

INDIANA STATE PARKS AND THE
HOOSIER IMAGINATION, 1916-1933

BY

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DISSERTATION

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Abstract

This dissertation focuses on changing conceptualizations of history and heritage to investigate how the burgeoning system of state parks in Indiana between 1916-1933 reflected the state's own struggle against modernity. I argue that the parks were physical manifestations of the "Hoosier Imagination," part of an on-going conceptual reframing of local identity. Fully a century ago, the people of Indiana successfully campaigned to protect certain portions of the state's original domain and to keep these areas as a heritage passed down to future generations. During an era of constant change, the parks were imagined to be part of the collective memory of the people and a connection to a mythologized pastoral history of the state, though this history often ignored or marginalized culturally problematic parts of local history such as acknowledging the role of Native Americans. However, I argue that these seemingly "natural" sites cannot be seen as distinct from urban matters. Instead, Indiana's state parks are inexorably linked to urban matters, dynamics, and systems. Close examination of archival source material and contemporary newspapers show that the parks were central to the dissemination and display of modern ideas about history, biology, technology, and personal health, as well as evolving cultural values concerning bureaucratic efficiency. These sites afforded Indiana space to position itself in the vanguard of Progressive Era social and economic growth, creating a veritable laboratory to consolidate the newly minted authority of the state. I further draw connections between local statecraft and large-scale imperial formations, an idea that I have coined called "local imperialism." Ultimately, this study demonstrates that the Indiana State Parks were physical sites at which Hoosier residents and institutions could continually re-imagine the past, present, and future of the state.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Those works of art or nature which are usually the motives for our travels by land or sea are often neglected if they lie within our reach—whether it be that we are naturally less inquisitive concerning those things which are near us; or, perhaps, that we defer from time to time viewing what we have an opportunity of seeing when we please.¹

On November 11, 1916, the headline on the front page of *The Indianapolis News* proudly pronounced, “Turkey Run is Now a State Park.” The 288-acre tract of land in west-central Indiana was a topographical and scenic anomaly in the otherwise flat and non-descript agricultural fields that comprised much of the state. By dint of millions of years of natural geologic processes, Sugar Creek and its tributaries had carved a series of hollows and deep gorges into the native sandstone bedrock. It was also the site of one of the last remaining untouched old growth forests in Indiana. On account of its rugged setting, the area was unsuited to either agriculture or extensive settlement and thus, massive oak, walnut, sycamore and poplar trees—some reported to be as big as six feet in diameter—stood sentinel in these woods, never having been cleared by the timber companies, exuding a sense of permanence and timelessness. Though lacking the scale and magnitude of the scenery found in the western United States, Turkey Run was truly unique to Indiana—it was undoubtedly *of this place*—and its natural character served as a powerful critique of the ongoing industrialization and urbanization occurring in Indiana around the turn of the twentieth century.

The newly created Turkey Run Commission was asked to procure this landscape for the State of Indiana and, ultimately for the public use of its residents. Richard Lieber,

who had been appointed by Governor Samuel Ralston in March of 1916 as chairman of this commission, was quoted in the paper as saying,

The gain of Turkey Run means a good deal to the people, for it can not be said that we not only have a made a beginning for the proposed state park system on an adequate scale, but that the very spot has been obtained forever as a memorial of the centenary of the state, which, in the minds of so many people, men, women and children, expresses, perhaps, more than any other one object in the state, the spirit of the past.²

Early proponents of park development in Indiana invoked imagery and ideas of the state's pioneer past to help garner financial support for the protection and preservation of particular tracts of land. Turkey Run represented Indiana's "original domain," and would serve as the lasting memorial of the Indiana Centennial Celebration of statehood in 1916. By the end of Richard Lieber's tenure on the Turkey Run Commission and later as the State's initial director of the Indiana Department of Conservation in 1933, the park system had developed into a state-wide institutional apparatus led by a centralized bureaucracy. It consisted of ten discrete spatial units—and thousands of acres of protected land—that showcased the varied nature of the state's geographic and cultural history (Figure 1.1).

In many ways, this dissertation is not a history of the Indiana State Parks, per se, as much as it is an inquiry into early-twentieth-century Indiana. It demonstrates not only the power of people to shape the landscape, but also, and perhaps equally as important, the power of the landscape to shape people. As such, it asks a number of inter-related questions: What is the relationship between the physical landscape of Indiana and ideas



Figure 1.1 – The Indiana State Park System in 1933
Map created by Author

of local history and heritage, and in what ways did this change over time? Whose heritage was represented in the parks? Did this change over time? In what ways? How did the parks help to mediate the tensions of modernity in Indiana? To what extent did the parks, and the Indiana landscape more broadly, function as a pedagogical tool for the state? How, if at all, were such messages received by the local population? The answer to many of the question posed above, I argue, lay in the capacity of Indiana residents and institutions to continually re-imagine themselves. Thus, this dissertation demonstrates how the state parks manifested the variable, even liquid, notions of Hoosier identity during the early decades of the twentieth century. The Hoosier landscape, and the state parks more specifically, will be shown as a lens through which this re-imagining is observed and evaluated. I accomplish this through the exploration of three seemingly distinct, yet nevertheless inter-related narratives: one of Indiana's halcyon past, one of the state's technological progress in the modern age, and one of the ways that images and ideas of Native Americans were appropriated for use in the parks. Ultimately, I argue that the parks were physical manifestations of the "Hoosier Imagination," part of an on-going conceptual reframing of state identity.

Methodology

In its broadest sense, the Indiana State Park system grew out of a set of Progressive Era environmental conservation initiatives aimed at mediating the physical changes to the American landscape brought about by the process of industrialization. It wasn't until this historical period when such spaces would serve as a marked contrast to

the deteriorated urban environment that the idea of parks even made sense in the state. This dissertation, however, is primarily concerned with the role of Indiana's state parks as part of a more localized, if not regional, cultural narrative between 1916—the year the first Indiana state park was designated—and 1933, when Richard Lieber resigned from his post with the Department of Conservation. It seeks to understand how the Indiana landscape, as manifest in a burgeoning park system, reflected the “spirit” of Indiana's past, and how this may have impacted the realities of the present, and possible visions of the future. It further speculates on the role of these privileged portions of the Hoosier landscape in the creation and performance of institutional authority in Indiana during the first half of the twentieth century. Through an examination of official publications of the Indiana Department of Conservation, as well as various archival sources such as selected newspapers, travel guides, contemporary ephemera, and personal correspondence, I trace how the physical and conceptual space of the burgeoning park system reflected shifting pedagogical initiatives driven by state institutions during an era of pronounced social changes at both the local and national scale.³

As hinted at earlier, it is important to understand that the landscape is not to be viewed or taken for granted solely as *space*. Rather, landscape is an abstract idea that is almost necessarily laden with the layers of ideologically charged cultural values that conceived, produced, and maintain it.⁴ This dissertation is, therefore, not just about Indiana's state parks; it is concerned with understanding the stratigraphy of physical landscape and local identity in Indiana during the early decades of the twentieth century. Following the work of James and Nancy Duncan, I argue that landscapes, “can be seen as

texts which are transformations of ideologies into concrete form.”⁵ In other words, these sites are pieces of information that can be used to gain understanding of local culture.⁶ By reading the archive, various secondary texts and images, as well as the landscape itself, I examine changing attitudes of Hoosier institutions and residents towards the creation and maintenance of local identity. Ultimately, the Indiana State Parks are shown to be a critical tool in the ways that Hoosiers come to terms with the modern world and continually reimagine themselves at the beginning of Indiana’s “New Century.”

It is the changing idea of Indiana, then, as well as attitudes towards local heritage that I suggest was being represented in the state parks. Geographer Denis Cosgrove ably argued that landscape is actually an ideological concept that “represents a way in which certain classes of people have signified themselves and their world through their imagined relationship with nature, and through which they have underlined and communicated their own social role and that of others with respect to external nature.”⁷ In other words, he noted that the landscape is an idea that requires a historical and cultural context. That this idea is malleable, and thus changeable over time, is also significant to the current discussion.

It should also be noted that when terms such as “local identity,” “local culture,” the “people of Indiana,” or “Hoosiers” are used in this dissertation, I am almost exclusively referring to those inhabitants of Indiana of European descent, those who had the greatest influence on state policy and thus, the shape of the developing park system. By 1910, the swell of migration following the Civil War had certainly begun impacting the state within the previous twenty years; this was no longer a wholly homogeneous population.⁸ Conversely, the Native American populations in the state had been on the

decline for decades following the federally sponsored Indian removal of the 1830s, with the 1910 decennial census reporting the Native American population in the state as only 279 people.⁹ Ultimately, there is little accounting for all possible voices in turn-of-the-century Indiana, but the historical record is much clearer from the standpoint of state institutions resulting in a flattened identity for the state and its residents rather than one that is more representative. Thus, from a methodological standpoint, this dissertation focuses on the extent to which those institutions succeeded in their mission rather than the ways that certain other classes of people may have resisted the attempts at homogenizing identity.¹⁰

Discovering the ways in which the Indiana State Parks reflected state the landscape idea, and thus, institutional ideology, required the review and analysis of a range of source material held at numerous repositories around the state. Primary evidence for this thesis has come largely from holdings at the Indiana State Library, the Indiana State Archives, and the Lilly Library of Indiana University. Additional collections, as well as microfilm containing many of the newspapers used as source material, were found in smaller branch libraries and historical societies throughout the state, often in the county where the various parks are located.

I began by surveying a range of secondary source material related to the United States during the Progressive Era, and specifically that information pertaining to the Midwest. Next, I plumbed the depths of a multitude archives and repositories in search of official government documents concerned with Indiana's state parks, and more broadly, to the Indiana Department of Conservation. Common themes arose between the secondary sources and these documents that reflect the stated agenda for the parks by the

State of Indiana, not the least of which were concerned with local heritage and patriotism that was initially tied to the Centennial Celebration, the rise of bureaucratic power in the state, and ideas of progress.

These preliminary themes were subsequently traced through a range of additional materials that not only derived from different sources but often spoke to different audiences. For example, personal correspondence reflects personal attitudes towards the parks. They provide visual and written clues as to how certain culturally elite individuals viewed the landscape more broadly. Newspapers, were also a critical source of information about the parks, but consciously existed to spread information to a wider swath of the population than correspondence. Elizabeth Burt notes that that newspapers of the era

served as critics of the status quo and promoted many of the important political and economic reforms of the period. Paradoxically, many mainstream newspapers tended to be conservative in the face of social reform and lagged far behind the more radical reform papers such as those of the woman suffrage and labor movement. Regardless of their position on specific issues, however, newspapers of the Progressive Era were active in the national discussion of controversial issues. They brought these issues to the public's attention, promoted debate by publishing the positions of opposing sides, acted as both moderators and participants in many of these debates, and generally served as facilitators of public discussion.¹¹

In other words, newspapers were a powerful medium by which to disseminate information, and ultimately, to shape public attitudes about a given topic.¹² And whereas other kinds of evidence, such as the correspondence mentioned above, tend to speak to specific individuals, newspapers and related ephemera communicated information directly to middle class residents of Indiana. That the articles published about the state parks in the various newspapers were often verbatim copies of the official government underscores the extent to which Indiana controlled the message.

Thus, this project follows Benedict Anderson's focus on print capitalism as a means to help Indiana imagine itself as a single community.¹³ Anderson's ideas concerning imagined communities are crucial to this project, and serve a more specific function as the conceptual framework to guide the analysis of Chapter Three in this dissertation. They allow us to understand the preservation and protection of landscape not just in the context of park building, but as part of a larger discussion of statecraft in the Progressive Era. Here, Anderson's concept is adapted from its original formulation that is concerned with nation states and instead applied to the state. Embedded in the fervor of park development was a message to all state residents that, in spite of increased diversity of the population, the physical heritage of the state could unite them together as one body of Hoosiers ready to move forward into a new century.

A second critical framework that is used in this thesis is that of the exhibitionary complex, as originally conceived by sociologist Tony Bennett.¹⁴ The exhibitionary complex derived from theoretical discussions of knowledge and power outlined by both Michel Foucault and Antonio Gramsci.¹⁵ It functioned as part of a larger institutionally sponsored project that sought to empower citizens, and ultimately to control them, through education. Bennett notes that museums and galleries which held "significant quantities of cultural and scientific property" and which were once reserved for the limited enjoyment of a social elite, were gradually transferred into public ownership during the nineteenth century and "housed within institutions administered by the state for the benefit of an extended general public."¹⁶ Bennett also refers to the power of pedagogical initiatives that accompanied exhibitions to forge "very direct and specific connections between the exhibitionary rhetoric of progress and the claims to leadership of

particular social and political forces.” Implicit in the exhibition, then, were institutional agendas to create an order of things, and which were often catalyzed by celebrations of national pride. Such pride also had the effect of establishing an “other.” But rather than the tendency towards Orientalizing discussed by Timothy Mitchell, this project examines similar issues that connect the exhibitionary complex with Native Americans.¹⁷ And finally, following Gramsci’s elucidation of hegemony, the exhibitionary complex served as a platform by which to “incorporate the people within the processes of the state.”¹⁸ The populace was drawn in by the newfound access to knowledge, leading to a willing, though often unknowing, concession to institutional authority.

By positioning the parks as part of the exhibitionary complex, I argue that these spaces reflected state ideology in Indiana. More than this, this dissertation suggests that state ideology changes subtly over time and that the shifting face of the parks mirrored these changes. Tony Bennett anticipated this in his work:

Public museums instituted an order of things that was meant to last. In doing so, they provided the modern state with a deep and continuous ideological backdrop but one which, if it was to play this role, could not be adjusted to respond to shorter term ideological requirements. Exhibitions met this need, injecting new life into the exhibitionary complex and rendering its ideological configurations more pliable in bending them to serve the conjuncturally specific hegemonic strategies of different national bourgeoisies. They made the order of things dynamic, mobilizing it strategically in relation to the more immediate ideological and political exigencies of the particular moment.¹⁹

Ultimately, I argue that a wave of park development after 1919, one marked by the rise of the Indiana Department of Conservation and its associated bureaucracy, closely exhibits these tenets of the exhibitionary complex.

The third and final theoretical framework that helps explain the larger cultural contexts examined in this dissertation is called imperialist nostalgia.²⁰ Elucidated by

anthropologist Renato Rosaldo, this notion is often applied to discussions of colonial and, as importantly, of post-colonial situations. Rosaldo explains that imperialist nostalgia relates to a subject's longing for a history in which the subject may actually be complicit in the demise of that same history. He speaks directly about a native culture in the Philippines, the Ilongots, whose traditions had been largely erased due to the civilizing forces of evangelical missionaries. However, following the relative success of their work, the missionaries lamented the changing of these former "primitives," even though they were the ones who had deliberately tried to change them. Rosaldo explains that "much of imperialist nostalgia's force resides in its association with (indeed, its disguise as) more genuinely innocent tender recollections of what is at once an earlier epoch and a previous phase of life."²¹ In the case of Indiana, in spite of the active removal of Native Americans from the state (and indeed, from the entire land mass of the United States east of the Mississippi River) in the middle of the nineteenth century, early twentieth century Hoosiers seemed nostalgic for their return. This dissertation argues that the parks were a logical outgrowth of this idea, linking the "natural" landscape with the state's Native American history, a history that had been overlooked or ignored during the initial park movement. However, institutional control over the narrative left Native Americans voiceless and exploited, and further subjugated to a colonialist-style mentality.²² This group of people was considered an "other," quite nearly unfit to live in the modern world, but instead maintained value as an "environmental subject" who belonged in the "natural" world of the parks.²³ I conclude that it was not the *actual* return of Native Americans that the dominant culture wanted, but only a semblance of the simplicity, integrity, and authenticity that imagined views of Native Americans brought with it.

As is evident, two key factors unite these analytical frameworks: nation building and empire. A goal of this dissertation is to demonstrate that ideas of empire are not limited to the level of the Nation-State, and more specifically that the physical landscape is an important tool in expressing these ideas. W.J.T. Mitchell suggests that landscape might be seen as “something like the ‘dreamwork’ of imperialism, unfolding its own movement in time and space from a central origin and folding back on itself to disclose both utopian fantasies of the perfected imperial prospect and fractured images of unresolved ambivalence and unsuppressed resistance.”²⁴ Similarly, as Indiana developed as a state, it sought new ways to build its own utopia through the construction of institutional authority and the control over an increasingly heterogeneous population. But rather than control the local population through such drastic measures as militarized police actions, I argue that the park movement was part of a larger effort of “progressive” imperialism to inculcate desirable values into the populace. In contrast to the “regressive” imperialism of the Nazis or the Spanish conquistadores, historian Lewis Feuer defines “progressive” imperialism like that of ancient Rome, one that “elevates living standards and cultural life; it brings education and the arts to its more backward areas.”²⁵ In other words, the parks were a civilizing force. The idea of imperialism was pervasive during the Progressive Era, even if the normally accepted tenets of the age do not include such discussion.²⁶ Thus, in the same vein as anthropologist Laura Ann Stoler, I draw connections between large-scale imperial formations and the minute practices in which they are lodged.²⁷ The term I use to describe this phenomenon is “local imperialism.”

The result of this analysis is a more nuanced, layered understanding of Indiana in the early decades of the twentieth century: a cultural stratigraphy. Rather than examining the parks from a single perspective, the decision to utilize three separate frameworks serves to better contextualize these events—which, I argue, change drastically even in the relatively short seventeen-year historical period chosen for this study—within this particularly confusing cultural epoch. Ultimately, this work is an inquiry into early twentieth century Indiana that demonstrates not only the power of the people to shape the landscape, but also, and perhaps equally as important, the power of the landscape to shape people. While accepting that physical space is a very real and objective phenomenon, this project makes the assumption that meaning in the landscape is fluid and that human understanding of space, as well as the ways that we appropriate that space, can change in even a very short period. Each of these changes represents a new, different, and equally fluid iteration of the Hoosier Imagination.

Chapter Guide

With this in mind, Chapter Two serves as a literature review to help foreground and legitimize the study. Chapter Three examines the infancy of Indiana’s park system. The Centennial Celebration of Statehood—from which the park movement arose—was an important historical watershed for Hoosier residents that not only provided the conceptual space to reflect on the state’s history, but also a decisive opportunity through which they would envision the future. More specifically, this chapter examines how the State of Indiana conceived and implemented the first parks, and specifically the park called Turkey Run, as a way to protect discrete sections of rapidly disappearing natural

resources. The result of this, they hoped, was to create an imagined community of state residents rallying around a single, unifying heritage for all Hoosiers.

Following the initial implementation of the parks, however, Chapter Four argues that these spaces were actively reimagined and ingrained with new meaning. Here, I position the parks as physical markers of the exhibitionary complex, and suggest that the parks were a crucial piece of architecture to support a developing state-wide disciplinary apparatus intent not only on educating and shaping the Hoosier citizenry, but also shaping the Hoosier landscape itself. This dissertation argues, in part, that state parks in Indiana, especially Spring Mill and Shakamak State Parks, were deliberately employed to do this work. In other words, physical space was used as a medium to convey critical messages to Indiana residents about local identity, citizenship, health, and even the capability and efficiency of state government in the modern world.

Finally, Chapter Five seeks to account for a compelling gap in the telling of state history. Specifically, it hopes to explain how the Native American experience within the state, which was completely absent from the early discourse on park development in 1916, had become integral to the understanding of Indiana culture only 15 years later, as evidenced by the fact that by 1930 there were four newly minted parks that made overt references to Native Americans. In Indiana, which literally means “Land of the Indians,” how had this group of people been so completely removed from state history and heritage by the beginning of the twentieth century? As important, what were the potential reasons why they had resurfaced in public discourse?²⁸

In many ways, the parks had changed in this short period between 1916 and 1933; their purpose had been expanded and in doing so, the ways that they helped define local

history and heritage had been greatly expanded. Ultimately, this dissertation examines the ways that the physical landscape of Indiana, as manifest in the burgeoning system of state parks, had become a crucial mechanism for Hoosiers to imagine both their past and their future.

Notes to Chapter One

¹ E.Y. Guernsey, “Turkey Run State Park: A History and Description,” The Department of Conservation, State of Indiana, (Indianapolis: WM. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1930), 1. Quote attributed to Pliny the Younger (61-c.113).

² “Turkey Run Is Now A State Park,” *Indianapolis News*, November 11, 1916, 1.

³ Source material such as ephemera, and especially guidebooks, display a visual and scenic history of changing culture that helped shape the tourism industry, and economic expansion more broadly, across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as seen in Herbert Gottfried, *Landscape in American Guides and View Books: Visual History of Touring and Travel* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2013).

⁴ See especially, Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans by Donald Nicholson-Smith (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 1992).

⁵ James Duncan and Nancy Duncan, “(Re)Reading the Landscape,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 6, no. 2 (1988): 117.

⁶ See Barbara Burlison Mooney, “‘Bearing to your senses sweet sounds and odors:’ Early Impressions of the Prairie Landscape,” in *Sound and Scent in the Garden*, ed. D. Fairchild Ruggles (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2017), 255-298.

⁷ Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), 15. See also Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, eds. *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

⁸ See the United States, Department of Commerce, Bureau of the, “Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910,” vol 1. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913).

⁹ Elizabeth Glenn and Stewart Rafert, *The Native Americans* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society Press, 2009), 89. They write that by 1920, only 125 people were identified as Native American in the whole state, noting “At a time of rising intolerance in American society after World War I, it was safer to keep one’s ethnic identity private.”

¹⁰ See Philip Burnham, *Indian Country, God’s Country: Native Americans and the National Parks* (Washington D.C. and Covelo, CA: Island Press, 2000). Due to the relative absence or inaccessibility of tribal archives, Burnham frames his narrative of the

parks “in the context of government policy towards Indian tribes” (12). The current study serves as a methodological analog.

¹¹ Elizabeth Burt, *The Progressive Era: Primary Documents on Events from 1890 to 1914* (Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 2004), 13. Though not originally found in newspapers, the muckraking journalism of Lincoln Steffens and Jacob Riis, among others, was well known for bringing a range of topics to the attention of the public. See Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (New York: McClure, Phillips & Co. 1904); Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1890).

¹² See Brian Carroll, “Rube Foster, C.I Taylor and the Great Newspaper War of 1915. Black Ball,” 4, no. 3 (2011): 36-54. Though this source does not deal with the state parks, it speaks directly to the power of newspapers to shape opinions within the State of Indiana.

¹³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1983).

¹⁴ Tony Bennett, “The Exhibitionary Complex,” *New Formations* 4 (Spring 1988): 73-102; also Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995).

¹⁵ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Trans. by Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995); Antonio Gramsci, *The Prison Notebooks*, trans. by Joseph A. Buttigieg and Antonio Callari (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).

