COMMEMORATING INDIANA AT THE 1916 STATEHOOD CENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS: AN EXAMINATION OF THE MEMORY OF COLONIZATION AND ITS LINGERING EFFECTS ON THE INDIANA STATE PARK SYSTEM

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I have to first start by thanking my committee chair, Dr. Jennifer Guiliano. Her colloquium on United States history I took during my second semester at IUPUI helped open my mind to the full possibilities of what historians could do with their academic writing. This thesis was initially conceived as a simple biography of Richard Lieber, the Indiana conservationist, whom I had come across during my year-long internship at the Indiana State Archives. However, thanks to several books read in Dr. Guiliano's class, particularly James Joseph Buss' *Winning the West with Words: Language and Conquest in the Lower Great Lakes* (2011) and Kristin Hoganson's *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (2000), I realized that I could do more than write a biography. Instead, I could use the lens of one historical subfield to better understand another. I approached Dr. Guiliano after class one day and asked if the subject of this thesis was a fruitful area of study. With her encouragement, tough questions, and guidance every step of the way, this thesis yielded that fruit I desired. Without her support, this thesis would not have been possible.

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Indiana's state park system developed as a result of state centennial celebrations in 1916. Government officials created state parks as a permanent memorial that glorified the Hoosier pioneer spirit, which celebrated actions of white colonists as they confronted challenges of the new industrial twentieth century. However, this memorialization erased the Lenni Lenape, Miami, Potawatomi, and Shawnee tribes played in the state's history. This paper analyzes the Indiana statehood centennial celebrations as sites of erasure of Native American contributions to state and national history. It examines how Richard Lieber, the founder of the parks system, and others built the state park system to understand the ways individual state parks commemorated that Hoosier pioneer spirit at the expense of Native American voices. Turkey Run, McCormick's Creek, Clifty Falls, Indiana Dunes, Pokagon, Spring Mill, and Lincoln State Parks are critiqued in this analysis to illustrate how each park encompasses and presents the story of colonization.

Jennifer Guiliano, Ph.D., Chair

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Introduction

Indiana had undergone a dramatic shift by the time of its statehood centennial in 1916. What was once a predominantly agricultural state had become an industrial powerhouse. This economic change promised new challenges for the new century. Concerned citizens and government officials hoped to use the statehood centennial celebrations to assuage the anxiety brought about by these challenges. Centennial organizers sought to glorify the pioneer past to show how Hoosiers had overcome difficult challenges before. That glorification, it was hoped, would reinvigorate a Hoosier pioneer spirit, which citizens could use to tackle the new industrial century. These centennial celebrations gave direct rise to the state park system, which was created as a lasting memorial to Indiana's centennial. The state park system was thus explicitly created with the centennial's historical narrative in mind. In the spirit of the centennial, creators of Indiana's state park system looked to preserve Indiana lands to showcase the savage wilderness white colonists first encountered and use that land's conservation to further preserve the Hoosier pioneer spirit.

Ostensibly, the goal of the state's centennial celebration was to honor and commemorate the state's centennial. However, Indiana had 100 years of history as a state up to that point and many more years as a territory of various countries and tribal groups. It would have been impossible for the Indiana Historical Commission, the organizers of this centennial, to present all this history in a concise format which would entertain the public. The commission was forced to decide which history to honor and, in so doing, what narrative the centennial celebrations would present.

In the early 20th century Indiana, along with the rest of the United States, struggled with an influx of European immigration. To combat this, the United States sought to create a united

American identity, though this could be more accurately called a white American identity. What exactly did it mean to be an American, and how could the United States impress these American ideals on a rising immigrant population? These ideals were imparted through the creation of a historical narrative to be shared by all white Americans. This historical narrative was presented through centennial celebrations and exhibitions throughout the country, often focusing on how industrious white Europeans came to a wild untamed land seeking freedom and liberty. Through sheer ingenuity and hardy industrialism, these white Europeans were able to tame the savage land and thus introduce civilization to it.

Indiana was no different. To honor the history of the Hoosier state, the Indiana Historical Commission chose to focus principally on the early interactions between white European settlers and a savage Indiana wilderness. Inevitably, this brought colonists into contact with various Native American tribes which already lived in the territory. At some point early in the centennial narrative these Native Americans, often presented as a monolithic group, would vanish passively, relenting to the civilization brought by white colonists. Through their grit and ingenuity, these pioneering colonists were able to tame the savage wilderness and cultivate a flourishing civilization. These pioneer values were something that all Hoosiers could use to tackle the challenges of the new century. The centennial celebrations with their dramatic historical pageants were a perfect staging ground for this narrative and the values it espoused. However, the Indiana Historical Commission needed to create a permanent memorial to the centennial to keep its values alive in the minds of Hoosiers.

Richard Lieber would provide this memorial. Lieber was a German immigrant and was supremely interested in creating a space where Hoosiers of all kinds could be united in their state's history. Influenced by his experiences with Yosemite National Park, which got him

involved with the national conservation movement, Lieber had a strong desire to establish a state park system in Indiana. He believed that this system would provide the perfect staging ground for the centennial narrative, preserving some of Indiana's wilderness as a lasting monument to the spirit of the white pioneers. This state park system, in Lieber's mind, would provide a common ground for all Hoosiers to come and experience their shared history and the natural beauty of their state. Like the Indiana Historical Commission and the centennial celebrations they crafted, Lieber hoped that this shared history would help keep the pioneer spirit alive and prepare Hoosiers for the new century. Also like the earlier centennial celebrations, this common historical narrative was one whereby white settlers triumphed over a savage wilderness as part of a march of progress.

This was the central question guiding my research. "What role did Indiana's state park system play in continuing to perpetuate the myth of the frontier laid out by the state's centennial celebrations?" To answer this question, this thesis explores how white historical memory of Indiana's early nineteenth-century history was perpetuated by both the statehood centennial and the subsequent state park system. My thesis begins in 1915 with the formation of the Indiana Historical Commission and ends in 1933 with the resignation of Richard Lieber, the man responsible for the creation of the state park system and the first director of Indiana's Department of Conservation.

Chapter one focuses on the formation of the Indiana Historical Commission, responsible for overseeing the state's centennial celebrations. Here, I discuss why the commission sought to commemorate the centennial in the way they did and why the commission crafted the historical narrative which was presented through these celebrations. I show that the goal of the centennial was to craft a unified narrative of Indiana to develop a Hoosier identity, as well as instill pioneer

values on the public to help them better tackle the new industrial century. Understanding how the commission formed and how it crafted the centennial narrative is critical to understanding how the state park system developed from it. The chapter concludes with the struggle to find a way to permanently memorialize the state's centennial and thus provide a permanent stage for that narrative.

Chapter two focuses on the development of the national park system and how a frontier historical narrative manifested within it. This chapter explores the concept of a savage or, as many conservationists called it, a pristine wilderness. The national park system, in addition to memorializing the frontier, was a critical part of its later development. In order to create the national park system, United States government officials forced Native Americans off their land and conquered it in the name of environmental conservation. Thus the national park system serves as a wide look at how parks and the frontier interact. Richard Lieber was heavily influenced by the national park system in his quest to create an Indiana state park system. The chapter also focuses on Lieber's development as a conservationist. Understanding the national parks and the development of the frontier narrative within them is critical to understanding the link between Indiana's statehood centennial celebrations and the state park system.

Chapter three focuses on how the frontier historical narrative manifested itself within the state parks developed under Lieber's tenure. In this way, chapter three is a series of interwoven case studies. I specifically discuss Turkey Run, McCormick's Creek, Clifty Falls, Indiana Dunes, Pokagon, Spring Mill, and Lincoln State Parks. Turkey Run and McCormick's Creek were the first two state parks formed; moreover, the effort to create them ended in 1916. Their development happened in concert with the Indiana statehood centennial. These two parks thus provide an excellent way to view the incorporation of the frontier historical narrative into the

state park system. Clifty Falls and Indiana Dunes' preservations were undertaken principally as a way to conserve a pristine wilderness. Whereas chapter two showed how the pristine wilderness concept and frontier history coincided in the national parks, telling the story of these two state parks showcases that phenomenon within the Hoosier state. Pokagon provides an interesting wrinkle as the only state park which explicitly acknowledged Native American presence during the frontier era. This park's history offers a window into the role Native American historical memory played in the state park system. Spring Mill and Lincoln were the only state parks developed under Lieber's tenure for the sole reason that they were explicitly sites of human habitation, especially white colonial habitation. While both sites had their own unique environmental attractions, especially Donaldson Cave within Spring Mill, these parks' values laid almost exclusively in their historical importance. Taking all these parks together provides a complete picture of how the state park system worked to preserve the frontier historical narrative concocted by the statehood centennial celebrations.

The study of the impact of the frontier on American history and the historical impact of that frontier can be traced back Frederick Jackson Turner and his seminal essay "The Significance of the Frontier in American History."[1] This thesis was one of many works used to justify American imperialism. Turner's work exemplifies the thought Americans had about the significance of the frontier around the turn of the twentieth century. However, the historical memory of the frontier was on the minds of historians well before Turner's frontier thesis entered the mainstream of historical thought. Local county histories of Indiana had toyed with the legacy of the frontier. These histories often prominently featured the progress narrative which portrayed savage Native American tribes relenting to the spread of progress and civilization by

[1] Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1921; repr. Digireads.com Publishing, 2010).

white pioneers. Notable among these histories is Joseph Claybaugh's *History of Clinton County, Indiana*, written in 1886. This long, detailed history begins with a discussion about the possible origins of the ancient mound building culture and continues until the formation of Clinton County "brought civilization to the land."[2]

Around Indiana's centennial celebration, various historians tackled the historical memory of the frontier in an effort to push the dominant narrative of the Indiana Historical Commission. Notable among these works are Emma Helen Blair's 1911 book *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes* and George S. Cottman's book *Centennial History and Handbook of Indiana: The Story of the State from Its Beginning to the Close of the Civil War, and a General Survey of Progress to the Present Time*.[3] Blair's book is largely a collection of works by French colonists describing the Native Americans they encountered upon initial colonization. However, according to Richard White, who wrote the introduction for the book's 1996 edition, Blair heavily amended and edited these essays to push a Turnerian narrative.[4] Cottman's book was written in conjunction with the Indiana centennial and was thus highly influential to the Indiana Historical Commission. In presenting his account of the history of Indiana beginning with French colonization of the area, Cottman presents a similarly-Turnerian view of Indiana history.

In 1950, Henry Nash Smith, inspired by Frederick Jackson Turner, reexamined the historical memory of the frontier. In *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth*,

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[2] Joseph Claybaugh, *History of Clinton County, Indiana, Together with Sketches of its Cities, Villages and Towns, Education, Religious, Civil, Military, and Political History, Portraits of Prominent Persons, and Biographies of Representative Citizens* (Chicago: Inter-State Publishing Co., 1886).
[3] Emma Helen Blair, *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes*, rev. ed. (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1911; repr., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996); George S. Cottman, *Centennial History and Handbook of Indiana: The Story of the State from Its Beginning to the Close of the Civil War, and a General Survey of Progress to the Present Time* (Indianapolis: The Hollenbeck Press, 1915).
[4] Blair, *The Indian Tribes*, 1. This passage is part of Richard White's introduction.

Smith discusses the historical idea of the American west as a symbol of agrarian utopia.[5] Beginning with the Lewis and Clark expeditions and ending with a discussion of the impact of Turner's frontier thesis, Smith describes the appeal of the frontier to American culture and the evolving memory surrounding it. Smith's work has a much more idealized vision of this idea than later scholarship, notably Daniel R. Maher's 2016 book *Mythic Frontiers: Remembering, Forgetting, and Profiting with Cultural Heritage Tourism*. Here, Maher takes a less-romanticized look at the development of the historical memory of the frontier and places that memory in a public history context.[6]

Maher's study is especially useful in that he details the effect this frontier historical memory had on American tourism, a discussion incredibly pertinent to the national park story. *Mythic Frontiers* builds off Margueritte Shaffer's argument in her 2001 book *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940*.[7] Here, Shaffer argues that a combination of government officials, railroad companies, and travel agencies promoted tourism within America's national parks around the turn of the twentieth century to boost the creation of a national identity. The push to "see America first," i.e. visit American sites before European ones, was used to forge a sense of national unity, in much the same way as Indiana's state park system was used to further the Indiana statehood centennial celebration's similar push.

Benedict Anderson's landmark 1983 book *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* further explains this desire to create a national identity through the formation of an imagined and unified community. Here, Anderson discusses exactly

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[5] Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950; repr. 1970).
[6] Daniel R. Maher, *Mythic Frontiers: Remembering, Forgetting, and Profiting with Cultural Heritage Tourism* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2016).
[7] Marguerite Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001).

how communities form by developing shared historical narratives. He uses this specifically to discuss the spread of nationalism and the idea of the nation as an "imagined community."[8] Michael Kammen's 1991 book *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American*, a giant in the field of historical memory studies, represents a later look at this model of nation building through memory with a specifically-American lens. Kammen discusses the continuing evolution of ways that Americans, especially white Americans, have worked to preserve their cultural traditions. Notably, he discusses how this very act of preservation alters the memory of those cultural traditions.[9]

Two later books apply the arguments of Anderson and Kammen to white historical memory of Native Americans. These books, Philip J. Deloria's 1998 book *Playing Indian* and Shari Huhndorf's 2001 book *Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination* discuss how white portrayals and white memories of Native Americans helped shape the wider American culture.[10] Deloria deals specifically with how both Native American removal notions of Native Americans as a "noble savage" formed a critical part of white American cultural identity. Huhndorf builds on this argument, suggesting that white efforts to "go native" and adopt an idealized form of a generalized Native American culture were an attempt to "heal" white society. This is similar to Lieber's idea of the state park system acting as a common ground. Lieber envisioned this common ground and the historical narrative presented there as a way for visitors to "get back to their roots" and heal from their hectic daily lives. Both Huhndorf and Deloria provide an excellent overview of the ways whites have memorialized Native American

[8] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983, repr. 2006).
[9] Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991).
[10] Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Shari Huhndorf, *Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).

history and how that process of remembering has shaped white understandings and formation of a "unified history."

To focus specifically on Indiana as a frontier, there are two excellent books which build off each other. First is Richard White's seminal work *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*, written in 1991. Here, White revolutionizes the thinking surrounding the interactions between Native American and white colonists, describing how the Midwest was a melting pot of different cultural ideas. This cultural interaction in the "middle ground" of the Midwest would occasionally be peaceful when it was mutually beneficial to all parties involved. However, as that middle ground eroded due to increasing colonization of the region, this balance between the two cultural groups decayed, leading to violent conflict that later led to Native American removal.[11] James Buss picked up roughly where White left off. In Buss' 2011 book *Winning the West with Words: Language and Conquest in the Lower Great Lakes*, written in the same year as the 20th anniversary of White's book, Buss describes how white colonists conquered the Middle Ground after its erosion. Buss argues that language and an alteration of historical memory were the primary factors in forcing Native Americans to relinquish their claims to the land and in securing white colonization of it.[12] Buss ends his book with an epilogue discussing the role the centennial celebrations of Illinois, Ohio, and Indiana played in altering the historical memory of the Midwest frontier; my thesis picks up where Buss left off, discussing how this same process was continued through the state park system.

As discussed previously, Indiana's state park system was not the only park system attempting to provide a staging ground for a common historical narrative. This phenomenon

[11] Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
[12] James Joseph Buss, *Winning the West with Words: Language and Conquest in the Lower Great Lakes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011).

occurred nationwide, as mentioned in several related works of scholarship. Both John Miles' 1995 book, *Guardians of the Parks: A History of the National Parks and Conservation Association*, and Richard West Sellars' 1997 book, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History*, present a general overview of the national park system from its inception up to the late-twentieth century. Miles' book takes on a more general focus, discussing several key concepts in the history of the national park system.[13] Sellars' book, in contrast, focus much more heavily on the environmental history associated with the parks, detailing the approaches of park staff to preserving the ecology of these park lands.[14]

Recent scholarship has focused much more on controversy surrounding the national park system. Notable among these is Robert Keiter's 2013 book, *To Conserve Unimpaired: The Evolution of the National Park Idea*. Here, Keiter details how the idea of what a national park should be was forced to evolve in response to controversies throughout the park system's history.[15] While Keiter writes about controversies in general, there are three other books, written between 1998 and 2000, which deal specifically with the controversy of Native American history of the national park system. These three books are: *American Indians and National Parks*, written by Robert F. Keller and Michael F. Turek in 1998; Mark David Spence's 1999 book *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks*; and Philip Burnham's 2000 book *Indian Country, God's Country: Native Americans and the National Parks*. All three books deal with the same general scope, discussing how the national park

[13] John C. Miles, *Guardians of the Parks: A History of the National Parks and Conservation Association* (Washington, D.C.: Taylor and Francis, 1995).
[14] Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).
[15] Robert B. Keiter, *To Conserve Unimpaired: The Evolution of the National Park Idea* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2013).

system was only possible through removal of Native Americans from both the land itself and the historical memory of the lands.[16]

This thesis represents a unique look at a crucial moment in Indiana's environmental history. However, this thesis is not itself an environmental history. It is more concerned with understanding the attempts to create a unified Hoosier community through environmental conservation than it is with understanding the mechanisms of that conservation. In this way, my thesis hopes to offer an alternative look at the creation of the state park system. The dominant narrative is that the state parks were created primarily to preserve the Hoosier environment. While this is true, this is only a part of the picture. To fully understand the state park story and its role within the conservationist movement in and around Indiana's progressive era, it is important to understand how it developed from the statehood centennial. This thesis aims to explore the implications of that development, and the impact of the centennial narrative on the state park system's development.

[16] Robert F. Keller and Michael F. Turek, *American Indians and National Parks* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1998); Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Philip Burnham, *Indian Country, God's Country: Native Americans and the National Parks* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2000).

Chapter 1: The Turnerian Centennial

At the turn of the twentieth century, Americans were experiencing rapid social and economic change. The country, founded as an agrarian society, was transitioning to an urban industrial economy. Because of this change, Americans writ large looked nostalgically on their colonial past. Progress was venerated, but Americans felt that there was something lost because of it. This was the primary impetus for the historic preservation movement in the early-twentieth century.[1] In the Midwestern states of Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, this not only manifested as a desire to preserve historic sites but to honor their frontier past through statehood centennial celebrations.[2] The state's 1916 centennial celebrations provided an opportunity to celebrate the colonial past and the Hoosier pioneer spirit that, it was believed, made the industrialized Indiana possible. These celebrations touted a narrative of rugged individualism forged by the colonial experience that made the state and indeed the entire American experience possible. Colloquially termed, "American progress", the pioneer spirit was key to the development of American exceptionalism.

