
58 Ibid., 147.
59 Ibid., 140.
60 Ibid., 153.
61 Ibid., 154.
62 Ibid., 154-155.
Promotions of tourism sites were also reflected in some of the advertising of these events. When advertising events such as the annual ceremonials at Nambe and Santa Clara, promotional materials also provided information about the recreational activities available at these sites at other times such as the picnic grounds at Nambe Fall and campgrounds and fishing at Santa Clara.64 By doing so it helped to put these places on tourists’ imagined maps of destinations.

These events provide political advantage to communities for several reasons. First, they allowed for increasing control of the content of tourism portrayals as well as the conduct of visitors. The ceremonials organized by Pueblo communities adopted certain aspects of Anglo-organized events such as the Santa Fe Fiesta and Gallup Intertribal Ceremonial and avoided others. The Puye Cliff Ceremonial Committee made efforts to minimize the non-Indian elements such as awards, sports events, and patriotic parades.65 Yet, they also retained certain elements that were similar to events in regional tourism that were not specific to American Indian community-based tourism. These included economic motives, as shown in the sale of foods and arts and crafts, and instances of catering to non-Indian audiences. To cater to non-Indian audiences they shortened dances, provided brief explanations of actions and movements and the meaning of dances, and allowed photography.66

Explanations of dances were also a distinguishing factor at Lac du Flambeau and at the Indian Village at Historyland.67 Volume 1 of Historyland News advised that “readers might be interested to know every dance is a song with words and meaning to

66 Ibid., 140-141.
the whole tribe.”

It provided descriptions of the Pipedance, Squaw Dance and ‘49 dance.

In the Pipedance, sometimes called Gourd or Hatchet dance, you’ll see each Indian give a solo of his skill in matching the beat of the drums and knowing when to stop at the precise instant they do. See if you can keep time and anticipate the exact stopping point.

The explanations reveal communities’ interests in catering to audiences’ needs and their attempts to increase interest by suggesting ways in which outsiders could engage with the performances. They also enhanced the educational potential of these events and allowed for greater control of the ideas tourists took out of watching dances. In doing so, they represented an effort to both shape audience behavior and influence audiences’ experiences.

During these events, communities controlled visitor conduct by setting and enforcing codes of behavior and sometimes ridiculing of tourists by making them a spectacle. For example, tourists at the Lac du Flambeau Indian Bowl were encouraged to wear paper headbands and feathers. This form of subtle rebellion through mockery could also be seen at times in the crafts produced by American Indian artists. In a 1968 interview, Clarence Coriz of Tesuque discussed potter Manuel Vigil’s making of fat tourist figurines toting cameras as a form “fighting back.” Of Vigil’s art he said, “... he is very creative in that way and sometimes the Indian has to rebel in that way.” These rebellions could serve as a force to bring together community members through the sense

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68 “Chippewa Indian Pow-wows Start July 4th and 5th,” *Historyland News*, Vol. 1 (July 1, 1959), Box 13, Folder 39, Anthony Wise Papers, WHS.

69 Ibid.


71 Clarence Coriz, Tesuque, Interview by Michael B. Husband, September 4, 1968, #25, p. 6, American Indian Oral History Project, New Mexico State Archives and Records Center, Santa Fe, New Mexico.
of sharing in a inside joke. It took advantage of the opportunities presented in community-sponsored event.

Controlling the behavior of tourists also sent an important message about land ownership and made claims to sites as American Indian places. Connecting people to the locations chosen by Ojibwe and Pueblo communities held a significance in the termination era because government policies sought to integrate American Indians into US society and programs designed to move community members away from places in urban relation programs. Staying also meant a continued role in considerations of resource management. Continued debates about American Indian land use made these especially important concerns. For example in June 1945, Jim Bennett of the Lac Courte Oreilles reservation wrote to Alvin E. Konski, Congressional Representative for Wisconsin, inquiring about the violation of certain treaty rights. This letter expressed concerns that arose in a meeting of tribal members about violations of the 1837 treaty between the tribe and the United States. Among the concerns expressed were the ability of tribal members to utilize timber on lands belonging to them, violations of rights to hunt and fish on and off reservation, the ability to transport game they killed and “transport them home over white men’s roads without molestation,” and the ability of tribal members to harvest wild rice on lakes in the region. These ongoing battles over land use reveal the importance of efforts to control the behavior of tourists at events created by communities.