¹⁶ Bennett, “The Exhibitionary Complex,” 86. See also Arjun Appadurai and Carol A. Breckenridge, “Museums are Good to Think: Heritage on View in India,” in *Representing the Nation: Histories, Heritage and Museums*, ed. David Boswell and Jessica Evans (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 404-420.

¹⁷ Timothy Mitchell, “Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order,” in *The Visual Culture Reader*, 2nd ed., ed. Nicholas Mirzoeff (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 495-505.

¹⁸ Bennett, “The Exhibitionary Complex,” p 99.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 93.

²⁰ Renato Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989).

²¹ *Ibid.*, 70.

²² See James Joseph Buss, *Winning the West with Words: Language and Conquest in the Lower Great Lakes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011); also, Laura Graham, “How Should an Indian Speak? Amazonian Indians and the Symbolic Politics of Language in the Global Public Sphere,” in *Indigenous Movements, Self Representation, and the State in Latin America*, eds. Kay B. Warren and Jean E. Jackson (Austin: University of Austin Press, 2002), 181-228.

²³ See Sarah Jaquette Ray, *The Ecological Other: Environmental Exclusion in American Culture* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2013).

²⁴ W.J.T. Mitchell, “Imperial Landscapes,” in *Landscape and Power*, 2nd ed., ed. W.J.T. Mitchell (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 10.

²⁵ Lewis S. Feuer, *Imperialism and the Anti-Imperialist Mind* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 1989), 4.

²⁶ William E. Leuchtenberg, "Progressivism and Imperialism: The Progressive Movement and American Foreign Policy, 1898-1916," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 39, no. 3 (Dec. 1952): 483-504.

²⁷ See Laura Ann Stoler, ed., *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006); Laura Ann Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

²⁸ For answers to these kinds of questions as they pertain to the National Parks, see Robert H. Keller, *American Indians and the National Parks* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1999); Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the National Parks* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Nicholas Brown, *Landscape, Justice, and the Politics of Indigeneity: Denaturalizing Structures of Settler Colonialism in the Alberta/Montana Borderlands*. (PhD Diss, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2013); Burnham, *Indian Country, God's Country*, 2000.

Chapter Two: The Midwestern Imaginary

“Fortunately, [the name Hoosier] has outlived its early acceptance. It used to stand for something raw, ungainly and countrified; Riley, Nicholson, Harrison and a dozen more of the prominent ‘sons’ of Indiana have put a stop to that. Now it connotes culture, efficiency, even elegance and sophistication. Vive the Hoosiers!”¹

A fundamental point of departure for this project revolves around the term that I have coined: the “Hoosier Imagination.” This idea is rooted in a concept called the “geographical imagination,” which is in turn derived from C. Wright Mills’ notion of the “sociological imagination.”² In the 1959 work of that name, Mills critiques the popular sociological theory of structural functionalism as posited by noted sociologists Herbert Spencer and Talcott Parsons, among others. Rather than examining how complex and overarching social structures shape human life, Mills proposes a means by which sociologists might consider a range of potential motives behind virtually any ostensibly common activity, from drinking coffee to exercising. In doing so, it places those activities of daily life into a wider historical and social context. At its core, the “sociological imagination” is a way of seeing things. More accurately, it is an idea that promotes new ways of seeing things.

In 1962, a geographer named Hugh C. Prince published an article in J.B. Jackson’s *Landscape* magazine. Though there is no evidence to suggest that Prince had ever read Mill’s’ work, his article was entitled “The Geographical Imagination.” In it, Prince suggests that geography is not simply concerned with physical spaces and/or the scientific study of those spaces. Rather, he celebrates the “spirit of discovery” that he believed should help guide the discipline of geography, a spirit that “calls into action our

powers of sympathetic insight and imaginative understanding.”³ Prince admits that good geographical description is certainly rooted in truth, facts, and objective data, but the “impelling motive” of geography, he argues, is “esthetic and poetic.”⁴ Prince concludes that:

It is the individual geographers who create the art of geography; and in selecting and commenting on what they consider of value for their descriptions they are guided by personal preferences. The relevance, importance, significance and meaning of the phenomena they observe is not to be measured by one universally accepted standard; and no two geographers will view a place alike. The quality of their descriptions will depend on their judgments or moral, religious, political and esthetic matters.⁵

The academic discipline of geography, then, must not be seen as a wholly rigid scientific discourse. It is no doubt a way of understanding the physical landscape, but the geographical imagination also allows professionals to form insight into the individuals—or even the larger cultures—who inhabit that landscape.

Fully a decade after Prince’s article, the notion of the geographical imagination began to gain traction. This time, it was through the efforts of the distinguished Marxist geographer David Harvey. His 1973 book, *Social Justice and the City*, helped launch a new wave towards understanding the powerful relationship between landscape and culture.⁶ Unlike Prince, Harvey’s analysis is focused on “space”—not “natural” landscapes—and more specifically, on *urban* space. Also unlike Prince, Harvey explicitly invokes Mill’s conception of the “sociological imagination,” and states that the geographical imagination “enables the individual to recognize the role of space and place in his own biography, to relate to the spaces he sees around him, and to recognize how transactions between individuals and between organizations are affected by the space that separates them.”⁷ In this decidedly interdisciplinary work, Harvey demonstrates some of

the ways that physical space helps to shape people and social interactions. In many ways, then, he is only tangentially concerned with the physical space, as reflected in his statement, “It is irrelevant to ask whether concepts, categories and relationships are ‘true’ or ‘false’. We have to ask, rather, what is it that produces them and what is it that they serve to produce.”⁸ Moreover, this production of space is not unique to the economic considerations that are the focus of Harvey’s analysis.

Some geographers have concentrated their work on issues of social justice (though it is difficult to fully separate economics from other concerns).⁹ Mitchell and Steheli’s discussion of a public plaza space in New Mexico suggests that “those landscapes that are the most symbolically important are also the most contested, and therefore the most regulated. This is particularly true when space is meant to be ‘public.’ This is because *different* publics have a claim to the space.”¹⁰ This idea of different publics is germane to the present study of Indiana’s state parks, which seeks to understand the value and use of physical space in Indiana. The population of the state was increasingly diverse by the early twentieth century. According to the 1910 Federal Census, for example, the state of Indiana saw an increase in the African-American community by nearly 20,000 individuals over the course of the previous thirty years. The Native-born white population was also on the rise, though the percentage of growth was certainly less robust.¹¹ With such changes to local demographics, which were a common occurrence throughout much of the Midwest, a unified, singular vision of local and state heritage no longer seemed tenable. Don Mitchell critiques the supposed coherency of these kinds of visions in *The Lie of the Land: Migrant Workers and the California Landscape*. He suggests that the beautiful scenery of the California as it is often

imagined by residents, visitors, and complete outsiders to the state, however, is misleading. It betrays the complexities and harsh realities of the state's agricultural history, particularly as it relates to issues of migrant labor. Insofar as Mitchell's work underscores how individuals and groups *imagine* a geographical region rather than accept as fact the way that things are, it is very much related to the exploration of the Hoosier Imagination within the body of this dissertation.

Edward Said's seminal 1978 work *Orientalism* echoes some of these imaginative ideas about space, while, like Mitchell, extending the analysis far beyond urban areas to a more regional, even global perspective.¹² In his work, he suggests that Western writers and artists, among others, romanticized and unfairly represented the "East" as an exotic "other." The purpose of these misrepresentations, he argues, was to perpetuate the unequal power relationships that existed under imperial regimes. He demonstrates that entire populations and/or places could be deliberately imagined in certain negative ways, and for very specific purposes, typically to consolidate cultural and political authority in the West. In other words, knowledge of a people and control over the ways that those people are represented is thought to be the same as actual political or military control over them.

This dissertation argues that parallel ideas existed in Indiana: that representations of Native Americans were deployed as a means to show the conceptual distance of this supposedly defeated, and nearly extinct, population against the progress of the dominant culture. Some recent work continues these themes. Derek Gregory's 1994 work *Geographical Imaginations* broadly outlines connections between physical space and social life, whereas a more recent study of his, *The Colonial Present: Afghanistan*,

Palestine, Iraq examines how post-9/11 media representations of the Middle East serve as a reflection of continued colonialist ideals.¹³ Even in an ever-changing, ever-expanding globalized world where information is more accessible than ever before, the imagination still often trumps reality, and with potentially devastating social implications. This dissertation explores these ideas, arguing that the re-making of Indiana government and the civilizing program that the parks reflect actually mirrors larger imperial projects seen in America, Britain, and elsewhere. It suggests that imperialism is so insidious that it quietly, almost unremarkably, snuck its way into the local consciousness, and rather than showing itself at the level of the nation-state, revealed itself at a much smaller scale: individual states within the United States were subject to similar pressures.

Moreover, in the pursuit of collective citizenship, many scholars have included the ways that young children have been invited into such speculation about the world in which they live throughout time. In *The Geographical Imagination in America, 1880-1950*, Susan Schulten demonstrates the role of maps in shaping attitudes towards space.¹⁴ She examines how ideas about geography were thrust into popular culture through media publications such as National Geographic, as well as how geography became a focus of educational study for students in American grade schools. The lessons of cartography were no longer simply concerned with scientifically accurate representations of physical space; they were a crucial means of relaying any manner of information, including but not limited to the profile of given places with respect to health, race, economics, and governance.¹⁵ Moreover, maps, and geographical study more broadly during the early first half of the 20th century, “narrated a world filtered by political and economic imperatives, tailored to the character and intensity of the nation’s commitments

abroad.”¹⁶ Many of these imperatives spoke directly, if not softly or subconsciously, to school-aged children.

Noted landscape historian John Stilgoe picks up on this idea in a 1994 article entitled “Mapping Indiana: Nineteenth-Century Schoolbook Views,” where he specifically discusses the importance of Indiana in the geographical imagination.¹⁷ He begins by pointing to a two-page spread of *The New Reference Atlas of the World*, published in 1924, showing the State of Indiana. Curious about the potential implications of these kinds of cartographic distortions, he asks why Indiana receives such attention in this book while geographically larger states might be relegated to only a single page. Stilgoe concludes that there is a relationship between the perception of Indiana’s importance and its actual importance, particularly with respect to statewide and national trade routes, and railroad connections. And as these same textbooks were used as part of both local and national academic curricula, he notes that children learning from them simultaneously received subtle clues—whether truthful or not, whether real or imagined—about the importance of their state, and in turn, about state identity.

A decade prior to Stilgoe’s work on cartography, related ideas of identity and statecraft propelled Benedict Anderson’s seminal work *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. In this text, Anderson famously defines a nation as “an imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign,” meaning that nations not only possess defined, though potentially mutable boundaries, but also are no longer subject to the kinds of divinely ordained monarchic rule that was common prior to the Enlightenment.¹⁸ In other words, the idea of nation-state is a product of modernity.¹⁹ Anderson continues by demonstrating how

the idea of a nation allows otherwise disparate groups to consider themselves as part of a larger group; though never coming into contact with each other, individuals from Maine to California, for example, are all bound together through a mental image of themselves as Americans. Importantly, however, Anderson's work is specifically limited to a discussion at the level of a nation-state. My study, conversely, explores how these same ideas were co-opted at the state level. It argues that discourse surrounding the formation of the Indiana State Park system in the early decades of the 20th century provide significant insight into the Hoosier Imagination, and specifically how the physical landscape allowed the State of Indiana to imagine itself as a single community with a unified heritage and identity.

The Midwest

This notion of identity is a critical focus of the primary historiographical debate that drives this project. Historian Dror Wahrman defines identity as “the productive tension between two contradictory impulses: identity as the unique individuality of a person,” in contrast to “identity as a common denominator that places an individual within a group.”²⁰ Though Wahrman's study is specifically limited to concepts of self and personal identity in 18th-century England, his ideas may be extended to larger group identities in America. The State of Indiana not only possesses a unique individuality, it can be seen as part of a group. It is not only an individual state, but also a member of the larger collection of United States. And even within that group, Wahrman's notion of contradictory impulses resonates: Indiana is also part of an imagined, though nevertheless distinct, geographical region known as the Midwest.

The origins of the Midwest can be traced back to two pieces of legislation in the early republic: the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. With respect to the former, John Stilgoe writes that,

May 20, 1785, is a momentous date in United States history. On that day congress authorized the surveying of the western territories (the ‘backland,’ as the Congressmen called them during the lengthy debates) into six-mile-square townships. Each township, Congress directed, would be bounded by lines running due north-south and east-west; other parallel lines would divide each township into thirty-six square sections of 640 acres each. The Land Ordinance of 1785 began in compromises that truly satisfied no one, but with minor revisions it determined the spatial organization of two-thirds of the present United States.²¹

Unlike most earlier land claims and developments in roads and urban form, which were much more organic in nature, the Land Ordinance established a regular grid that was superimposed on the decidedly irregular landforms of the interior United States.

Following the survey, the land was made available for purchase, and ultimately, for settlement. Two years after the Land Ordinance, the United States Congress passed the Northwest Ordinance. This sweeping legislation accounted for the future movement of Americans—people who are often referred to as pioneers—and provided mechanisms for the creation of territorial governance. Subsequently, new states were added to the developing Union when certain geographic areas reached certain population thresholds.

In an article about the potential impacts of political liberalism on nature in the early republic, Frank M. Coleman remarks that by this time, “the elements of American landscape representation are already in place. These are, first, a spatial imaginary of extension, second, a geometric pattern derived from coordinates in abstract space to partition it, and third, a political community of yeoman capitalists to occupy it.”²² From the beginning, then, much of early America, including the land that would later become

known as the Midwest, was imagined space. The grid was not something that could be seen until roads and other infrastructure were oriented to match the plan, and the political boundaries of the territories, states, and counties that followed typically conformed to the grid rather than natural watershed boundaries.

Indeed, the landscape that comprises the vast Midwestern region is not just physical space, and is certainly more than just the political boundaries represented within. It might be better understood as an idea. People maintain a mental conception of the region—an imagined combination of belief, attitude and icon—rooted in their understanding of the space contained within its loosely defined margins, and a further understanding of the historical events that have taken place within those boundaries.²³ The Midwest, which, depending on one’s definition of the region, may extend nearly halfway across America from Pennsylvania to North Dakota, “sits in the middle of the country, in the middle of the continent, silent, keeping its own counsel.”²⁴ Whereas the imagined East may often recall visions of Jamestown, Plymouth Rock, Boston or New York; the imagined American South of plantations and the Civil War; the imagined West evokes spectacular mountain ranges and gold rushes; the Midwest is seemingly forgotten. If anything, the region is associated—particularly by outsiders—with miles and miles of agricultural fields in an ostensibly featureless landscape. The region as a whole is sometimes referred to as “fly-over” country, an area between the coasts, something that must necessarily be negotiated, whether by car, rail, air, or otherwise, to get to somewhere more interesting. A well-known cover of *The New Yorker* suggests that there may be nothing there at all beyond New Jersey (Figure 2.1).



Figure 2.1 – “View of the World from 9th Avenue”
Saul Steinberg, *The New Yorker*, March 29, 1976

Conversely, the contemporary regional author Michael Martone points to landscape character that one only sees by being in and on the landscape. The Midwest, “is flat for the people who drive through but those who live here begin to sense a slight unevenness.”²⁵ There is nuance in the “flatness” that can be appreciated only by spending time there, a process that leads to a much more localized understanding of the region’s history. Kent C. Ryden suggests that Midwesterners tend to develop and sustain identity at a smaller, more site-specific scale, rather than embracing an all-encompassing regional narrative. In other words, he notes that “attention is directed inward and... identities derive from within.”²⁶ Thus, it also suggests that Indiana is different from

Illinois, or from Wisconsin, and so on. Within this vast region there exists inherent cultural divisions, both subtle and acute.

With that said, a certain tension in these cultural divisions is a result of a general commonality of immigration patterns. Harry N. Scheiber notes that whereas the “sources and composition of all populations were not the same in all the states of the Old Northwest,” there was a striking similarity in the first three states to be settled—Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois—as “the culture of the upland South mingled with the cultures of New England, the Middle Atlantic States, and northern Europe. The uplanders made their imprint first, and then came an invasion of Yankees ‘determined to refashion the men of the West.’”²⁷ This great diversity of migration patterns concurrent with the region’s growth impacted cultural traits at the local level such as religion, speech patterns, building construction techniques, etc.²⁸ Indeed, “the culture of the Midwest was the product of the interaction of several different communities and not the result of a single line of development from ‘backwardness’ to ‘civilization.’”²⁹ It is this creation of “civilization,” often seen in direct correlation with technological development that helps further define the creation of the Midwest itself.

Throughout the country following the Civil War—one of only a few nearly indisputable “breaks” in American history—great physical changes were implicit in the reconstruction and recovery efforts. The ideal of Thomas Jefferson’s yeoman farmer was being supplanted by technical innovation and urban development; agglomerated cities replaced small, dispersed homesteads; large-scale factories made of steel replaced wooden barns and personal workshops; railroads roared down the tracks past horse drawn-carriages at seemingly breakneck speeds. Lewis Mumford shows that such new

technologies were part of a nearly one thousand-year old tradition that started as a search for order and ended up a reflection of the modern urge towards capitalism.³⁰

In spite of the soot and filth left in their wake—across the country, not just in the Midwest—the machines that humans created were often accepted and rationalized as a signal of progress and a deliberate move towards what was perceived as the betterment of human existence. Mumford argues elsewhere that, coterminous with the ascension of the neotechnic dominance in the second half of the nineteenth century, a period of intense cultural development saw a renewed appreciation of landscape, architecture and art.³¹ He writes, “The bridge, the garden, the ploughed field, the city, are all visible signs of men’s relation with the land.”³² In other words, this was not an era of indiscriminate despoliation but, as will be demonstrated in Chapter Four, one where technological innovations of the age played a critical role in developing a closer, tighter bond between people (specifically Americans) and the environment in which they lived.

Historian J. Sanford Rickoon elaborates on this connection between technology, social communities, and the land. In discussing a very specific activity—grain threshing in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois between 1820 to 1940—he suggests that technology itself is not necessarily the best indicator of cultural growth or development; an individual with a new tractor is no more “advanced” than his neighbor who is attempting to get a few more years of use out of an older model. Rather, the actual process of threshing expressed the height of “community-based activity,” where,

collectives of ten to twenty farms functioned as folk groups of limited annual duration. Each ring developed a coherent social identity through shared participation in the seasonal run, and each perpetuated group traditions across successive yearly cycles. Repeated expression of commonly held attitudes and values provided a sanction for individual custom and intergroup evaluations.³³

Technologies, then, do not determine culture, but are instead social constructions woven “into landscapes, social relations and a sense of history.”³⁴

Although the Midwest is often imagined as a bastion of rural agrarianism, numerous scholars emphasize how advances in technology and the business of agricultural production reflect larger progress from a national, even international, perspective. Willard W. Cochrane notes that the early pioneer farmer was not necessarily productive.³⁵ The development of new tools and machines to do jobs that were previously reserved for human hands and animal labor, however, led to the creation of a different type of farmer, the commercial farmer. This, Cochrane demonstrates, continued a trend towards a science-based agriculture—a multi-faceted technological revolution that was mechanical, biological, chemical and managerial—that mirrored Frederick Winslow Taylor’s ideas of scientific management that were transforming the industrializing United States in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.³⁶ Such increased productivity of goods led to the need for new modes of transportation, new roads, new markets and wider boundaries. Ultimately, newly minted Midwestern cities such as St. Louis and Chicago would serve as hubs for these kinds of processes that, as Allan G. Bogue argues, were in place by at least the 1840s. Bogue further notes that the prairie farmer was never a “landlocked Crusoe:”

[H]e owed much thereafter to the expansion of both the domestic and foreign markets for his products and to the developments in transportation, processing techniques, and marketing methods that allowed him to enter those markets on a competitive basis. Local market, frontier post, forty-niner, southern plantation, industrial America, famine-racked Ireland, British mill town, and continental city—the prairie farmer supplied them all in varying degree.³⁷

In this, one can see a clear relationship between the city and the surrounding agricultural landscape. Ideas of the country and the city were not mutually exclusive; to the contrary,

the rural lands were necessary to construct cities, and ultimately, a new and much more complex Midwestern identity.³⁸ William Cronon's innovative history of the city of Chicago, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*, continued this theme, demonstrating how agricultural products such as grains and cattle from rural areas were transformed into commodities, thus becoming tightly woven into the economic and physical fabric of urban life.³⁹ Indeed, this tension between country and city serves as an ongoing lens by which to observe and analyze the changes occurring in the Indiana State Parks.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the idea of the Midwest as entirely rural and agricultural was no longer tenable.⁴⁰ The growth of cities in the region—Chicago, Cincinnati, Detroit, Indianapolis, Kansas City, etc.—significantly overtook the ideal of Jefferson's yeoman farmer. But neither was progress inherently positive. In his book *Urban Masses and Moral Order, 1880-1920*, Paul Boyer quotes a historian of the city of Indianapolis who wrote that it was a "town that became a city rather against its will." He continues by saying that, "the consequences of this reluctant, backward-looking response to urbanization were nowhere more apparent than in the tenacious survival of ingrained assumptions about the moral dimensions of urban life."⁴¹ Cities, particularly by the turn of the 20th century, were imagined not only as dirty, but also as moral vacuums.

Indeed, American writers of fiction seem to have been on the vanguard of these ideas, openly lamenting what they perceived as negative changes to the world in which they lived, specifically as those changes are related to the ongoing industrialization of the American landscape. Leo Marx's seminal study, *The Machine in the Garden*:

Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America, identifies a trope of nineteenth century American literature whereby various technologies such as steamboats, trains, even the blaring whistle of the locomotive itself, deeply ruptured pastoral visions of America.⁴² American-born author Henry James, the brother of renowned psychologist and pragmatist philosopher William James, wrote a book that chronicled his return to America after some 25 years abroad. *The American Scene* is a recollection of what he saw on his return, an evaluation of what was there at that moment in contrast to what he remembered from his youth.⁴³ John Stilgoe wrote that “James cherished the landscape he remembered, and used his memories as the standards by which he condemned the new scene and the social and economic forces it objectified.”⁴⁴ The big differences that James noted were in the materialism that pervaded this now “great lonely land,” and the cynicism of the “business man face” that he saw on the streets.⁴⁵ This condition, which James termed “Americanitis” was also referred to as an ill-defined medical condition known as neurasthenia, and thought to be a direct emotional response to the process of modernization.⁴⁶ America had changed, and not for the better, in James’s estimation. Interestingly, the one thing that he admired and believed was sufficiently removed from the materialist trappings of modern life, and which therefore still functioned properly was an element of the landscape itself: New York City’s Central Park.