Frederick Jackson Turner, a professor of history from the University of Wisconsin, made this connection famous in his foundational essay "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." Presented at a meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago on July 12, 1893, Turner argued that "American history has been in a large degree the history of the colonization of the Great West. The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development."[3] Turner

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[1] Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 261-262.
[2] James Joseph Buss, *Winning the West with Words: Language and Conquest in the Lower Great Lakes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011), 212.
[3] Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1921; repr. Digireads.com Publishing, 2010), 7.

defined the frontier as a thin line that was "the meeting point between savagery and civilization."[4] The first European colonists came to this frontier with their old customs but quickly found that they needed to adapt to survive in this wilderness. To Turner, the environment was a factor in decivilizing the colonists. In his argument, European colonists had to adopt Native farming techniques, Native clothing customs, and Native military strategies to tame that wilderness. Turner believed that colonists transformed the wilderness into civilization resulting not in the recreation of old European society but rather "a new product that is American."[5] In effect, Turner believed that combining Native American survival strategies with European ingenuity created a wholly new American character which tamed the frontier and caused civilization to flourish.

Turner portrayed Native Americans as without the uniquely European capacity for civilization. By "going native," as historian Shari Huhndorf called it, Turner believed white colonists could overcome the wilderness which kept Native American society from advancing. In this way, European colonists proved their superiority over Native Americans and became the rightful claimants to the land.[6] This was a key step, Turner believed, in the development of a uniquely American cultural character, one which valued a rugged individualism. Understanding the process of this development helped Turner make the case for American imperialism and an ever-expanding frontier. The further west American colonists spread, the more these colonists grew independent of their European origins and the more American they became. Through conquest and the taming of the wilderness, these colonists developed that uniquely American character. Of course, to Turner, this cultural character was only possessed by the white

[4] Turner, "Significance of the Frontier," 8.
[5] Turner, "Significance of the Frontier," 8.
[6] Shari M. Huhndorf, *Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2001), 56.

masculine upper classes. Native Americans were simply another obstacle to overcome, no different than wolves, bears, dense forests, or rough rivers. According to Turner, overcoming all these obstacles proved the ingenuity and resourcefulness of these white American colonists; further development of that white upper-class American character depended upon expanding the frontier.[7]

Turner created this narrative to further argue for American imperialism. As the lines of civilization converged and the American frontier closed in the late-nineteenth century, Turner feared that the country would lose its Americanness. Without a frontier to settle, how would the country Americanize immigrants? Would the country have to confront problems similar to those plaguing Europe, particularly the rampant class conflict? The transition from an agrarian society built on Jeffersonian ideals to an urban economy increasingly dominated by European ideals terrified Turner. Using his thesis to craft an historical narrative whereby the American cultural character had been shaped by the frontier experience, Turner hoped to encourage further American imperialism which would create new frontiers to further maintain that Americanness.[8]

Turner's frontier thesis dominated historiography of the Midwest, especially leading into the centennial celebrations of the Midwestern states.[9] Hoosier historians flocked to Turner's

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[7] Turner, "Significance of the Frontier," 8-9; 15.

[8] Lacy K. Ford, Jr., "Frontier Democracy: The Turner Thesis Revisited," *Journal of the Early Republic* 13, no. 2 (1993), 146.

[9] Two of the most popular Indiana history books leading into the centennial were Julia Henderson Levering's *Historic Indiana: Being Chapters in the Story of the Hoosier State from the Romantic Period of Foreign Exploration and Dominion through Pioneer Days, Stirring War Times, and Periods of Peaceful Progress, to the Present Time* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909) and George S. Cottman's *Centennial History and Handbook of Indiana: The Story of the State from its Beginning to the Close of the Civil War, and a General Survey of Progress to the Present Time* (Indianapolis: Max R. Hyman, 1915). In a bulletin published in February 1916, Logan Esarey, professor of western history at Indiana University, listed several other books which those outside the collegiate classroom might read in order to obtain a better understanding of Indiana history, all of which were built on a Turnerian model of history. Esarey specifically mentioned: William M. Cockrum, *Pioneer History of Indiana* (Oakland City, Indiana: Cockrum, 1907) and Logan Esarey, *History of Indiana from its Exploration to 1850* (Indianapolis: Stewart, 1915). Also popular were: Oscar H. Williams, *History of Indiana* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1916); Aleck Davis, *Centennial History of Indiana* (John W. Kitch, 1916); and Hubert M. Skinner, *Centennial History of Indiana for Schools and for Teachers' Institutes* (Boston: Atkinson, Mentzer, and Company, 1916).

speech at the Claypool Hotel in Indianapolis, where the 1910 meeting of the American Historical Association was held.[10] Hoosier historians attending believed that their state was not ready to celebrate the centennial and thus looked to Turner to ground their planning activities.[11] John Franklin Jameson, from the Carnegie Institution in Washington, D.C., laid bare these concerns at a meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, held in parallel with the American Historical Association's meeting. "It would be hard," he said, "to find any place in the civilized world with equal population which has done so little to make its history known as Indiana, Ohio, and Kentucky." The people of these states, he went on, should lobby their state governments to do more for their state's history.[12] Governments, in Jameson's mind, were the ultimate arbiters of history.

Indiana was not the first midwestern state to celebrate its statehood centennial. Ohio, Indiana's neighbor to the East, planned centennial celebrations and memorials that would have a profound impact on how Indiana envisioned its celebration. Ohio Governor George Nash wanted to differentiate Ohio's centennial celebrations from the United States centennial which occurred a quarter century earlier.[13] The bulk of the United States' 1876 national centennial celebration took place at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia from May 10 to November 10 of that year.[14] Thousands poured into the city to experience the carnival-like atmosphere of the exhibition, buying souvenirs, staying in hastily-built hotels, and viewing buildings containing examples of American history and industrial ingenuity. Communities throughout the United

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Skinner's book is notable for its claim that there were literally no people living in Indiana prior to white colonization.

[10] "Sees Nation Aided by Industrial War: Historical Society Head Compares Capital and Labor Contest to Reconstruction Era," *The Indianapolis Star* , Dec 29, 1910.

[11] "Historians Vote for Celebration," *Indianapolis News*, Dec. 28, 1910.

[12] "Historians Vote for Celebration," Dec. 28, 1910.

[13] Buss, *Winning the West with Words*, 212-213.

[14] Linda P. Gross and Theresa R. Snyder, *Philadelphia's 1876 Centennial Exhibition* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2005), 1.

States held their own celebrations.[15] Indianapolis held a large parade featuring floats based on scenes from American history, notably the story of Pocahontas, the arrival of the Puritans in New England, and the American Revolution.[16] A float depicting a band of "warrior Indians" dancing around a "pale-faced captive" was one key moment.[17] The parade served as a memorial to the view that Native Americans were violent impediments to societal progress, literally keeping the pioneers who brought civilization hostage.

Instead of bombastic parades and a carnival atmosphere, Ohio's centennial featured speeches from leading citizens on topics as varied as Ohio political history: the signing of the first constitution; Ohio's first governor, Edward Tiffin; conflict between various European powers in the region; and general social history. Speeches rarely mentioned the Native American history of Ohio.[18]. The celebration officially commenced on May 20, 1903 after planning by a seven-citizen Centennial Commission, which partnered with the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society to organize the celebrations.[19] Speeches showcased Native Americans, Indians in their terminology, "as foils, used to demonstrate the prowess of American military leaders."[20] Speakers fully acknowledged that Indians lived in the region prior to white colonization. The

[15] Walter Nugent, "The American People and the Centennial of 1876," *Indiana Magazine of History* 75, no. 1 (1979): 58-60.
[16] Nugent, "The American People and the Centennial of 1876," 60-63.
[17] "Centennial Fourth: The Way We Celebrated It," *Indianapolis News*, July 5, 1876.
[18] Native American tribal borders rarely aligned with state boundaries; in fact, those state boundaries themselves are inventions of colonization. When historians talk about Native American history of a specific Midwestern state, they often use regional boundaries as a general guideline. Thus when I talk about Native American history of Ohio and Indiana, I am focusing on tribes which lived in the lower Great Lakes region circa the turn of the nineteenth century. These were the Seneca, Lenni Lenape, Wyandot, Shawnee, Miami, Wea, Kickapoo, Ojibwa, Odawa, and Potawatomi. With Indiana specifically, I mostly focus on the Miami, Lenni Lenape, and Potawatomi. Tribal information taken from: *Contested Territories: Native Americans and Non-Natives in the Lower Great Lakes: 1700-1850*, ed. Charles Beatty-Medina and Melissa Rinehard (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2012), 1.
[19] Buss, *Winning the West with Words*, 212-213.
[20] Buss, *Winning the West with Words*, 213.

speakers though still deemed the region "wholly unsettled."[21] Indians "lived in a perpetual state of primitive barbarism before Americans arrived."[22] Settlers had to introduce civilization to the region. J. Warren Keifer, chairman of Ohio's centennial commission spoke to this sentiment:

> "Here, on these grounds, have been enacted the barbaric scenes incident to wild savage existence. Here…the earliest western pioneers, who as advance agents of a coming civilization, fought, and some of them, in captivity, ran the gauntlet….Here, many of that worthy and heroic class met and planted a settlement."[23]

To Keifer and other speakers, humanity naturally evolved from savagery to civilization. Under this view, early Ohio pioneers were just precursors to the later wave of conquest that would ultimately lead to disappearance of Native peoples. The speakers at Ohio's statehood centennial defined civilization and savagery along the lines of western thought and in directly contradictory terms. All white men on the upper end of the economic scale, civilization was only recognized when Euro-American patriarchal gender roles were present.[24] These traditional gender roles defined women as homemakers subservient to their laboring husbands. To late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century historians like those who spoke during Ohio's statehood centennial celebrations, "the highest form of civilization," which white colonists were deemed to possess, "was defined by settled patterns of living, Western gender roles and sexual patterns that were confined to patriarchal and monogamous family unites, commercial agriculture, and a system of education that ensured each individual worked at a specific task or occupation to guarantee the

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[21] Judson Harmon, "The History of the Northwest Territory to the Marietta Settlement," in *Ohio Centennial Anniversary Celebration at Chillicothe, May 20-21, 1903, Under the Auspices of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society: Complete Proceedings*, ed. E. O. Randall (Columbus: Press of Fred J. Heer, 1903), 61. 59-70
[22] Buss, *Winning the West with Words*, 213.
[23] J. Warren Kiefer, "Centennial Celebration of Ohio's Admission into the Union," in *Ohio Centennial Anniversary Celebration at Chillicothe, May 20-21, 1903 Under the Auspices of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society: Complete Proceedings*, ed. E. O. Randall (Columbus: Press of Fred J. Heer, 1903), 50.
[24] Gregory D. Smithers, "The 'Pursuits of the Civilized Man': Race and the Meaning of Civilization in the United States and Australia, 1790s-1850s," *Journal of World History* 20, no. 2 (2009): 249.

happiness of all in society."[25] Any society which was not organized with these gender roles in mind was deemed savage and barbaric. To these speakers, it was inevitable that these more primitive societies would relent to the spread of the more civilized ones. Since they saw this colonization as the natural course of historical development, historians and the speakers at Ohio's statehood centennial absolved themselves of the consequences of colonization.

Archibald Mayo, former member of the Ohio State Legislature, claimed that the Battle of Fallen Timbers (1794) was the end of Native American presence in Ohio.[26] Most speakers though used the War of 1812 (1812-1816) as that dividing line.[27] This was not an uncommon distinction in the Midwest. Claiming that the War of 1812 presented an abrupt turn in the history of the Midwest served to justify white colonization of the region by portraying Native Americans as passively leaving the country after their defeat. Military defeat supposedly forced Natives to realize that white colonists were the true masters of the land. Westward migration of the Native population was inevitable.[28] By combining military defeat with the notion of Natives as savages making way for civilization, speakers at Ohio's centennial celebrations reflected the Turnerian idea, expressed in his thesis, that conquest of the Midwest was a simple tale of progress. Indiana would take these lessons to heart when it planned its own centennial in 1916. Hoosier government officials wanted to surpass both the national and Ohio centennial celebrations by crafting celebrations to occur in every corner of the state.[29]

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[25] Smithers, "The Pursuits of the 'Civilized Man,'" 249.
[26] Archibald Mayo, "Unveiling of a Medallion to Governor Edward Tiffin," in *Ohio Centennial Anniversary Celebration at Chillicothe, May 20-21, 1903 Under the Auspices of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society: Complete Proceedings*, ed. E. O. Randall (Columbus: Press of Fred J. Heer, 1903), 29. The Battle of Fallen Timbers was the culmination of the Northwest Indian Wars in which Native Americans fought to prevent white colonists from encroaching upon their territory. The Native combatants were an alliance called the Western Indian Confederacy, primarily made up of representatives from the Shawnee, Miami, and Lenni Lenape tribes. Information taken from: Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 224-225.
[27] Buss, *Winning the West with Words*, 214.
[28] Buss, *Winning the West with Words*, 206-207.
[29] Buss, *Winning the West with Words*, 215.

Local communities began to organize centennial festivities in 1910. Wayne County and its county seat, Richmond, held its centennial celebration on October 7, 1910. It started with an elaborate parade and culminated with speeches by Indiana government officials, including Governor Thomas Marshall. Speeches focused on the progress Wayne County had made in relation to the state.[30] Beginning with a description of the first Quaker settlement in the region, speeches detailed how would-be settlers sailed up the Miami River and found an empty land on which to erect their home.[31] This historical fallacy, in which Native Americans were never present, was used to absolve white attendees at the celebration of any guilt over colonization. They triumphed over nature, rather than outright conquest of Native peoples.

However, the fact remained that, despite these assertions, Native Americans were present on the land during colonization. In fact, at the time of the celebration, some Natives peoples, especially the Miami, had managed to avoid removal from the state of Indiana through Congressional exemptions. A centennial celebration in Roanoke, Indiana recognized this when they held a 100th birthday celebration for a Miami woman, Kiilhsoohkwa.[32] She was one of several Miami able to successfully resist colonization and remain in Indiana. On May 1, 1850, the United States Congress "passed a joint resolution extending exemption from removal from Indiana to 12 Miami who held treaty reserves in Indiana and their descendants….The Miami families of Pierre Langlois and Anthony Rivarre were also allowed to stay, although they had never left the state."[33] Anthony Rivarre was Kiilhsoohkwa' son, the great-grandchild of Miami Chief Mihšihkinaahkwa, more often called Chief Little Turtle. Kiilhsoohkwa, spelled Kil-squa-

[30] "Sunshine Brings Real Opening of the Fall Festival," *Richmond Item* (Richmond, IN), Oct. 7, 1910.
[31] "Richmond Observes the Centennial Anniversary Today," *Richmond Item* (Richmond, IN), Oct. 7, 1910.
[32] "Roanoke to Honor a Miami Princess," *Indianapolis News*, June 4, 1910.
[33] Stewart Rafert, *The Miami Indians of Indiana: A Persistent People, 1654-1994* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1996), 124.

ah by centennial celebrants, turned 100 years-old on May 25, 1910.[34] The July 4th celebration was one of the few recognitions in early twentieth century Indiana that Native Americans were not completely gone from the state. Kiilhsoohkwa was spared from removal through the exemption of her son. She lived in a small reserve in Roanoke for more than 75 years. In contrast to Wayne County's early centennial celebration, the town of Roanoke decided to throw a birthday party for Kiilsoohkwa as a way to commemorate the town's colonial legacy.

Ostensibly this centennial birthday session in Roanoke, Indiana was held to honor Kiilhsoohkwa; in reality, it was meant to further paint white colonists as the rightful rulers of this unsettled land. An Indiana newspaper article boasted of the forced assimilation into white culture Miami celebrants would display.[35] By the turn of the twentieth century white American narratives, according to historian Philip Deloria, characterized Native Americans as having "missed out on modernity."[36] Indiana newspapers talked excitedly about the blue-and-red dress Kiilhsoohkwa would wear, the automobiles in which other Miami celebrants would arrive, and the singing of "modern songs instead of war whoops," almost taking delight in the perceived absurdity of the situation.[37] Keeping Deloria's point in mind, it is clear that this evidence that Native Americans were engaging with artifacts of modern life. Rather than ignoring it, celebrants treated these moments as a humorous anomaly. After chuckling at the notion of modernized Indians, *The Indianapolis News* spoke glowingly of the speeches Indiana government officials were likely to give at the celebration. These would "explain to [Kiilhsoohkwa] in an eloquent way how by means of various treaties the noble white man took from the equally noble Miamis

[34] "Roanoke to Honor a Miami Princess," *Indianapolis News*, June 4, 1910.
[35] "Roanoke to Honor a Miami Princess," *Indianapolis News*, June 4, 1910.
[36] Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004), 6.
[37] "A Gala Day at Roanoke," *Fairmount News* (Fairmount, Indiana), July 12, 1910; "Roanoke to Honor a Miami Princess," June 4, 1910.

6,853,000 acres of fine land."[38] The newspaper implied that the majority-white speakers were more knowledgeable and better-equipped to discuss removal than a woman who had personally experienced it. By pointing to Kiilhsoohkwa, an elderly woman, organizers could note her as a soon-to-vanish relic of a bygone age. Organizers could claim that the business of colonization was finished. Indiana had been wholly civilized before its centennial year.

These 1910 celebrations served as models for Indiana's statehood centennial celebrations in 1916. One of the first major issues facing those responsible for the initial planning of the 1916 statehood centennial was memorialization. Governor Thomas R. Marshall told *The Indianapolis News* that he believed "the state should mark the event in some substantial way, not depending on fireworks and frivolity as the method. [I] would like to see a needed building erected as a monument."[39] In his annual message to the Indiana General Assembly, Marshall said that the proper centennial celebration would involve "the erection of a permanent monument in the shape of a public building rather than by some temporary celebration which will leave no trace at its conclusion." He recommended the General Assembly form a commission to study this issue and report back to the next General Assembly, which would meet in 1913.[40]

On January 24, 1911, Representative P. H. Veach of Clay County introduced a House Bill No. 296, referred to the Committee on Public Libraries, which would fulfill the governor's recommendations.[41] The bill was tabled when brought before the entire General Assembly on February 13, 1911, largely due to fiscal concerns raised by the Democratic majority.[42] Instead a

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[38] "Roanoke to Honor a Miami Princess," June 4, 1910.
[39] "Plaza That Would be a Public Beauty Spot is Suggested by Coming of State's Centennial and the Overcrowded Condition of the Capitol," *Indianapolis News*, Oct. 29, 1910.
[40] "The Governor's Terse Message: Recommendations to the Indiana General Assembly," *Muncie Evening Press*, Jan. 5, 1911.
[41] *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Indiana During the Sixty-Seventh Session of the General Assembly, Commencing Thursday, January 5, 1911* (Indianapolis: William B. Burford Printing, 1911), 549.
[42] *Journal of the House, 1911*, 1021.

similar bill, Senate Bill No. 228, proposed by State Senator Evan B. Stotsenburg, who represented Floyd and Harrison Counties and was the president pro tempore, was passed on March 1, 1911.[43] Stotsenburg's bill created the Indiana Centennial Commission, responsible for studying the issue of constructing a new state library and museum as a permanent memorial to the centennial. The commission consisted of five members. This attempt to create a library took the form of a bill passed by the state government rather than a grassroots effort form the general public. In this way, the state attempted to control the centennial narrative by assuring its Commission represented its own interests.