The second important feature of these events was the centrality of place. Because place was key to the planning and promotion of events, these events helped to continue

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an association of specific geographical locations with communities. In the case of Lac du Flambeau, Larry Nesper argues that the fact that dances were staged on tribal lands was one important factor which distinguished performances at the Lac du Flambeau Indian Bowl from those at World’s Fairs or Wild West shows.\textsuperscript{73} In Pueblo Ceremonials at Nambe and Puye Cliffs, according to Jill Sweet,

> There is an important difference between Ceremonials designed by Tewa Indians and those designed by Anglos with regard to the use of space and the choice of place ...While Anglo ceremonials and most theatre events are located in places where people can most easily travel, Tewa Ceremonials are found in out-of-the-way areas that hold ritual importance for the Tewa Indians. Puye Cliffs and Nambe Falls are significant places in Tewa cosmology.\textsuperscript{74}

Thus, the locations chosen are a distinguishing factor and one that reveals the centrality of place to communities’ tourism development.

Having place at the center made these events politically important in that they allowed communities to make place claims at a time when the existence of and meanings of American Indian spaces in America was especially contentious. In discussing conflicts between terminationists and anti-terminationist interest groups, historian Paul Rosier has looked at the centrality of reservation space within disagreements about the past and future of federal Indian policies. Rosier contends that those who argued for termination as a means to liberate American Indian communities viewed reservation spaces as “confining space, othered or racialized space, and even emasculated space.”\textsuperscript{75} On the other hand, those who articulated a “hybrid patriotism,” one which embraced both American and tribal identities, saw reservation lands as, in the words of National Congress of American Indians president Joseph Garry, “ancestral homelands, retained by

\textsuperscript{73} Nesper, “Simulating Culture,” 451.
\textsuperscript{74} Sweet, “Tewa Ceremonial Performances,” 160.
\textsuperscript{75} Rosier, 1309.
us for our perpetual use and enjoyment.”76 Along with communicating a message to
visitors, the centrality of these places in these events also held an importance for
community members. In the case of ceremonials, place played a significant role in
shaping participants’ feelings about the events. When Sweet asked one of the organizers
what he hoped tourists learned from the Puye Cliffs Ceremonial, he answered that tourists
should understand the significance of the Cliffs as a place for dances to be held.77 Thus,
claims to place played an integral role in fostering community.

Along with community building, the centrality of place and the reaffirmation of
Indian spaces was critical in the re-conception of American Indian citizenship more
broadly in the post-World War II era. The experience of wartime service had changed
the perspective of many American Indian service men as to their relationship with the
United States and, in some cases, reshaped their understandings of their citizenship.78 On
this Paul Rosier writes, “Native Americans considered their collective sacrifices for the
American nation as entitling them to basic privileges, not least of them G.I. benefits and
voting rights, hitherto denied in New Mexico and Arizona.”79 While the process of
American Indians becoming US citizens began with the passage of the Indian Citizenship
Act of 1924, the states of Arizona and New Mexico denied American Indians voting
rights until 1948. Reaffirming the relationship to place in tourism events, then, held
particular significance in this atmosphere of the reconsideration of American Indian
citizenship. The centrality of place in these events helped connect communities in efforts

76 Ibid., 1310; Joseph Garry, “A Declaration of Indian Rights,” folder, Emergency Conference Bulletin,
1954, Box 257, Records of the National Congress of the American Indians, quoted in Rosier, 1315.
78 On the experiences of Native Americans during World War II, see Alison Bernstein, American Indians
79 Rosier, 1301.
to redefine what it meant to be a tribal and American citizen in the periods. The claims made to these places became even more important the 1960s when legal cases recognized claims to sovereignty and the jurisdiction of tribal courts and police on reservation lands, creating contests that would place local and tribal authorities into contests for control. The tensions between ethnic and tribal identities that can be seen in tourism and the relationship between ethnic tourism and heritage tourism events would continue to play out in the era of activism that followed.