Other literature of the age is pregnant with similar themes. In a noteworthy study of landscape, place-making, and the Midwestern idea of pastoralism in regionally produced literature, William Barillas notes that how a number of authors—specifically Willa Cather, Aldo Leopold, Theodore Roethke, James Wright, and Jim Harrison—draw inspiration from Romantic literature, as well as Jeffersonian democracy and agrarianism.

There is often a profound sense of nostalgia that is in constant tension with the realities of the modern world.⁴⁷ Following this idea, historian John Stilgoe once spoke to a tendency among writers towards nostalgic remembrances of the rural past that perpetuated such imagery. He introduced the concept of a “landscape of childhood,” writing that, for many, “...despite training, system, and years of fieldwork,” a vision of the landscape of one’s youth serves as “a prism through which actual landscapes are viewed and through which long-vanished landscapes are reconstructed.”⁴⁸ Rather than seeing the landscape for what it is, they see it for what they *remember* it to be. In *A Son of the Middle Border*, Hamlin Garland openly addresses the role of childhood memories, noting how certain landscapes lie, “...in the unchanging realm of the past—this land of my childhood.”

However, he also acknowledges that:

Its charm, its strange dominion cannot return save in the poet’s reminiscent dream. No money, no railway train can take us back to it. It did not in truth exist—it was a magical world, born of the vibrant union of youth and firelight, of music and the voice of moaning winds.⁴⁹

In his Pulitzer Prize winning novel *The Magnificent Ambersons*, Indiana author Booth Tarkington mourned the loss of this pastoral vision as it was supplanted by urbanization.⁵⁰ Many of Tarkington’s works describe various changes to the “Midland” city which he modeled on his own hometown of Indianapolis, such as the introduction of automobiles and the development of suburban housing. The various characters in the narratives recognized the city that they lived in, but are convinced that, “it began to have the unfamiliar-familiar look of a friend who has an attack of poison ivy.”⁵¹ Some characters in these works are overwhelmed with confusion, ultimately losing their mental image of the city.⁵² Fellow Pulitzer Prize winner Sinclair Lewis also presents powerful critiques of modernity in both *Main Street* and *Babbitt*.⁵³ In both fictional worlds—Sauk

Centre, and the appropriately named Zenith—Lewis challenges notions of middle class conformity, the former for the vapid dullness of rural small towns and the latter for the boosterism and materialism that served as the trappings of an industrializing city.⁵⁴

These and many other works of fictional literature represent the world of the Midwest as having its own distinct character.⁵⁵ Each presents some vision of the region to readers, many of which were imagined. Hamlin Garland recognized this myth:

Most authors in writing of ‘the merry merry farmer’ leave out experiences like this—they omit the mud and the dust and the grime, they forget the army worm, the flies, the heat, as well as the smells and drudgery of the barns. Milking the cows is spoken of in the traditional fashion as a lovely pastoral recreation, when as a matter of fact it was a tedious job. We all hated it. We saw no poetry in it.⁵⁶

The romanticism of the region is easily refuted in reality, but nevertheless remains fixed in the imagination. In most works, the vision of the Midwest is of a tense, conflicted place, moving forward while still hanging on to some element(s) that still connected them with the past.

Indeed, the seemingly haphazard growth of cities without any clear process or plan that Booth Tarkington had described was a very real concern to Americans at the turn of the century. Progressives offered a contrast to these confusing cities, a new kind of city that was planned, structured, and, perhaps as importantly, complemented certain controls at addressed changing social conditions. Christine Boyer notes:

With the emergence of the vast American metropolis after the Civil War two problems arose: how to discipline and regulate the urban masses in order to eradicate the dangers of social unrest, physical degeneration, and congested contagion, which all cities seemed to breed, and how to control and arrange the spatial growth of these gigantic places so that they would support industrial production and the development of a civilization of cities. These questions of discipline and order forged a new relationship between the urban public and social science knowledge, as well as the architectural adornment of urban space and the rational treatment of spatial development. These new relationships called for the process of city planning.⁵⁷

Boyer argues that social order might be achieved but, “what mattered most of all was how one part [of the city] related to another and how they cooperated in support of the maintenance and reproduction of capital accumulation within the city.”⁵⁸ In other words, city planning would be tied to the logic of Fordism whereby economic concerns were co-dependent with knowledge and technical mastery and where efficiency and professionalism were defining characteristics of the Progressive Era.

The faces of these new planning efforts included such luminaries as John Nolen and more famously, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. While not entirely dismissive of the more socially conscious planning efforts that led to new, lower density suburban developments as promoted by their counterparts in England’s Garden Cities Movement, the Americans focused much more openly on the comprehensive restructuring of existing cities under the guidance and financial umbrella of local public authorities.⁵⁹ This also contrasted with survey methods of planning embraced by Patrick Geddes and Patrick Abercrombie in Britain.⁶⁰ John Nolen, specifically, felt that urban residents were rarely able to fully express their opinions. In response, he presented participatory planning as a means to exercise the democratic process and to help give shape to local aspirations, with himself, and other professionals, as experts on the subject. Thus, “[w]hether in green squares, plazas, or parks, city dwellers encountering civic virtue’s physical form would not only escape the drudgery of industrial life, they would also enjoy the benefits of the collective work.”⁶¹ In other words, not only were such publically funded endeavors a way to infuse urban space with technical expertise, they were also thought to be means by which ostensibly disparate groups of people spread across large cities would be able to imagine themselves as part of a single community.

The most striking manifestation of this idea pervading the American Midwest in the early decades of the twentieth century was that of the City Beautiful. This concept that arose during the Beaux-Arts architectural statement initially made in the White City of Chicago's Columbian Exposition (1893) drew its inspiration largely from the architecture of classical Greece and Rome, thus connecting the modern world to the relative stability of an imagined Golden Age. Proponents of the neo-classical City Beautiful movement argued that the presence of beauty itself actually served a key social function: promoting civic virtue and community growth.⁶² A well-ordered city and a well-ordered citizenry could be synonymous, many people believed. Towns such as Kansas City, Cleveland, Denver, Dallas, Washington D.C., Chicago, and many others embraced these ideas. German-born landscape designer George Kessler led City Beautiful efforts in Indianapolis, among other cities, incorporating a network of infrastructural improvements such as roads, parks, civic spaces, and buildings that were both beautiful and functional.⁶³ That these efforts were led in part by men transplanted to the Midwest such as Charles Mulford Robinson, a pioneer in the academic discipline of urban planning at the University of Illinois, as well as Chicago resident Daniel Burnham, and should not be understated. The Midwest was an important vector by which ideas and attitudes about City Beautiful were disseminated nationwide.⁶⁴

City planning, however, is a difficult assignment because the city is constantly changing. Aram Eisenschitz observed an important tension:

Planning is, by its very nature, schizophrenic, and this ambivalence marks both its strengths and weaknesses as an arena for reformist activity. On the one hand, planning operates in environments that are politically sensitive and that can generate strong political movements. On the other hand, in order to keep this tendency in check, the profession defines itself narrowly in physical terms. Therefore, it does sometimes appear to be engaged in social reform, while at

others it is a more narrowly technical activity focused upon land use decisions. In the first reading, it is involved in politics, defined as the distribution of power and resources; in the second, politics becomes party politics.⁶⁵

The demise of City Beautiful followed a similar trajectory. Times changed; social values changed; political leaders changed. As importantly, where City Beautiful “spoke to yearnings for an ideal community and to the potential for good in all citizens,” many believed that beauty for its own sake was no longer tenable. Thus, City Beautiful gave way to City Practical, a direct result of “three interrelated developments: increasing specialization, rising professionalism, and burgeoning bureaucracy.”⁶⁶ Peter Hall argues that such schemes to plan the cities of tomorrow were the product of visionaries whose ideas could not be realized due to the very ambition and scale of those ideas.⁶⁷ It was as though “tomorrow” was utopian, even unattainable. Unable to fully account for very real economic and social divides that would potentially devastate such schemes, “tomorrow” existed only in the imaginations of the designers and planners.

Indeed, “The history of urban planning is to a large extent a history of changing utopias.”⁶⁸ The notion of utopia, of course, is thoroughly ensconced in the imagination and brings with it a classic dilemma: “To appeal to everyone on the basis of universal principles is to appeal to no one in particular. The more glorious the plans are in theory, the more remote they are from the concrete issues that actually motivate action. With each elaboration and clarification, the ideal cities move closer to pure fantasy.”⁶⁹ These city halls, museums and public parks were, of course, quite real, but Andrew Cayton and Susan Gray suggest that they performed the improbable function of helping to “mold an enlarged conception of the Midwest as commonwealth” where residents could imagine

themselves as a “public community.”⁷⁰ However, this imagined community of the 20th century was rooted in an imagined past:

[M]ore than a century after the writing of the Northwest Ordinance, many midwesterners no longer sought identity and meaning in the celebration of progress, of in wars against alternative cultures, or in the exercise of their own characters. Rather, midwestern culture expressed itself in the making of myth, imagining a frontier era in which people—middle-class, midwestern people—had once been the powerful progenitors of a new civilization. Having lost control of the present, they laid claim to the legitimacy conferred by history.⁷¹

This passage draws direct parallels to Frederick Jackson Turner’s well-known Frontier Thesis. First presented as a paper at a meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago on July 12, 1893, Turner stated that the constant push westward across the United States is one of the defining factors of American character.⁷² Turner’s ideas, of course, have been roundly criticized since then for promoting imperialist agendas and failing to account for the cultural development of a range of minority groups in America.⁷³ In other words, the Turner thesis reflects a largely imagined, if not wholly inaccurate vision of America. This idea was once given a powerful forum in the controversial exhibition called *The West As America* displayed at the Smithsonian American Art Museum in Washington, D.C. in 1991.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the Midwest sought solace in this imagined stability of their local and regional heritage. More specifically, I suggest that Indiana, a single state within the imaginary boundaries of an imaginary region, sought stability for itself by way of the preservation of landscape as parks and the deliberate planning of infrastructure within that landscape.

Numerous scholars have spoken to the history of the state of Indiana. The early standards were set by Indianapolis-based historians Jacob Piatt Dunn and Logan Esarey in the first decades of the twentieth century.⁷⁵ Further, the year 1954 saw the multi-

volume publication *Indiana: From Frontier to Industrial Commonwealth*, by Donald Carmony and John Barnhart.⁷⁶ Though hugely informative, these works predate the postmodern turn of historical studies in which the historian acknowledges his or her own intellectual position and investment, and are not overly critical. More recently, James H. Madison and his work *The Indiana Way: A State History*, as well as a heavily revised and updated version of that book entitled *Hoosiers: A New History of Indiana*, begin to address this shortcoming by discussing state history as a broad survey of cultural development from glaciation to the present.⁷⁷ Madison argues that Hoosiers are a particular kind of people who tend to avoid quick changes, relying instead on gradual adjustments that honor the traditions and achievements of previous generations.⁷⁸ Historian Howard Peckham disagrees with this broad assessment, noting how the residents of the state were all too eager to embark on wholesale changes to their living conditions and local culture when they saw fit.⁷⁹ He notes that “nothing dimmed their faith in the perfectability of mankind or in themselves.”⁸⁰

This quest for perfection led state residents and institutions through an array of critical decisions: the movement of the state capitol from the banks of the Ohio River to the malaria-infested bogs that would become Indianapolis; the failed socialist communities in New Harmony; the rewriting of the state constitution in 1851 which, in spite of the state’s position against slavery, nevertheless had a provision barring black people from moving into the state.⁸¹ The state is also home to the renowned Socialist Eugene Debs, whose life and nearly 50-year career in activism in the labor movement—of making the world a different, and potentially better place—both began in Terre Haute, Indiana.⁸² All of this speaks to the tendencies of Hoosiers to create and maintain local

myths. The official seal of the State of Indiana further underscores this tendency towards myth (Figure 2.2). Its iconography was borrowed from the original seal of the earlier Indiana Territory and was described in 1816: “A forest and a woodman felling a tree, a buffalo leaving the forest and fleeing through the plain to a distant forest, and the sun setting in the west, with the word Indiana.”⁸³ Such imagery and ideas, which are common to official seals in a number of other states in the union, and particularly in those carved out of the old Northwest Territory, suggest that the creation of Indiana relied upon the improvement of the natural landscape and the advance of civilization.⁸⁴ However, this project notes that the landscape serves as a metaphorical connection to the past for Indiana residents, a way to look backward. Thus, the protection and preservation of certain tracts of land for park purposes makes manifest these kinds of tensions, between

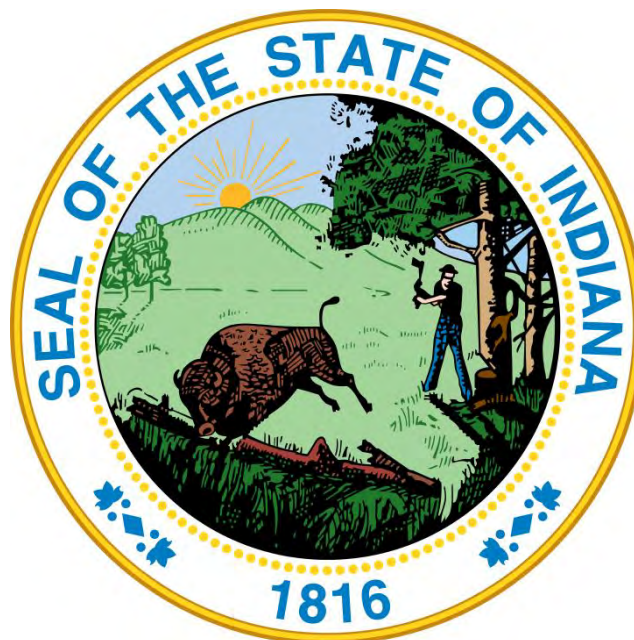


Figure 2.2 – Seal of the State of Indiana – This current seal is only marginally modified from its original conception in 1816.
<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Indiana-StateSeal.svg>

the past and the present, and reveals just how important the physical landscape was, and still is, to Indiana residents.

The beginnings of the state park system drew primarily on this sense of nostalgia and the perpetuation of myth, as well as the practical concerns about natural resources being a crucial ingredient towards the state's future progress. In subsequent years the incorporation of different activities in the parks, the focus on modern infrastructure and amenities, and even the integration of previously silent historical narratives reflected a fluid understanding of the potential power of the physical landscape, and as importantly, of local heritage. In other words, the parks position the state within the vanguard of Progressive Era ideals related to social and economic growth, reminding Hoosier residents and institutions of not only who they were, but who they are, and who they want to be.

Parks

The selection of state parks as a topic of study serves a strategic purpose. The sites tend to be a middle ground. They are not nearly as spectacular in scenery as National Parks for which existing literature is abundant.⁸⁵ Nor are they as readily accessible as urban parks, which because of their location in important cities have received attention due their impact on patterns of urban development.⁸⁶ A range of scholarly studies also shows how urban parks are related to broader discussions of recreation, with specific focus on how the uses and shape of the physical landscape are by-products of cultural phenomenon and the social construction of racial or gender

identities.⁸⁷ However, literature on state parks is relatively scant and is more descriptive than analytical.

Herbert Evison's 1929 volume entitled *A State Park Anthology* consists of a selection of writings and speeches, many of which were delivered at early conferences on state parks, and almost all are concerned with functional aspects of creating new state parks or with celebrating the beginnings of state parks themselves.⁸⁸ More recently, Ney C. Landrum has produced a fairly comprehensive historical survey of state parks, seen broadly, whereas Thomas R. Cox and Rebecca Conard have produced monographs on the state parks of the Pacific Northwest and of Iowa, respectively.⁸⁹ Each of these begins to contextualize the parks within the local cultures, but nevertheless has a tendency to focus more specifically on the contributions of individual people in the creation of the parks. Conversely, William E. O'Brien has written a perceptive history that addresses issues of segregation and the construction of "separate but equal" state parks in the American South.⁹⁰

Only a few resources address Indiana's state parks specifically. Two of them, Matt Williams' *Indiana State Parks: A Centennial Celebration* and Daniel P. Shepardson's *A Place Called Turkey Run: A Celebration of Indiana's Second State Park in Photographs and Words* are primarily coffee table books with a focus on nature photography. The other, Glory-June Greiff's *People, Parks, and Perceptions: A History and Appreciation of Indiana State Parks* is a fine reference but possesses only limited space in which to briefly address the history of each current park in the system.⁹¹ Furthermore, these extant works on Indiana's state parks make little attempt to address the complexities of state heritage imbued in these spaces. Thus, these few titles have left

a gap in the study of state parks, and particularly in Indiana, which my own work seeks to fill.

Heritage

Heritage may consist of tangible reminders of past events such as monuments, memorials, structures, landscapes, etc., or it may be much more subtle and intangible, consisting of oral traditions, traditional practices of craftsmanship, or even the myriad values held dear by a given social group. For the purposes of this project, heritage comprises the things that groups or individuals value from the past and further, what they are capable of protecting, preserving, and making available for future generations. But the past, according to David Lowenthal, is a “foreign country,” and potentially difficult to understand. Lowenthal writes:

The past is always altered for motives that reflect present needs. We reshape our heritage to make it attractive in modern terms; we seek to make it part of ourselves, and ourselves part of it; we conform it to our self-images and aspirations. Rendered grand or homely, magnified or tarnished, history is continually altered in our private interests or on behalf of our community or country.⁹²

Here, Lowenthal means that both history and heritage are somewhat liquid phenomena. Heritage is openly a means by which to regard the past as a resource that is useful for the present. And whereas history consists of an objective record of events, the process historians use to practice their craft is necessarily subjective, which potentially leads to different interpretations of the same historical events. As such, individual historians, as well as various social groups who decide on which history to tell, are active participants not only in the making of history, but also in the making of heritage.

Similarly, Graeme Davison suggests that “Heritage—what we value in the past—is defined largely in terms of what we value or repudiate in the present or fear in the future.”⁹³ In other words, individuals and groups deliberately select a “usable past” to privilege, one which often confirms their own social biases, leading to a world of invention and myth.⁹⁴ Thus, what given groups or individuals value at any given historical period may be quite distinct.⁹⁵ This is a useful concept to apply to state parks because the initial conception of state parks in Indiana relied upon an evolving fear that native forests in the state were on the verge of extinction, and that the subsequent privileging of this ostensibly untouched landscapes of the state of Indiana would not only serve as a connection to the past, but also a means by which to preserve these spaces as a gift for future generations. However, this dissertation argues that what was important to Indiana residents in 1916 when the parks began was quite different than what was important to those same people only a few years later. Thus the parks reflect an evolving view of heritage within the state.

Indeed, for all the efforts by local and international bodies to protect, preserve, and restore the physical structure of historical sites, it is critical to understand that the importance of heritage itself lies in the possible meanings of these sites, not necessarily in the sites themselves.⁹⁶ The term “meanings” is deliberately plural, as the “meaning” of a given historical structure or landscape is anything but fixed. It is a product of potentially centuries of history that shaped, and was shaped by, the surrounding culture. For instance, in an article concerned with the contested history of the Great Mosque at Cordoba, D. Fairchild Ruggles refers to this kind of layering of historical periods as “stratigraphy.”⁹⁷ Much like geologic stratification, tiers of meaning accumulate over

time in the wake of intermittent use patterns by different groups. Meaning of a given site need not be limited by a single heritage. Writing about the newly adopted 2008 Ename Charter, Neil Silberman writes, “the 2003 UNESCO Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage ha[s] shifted the locus of significance and authenticity of an element (tangible or intangible) of cultural heritage to its meaningfulness as an expression of identity or connectedness by living or associated communities. Thus the shift has been to the social and cultural significance from the *thing*.”⁹⁸ And where previous charters failed to account for such a discourse, opting instead to allow for objective academics, technicians, and specialists to prescribe meaning, the 2008 Ename Charter makes clear that heritage interpretation needs to be an ongoing process that includes a range of stakeholders.⁹⁹

This dissertation demonstrates how the interests of the stakeholders changed in a short span of 15 years, impacting the ways that the Indiana State Parks were used and understood as a landscape typology. As such, the dissertation responds to a difficult question in the heritage industry and asks exactly whose heritage is being conserved at given sites in the Indiana park system. John E. Turnbridge suggests that creating and maintaining localized identity in such a changing world as Progressive Era Indiana is problematic, because, “Where divergent identities and goals exist among competing social groups, urban heritage conservation becomes a political exercise, frequently with sinister overtones for those groups out of power.”¹⁰⁰ The relative ease of travel and exchange of information over the past century has led to the rise of globalization and has ultimately resulted in increasingly plural societies; political boundaries can no longer enclose cultures or regulate cultural exchange.¹⁰¹

This is not to say, however, that heritage studies are not mired down by hierarchies of power. Increased confusion with respect to the already complex politics of heritage has paralleled the rise of international heritage organizations such as UNESCO.¹⁰² Formerly, the preservation of sites and structures was simply a matter of course; that which was saved was that which was subject to daily usage, or from a more functional perspective, that which was built with stone and was intended to last. Today, however, heritage preservation is a highly lucrative and heavily regulated industry. The process of heritage-making may also contribute as a larger mechanism towards establishing and maintaining global peace.¹⁰³ In this way, control over sites is sometimes removed from local cultures and private ownership, appropriated by larger entities and/or state governments; local history is often replaced by master narratives.¹⁰⁴ Sites are often referred to as assets or resources, and achieve great significance as commodities.¹⁰⁵ Stripped of their local significance, they are preserved as a human history and public heritage. Henry Cleere privileges objective knowledge and expertise over the desires of local residents, proposing that it is the responsibility of heritage professionals (e.g. archaeologists, etc.) to protect heritage in developing nations, to preserve it as a global interest that might also inspire national pride.¹⁰⁶ Conversely, anthropologist Larry J. Zimmerman suggests that such moves come with weighty costs, not the least of which are the obvious intrusion into local culture as well as the implication that descendent communities are incapable of adequately protecting their own heritage.¹⁰⁷

The early development of the Indiana State Parks was subject to many of these same tensions. The physical landscape was used as a critical site of identity negotiation for both the state of Indiana and its residents. During an era of constant change, the parks

were thought to be part of the collective memory of the people, a stable connection to the past.¹⁰⁸ However, the stability of this connection only functioned properly at the expense of what some considered an undesirable, or inconvenient element of Indiana's history, that of the state's Native American history. Moreover, I argue that the parks were a testing ground for an increasingly large government bureaucracy to show Indiana residents the advantages of modernization. Much like the Midwest itself, the parks reflect a paradoxical effort to simultaneously look backwards and to move forwards. They were a powerful manifestation of the Hoosier Imagination by which the state of Indiana and its residents could imagine both their past and their future.