The commission held eleven meetings at the Indiana State House between the commission's creation and the publication of its findings report on February 3, 1913. Section 8 of Stotsenburg's bill "required the Commission to consult with the Board of Park Commissioners of the City of Indianapolis and the Board of Commissioners of Marion County as to the purchase of real estate for the site for the proposed educational building."[44] The plan was to construct the building to the west of the State House, near Military Park, but the funds necessary to make this possible were not available. The city of Indianapolis demanded too high a price for the land. Eager to find a replacement site, the commission then looked at various vacant lots in the city. Owners of these lots wanted far too much money; in the case of the first lot the commission looked at, the owners charged almost a million dollars for a lot worth half that price. Price gouging, along with space concerns, forced the commission to select a site on the north side of the State House, near Ohio Street.[45]

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[43] *Journal of the Indiana State Senate During the Sixty-Seventh Session of the General Assembly, Commencing Thursday, January 5, 1911* (Indianapolis: William B. Burford Publishing, 1911), 550; 1557.
[44] *Report of the Indiana Centennial Commission*, 2.
[45] *Report of the Indiana Centennial Commission*, 2-3; "Dedication Dec. 7," *The Daily Banner* (Greencastle, Indiana), Nov. 1, 1934.While this is the modern location of the state library, no action was taken on construction before the centennial. The state library was not constructed until 1934

Governor Marshall's successor, Governor Samuel Ralston, continued the push for centennial celebrations and a memorial building. A referendum was placed on the ballot for November 1914 to allow Hoosier citizens "to decide whether an appropriation of $2,000,000 for the building, an historical pageant to celebrate the occasion" should be made.[46] Hoosiers voted overwhelmingly against that referendum: 466,700 voted no, and 97,718 voted yes.[47] This defeat at the ballot box did not deter Ralston. He believed that the reason the centennial referendum failed was not because Hoosiers were opposed to any celebration. Instead, Hoosiers were frugal and scared of the hefty price tag.[48] In his annual address to the General Assembly, Ralston offered another, cheaper option by proposing the formation of an apolitical and non-salaried centennial commission, consisting of nine gubernatorially-appointed members. The commission would be authorized to organize a public centennial celebration in any way its members deemed appropriate.[49] The celebration, as Ralston envisioned, would not be elaborate but would instead be a dignified commemoration of Indiana's history. To aid in the task of planning this centennial, a significant portion of the $20,000 appropriated for the commission would go towards historical research and preservation of historical documents.[50]

Ralston's push for a centennial celebration was not a vanity exercise. He hoped the celebrations would foster a unified Hoosier identity:

> I would feel that as Governor I was lacking in patriotism, if I did not favor the celebration by our people of their state's hundredth anniversary. The fine spirit such an event would kindle and rekindle among the people would be worth many times more than it would cost. And after all, the real character of the state, representing though it does equality and brotherhood, depends upon the ideals of the people and their equipment for life. No matter how strongly the ship at sea be constructed, sooner or later she will be dashed to pieces on the rocks in her

[46] "Latest Telegraphic Flashes: Indianapolis," *Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, Mar. 29, 1914.
[47] *Fort Wayne Sentinel*, Nov. 23, 1914.
[48] *Journal of the Indiana State Senate During the Sixty-Ninth Session of the General Assembly, Commencing Thursday, January 7, 1915*, (Indianapolis: William B. Burford Printing, 1915), 47.
[49] *Journal of the Indiana State Senate* (1915), 47.
[50] *Journal of the Indiana State Senate* (1915), 47.

> voyage, if her crew be not qualified for their duty and alert in guiding her course. Would not such a celebration move our citizenship to take a keener interest in our state's development, and a deeper pride in her destiny?[51]

Ralston was motivated by anxieties over the country's rural-to-urban transition, the same anxieties which plagued many Hoosiers and caused them to look nostalgically on the past.[52] In his view, a statehood centennial celebration would help alleviate that anxiety and encourage Hoosiers to bravely face a new industrial future, just as the pioneers had done just over a century ago. The industrial era in Indiana saw a steady increase in the state's population. From 1880 to 1920, the state's population grew by approximately 50 percent from almost two million in 1880 to almost three million in 1920. Most striking though was the difference between rural and urban populations. In 1880, 80 percent of Hoosiers lived in a rural environment; by 1920, less than 50 percent called the country home.[53] Further, this increase in population was not evenly spread throughout the state. Northern Indiana's population, the state's industrial hub, grew at a far more rapid rate than the rural south. This disparity threatened to create two distinct Indianas, each motivated by different concerns.[54] By advocating for a centennial celebration to honor Indiana's frontier past, Ralston hoped to foster a unified Hoosier identity for the newer industrial era based on values of the pioneer past which made the new industrial state possible.

The General Assembly did not ignore Ralston's desires for a new centennial commission. On January 25, 1915 State Senator William A. Yarling, representing Johnson and Shelby Counties, introduced Senate Bill No. 128.[55] Under the bill's provisions, $25,000 were

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[51] *Journal of the Indiana State Senate* (1915), 48.
[52] Suellen M. Hoy, "Governor Samuel M. Ralston and Indiana's Centennial Celebration," *Indiana Magazine of History* 71, no. 3 (1975): 246.
[53] Clifton J. Phillips, *Indiana in Transition: The Emergence of an Industrial Commonwealth, 1880-1920* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society Press, 1968; repr. 2016), 363-364.
[54] Phillips, *Indiana in Transition*, 363-364.
[55] *Journal of the Indiana State Senate* (1915), 178.

appropriated for commission use until January 1, 1917 to aid in planning the centennial celebrations. The commission would consist of the governor, director of Indiana University's Indiana historical survey, the director of archives and history at the Indiana State Library, and six addition committee members subject to gubernatorial appointment.[56] Governor Ralston signed Yarling's bill into law on March 8, 1915.[57]

On April 16, Ralston announced the appointments to the commission. These were the people largely responsible for organizing the centennial celebrations throughout the state and organizing historical material related to that centennial. Ralston himself served as president of the commission. The other eight were: Charity Dye, a former teacher at Shortridge High School; Samuel M. Foster, a banker from Fort Wayne; James A. Woodburn, director of Indiana University's Indiana Historical Survey; Reverend John Cavanaugh, president of the University of Notre Dame; Lew M. O'Bannon, a newspaper publisher from Corydon; Dr. Frank B. Wynn, a physician from Indianapolis; Charles W. Moores, a lawyer from Indianapolis who published several biographies of Abraham Lincoln; and Harlow Lindley, head of the history department at Earlham College and director of the Department of Indiana History and Archives at the State Library. Wynn served as vice-president of the commission, and Linley as the secretary. All nine of the commission members were heavily invested in preparing for those celebrations.[58] James Woodburn, for instance, had published a 1912 article in the *Indiana Magazine of History* that outlined ideas for a hypothetical 1916 celebration. Mostly an advocacy statement for a new state library as a memorial to the centennial, Woodburn outlined how Hoosier patriotism and unity would be fostered by a centennial celebration honoring the state's history. He focused on

[56] "Gary Bill Amended," *Indianapolis News*, Jan. 26, 1915.
[57] "Last Session Sixty-Ninth Legislature," *Muncie Evening Press*, Mar. 8, 1915.
[58] "Centennial Body Named by Ralston," *Indianapolis Star*, Apr. 17, 1915.

honoring the memory of "the Pilgrim Fathers and Mothers of the West, men and women of the spirit of venture and conquest, who came to this western world nearly a century ago."[59] In this narrative white people, specifically middle-class Protestant families with English ancestry, were the default Hoosiers.

Aligning the chronology of Indiana history with the date of white settlement was not unique to Indiana's centennial narrative. The World's Columbian Exposition, held in Chicago in 1893 to commemorate the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus' "discovery" of the "New World," had a similar interpretation. The exposition featured a multitude of exhibits meant to show the the nation since Columbus' landing. Each of the then-44 states constructed their own pavilion in the "White City".[60] Indiana's pavilion located in an impressive building constructed from Bedford limestone was relatively sparse due to a lack of a budget. Visitors could see examples of artwork from Hoosier artists and read Indiana newspapers, but there was little attempt to display a historical narrative of the state at the pavilion itself. The Indiana State Building was mostly intended to show off Hoosier building techniques and provide a rest area for Hoosier fairgoers.[61] Most of Indiana's contributions to the exposition involved providing goods to other pavilions dedicated to specific industries, such as agriculture, machinery, and mining. All were meant to show off the industrial progress of the state.[62]

White pioneers had tamed the wilderness with raw American ingenuity. Native Americans were idealized as something wholly American, a symbol of the frontier and, by extension, white colonial progress.[63] Separated from the state building, Natives were mostly

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[59] James Albert Woodburn, "The Indiana Centennial, 1916," *Indiana Magazine of History* 8, no. 1 (1912): 15.
[60] Huhndorf, *Going Native*, 40.
[61] Frank A. Cassell and Marguerite E. Cassell, "Pride, Profits, and Politics: Indiana and the Columbian Exposition of 1893," *Indiana Magazine of History* 80, no. 2 (1984): 109; B. F. Havens, *Indiana at the World's Columbian Exposition 1893* (Chicago: Rand, McNally, and Co, 1893), 3-4.
[62] Cassell and Cassell, "Pride, Profits, and Politics," 113-118.
[63] Huhndorf, *Going Native*, 59.

encountered through the Midway, an space outside of the formal Exposition grounds, which aimed to illustrate societal progress from barbarism to civilization through live portrayals of primitive cultures. These exhibits as a whole implied that these cultures were of the past and wholly separate from white culture, further reinforcing the exposition's progress narrative.[64] That progress narrative served to specify "whiteness as the defining characteristic of the nation. By associating national identity with a transnational notion of progress (culminating in the triumph of industrial capitalism), the exhibitions constructed a white citizenry."[65]

One of the most notable displays took place on the Exposition's Chicago Day. Potawatomi Chief Simon Pokagon, appalled at the ethnological displays at the Exposition's Midway, published a pamphlet called *The Red Man's Greeting*. Circulated by Pokagon throughout the fair, it was printed on birch bark leaves which were spiritually significant to the Potawatomi tribe. In this pamphlet, Pokagon harshly condemned the whole Exposition and stated that Native Americans could not celebrate "our own funeral, the discovery of America."[66] This pamphlet caught the attention of Chicago Mayor Carter Harrison (1879-1887; 1893), who invited Pokagon to be an honored guest of his at the fair's Chicago Day.[67] As part of the Chicago Day festivities, Pokagon was scheduled to take part in a reenactment of the 1833 signing of the Treaty of Chicago. His father, Potawatomi Chief Leopold Pokagon, had signed the treaty, one of several which forced the Potawatomi to relinquish their lands in northern Illinois and Indiana. Later during a parade depicting the history of Chicago, Pokagon was to address the crowd, delivering a speech which chastised Indians for holding stubbornly to their tribal ways instead of accepting

[64] Huhndorf, *Going Native*, 42.
[65] Huhndorf, *Going Native*, 49.
[66] Lisa Cushing Davis, "Hegemony and Resistance at the World's Columbian Exposition: Simon Pokagon and *The Red Man's Rebuke*," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 108, no. 1 (2015): 32-33.
[67] Davis, "Hegemony and Resistance," 47.

the help of white men.[68] His words in the pamphlet stood in stark contrast to the speech he gave to the gathered crowd. Whereas the speech implored Native and white Americans to put aside their past differences to forge a new future, the pamphlet asserted that past crimes of colonization could not be so easily forgotten. His more conciliatory attitude in the speech was a part of an attempt to play on white sympathies and create a congress to lobby for Native American rights.[69] That congress never materialized, despite Pokagon's best efforts. However, both Pokagon's pamphlet and his more-conciliatory speech illustrate a prominent example of how Native Americans, in this a Potawatomi chief, attempted to counteract the dominant frontier narrative.

The Indiana Historical Commission saw no issue with the narrative of the Exposition as it related to Indiana's own celebration plans. On April 23, 1915 the commission held its first meeting in Governor Ralston's office to organize the state's centennial celebration and preserve the state's historical materials. To accomplish these seemingly-disparate tasks, the commission was split into several committees. The first, composed of James Woodburn, Charles Moores, and Harlow Lindley, was focused on collecting and managing historical publications including centennial histories. A second committee, composed of Lew O'Bannon, Harlow Lindley, and Charity Dye, focused on publicity for the celebrations. The third and largest committee was focused specifically on the "ways, means, and plans for celebrations." Frank Wynn served as chair of this committee; Lew O'Bannon, Samuel Foster, Charity Dye, John Cavanaugh, and Governor Ralston served as additional members.[70] By splitting the commission up, the state government placed greater emphasis on the celebrations themselves rather than on collecting historical publications or advertising the centennial year. The celebrations would, to the

[68] Davis, "Hegemony and Resistance," 33.
[69] Davis, "Hegemony and Resistance," 48.
[70] "Ralston Made Head of State Historical Body," *Indianapolis News*, Apr. 24, 1915.

commission, be the best way to promote the centennial and educate the public about what the past 100 years of Indiana history meant for the industrialized present.

Early on the commission realized that without a massive push for Indiana history education to form a basis for the celebrations, they would just be a vanity exercise. For the centennial celebrations to have a proper impact, Hoosiers of all ages needed an education in history to appropriately appreciate the celebrations. The centennial commission, taking Ralston's earlier desires to heart, aimed to use these celebrations to instill in Hoosiers a sense of pride in their state's history. Through that pride, centennial organizers hoped to instill in the public a series of civic virtues, such as valuing the past, all in the service of creating a "community spirit and consciousness."[71] Because "Hoosier unity" was the ultimate goal, the Indiana Historical Commission needed to be the final arbiter of centennial festivities and their narratives.[72] Private organizations were largely barred from hosting their own celebrations because they might diverge from the agreed upon narrative. A large number of wealthy citizens, moved by patriotic fervor, had formed their own centennial organization, the Indiana Centennial Celebration Association, to secure more funds for a fitting celebration. Another organization, the National Patriotic League, also sought to assist in funding the centennial. Orin Walker, an Indiana businessman, expressed concern to Ralston that the $25,000 appropriation was not enough to finance a proper centennial celebration. Despite these interested parties, Ralston and the rest of the centennial commission rebuked these private interests to ensure that the state government had the final word on the celebrations.[73] There was worry that these private business interests would produce a narrative whereby the colonization of Indiana was a process undertaken by a select

[71] *The Indiana Centennial 1916: A Record of the Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of Indiana's Admission to Statehood*, ed. Harlow Lindley (Indianapolis: The Indiana Historical Commission, 1919), 63.
[72] Buss, *Winning the West with Words*, 215-216.
[73] Buss, *Winning the West with Words*, 215-216.

industrious few, rather than a grassroots effort undertaken by the large number of resourceful pioneers. The authorized centennial narrative, which focused on large groups of rugged Hoosier individuals collectively conquering the wilderness, was meant to further create a need for a unified Hoosier identity. Allowing business interests to create their own narrative would just create a more fractious Hoosier identity.

The commission asked to meet with county-based celebration officers so that they could guide them toward a common narrative theme. On December 4, 1915, county chairmen met in the Indiana State House's senate chamber to hear addresses from Indiana Historical Commission members and William Chauncey Langdon, who was appointed the Indiana state pageant master.[74] In 1915, in preparation for the coming centennial, Indiana University invited Langdon, the first president of the American Pageant Association, to teach a course on pageantry. He was responsible, with commission input, for staging the final state pageant in Indianapolis at the close of centennial festivities.[75] Langdon's talk touted the special place pageants had in state's centennial celebrations. These pageants served to interpret the state's history, making the centennial ideas easier for the public to digest. Langdon argued that county pageants should place special emphasis on the interpretation of local history, insisting that "the true pageant should teach the development of the entire community."[76] This echoed an earlier statement of his where he declared, "The local source of the episodes and the local application of their message give the true pageant a robust vigor that make it far surpass anything that is generally available for adaptable."[77] By focusing on a local community, Langdon argued that the pageant

[74] "Plans for Pageants are Told to Chairmen," *Indianapolis News*, Dec. 4, 1915.
[75] Buss, *Winning the West with Words*, 218.
[76] Correspondence, Samuel M. Foster, Box 1, Folder 7, Indiana Historical Commission papers 1915-1925, Indiana State Archives and Public Records Commission.
[77] David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 122.

would have relevance to the audience and thus further instill within the public a pride in their own past.

In a 1915 article published in the *Indiana Magazine of History*, George McReynolds, head of the history department at Evansville High School, synthesized books and articles about pageantry to offer suggestions for how Hoosier communities should proceed. Like Langdon, McReynolds believed that pageants ought to focus on the history of the whole community rather than on specific individuals. The primary purpose of historical pageants was "to revive or to maintain the memory of the past and to arouse and promote civic healthfulness."[78] McReynolds suggested that actors portraying pioneers ought to wear "coon-skin caps, fringed buckskin coats, and long hunting rifles."[79] By wearing items made from the wilderness, these actors furthered the notion that the pioneers had tamed a vast empty wilderness. Actors portraying Native Americans all generally used "green paint, turkey feathers, brown fleshings, painted canvas moccasins, and bow and arrow;" however, specific costumes varied based on their relationship to white colonists. Hostile Indians were to wear loin cloths and war bonnets.[80] According to McReynolds, the more hostile the Indians were to pioneers, the more uncivilized their dress should look. Conversely, friendlier Indians were to wear more traditionally-white clothes like pants and shirts to show that they had assimilated to white culture.[81] Both actors portraying pioneers and actors portraying Native Americans used clothing intended to look like it was from the natural environment. However, pioneer costumes were meant to be facsimiles of more-traditionally white clothes, just made from frontier materials. Native American costumes, while made from

[78] George McReynolds, "The Centennial Pageant for Indiana; Suggestions for Its Performance," *Indiana Magazine of History* 11, no. 3 (1915): 249.
[79] McReynolds, "The Centennial Pageant," 259-260.
[80] McReynolds, "The Centennial Pageant," 259.
[81] McReynolds, "The Centennial Pageant," 259.

the same material, were meant to look as non-traditional as possible in order to further showcase Native savagery.[82]

McReynolds was not directly involved in the state's two largest pageants which served as bookends for the statehood centennial celebrations. The first was held in Corydon on May 13, 1916 almost five months after local communities began their commemorations. Vincennes, the first capital of the Indiana Territory, held its centennial celebration on December 9, 1915.[83] Langdon designed the Corydon pageant, calling the script: "The Pageant of Corydon, the Pioneer Capital of Indiana, 1816-1916: The drama of the Preeminence of the Town at the Time When for Twelve Years it was the Territorial and the State Capital of Indiana." Corydon's pageant was performed on the public square in front of the Old Capitol, with music provided by the Indiana University Orchestra.[84] As scripted, the pageant began with actors portraying nineteenth century residents of "Old Corydon" wandering onto the stage and noticing the twentieth century crowd watching them. An actor portraying territorial governor General William Henry Harrison then emerged from the Old Capitol building to greet the audience and invite them to open their minds to the possibility that the past was still alive all around them.[85] The beginning of the Corydon pageants was essentially a call for remembering the past, echoing McReynolds' beliefs about the purpose of the pageants.

After Harrison's speech, the audience experienced the construction of the Old Capitol building as well as the departure of soldiers going off to fight in the Battle of Tippecanoe (1811).