Finally, these events were important because of the central role people and communities played. According to Philip Deloria, a new kind of “playing Indian” was taking place among “hobbyists” in Cold War America, “one that, for the first time, actually seemed to require a significant number of real Indians.” Rather than uninhabited spaces, the tourism locations were connected with contemporary communities in these events. An appreciation for the communities involved was reflected in advertisements for the events. For example, a 1964 advertisement for the Puye Cliff ceremonial, after identifying the Puye Cliff Ruins as the “finest existing example of Pajaritan culture in the world,” explained, “The Santa Claras independently maintain and operate the Puye Cliff Ruins as well as colorful Santa Clara Canyon to the northwest.” Press coverage also acknowledged the communities behind these events. In John V. Young’s 1966 *New York Times* article, “New Mexico’s Indians Whoop It Up,” communities were discussed in the present as well as the past. Along with historical sketches of Nambe and Santa Clara, the article provided information on the current

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81 1964 Puye Cliff Ceremonial advertisement, Folder 1788, Box 10768, Subseries 7.5 Pueblos, Albert H. Schroeder Collection, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.
communities such as population figures. A 1959 article discussing the Indian Village at Hayward saw humor in the merger of past and present, writing

> In a model Indian village set up as a tourist attraction near Hayward (Sawyer county), visitors get an education in the ancient ways of life of the first Americans. The sharp eyed tourists sometimes chuckle, however, at the seemingly unavoidable way that anachronisms creep in. The Indians often use up to date touches in their villages, for they are, after all, living in Wisconsin today rather than 100 or more years ago. ... The crowning touch, however, is given by John Barber, or Black Hawk, who repairs a band with plastic spectacles clinging to his nose.

These discussions marked these communities as existing in the present rather than seeing them simply as relics of a “vanishing race.” This distinction was important to communities who had often been relegated to historical treatments of regions rather than dealt with as a continued presence.

Acknowledging contemporary American Indian communities in newspapers and advertisements allowed Anishinaabeg and Pueblos to assume their place as key players in regional tourism and as important presences in the state similar to the ethnic communities celebrated in regional festivals and theme towns. Larry Nesper pointed to an appreciation of community as a key motivation for Flambeau’s willingness to perform for outsiders. He argues,

> Flambeau people were willing to enact a white image of Indians in exchange for whites’ willingness to appreciate the condition that underlay the possibility of producing such an authentic fake: the presence of a complicated, local, and distinct culture and history.

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Press coverage emphasized the place of communities within their regions. In “Indian Dancers Thrill Tourists: Summer Rites Revive Past,” Eugene Roark writes,

Wisconsin is a leading ‘Indian state,’ with a high population of these first Americans living in five reservations, a brand new county, and in many communities scattered about the state. Most have adopted the white man’s ways, but in a number of places they capitalize on their cultural heritage by performing the tribal dances, and ceremonies that formed a significant part of Indian life.\textsuperscript{85}

By identifying Wisconsin as “an Indian state,” Roark reaffirms the political and cultural importance of American Indian communities to regional identity. However, it also is indicative of the tension between tribal and US citizenship present in the era. If Wisconsin was an “Indian state,” it connected the Ojibwe community to place but also suggested in the terms “first Americans” the incorporation of Ojibwe and other Native American communities into United States as ethnic communities. Similarly, the American Indian history and culture was a key distinguishing factor in the characterization of Hayward offered in the 1960/1961 Hayward lake area guide:

This is Hayward.
It is sparkling waters and singing wilderness.
It is a gay lady, a jolly fisherman and trophy fish.
It is Indian heritage, its song and dance, shared with the passer-by.
It is a row of bass, a jumble of flys and a prize rod adorning the raw, weather-beaten planking of a dock.
It is innocence, a child sharing crumbs with wildlife; each trusting the other.
It is magnitude and plenty traced in the growth rings of a skid of logs.
It is a bog of juicy cranberries combed by a conveyer to fill a niche in the market basket of the world. And the man said, ‘Hayward is nostalgia,’ Had the man observed further, he might have added, ‘Hayward is a way of life.’\textsuperscript{86}

The following year’s guide went even further announcing in bold print, “Chippewa is Synonymous with the Hayward Area” and promised “A Study in a Way of Life is a Bonus with a Hayward Lakes Area Vacation.”87 In these ways, American Indian communities claimed an important place in regional identities through these events. However, they are also steeped in the romanticization of ethnic festivals, and, in the same way the celebration of ethnicity was made “safe” for tourist consumers, these portrayals of “Indianness” in newspaper publications constitute a re-packaging of the lessons communities offered in events. By viewing them through the framework of ethnic tourism that was popular in the era, tourist consumers changed the message of events to one which both recognized the connections between Indian peoples and place but did so through a concept of shared American citizenship.