Notes to Chapter Two

¹ Logan Esarey, *History of Indiana From Its Exploration to 1922* (Dayton, OH: Dayton Historical Publishing Company, 1924), 59.

² C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1959).

³ Hugh C. Prince, "The Geographical Imagination," *Landscape* 10, no. 2 (1962): 22.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁶ David Harvey, *Social Justice and the City* (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 2009)

⁷ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 298. For elaborations on how space is thought to be socially produced, see Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans by Donald Nicholson-Smith (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 1992); Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1977); Edward W. Soja. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*, (London and New York: Versa, 1989).

⁹ Don Mitchell, *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*. (New York: Guilford Press, 2003); Don Mitchell and Lynn Staeheli. *The People's Property? Power, Politics, and the Public*, (New York: Routledge, 2008).

¹⁰ Don Mitchell and Lynn A. Staeheli, "Turning Social Relations into Space: Property, Law and the Plaza of Santa Fe, New Mexico," *Landscape Research* 30, no. 3 (July 2005): 364. Emphasis is original.

¹¹ United States, Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, “Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910,” vol 1. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), especially pages 148-158.

¹² Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

¹³ Derek Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations* (New York: Wiley, 1994); Derek Gregory, *The Colonial Present: Afghanistan, Palestine, Iraq* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004).

¹⁴ Susan Schulten, *The Geographical Imagination in America, 1880-1950* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2001).

¹⁵ See also, Susan Schulten, *Mapping the Nation: History and Cartography in Nineteenth Century America* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2012); See also Denis Cosgrove, “Landscape and Global Vision,” in *Sites Unseen: Landscape And Vision*, ed. Dianne Harris and D. Fairchild Ruggles (Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 2007), 89-110. He speaks to the importance of maps and geography to Americans during World War II in understanding the idea of global war.

¹⁶ Schulten, *The Geographical Imagination*, 13.

¹⁷ John Stilgoe, “Mapping Indiana: Nineteenth-Century Schoolbook Views,” in *Perceptions of the Landscape and its Preservation* (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Historical Society, 1994), 3-27.

¹⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.

¹⁹ See also Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983); E.J. Hobsbawm. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); This view of modernity has been challenged by Anthony D. Smith, who suggests that such definitions tend to exclude groups that are not of European descent, and fails to account for the importance of shared myths and memories among group members, see Anthony D. Smith, *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era* (Cambridge: Polity, 1995); Anthony D. Smith, “The Genealogy of Nations: An Ethno-Symbolic Approach,” in *When is the Nation?* ed. A. Ichijo and G. Uzelac (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 94-112.

²⁰ Dror Wahrman. *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), xii.

²¹ John Stilgoe, *Common Landscapes of America, 1580-1845* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982), 99. For a more detailed description of how the process of surveying established boundary lines in early America, see Bill Hubbard, Jr. *American Boundaries: The Nation, The States, The Rectangular Survey* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), especially Chapter 6 which deals specifically with the Land Ordinance of 1785.

²² Frank M. Coleman, “Classical Liberalism and American Landscape Representation: The Imperial Self in Nature,” *Ethics, Place and Environment*. 13, no. 1 (2010): 79.

²³ See John Jakle, “Images of Place: Symbolism and the Middle Western Metropolis,” in *The Metropolitan Midwest: Policy Problems and Prospects for Change*, ed. Barry Checkoway and Carl V. Patton (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1985). 74-103; Stephen Sears, “Forging Commonplace: The Old Northwest Territory’s Transition from Wilderness to Landscape,” in *Values in Landscape Architecture and Environmental Design: Finding Center in Theory and Practice*, ed. M.E. Deming (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015), 139-156. Some opinions of the Midwest

are still informed by a seminal sociological study from the late 1920s, which, perhaps not coincidentally, was performed in Muncie, Indiana. See Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in Modern American Culture* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1929).

²⁴ Becky Bradway. *In the Middle of the Middle West: Literary Nonfiction from the Heartland* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 53.

²⁵ Michael Martone, "The Flatness," in *A Place of Sense: Essays in Search of Midwest*, ed. Michael Martone (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1988), 38.

²⁶ Kent C. Ryden, "Writing the Midwest: History, Literature, and Regional Identity," *The Geographical Review* 89, no. 4 (1999): 522.

²⁷ Harry N. Scheiber, ed. *The Old Northwest: Studies in Regional History, 1787-1910* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969), viii.

²⁸ John H. Garland, ed. *The North American Midwest: A Regional Geography* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1955); see also Peter T. Harstad, "Indiana and the Art of Adjustment," in *Heartland: Comparative Histories of the Midwestern States*, ed. James H. Madison (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988), 158-185.

²⁹ Andrew R.L. Cayton and Reter S. Onuf, *The Midwest and the Nation: Rethinking the History of an American Region* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 63.

³⁰ Lewis Mumford, *Technics and Civilization* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1963).

³¹ Lewis Mumford, *The Brown Decades: A Study of the Arts in America, 1865-1895* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1971); See also Patrick Geddes, *Cities in Evolution: An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics*. (London: Williams and Norgate, 1915), for the origins of the terms "Paleotechnic" and "Neotechnic." Much like the separation between Paleolithic from Neolithic, Geddes uses his terms to separate early technologies from those that were part of almost fundamentally changing life during and after the Industrial Revolution.

³² Mumford. *The Brown Decades*, 26.

³³ J. Sanford Rickoon, *Threshing the Midwest, 1829-1940: A Study of Traditional Culture and Technological Change* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988), 158. See also Susan Sessions Rugh, *Our Common Country: Family Farming, Culture, and Community in the Nineteenth-Century Midwest* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2001), xvi, who discusses family farming as a way of life and a mediator between "the family and the market, community and individualism, tradition and transformation."

³⁴ David E. Nye, *Narratives and Spaces: Technology and the Construction of American Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 1. The stated goal of Nye's work was to discredit the idea of "technological determinism," arguing instead for a more reciprocal relationship between technology and culture/society.

³⁵ Willard W. Cochrane, *The Development of American Agriculture: A Historical Analysis* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1979).

³⁶ Frederick Winslow Taylor, *The Principles of Scientific Management* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1911).

³⁷ Allan G. Bogue, *From Prairie to Corn Belt: Farming on the Illinois and Iowa Prairies in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1963), 280.

³⁸ See Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).

³⁹ William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1991); see also Brian Page and Richard Walker, "From Settlement to Fordism: The Agro-Industrial Revolution in the American Midwest," *Economic Geography* 67, no. 4 (1991): 281-315.

⁴⁰ James R. Shortridge argues for a "close and continuing association between Middle-western identity and the concept of pastoralism," while simultaneously admitting that the "fitting of a simplified, anachronistic image to an increasingly complex region produced a host of contradictions, distortions, and misunderstandings." James R. Shortridge, *The Middle West: Its Meaning in American Culture* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1989), 1.

⁴¹ Paul Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order, 1880-1920* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1978), 280.

⁴² Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

⁴³ Henry James, *The American Scene* (London: Chapman and Hall Ltd., 1907).

⁴⁴ Stilgoe, *Common Landscapes of America*, 341.

⁴⁵ The "business man face" surely can be compared to the Georg Simmel's Metropolitan man, who has been overwhelmed by sensory experiences and ultimately assumes a *blasé* attitude of general indifference. See George Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life," (1903) in Richard Sennett, ed. *Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), 47-60.

⁴⁶ T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

⁴⁷ William Barillas, *The Midwestern Pastoral: Place and Landscape in Literature of the American Heartland* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2006).

⁴⁸ John R. Stilgoe, "Boyhood Landscape and Repetition," in *Landscape in America*, ed. By George F. Thompson (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 188.

⁴⁹ Hamlin Garland, *A Son of the Middle Border*, 1917 (St. Paul, MN: Borealis Books, 2007), 55.

⁵⁰ Booth Tarkington, *The Magnificent Ambersons*, 1918 (New York: The Modern Library, 1998). See also the two other works in Tarkington's *Growth* trilogy: *The Turmoil* (1915) and *The Midlander* (1923, and was actually renamed *National Avenue* in 1927).

⁵¹ Booth Tarkington, *The World Does Move* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1928), 137.

⁵² Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1960). Though Lynch never expressly addresses how ideas of imageability might be applied to works of fictional literature, the writings of Booth Tarkington appear to explore this precise issue. See Steven Burrows, *Time, Form and Fiction: Reading the Landscapes of Booth Tarkington* (MLA Thesis, Ball State University, 2004).

⁵³ Sinclair Lewis, *Main Street* and *Babbitt* (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, Inc. 1992).

⁵⁴ For a detailed look at how certain aspects of material culture helped to identify and define the middle class by the 1920s, see Marina Moskowitz, *Standard of Living: The Measure of the Middle Class in Modern America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004). For a comprehensive look at boosterism in both the UK and in America, see Stephen V. Ward, *Selling Places: The Marketing and Promotion of Towns and Cities, 1850-2000* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998).

⁵⁵ For a sampling of both fictional and non-fictional writings from solely Indiana authors such as James Whitcomb Riley, Lew Wallace, Gene Stratton Porter, Ernie Pyle, and others, see R.E. Banta, ed. *Hoosier Caravan: A Treasury of Indiana Life and Lore* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1951).

⁵⁶ Garland, *A Son of the Middle Border*, 104.

⁵⁷ Christine Boyer, *Dreaming the Rational City: The Myth of American City Planning*, (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1983), 9.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 63.

⁵⁹ See John A. Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840-1917* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); For a discussion of how their British counterparts viewed planning, particularly as it relates to the important Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909, see Gordon E. Cherry, "The Town Planning Movement and the Late Victorian City," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 4, no. 2 (1979): 306-319; See also Ebenezer Howard, *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path To Real Reform* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd., 1898), later editions of the work were entitled *Garden Cities of To-morrow*.

⁶⁰ See Michiel Dehaene, "Urban Lessons for the Modern Planner: Patrick Abercrombie and the Study of the Urban," *The Town Planning Review* 75, no. 1 (2004): 1-30; Indra Munshi, "Patrick Geddes: Sociologist, Environmentalist and Town Planner," *Economic and Political Weekly* 35, no. 6 (2000): 485-491. This latter work notes that Geddes' general lack of popularity in his own time was because "he practiced synthesis in an age of specialism and stood for the insurgence of life in a world that submitted even more fully to the gods of mechanised routine." (491)

⁶¹ Bruce Stephenson, "The Roots of the New Urbanism: John Nolen's Garden City Ethic," *Journal of Planning History* 1, no. 2 (2002): 104. For a thorough discussion of John Nolen's attitudes toward planning, see Robert Freestone, "Reconciling Beauty and Utility in Early City Planning: The Contribution of John Nolen," *Journal of Urban History* 37, no. 2 (2011): 256-277.

⁶² The definitive text on the historical significance of subject is William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).

⁶³ See Kurt Culbertson, "George Edward Kessler: Landscape Architect of the American Renaissance," in *Midwestern Landscape Architecture*, ed. William Tishler (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 99-116; Kurt Culbertson, "The Origins of Landscape Architecture in Ohio: The Life and Work of George Edward Kessler," *Queen City Heritage* 51, no. 1 (1993): 9-19. Culbertson notes, "Who would be better prepared to respond to the needs of this time [of public life, monumental space, and symbols of virtue in the landscape], particularly in the American heartland, than someone fresh from the

continent and schooled in classic European design?” p 11; Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998) shows how many of these same ideas made their way to the United States via a cross-cultural network of exchange.

⁶⁴ For a clearer description of the design characteristics implicit in the City Beautiful Movement, see Charles Mulford Robinson, *The Improvement of Towns and Cities, or The Practical Basis of Civic Aesthetics* (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1911); Daniel Burnham and Edward H. Bennett, *Plan of Chicago* (Chicago: The Commercial Club, 1909).

⁶⁵ Aram Eisenschitz, “Town Planning, Planning Theory and Social Reform,” *International Planning Studies* 13, no. 2 (2008): 34.

⁶⁶ William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement*, 302.

⁶⁷ Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002).

⁶⁸ Gunilla Lindholm, “‘Visible Gestures’: On Urban Landscape Perspectives in Planning,” *Planning Theory* 11, no. 1 (2011): 7.

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⁷⁵ Jacob Piatt Dunn, *Indiana and Indianans: A History of Aboriginal and Territorial Indiana and the Century of Statehood* (Chicago and New York: The American Historical Society, 1919); Logan Esarey, *History of Indiana, 1924*.

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⁷⁹ Howard H. Peckham, *Indiana: A History* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1978).

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⁹² David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 248.

⁹³ Graeme Davison, "Heritage: Patrimony to Pastiche," In *The Heritage Reader*, ed. Graham Fairclough, et al., (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 33.

⁹⁴ Van Wyck Brooks, "On Creating a Usable Past," *Dial* 64 (April 11, 1918): 337-341; David Lowenthal, "Fabricating Heritage," *History & Memory* 10, no. 11 (1998): 5-23; David Lowenthal, "Identity, Heritage, and History," in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. by John R. Gillis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 41-57.

⁹⁵ In an article concerned with the how one's understanding of the past, as exemplified in the idea of "traditional" dwellings, is largely concerned with the knowledge and political positioning of western colonialism rather than the structure itself, Anthony King writes, "how the world looks depends not only on where I stand, but when I'm standing." Anthony King, "The Politics of Position: Inventing the Past; Constructing the Present; Imagining the Future," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 4, no. 2 (1993): 10. Similar ideas are also prescient in the urban environment, as elucidated in Kevin Lynch, *What Time is This Place?* (Cambridge and London: The MIT Press, 1972).

⁹⁶ In the early parts of the 20th century, heritage organizations provided guidelines for the restoration of historical sites and monuments, giving focus to the object itself. See "The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments – 1931," ICOMOS, Accessed December 7, 2016. <http://www.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts/179-articles-en-francais/ressources/charters-and-standards/167-the-athens-charter-for-the-restoration-of-historic-monuments>; By mid-century and through today, care has been taken to point out how these objects fit into their larger cultural context. See The Venice Charter of 1964, "International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites," ICOMOS, Accessed December 7, 2016, http://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf

⁹⁷ D. Fairchild Ruggles, "The Stratigraphy of Forgetting: The Great Mosque of Córdoba and Its Contested Legacy," in *Cultural Heritage and Human Rights*, ed. Helaine Silverman and D. Fairchild Ruggles (New York: Springer, 2007), 51-67.

⁹⁸ Neil Silberman, "Process Not Product: The ICOMOS Ename Charter (2008) and the Practice of Heritage Stewardship," *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* 6, no. 2 (2009):12.

⁹⁹ For a brief summary of cultural heritage interpretation and management in the United States, see J.H. Jameson, "Cultural Heritage Management in the United States: Past, Present, and Future," In *The Heritage Reader*, ed. Graham Fairclough, et al. (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 42-61. For a work that is very specific to the methods and ideas concerning interpretation in national and state parks, see Freeman Tilden, *Interpreting Our Heritage* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1957).

¹⁰⁰ John E. Turnbridge, "Whose Heritage to Conserve? Cross-cultural Reflections on Political Dominance and Urban Heritage Conservation," in *The Heritage Reader*, ed. Graham Fairclough, et al. (London: Routledge, 2008), 238; see also Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

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¹⁰² Raoul Bianchi and Pricilla Boniface, “Editorial: The Politics of World Heritage,” *International Journal of Heritage* 8, no. 2 (2002:), 79-80.

¹⁰³ Michael A. DiGiovine, *The Heritage-Scape: UNESCO, World Heritage, and Tourism* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009).

¹⁰⁴ This tension between public and private ownership, as it is reflected in the preservation of various manor estates in England following the passage of the National Heritage Act in 1980, as well as the work of the National Trust’s preservation of various manor estates, can be seen in Patrick Wright, “Trafficking in History,” in *Representing the Nation: Histories, Heritage and Museums*, ed. David Boswell and Jessica Evans (London and New York: Routledge, 1999) 115-150; For a good example of how master narratives can consume local culture, see Roxanne Caftanzoglou, “The Shadow of the Sacred Rock: Contrasting Discourses of Place Under the Acropolis,” in *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile and Place*, ed. Barbara Bender and Margo Winer (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2001), 21-35; Roy Jones and Brian J. Shaw, “Palimpsests of Progress: Erasing the Past and Rewriting the Future in Developing Countries—Case Studies of Singapore and Jakarta,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12, no. 2 (2006): 122-138.

¹⁰⁵ George Yudice, *The Expediency of Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003); Nezar AlSayyad, “Global Norms and Urban Forms in the Age of Tourism: Manufacturing Heritage.” in *Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage*, ed. by Nezar AlSayyad (New York: Routledge, 2001), 1-31.

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¹⁰⁸ Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, trans. by Francis J. Ditter and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1980); see also Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995); Thomas Benton, *Understanding Heritage and Memory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).

Chapter Three: Turkey Run State Park and the Centennial Celebration

We love best the man that dares to do—
The moral here, stalwart through and through
Who treads the untried path, evades the rut;
Who braves the virgin forest, builds a hut,
Removes the tares encumbering the soil
And founds an empire, based on thought and toil.¹

On July 4, 1916, McCormick’s Creek State Park, near Spencer, Indiana, was dedicated the first official unit of the park system in Indiana. An article in *The Indianapolis News* noted that the first public activity at this place—a site marked by some uncharacteristically rugged topography and referred to as the “grand canyon of Indiana”—consisted of a Fourth of July celebration with a picnic hosted by the Owen County Sunday School Association.² In spite of local enthusiasm for the park idea, little additional fanfare was associated with this event. The fact that the newspaper article was relegated to page 17 suggests that the affair was of little statewide significance.

Conversely, the designation of Turkey Run as a state park on November 11 of that same year was a huge story; it was on the front page of *The Indianapolis News*, complete with imagery by famed cartoonist Gaar Williams. In the article, local conservationist Richard Lieber was quoted as saying:

The gain of Turkey Run means a good deal to the people, for it can now be said that we not only have made a beginning for the proposed state park system on an adequate scale, but that the very spot has been obtained forever as a memorial of the centenary of the state, which, in the minds of so many people, men, women and children, expresses, perhaps, more than any other one object in the state, the spirit of the past.³

After nearly two years in the making including protracted negotiations with a timber company for the legal title to the property, Turkey Run was finally saved from potential

destruction. For many, this was indeed cause for statewide celebration; it was Turkey Run that had truly sparked interest in the park idea within the state in the first place. A veritable cathedral of old growth forest and massive sandstone-walled gorges, it was Turkey Run that had become firmly entrenched in the imagination of Indiana residents.

This chapter examines popular attitudes towards Turkey Run, and indeed, the local landscape more broadly, as they relate to the Indiana Centennial Celebration of Statehood in 1916. This celebration was never intended to be an isolated, or one-off event. It was to be a statewide, year-long birthday party leading up to December 11: the 100th anniversary of Admission Day. As with any anniversary, and particularly such a milestone, this was a time to look backward and to celebrate the past. It was a time to reflect on the people, events, and ideas from which the state originated and to utilize this information to construct and validate a modern Hoosier identity. It was an age of seemingly wholesale changes to the physical world from increased industrialization, as well as changes to the social world due to influxes of immigration and diaspora over the previous decades. Such changes in recent decades had made Hoosiers an anxious lot, and so the notion of establishing a sense of identity was timelier now than ever.

This chapter argues that ideas about the local landscape, particularly as manifest in the area that would become Turkey Run State Park, assuaged these anxieties by acting as a direct, tangible connection to a desirable historical past. Included in this past were some of the character traits commonly associated with the state's early pioneers—such as strength, individuality, and patriotism, as well as ideas of rural simplicity and female domesticity—that were thought to be threatened in the modern age. Embodied in the physical environment, then, was an intangible heritage—a way of living—that was a

critical marker of local identity and therefore worth preserving. Thus, the designation of lands as state parks was not simply a matter of environmental conservation, but also of cultural conservation.

The Centennial Commission

In 1911, on the cusp of their second century of statehood, the people of Indiana were convinced they should commemorate this momentous occasion, but were unsure how to do so. The United States of America had celebrated its own centennial some 35 years previously at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876, and the city of Chicago was not quite 20 years removed from the paradigm-shaping World's Columbian Exposition in 1893. Both of these events followed in the grand tradition of the 1851 Great Exhibition in London, gathering the populace together in a celebration of the age, to rally them around—and ultimately to educate them about—ideas of technological progress and national pride.⁴ Indiana now had a similar opportunity as it looked ahead towards its own celebration. However, many Hoosiers believed such exhibitions were overdone in their presentation, a tendency that almost invariably led to additional public tax burdens. And besides, one contemporary critic argued, “they are temporary only—a sensation for a few weeks, and then only a memory. Why not celebrate by a permanent memorial monument of some kind?”⁵

The first notion to receive traction was for a new library and museum to replace the facilities that were currently in use inside of the Indiana State Capitol building. The fact that similar plans had recently been advanced in other progressive states such as Wisconsin, Connecticut, New York, Iowa, Nebraska and Pennsylvania was a very real

impetus for this course of events.⁶ The state's very first governor, Jonathan Jennings, had once sung the virtues of a proper library during an address to the second session of the state legislature in 1817: "The commencement of a State Library forms a subject of too much interest not to meet your attention."⁷ Jennings was convinced that libraries should be located in every community in the state. A local, contemporaneous critic similarly noted that a strong central library that fed into smaller branch libraries could direct resources as needed. The physical structure would serve as a monument to public education.⁸ Nearly 100 years later, some of these same ideas were still relevant.

More than this, a library possessed significant cultural import and would gain increased symbolic currency in its relationship to the centennial celebration. According to a writer in the *Indiana Magazine of History*, such a monument would,

...not only commemorate the century that has gone, but...stand for centuries to come. That monument may express not only the idealism of the State, not only the honor and love that we bear toward those who have labored and have made it possible for us to enter into the fruits of their labor, but it may represent also a creditable utilitarian sense and give to the coming children of the State an offering that will prove to them of incalculable use and value.⁹

Because the library would serve a very tangible function as a site to organize an array of historical documents, it would also serve a role in helping to connect modern Hoosiers to their past. It would be a brand new structure intent on benefitting future Indiana residents.

While the current state library in Indiana, as well the state museum, were both housed within the state capitol building itself, space was at a premium in this particular building. It not only served as a storehouse for books, historical artifacts, and an ever-increasing assemblage of state government documents, but also housed Indiana's official legislative capacities. Newspapers were haphazardly piled on the basement floor, as were

court reports, maps, land records, etc. The *Indiana Magazine of History* made mention of “almost impossible conditions,” effectively rendering these historical materials “inaccessible, unattainable, and unusable.”¹⁰ Librarians and archivists were unable to do their work in any sort of organized manner, which potentially stifled the work of scholars of local history, both then and in the future.