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[82] A key part of this more savage costume was the war bonnet, which was traditionally used by Native Americans from the Great Plains region and not found in the lower Great Lakes region. However, by the turn of the twentieth century, the war bonnet was seen as iconic Native American attire, emblematic of "tribal savagery."
[83] "Preparations Made for Vincennes Centennial," *Indianapolis News*, Dec. 7, 1915.
[84] William Chauncy Langdon, *The Pageant of Corydon, The Pioneer Capital of Indiana, 1816-1916: The Drama of the Preeminence of the Town at the Time When for Twelve Years it was the Territorial and the State Capital of Indiana* (New Albany, Indiana: Baker's Printing House, 1916), 5.
[85] Langdon, *The Pageant of Corydon*, 7.

A single line noted that soldiers were "fighting Indians."[86] Just as Ohio's statehood centennial celebrations in 1903 fallaciously used the Battle of Fallen Timbers and the subsequent Treaty of Greenville as the definitive end of Native American presence in the state, so too did Indiana's 1916 statehood centennial celebrations use the Battle of Tippecanoe. General William Henry Harrison's victory in the battle over a confederation of predominantly Shawnee, Kickapoo, and Potawatomi Indians was seen as the final victory over Native Americans in the state.[87] White historians like George S. Cottman in his *Centennial History and Handbook of Indiana* portrayed the battle as the last gasp of Indian resistance.[88] American military victory finally brought peace to the Indiana territory by forcing Native Americans off the land, making Indiana statehood possible.[89] This interpretation, popular during the centennial pageants, completely ignored the Treaty of St. Mary's (1818) which white colonists used to seize Native lands and the forced migrations like the Potawatomi Trail of Death (1838).

The final centennial event was the Pageant of Indiana held in Indianapolis, the state's capital since 1825. The state's largest pageant, it was the third with which Langdon was directly involved.[90] Langdon and a team of composers, costume designers, and choreographers, cooperated with the Indiana Historical Commission and the Indianapolis Celebration Committee to organize the culminating pageant. Held in Riverside Park on the banks of the White River, the pageant was elaborately staged using the river itself as a prop.[91] The Pageant of Indiana was divided into five acts. Act One was titled "Introduction: The Centennial Spirit," discussed the

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[86] Langdon, *The Pageant of Corydon*, 11-12.
[87] Richter, *Facing East*, 230.
[88] George S. Cottman, *Centennial History and Handbook of Indiana: The Story of the State from Its Beginning to the Close of the Civil War, and a General Survey of Progress to the Present Time* (Indianapolis: The Hollenbeck Press, 1915), 60.
[89] Brent S. Abercrombie, "How America Remembers: Analysis of the Academic Interpretation and Public Memory of the Battle of Tippecanoe" (master's thesis, Indiana University, 2011), 61.
[90] Langdon also helped develop Bloomington's centennial pageant.
[91] Langdon, *The Pageant of Indiana*, 7.

colonization of Indiana and dealt the most with frontier historical memory. The act began with René-Roberd Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle's expedition, continued with George Rogers Clark's capture of Fort Vincennes, and concluded with the Battle of Tippecanoe. Native Americans never appeared after the War of 1812. Once the war ended, Native Americans completely disappeared from the picture, a threat which white colonists had finally overcome. Most of concluding Tippecanoe portion of the act featured an actor portraying Tecumseh, leader of a confederation of Native American tribes involved in the battle, conversing with his brother the Prophet and with Indiana Territorial Governor William Henry Harrison.[92] This meeting between Tecumseh and Harrison never happened in actual history.[93]

The fabrication of this scene showed that Tecumseh and Harrison were strong-willed leaders of their people as it showed audiences that the clash between Harrison and Tecumseh was a conflict between two opposing visions for Indiana.[94] Throughout the scene, Harrison offered Tecumseh a chance to reconcile the coming conflict and protect his people. Tecumseh refused this compromise and, through his stubbornness, caused a battle which spelled doom for his people.[95] This portrayal of Harrison as a benevolent actor helped absolve white audiences of any guilt over colonization. Conversely, the portrayal of Tecumseh served to blame Native

[92] The Prophet and his spiritual visions which preached abstinence from white culture are often credited with uniting Tecumseh's confederacy. The Prophet, whose real name was Tenskwatawa, was referred to as Elskwatawa in the Indianapolis pageant, and was portrayed as a witch doctor chanting in broken English.
[93] Abercrombie, "How America Remembers," 71.
[94] No record exists laying out exact demographic figures for the audience which attended this pageant. The audience is simply in Langdon's book as "a throng." However, it is likely that the general makeup of the audience was reflective of population demographics in Indianapolis proper. According to the 1910 census, the population of Indianapolis was 233,650. Whites made up 90.6 percent of that population (211,780 people to be specific); African Americans, 9.3 percent (21,816 people); Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, and Native Americans were either not counted or their numbers made up such a small percentage of the population that they were not recorded. Data available in table 15 of: Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, 2005, "Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race, 1790 to 1990, and by Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, for Large Cities and Other Urban Places in the United States," Population Division Working Paper No. 76, US Census Bureau, February, https://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0076/twps0076.pdf.
[95] In the context of the pageant, his people were defined as all Native Americans in the state; in historical reality, his people were members of the Shawnee tribe to which he belonged as well as other tribes a part of his confederacy.

destruction on Native peoples themselves. The consequences of colonization including Native genocide, were the result of Native American stubbornness. Act One ended with actors portraying Indiana's Native American tribes literally diving into the White River and disappearing as Hoosier pioneers crossed the river towards the staging ground. The stage direction for Act One ended with the haunting phrase: "Nothing disturbs their onward silent progress."[96] Now that the land was cleared of hostile Indians, so the pageant script heavily implied, the process of settlement could continue in peace, hence the term "silent progress."

As Langdon developed pageant scripts, the Indiana Historical Commission worked to educate the public about Indiana history. "I think it is important," commission member Lew O'Bannon said, to make [schoolchildren] understand that the history of their own local community is the history of Indiana. I think a good many of them have the idea that studying Indiana history means studying simply the broad and general history of the state and they do not realize that they have a world of their own right at home."[97] Like the rest of the commission, O'Bannon, owner of the *Corydon Democrat* newspaper, believed that the centennial was, at least in part, a civic movement to create a better Hoosier citizenry. Such a movement needed to begin in Hoosier schools with teachers instilling in children an appreciation of the state's past to rejuvenate patriotic citizenship. Responsibility for the Indiana Historical Commission's education initiative fell to Charity Dye, a former high school teacher. One of her major projects was to organize a letter exchange campaign among Indiana's elementary school students. Students would correspond with one another to exchange stories about their local history. From June 1915 to December 1916, Dye lectured before meetings of the Federated Clubs of Indiana in

[96] Langdon, *The Pageant of Indiana*, 30.
[97] Correspondence, Lew O'Bannon, Box 1, Folder 9, Indiana Historical Commission papers 1915-1925, Indiana State Archives and Public Records Commission.

ten of the thirteen congressional districts, which delegates from at least seventy-five counties attended. She addressed thirty-five county institutes, spoke seven times at library meetings, gave twenty addresses before special bodies of teachers, provided forty talks to schoolchildren throughout the state, delivered twenty lectures in front of the state's social bodies, and talked to working women in department stores. She gave 152 lectures and talks in total. In addition, she wrote over 1,500 letters to teachers, librarians, county superintendents, and others containing suggestions for education. She also did extensive work for Indiana's newspapers, spending a year writing a column in the Indianapolis Star called "The Centennial Story Hour."[98] As the commission's primary education advocate, Dye's work further shows the importance the commission placed on education of Hoosiers ahead of the centennial celebrations. Moreover, her role as the only woman on the commission further shows the vital role women played during historic preservation and commemoration movements of this era.[99]

In parallel to the educational efforts, questions remained about physical memorialization. Some commission members, like James Woodburn, continued to favor the construction of a new state library as the permanent edifice. Charity Dye pushed for the creation of a permanent memorial to the "Pioneer Mother of Indiana". Dye argued that none of Indiana's history would have been possible without the frontier pioneer mother. "The Pioneer Mother gave [the pioneers] to the state and planted in their minds the seeds of patriotism. With her undaunted courage, her undimmed vision, her unremitting toil, mighty love, and the rearing of the family, she made a large contribution to the founding of our commonwealth, and for a hundred years has kept the

[98] Correspondence, Charity Dye, Part 2 of 2, Box 1, Folder 6, Indiana Historical Commission papers 1915-1925, Indiana State Archives and Public Records Commission.
[99] As we will see in chapter three, Juliet Virginia Strauss similarly played a vital role in another portion of this centennial preservation movement: the creation of Indiana's state park system.

'home lights burning' in Indiana."[100] Under this view, the primary purpose of white middle class women during the frontier era was to both instill patriotic values into their children and literally produce more pioneers. While the men went off to tame the wilderness, these women molded the worldview of those who would shape Indiana's progress for decades to come. If the goal of the centennial celebrations was to invoke these patriotic values and establish a new united Hoosier citizenry, Dye argued, then a memorial to the Pioneer Mother who first taught these values was ideal. She incorporated a Pioneer Mother Memorial Association to encourage Governor Ralston to provide the funds to create the monument.[101]

Indiana's 1916 statehood centennial celebrations were held during a time of rapid change, causing Hoosiers were worried about the new industrial future. The Indiana Historical Commission sought to use the celebrations to create a unified Hoosier identity and stoke patriotic feelings to help cope with this anxiety. Centennial organizers hoped to show that the new industrial economy was not a radical lifestyle change to be feared, but rather the natural conclusion of colonization. This attempt to instill a sense of patriotism and craft a unified Hoosier identity through a celebration of the Hoosier pioneer spirit came at the expense of Indiana's Native American tribes. The subjugation of Native peoples was largely ignored or blamed on their stubborn resistance to white colonial progress. At the conclusion of these centennial celebrations, audiences were encouraged to adopt that pioneering spirit which tamed the Native wilderness and use that newfound sense of Hoosier patriotism to forge a new destiny in a new industrial society. The centennial celebrations successfully united white Hoosiers through a presentation of a civic pride, a pride rooted in a Turnerian interpretation of the colonial

[100] Correspondence, Charity Dye, Part 2 of 2, Box 1, Folder 6, Indiana State Archives.
[101] No plans for Dye's proposed monument to the Pioneer Mother or Woodburn's re-proposed erection of a new state library came to pass before the centennial celebrations ended. Instead another centennial memorial was selected, providing Hoosiers with a common ground to experience their unified white Hoosier history.

past. Simultaneously, the centennial commission worked to memorialize that same pride and the civic virtues which came with it, which by virtue of association with the centennial were similarly rooted in that Turnerian past.

Chapter 2: Parks and Civic Values

The Indiana Historical Commission, established in 1915, was established to celebrate Indiana's statehood centennial in hopes it would increase Hoosier civic engagement. The Commission's parallel goal was to erect a permanent memorial to the centennial. Celebration planning went relatively smoothly. The process of creating a permanent memorial to the centennial either in the form of a state library or state museum, however, proceeded in fits and starts. Discussion over the establishment of a monument to the pioneer mother largely fell on the deaf ears of the centennial commissioners. The only successful effort, beyond the Centennial parades and curriculum, was the formation of a state park system. It was created as a permanent memorial to the state's centennial. Richard Lieber, the man most responsible for creating the state park system, intended the parks to be a place of healing that would serve as a common ground through which Hoosiers could experience their unified history. A memorial to the statehood centennial, state parks would be a perfect staging ground for Hoosiers to understand the values the centennial celebrations hoped to instill in the public.

Political figures recognized the benefits of a park system in providing a place for citizens to heal from the industrial woes. Thomas R. Marshall, former Indiana governor (1909-1913) and subsequent vice president of the United States (1913-1921), wrote the following to Lieber upon his appointment to the State Park Memorial Committee, Indiana's first official state park organization:

> The outdoor life is more and more commending itself to thoughtful citizens and as the populations become more and more congested, it will be necessary to have places where man may return to nature. Indiana was carved out of a primeval forest. If you can induce the building of these parks, you will have helped to restore to the sated palate of today the flavor of the pioneer.[1]

[1] Lieber mss. 1916, Box 1, Lilly Library Manuscript Collections, Indiana University Bloomington.

Marshall evokes the sentiment that a general return to pioneer values can provide comfort from the anxieties of industrial progress. A state park system would allow, in Marshall's view, a place for Hoosiers to return to nature, learn civic values indirectly from the pioneers who tamed that wilderness, and use those values to positively shape the new industrial society after leaving the state parks.

Marshall's notion of the parks as an area for civic revitalization reflected the preservationist school of environmentalist thought, epitomized by John Muir, first president of the Sierra Club.[2] Under this school, nature was to be preserved completely, with no unnecessary alteration of the environment. Muir believed that spending time wandering the unaltered wilderness found in the national parks would revitalize one's spirit and cleanse them of sin. "Briskly venturing and roaming," he wrote in the first chapter of his book *Our National Parks*, "some are washing off sins and cobweb cares of the devil's spinning in all-day storms on mountains."[3] In this religiously-inspired manner, Muir spoke of the healing power of the natural wilderness. Indeed much of Muir's environmentalist thinking came from a religious perspective, a viewpoint broadly shared by much of the preservationist school. Conservationists began to view the natural wilderness as a divine gift. They "viewed wilderness as an uninhabited Eden that should be set aside for the benefit and pleasure of vacationing Americans."[4] Conservationists like John Muir, who was heavily involved in the creation of Yosemite National Park, regularly

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[2] Glen M. MacDonald, "John Muir: A Century On," *Boom: A Journal of California* 4, no. 3 (2014): 62; Steven Mintz, "'Taking Stock of Our Resources': A Request from Theodore Roosevelt, 1908," *OAH Magazine of History* 21, no. 2 (2007): 46. The preservationist school stood in stark contrast with the conservationist school, which believed in responsible utilization of resources. This often brought Muir into conflict with other environmentalists, especially Gilford Pinchot, head of the U. S. Forest Service. The preservationist school was the most influential in the formation of the national park system, and played a major role in shaping Richard Lieber's own environmentalist outlook. As such, this chapter will focus primarily on the preservationists.

[3] John Muir, *Our National Parks* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1991), 1. The original book was a collection of essays, published in 1901; this is a Sierra Club-sponsored reprint.

[4] Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 4.

used similar religious language in conservationist literature.[5] In his journal, Muir wrote: "In God's wildness lies the hope of the world – the great fresh unblighted, unredeemed wilderness. The galling harness of civilization drops off, and the wounds heal ere we are aware."[6] To Muir, environmental preservation was a form of religious devotion, a way for humanity to get back to its godly roots.

The idea of conservation as a form of religious devotion first appeared in the formation of New York City's Central Park, the model and inspiration for the entire American parks movement. It was designed in 1857 by Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux as a representation of "an Eden in the midst of America's own urban Hell."[7] Parks were meant to be a paradise to which those tormented by the dual processes of industrialization and urbanization could escape. Olmsted, one of the nation's first landscape architects, concentrated on the preservation of Eden as well as the construction of them. Using explicitly Christian language to argue for the creation of Yosemite National Park, Olmsted wrote that a park on this land would serve as a remedy for "excessive and persistent devotion to sordid interests [that] cramps and distorts the power of appreciating natural beauty and destroys the love of it which the Almighty has implanted in every human being, and which is so intimately and mysteriously associated with the moral perceptions and intuition."[8] This quote ties together the religious motivation for conservation as well as the notion of parks as civic space. By preserving Eden, Olmsted argued, parks would further preserve the human love of nature which he believed was directly tied to

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[5] Early Christian colonists of North America, especially English Puritans, regularly used the term "Eden" to refer to land which appeared untouched by human hands. Edens were thus still as pristine as God had made them and were completely free from human sin. See Mark Stoll, "Milton in Yosemite: 'Paradise Lost' and the National Parks Idea," *Environmental History* 13, no. 2 (2008): 240.
[6] John Muir, *John of the Mountains: The Unpublished Journals of John Muir*, ed. Linnie Marsh Wolfe (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1938), 317.
[7] Stoll, "Milton in Yosemite," 248.
[8] Stoll, "Milton in Yosemite," 250.

human morality. Parks were not only places to protect nature but also to protect human morality. Parks were civic spaces as morality was a key component of a virtuous civic life.

The American West, the last vestige of the frontier ideal, was seen by these religious conservationists as America's last true Eden. These wild spaces formed the backbone of America's cultural identity particularly compared to Europe, whose human history could be traced back centuries through cathedrals, temples, and ruins of civilization. White Americans could not see reminders of a long history of human habitation from which to trace a cultural lineage scattered all over the American landscape.[9] This discouraged many Americans in the early-to-mid nineteenth century, who believed that Europe's longer history of white habitation made its natural environments much richer. James Fenimore Cooper, an American writer from the first half of the nineteenth century, wrote that, "As a whole, it must be admitted that Europe offers to the sense sublime views and certainly grander, than are to be found within our own borders."[10] Cooper later conceded that it was possible the landscape of the Rocky Mountains, California, and the territories of the American West could potentially rival the landscape of Europe. However, he still favored European landscapes due to the long history of white habitation there.

Environmentalists contradicted this, believing that the natural wilderness was a perfect substitute for the ruins of Europe.[11] Just as Europeans were distinguished and different for their long antiquarian history, these environmentalists and advocates of western tourism believed Americans and their nation were distinguished for the pristine beauty of their natural

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[9] Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 11. Of course, this belief that the United States lacked a long history completely ignored impressive signs of Native American civilization dating back millennia before white colonization, including the mounds of the Midwest and the cliffside dwellings of the American Southwest.
[10] James Fenimore Cooper, "American and European Scenery Compared," in *The Home Book of the Picturesque: or American Scenery, Art, and Literature* (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1852), 52.
[11] Runte, *National Parks*, 11-12.

surroundings. However, travel to this part of the country was incredibly difficult in the antebellum years. Those who had the means and resources to make the trek often chose a trip to Europe instead.[12] A confluence of factors resulted in the strong desire for Americans to tour the natural landscapes of their country. First and foremost was the creation of specific places where Americans could actually visit. This manifested itself in the national park system. With the advent of a national railroad system, Americans could finally easily travel the country to these parks.[13] Tourism soared in the early national park system as Americans flocked to view pristine wilderness settings largely devoid of human presence.