TRANSLATING TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

Furthering their role in regional tourism also played out in more material ways. It had effects for both the political and economic development of tribes. Staking out this continued role positioned communities both for playing a part in regional tourism development and for taking advantage of regional economic development programs sponsored by the federal government. Involvement in these policies could also become a testing ground for native-centered initiatives in conservation and resource management. In February 1950, for example, the Lac du Flambeau tribal council passed an ordinance to be included in their tribal constitution prohibiting any Indian from taking game fish

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from tribal waters during spawning season.\(^{88}\) Violation of this ordinance carried a penalty of labor for a period of no more than 30 days or a fine of between $5 and $50 as well as confiscation of one’s equipment. The ordinance, however, allowed tribal members of Lac du Flambeau, with a permit from the tribal council, to fish for “rough fish,” or those fish not associated with game fishing, for their personal use.\(^{89}\) In passing this ordinance, the tribal council saw through a conservation regulation that had been discussed and considered for several years.\(^{90}\)

This regulation evoked controversy when about fifty tribal members, led by Samuel Whitefeather, protested the ordinance, sending a copy of a petition signed by members of the Lac du Flambeau tribe to Senator Alexander Wiley, asking that he intervene to prevent the enforcement of these prohibitions. Claiming to speak for the tribe, the petition stated, “The Indians of this band will not accept this law.” Summing up its position, the petition stated, “We are against stopping the fishing rights on the reservation. It can’t be done without the Indians of this band at Lac du Flambeau Indian Reservation.”\(^{91}\) As communities dealt with conflicting ideas of resource management, the questions would inevitably have to be faced about whose ideas would dominate policies. The debate at Lac du Flambeau is indicative of the problems and competition policies would raise for community government.

\(^{88}\) Ordinance, signed by George Brown, Secretary, Lac du Flambeau tribal council, Feb. 17, 1950, included with letter from E.J. Riley, Acting General Superintendent to John H. Provinse, Assistant Commissioner, BIA, April 14, 1940, Folder 8872-48-Great Lakes-931, Box 67 - 35337-1944-850 - 4664-1943-934, Great Lakes Agency, Central Classified Files, 1940-1957, Entry 121, RG 75, NARA-DC.

\(^{89}\) Ibid.

\(^{90}\) Letter from J.C. Cavill, Supt. Great Lakes Indian Agency to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 5, 1948, Folder 8872-48-Great Lakes-931, Box 67 - 35337-1944-850 - 4664-1943-934, Great Lakes Agency, Central Classified Files, 1940-1957, Entry 121, RG 75, NARA-DC.

Politics also entered into tourism development in the era through involvement in federal government initiatives. Communities developed programs that made use of Office of Economic Opportunity funding and other programs associated with the War on Poverty in the mid- to late-1960s. In its proposal for the continuation of funding for a workshop training program in arts and crafts in the eight northern Pueblos, begun in 1967, the connection between the past and present was highlighted, and the project sought to employ local community experts to help artists adapt their techniques and designs to the demands of the current marketplace. The program also looked to establish local business, retail venues in each pueblo where artists could sell their work, and to help artists establish professional contacts and advertise their work. In February 1968, the eight governors of the northern Pueblos signed a letter pledging their support for the program. A letter written by Mike Padilla and signed by 26 Santa Clara Pueblos who identified themselves as having an interest in the Arts and Crafts program stated that people at Santa Clara were “skillful at crafts and enjoy this kind of work better than any other.”

Padilla also emphasizes how the craft industry allowed those at Santa Clara to maintain a connection to place and community several times in his letter. He wrote, “We think it would be better for us and for the community if we could develop our own work so that we can stay in this community, where we can live a better life than we could in a crowded city.” Later he added, “We love our homeland and thrive best when we are not

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92 Proposal for the Continuation of Workshop Training Program, Folder - Northern Pueblos Arts and Crafts Co-op, 1968, Box 3 - Records Concerning Legislative and Local Groups, 1936-1970, New Mexico Office of Indian Affairs Records and Research Materials, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.
forced to leave it to make a living.” Padilla expressed a confidence in the specific role Pueblos played in regional tourism development, writing, “Since our work is unique, we would not be competing with others for jobs but would be creating jobs for others.”

Cultural aspects of these programs were also critical and along with a means to make a living, Governor Querino Romero of Taos Pueblo discussed arts and crafts programs as a means of Taos Pueblos “keeping the traditional culture which is the symbol of their traditional way of life.”