It was all but settled, then, that a library and museum housed in a single physical building would serve as the lasting memorial to the centennial celebration. The Indiana General Assembly seemed to agree and committed the State to such an idea by passing Senate Bill 225 on March 1, 1911.¹¹ The bill created the five-member Indiana Centennial Commission and charged it with the planning of the Indiana Educational Building. More specifically, this group of individuals—comprising one state senator, one state representative, the state librarian and members appointed directly by the Governor—was empowered to determine potential locations for the siting of this structure located within the capital city of Indianapolis, as well as to invite a competition of architects to present proposals for the actual design of the structure. Time was a factor, however. Any proposed structure was intended to be designed, constructed, and ready for dedication in only five years: Admission Day, December 11, 1916. As such, the commission was further directed to report back to the General Assembly during the 1913 legislative session with their findings and recommendations.

In fulfillment of these duties, the Commission presented their report to the Sixty-Eighth Session of the Indiana General Assembly in 1913.¹² However, the previous two years of meetings, correspondence and planning revealed a number of unanticipated problems that ultimately crippled the scheme of a centennial memorial library. For one,

integration of the proposed library with the plans set forth by the Board of Park Commissioners was proving fruitless. The idea was to connect the library with the proposed City Beautiful-style plaza system adjacent to Military Park (Figure 2.1), some two-to-three blocks west of the state capitol building, but the Commission was unwilling to ask the legislature, and thus the Indiana taxpayer, to bear the full weight of such costs. Additional sites were explored, but these also proved cost-prohibitive, as current owners asked prices nearly 300% of the assessed land value. Land, even in an urban environment, would in one way or another prove to be a critical factor in determining the shape of the centennial celebration.



Figure 3.1 – Proposed Centennial Plaza in Downtown Indianapolis
Indiana Centennial Celebration Committee, “Suggestive Plans for a Historical and
Educational Celebration in Indiana in 1916”, p 86.

In relationship to Section 5 of the original legislation calling for a competition of architects in the formulation of plan drawings and schematics for any proposed structure, the plans also met resistance. The governing body of architects nationwide—the

American Institute of Architects (AIA)—not only demanded a specific program from the Commission that detailed the requirements of any proposed structure, but also a contractual guarantee that the winning architect would be paid for his services. The Commission was able to easily meet the first requirement, but as any funding for the project must first have been appropriated by an act of the General Assembly, the second part could not even begin to be resolved until a meeting of the next legislative session.¹³ Under the current conditions, the AIA would not allow its members to compete for the work, so there could be no competition as stipulated by the legislation.

Thus, “[b]ound by the limitations of the law and baffled by the unreasonable demands of the American Institute of Architects and the greed of the owners of the real estate,” the Commission was forced to admit that they had accomplished very little in the last two years of work.¹⁴ Nevertheless, they put forth two recommendations. First was that the legislature enact more efficient laws to condemn a site (that was to be determined later) and to appropriate monies to purchase the site with the intent of constructing a library befitting Indiana’s grandeur. In some ways, this was quite nearly a hollow suggestion, insofar as it was no more meaningful or specific than the original Senate bill from 1911. The second recommendation was much more significant. It notified the General Assembly that a voluntary organization of “patriotic citizens” from each Congressional District “has been formed to take charge of and carry out the details of a proper celebration in connection with the dedication of the proposed Centennial building.”¹⁵ Indeed, these words seemed intent on removing the burden of the centennial celebration from the State altogether. The restrictions of state bureaucracy had effectively put plans on hold. Privatizing these efforts, it was thought, was a way to

allow more freedom in the process, to establish a more populist approach and in so doing to give a stronger voice to Hoosier residents in the observance of the state centennial.

The Indiana Historical Commission

The failure of the original Centennial Commission was obvious and lamentable. There were still three years left in which to prepare for the Centennial Celebration, yet the historical record is silent with respect to ongoing activities during the balance of 1913, as well as 1914. The following year, 1915, saw a revived interest in such activities. The then Governor of the State of Indiana, Samuel Ralston, would excuse previous inactions by noting that the failure(s) of the Centennial Commission did not reflect any hostility on the part of Indiana residents towards celebration of this event, only a reasonable hesitation towards the associated fiscal expenditures. He noted, “I know the people of Indiana love their state. They have every reason for being proud of her achievements along every line that causes a people to be recognized as great – great in material progress, and greater still in moral and intellectual development.”¹⁶ Indeed, it was under Governor Ralston’s watch that the celebration would be renewed with vigor, a celebration that would “move our citizenship to take a keener interest in our state’s development and a deeper pride in its destiny.”¹⁷ His words indicated that though all events would take place in the present, their frames of reference would be both the past and the future of the state. In other words, Hoosiers would need to look backward as a means to make their future promise come to fruition.

The resurrected Centennial Celebration was heralded by the formation of the Indiana Historical Commission. This body was an offshoot of the organization spoken

about in the Centennial Commission's recommendations in 1913. Although comprising private citizens, it was nevertheless sanctioned by the Indiana General Assembly on March 28, 1915. Still largely under the umbrella of governmental oversight, it was "to be hoped that [the work] will also be done by a general and spontaneous co-operation of all the people throughout the state."¹⁸ The primary job of this body was to collect, edit and publish materials on the history of Indiana. This published material would then be disseminated free of charge to every public library in the state, as well as to the various universities and normal schools. A history of Indiana, then, was to be made available for public distribution throughout the state. The assumption was that an educated citizenry would be a patriotic, and therefore, unified citizenry.

As importantly, such a broad geographical involvement was to be a cornerstone of the rejuvenated Centennial project. The previous idea—a library and museum as a permanent memorial—was focused entirely in Indianapolis. This location, while centralized within the state, still had the potential to alienate those residents who were unable to travel such distances to visit the city. And as the previous Centennial Commission had found out, the limited funds available would never be enough for a grand celebration, and certainly not a monumental structure. Legislation passed by the Indiana General Assembly in 1915 concerning the centennial celebration provided \$25,000 to be used towards the centennial celebration, and fully \$5,000 of that was to be dedicated to costs associated with the publication of historical materials referred to above.¹⁹ Thus, a new scheme was developed that reached out beyond a single event, or a single structure, and more significantly, beyond the city of Indianapolis.

The Indiana Historical Commission embarked on an idea that was ostensibly

untested in such festivities. Harlow Lindley, a local Indiana historian, noted that:

In thorough keeping with our democratic institutions and political organization, [the Indiana Historical Commission] decided to decentralize the Indiana celebration, making it state-wide and of genuine interest to the people. It determined to make the anniversary mean as much in the extreme corner of the 'pocket' as in the capital itself. With this end in view a campaign was vigorously undertaken in behalf of a state-wide celebration, twofold in its significance; historical, in the knowledge and appreciation of the state and its institutions, present as well as past; patriotic, in a new admiration and love for the Indiana that is and may be.²⁰

The revelries that would pepper the Indiana landscape throughout the year were thought to be the best means to visualize the past, to give it form and to make it interesting and intelligible. As mentioned earlier, it was thought that a populace that was educated about its history would lead to a "higher type of citizenship" with a deep pride and devotion to the state.²¹ To that end, the Commission further challenged the whole of Indiana with the following:

This anniversary is an occasion for taking stock of our history, local as well as State, and of paying due tribute to the builders of the Commonwealth. It is a patriotic service for hamlet and town and city. We may show thereby whether we appreciate and whether we are worthy of the deeds of our fathers. It is our celebration, as a people, to make of it what we will."²²

The centennial celebration, then, was a means by which the residents of Indiana in 1916 could recognize and value the gifts that the residents of Indiana in 1816 had left for them.

In other words, it would be a celebration of Indiana heritage.

However, an important tension was expressed in these types of celebrations. A local historian noted that, "Every community has its history. To arouse and cultivate an interest in this history, to promote a knowledge of the community's past and some concern for its future,-these [sic] will prove worthy means and factors in realizing a suitable centennial celebration."²³ These words imply a site-specific, local identity for

various communities within the state, which might be more accurate considering the clear differences in immigration and settlements patterns in northern Indiana as opposed to southern Indiana. However, the imagined notion of a unified, culturally homogeneous past would be normalized under the banner of state history and heritage in Indiana. Moreover, the State of Indiana would declare itself the sole source of centennial propaganda, effectively blocking outside interference and subsuming all centennial observances under an official narrative.

In mid-1915, an organization called the National Patriotic League began visiting counties within the state claiming to have a relationship with the Indiana Historical Commission and working towards a proper celebration of the state centennial. A telegram to Governor Ralston dated September 10, 1915 requested assistance of the Indiana Historical Commission in compiling information towards the production of a motion picture of Indiana history for “educational and patriotic purposes.”²⁴ Their intent appeared honorable, but this organization, allegedly based in Washington D.C., was soon exposed as a commercial enterprise masquerading under the guise of patriotism. Some municipalities seemed to have no problem with this group, allowing the League the opportunity to provide entertainment at their upcoming celebrations. One noted, “I can see no harm in the Indiana Historical Commission and the National Patriotic League joining hands in this great patriotic movement. Let’s all get together and push for this one great event that only happens to you and me once in a whole lifetime.”²⁵

Governor Ralston, however, very much objected to such a relationship, declaring that the actions of the League were part of a “studied attempt going on over the state to cripple materially the work of the statutory commission.”²⁶ As such, the Indiana

Historical Commission quickly repudiated all associations with the National Patriotic League and advised others in the state to do likewise, warning them, “Those who continue relationship with the National Patriotic League will do so at their own risk and with the clear understanding that they are in no way cooperating with the spirit and high purpose of the Indiana Centennial observance as planned by the Indiana Historical Commission.”²⁷ The state was wildly jealous of its own actions, hoping to avoid the celebration becoming cheap, or in any way unbecoming of their patriotic and self-important vision of themselves. This is not to say that the celebrations would be necessarily solemn, or overly serious. Playfulness and an air of festivity were very much encouraged, but the Indiana Historical Commission wrote,

in the name of 1916, what do the barking spielers and their gaudy wares, which operate under the polite name of ‘concessions,’ have to do with a proper observance of our state’s anniversary? They are bound to detract from the very things that should be emphasized, and compromise those responsible for the celebration. Crowds thus attracted are gathered at too great a cost. It is to be hoped that the citizenship of Indiana will rise above this plane of entertainment in this anniversary year of progress and patriotism.²⁸

The Indiana Historical Commission did not want the Centennial Celebration to be tarnished by attempts at making a quick dollar. Instead, this event was a crucial instrument of state education, providing a year-long forum of vast scope to make plain the state’s master narrative of local history and heritage.

Centennial Observances

As early as September of 1915, the Indiana Historical Commission commenced a practice that it would maintain for the balance of the centennial year. They initiated the release of a weekly newsletter that found its way into most newspapers throughout the

state. Indeed, the print media played a crucial role that year in the dissemination of information across the state, allowing physically distant communities to imagine their role in a larger, unified state history. The newsletter, more specifically, was intent on sharing with Hoosier residents either a bit of historical information, or more typically, suggestions as to exactly *how* residents should be preparing themselves for the build-up to Admission Day in December.²⁹ In order to rally citizens around a common idea, it was reasoned that they should approach the centennial celebration around common activities. A bulletin issued early in the year outlined a general scheme for centennial observances:

In order to reach the citizenship as a whole, the scope of the observance is large and inclusive. The State is organized on the basis of the county as a unit, with a Centennial chairman in each.... From May on into October, the county celebrations will take place all over Indiana, varying in duration from one day to one week. They will be featured by pageants, historical and industrial parades, home coming exercises, Centennial and educational exhibits, etc. In addition to the spectacular, as represented in formal celebrations, counties are concerning themselves with the more permanent work of locating and marking points of historic interest, collecting their local history, and providing themselves with needed public enterprises as Centennial memorials.³⁰

Because the celebration would reflect the history of the state observed at the local level, a centennial chairman was designated in each county of the state to help arrange and organize the localized activities.³¹ This resulted in a total of 92 individual chairmen, each intent on informing their constituency of the value of centennial education through pageants, parades and other local activities.

One of the first ideas generated by the Indiana Historical Commission and disseminated to the various county chairmen for a state-wide celebration was Indiana Products Day, scheduled for February 22, 1916. The United States Chamber of commerce had already declared this “Americanization Day,” so local governments decided to take this a step further and declare it also “Indianaization Day.”³² In the same

manner that actions at the national scale were intent on assimilating an ever-increasing immigrant population into American society and culture, Indiana Products Day was part of a movement towards the inculcation of desirable values and beliefs into the local population.³³ It was thought to be an ideal way to instill a sense of pride into a population that, lacking any real physical connection with each other, required other kinds of material connection.

With this idea of state pride in mind, the local Commercial Clubs promoted “Made in Indiana” dinners to be held simultaneously throughout the state on this date. In an attempt to show how completely the Indiana commonwealth could supply the bodily needs of its people, they declared that “Nothing is to be served [at these dinners] that is not grown or manufactured within our own borders.”³⁴ The official dinner hosted by the Indianapolis Board of Trade included a number of smartly-named, but ultimately ill-defined items such as “Hoosier Cocktail” and “Native Soup.” However, this same menu was also quite explicit about the local origins of some other items: “Buck Creek Trout,” “Tippecanoe Trotters,” “Boone County Dressing,” and “Abe Martin Champagne.”³⁵ Each item was specific to Indiana and drew attention to the “material resources” of the state, as stipulated in Governor Ralston’s recent proclamation.³⁶

Imagery displayed on the menus published by the Indianapolis Board of Trade also makes a clear connection to state history, a crucial aspect of the centennial celebration. On the front page is depicted a scene from what is assumed to be Indiana’s beginnings, prior to industrialization or even to heavy settlement (Figure 3.2). A solitary man plows a cleared field behind two sturdy work horses, which recalls not only Indiana’s agrarian roots, but also the efforts of early pioneers and settlers to make this

area livable. A humble wooden cabin recedes back toward the horizon, the large amount of agricultural land available to this individual and further suggests the vastness of the Indiana landscape itself. A portrait of a Native American in full Indian headdress, a very common reference to Native American history during the Centennial Celebration, is centered at the bottom of the page, yet separated from the scene. Stalks of corn form the *repoussoir*, providing a vertical contrast to the otherwise horizontal composition, while an array of pumpkins and squash enclose the bottom of the scene. These items focus the eye on the pioneer farmer, but also serve as evidence of the fruits of his labor and the potential bounty found within the state. So whereas the primary message conveyed by this imagery is that the same kind of bounty is still found in Indiana, it is also clear that such a scene is part of Indiana's past. The connections to local history and heritage are tenuous at best, reflecting not reality but the imagination. Neither this style of farming nor Native Americans in full dress was still common to Indiana in 1916.

Nevertheless, continuity between Indiana of 1816 and Indiana of 1916 is directly implied on this page, as well as on the back of the brochure (Figure 3.3). Text shown on the page ("1816" on the left and "1916" on the right) suggests a continuous timeline between the ages. The back page contains an image of Jonathan Jennings, the first governor of the State of Indiana in 1816 as well as an image of Samuel Ralston, the Governor of Indiana in 1916. Between them is a version of the State Seal and a bald eagle in the light of the sun. By touching the seal, both men are portrayed as connected to the state, constituting a continuum of leadership within that entity. The eagle, moreover, is a symbol of the United States linking national pride to the more localized

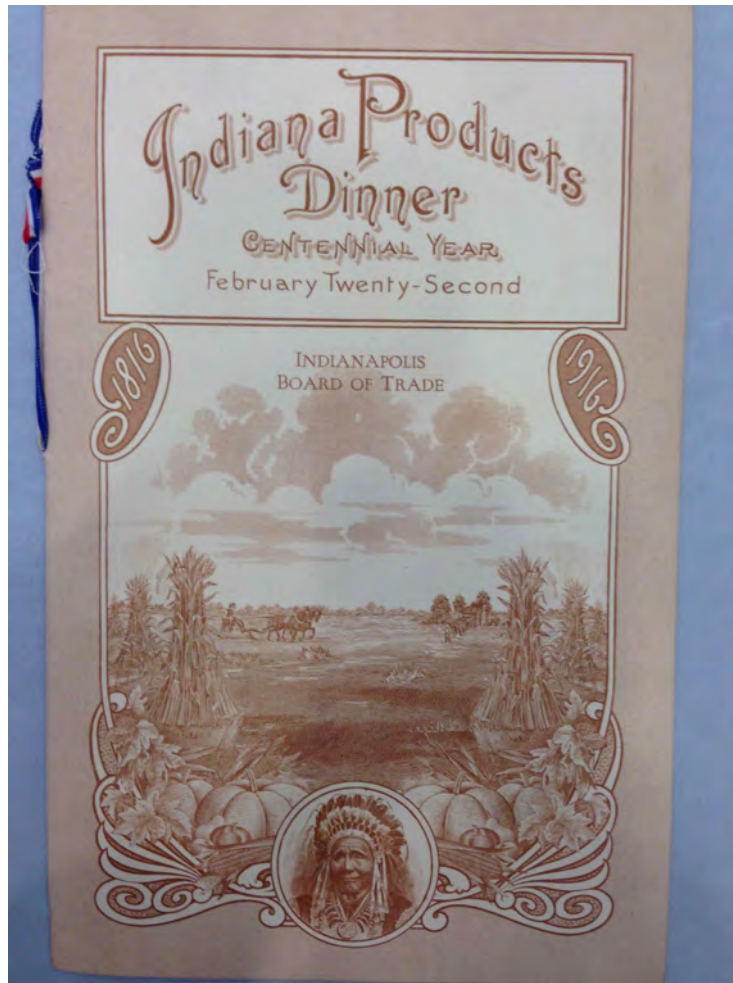


Figure 3.2 – Indiana Products Dinner Pamphlet (a)
Ralston, MSS, Lilly Library, February 22, 1916.

state pride within, thus reinforcing the patriotic spirit of the Centennial Celebration.

Ultimately, Indiana Products Day was intended to serve as a connection between past and the present. That these dinners were held throughout the state was also significant. Many groups would be gathering at the same time and for the same purpose. The dinners were a subtle means to help them imagine a connection between their fellow Indiana residents; physical distance was rendered all but insignificant.



Figure 3.3 – Indiana Products Dinner Pamphlet (b)
Ralston, MSS, Lilly Library, February 22, 1916.

Pageants

Pageants were also held in various towns throughout the state during the centennial year as a method for building pride in state history. More specifically, the preparation and planning of a pageant was entrusted to the commissioners of the various counties within the state. Individual towns were the sites for such activities, typically the county seat, more often than not centrally located within the county and thus more easily accessible for the greatest number of people. Pageants may have lasted a single day, or were stretched out over the course of an entire week.³⁷

A goal of such pageants was to give tangible form to a historical narrative. As before, the celebrations themselves were rooted in smaller narratives of the local history of each county. It was believed that “[n]o community is without its history of interest and value—a story of daring, privation, struggle, sentiment, romance, labor, achievement. Such local history should be presented in the form of exhibits and celebrational exercises of that dignity and impressiveness which will give reverence and pride in the past, faith and promise in the future.”³⁸ Upon reflection of the year’s events, the Indiana Historical Commission noted, “In this way the local history of a very considerable part of the Commonwealth has been dramatized.”³⁹ The sum of these local events, in concert with aspects that were “common” to the whole of Indiana, were thought to paint a much more complete picture of the larger, statewide history. Significantly, the framework for the narrative was provided to local organizations by the Indiana Historical Commission, and by extension, the State of Indiana.

Though an array of individuals and committees undoubtedly played a role, a crucial voice in the construction of this framework—as well as in the statewide dissemination of information—was a woman named Charity Dye. Educated at the University of Chicago, Charity Dye was an outspoken proponent of women’s suffrage and peaceful conflict resolution.⁴⁰ But it was for nearly forty years as a high school teacher in Indianapolis that, in 1915, she was invited to be the sole female member of the Indiana Historical Commission. It was education about the Centennial, after all, that was thought to be integral to its success, and the “natural place of beginning was found in the schools, since one has only to interest and direct the school children of a Commonwealth to reach almost directly the whole citizenship.”⁴¹ Indeed, Charity Dye’s career in

education and her connection with students would serve her well in her capacity on the Indiana Historical Commission.

Dye jumped energetically into her role. First, she organized a statewide letter exchange, whereby students from all corners of Indiana wrote letters to others relaying information about their own local neighborhoods.⁴² Like having a “pen pal,” this program allowed for young students to exchange ideas about their own local history, and by reading the letters of other students, providing them with a composite picture of what it was like in potentially distant parts of the states. It informed them not only of the ideas that separated Hoosiers, but also the commonalities that held them together.

Dye’s second notable contribution to Centennial education was her job editing a department of the Sunday edition of *The Indianapolis Star* called “The Centennial Story Hour,” whereby facts about Indiana’s past were written into discrete narratives of a few hundred words. Included were lessons about William Henry Harrison, James Whitcomb Riley, the founding of Indiana’s first state capitol in Corydon, and dozens of other stories about the contributions of less well-known people and places in the state’s history.

Dye is also recognized as the author of a 1916 publication by the Indiana Historical Commission entitled, *Pageant Suggestions for the Indiana Statehood Centennial Celebration*. This document served to describe and explain to county commissioners—and indeed, all Indiana residents—just what it was that was to be included in the celebrations that would be happening throughout the state during the centennial year.⁴³ Her advice on “How to Start a Pageant” was rooted in five main points: Act at Once; Know What You Are Doing; Have Confidence; Be Democratic; Seek Simplicity.⁴⁴ Similar to the party line of the state itself, she suggested in these

points the necessity to speak across scales, to simultaneously consider the importance of local history in relationship to a more inclusive state history. Homegrown stories were to be told alongside narratives of such giants as George Rogers Clark and Abraham Lincoln. In doing so, it was hoped that ideas of patriotism and citizenship would prevail to the extent that local organizations could “feel the responsibility of the occasion and let all the people ‘be glad together.’”⁴⁵ In other words, pageants held locally allowed individuals in various towns across Indiana could imagine themselves as part of a much larger community.

One specific way that the pageants sparked such imagination was in the set design of the production itself. Charity Dye supplemented the maxim to “seek simplicity” with some extra advice: “Do not attempt to spoil the unadorned grace natural to community life. Take to the groves or the hillsides, or the banks of some stream. The accessories of the pageant should be in keeping with the spirit of nature and be just as simple.”⁴⁶ The trappings of a complex, and confusing modern life were to be avoided in exchange for a more direct connection with the natural world. Such a decision served, in part, to link viewers of the pageant with the historical past that it was intent on describing, a world of 1816 in which there were no skyscrapers, no automobiles, no interurban lines. And even though pageant materials marked the beginning of a new century, the stated emphasis was on the past.