However, the national park idea was not always built on the idea of pristine empty wilderness. Artist George Catlin, a painter specializing in portraits of Native Americans, is often credited with first proposing the idea of a national park system.[14] He was a member of a legion of artists and naturalists. In the first half of the nineteenth century, they traveled throughout the American West in an effort to preserve with their artwork and writings a vision of the region which they believed was quickly disappearing as a result of American expansionism. These artists, Catlin among them, believed that, while the conquest of the west was an inevitable result of American progress, the landscapes, peoples, and animals should still be preserved through artwork before they disappeared.[15] Catlin speculated about the possibility of a national park system in his writings. He imagined that land conservation through a national park system would not only preserve the natural wilderness but also the "the native Indian in his classic attire, galloping his wild horse, with sinewy bow, and shield and lance, amid the fleeting herds of elks

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[12] Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 12.
[13] Shaffer, *See America First*, 16.
[14] Dyan Zaslowsky and the Wilderness Society, *These American Lands: Parks, Wilderness, and the Public Lands* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1986), 12.
[15] Joshua J. Masters, "Reading the Book of Nature, Inscribing the Savage Mind: George Catlin and the Textualization of the American West," *American Studies* 46, no. 2 (2005): 63-64.

and buffaloes."[16] To Catlin, Native Americans were just as much a part of the wilderness as the natural environment. Preservation of the American wilderness would have to include preservation of Native American tribes in the area, in much the same way that one would preserve animal life. Henry David Thoreau, nature writer, held the same sentiment, suggesting in his 1864 book *The Maine Woods* that the United States should "have our national preserves, where no villages need be destroyed, in which bear and panther, and some even of the hunter race, may still exist, and not be 'civilized off the face of the earth.'"[17]

Catlin was a "self-proclaimed historian of 'uncontaminated' American Indian tribes."[18] His attempts to preserve both the American West and his view of Native cultures within that landscape fell squarely within the preservationist school of environmentalist thought, the same school which characterized the wilderness as an Eden. His preservation efforts were perfect examples of the notion of "noble savagery," the idea that Native Americans were more wholesome due to a perceived lack of civilization.[19] Proponents of this idea of the noble savage felt that there was something more fundamentally pure about Native Americans since, according to the since-debunked theory, they merely coexisted with the environment instead of attempting to change it. By attempting to coexist with nature instead of tame it, Catlin and other proponents of the noble savage viewpoint thought Natives were somehow closer to the purity of God and Eden. Catlin's view of preservation, which included Native peoples, was a nostalgia for a primitive past and a rebuke of the impoverishment of modernity.[20]

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[16] George Catlin, *North American Indians: Being Letters and Notes on Their Manners, Customs, and Conditions, Written During Eight Years' Travel Amongst the Wildest Tribes of Indians in North America, 1832-1839 in Two Volumes – Vol. 1* (Philadelphia: Leary, Stuart, and Company, 1913), 294-295. This book is a compilation of Catlin's journals, written between 1832-1839.
[17] Henry David Thoreau, *The Maine Woods* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1892), 160.
[18] Masters, "Reading the Book," 64.
[19] Krech, *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1999), 21.
[20] Masters, "Reading the Book," 74. This myth of the noble savage, all too common today in media representations like the films "Dances with Wolves" and "Avatar," completely ignores the very real ways Native peoples did change

Catlin's ideas were not widely adopted by the national park system. Instead, to post-Catlin conservationists like the aforementioned John Muir, Native Americans were either an aberrant force that could not appreciate the land's natural beauty or simply the "first visitors" to the land.[21] The establishment of the first national parks necessitated the removal of Native Americans from that land to return it to an idealized pristine wilderness state.[22] The very term "wilderness" was a tool late-nineteenth-century preservationists used to remove Native Americans from historical memory of the United States, since the term implies that either Native peoples did not in any way affect the land or that there were no Native peoples on the land in the first place.[23] In the late-nineteenth century, wilderness became a living monument to the frontier ideal. American progress depended on the abundance of "free land" and wilderness which pioneers tamed to create American civilization. "To protect wilderness," wrote environmental historian William Cronon, "was in a very real sense to protect the nation's most sacred myth of origin."[24] The term "protect" here is roughly synonymous with the term "preservation." However, it has the added connotation of preserving a specific vision of the environment instead of just preserving the environment as it stands.

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the landscape. Controlled burns, construction of massive mounds, deforestation efforts, and mass hunting of wildlife (sometimes to the point of extinction) are all examples of ways Native peoples altered the American wilderness instead of coexisting with it. More information on the myth of the noble savage and its meaning can be found in: William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2003); and Shepard Krech, *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1999).

[21] Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness*, 5.

[22] Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness*, 4.

[23] The idea of a wilderness is a cultural and historical construct. There are marked differences between the terms "wilderness," "nature," and "land." The definitions of "land" and "nature" are essentially self-explanatory, with "land" referring to a specific geographic area and "nature" to the ecosystem within that land. "Wilderness," however, is a construct meant to project the image of land in a pristine condition, unsullied by man. This idea of "wilderness" as an historical construct forms the thesis of Mark David Spence's *Dispossessing the Wilderness*.

[24] William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1995), 77.

That wilderness idea, and how it affected Native Americans still living on what would become park land, is clearest in the creation of Yellowstone National Park. By the time of the park's creation in 1872, Yellowstone was far from the pristine wilderness ideal with which many Americans had associated it. Native Americans, especially of the Crow, Bannock, Blackfoot, Shoshone, and Nez Perce tribes, altered the landscape significantly through the creation of hunting and trading trails. These trails further served to corral game animals within the future park's geographical area, a direct alteration of Yellowstone's ecosystem.[25] White Americans ignored these efforts by Native tribes to alter the Yellowstone landscape, instead creating the myth of "Sheepeaters" to populate the land. A fictional subset of the Shoshone tribe, the Sheepeaters were a group of supposedly-timid noble savages hunting bighorn sheep in the mountainous Yellowstone environment.[26] A visit by a group of Montanan surveyors spurred a movement to turn Yellowstone into a national park in 1870, a movement helped significantly by the burgeoning railroad industry.[27] The Northern Pacific Railroad was in search of a place to locate a resort along its northern transcontinental line. Yellowstone, with its supposedly-pristine beauty, fit the bill perfectly.[28] Congress passed the bill creating Yellowstone National Park on March 1, 1872.[29]

This bill, fully titled "An Act to Set Apart a Certain Tract of Land Lying Near the Headwaters of the Yellowstone River as a Public Park," gave the Secretary of the Interior authority over Yellowstone National Park and empowered him to "cause all persons trespassing

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[25] Mark Daniel Barringer, *Selling Yellowstone: Capitalism and the Construction of Nature* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2002), 9.
[26] Barringer, *Selling Yellowstone*, 10.
[27] Barringer, *Selling Yellowstone*, 13.
[28] Barringer, *Selling Yellowstone*, 14.
[29] U.S. Congress, Senate, *An Act to Set Apart a Certain Tract of Land Lying Near the Headwaters of the Yellowstone River as a Public Park*, S. 392, 42nd Cong., 2nd sess., approved March 1, 1872, https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/42nd-congress/session-2/c42s2ch24.pdf.

upon the [park] after the passage of this act to be removed therefrom."[30] This was a clear reference to Native Americans who continued to use the park land. Secretary Columbus Delano was an enthusiastic supporter of Native American removal policies, hoping eventually to concentrate all the tribes within the United States' borders into Indian Territory.[31] Once achieved, Delano intended to use the then-vacant land for white settlement and cultivation. In the case of Yellowstone, he also saw white middle-class tourism as an opportunity.[32] Yellowstone during this period was managed more like a military fort than a national park, all due to an effort by the United States government to return the land to a primeval wilderness state through the violent removal of Native tribes in the region. As a result, military campaigns occurred throughout the park, including most famously the Nez Perce War (1877) in which 2,000 United States troops, led by General William T. Sherman, conducted a bloody 1,100 mile chase to the Canadian border against a group of 750 Nez Perce men, women, children, and elderly people.[33]

Native removal helped foster tourism in the park. The Northern Pacific Railroad Company had successfully lobbied the United States' government for the right to establish resorts and other tourist attractions in and around the park, allowing tourists to return to nature in luxury.[34] The tourism industry in the late-nineteenth century focused on ways to honor the United States' emergence as a "modern nation." As the national park system slowly began to develop, the industry decided to market the United States as "nature's nation."[35] Nature tourism celebrated the American West as the breeding ground for a post-Civil War national identity. The

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[30] *An Act to Set Apart*.
[31] Indian Territory were lands set aside by the federal government explicitly for resettled Native peoples from the East. Currently, Indian Territory comprises the state of Oklahoma.
[32] David H. Dejong, "'See the New Country': The Removal Controversy and Pima-Maricopa Water Rights, 1869-1879," *Journal of Arizona History* 33, no. 4 (1992): 378.
[33] Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness*, 56.
[34] Barringer, *Selling Yellowstone*, 23-24.
[35] Shaffer, *See America First*, 5.

American West was marketed as the "true America." Viewing the western wilderness became a way for tourists to understand how their unique country had evolved its identity and thus gain a newfound sense of patriotism.[36] Richard Lieber, the central figure in the development of Indiana's state park system, was one of these white tourists able to experience this "true America." His experiences in touring the west shaped his notions of what Indiana's state park system could be, a way for Hoosiers to experience the "true Indiana."

Lieber was born on September 5, 1869 into a wealthy conservative family in St. Johann Saarbrücken, Germany.[37] Lieber's fascination with conservation policy began in 1891 upon his arrival in the United States from Germany, where he had spent the first twenty years of his life. In a letter home, Lieber lamented how Americans failed to recognize the natural beauty around. They made "insincere remarks about the beauty of nature. Few people, whom I meet, really appreciate what they see. They walk along a path and look, yet see nothing. A virgin forest to them is merely 'trees.'"[38] He wanted others to truly appreciate the natural world around them. This tied into the German naturalist movement Lebensreform (literally "life reform") movement, which emphasized reconnection with nature as a way to heal societal woes and create a stronger German people by encouraging a return to their natural roots.[39] Lieber felt that industrial

[36] Shaffer, *See America First*, 16-17.
[37] Correspondence and papers: Family and personal, 1896-1939, Box 3, Folder 2, Richard Lieber papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts, Indiana State Library
[38] Emma Lieber, *Richard Lieber* (Self-published, 1947), 27.
[39] Thomas Lekan, "A 'Noble Prospect': Tourism, Heimat, and Conservation on the Rhine, 1880-1914," *Journal of Modern History* 81, no. 4 (2009): 830. Emma Lieber does not make it explicitly clear in her biography of her husband whether Richard subscribed to the Lebensreform ideas himself or whether he was simply aware of the tenets of the movement. If indeed Richard Lieber was a member of the movement, it seems likely that this is what led to his parents forcing him out of Germany. Lebensreform shared close ties with German socialism; members of both movements felt that they were advocating for a common cause, despite the fact that German socialists felt that Lebensreformers were not as pro-worker as they should be and that Lebensreformers felt that German socialists were not as anti-industrial as they should be. Lieber's parents felt that their son was being poisoned with socialist ideas, especially during his education in London, England, and so sent him to the United States to quell his youthful rebelliousness. For more information on the links between the Lebensreform and socialist movements, see: Vernon L. Lidtke, "Naturalism and Socialism in Germany," *American Historical Review* 79, no. 1 (1974): 14-37.

progress had overshadowed nature to society's detriment. "Factory chimneys rolling out thick clouds of smoke," Lieber wrote, "made me wonder whether humanity has gained in health and happiness by this onslaught of the machine age."[40] Ironically, the same industrialism Lieber decried enabled him to rise into a position of influence in Indianapolis. Industrial endeavors furthered Lieber's connection to wealthy Indianapolis society, especially after his naturalization as an American citizen in 1901.[41]

In 1904, Lieber's cousin Albert invited him on a hunting trip in the Bitterroot Mountains. Joining them were William Nash, former president of the Indianapolis Gun Club, and William Kettenbach, president of the Merchants' National Bank of Idaho. The group was to hunt bear, elk, deer, and mountain sheep in the mountains near Lewiston, Idaho during a 30-day period in Bitterroot National Forest.[42] Once controlled by the Nez Perce tribe, the strategic position in the mountains between buffalo-hunting tribes of nearby valleys and the tribes near the Columbia River established the Nez Perce as middlemen in intertribal trade, making them quite wealthy.[43] When colonists first came to the area as part of the Corps of Discovery expedition led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, they interacted primarily the Nez Perce tribe.[44] Colonists seized control of Nez Perce land in a series of treaties, beginning with the Walla Walla Treaty of

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[40] Lieber, *Richard Lieber*, 28.
[41] Family Papers, 1899-1944 and undated, Box 3, Folder 6, Richard Lieber papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts, Indiana State Library. These industrial endeavors began in 1892 when, partially to finance his eventual marriage to Emma Rappaport, Lieber joined Theodore Stempfel, a bookkeeper at his uncle Herman's art store, and a chemist, named Dr. Bilfinger from Cincinnati, Ohio, to establish a chemical plant in Indianapolis. Lieber became secretary of the Western Chemical Company in 1892. After a series of fires, Lieber left the company to become president of Rich. Lieber and Co., a position which lasted from 1900 to 1905. Afterwards, he became vice president and treasurer of James R. Ross and Company as well as a critical figure in analyzing the city's fire insurance policies and updating the city's firefighting plans during the early twentieth century. Lieber also served two terms as president of the Indianapolis Trade Association and acted on the Executive Committee of the American Currency League. This involvement in the minutiae of Indianapolis' municipal government ingratiated him to city leaders, which would provide him the connections he needed in his later conservationist career.[41]
[42] "Big Party is Going West to Hunt Bears and Deer," *Indianapolis News*, Aug. 6, 1904.
[43] Theodore Catton, *American Indians and National Forests* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2016), 254.
[44] Patricia Tyson Stroud, *Bitterroot: The Life and Death of Meriwether Lewis* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 144-146.

1855 and ending in 1893 when the United States government coerced the Nez Perce into ceding their last major plot of land. The discovery of gold in north-central Idaho and the vast supply of timber in the region hastened this territorial acquisition.[45] On February 22, 1897, soon after this last act of territorial cession, President Grover Cleveland signed a proclamation creating 13 new forest reserves under the Sundry Civil Appropriations Act of 1897. Bitterroot was the largest of these reserves at 4.1 million acres, created both to protect forests in the area and as a memorial to American frontier history.[46]

Lieber was fascinated by the Bitterroot region's connection to the Lewis and Clark Expedition. He believed that these nature preserves imparted patriotic feelings on visitors. Using poetic language to describe his hunting trip, Lieber wrote that:

> A mysterious rustling comes to you out of the depth of that glorious forest, and if you only listen to what the loquacious gurgling and babbling brook has to tell you, you will know that the shades of George Washington, [George] Rogers Clark, Jefferson, Lincoln, Grant, Emerson, Whitman, and all the true and great patriots have not gone to heaven, but that they all dwell within the sacred bounds of the American forest primeval. From here they hold their blessing hand over our great and beautiful country, and if you only go to them it will come over you like a revelation: "Be strong and brave and true to yourself, be worthy to be an Epigone of those who have made what you enjoy."[47]

Natural wilderness, in Lieber's poetry, was a place to experience true American patriotism. The primeval wilderness showed just what great patriots had conquered to create the United States. In contrast to European history, which focused on the exploits of "kings and battle lords," American history "must tell of the people and its chosen leaders. It must speak of that colossal fight for

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[45] Catton, *American Indians and National Forests*, 255.
[46] These new reserves were colloquially called "Washington's Birthday reserves," since they were formed on the anniversary of George Washington's birth. Frederick H. Swanson, *The Bitterroot and Mr. Brandborg: Clearcutting and the Struggle for Sustainable Forestry in the Northern Rockies* (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2011), 11-12.
[47] Richard Lieber, "Across the Clearwater Range of the Bitterroot Mountains," *Forest and Stream: A Weekly Journal of the Rod and Gun* 64, no. 1 (1905): 494.

civilization waged against man, beast and inanimate nature."[48] By preserving the wilderness, generations of visitors could experience the land as their pioneer ancestors had. This would allow them to appreciate the struggle for civilization in which those pioneers engaged. The 30-day Bitterroot hunting trip first fostered these beliefs in Lieber. He would carry them with him during his involvement in the creation of Indiana's state park system.

Lieber's interest in conservation soared during the Conference of Governors convened by President Roosevelt from May 13 through May 15, 1908.[49] Roosevelt was shocked and disheartened by the destruction of the American environment. Lack of congressional action forced Roosevelt to build a popular public movement which would force opponents to support the issue.[50] In his opening speech, Roosevelt praised the nation's rapid industrialization while at the same time lamenting that that progress came at the expense of the natural resources with which the nation was blessed. Echoing Frederick Jackson Turner, Roosevelt argued that America's "position in the world has been attained by the extent and thoroughness of the control we have achieved over nature; but we are more, and not less, dependent upon what she furnishes than at any previous time of history since the days of primitive man."[51] Roosevelt equated this Turnerian narrative with the wider conservation movement, a process which had been ongoing since the movement's beginning. By mastering the country's resources and discovering new ones, American pioneers had created a prosperous ideal for future generations to follow. Roosevelt believed that frontier life had produced a rugged population, creating a strong white

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[48] Lieber, "Across the Clearwater," 494.
[49] Lieber, *Richard Lieber*, 61. Emma Lieber suggests that her husband was made a delegate to this conference, but the record for the conference does not reflect this.
[50] Significantly, the conference was the first time in American history that every state governor was invited to a meeting to discuss policy matters, whether related to conservation as in this case or otherwise. This unprecedented meeting drew enormous attention to the conservation movement. Jeremy Hackerd, "Conservation and Indiana Gubernatorial Politics, 1908-1916" (master's thesis, Indiana University, 2006), 12-14.
[51] W. J. McGee, *Proceedings of a Conference of Governors in the White House, Washington, D.C., May 13-15, 1908* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1909), 6.

American character. Without a wilderness in which white Americans could prove their ingenuity, African Americans and less-desirable European immigrants like Italians and Poles could take over and outnumber them with their reproductive prowess.[52] Conservation efforts partially arose as a means to preserve some of that wilderness and thus protect the rugged white American character.[53]

In 1912, Lieber was made chairman of the local board of managers for the Indianapolis meeting of the National Conservation Congress.[54] The congress was born out of a suggestion made by attendees of the 1908 governor's conference.[55] On June 4, 1912, Lieber was named chairman for the Indianapolis meeting, to be held in the Murat Theatre in early October of that year.[56] At this particular meeting, the congress stressed the different meanings of the word "conservation." In his introductory address Charles W. Fairbanks, president of the Indiana Forestry Association and former Vice President of the United States, made clear the goals of the congress by emphasizing that natural resource conservation was only a small part of the movement. Conservation of public health, public morals, and political institutions was similarly important.[57] John B. White, president of the congress, introduced Lieber as a conservationist working on practical manners by reducing the city's revenue loss through fire damage and by saving people money as president of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Insurance Bureau.[58]

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[52] Powell, *Vanishing America*, 5.
[53] Powell, *Vanishing America*, 5.
[54] *Proceedings of the Fourth National Conservation Congress at Indianapolis, October 1-4, Inclusive, 1912* (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford Press, 1912), 9.
[55] "For Conservation Work: President Names Committee to Aid in Saving Resources," *Detroit Free Press*, June 9, 1908.
[56] "Managers Are Named: Board Will Have Charge of Arrangements for Conservation Meeting," *Indianapolis News*, June 4, 1912; "Congress Opened: Conservationists Gather for Great Convention in Indianapolis," *The Alexandria Times-Tribune* (Alexandria, Indiana), Oct. 1, 1912.
[57] *Proceedings of National Conservation Congress*, 27.
[58] *Proceedings of National Conservation Congress*, 31.