At Taos Pueblo, the community and the Office of Economic Opportunity sponsored a Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC), providing jobs and training for Taos teenagers as well as a few from Picuris Pueblo. Tourism figured into the NYC at Taos, and the tribe employed youth to serve as guides for tourists visiting the pueblo. The community-centered nature of War on Poverty programs was an aspect celebrated in coverage of this program.

Youth Corps director Paul J. Bernal, tribal member and council interpreter, in commenting on the program, ascribes its success to the fact that it was initiated and planned by tribal leaders under the guidance of the tribal council and with the strong support of Taos Governor Teofilo Romero, and not developed and imposed from the outside. Assistance from other agencies was sought, he said, only in specific instances when the tribe itself could not develop necessary resources.

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94 Letter from Mike Padilla to Miss Carol Potter and Mr. James Hena, Dec. 14, 1967, Folder - Northern Pueblos Arts and Crafts Co-op, 1968, Box 3 - Records Concerning Legislative and Local Groups, 1936-1970, New Mexico Office of Indian Affairs Records and Research Materials, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.


96 “Taos Youth Corps A Great Success,” Indian Affairs: Newsletter of the Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc. No. 60 (September 1965), 5-6 in folder Association on American Indian Affairs, 1962-1969, Box 3 - Records Concerning Legislative and Local Groups, 1936-1970, New Mexico Office of Indian Affairs Records and Research Materials, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.

97 “Taos Youth Corps A Great Success,” Indian Affairs: Newsletter of the Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc. No. 60 (September 1965), 5 in folder Association on American Indian Affairs, 1962-1969,
Leaders of the era including Vine Deloria, Jr. celebrated the way in which programs placed communities at the center and displaced the authority of the BIA. He was quoted in a 1967 *New York Times* article.

When Indian tribes became eligible as sponsoring agencies themselves under the Indian desk in the Office of Economic opportunity other agencies who felt they had ‘cornered the market’ on Indian programs suddenly found themselves in competition with the Indian community action program. For the first time in many years these agencies had to become competitive to survive. No longer would an Indian be required to wait, hat in hand, outside an office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs or Public Health Service waiting for a few crumbs to fall his way. Instead, he could form his own programs and get funding through the OEO and begin to make real plans for progress for his people.  

Engagement in such programs both aided communities in promoting tourism development and also spoke to the tensions of tourism development in the era, as engaging with other branches of the federal government again spoke in significant ways to questions of American Indian nationhood and American citizenship. This is indicative of the lack of clarity that characterizes the tense political atmosphere of the termination era, when such questions were very much in flux.

CONCLUSION

Even as American Indian communities were written out of some of the most significant economic yields of tourism and facing intense political pressure, they were able to find ways to effectively integrate themselves into regional tourism economies. In constructing and promoting tourism events, communities were able to remain a part of

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Box 3 - Records Concerning Legislative and Local Groups, 1936-1970, New Mexico Office of Indian Affairs Records and Research Materials, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.  
the cognitive map of the regions in which they lived. The market for these events may have been less economically lucrative than that of lakefront cottages or ski resorts, but it was nonetheless important in preserving the place of American Indian communities in America. Even so, aligning themselves with ethnic and heritage tourism of the era had important implications for ideas of American Indian nationhood, ethnicity, and US citizenship. The tension revealed in promotional materials and their reception is indicative of the unclear position American Indian communities would continue to occupy in the decades that followed, one that would play out in important ways in subsequent activism.

The development of regional tourism events and sites had three main effects for the American Indian communities taking part. First, by developing attractions and participating in events, communities were exerting control over the way visitors entered communities and what they saw when they visited. Second, these events reaffirmed the importance of geographical spaces marked as American Indian places and emphasized their connections to communities. In doing so, they helped to shape the meanings of the locations and laid a foundation for future community-building and economic development. Third, these events connected American Indian tourism development with the rapidly expanding heritage tourism and celebrated the efforts of the communities behind these endeavors. In a period of heightened awareness of ethnicity, it cemented the place of these American Indian communities within regional cultures by placing them alongside ethnic groups who were claiming their place in regional identities. However, in doing so, it also cast these tourism efforts within a distinctly ethnic framework that
supported the political aspirations of some interest groups within American Indian communities while undermining the agendas of others.