The focus on the physical landscape that Charity Dye proposes is crucial, as it underscores an institutionally sanctioned vision of state identity. In a section of her document entitled, “Suggestive Outlines for Scenes,” Dye speaks to how “nature” might be used in these productions, namely as either “land” or “water.”⁴⁷ The forests and hills

might be personified to represent the gifts that the state has given to its residents: how the trees gave way to the agricultural land and to the building of homes; how the hills yielded the ore that had laid underneath for centuries; how the lower lands have provided stone, clay and other minerals for the use of Hoosiers. Similarly, water and waterways could be used as part of the scenes. Water was the initial highway for travelers, missionaries, fur traders, Native Americans and pioneers, and a crucial infrastructure for the more recent move towards industrialization. Ultimately, water can tell of the “great stream of life that has passed over [its] surface.”⁴⁸

In both instances (“land” or “water”), the native landscape is intended to tell part of the story of Indiana, and in two main ways. The first is that the Indiana landscape is “generous,” “yielding,” and feminized. Dye consistently assigns Nature a female gender in her writings, emphasizing not only what “she” has already given us, but further implying what more we might be able to take from “her.”⁴⁹ The second is the idea that “Nature” itself may no longer exist. Dye describes the landscape as being akin to the Native American; its place is in the past, “in the historic background of the entire state.”⁵⁰ In other words, not only did the Indiana landscape serve as the background scenery for the pageants themselves, but also as the background to the entire history of the state. The landscape is, in many ways, conceptually distant from the present and the future of Indiana as the state moved forward into its second century of existence.

All of these celebrations and educative exercises were deemed instrumental in arousing a “new interest in state and local history, and the creation of a community spirit and consciousness.”⁵¹ Still, there was nothing permanent left behind to memorialize the centennial. The pageants were, by their very nature, short-lived, and as discussed earlier,

the move towards a library structure never fully materialized.⁵² And whereas certain narratives of local history were highlighted in the various festivities across the state, nothing remained for the state as a whole as a longstanding marker of the Centennial Celebration. However, the most tangible and most ambitious initiative of the year's events—the Indiana State Parks—sought to change that. The protection and preservation of particular sites of scenic beauty as state parks would serve as a meaningful definition of Hoosier identity, as proof of state pride and citizenship, and the only lasting memorial to the state as a whole resulting from the Centennial Celebration of Statehood in 1916.

The Park Idea

Richard Lieber, originally from Duesseldorf, Germany, arrived in the United States as a 21-year old man during the winter of 1891.⁵³ He was met by his cousin at the Port of New York and escorted to Indianapolis where his uncle Herman lived with his family. Lieber immediately found work in a hardware store, later as a partner at an unsuccessful chemical refinery (the factory burned to the ground on three separate occasions), still another position as owner and partner of a company that bottled soft drinks and medicinal waters, and following his early interests in art and music, as a writer and critic for *The Indianapolis Journal* and *The Indianapolis Tribune*.

Through all these varied roles, he discovered his penchant for municipal affairs and civic reform, which landed him a position on an advisory commission to Samuel Lewis Shank, the Mayor of Indianapolis, from 1910 to 1913. His lasting contribution in this endeavor was a battle against insurance companies, at the time overcharging consumers for fire protection policies, a topic that he knew all too well from his

experience at the chemical factories. Such victories served to further stoke his passion for civic affairs, and further underscore a tendency towards local boosterism during this age. An article in *The Indianapolis Star* in 1910 quotes Lieber as saying, “Let us awaken, then, to the full responsibilities of citizenship, which only build an ideal city. Let us have one common goal—the greatness of our home city as a model municipality, and every other good will follow in consequence thereof.”⁵⁴

Lieber’s efforts in the city of Indianapolis also led to friendships with then Governor of Indiana—and future Vice-President of the United States—Thomas Marshall, as well as his successor in the Governor’s office, Samuel Ralston. In Ralston’s relationship with Lieber, civic pride and an identification with a place was paramount. Indeed, “Richard Lieber possessed an unusual awareness of civic responsibilities. His activities in the field of greater public safety, promotion of civil service reform, the lowering of fire insurance rates, and crusade for more interest in clean government signify his dedication to his ideal of American citizenship.”⁵⁵ Importantly, these very traits and attitudes that served him so well in the city of Indianapolis would soon extend in service of the entirety of the State of Indiana.

It was at about this same time (September 24, 1910) that Lieber first visited Brown County, Indiana, located some sixty miles south of Indianapolis.⁵⁶ While visiting a friend, Fred Hetherington, he was until that time unaware that such scenery of dense forest and broad, rolling hills was situated so close to the growing industrial city of Indianapolis. He had assumed that these types of natural landscapes were only found in the American West, as he had experienced first-hand in camping and hunting trips to Idaho, the Yosemite Valley, and Yellowstone National Park in the previous decade.⁵⁷

Lieber's wife, Emma, wrote that his first remark, after a leisurely drive through a good part of Brown County was: "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."⁵⁸ She notes that the "State Park idea was born right then and there," though she concedes that even Richard could barely imagine at the time how the idea might materialize into tangible form.

That said, as influential as Lieber will prove to be in the quest to establish state parks in Indiana, it would be folly to state that the park idea can be attributed to a single person and his individual experiences and beliefs. Instead, the park idea reflects the idea of Indiana itself manifested in one particular site within the state of Indiana: Turkey Run.

The Lusk Family

As much as any other, the surname Lusk is intimately linked to the history of Turkey Run. The family were the first Europeans to settle on this particular landscape in west-central Indiana in 1824 and held title on as much as 1500 acres of land in the area over the next ninety years.⁵⁹ Perhaps as important as any legal claim to the site is the almost passive role that this family played in stoking the imagination of Indiana residents towards the protection and preservation of the trees in Turkey Run, as well as its subsequent designation as a state park.

The patriarch of this family, Salmon Lusk, was born in 1788 in Vermont. "Loyal to the cause of advancing civilization in the wilds," Lusk drifted westward towards Indiana.⁶⁰ Upon reaching Vincennes, a town in southwest Indiana initially founded as a French fur trading post in the late eighteenth century, and that served as the capital of the

former Indiana Territory (prior to statehood), he translated that loyalty into military service. While serving as a soldier under General William Henry Harrison, Salmon Lusk marched northward through the Wabash Valley against the local Indians, culminating most famously at the Battle of Tippecanoe in 1811.⁶¹

In 1824, soon after this military service had ended, Lusk and his new bride, Polly, were “bound for the wilderness, which is now Parke County, there to fashion for themselves a home on the land given ex-soldiers in recognition of their services to their country.”⁶² This land is located about halfway between Vincennes and Lafayette (the present day town near where the Battle of Tippecanoe was waged), and likely caught Lusk’s eyes during his marches to and from battle against the Shawnee Indians. It is further known that Lusk was stationed for a few years at Fort Harrison, a military encampment located just north of modern day Terre Haute, Indiana, which also likely provided him with a familiarity to the area. Lusk and his wife ended up settling on the banks of Sugar Creek, some thirty miles north of his former military barracks. This course of water was also known by the natives as ‘Pungosecone.’ or ‘the waters of many sugar trees.’⁶³

Lusk built a small, temporary, yet functional hut for himself and his soon-to-be growing family. But this location was no accident, nor just a simple matter of convenience. It was a calculated decision based on his knowledge of the physical landscape. Indeed, far from being an inhospitable wilderness, the landscape of this area “offered advantages which young Lusk seized upon with the instinct of his ancestry.”⁶⁴ Specifically, the primary ‘advantage’ was the powerful natural force of water. Lusk began construction of a grist mill along the river banks at a point referred to as the

Narrows, so named due to the presence of formidable rock outcroppings. This mill, cut through and anchored to the sandstone wall on the banks of the Sugar Creek, was an ideal spot where the force of the water could be harnessed to drive the giant wheel towards Lusk's fortunes.

The mill was a complete operation, including a packing house for the production and shipping of grain, port and flour down Sugar Creek and ultimately all the way to New Orleans. A local history notes that Lusk shipped as many as twenty flat boats of these products annually.⁶⁵ The mill would stand for just over two decades until a massive flood along Sugar Creek washed it away in 1847. Undeterred, Salmon Lusk would stay on the property, building a much larger home for his growing family on the bluff overlooking Sugar Creek, burning his own bricks for its construction and finishing it with deep, rich walnut trim and yellow poplar flooring.⁶⁶

Upon the death of Salmon Lusk in 1869, the land was deeded to one of his sons: John. The younger Lusk was offered vast sums of money for his land, or even just for the rights to cut timber from the land, but he steadfastly refused. Instead, he resolved to protect it. It was thought that "he cared not one whit for money or what it would buy. He preferred to keep intact the inheritance carved out of the trackless wilderness which his father had left to him."⁶⁷ An iconic image of John Lusk shows a grizzled man sitting down and holding a cane (Figure 3.4). Behind him is some broken lumber, while in front of him is a blacksmith's anvil. The juxtaposition of Lusk with these items is significant. It suggests the strength and durability of the old ways, and grounds him to Indiana's pioneer history rather than the mechanization of an industrialized present.



Figure 3.4 – John Lusk
Image Courtesy of Turkey Run State Park

That said, it is known that Lusk did sell some timber when financial necessity compelled him to do so.⁶⁸ He also arranged another mechanism by which to bring in a modest income while allowing outsiders to enjoy the scenic beauty of his land. Beginning in the mid-1880s, John Lusk leased out portions of his property as a summer resort. Under the direction of a man named William Heohkirk, the Indiana, Springfield and Decatur Railroad Company erected tents and an eating house, calling the place “Bloomingdale Glens.”⁶⁹ This kind of summer resort, which was an extension of rail service from nearby urban centers, was common to the age. Visitors would arrive by train in nearby Marshall, Indiana and were transported by carriage the remaining two and

a half miles where they were met with a “primitive but conveniently arranged campus, surrounded by tents and cottages nestling in the shade of the stately forest trees.”⁷⁰ The local scenery was paramount, and was clearly the biggest draw for the resort. The area was described as “the most wonderful and romantic natural formations of glens and gulches,” promising miniature versions of the Royal Gorge and Black Canyon of Colorado. Visitors could expect to “have a delightful and beneficial vacation, ‘near to nature’s heart.’”⁷¹ People went to this area to remove themselves from their typically urban environment and perhaps to discover a link to the physical landscape that they imagined was lacking in their own life. Unlike John Lusk, they had no specific connection to this place, but in an era when industrialization and urbanization was threatening to eliminate precisely these types of landscapes, visitors surely hoped that even a brief visit to Turkey Run might relieve the stresses brought about by urbanity in the modern world (Figure 3.5).

John Lusk took great pains to keep his birthright pristine, and for a very specific reason. Though Lusk himself was very reclusive and little inclined to speak publically about such reasons, his lifelong friend, Howard Maxwell, stated that Lusk “loved the trees and he felt that as long as the trees stood a part of his mother and father was still with him.”⁷² The landscape, and more specifically the trees, served as a direct link to a reassuring family history; he was compelled to protect the trees to protect his own heritage.

It is curious, then, that upon his death in 1915, John Lusk left no formal will to legally bequeath this heritage and to help ensure its continued safety.⁷³ This oversight left the area of Turkey Run subject to a public auction the next year. The very timber



Figure 3.5 – Visitors in the Canyons of Turkey Run
Image Courtesy of Parke County Historical Society.

companies that Lusk had spent years warding off were poised to buy the land and harvest the trees for financial gain unless a dedicated, and ultimately well-funded group of people were to intervene. Simultaneously, the movement to establish parks across the state, with Turkey Run being the focus of the early efforts, would rally Indiana residents around the idea that such landscapes were not a heritage limited to individual families such as the Lusks. Furthermore, it would rally Indiana residents around the very idea of Indiana.

The Country Contributor – Juliet Strauss

A vocal supporter of this cause was Juliet Strauss, whose words and ideas were expressed on a weekly basis in the local newspaper, *The Rockville Tribune*, as well as a much larger periodical of national repute, *The Ladies Home Journal*. Born on January 7,

1863 in Rockville, Indiana, to William Humphries, a carpenter and house builder, and his wife Susan, the young Juliet experienced a difficult childhood. The family was poor, just barely putting food on the table and clothes on their backs, and suffered even more after William's untimely death in 1867. Through such hardships in her early years, Strauss would learn from her mother the basic lessons on home-making and the role of women in daily life. Further, her love of education and literature would support her writing in the next 50 years until her own death in 1918.⁷⁴ Indeed, "[t]he homespun advice she dispensed for her loyal readership," notes Strauss's biographer Ray E. Boomhower "idealized traditional values and offered release for readers from a world that seemed to be changing on a daily basis under assault from such forces as industrialization and urbanization."⁷⁵ Juliet Strauss's popularity in various media outlets further suggests that her opinions were shared by a large readership across Indiana, and indeed, across the whole of the United States.

There is very little ambivalence to be found in Strauss's writings; her love for country life, and by extension, her disdain for city life is demonstrated very clearly. She writes, "Our modern civilisation is the worst enemy to the individual life."⁷⁶ Indeed, Strauss largely conflated ideas of urban living and modernization with ideas of the city.

She continues:

It is a doctrine of mine that the quality of mind does not change with what we call civilisation, except for the worse. In luxury the mind deteriorates, while simple and primitive living lightens it. It is good fortune to be born in a quiet country place close to fields and water and real work, and the woods and animals, the trees and clouds and weather—and all sorts of teachers.⁷⁷

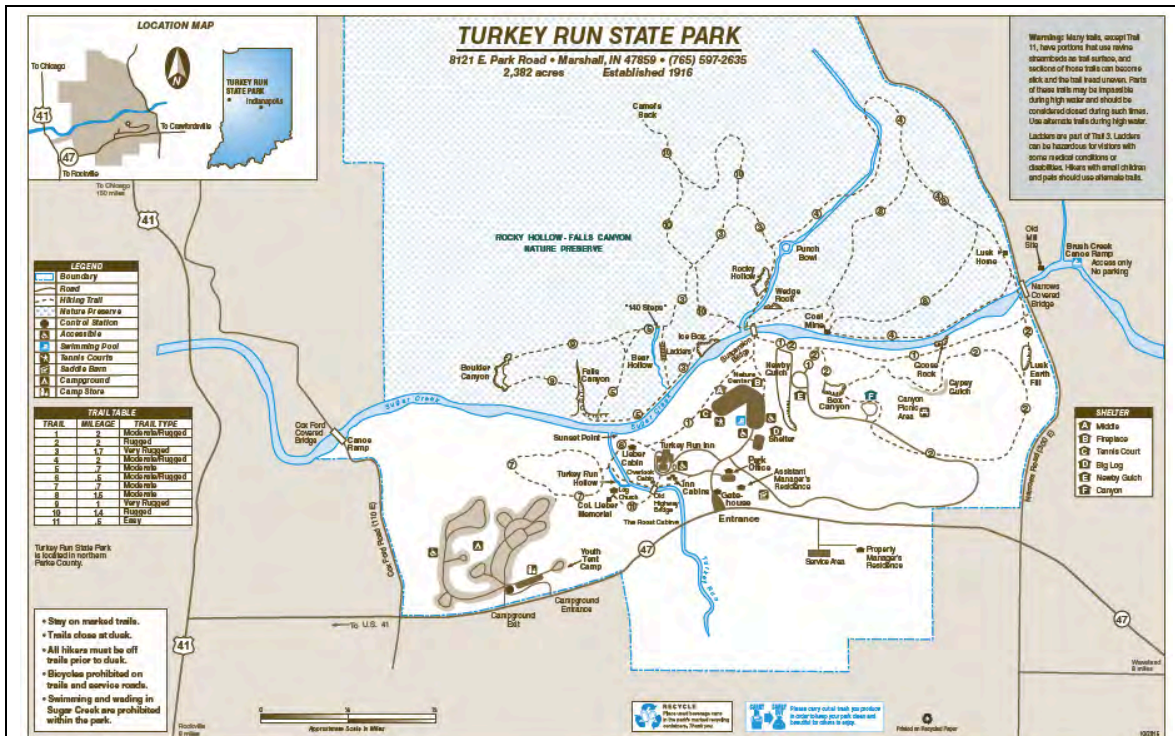
Apart from the potential pedagogical value of the landscape, the connection Strauss makes between country living and “real” things is interesting. There is an implication that what happens in the city is somehow *not* real, that it is fake or contrived.⁷⁸

Perhaps more important, she strongly believed that people couldn’t feel or experience the world in a meaningful way absent a direct physical connection with nature.⁷⁹ Experiences in nature, however, were becoming much more difficult to come by, even in the rural areas of Indiana. She notes, “There are still a few sugar camps close to my home, though methods of sugar-making have changed and lost many of their picturesque qualities, and trees of any kind are fairly disappearing from the face of the earth.”⁸⁰ As the physical landscape of her childhood was vanishing in front of her eyes—a local history of the area states that, as late as 1830, the entire country comprised an “unbroken forest”—so too were some of the practices of daily life, such as the lessons of domesticity that her mother had taught her, that served to define her simple paradigm of existence.⁸¹

But where she lacked physical touchstones, Strauss suggests that the past is still accessible in the imagination; it is located in the personal and collective memories of people who had witnessed these changes.⁸² She writes:

I am glad that my memory goes back to old-fashioned village scenes, to times when we lived close to life and primitive things, and Nature was very near to us, and we never went very far from the beginning of things. We wish to put away the complications of our lives and to get back once more to a sense of nearness to mother earth—dear mother earth, who told us all we know and in whose rugged bosom we shall sleep at last.”⁸³

The forests of Turkey Run fulfilled Strauss’s criteria for “nearness to mother earth.” Furthermore, the past, or to use her words, “the beginning of things,” evokes notions of Indiana’s own creation, a narrative that Turkey Run itself represented.



Having grown in size considerably since its inception in 1916, Turkey Run State Park now comprises nearly 2,400 acres of land in Parke County, Indiana. There are over 11 miles of trails throughout the site, the bulk of which is focused in the most scenic portions of the property, leading visitors over rugged terrain to destinations such as Boulder Canyon, Rocky Hollow, the Punch Bowl, Gypsy Gulch, and the massive Wedge Rock. The Lusk House, which has been restored and is open to the public, sits at the east end of the site, where one can also see the cored out rock that Salmon Lusk had employed as the foundation for his gristmill on the banks of Sugar Creek. This area of the park is also home to the Narrows Covered Bridge, a single span Burr Arch Truss bridge built in 1882 that serves as one of many such destinations for tourists every Autumn during the Covered Bridge Festival. The park also offers a range of other activities such as the Nature Center, which offers educational trail hikes to interested guests, indoor and outdoor swimming pools, and a few miles of trails dedicated solely to horseback riding. Lodging and meals are still available on site at the Turkey Run Inn, or guests can choose to stay on property in tents, campers, or RV's at the popular full service campground.

Figure 3.6 - Spotlight on Turkey Run State Park, 2017
<http://www.in.gov/dnr/parklake/2964.htm>

The Fight for Turkey Run

After John Lusk died and it was apparent that his property was at risk, Juliet Strauss sent a letter to Governor Samuel Ralston pleading for some sort of intervention.⁸⁴ In response, Ralston quickly established a body known as the Turkey Run Commission on April 27, consisting William Watson Woolen of Indianapolis, Vida Newsom of Columbus, as well as Strauss. There is no record of the Governor having ever visited Turkey Run, but his actions were swift. Though having no legally binding status, the job of the commission was to consider,

what can be done by themselves or the state or both, to preserve the natural beauty of this place and keep it as a habitation for the wild life of the woods and as a restful retreat for man; to the end that here the young may find romance, older folk rest and all recreation and a renewing of the spirit, through a real communion with nature.”⁸⁵

Per the Governor’s announcement, this site was not simply important to a few locals; it was now thought to be of statewide significance. Indeed, Turkey Run would be a destination for all Hoosier residents. The physical landscape of the area was to be protected, but as importantly, its history and the primordial condition it represented—as evidenced in the writings of Juliet Strauss, for example—was also be protected. This was not simply environmental conservation, but also conservation of local culture.

The specific activities of the Commission are vague, though William Watson Woolen did send a letter to Governor Ralston in late July 1915, offering a brief and equally vague update. He notes only that the group had recently visited Turkey Run and “made a careful study of the situation.” He further requests that Ralston join them in the middle of August for an additional visit to Turkey Run, and that after those discussions some sort of preservation plan might be given to the Civic Commission of the Chamber

of Commerce. Woolen's ultimate hope is that they might "create a public sentiment which will ensure favorable action by the next session of the Legislature towards saving Turkey Run as a state reservation."⁸⁶ The park idea was percolating in such sentiments, but there was still no sense of how the state might arrive at that point.

Enter Richard Lieber: a German immigrant who had also emerged as a leading conservationist in the state of Indiana. Evidence of Lieber's early efforts toward conservation is shown in an editorial he penned denouncing the removal of some large trees in an urban area for the sake of a proposed thoroughfare.⁸⁷ Additionally, he was said to have been a delegate to the groundbreaking 1908 Conference of Governors hosted by President Theodore Roosevelt in Washington D.C., and further served as the chairman of the Fourth National Conservation Congress held in Indianapolis in 1912.⁸⁸

Lieber met with Governor Ralston in November 1915 to talk about Turkey Run, but suggested that the preservation of that place should be a part of a much larger program. It was in this meeting that Lieber presented the idea that Turkey Run should be the first of a chain of parks across the entire state. Not only would the Indiana landscape be protected through such actions, but Lieber also believed that the creation of parks might serve as the single lasting memorial to the upcoming Centennial Celebration, something the state had been seeking since at least 1911 with the early discourse surrounding the Indiana Historical Commission. Moreover, parks could be a memorial that exuded some sense of enduring civic worth, and "of such permanency that the people of the next Hoosier century will know that civic patriotism was very much alive in Indiana in the year 1916."⁸⁹ A proposed system of parks would "answer the requirements of sentiment, history, permanency and usefulness" and help bind together all Hoosier

residents as a single community that was bequeathing a single heritage to future generations.⁹⁰ The Governor offered no objections to such an idea, naming Lieber to the Turkey Run Commission in January of 1916. When the Indiana Historical Commission met later that month, they voted to inaugurate a State Park Memorial Committee, ultimately naming Richard Lieber as chair.⁹¹ The quest to save Turkey Run now had a formal administrative backing and was gaining traction.