In his speech Lieber engaged in a brief discussion of the nation's historical relationship with its natural resources. He defended the pioneers' lack of environmental concern, saying that the pioneer had to be "destructive before he could be constructive…He fought civilization's battle, that civilization may enjoy peace and prosperity."[59] American pioneers, according to this viewpoint, were forced to literally carve civilization from the virgin wilderness. They were forced to commit acts of environmental destruction for the greater good of American society. If the goal of the pioneer was to further the cause of American democracy, Lieber reasoned, then taming of the wilderness through whatever means necessary was a vital part of that plan. In excusing this environmental destruction as necessary for civilization to flourish, Lieber, like so many other conservationists before him, used the trope of civilization's progress as a part of his beliefs.

Despite his excusing of past colonial behavior, Lieber questioned whether Americans could "go on in the manner of [their] fathers and forefathers."[60] The pioneer era of American development centered on taming the wilderness so that civilization could flourish. Lieber's era centered on preserving that wilderness to restore the health and happiness of Americans who were supposedly flailing as a result of industrialization, immigration, and urbanization. "In this mad chase after things material at any cost," he said, "we must pause, for a nation will become unbalanced in its natural progress if its spiritual and intellectual advance be retarded."[61] Descendants of pioneers had become destructive to nature itself. By going too far towards industrialization and disregarding the rural American landscape, Lieber contended that Americans were losing the values that nature had instilled upon their ancestors. This then created

[59] *Proceedings of National Conservation Congress*, 32.
[60] Richard Lieber, *America's Natural Wealth: A Story of the Use and Abuse of Our Resources* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1942), 25.
[61] *Proceedings of National Conservation Congress*, 32.

an unbalanced and amoral society. Conservation was thus a battle to restore that balance. It was as much a crusade for the nation's values as it was for the protection of the natural environment. Tracts of virgin land should be preserved so that Americans could understand the struggles of their forefathers, experience the healing value of nature, and further develop their sense of patriotism.

During Indiana's statehood centennial year in 1916, Lieber worked in conjunction with various other Hoosier conservationists to create two state parks.[62] Lieber continued his crusade for conservation in the state after the term of Samuel Ralston (1913-1917), the governor who oversaw the centennial and the formation of these two state parks, ended. He was an advocate for a bill to create a State Conservation Commission initially proposed by Ralston's Republican successor, Governor James P. Goodrich (1917-1921), as part of his government efficiency initiative. The proposed legislation would combine the offices of state geologist, state entomologist, state forester, and state fish and game commissioner under a single conservation commission. It would be led by four people with no more than two from the same political party. While the House passed the bill, introduced by Representative Charles L. Mendenhall of Hendricks County, the Senate failed to take it up for a third reading, leading to its ultimate defeat.[63] Largely because of his lobbying efforts on behalf of the measure, Goodrich appointed Lieber the Secretary of the State Board of Forestry on March 16, 1917.[64] Two years later, on January 16, 1919, Representative David A. Rothrock of Brown and Monroe counties introduced House Bill No. 55, which called for the creation of a Department of Conservation led by both a

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[62] This story will be told in detail in chapter 3.
[63] *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Indiana During the Seventieth Session of the General Assembly, Commencing Thursday, January 4, 1917* (Fort Wayne: Fort Wayne Printing Company, 1917), 936; *Journal of the Indiana State Senate During the Seventieth Session of the General Assembly, Commencing Thursday, January 4, 1917* (Fort Wayne: Fort Wayne Printing Company, 1917), 467.
[64] "Richard Lieber Secretary: Accepts Place on Forestry Board, but Will Not Take Salary," *Indianapolis News*, Mar. 17, 1917.

conservation commission and a department director.[65] The bill passed on March 10, 1919; on April 1, Lieber was selected as the director of Indiana's Department of Conservation.[66]

As director, Lieber would establish eight more state parks and come to further refine what the state parks meant for a post-centennial Indiana. In a 1916 report of the State Memorial Committee, a subcommittee within the Indiana Historical Commission which Lieber led during the state's centennial, Lieber further outlined his park vision. "State parks," he wrote, "would not only be a splendid present-day expression of appreciation of what the Hoosier forefathers wrought, but would have a high civic value both in the present and in the future. Through the state parks should come a strengthening of the common bonds of citizenship and neighborly association, for in these parks the people will meet upon common ground."[67] Perhaps more explicit than this statement was a section in a 1926 speech titled "What is a State Park?" in which Lieber aimed to convince national conservationists to spread the state park idea throughout the country. In this statement, which has a far more national scope in comparison to the State Park Memorial Committee report, Lieber wrote:

> We have in state parks the finest sermon on true Americanism. Here is a thing which native and foreign born alike may understand, in which they may take pride and from which they may take inspiration. They are expressive of the spirit of '76. They are an illumination of the "Land of the Pilgrim's Pride." They are a harking back to the fundamentals of our Republic. They represent a bit of the sacred soil from which grew the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. They are a constant reminder of the source from which our present day comforts and prosperity flowed.[68]

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[65] *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Indiana During the Seventy-First Session of the General Assembly, Commencing Thursday, January 9, 1919* (Indianapolis: William B. Burford Printing, 1919), 79. Rothrock would later serve as a member of the conservation commission.
[66] "Assembly Saved Itself at Finish," *Indianapolis News*, Mar. 11, 1919; "Conservation Commission," *Indianapolis News*, Apr. 2. 1919.
[67] Correspondence, Indiana State Park Memorial Committee, Box 1, Folder 27, Indiana Historical Commission papers 1915-1925, Indiana State Archives and Public Records Commission.
[68] Richard Lieber Speeches, 1918-1933, Box 11, Folder 2, Richard Lieber papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts, Indiana State Library.

The state park system was just as much about preserving civic pride, especially in the frontier past, as it was about the preservation of the natural environment. Indiana's statehood centennial celebrations were created with the intent of forging a unified Hoosier identity. It was supposed to instill civic values for the public through glorification of the frontier past. The state park system was a literal common ground for Hoosiers to appreciate their history. Just as the centennial focused on using the Turnerian frontier narrative to unite an almost exclusively white middle-class audience, so too did the common ground of the state parks.

The civic healing the national parks promised was rooted in the glorification of the American pioneer spirit, cultivated through the taming of the wilderness. Lieber fully embraced this mission of the national park system. Through the Indiana state park system, he localized these national ideas and used them to establish a permanent memorial to the Indiana statehood centennial. The state park system showcased the Hoosier frontier ideal through a preservation of the Indiana wilderness, much as the national park system had done. By borrowing from the national park system's playbook, Lieber created the perfect memorial to the statehood centennial, providing the common ground for white Hoosier tourists to experience their shared history.

Chapter 3: The Frontier Legacy in Indiana State Parks

The Indiana state park system protected lands from industrial exploitation. Lieber aimed to use the state park system to celebrate Hoosier progress by providing a place for civic healing. State park officials then shaped it to fit their ideal of a pristine wilderness that would best entice Hoosier tourists. This furthered the centennial's goals of civic revitalization to tackle the new industrial century. Land was selected for preservation either because of its environmental offerings or its historic structures. Once preserved, Lieber's Department of Conservation worked to ensure that the parks all furthered the frontier narrative, pushed by the statehood centennial celebrations, to offer tourists a place of healing and civic revitalization.

Lieber first conceived of an Indiana state park system after a visit to Brown County on September 24, 1910. "This whole county ought to be bought up by the State and then made into a State Park so that all of the people of Indiana could enjoy this beauty spot," Emma recorded Lieber as saying.[1] Enos P. Mills, who helped create Rocky Mountain National Park, similarly urged Indiana to make a portion of Brown County into a park. He was heavily involved in 1915 lobbying efforts to create a national park service to administrate all the country's parks. In an interview with the *Indianapolis News*, Mills suggested three locations which would make ideal state parks: Turkey Run, the Indiana Dunes, and Brown County. He felt the latter was the best option. "From the scenic standpoint," he said, "Brown County is one of the best spots that ever existed in the great stretch between the Appalachian and Rocky Mountains and one of the few remaining spots that still exist in primeval wildness."[2] This idea of a primeval wilderness pervaded the national park system.[3] It is through Mills' suggestion, and Lieber's adherence to it,

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[1] Emma Lieber, *Richard Lieber* (Self-published, 1947), 69.
[2] "Creation of State Parks Advocated," *Indianapolis New*, Nov. 17, 1915. Lieber eventually made all three of Mills' suggestions into parks.
[3] See chapter 2 for more.

that the Indiana state park system came to fruition. Turkey Run, Indiana's second state park, is a prime example of these ideas converged to influence both the park's creation and its subsequent development.

The future park land, located in Parke County, was once controlled primarily by the closely related Miami, Piankeshaw, and Wea tribes.[4] American colonists gained control over the land through the Treaty of St. Mary's, signed in Ohio in 1818.[5] In the spring of 1826, Salmon Lusk and his wife moved to the county, establishing a home on the banks of Sugar Creek. He constructed a water-powered mill on the site and began shipping his flour downriver to New Orleans.[6] Despite lucrative offers from timber companies, his son, John Lusk, refused to sell it after inheriting the property. A summer resort was permitted. Backed by the Decatur and Springfield Railroad, a resort called "Bloomingdale Glens" was under development by the 1870s. Most people continued to refer to the area as "Turkey Run." Financial difficulties forced the railroad company to abandon their lease on the land in 1884 with it falling to William Hooghkirk, who operated the resort until 1910 when R. P. Luke took over. The resort proved quite popular throughout the state. It proved the viability of a state park on the property. However, the death of John Lusk in 1915 threw the resort's future into doubt. Luke's lease would expire in 1917, at which point timber companies which had long eyed the land were free to purchase it.[7]

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[4] J. H. Beadle, "History of Parke County: The Aboriginal Period," in *History of Vigo and Parke Counties, Together with Historic Notes on the Wabash Valley, Gleaned from Early Authors, Old Maps and Manuscripts, Private and Official Correspondence, and Other Authentic, Though, for the Most Part, Out-of-the-Way Sources*, ed. H. W. Beckwith (Chicago: H. H. Hill and N. Iddings, 1880), 7.
[5] "Miami Treaty of St. Mary's," Indiana State Library Digital Collections, http://cdm16066.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/ref/collection/p16066coll38/id/8.
[6] Richard Lieber, *The Department of Conservation, State of Indiana: Turkey Run State Park* (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, 1919), 8-9.
[7] Lieber, *Turkey Run State Park*, 9-11.

The prospect of losing Turkey Run to the timber industry bothered many Hoosiers, none more so than Juliet Virginia Strauss. A journalist from Rockville, Indiana, she wrote several popular columns including "The Ideas of a Plain Country Woman" in the *Ladies' Home Journal* and "The Country Contributor" in the *Indianapolis News*.[8] Strauss grew up near Turkey Run and was personally invested in its preservation. She sent a letter to Indiana Governor Samuel Ralston, pleading with him to save the tract of land from the lumber industry. A week later on April 27, 1915, Ralston appointed Strauss to a Turkey Run Commission charged with exactly this mission.[9] Strauss used her "The Country Contributor" column to rouse public support for the land's preservation. She stressed the need for "beauty spots," areas where Hoosiers could surround themselves with, and take pride in, the beauty of nature. "It is still possible," she concluded, "to save this place, and with it some of the aboriginal timber of the state as well as to conserve for our children something upon which to found some affection and pride for their native state."[10] Strauss argued for the civic virtues of conservation more than the ecological benefits. While she was certainly concerned with preserving the natural beauty of the Turkey Run tract, she felt that civic healing was a much larger benefit than ecological balance. "If we are really interested in the new patriotism which looks towards a better ideal of citizenship," she said in a speech to the State Federation of Clubs in 1916, "we must concentrate on the public [state parks] movement."[11] She believed that preserving Hoosier lands, rescuing them from the timer

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[8] Jennifer Scanlon, *Inarticulate Longings: The Ladies' Home Journal, Gender, and the Promises of Consumer Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 98. For more on Strauss, see: Ray E. Boomhower, *The Country Contributor: The Life and Times of Juliet V. Strauss* (Covington, Kentucky: Clerisy Press, 1998).
[9] Suellen M. Hoy, "Governor Samuel M. Ralston and Indiana's Centennial Celebration," *Indiana Magazine of History* 71, no. 3 (1975): 253.
[10] Juliet Virginia Strauss, "Shall We Save Turkey Run? – By the Country Contributor," *Indianapolis News*, Apr. 24, 1915.
[11] "Many Women Attend Fifth District Meeting: Juliet V. Strauss Speaks for State Park Movement," *Indianapolis News*, March 30, 1916.

industry's axe, would instill young Hoosiers with a pride in their state and a desire to improve it for future generations.

Both she and Lieber agreed that conservation would bring civic benefits to Hoosier society. Lieber argued that those civic virtues went hand-in-hand with conservation's ecological benefits. Nevertheless, the two worked closely together on the Turkey Run preservation effort hoping to provide Hoosiers with access to their state's landscape during its centennial year. Their partnership began when Strauss complained to Governor Samuel Ralston (1913-1917) that the other two members of the commission, William Woollen and Vida Newsom, were not sufficiently invested in the preservation of the Turkey Run tract. Woollen was an Indianapolis businessman "intensely interested in nature study". Newsom, from Columbus, Indiana, was the president of the Indiana Federation of Clubs.[12] She suggested the appointment of Richard Lieber to the commission, since he was fully committed to Turkey Run's preservation. Lieber was smart and engaged with the issue to become a vital part of the commission.[13] Woollen concurred with Strauss' opinion, and heartily endorsed the appointment. Ralston appointed Lieber to the commission that winter.[14] Lieber first heard of the Turkey Run initiative from Richard Smith, editor of the *Indianapolis News*, who informed him of Strauss' efforts. While Lieber was more interested in efforts to turn Brown County into a state park, he was nevertheless concerned by the threat of deforestation of the Turkey Run tract. He had visited the area during his first summer after arriving in the United States and felt a personal connection.[15]

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[12] "Would Reserve Old Beauty Spot: Governor Names Commission of Three to Determine What Can be Done to Save Turkey Run in Parke County," *Indianapolis Star*, April 28, 1915.
[13] Correspondence, Turkey Run, Governor Samuel M. Ralston papers, Indiana State Archives and Public Records Commission.
[14] Correspondence, Turkey Run, Governor Samuel M. Ralston papers; W. M. Herschell, "Turkey Run, Indiana's Wonderland of Trees, Gorges, and Waterfalls, Must be Saved from the Timbermen, Say the Governor's Commission," *Indianapolis News*, February 12, 1916.
[15] Lieber, *Richard Lieber*, 80.

Ralston and Lieber had met previously about the pending statehood centennial celebrations. In this November 1915 meeting, Lieber proposed a solution to prevent the destruction of the Turkey Run tract, namely the creation of a system of state parks as a memorial to the state's centennial.[16] In justifying why a system of state parks was the perfect way to preserve Turkey Run, Lieber wrote that state parks "mean better health, increased happiness, a broader education in natural history and a closer relationship" with that history.[17] By making this argument for civic improvement rather than just a simple environmental argument, Lieber hoped to encourage the public to donate funds to purchase the tract. In a speech at the products dinner at the Indiana Chamber of Commerce, Lieber offered concrete plans for this purchase to preserve Turkey Run. He proposed that Hoosiers collectively raise $20,000 to help buy the tract at an auction on May 18, 1916 to keep the land out of the hands of the timber industry.[18]

Frank B. Wynn, vice president of the Indiana Historical Commission, was amenable if the money could be raised. Wynn felt that the state parks were the perfect staging ground for the patriotic values which the centennial celebrations espoused.[19] The commission's previous plans to create a permanent memorial, including Charity Dye's proposal for a statue to the pioneer mother, had already fallen through thus the state parks took precedence. The commission wrote: "What more fitting memorial of Hoosier pioneer life, than the preservation of several [tracts of virgin land], abounding in natural beauty and wild life. They would prove for children and youth an educational asset of great interest and practical value."[20] Lieber advocated for a park system

[16] Hoy, "Governor Ralston," 265.
[17] Richard Lieber, "A State Park System of Parks: Its Value to Both Town and Country," 1915, Richard Lieber papers, Lilly Library, Indiana University.
[18] Lieber, "A State Park System of Parks," Lilly Library, Indiana University; "Indiana is Cheered at Products Day Dinner: Richard Lieber Offers Plan to Buy Turkey Run," *Indianapolis News*, Feb. 22, 1916.
[19] "The Movement for Local and State Parks in Indiana," State Parks collection, Rare Books and Manuscripts, Indiana State Library.
[20] "Report of the Committee on Permanent Memorials, January 1916," State Parks collection, Rare Books and Manuscripts, Indiana State Library.

to memorialize Indiana history and cultivate Hoosier civic values for "Indiana's new century."[21] State administrators and politicians would use the parks to preach the same civic values as the centennial celebrations. The state park system then served as a lasting memorial to civic values, born out of the centennial's frontier narrative.

The Turkey Run Commission investigated John Lusk's Turkey Run estate, which had been divided into nine separate tracts. The commission was especially interested in tract number 3, which contained approximately 288 acres of the most scenic land. The tract was valued at $18,000. Through an advocacy campaign, the Turkey Run Commission raised over $20,000 for the May 18, 1916 auction. Leo M. Rappaport, Lieber's brother-in-law and secretary of the commission, bid on behalf of the state. Several lumber companies as well as the heirs of the Lusk estate placed competitive bids on the property. This competition raised the price for the land well above the appraised value.[22] The commission and sympathetic guests soon found themselves swept up in the excitement of the auction. To maintain their competitiveness, guests offered up their jewelry and other possessions in an effort to outbid the lumber companies. Ultimately the commission raised enough money to bid $30,100. However, just as all seemed won, representatives of the Hoosier Veneer Company bid $30,200 winning the tract. Lieber was distraught vowing that the commission would work to persuade the company to sell the land. Rappaport acted as attorney for the commission and soon entered negotiations with the company.[23]

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[21] Richard Lieber, "Report of the Park Committee of the Indiana Historical Commission," in *The Indiana Centennial 1916: A Record of the Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of Indiana's Admission to Statehood*, ed. Harlow Lindley (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Commission, 1919), 53.
[22] Lieber, *Turkey Run State Park*, 11-12.
[23] Lieber, *Richard Lieber*, 86.