Securing their place in regional economics and culture translated into the political realm in other ways as well. A new sense of conservation and preservation, one influenced by political activism and calls for sovereignty, guided American Indian tourism development and resource management in the decades to follow. Communities asserted their claims to self-determination through, among other things, exercising control over the use of tribal lands and, in some cases, changing the meaning and use of particular spaces. These activities showed how the ideas of conservation and preservation shaped political activism and tourism development. Such was seen in the case of Blue Lake, a space which Taos reclaimed from Carson National Forest, thus reclaiming what had been mis-labeled leisure space and defining it as a religious space and in the fishing rights struggles of northern Wisconsin. In each case, communities set aside the some of the most profitable options within tourism development in order to find a path that best suit communities’ multiple needs.
On July 15, 1970, the *New York Times* ran an article entitled, “Justice for the First Americans,” which offered an overview of the effects of federal Indian policy on American Indian communities and laid out President Nixon’s agenda with regard to American Indians. Summarizing what it identified as the main goals of Nixon’s policy plan, the *New York Times* wrote:

The conquest cannot be reversed, but the Indians can be helped to lift themselves from poverty, to improve their education and health, and corporately – tribe by tribe, band by band – to be masters of their own future destinies so they can retain or discard their ancient cultural heritage as they wish.¹

The article went on to highlight the symbolic importance of Nixon’s endorsement of the return of Blue Lake to Taos Pueblo, a subject that had evoked heated debates in the US Congress. A bill to return Blue Lake been repeatedly blocked in the Senate.² Six months after Nixon’s endorsement, the Senate passed the bill to return Blue Lake to Taos Pueblo. The return of the 48,000 acres of land to Taos was both the resolution of a decades-long struggle on the part of the pueblo and also an indication of an era of possibility in the midst of activism as witnessed on the national stage by high-profile events such as the occupation of Alcatraz Island and the increasing presence of the organization, the American Indian Movement.³ Taos’ success in securing not monetary compensation, which they had been previously offered and rejected, but rather the return of the lands of

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² Ibid.
Blue Lake themselves spoke to the issue of sovereignty, which had emerged to shape the political activism of the Red Power era.

The return of Blue Lake was a significant victory among many battles for control and justice that shaped the era. In northern Wisconsin in the early 1970s, another long-standing conflict was heating up, the conflict over fishing rights for Ojibwe. Just a few years after the Blue Lake decision, in March 1974, Fred and Mike Tribble were arrested for spearfishing on a lake near the Lac Courte Oreilles Reservation. The arrests led to a period of protests and legal battles that resulted in the Voight decision (1983) in which treaty-based off-reservation hunting, fishing, and gathering rights for Wisconsin Ojibwe were upheld. Like Blue Lake, the Voight decision was an important moment in a long-standing battle over resource rights for an American Indian community.

It may seem that Blue Lake and Wisconsin fishing rights are unlikely places to end a history of American Indian tourism labor in the twentieth century. In each case, tourism had been at the center of denials of American Indians’ rights to land and resources. In the case of Blue Lake, incorporation of the Blue Lake area into Carson National Forest in 1906 began a sixty-year-long battle by Taos to regain control of the area. Once it was part of a national forest, Blue Lake was opened to outsiders for fishing and hiking. This compounded the injustice of the seizing of the land for several reasons. First, alterations were made to the land in order to promote recreation in the area, thus changing the physical landscape that was so meaningful to Pueblos. Second, as visitors and recreationists traveled to Blue Lake it resulted in violations of privacy that impeded the Pueblos’ ability to use the land, which represented the core of Taos spirituality, for
As Taos fought for the return of the land over the decades, the importance of public recreational use of the area was cited as a reason not to return the land. When outside of the control of the pueblo, tourism was an obstacle that Taos Pueblo had to overcome and an impediment to their use of the lands.

In the case of Wisconsin fishing rights, tourism was at the center of controversies over Ojibwe treaty rights. Through various court decisions and repeated arrests and run-ins with Wisconsin conservations officials, Anishinaabeg fought battles to sustain their treaty rights to fish, hunt, and gather off-reservation throughout the twentieth century. Opponents of Ojibwe fishing rights argued that spearfishing would destroy Wisconsin tourism by depleting the fish supply in the state. Thus, outside regulation that focused on tourists’ needs limited Anishinaabe use of lakes and the natural resources of the area.

The interests of the tourism industry were cited in the cases of both Blue Lake and Ojibwe fishing as reasons to deny American Indian communities’ rights to land and resources. However, in the late decades of the twentieth century, communities were able to translate both of these issues back into community hands. I argue that the labor of American Indian communities and the efforts to exert control in tourism culminated in these communities gaining control of their own resources and being able to determine the use of tribal resources through their own systems of resource management. In both these cases, the resulting tribal resource management reflects the success of the claims to place made by communities during the course of the twentieth century.