The auction for the Lusk estate was scheduled for May 18, 1916. The most relevant parcel, nearly 290 acres of land, which included much of the old growth forest as well as the notable rock outcroppings and scenic delights, was to be sold in a single lot at an appraised value of just over \$18,000.⁹² However, neither the Turkey Run Commission, the Indiana Historical Commission, nor the newly formed State Park Committee had any funds to draw from. And, importantly, the Indiana General Assembly had not appropriated funds in their previous session and was not slated to reconvene until after the date of the auction. It was also clear that the people in the immediate surrounds of Turkey Run, or even the whole of Parke County, would never be able to produce such money on their own. But “without funds to establish such an undertaking, however, not a little courage and faith in Hoosier citizenship were required by the Commission in launching such a movement.”⁹³ Otherwise, the land was likely to pass into the hands one of the various lumber syndicates—the so-called “timber wolves”—who were sure to be in attendance at the upcoming auction.⁹⁴

The solution to this problem was to propose that funds for the purchase of Turkey Run be raised through public subscription. A state publication reads:

The State Park Committee asks for cordial support from individuals and from organizations in building up a fund of such magnitude that the Centennial

Memorial will not only be one that will constantly hold the civic enthusiasm of Hoosiers, but one which will win attention throughout the Nation as a unique form in which to celebrate the centennial of a commonwealth.⁹⁵

Thus, word of the project needed to be spread throughout Indiana. To accomplish this, the Indiana Historical Commission, with the blessing and official signature of Governor Ralston, enlisted the help of local newspapers throughout the state, noting that “The mighty force that we are endeavoring to bring behind this movement includes the newspapers, to show their power in Indiana civic affairs.”⁹⁶ Such wording seems to have been a tactical decision on the part of the Indiana Historical Commission to achieve their goals; stroking the egos of newspaper editors and owners around the state would convince these men of their importance as part of the Commission’s scheme. Along with requesting column space to be reserved for stories relating to the possible acquisition of park lands, the editors were also being asked to act as the intermediary for subscription funds and to provide the Indiana Historical Commission with names of individuals who might serve on park promotion committees within the readership area. Indeed, whereas newspapers had no doubt been a part of the existing efforts towards the centennial celebration (e.g. the publication of the centennial newsletters as well as Charity Dye’s Centennial Story Hour), their role was almost passive by comparison to what the Indiana Historical Commission was now requesting.

But not only were the newspapers expected to perform this “great civic service for [the] State,” so too were individual residents whose financial contributions were hoped to pay for this endeavor.⁹⁷ It is worth noting that relatively few people lived in any proximity to the proposed park at Turkey Run. The initial scheme for park development proposed a foundation of three parks: one in the northern part of the state, one in the

central part, and another in the southern part.⁹⁸ But as of the early months of 1916, no other sites had been announced, or even publically discussed.⁹⁹ This fact is significant because citizens of Indiana were being asked to contribute money for the purchase of a property on which they might never set foot. Additionally, there was no promise that a similar plot might be purchased as a park and made available close to where they lived. In a letter written to Richard Lieber from President Woodrow Wilson—one of many luminaries to whom Lieber had asked for support in the ongoing state park movement in Indiana—he notes that a lack of proximity should not dissuade fellow Hoosiers from supporting the park movement, writing, “Those who can not themselves visit these Parks will feel a quickened sense of civic satisfaction in the knowledge that they are public properties in which all have an equal right.”¹⁰⁰ Hoosier citizens were being asked to believe in—and contribute to—an idea without direct benefit. Instead, they were to imagine themselves as part of a larger community of Indiana citizens with common heritage, willing to make sacrifices in order to extend that heritage to future generations of Hoosiers. In other words, they were asked to display the “higher type of citizenship” the Indiana Historical Commission had been promoting for the better part of five years leading up to the Centennial Celebration.¹⁰¹

This connection between citizenship and heritage is a common theme in local discourse during the Centennial year. Governor Samuel Ralston made such references consistently in various speeches throughout the state.¹⁰² The state park movement attempted to clarify this relationship by specifying that the heritage being saved was the Indiana landscape, and in this particular case, Turkey Run. *The Indianapolis Star* noted that this site was a “landmark of patriotism” that would serve “as a perpetual monument

to the kind of honest, sturdy citizenship that has made our state great among the states of the union.”¹⁰³ The Lusk family had maintained the land in its ostensibly pristine shape up until this point in history; now was the time for Indiana residents to display the merits behind such ideas.

The people of Indiana were up to the task and money began pouring in from all sources around the state. The small towns in Parke County nearest to Turkey Run, such as Montezuma and Marshall, requested that their residents be liberal in their giving.¹⁰⁴ Women’s groups—and particularly local DAR chapters, book clubs, etc.—as well as school groups from various towns such as Anderson, Brazil, and Columbus made contributions. Richard Lieber noted that more than fifty women’s groups who held membership the Indiana Federation of Clubs had sent in contributions as of May 13, 1916.¹⁰⁵ Their subscriptions were often as small as only \$5.00, but their willingness to support the cause was admirable. Some even sent their money directly to Richard Lieber or to other members of the Indiana Historical Commission, rather than through the newspaper clearinghouse. Oftentimes, these submissions included letters lamenting the relatively paltry amounts of their donation and apologizing that they “...are not in a position to make it more, as we are proud to be among the Patriotic Citizens of Indiana who are making this State one among the Greatest in the Grand Nation of Ours.”¹⁰⁶ But with each subscription—a physical act that translated into an expression of local pride and citizenship—the fund to purchase Turkey Run quickly accumulated into many thousands of dollars.¹⁰⁷

Still others sent no money, but instead suggested to Lieber and members of the Turkey Run Commission different sites that might be gained for park purposes, should

the Turkey Run prospects fall through. Some of these offered sites of scenic value (at least according to their own judgment) while others offered up heavily wooded areas that would attract the eye of the timber companies and spare Turkey Run. While generous, Lieber balked at such offers, preferring instead for the state committee and/or himself to determine the value of scenic parcels and hoping that the monies already collected to purchase Turkey Run would be sufficient for the task.¹⁰⁸

That said, not all organizations were willing or able to support the burgeoning campaign to save Turkey Run. Terre Haute, one of Indiana's larger cities, located some thirty miles south of the Turkey Run property, had collected only \$1,000 by the beginning of May, 1916. But this was because, as the President of the Terre Haute Chamber of Commerce assured Lieber, the people of Terre Haute had only recently "raised over \$50,000 for the tornado and flood sufferers in 1914; over \$5,000 in flour for the Belgians; \$2,000 for the Polanders."¹⁰⁹ In other words, substantial funds had recently been raised for local concerns, but these monies had also helped define a new phenomenon of humanitarian aid that would help keep millions of displaced Europeans from starvation in the wake of the rupture of World War 1.¹¹⁰ Another gentleman told Lieber that whereas he would personally be willing to contribute to the park fund, his hometown of Logansport had been "milked dry" by the various societies and organizations in town over the past few years and that they would not be soliciting funds for park purposes.¹¹¹ Presumably other towns felt the same. There is no obvious sense that any of these smaller communities or the individuals who lived there lacked pride or patriotism, simply that these were trying times.

But the day of the auction was upon them. Richard Lieber went in with a fair

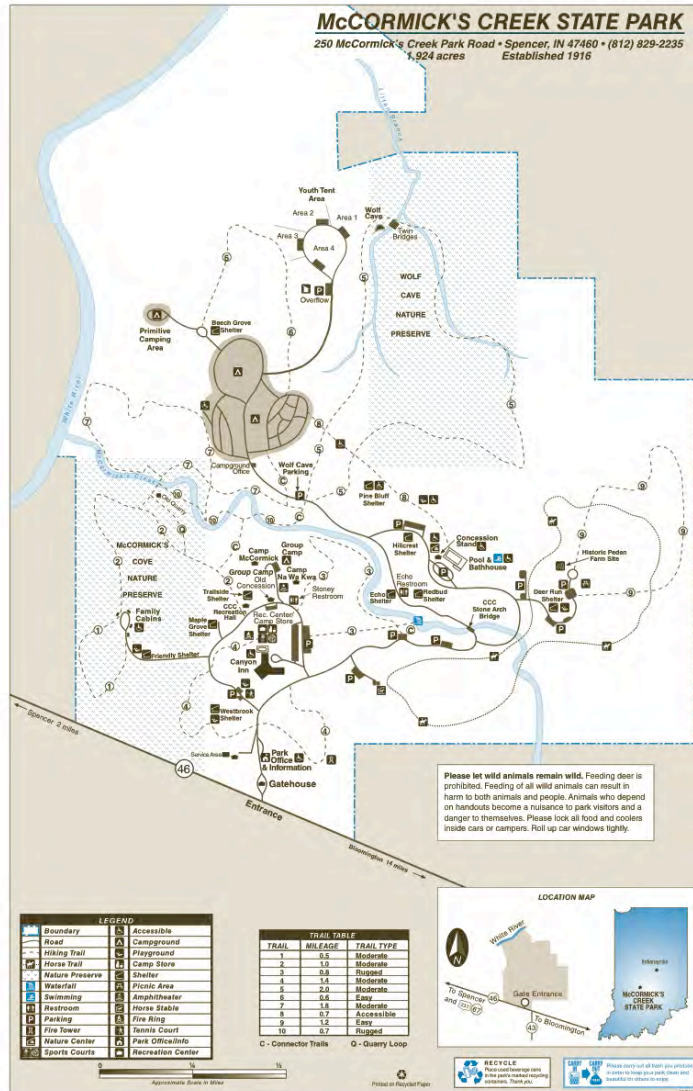
sense of optimism, not expecting much opposition even from the timber companies who he thought were actually “very favorably disposed towards our movement.”¹¹² Indeed, the people of Indiana had provided the state park committee with a sizeable coffer for the purchase of Turkey Run, still “believing that some shadow of patriotism in the hearts of the timber men would impel them to leave Turkey Run to the happiness of present and future generations.”¹¹³ However, the people were mistaken. The Hoosier Veneer Company, an Indianapolis-based timber concern, outbid Lieber and the state commission, winning the auction with an offer of \$30,200.¹¹⁴ It was said that Juliet Strauss was found immediately afterwards walking a trail alongside Sugar Creek, her eyes stained with tears of regret; “I am sick of soul,” she said. “Who would have dreamed that a few men’s dollars could step in and destroy all this, the most beautiful spot in all Indiana, one that all the money in the world could not restore once its is gone?”¹¹⁵ Richard Lieber mirrored these thoughts. His journal entry for the following day, May 19, 1916, reads simply, “Sick about Turkey Run. Too hard to bear.”¹¹⁶ An Indianapolis newspaper also lamented the loss and made a clear recommendation to its readership: “Go now, Indianans, and pay your last respects to the Eden that soon is to vanish forever.”¹¹⁷ The quest to save Turkey Run and to make it the first unit of a prospective park system was seemingly dead.

McCormick’s Creek

However, the park committee and a fair number of Indiana residents remained undaunted. *The Indianapolis Star* claimed there were still “thousands of men and women in the state who are deeply in earnest about saving some of our beautiful wooded and

scenic spots as a gift to posterity.”¹¹⁸ Indeed, an ongoing, though much less publicized campaign for a state park had been underway in Owen County, some 50 miles southwest of Indianapolis. An area physician, Dr. F.W. Denkwalter, had spent years acquiring land that consisted of a single deep canyon and a second-growth forest. A history of the site said that it had “all the charm of an unspoiled natural landscape despite the cutting of the virgin timber some years ago. The present timber is of such size as to lend an atmosphere of real woods.”¹¹⁹ Whereas Turkey Run was prized for its ostensibly untouched environment, in other places, the appearance of such authenticity was enough to qualify for a similar purpose.

In contrast to Turkey Run, actions in Owen County were not directly related to pioneer history. Not only had the site been previously logged, Dr. Denkwalter had used this quiet spot as a sanitarium for the wealthy and weary—complete with adequate accommodations—to retreat from urbanity. He had hoped to pass the estate down to his children as a tangible inheritance. Upon his death, however, his children had “drifted out into the business world,” a place conceptually and physically removed from the woods of Owen County, Indiana. So when the land went up for auction, both Owen County and the State of Indiana sought to capitalize on the scenic and restful qualities of the place, and ultimately to make the spot an the inheritance for *all* the people of Indiana. Having learned their lesson at Turkey Run, the Committee stipulated that if Owen County was able to guarantee that the purchase price of the parcel would not exceed the appraised value of \$5,250 and that they could raise one-quarter of that price, that the State of Indiana would pay for the balance.¹²⁰ Richard Lieber noted in in his personal diary that members of the committee went to Spencer on May 25th, 1916 to purchase the



After the early years of underuse, McCormick’s Creek State Park has become a favorite among Indiana residents. The Canyon Inn, laid over the site of the original sanitarium, has become a hub of activity for lodging and meal service, and serves as the central departure point for much of the trail system on property. Home to the eponymous McCormick’s Creek, this water course also complete small waterfall (10 feet) that draws visitors down into the canyon. Driving on the winding roads through the second growth hardwood forest allows guests to view the various shelter houses, retaining walls, and even an arched made limestone, all built by the men of the Civilian Conservation Corps during the 1930s. Another prominent feature of the park is the caves and sinkholes resulting from the karst topography common a good portion of southern Indiana.

Figure 3.7 – Spotlight on McCormick’s Creek State Park, 2017
<http://www.in.gov/dnr/parklake/2978.htm>

property.¹²¹ On July 4, 1916, McCormick's Creek State Park was officially dedicated as the first link of the proposed chain of state parks, with citizens of Indiana holding a three-quarter stake in a property imagined to represent an important, if somewhat non-specific, part of their community heritage.

Turkey Run Redux

In the midst of this work at McCormick's Creek, it was clear that the park committee, as well as the people of Indiana, had not truly given up hope on winning Turkey Run. Though the property was lost at the auction, the current lease on the land, which was held by one R.P. Luke, who was still managing the land as the Bloomingdale Glens summer resort, was valid until the Spring of 1917. Because the Hoosier Veneer Company could not legally assume control of the property for almost another year, there was still time for action. Knowing this, Juliet Strauss wrote yet another letter to Governor Ralston asking if there was nothing to be said in the interim to H.E. Daugherty, the president of the Hoosier Veneer Company, to let him know what a "burning disgrace" to Indiana this affair was during the Centennial year, and to further inquire if the State might simply recapture the land through the exercise of eminent domain.¹²² In his reply, Ralston admitted that that state was not at liberty to act in such a manner, but assured her that there was nothing short of committing a crime that he would do to secure this park. He was fully convinced "that in some way the state will ultimately come into possession of this beauty spot."¹²³ Whether he had any real insight into the matter, or was just being diplomatic is immaterial. Either way, the Governor's words would prove to be prescient.

On May 22, just four days after the initial auction, Richard Lieber cryptically noted in his diary that there was "something stirring in Turkey Run matters."¹²⁴ The park

committee was in closed-door meetings with the Hoosier Veneer Company, although Lieber makes it clear that after a few days of negotiations there had not been much headway.¹²⁵ Still facing opposition from the committee, and being labeled one of the “timber wolves” by the media, H.E. Daugherty stepped up to defend himself and his company, saying:

Our company bought the Turkey Run tract as a business proposition, because of the character of the timber there. But the fact that we bought a flourishing woodland is not to be construed as an indication that we have no interest in the preservation of beautiful park sites, either because of their scenic value or because they may be made into a forest reservation. In fact, our business is such that we must approve any movement looking to the conservation of forests.

Personally I feel as much interest as any citizen of Indiana in this park project. I think it commendable on practical no less than on sentimental grounds. Our desire is to be thoroughly reasonable, even to the point of releasing many trees that under any other condition we could use, because there is a general desire that those trees be preserved. However, it is known to many persons, residents of Parke County as well as others, that a considerable number of those trees are in such condition now that they should be removed. I believe that an agreement can be reached that will preserve the run with the exception of such trees as must come down in a few years anyway because they have run their life.¹²⁶

From his perspective, he was as patriotic as any citizen of Indiana during this centennial year and was certainly no “burning disgrace.” He was, however, a businessman. His words drew a subtle delineation between preservation, which focuses on the protection of the physical landscape against various uses, and conservation, which focuses on ways that the physical landscape can be used. These linked ideas had been fraught with tension for decades of park development within the United States.¹²⁷ In his mind, he could make his profit while being only minimally invasive to the existing environment. To that end, Daugherty made available to the State some options by which his company could remove choice trees and then deed the land to the state. And since it was profit, after all, that

Daugherty sought, it made sense to simply assess the value of the timber that he wanted and to pay him this amount in addition to his original purchase price. In this situation, profits would be met by the Hoosier Veneer Company while most of the trees—those thought to be of incalculable value—would remain.¹²⁸

The committee, however, rejected these options, adamant that no trees be removed for any reason. In fact, this was a condition by which some people and groups had noted was critical to their subscription of money towards the purchase of the property. One group included the owners and the Board of Directors of the Indianapolis Motor Speedway. These supporters informed the committee that if they persisted in their efforts to gain Turkey Run, provided that Turkey Run was acquired in “its present condition,” that they would contribute 10% of the earnings from the following years Memorial Day race.¹²⁹

Public sentiment about Turkey Run was sustained throughout the summer, even though actual discussions between the committee and the Hoosier Veneer Company were held in private. Newspapers, particularly those in Indianapolis, still carried stories that described the environment of the proposed park while tying these features back to ideas of local citizenship. The goal seems to have been to keep Turkey Run in the public eye so that subscriptions might continue to roll in to the park commission. Under the direction of former State Geologist Willis S. Blatchley, trips were arranged to visit the site for close study of the botany and geology of the area and to give participants a clearer idea of what it is that they might be protecting.¹³⁰ For those who could not take such trips, photographs published in the newspaper gave them an idea of what they were missing out on, while the articles continued to make a clear connection between the

natural environment, state history, and local citizenship. The story of the Lusk family was repeated and so too was the broadly stated, and often more poetic, rationale for saving Turkey Run:

Such a park not only serves to reinforce life, but also tends to refine and elevate it. It has been said that no high civilization is possible where the national life does not allow of leisure and opportunity for the enjoyment of the beauties of nature and art. Our parks with their wealth of natural beauty stimulate a love of nature and the love of nature is one of the purest of pleasures and one of the most universal. It has an influence akin to that of the fine arts, but it demands no training for the enjoyment. National and state parks serve to preserve for all of the people freedom of access to those areas characterized by outstanding scenic beauty. Unless reserved for the public, sooner or later, as this country becomes like Europe, overcrowded, it will be found that the beauty and solitudes of nature have become snatched from the people by private individuals. These are the reasons why the acquisition of Turkey Run Park should be made by the state.¹³¹

These continued efforts paid off. With just over \$40,000 raised from the original subscription drive (excluding funds from those who rescinded their promise after the park committee lost the auction in May) in concert with the substantial gifts from Carl Fisher and Arthur Newby of the Indianapolis Motor Speedway, as well as an advance on a state appropriations bill for the next fiscal year, a satisfactory offer was accepted by the Hoosier Veneer Company on November 11, 1916. Dr. Frank Wynn, serving as vice-president of the Indiana Historical Commission, was overjoyed with the news, saying that the new park “will be indeed a splendid centennial memorial, which will serve all generations to come, and tell the citizenship of 2016 that public-spirited citizens did their full duty in 1916 by making this splendid gift.”¹³² Turkey Run had been saved.

An image on the front page of *The Indianapolis News* further celebrated this information, loudly declaring to its readers “We Have Turkey Run for Thanksgiving.”¹³³ The image shows a young boy running into the house and jumping into the arms of a woman with the countenance of someone who is genuinely surprised (Figure 3.6). His

hat, which reads “Public,” is falling off his head onto the ground just above a piece of paper that reads “Turkey Run” alongside a series of illegible scribbles. The woman into whose arms he is jumping is labeled “Miss Indiana.” The boy’s happiness with the State for acquiring the property clearly represents the happiness of all Hoosiers, i.e. the “Public.” This place was indeed a gift.



Figure 3.8 – “We Have Turkey Run For Thanksgiving”
The Indianapolis News, November 13, 1916.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown how attitudes about state parks, and even the park idea itself, developed as a means to commemorate the centennial anniversary of Indiana statehood. More specifically, it is demonstrated how connections to the past were

thought to be embodied in the natural environment. Whereas the durability and supposed permanence of the brick and stone buildings that were originally conceived to mark the celebration might have been wonderful additions to the urban fabric, and particularly Indianapolis, it is perhaps good fortune that monies for such projects were not immediately available at the time. No such structure would have been able to express the broader meaning of the celebration as well as the parks ultimately accomplished.

Instead, Hoosier residents—guided by state-appointed committees consisting of local historians, businessmen, bureaucrats and environmental preservationists—latched on to a theme of natural history, which was imagined to help provide some meaning and stability to an ostensibly unstable present. Some of the trees at Turkey Run, after all, were “sturdy when Columbus came over.”¹³⁴ The sturdiness and resolve of the natural landscape came to represent the sturdiness of the pioneers and settlers of Indiana one hundred years prior. A century later, the people of Indiana wished to emulate their progenitors and, in doing so, to overcome the obstacles that they were facing in the modern world. The state’s history, as embodied in the natural environment provided a conceptual and physical site to accomplish this task.

Ultimately, the desired result of the park movement—and all centennial education programs, more broadly—was as a civilizing force, allowing Indiana citizens to imagine themselves as a cohesive body with a cohesive heritage. In spite of the obvious success of the park movement, however, this outcome was not entirely realized. In some ways, the park movement actually served to intensify the philosophical differences between rural and urban populations in the state. *The Indianapolis News* noted that the funds were raised less generously across the state, in proportion to the population, than they were in

Indianapolis.¹³⁵ Urban dwellers, and particularly those in the most industrialized and modern city within the state, appeared to have contributed more to the cause than other; it is difficult to quantify the time and effort contributed by any one citizen, but urban residents certainly gave more money.¹³⁶

Though many Hoosiers actively sought to promote a new, and modern identity for the State of Indiana, so too was there a desire to protect the older identity of the state. Paradoxically, in the active quest for change, comfort was still found in the relative stability and permanence of the past. The burgeoning park idea in Indiana was very much rooted in the past. However, the real value of heritage is how it is used in the present, as well as how it will be used in the future. Residents of rural Indiana, such as Juliet Strauss, saw that heritage as a set of actions and activities—a way of life—to guard jealously and to pass down to their progeny. People were told to bring their children to Turkey Run “that they may see the country as their grandfathers knew it.”¹³⁷ For urban citizens, however, the parks would still exist as a diametric contrast to the city, and a quaint reminder of the past. And more importantly, parks were critical sites to actively curate and display state history, and ultimately, to help propel Indiana into the modern age.