Harry E. Daugherty, president of the Hoosier Veneer Company, offered to sell the land to the commission for $30,00 in exchange for the right to remove 100 acres of trees of the company's choosing from the land.[24] At the same time, Lieber met again with Carl Fisher, F. H. Wheeler, J. A. Allison, and Arthur Newby, the owners of the Indianapolis Motor Speedway, to ask for additional funds. The four men agreed to supply those funds, so long as the commission could secure the tract without losing any trees.[25] Fisher went with Lieber, Rappaport, Wynn, and Daugherty to inspect the tract and see exactly what trees the company wanted to remove. The trees were valued within a range from $17,000 to $20,000. Daughterty gave the commission two options. Either he would sell the land for $30,000 if he could remove 40 acres of trees of his choosing or he would sell for $40,000, with the extra $10,000 compensating for the loss in revenue that came with not harvesting any timber. If the commission refused to take either option, he would chop down all the trees on the property and sell it to private interests for commercial use. The commission unanimously agreed to pay the $40,000 to acquire the land with all the trees intact. A deal was finalized on November 11, 1916.[26]

Due to these protracted negotiations, Turkey Run did not have the distinction of being the first Indiana state park as the commission had hoped. That honor belonged to McCormick's Creek State Park, located in Owen County. Frederick Denkewalter owned approximately 300 acres within the county. After his death in 1915, his heirs wanted to sell the estate. Temple Guy Pierson, administrator of the Owen County Circuit Court, appraised the land at $36 an acre. No one bid on the land at the appraised price. When eventually lowered to $11 an acre, Joseph

[24] Correspondence, John Cavanaugh, Box 1, Folder 4, Indiana Historical Commission papers 1915-1925, Indiana State Archives and Public Records Commission.
[25] Lieber, *Richard Lieber*, 87.
[26] Letter from Frank B. Wynn, Correspondence, John Cavanaugh, Indiana Historical Commission papers, Indiana State Archives and Public Records Commission. Both Cavanaugh and Wynn served on the Indiana Historical Commission, with Wynn serving as the commission's vice president.

Clark, clerk of the Owen County Circuit Court, contacted Governor Ralston to inquire about turning the land into a state park. Ralston agreed and sent a commission of three men, including Lieber, to Spencer to speak to Owen County citizens. This small commission recommended it be turned into a state park if funds could be raised. Through a joint public and state effort, the necessary funds were gathered to purchase the land. Leo Rappaport went to Owen County after the failure at the Turkey Run auction only to discover that one of Denkewalter's sons, having learned of the bidding war over the Turkey Run tract, wanted to raise the price of the land to increase competition over the property. Profit, for the son, mattered. Rappaport made it clear that the commission was willing to spend no more than $5,250 on the property. If the price rose higher, then the son, who was the only other bidder, would purchase it. The auction, held in front of a large crowd of county residents supportive of the park, stopped promptly once the bids reached $5,250. The son likely did not want to make himself seem like the only obstacle to the state's acquisition of the land.[27] The state's victory in the auction made the Indiana Historical Commission owners of the property that would become the first state park in July 1916.[28]

Turkey Run and McCormick's Creek State Parks, established in 1916, are examples of the preservation of the pristine wilderness ideal. In writing about the exploits of the State Park Committee during the centennial year, Lieber argued that the parks were more than a memorial to the state's centennial. Each park's "ancient rocks, dells and giant trees, [would] continue to preach a silent but mighty sermon to generations yet unborn of the struggles, hopes and ambitions of pioneer days," stated Lieber.[29] Thanks to the efforts of Juliet Virginia Strauss,

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[27] "State Purchases State Park Site: Beautiful McCormick's Creek Canyon in Owen County," *The Herald* (Jasper, IN), June 2, 1916.
[28] Correspondence and papers: General, Jan.-Apr. 1941, Box 7, Folder 1, Richard Lieber papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts, Indiana State Library.
[29] Richard Lieber, "Report of State Park Committee," in *Year Book of the State of Indiana for the Year 1917* (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, 1918), 495.

Lieber, and others, the forests of Turkey Run were spared from destruction at the hands of the Hoosier Veneer Company.[30] Improvements made to Turkey Run and McCormick's Creek State Parks focused exclusively on improving public access through roadway construction, dining hall and hotel construction, and clearing of dead and fallen timber.[31]

From the department's establishment on March 10, 1919 until Lieber's resignation in 1933, Indiana's Department of Conservation would develop nine additional state parks.[32] George S. Cottman, editor of the *Indiana Magazine of History*, was tasked with informing the public about the history of several of these parks.[33] An Indianapolis native, Cottman was a strong proponent of the conservationist belief in the healing power of nature. He frequently roamed the forests near his Indianapolis home and canoed Indiana's waterways. To express this love of nature and belief in its revitalizing effect, he opened a one-man printing shop in his home to publish magazines encouraging the public to explore the natural environment.[34] Cottman was concerned that Indiana government institutions were not doing nearly enough to preserve the documents of Indiana history. He claimed that Indiana's lack of interest in historic preservation exhibited a "mark of low intelligence when a people takes no interests in its antecedents, and a sign of ingratitude when the services of the fathers are consigned to oblivion."[35] In 1905, Cottman launched *The Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History*, to remedy ignorance of the state's history through publication of articles and historic documents.[36] Under the leadership of

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[30] Lieber, "Report," in *Year Book 1917*, 496.
[31] Lieber, "Report," in *Year Book 1917*, 498.
[32] The 11th park, Vinegar Mills State Park, was formed in 1921. Later called Muscatatuck State Park, it was downgraded to a state game farm in the 1950s. In the 1960s, it became a county park. Due to this loss of state park status, it is not a subject of this thesis. As of 2019, only 10 parks remain as state parks.
[33] Ray Boomhower, "'Devoted to the Past for the Sake of the Present': George S. Cottman and the *Indiana Magazine of History*," *Indiana Magazine of History* 93, no. 1 (1997): 4-5.
[34] Boomhower, "George S. Cottman," 7.
[35] Boomhower, "George S. Cottman," 10.
[36] Boomhower, "George S. Cottman," 12.

James Woodburn, Cottman's successor on the magazine, the publication championed the statehood centennial celebrations. Woodburn was a part of the Indiana Historical Commission and wrote pageant scripts as well as centennial histories. His work on the centennial brought Cottman into contact with Lieber, who later commissioned Cottman to write the histories of Clifty Falls, Indiana Dunes, and Pokagon State Parks.[37]

Clifty Falls State Park was the first of those three which Indiana's Department of Conservation created, and the third state park formed overall. The park came under the purview of the state late in 1920. Michael C. Garber Jr., editor of the *Madison Courier*, began an effort to turn Clifty Falls, a area of land on the banks of the Ohio River near Madison, Indiana, into Indiana's next state park. [38] Lieber, then the director of Indiana's Department of Conservation, had completed a survey of the proposed park site in June 1919. He recommended that Governor James P. Goodrich (1917-1921) purchase the property. Due to the presence of a state mental hospital near the site, Lieber and other conservation officials felt it would be a beautiful inexpensive addition to the state park system.[39] In a letter to Garber, Goodrich agreed to supply half the funds the state needed to purchase the Clifty Falls area from Jefferson County. The citizens of that county were to have raised the other half.[40] The purchase was finalized on November 3, 1920 and included roughly 30 distinct waterfalls and approximately 600 acres of forest. This made the third state park, according to one newspaper account, "one of the primitive scenic spots of southern Indiana."[41]

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[37] Boomhower, "George S. Cottman," 16.
[38] "Michael C. Garber," Indiana Historical Bureau, Jan. 2, 2019, https://www.in.gov/history/markers/11.htm; "Governor Favors Buying Clifty Falls Site for Park," *Indianapolis News*, Aug. 24, 1920.
[39] "Clifty Falls Proposed as New Park for State," *Indianapolis Star*, June 19, 1919.
[40] "Governor Favors Buying Clifty Falls Site for Park," *Indianapolis News*, Aug. 24, 1920.
[41] "Present Clifty Falls to State," *Daily Republican* (Rushville, IN), Nov. 4, 1920.

The use of the term "primitive" was a common descriptor for the state parks in these newspaper accounts. The language enticed the Hoosier public as they flocked to these "primitive scenic spots" in order to experience the supposedly pristine wilderness. Marketing the state parks as primitive scenic spots and bastions of a pristine wilderness was meant to further the park system's quest to become a place of civic healing. Wilderness, the Eden untouched by humankind, was seen as the antithesis of an industrial civilization that had lost its way. The primitive, untrammeled wilderness acted as a place of freedom for white tourists to recover from the corruption of their increasingly industrial lives.[42] An offer of a return to these simple, untouched lands was one of the main draws of the state park system to white Hoosier tourists. However, this attempt to turn Clifty Falls and other state parks preserved primarily for their natural environments furthered the erasure of Native Americans from Indiana history. By marketing the land as untouched, the Department of Conservation ignored all alterations to the environment Native peoples had made.[43]

Indiana Dunes State Park's story is similar to that of Clifty Falls.[44] According to Cottman's book on the history of Indiana Dunes State Park, Native American presence in the dunes was intermittent. He used this nomadic characterization as a way to justify white colonization of the dunes region and to argue for the pristineness of its landscape. Cottman depicted Native use of the dunes as a way to travel in and out of the state. He did not highlight

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[42] William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1995), 80.

[43] Note that not all state parks focused on this wilderness ideal. Spring Mill and Lincoln State Parks were preserved almost exclusively for their historic structures (homes and mills) built by white colonists. Mounds State Park too was primarily preserved for the manmade structures on the land. However, these ancient mounds built by Native American tribes could easily be woven into the natural environment and did little to alter the park's wilderness character.

[44] The story of the creation of Indiana Dunes State Park had the most national connections of any of Indiana's other state parks, which means that its creation was most influenced by the national parks movement discussed in the previous chapter.

Native use of the dunes and Lake Michigan for their environmental resources.[45] The land which formed Indiana Dunes State Park was used by the Miami and Potawatomi, which both had concentrations of land in the northern part of the state. In 1821 the Michigan territorial government seized control of the land through the Treaty of Chicago.[46] Once the state borders were further refined, that land was made a part of Indiana.[47] Indiana-based Natives used the dunes as a refuge from white colonization. Survivors of the Potawatomi Trail of Death in 1835, for instance, settled in the area and worked to maintain their culture.[48] Over the rest of the century, the region became a hotbed of industrialization, a process which threatened the very existence of the dunes themselves.

Beginning in 1912, citizens of Chicago and northern Indiana began to turn Indiana's Lake Michigan shore into a "Sand Dunes National Park." Stephen T. Mather, a Chicago civic leader, met with United States Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane in 1914 to express his displeasure at the mismanagement of the existing national parks. In response, Lane encouraged President Woodrow Wilson to name Mather Assistant Secretary of the Interior.[49] Mather was an advocate for the establishment of a stand-alone national park service within the Department of the Interior, a policy proposal which came to pass in 1916. As one of the first acts of this new national park service, Mather worked with Indiana Democratic Senator Thomas Taggart to

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[45] George S. Cottman, *Indiana Dunes State Park: A History and Description* (Indianapolis: Department of Conservation, 1930), 43-44. Cottman, *Indiana Dunes State Park*, 38.
[46] "Treaty with the Ottawa, etc., 1821," signed August 29, 1821, 7 Stat., 218, https://dc.library.okstate.edu/digital/collection/kapplers/id/26040.
[47] "Treaty with the Ottawa, etc., 1821," signed August 29, 1821, 7 Stat., 218, https://dc.library.okstate.edu/digital/collection/kapplers/id/26040.
[48] J. Ronald Engel, *Sacred Sands: The Struggle for Community in the Indiana Dunes* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1983), 95.
[49] Engel, *Sacred Sands*, 17.

introduce legislation studying the viability of turning portions of Indiana's Lake, LaPorte, and Porter counties which, bordered Lake Michigan, into a national park.[50]

Middle class Chicagoans desired a place to retreat from the confines of the city. In the early twentieth century many chose the nearby dunes as the perfect place to heal their spirits from the ravages of urbanism.[51] Through the influence of these tourists, the three aforementioned Indiana counties worked to stoke public enthusiasm for an official park to preserve a piece of that lakeshore. County officials created a pageant to celebrate the dunes, held during Memorial Day week 1917. This pageant was more conceptual than historical. Instead of creating scenes to highlight historical events, the Dunes Pageant Association spent the pageant both glorifying the natural beauty of the dunes and honoring the history of the region. In the opening act of the pageant, actors portrayed nymphs, satyrs, and other nature spirits to personify the area's wilderness. This provided the dunes landscape with a mythic quality, further evoking the spirituality of nature.[52]

The rest of the pageant highlighted the struggle of four colonial empires to gain control over the region. Beginning with French missionary inquiries into the region, the pageant went on to portray the revolutionary conflict between British and American soldiers, followed by a brief portrayal of a Spanish campaign through the area in 1781. The pageant concluded with the movement of American traders into the region and the establishment of permanent American settlements in the Northwest Territory.[53] Throughout all these episodes of colonialism were white actors portraying Native Americans of unspecified tribal affiliation lamenting the loss of

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[50] Engel, *Sacred Sands*, 18.
[51] Kay Franklin and Norma Schaeffer, *Duel for the Dunes: Land Use Conflict on the Shores of Lake Michigan* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 27.
[52] "Dunes Pageant to Have Indians: City of Gary Will Supply Redskins for Big Event May 30 and June 3," *Indianapolis Star*, May 20, 1917.
[53] Engel, *Sacred Sands*, 15.

their land.[54] By using Native Americans as a framing device, the pageant relegated the original occupants of the dunes to the background along with the wilderness setting and the fictitious nymphs. The pageant was popular and raised a significant amount of money for the creation of Sand Dunes National Park. Yet, the combination of World War One and Mather's resignation from the Department of the Interior ensured that the park would not materialize.[55]

The National Dunes Park Association (NDPA), with branches in Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan, continued after Mather's resignation. The association's Chicago branch began an aggressive fundraising campaign after World War One's conclusion (November 1918), mostly to establish the Lake Michigan shore region as a "playground" for tourists from Chicago and northern Indiana.[56] The dream of a national park morphed into a desire for a state park once the system was established. Creating a state park in the region was much more financially realistic. At a meeting of the NDPA, attendees heard that the U.S. Steel Corporation had expressed its willingness to make a liberal contribution towards the association's purchase of the shore. Furthermore, the report said that Governor Goodrich and Richard Lieber would be willing to back up this private donation with a public appropriation, assuming that the funds were directed towards a state rather than national park.[57]

Lieber began working on the creation of Indiana Dunes State Park in 1919, and outlined his stringent belief in the necessity of the project in a speech to Republican newspaper editors in 1921.[58] Lieber used most of his speech to argue that a state park to preserve the dunes was

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[54] Engel, *Sacred Sands*, 15.
[55] Engel, *Sacred Sands*, 19. While Mather did become the first director of the National Park Service upon its creation in 1916, he had left Washington, D.C., due to a nervous breakdown and was no longer as influential in lobbying efforts to create a Sand Dunes National Park.
[56] "Miss McCauley's Column," National Dunes Park Association Papers, 1917-1929, Folder 1 of 2, Rare Books and Manuscripts, Indiana State Library.
[57] Report of the Chicago Committee of the NDPA, May 15, 1919, National Dunes Park Association Papers, Folder 1 of 2, Rare Books and Manuscripts, Indiana State Library.
[58] Engel, *Sacred Sands*, 251.

necessary due to its environmental uniqueness. He dedicated the end of his speech to the historical value of the dunes:

> [The dunes] are the one last impressive and stately remnant of the days long gone by. They are the last token in its original condition of colonial and revolutionary days. With their broad outlook over the majestic Michigan they are the last remnant of time and space over which the procession of that grand cultural pageant of grandiose American enterprise is standing an undaunted and unperturbed guard over the rest of that which once upon a time – was. The people of middle west, and especially of Indiana, owe it to themselves to take a halt and to set aside forever as a sanctuary for all time to come, as a tribute to the days gone by, this wonderful land which has seen and heard and participated in so much that in their fulfillment, we call the advantages of the 20th century.[59]

The dunes were a natural monument to Hoosier colonialism, a last remnant of the pioneer days. It represented a trail which pioneers used to pass from forts until they finally established civilization on the lakeshore. Once civilization had taken a foothold, Lieber argued that the dunes region was crucial to the formation of twentieth century industrial society. Thus by preserving the dunes in a primeval state, Lieber believed that Hoosiers could use that land in tribute to progress and frontier history.

The park formally came into existence on August 29, 1925 with the first official land purchase of 110 acres.[60] Indiana State Republican Representatives Thomas Brown, representing Posey, Vanderburgh, and Warrick counties, and William Hill, representing Lake and Porter counties, introduced House Bill 104 in 1923, allocating state funds to purchase the land from Porter County.[61] For the next few years, the Department of Conservation worked with the business interests and county governments of Lake, LaPorte, and Porter counties to add more of the lakeshore to the newly-formed Indiana Dunes State Park.[62] Most of the improvement on the

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[59] Richard Lieber, "Lieber Tells Editors It is State's Duty to Save Dunes," *Huntington Press* (Huntington, IN), July 30, 1921.
[60] Cottman, *Indiana Dunes State Park*, 43-44.
[61] *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Indiana During the Seventy-Third Session of the General Assembly Commencing Thursday, January 4, 1923* (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, 1923), 66.
[62] Cottman, *Indiana Dunes State Park*, 38-40.

land, much as with Turkey Run and McCormick's Creek State Parks before it, consisted of cottage and roadway construction that could be used to increase tourist access.

Clifty Falls and Indiana Dunes State Parks, along with the majority of Indiana's state parks created during this era, were formed by park officials who had to alter that landscape. The most common alterations were the clearing of dead trees, the creation of roads and hiking trails, and the construction of hotels and other structures. Perhaps the most striking example of environmental alteration took place in Brown County State Park, formed in 1929. Described as "the state's most scenic county," Indiana's Department of Conservation and Brown County State Park officials worked to make the area more attractive to Hoosier tourists.[63] To accomplish this, the department constructed a series of earthen dams in the park, both to create a reservoir of water during the summer months and attract waterfowl and other animals to the park.[64] In addition, park officials released 27 turkeys and 34 pheasants in the park.[65] All state parks developed under Lieber's tenure were subject to alterations done by the Department of Conservation. Pokagon, Spring Mill, and Lincoln State Parks, however, openly acknowledged human presence prior to the Department's creation.[66] All three parks used their explicitly acknowledged history of human habitation to instruct Hoosiers how to apply the centennial values to the new industrial century, as the rest of this chapter shows.

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[63] "Scenic Spot in Brown County is Deeded to State," *Journal and Courier* (Lafayette, IN), Jan. 4, 1929.
[64] "Annual Report of the Division of Engineering," in *Year Book of the State of Indiana for the Year 1929* (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, 1930), 375; "Resume of the Year's Work by Divisions," in *Year Book of the State of Indiana for the Year 1929* (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, 1930), 142.
[65] "Resume of Year's Work," in *Year Book 1929*, 142.
[66] There was a fourth park which also acknowledged this human presence: Mounds State Park. This park preserves the location of several Native American burial mounds, formed long before white colonization of Indiana. As informative and enlightening as issues of historical memory related to these and other burial mounds are, the topic is too broad for this thesis; in fact, it warrants a thesis of its own.