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5 Ibid., 55.
In the cases of Blue Lake and of Wisconsin fishing rights, the connection between place and community identity proved critical in the recognition of American Indians’ rights. The ability to prove a long-term connection between the community and Blue Lake through an archaeological dig and its importance for Taos religion were important factors in prompting the return of the lands by Congress in December 1970. Establishing a connection between people and place and the centrality of space in tribal identity were key in Taos’ success in the Blue Lake issue.

In the case of Wisconsin, like Taos, factors of identity were at the center of community efforts to mobilize to protect treaty rights. Anthropologist Larry Nesper describes the activism during the 1970s and 1980s surrounding fishing rights as a form of “indigenous ethnonationalism” and connects spearfishing to community identity writing, “Hunting and fishing, especially at night, lay at the core of identity in this community.”

Lac du Flambeau tribal member Nick Hockings said of spearfishing, “It’s who we are. If you sever these webs that connect us to the earth whether it’s deer or whether it’s fish or whether it’s the timber or the gathering rights. If you sever these, you start losing the identity of who you are.” In a move that echoed Taos Pueblos’ having turned down the $10 million offered by the Indian Claims Commission to relinquish its claim to Blue Lake, the Lac du Flambeau band turned down $50 million in per capita payments, social programs, and economic development offered by the state of Wisconsin in 1989 in exchange for a ten-year suspension of spearfishing rights. As a community, control

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7 McCutchan., 77-78, 98.
over resources meant the ability to decide that some things were more important than cash, and the efforts of Pueblo and Ojibwe to retain a sense of identity, a political structure, and a connection to place created the situation in which these communities could make these decisions about the proper use of their resources and rights.

Tourism that paid attention to religion and tribal identity and offered a vision of conservation that took these factors into account represented the culmination of efforts to exert additional control over the shape of tourism and control over political rights and resource development more generally in these two communities. It is here where the Native American ethic of tourism that started to develop in the 1930s comes into full view through a distinct vision of conservation concerns and more successful resource management. In the end, it was not tourism but rather the power and determination of communities that made these goals attainable. However, the innovation and adaptation shown in the economic creativity of these communities is indicative of the determination they brought to these other matters, particularly rights to determine their own regulations for controlling their resources as part of a vision of sovereignty. The connections communities retained between people and place were critical in these victories and the economic adaptation seen in tourism is one part of this much larger story of innovation within battles for American Indian self-determination.

In preceding chapters, I have argued that tourism work and development offered one avenue by which American Indian communities reformulated their economic strategies to respond to changes in their economic, political, and cultural environments. Both the Ojibwe in Wisconsin and the Pueblos in New Mexico avoided forced migration to new regions in the 19th century. However, as the world around them changed, they
needed new ways to survive within changing homelands. By integrating aspects of key industries in the regions in which communities made their homes into their own economic strategies, communities were able to maintain connections to place that were important in their formulations of communities and identity.

Through innovation and adaptation, the northern Pueblos in New Mexico and Ojibwe in Wisconsin developed aspects of tourism in their communities that spoke to both their own histories of labor and the particular demands of the regional tourism markets in which they operated. Tourism work provided opportunities for various forms of work, such as wage labor, contract labor, and entrepreneurship, and the ability of communities to integrate work along these various lines shows the economic innovation that existed in American Indian communities throughout the United States. Participation in this work was not only critical to individuals and communities, but also is important in countering images of American Indian communities as unproductive. This development aided them as they adapted to a changing political landscape in the twentieth century as well. Relocation was just one in a series of federal policies that threatened American Indian communities and identities in the period. Allotment, assimilation, and termination likewise presented challenges that American Indian communities needed to confront in order to survive. The work performed in tourism shows strategies of economic adaptation and development that incorporated multiple factors – not only seeking strict material success but also attempting to respond to changing political climates and federal Indian policies in the work they performed. In the process of tourism development, communities developed distinct goals and aesthetics that shaped the work in which they
took part. In this, they made gradual changes that helped transfer economic development originally developed by outsiders to better meet communities needs.