Pokagon State Park was one of only two parks developed under Lieber's tenure which openly acknowledged prior Native American presence on the land.[67] Formed in 1926, it began life as Lake James State Park, created to preserve a series of lakes in Steuben County.[68] However, Lieber argued that the name should be changed to Pokagon State Park to honor Potawatomi Chief Leopold Pokagon and his son Simon Pokagon. Simon Pokagon, Leopold's son, had cultivated a reputation as a conservationist in his own right. At the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, he circulated a birch-bark pamphlet called *The Red Man's Greeting*.[69] In this pamphlet Pokagon noted that northern Indiana had been an ecological paradise full of Indian council fires. These had been destroyed by the destructive war-like march of white colonization.[70]

Maurice McClew, a Steuben County resident, cited this conservationist rhetoric in his letter to the *Steuben Republican* urging the name change to Pokagon State Park.[71] He reminded readers of an address Pokagon had made before a Steuben County Old Settler's meeting in which Pokagon waxed poetic of the paradise the lakes were before colonization. Concluding his letter, McClew wrote, "Not we, ourselves, have taken from the Indian all that meant most to him, but our forefathers took all their heritage in the land here….I can see nothing more fitting than to give to this tract of what was once Indian domain, the name of an Indian chieftain."[72] McClew's

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[67] The other was Mounds State Park, mentioned in an earlier footnote. While the names of Shakamak and Muscatatuck State Parks drew inspiration from Native American languages, especially the language spoken by the Lenni Lenape tribe, this does not really count for acknowledgement of historical Native presence on the land.
[68] George S. Cottman, *Pokagon State Park and Steuben County: A Description of Indiana's Most Picturesque Lake Region* (Indianapolis: Department of Conservation, 1927), 7-13.
[69] Engel, *Sacred Sands*, 197. Both the Exposition itself and Pokagon's reason for being there are discussed in further detail in chapter one.
[70] Engel, *Sacred Sands*, 197.
[71] George S. Cottman, *Pokagon State Park and Steuben County: A Description of Indiana's Most Picturesque Lake Region* (Indianapolis: Department of Conservation, 1927), 13.
[72] Maurice McClew, "Favors Name Pokagon Park," *Steuben Republican* (Angola, IN), July 21, 1926.

suggestion, inspired by Pokagon's conservationist rhetoric, became the most popular suggestion in the last several months of 1926. The park's name was officially changed in 1927.

However, this narrative was only part of the picture. Cottman wrote in his short history of Pokagon State Park about the difference between the Potawatomi tribe, to which the Pokagon family belonged, and other tribes of Indiana. In quoting a French Jesuit missionary, Cottman deemed the Potawatomi the most civilized of Indiana's tribes. Their civilized status was due to their amenable attitude and steady conversion to Christianity. This he contrasted with the Miami tribe, which he deemed especially savage.[73] Cottman believed the Pokagons "stood for the rights, for the saving, and for the betterment of their people with a wisdom and an unselfish patriotism unexcelled in the annals of Indian history."[74] He went on to write that Leopold Pokagon was "wise enough to see the futility of the long struggle" against colonialism and that "he urged the adaptation of the inevitable;" meanwhile his son Simon worked to make whites see "the Indian as something other than a depraved savage."[75] These quotes provide a clear picture that Cottman saw the Pokagons and the Potawatomi as more civilized than other tribes, giving up their tribal ways for the betterment of their own people. In this way, Cottman provides evidence that the selection of the Pokagon name was also partially due to the perceived level of civilization among the tribe; they were likely seen as safer figures to memorialized than figures like Tecumseh who were viewed as more militaristic.

At Pokagon State Park itself, there was no historical interpretation of the Pokagon family or the Potawatomi Band. In fact, most of Indiana's state parks during Lieber's tenure focused on preserving the natural environment with little to no emphasis on historic interpretation. This

[73] Cottman, *Pokagon State Park*, 35-36.
[74] Cottman, *Pokagon State Park*, 37.
[75] Cottman, *Pokagon State Park*, 39.

conflict between rhetoric and reality of interpretation plays out in Lieber's assessment of Native Americans. Lieber believed that Native Americans were "the first and most scrupulous conservationists," a form of the noble savage stereotype which was common among several key members of the conservationist movement.[76] The conservationist movement often used the stereotype of the ecological "noble savage", which portrayed Native Americans as peaceful stewards coexisting with the land, as a way to encourage environmental stewardship among the wider American public. Ernest Thompson Seton, co-founder of the Boy Scouts of America, argued that "the Red Man is the apostle of outdoor life, his example and precept are what young America needs today above any other ethical teaching of which I have knowledge."[77] By using Native Americans as a personification of environmental stewardship, Lieber, Seton, and others created a new way to tackle the challenges of the new industrial century. Caring for the environment and appreciating it just as Native Americans had done offered a way for Americans to return to their country's supposedly Eden-like roots. Yet, the reality of the park itself was that Natives were absent symbols.

Spring Mill and Lincoln State Parks, developed in 1927 and 1932 respectively, were major exceptions to this. The primary goals of these two state parks were historic preservation, whether a frontier village in the case of Spring Mill State Park or Abraham Lincoln's boyhood home in Lincoln State Park. Whereas most of the rest of the state parks worked to preserve the natural environment which Hoosier pioneers, Spring Mill and Lincoln State Parks focused instead on glorifying the pioneer spirit by showing the public how that wilderness was tamed. Beginning in 1865, the land which eventually became Spring Mill State Park fell under the

[76] Engel, *Sacred Sands*, 198. See chapter 2 of my thesis for a more detailed discussion.
[77] Ernest Thompson Seton, *The Gospel of the Red Man: An Indian Bible* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1926), 1-2.

ownership of George Donaldson, a Scottish immigrant. After his death, through a series of legal battled, the s-called Donaldson tract came under the control of Indiana University. The tract was sold to the Indiana state government in 1927; the Department of Conservation almost immediately set the land aside to become a new state park. As development of the park continued, the department took an interest in a 310-acre segment of nearby land owned by the Lehigh Portland Cement Company as that small tract was home to the remains of a former frontier settlement, complete with an intact three-story grist mill.[78] The village began in 1815 when Samuel Jackson, Jr. squatted upon the land, which would not be officially removed from Native American control until the Treaty of St. Mary's in 1818.[79] The village's first gristmill was constructed in 1817, causing the town's population to grow steadily until the 1850s when railroad lines bypassing the village cut off the residents economically from the rest of the state. By the 1910s, the village became a popular picnicking site for surrounding communities. Efforts to preserve the village began in 1919; full-scale restoration began in 1928, just a year after the creation of Spring Mill State Park.[80]

As soon as the village was added to the park lands, the main focus of the park's development focused on reconstructing the village. "Spring Mill State Park is a rare, if not a singular opportunity, to bring back the past and visualize again the activities of pioneer days," Lieber wrote in the foreword of E. Y. Guernsey's account of the park's history.[81] Lieber believed that a properly restored village would "show the people of the state, in a practical way, the great

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[78] Richard Lieber, foreword to *Spring Mill State Park: A History and Description*, by E. Y. Guernsey (Indianapolis: Department of Conservation, 1931), 7-8.
[79] Jillian M. Rickly-Boyd, "Establishing Authenticity in a Tourist Landscape: Spring Mill Pioneer Village," *Material Culture* 41, no. 1 (2009): 3; "Treaty with the Potawatomi, 1818," signed October 7, 1818, 7 Stat., 185, https://dc.library.okstate.edu/digital/collection/kapplers/id/26010.
[80] Rickly-Boyd, "Establishing Authenticity," 3-4.
[81] Lieber, foreword to *Spring Mill*, 8.

progress made in improved living conditions in the past hundred years."[82] After the village was added he further wrote that if the Department of Conservation wanted "to complete Spring Mill we must do it on the basis of the Colonial farm, bearing in mind, of course, Frederick J. Turner's statement that every time the American frontier was shoved westward a return to more primitive conditions was obtained."[83] Turner's thesis described how, as settlers moved westward, they shed the trappings of civilization and returned to a more-primitive state. It was through this return to primitiveness that settlers rediscovered the independence, freedom, democracy, and creativity that would form the backbone of the American national character.[84] By drawing on Turner to argue for how the Spring Mill pioneer village should be reconstructed, Lieber hoped to show that pioneers in their coming to a primitive Indiana wilderness had rediscovered these very same values. In so doing, these pioneers had created a distinct Hoosier cultural character. Thus if tourists wanted to see the origins of Hoosierdom, Lieber argued through his invocation of Turner that Spring Mill was their destination.

Spring Mill State Park served as epitome of colonial progress within the state park system. It was crucial to the system's role as a memorial to the centennial. The main mission of the park was to provide a way for tourists to see and honor their pioneer ancestors by memorializing the colonial lifestyle. Whereas almost all other Indiana state parks attempted to preserve a pristine wilderness to show the public what their pioneer ancestors had to overcome, Spring Mill State Park preserved and reconstructed a pioneer village to memorialize how those pioneer ancestors conquered a vacant, wild land. Guernsey argued in his account of Spring Mill State Park's history that pioneer village restorations could occur throughout the state, but that

[82] Denzil Doggett, "The Story of the 'Spring Mill' Water Wheel," *Indiana Magazine of History* 28, no. 2 (1932): 84.
[83] Correspondence and papers: General, 1933-1934, Box 5, Folder 4, Richard Lieber papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts, Indiana State Library.
[84] Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness," 76.

Spring Mill was uniquely suited to the task due to its naturally isolated valley location. Thus the Spring Mill pioneer village was only made possible through the location of the town in a pristine wilderness; the combination of the two served to strengthen the park's narrative more than any one element.[85]

More than just the writer of the park's history, Guernsey was actively employed by the Department of Conservation to help restore the village. His main focus was acquiring period-appropriate household items, such as lighting sources, dishware, and tools to properly furnish the village homes and turn the park into a "living museum."[86] During Lieber's tenure as director of Indiana's Department of Conservation, at least 11 structures were either repaired or reconstructed on their original foundations. This included the grist mill, distillery, tavern, and leather shop.[87] The goal of the state park officials was to give the Hoosier public the best sense of how their pioneer ancestors tamed the surrounding wilderness and turned it into a prosperous, civilized village. Each of the structures was meant to add to that goal and help the public understand how the Hoosier pioneer spirit triumphed over the savage wilderness.

Lincoln State Park followed a similar model, though on a smaller scale. The park was created to memorialize the boyhood home of President Abraham Lincoln (1861-1865) as well as the burial site of his mother, Nancy Hanks Lincoln. First memorialized in 1879, the location of the Lincoln family's cabin was determined and marked in 1917.[88] However, this largely failed to catch the interest of the Indiana state government until the administration of Republican

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[85] E. Y. Guernsey, *Spring Mill State Park: A History and Description* (Indianapolis: Department of Conservation, 1931), 37.
[86] Guernsey, *Spring Mill*, 38-39.
[87] Rickly-Boyd, "Establishing Authenticity," 4.
[88] Michael A. Capps, "Interpreting Lincoln – A Work in Progress: Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial as a Case Study," *Indiana Magazine of History* 105, no. 4 (2009): 327-328.

Governor Edward Jackson (1925-1929).[89] The most the state had done up until then was to fence off the area of Nancy Hanks Lincoln's gravesite and provide highway access to it.[90] At this time, the state government had purged members of the Ku Klux Klan from state offices and sought a way to revitalize the state's image.[91] Ironically Jackson, running on an anti-corruption platform, had been swept into office in 1924 by Klan supporters.[92] However, after D.C. Stephenson, Grand Dragon of Indiana's Klan, was convicted of second-degree murder, Klan support throughout the state withered. Lieber, who longed for an Indiana memorial to Lincoln, saw his opening. To combat Indiana's poor reputation, stained by Klan racism, Lieber proposed the erection of a tribute to Abraham Lincoln who, after a childhood spent in Indiana, became known throughout the country as the "Great Emancipator."[93]

Jackson acquiesced to the request, acknowledging that memorializing Lincoln's boyhood home was the savior Indiana's image needed. He organized a fundraising team which included Muncie's Ball family, former Senator Albert Beveridge (1899-1911), and nationally renowned Hoosier authors George Ade, Booth Tarkington, and Meredith Nicholson. This team, called the Indiana Lincoln Union, was modeled after the state of Kentucky's efforts to preserve Lincoln's birthplace.[94] The union aimed to raise the funds necessary to purchase the home site and erect a national shrine to Abraham Lincoln and his mother. However, it failed to raise the required two million dollars.[95]

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[89] Keith A. Erekson, "Losing Lincoln: A Call to Commemorative Action," *Indiana Magazine of History* 105, no. 4 (2009): 312.
[90] Capps, "Interpreting Lincoln," 328.
[91] Erekson, "Losing Lincoln," 312.
[92] Keith A. Erekson, *Everybody's History: Indiana's Lincoln Inquiry and the Quest to Reclaim a President's Past* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012), 112.
[93] Erekson, *Everybody's History*, 113.
[94] Capps, "Interpreting Lincoln," 329.
[95] Erekson, "Losing Lincoln," 312-313.

The preservation effort then fell to Indiana's Department of Conservation. Lieber felt that a reconstruction of the Lincoln family's farm, as his department had done with Spring Mill State Park's pioneer village, would be inappropriate in such a memorial park. For suggestions, Lieber and the Indiana Lincoln Union turned to Frederick Law Olmsted Jr., a noted landscape architect.[96] Olmsted leaned heavily on religious iconography in his plan for the memorial. The cabin and gravesite would serve as two opposite points in a long rectangle with a highway intersecting it, forming a crucifix pattern. A parking lot with a large flagpole would serve as the intersection of that crucifix, a shape chosen to evoke strong religious imagery and a solemn atmosphere in the memorial.[97] Further, Olmsted proposed a massive reforestation effort to recreate the native forest landscape which the Lincoln family encountered when they settled the area. This recreated forest would be a symbol of the primeval conditions against which Hoosier pioneers struggled. It further showed Lincoln's tenacity in overcoming that harsh wilderness.[98]

Due to the solemnity of Olmsted's design, Lieber, the Department of Conservation, and the Indiana Lincoln Union deemed the reconstruction of a pioneer farm on the site as tacky and dishonest. They had no issue recreating their vision of the native land Lincoln's family came across. "Because Lincoln lived here," Lieber wrote in a summary of the Department of Conservation's work in 1927, "and because those influences that were to instill in his youthful mind appreciation of absolute justice and political integrity were exerted over him in this state, the shrine that we build becomes…a memorial to Indiana's pioneer environment."[99] The site not only became a memorial to the landscape the pioneers conquered but also to their values. In that

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[96] Capps, "Interpreting Lincoln," 329-330. Frederick Olmsted Jr. was the son of Frederick Olmsted, who designed New York City's Central Park, widely regarded as one of the nation's first conservation spaces. The place of Central Park in the development of the national and state parks movement is discussed briefly in chapter two.
[97] Capps, "Interpreting Lincoln," 330.
[98] Capps, "Interpreting Lincoln," 330-331.
[99] Richard Lieber, "Report of the Department of Conservation," in *Year Book of the State of Indiana for the Year 1927* (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, 1928), 559.

same summary, Lieber further wrote that "If [Lincoln] exemplifies the principles [the pioneers] taught and the life they led, then the memorial to him becomes a memorial to them also."[100] As evidenced by these two quotes, memorializing Lincoln was as much about memorializing the pioneer values the statehood centennial celebrations extolled as it was about commemorating Lincoln's boyhood in Indiana.[101] To Lieber, Lincoln was the ultimate Hoosier pioneer; the state park bearing his name thus served as the ultimate memorial to Hoosier pioneers in general.

Lincoln State Park became the last state park developed under Lieber's tenure in 1932; he would resign as head of the Department of Conservation the following year over differences with the administration of Governor Paul V. McNutt (1933-1937).[102] During his tenure, the Indiana state park system was created specifically as a place of civic healing brought about through the preservation of the natural environment and memorialization of the values extolled by the statehood centennial. By attempting to preserve a pristine wilderness to help a white middle-class public understand exactly what their pioneer ancestors overcame when creating the state, Lieber participated in the centennial exercise of erasing Native American history of the state, except where those Natives had conformed to white colonial culture. By then explicitly showcasing and interpreting only pioneer history, whether in the form of Spring Mill State Park's village or Lincoln State Park's memorials, the park system celebrated the Hoosier pioneer spirit and its role in civilizing the state. In this way the park system furthered the centennial notion that Indiana was mostly empty and void of human society when white colonists arrived, further erasing Native Americans from the Hoosier story to attempt to craft a unified Hoosier identity.

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[100] Lieber, "Report of Department of Conservation, in *Year Book 1927*, 559.
[101] Capps, "Interpreting Lincoln," 336. Until 1962, the Lincoln Boyhood Memorial existed within Lincoln State Park. However, in 1962, the memorial was separated from the park and fell under the purview of the National Park Service, becoming Indiana's first authorized unit of the National Park System.
[102] David M. Silver, "Richard Lieber and Indiana's Forest Heritage," *Indiana Magazine of History* 67, no. 1 (1971): 45.

Conclusion

The story of Indiana's state park system is much more than that of passionate environmentalists squaring off against the timber industry. While the creation of the state park system certainly represents an enormous triumph of conservation and environmental preservation, it also represents an effort to create a staging ground for the Turnerian frontier narrative. Used by the Indiana Historical Commission in planning the state's 1916 statehood centennial celebrations, this narrative asserts that white colonists came into an area largely devoid of human existence and carved civilization from the savage wilderness. The commission used this narrative to illustrate the tenacity of Hoosier pioneers, who set the state on its path towards industrialization. In presenting this narrative, the commission hoped to inspire twentieth-century Hoosiers to bravely tackle the challenges of the new industrial century. This narrative ignored or downplayed the effect of colonization on Native Americans. The centennial either portrayed that colonization as a direct consequence of Native peoples' own actions or depicted colonization as a divinely ordained inevitability.

Indiana's state park system was created as a permanent memorial for the statehood centennial. By extension, it also became a memorial for the frontier narrative which tied the centennial celebrations together. Taking a page from the national park system, the Indiana state park system used preservation of a wilderness ideal to show white middle- and upper-class tourists firsthand the sort of environments with which their pioneer ancestors had to contend. Most parks were marketed as a pristine primitive wilderness. This only served to further eliminate Native Americans from the story of Hoosier history. Calling land pristine primitive wilderness ignored any alterations to the

land conducted by Native peoples. Moreover, this terminology implied that the land was completely devoid of human habitation at the time of white settlement. The only two parks developed under Richard Lieber's 17-year involvement with state park creation which explicitly recognized human settlement during the seventeenth-through-nineteenth century frontier era were Spring Mill and Lincoln State Parks, sites of white habitation.

As stated in the introduction, this thesis' argument was not meant to condemn the creation of the state park system. Rather, it is meant to provide a different lens through which to view that creation. By tracing the state park system's origin back to Indiana's statehood centennial celebrations and studying the full implications of the narrative presented at those celebrations, this thesis aimed to offer a more complete understanding of the first era of state park development in Indiana. Certainly the story does not end with Lieber's resignation from the Department of Conservation in 1933. Studying later additions to the park system, such as Falls of the Ohio and Prophetstown State Parks, would offer a glimpse into how the frontier narrative developed in the state parks in the decades after Lieber's involvement with the Department of Conservation (later Department of Natural Resources). Similarly, there are gaps in this thesis' scope. If one were to look at the development of state memorials, such as the George Rogers Clark or Menominee Memorials, or the preservation of state historic sites during Lieber's tenure, one could trace how the frontier narrative wove its way through areas specifically selected for their historic quality. Through laying the groundwork, tracing the frontier narrative's path through the state park system, I hope to offer other historians a path forward to their own reexamination of conservation and historic preservation since Indiana's statehood centennial.

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