These endeavors in tourism often came at a high price, and tourism work was not able to completely ward off the pressures for cultural transformation of assimilation policies or the economic hardships that came from dispossession and decreased access to natural resources. Moreover, tourism came with its own problems including a lack of privacy when tourists viewed American Indian communities as objects for their own entertainment and did not show respect to the people who called these places home. However, understanding the ways in which communities were able to use tourism work to maintain connections to place helps to illuminate why, in the face of all these negative qualities, American Indian individuals and communities chose to take part in the tourism industry, using it to the best of their ability to pursue their vision of their community’s future.

The importance of the work in the tourism industry in the first part of the twentieth century can also be seen in contemporary representations of American Indian cultures that are sponsored by tribal communities. These representations show a continuing connection between place and identity for American Indian communities. Walking into the George W. Brown Ojibwe Museum at Lac du Flambeau, which opened in 1989, the presence of the Great Lakes region is impossible to miss. At the center of the museum stands the Four Seasons exhibit, a 3-dimensional portrayal of the Ojibwe seasonal round. It illustrates how the Ojibwe progressed through the year, moving through their physical environment and making use of the resources of Wisconsin’s lakes and forests through their hunting, fishing, farming, harvesting, and gathering activities.
The museum highlights other parts of Anishinaabe culture and local history in its exhibits as well, with a great deal of attention being devoted to the history of the lumber industry and also an exhibit on the struggle for treaty fishing rights including a spearer’s helmet with an attached light for night fishing and a six-pack of Treaty Beer, developed as a fundraiser for local anti-treaty rights protesters.11

The exhibits that make up the George W. Brown Ojibwe Museum are part of a process of self-representation occurring in tribal museums and cultural centers in American Indian communities. There are over 200 tribal museums in the United States and Canada today.12 In her study, *Public Native America: Tribal Self-Representation in Museums, Powwows, and Casinos*, Mary Lawlor explores how, “In the process of emerging more prominently in US public life, Native Americans have not only broadcast their claims to political and cultural autonomy, but they have taken substantive control over the production of images and narratives of tribal pasts and contemporary experience in complex styles of tribal self-representations.”13 Such exhibitions, as is the case in all museum displays, are a limited view of American Indian communities’ history.14 It is hard to encapsulate the complexities of tribal histories into the sound bites that make up display cards, and the decisions about what to include and exclude from museums is certainly not immune from relations of power which may privilege the perspective of some members of the tribe over others.

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13 Ibid., 2; On the topic of Pueblos’ representations of themselves in tourism promotional materials, see Matthew J. Martinez, “Double Take: Tourism and Photography Endeavors among the Northern Pueblos of the Rio Grande,” (PhD diss.: University of Minnesota, 2008).
14 See Nesper, “Historical Ambivalence,” especially p. 4, 11, 12.
Even with these limitations in mind, it is possible to see the emergence of tribal museums as one more step in a process of the history of communities’ integration into tourism work and development. It may be seen as forward progress to the extent that community control over cultural content is possible. During the period of tourism work considered in my dissertation, controlling portrayals of Indianness in tourism was a difficult task, particularly when confronted with an advertising machine on the scale that was Fred Harvey and the Santa Fe Railroad. Contemporary publications such as *The Eight Northern Pueblos Visitors’ Guide*, produced since 1988, better shape the content of regional tourism marketing by allowing communities to control the imagery and information provided to tourists in their publications.\(^{15}\) The guide also provides free advertising space to tribal and tribal-member owned businesses, an important strategy to make sure that communities and community members are gaining as large a percentage of tourism revenue as possible. Along with this, the guide includes Pueblo artwork, again trying to ensure that communities reap the benefits of tourism development.\(^{16}\) Such efforts may be seen as the extension of earlier efforts to regulate the behavior of tourists visiting American Indian communities in ways that offered a distinct vision of tourism and help to work toward increased community control of both tourism revenue and tourism content.

The process of economic change and political and cultural battles discussed in the cases of tourism here continue to shape the concerns of American Indian communities. This history reveals both the challenges and the potential of economic development in American Indian communities. The stories of resource management discussed with

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\(^{15}\) Martinez, 11.

regard to tourism here have parallels in discussion of other areas of employment and
economic development that American Indian communities are undertaking, in areas
ranging from casinos to mineral industries to manufacturing. Adaptation and innovation
within a continually changing marketplace will continue to be the hallmarks of economic
successes, a success that is possible when such developments are able to be controlled in
directed in ways that best serve the cultural, political, and economic priorities of
American Indian communities.
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