Notes to Chapter Three

¹ “Nature Reveals At Turkey Run,” *Indianapolis Star*, July 11, 1915, 22. Original poem is called “The Pioneers” by George Rinehart (1904).

² “Fourth of July Picnic Held In New State Park,” *Indianapolis News*, July 4, 1916, 17.

³ “Turkey Run is Now a State Park,” *Indianapolis News*, November 11, 1916, 1.

⁴ For discussions/descriptions of London’s Great Exhibition, as well as how similar exhibitions functioned more broadly, see Jeffrey A. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of*

1851: *A Nation on Display* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles. Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988).

⁵ Edward Barrett, et al. "The Indiana Centennial Library and Museum Building: Two Documents," *Indiana Magazine of History*. 7, no. 1 (1911): 25.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ James Albert Woodburn, "The Indiana Centennial, 1916," *Indiana Magazine of History*. 8, no. 1 (January 1912): 13.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid., 10.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Barrett, et al. "The Indiana Centennial," 29. The bill passed by an overwhelming vote of 37-6.

¹² "Report of the Indiana Centennial Commission to the General Assembly" (Indianapolis: State of Indiana, 1913), 1-8.

¹³ It was projected that the cost of the project would have been somewhere between \$800,000 and \$1,000,000, depending on the amount spent on land acquisition.

¹⁴ "Report of the Indiana Centennial Commission," 5.

¹⁵ Ibid., 6.

¹⁶ Ralston, S.M., mss. Correspondence 1915, July – 1916, March 20 – Box 4, nd (probably late December, 1915). Lilly Library, Indiana University.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ James A. Woodburn, "The Indiana Historical Commission and Plans for the Centennial," *Indiana Magazine of History*. 11, no. 4 (1915): 338.

¹⁹ Harlow Lindley, "Possibilities in State Historical Celebrations," *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association* Vol IX, Part II (1918): 307. For comparison, this full sum of money, placed in today's dollars, is equivalent to nearly \$600,000.

Bureau of Labor Statistics. <http://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/cpicalc.pl>

²⁰ Ibid., 312.

²¹ Ibid., 314.

²² *Report of the Indiana Historical Commission From Its Organization April 24, 1915 to December 1, 1916*. Bulletin NO. 7, (Indiana Historical Commission. State House, Indianapolis, 1916).

²³ Woodburn, "The Indiana Centennial," 342-43.

²⁴ "National Patriotic League to Ralston," September 10, 1915. Ralston, S.M., mss. Correspondence 1915, July – 1916, March 20 – Box 5.

²⁵ Dr. Rolling H. Bunch to Ralston, September 7, 1915, Ralston, S.M., mss. Correspondence 1915, July – 1916, March 20 – Box 5

²⁶ Ibid. Ralston to Frank V. Guthrie, September 16, 1915, Ralston, S.M., mss. Correspondence 1915, July – 1916, March 20 – Box 5.

²⁷ Ibid., November 7, 1915.

²⁸ "Why Bogus and Buncombe in 1916" Centennial News Letter (Issued for the week beginning June 12 by the Indiana Historical Commission (*Indiana Historical Commission*)).

²⁹ A letter from W.C. Woodward to Governor Ralston, dated October 11, 1915, reads, “I am enclosing sheets of the Centennial News Letter which we have inaugurated, which we hope to make a stimulant and a clearing house of information. They will indicate to your [sic] how we are trying to reach newspapers all over Indiana and may also give you an idea of the progress of the work throughout the state” Ralston, S.M., mss.

Correspondence 1915, July – 1916, March 20 – Box 5. Lilly Library, Indiana University. Unfortunately, the sheets that Woodward says he enclosed were not found with the letter.

³⁰ “General Scheme of Centennial Observance,” Special Bulletin, Weekly Newsletters. Indiana Historical Commission – Program Suggestions for Feb 22, Proclaimed by Governor Ralston as INDIANA PRODUCTS DAY.”

³¹ There was also a push for the creation of local historical societies that would exist to “collect and preserve the materials of local history. Suggestions were provided by the State of Indiana pertaining to organizing these societies, including example by-laws and/or constitutions. See Harlow Lindley, “Organization of County and Local Historical Societies,” Bulletin No. 6 (Indiana Historical Commission, State House, Indianapolis, Indiana, November 1916).

³² “Centennial News Letter (Issued for the week beginning January 31 by the Indiana Historical Commission)” Weekly Newsletters, (Indiana Historical Commission February 5, 1917).

³³ For information about Americanization, see Christina A Zeigler-McPherson, *Americanization in the States: Immigrant Social Welfare Policy, Citizenship, and National Identity in the United States, 1908-1929* (Tallahassee: University Press of Florida, 2009); James R. Barrett, “Americanization From the Bottom Up: Immigration and the Remaking of the Working Class in the United States, 1880-1930,” *The Journal of American History* 79, No. 3 (1992): 996-1020;

³⁴ “Centennial News Letter (Issued for the week beginning January 31 by the Indiana Historical Commission),” Weekly Newsletters (Indiana Historical Commission, February 5, 1917).

³⁵ Note that “Abe Martin” refers to a character created by Kin Hubbard, a local cartoonist and humorist for *The Indianapolis News* from 1905 to 1930. This character is inextricably linked to the area surrounding Brown County, Indiana, located some 50 miles due south of Indianapolis, and the current site of Brown County State Park, which was designated such in 1929.

³⁶ “Centennial News Letter” (Issued for the week beginning February 7 by the Indiana Historical Commission), Weekly Newsletters (Indiana Historical Commission, February 5, 1917).

³⁷ “General Scheme of Centennial Observance.” February 5, 1917.

³⁸ “Why Should We Observe the Indiana Centennial?” Bulletin No. 3, (Indiana Historical Commission. State House, Indianapolis, Indiana, 1916), 2.

³⁹ “Pageants.” Report of the Indiana Historical Commission From Its Organization April 24, 1915 to December 1, 1916, Bulletin No. 7 (Indiana Historical Commission. State House, Indianapolis, December 1916), 21.

⁴⁰ For a brief biography of Charity Dye, see Jacob Piatt Dunn, *Indiana and Indianans*, 1919. Vol. 4, p 1694.

⁴¹ “Work in School and Clubs.” Report of the Indiana Historical Commission From Its

Organization April 24, 1915 to December 1, 1916. Bulletin NO. 7 (Indiana Historical Commission, State House, Indianapolis, December 1916), 21. Another source explains how as many as 1,100 children took place in a centennial parade in Parke County, Indiana, and that there was even a contest with prizes awarded to students for the best essay on Indiana history. “The March of Pageantry in Indiana.” Centennial News Letter – Issued for the week beginning August 14, by the Indiana Historical Commission.

⁴² I have not found extant letters, only a selection of letters published in the *Indianapolis Star*, March 5, 1916.

⁴³ Indiana residents were also educated in the production of pageants by William Chauncy Langdon—a native New Yorker and the founder and first president of the American Pageant Association. He was initially hired by the Indiana Historical Commission as early as the summer of 1915 to teach a class in pageantry at Indiana University, and was subsequently involved in the writing and directing of a number of pageants during the centennial year. See Harlow Lindley, ed. *The Indiana Centennial, 1916: A Record of the Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of Indiana’s Admission to Statehood* (Indianapolis: The Indiana Historical Commission, 1919), 36-39.

⁴⁴ Charity Dye, “Pageant Suggestions for the Indiana Statehood Centennial Celebration.” Indiana Historical Commission. Bulletin No. 4 (State House, Indianapolis, Indiana, 1916), 2.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁴⁹ Similarly, Kenneth Olwig speaks to the social and political implications of a gendered British landscape. See Chapter Six of Kenneth Olwig, *Landscape, Nature, and the Body Politic: From Britain’s Renaissance to America’s New World* (Madison: the University of Wisconsin Press, 2002).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 4. For more specific discussion of the place of the Native American in the Indiana landscape and Indiana history, see Chapter Four of this document.

⁵¹ Lindley, “Possibilities in State Historical Celebrations,” 308.

⁵² Interestingly, the Indiana General Assembly would levy a small tax upon Indiana residents in the early 1930s towards the creation of a new state library, the same building that remains today.

⁵³ The most complete biography of Richard Lieber to date is: Robert Allen Frederick, *Colonel Richard Lieber, Conservationist and Park Builder: The Indiana Years* (PhD Dissertation, Indiana University, 1960).

⁵⁴ “Citizens Suggest City Improvement,” *Indianapolis Star*, April 10, 1910, C12.

⁵⁵ Frederick, *Colonel Richard Lieber*, 41-42.

⁵⁶ Richard Lieber, September 24, 1910, Diary, Lilly Library, Lieber Mss.

⁵⁷ For discussions on these trips that were foundational to Lieber’s understanding of conservation work in America, see Frederick, *Colonel Richard Lieber*, 81-89.

⁵⁸ Emma Lieber. *Richard Lieber* (Indianapolis: The Normal Press, 1947), 68.

⁵⁹ “Nature Revels At Turkey Run,” *Indianapolis Star*, July 11, 1915, 22. Existing Native American settlements or claims to land in Indiana were largely ignored in nineteenth century Indiana, an issue that will be developed further in Chapter Four.

⁶⁰ “Turkey Run Has Historic Appeal – Proposed Nucleus Of State Park System Would Be Monument To Sturdy Citizenship Of Indiana’s Pioneers,” *Indianapolis Star*, April 9, 1916, 3.

⁶¹ Perhaps not coincidentally, land near the battle field was re-designated in 2004 as Indiana’s newest state park: Prophetstown State Park, in honor of the Shawnee Indian Tenskwatawa (the “Prophet”), who, in the absence of his brother Tecumseh, was the leader of the Natives that were defeated at the Battle of Tippecanoe.

⁶² Indiana Department of Conservation, “Turkey Run State Park: A History and Description.” Pamphlet (Indianapolis: WM. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding: Indianapolis, 1919), 8.

⁶³ *Ibid*, p 8.

⁶⁴ “Turkey Run State Park: A History and Description” 1930 (updated version of previously mentioned pamphlet).

<http://www.turkeyrunstatepark.com/history/historic1930brochures/history.htm> accessed May 1, 2015

⁶⁵ H.W. Beckwith, *History of Vigo and Parke Counties*. 1880. Reprint (Parke County Historical Society, 2005), 442.

⁶⁶ State Park Memorial Committee, “Centennial of Hoosier Statehood 1816 to 1916. Indiana State Parks To Be Founded by Public Subscriptions Raised Under the Direction of the State Park Memorial Committee of the Indiana Historical Commission.” Pamphlet, (Indianapolis: Bookwalter-Ball Printing Co., Indianapolis, 1916).

⁶⁷ Indiana Department of Conservation. “*Turkey Run State Park: A History and Description*,” 10.

⁶⁸ See “*A Feasibility Study for the Preservation & Restoration of the Salmon Lusk House and the Site Turkey Run State Park Marshall, Indiana for the Department of Natural Resources, State of Indiana*,” December, 1978, revised May 10, 1979. Salmon Lusk House. Turkey Run State Park. Marshall, Indiana. 10, which quotes a letter from Howard Maxwell, August, 29, 1921. Maxwell was said to have known John Lusk his entire life and was the executor of Lusk’s estate. Maxwell’s letter states that John Lusk did in fact sell timber from his property, contradicting the more commonly accepted narrative that Lusk protected the trees at all costs.

⁶⁹ This was the name for the area known to outsiders. Residents of Parke County, Indiana almost exclusively called the place Turkey Run. *Combined: 1874 Atlas; 1908 Atlas; 1916 Issac Straus Centennial Memorial and Name Index of Parke County, Indiana*. The reproduction of this publication has been made possible by the sponsorship of the Parke County Historical Society. Mt. Vernon, IN: Windmill Publications, Inc., 1944).

⁷⁰ Roy Powell, “Indianapolis Division.” *Baltimore and Ohio Employes Magazine* 2, No. 9 (June 1914): 112.

⁷¹ *Ibid*.

⁷² “*A Feasibility Study*,” 1979, 10.

⁷³ See Juliet Strauss, “Squibs and Sayings,” *Rockville Tribune*, March 7, 1916, 1, which tells that the Lusk estate was to be divided between 23 heirs, a situation that necessitated a public auction rather than a clear division of assets.

⁷⁴ See Juliet Strauss, “The Good and the Evil of Books,” in *The Ideas of a Plain Country Woman, by the Country Contributor* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1908), 208. “It was my mother who, with caustic kindness showed me the plain, unvarnished facts of life, and then with divine art, to clothe them with the ideal, to find beauty for ashes, joy for renunciation.”

⁷⁵ Ray E. Boomhower, *The Country Contributor: The Life and Times of Juliet V. Strauss* (Carmel, IN: Guild Press of Indiana, Inc., 1998), xix-xx. An article in the *Indianapolis News*, printed on May 23, 1918, the day after Juliet Strauss died, notes of her writings: “Discursive discussion of incidents of daily life of the present and the past, manners, customs, the impressions made by the beauties of nature, picnics, fishing parties, travel, the joys and the burdens of housework, and all sorts of commonplace affairs, were invested with a peculiar interest and charm in her writings. Her articles were always based on some personal experience and wandered about at will.”

⁷⁶ Juliet Strauss, “By Way of Retrospect,” in *The Ideas of a Plain Country Woman, by the Country Contributor* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1908), 41-42.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁷⁸ See Juliet Strauss, “What is Provincialism,” *Indianapolis News*, November 11, 1916, P 15. This article defines “provincial” as “not cosmopolitan; unpolished; rude; narrow; illiberal” and suggests that it is indeed city folk who are provincial, not rural folk around whom the typical understanding of the word revolves. She reasons that to be connected to the land and to be involved in civic functions is what make someone cosmopolitan; just living in the city is not enough. See also George Simmel, *op. cit.* 1969.

⁷⁹ More recent publications address this issue of the value of connections to the outside world, particularly with respect to children. See Richard Louv, *Last Child in the Woods: Saving Our Children from Nature-Deficit Disorder* (New York: Algonquin Books, 2005); Peter H Kahn and Stephen R. Kellert, eds., *Children and Nature: Psychological, Sociocultural, and Evolutionary Investigations* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2002).

⁸⁰ Juliet Strauss, “Rough Thoughts for Rough Weather,” in *The Ideas of a Plain Country Woman, by the Country Contributor* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1908), 65.

⁸¹ A history of Parke County (where Turkey Run is located) describes the county as late as 1830 as “An unbroken forest spread from north to south, and from the eastern border to the small prairie which lines the Wabash below Montezuma.” Beckwith, *History of Vigo and Parke Counties*, 6)

⁸² Strauss speaks of the role of memory, and particularly memories of childhood, in numerous other articles: see “The Sin of Trying to Be Too Good” and “Reflections of a Grandmother” in the same volume (i.e. *The Ideas of a Plain Country Woman.*) See also Garland, *A Son of the Middle Border*, ix, for a powerful description of just how much the physical and cultural landscape had changed in his lifetime, which was roughly coterminous with Strauss.

⁸³ Strauss, “By Way of Retrospect,” 29-30.

⁸⁴ Juliet V. Strauss to Samuel Ralston. April 19, 1915, Lilly Library, Ralston Papers.

⁸⁵ A copy of the proclamation is found in Ralston, S.M. Manuscripts, Correspondence 1915, July – 1916, March 20 – Box 4. April 27, 1915. Lilly Library, Bloomington, IN. Text is also reported in, “Would Reserve Beauty Spot,” *Indianapolis Star*, April 28, 1915, 7.

⁸⁶ William Watson Woolen to Samuel Ralston. July 28, 1915. Ralston, S.M. Manuscripts. Lilly Library, Bloomington, IN.

⁸⁷ “Magnificent Trees Cut Down For Boulevard,” *Indianapolis News*, July 22, 1910, 1.

⁸⁸ There is some discrepancy as to Lieber’s participation in the Conference of Governors. Page 61 of *Richard Lieber*, Emma Lieber’s biography of her husband, remarks that he was in attendance, but her claim is not supported elsewhere, most notably the roster of delegates shown in the official “Proceedings of a Conference of Governors in the White House, Washington D.C. May 13-15, 1908,” (Washington: Government Printing office, 1909).

⁸⁹ State Park Memorial Committee, “State Parks a Lasting Monument.” Centennial of Hoosier Statehood 1816 to 1916. Indiana State Parks To Be Founded by Public Subscriptions Raised Under the Direction of the State Park Memorial Committee of the Indiana Historical Commission.” Pamphlet, (Indianapolis: Bookwalter-Ball Printing Co., 1916)

⁹⁰ Lindley, “The Indiana Centennial,” 49.

⁹¹ See Suellen M. Hoy, “Governor Samuel M. Ralston and Indiana’s Centennial Celebration,” *Indiana Magazine of History* 71, No. 3 (1975): 255; as well as Lieber, *Richard Lieber*, 1947. See also Centennial News Letter (Issued for the week beginning March 6 by the Indiana Historical Commission) “State Park Movement Organized” for a description of the formation of the State Park Memorial Committee; this description is also found in the “State Park Movement Organized,” *Montezuma Enterprise*, March 9, 1916, 1 (a newspaper for a small town in Parke County near Turkey Run).

⁹² Strauss, “Squibs and Sayings,” *Rockville Tribune*, March 7, 1916, 1, lists the parcel as 388 acres. This must be a misprint in the original text, as every other primary and secondary source lists the parcel as 288 acres.

⁹³ Harlow Lindley, “The Indiana Centennial,” p 49.

⁹⁴ This evocative, though obviously pejorative term was used on a few occasions: “Turkey Run, Indiana’s Wonderland Of Trees, Gorges And Waterfalls, Must Be Saved From The Timbermen, Says The Governor’s Commission,” *Indianapolis News*, February 12, 1916, 15; Strauss, “Squibs and Sayings,” *Rockville Tribune*, March 7, 1916, 1; “A State Park System of Parks: Its Value to Both Town and Country” – (My first draft of a Park Bulletin Written in the Fall of 1915 – Richard Lieber), Folder – 1910-1915, Lieber MSS, Lilly Library.

⁹⁵ State Park Memorial Commission, “State Parks a Lasting Monument,” 1916.

⁹⁶ Weekly Newsletters. Week of February 28, 1916. Indiana Historical Commission. February 5, 1917.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid. See also “Turkey Run, With Wild Scenery and Last Of Virgin Forest, Sought For State Park,” *Indianapolis Star*, April 9, 1916, magazine section, 4, which says “Strips of the sand dunes along Lake Michigan have been suggested, as have stretches of the Tippecanoe River. In southern Indiana, the picturesque knobs around New Albany, some of the caves and other regions are being talked of as the park unit in that part of the state.”

⁹⁹ Turkey Run was always the focus of early fundraising efforts. In spite of Richard Lieber’s words to the contrary, this is in at least one personal correspondence. See Lieber to John W. Flora, R. F.D. #2 Kappa, Indiana, April 27, 1916, Indiana State Archives,

Lieber Research, Box 1 of 11, 60-L-5, “Conservation Department Material. Mr Frederick Research File on Mr Lieber, Drawer II. Folder – “Corrospondance [sic]– Fund Raising to Purchase Parks” Lieber notes, “At this time, however, we are giving our efforts to raising as large a fund as we can with a view to purchasing some scenic tracts, but at present we are not giving as much attention to where these tracts will be selected as to learning what amount of money we are going to have.”

¹⁰⁰ Woodrow Wilson to Lieber, April 12, 1916. Folder – 1916 – Letters from people to Lieber. Lilly Library, Lieber Committee, Mss. Lieber also received letters from Former Governor of Indiana and current Vice-President of the United States Thomas R. Marshall, Former President Theodore Roosevelt, current Governor of Massachusetts Samuel McCall, Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane, and renowned Indiana author James Whitcomb Riley. Each promoted the parks as markers of civic pride and virtue.

¹⁰¹ These outward signs of citizenship, however, were rooted in an internal dialogue at an individual level. Juliet Strauss pleaded with her readership, “Make [Turkey Run] the subject of all your neighborhood meetings—your club meetings—your friendly and family gatherings, but most of all make it the subject of your inmost personal thoughts. Feel deep down to where you keep your tenderest emotions of love for home and native land—your State and country pride, and fish up from that repository of intrinsic patriotism somewhere—though coated over sometimes by ‘worldly wisdom’ something you can afford to contribute to making our Turkey Run part of the most beautiful Centennial memorial ever design for a great and wonderful State.” *Rockville Tribune*, March 7, 1916, 1.

¹⁰² See especially, “Citizenship” Before the Indianapolis Board of Trade Centennial Dinner, February 22, 1916. Addresses by Samuel Ralston. Indiana State Library; Ralston Speech to Banquet by Daughters of Indiana, Chicago, November 30, 1915, Correspondence 1915, July – 1916, March 20 – Box 4, Lilly Library, Ralston, S.M., Mss.

¹⁰³ “Turkey Run Has Historic Appeal,” *Indianapolis Star*, April 9, 1916, 3.

¹⁰⁴ See “Centennial Committee Meets,” *Montezuma Enterprise*, March 30, 1916, 1; “State Parks The Heirloom of 1916,” *The Rockville Republican*, May 10, 1916, 6, requests additional funds from their readers by asking the people of Parke County to recognize that these “natural” spaces are quickly disappearing and should be saved as heirlooms for subsequent generations.

¹⁰⁵ Lieber to Miss Mildred Dennis, Booklovers’ Club, Covington, May 13, 1916, Indiana State Archives, Lieber Research, Box 1 of 11, 60-L-5, “Conservation Department Material. Mr Frederick Research File on Mr Lieber, Drawer II. Folder – “Corrospondance [sic]– Fund Raising to Purchase Parks” See also an article in *The Indianapolis News*, February 12, 1916 that speaks to the ways that women’s groups advocated plans for the preservation of Turkey Run.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, Mrs. Jerome Boyle to Sol Kiser, May 3, 1916,

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, See Lieber to Spencer Ball, May 1, 1916, where Lieber notes that the fund had already grown to nearly \$13,000.

¹⁰⁸ See *Ibid.*, Lucius Lybrand, Terre Haute, to Lieber, May 29, 1916; Ewing McLean to Lieber, May 19, 1916; W. P. Binford to Mr. Sol Kiser, May 19, 1916.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, Spencer F. Ball to Lieber, May 3, 1916.

¹¹⁰ See, for example, Branden Little, “Humanitarian Relief in Europe and the Analogue of War, 1914-1918,” in *Finding Common Ground: New Directions in First World War Studies*, eds., Jennifer D. Keene and Michael S. Neiberg (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 139-160; George H. Nash, *The Humanitarian, 1914-1917*, vol 2 of *The Life of Herbert Hoover* (London and New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1988).

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, George A. Custer to Lieber, April 15, 1916.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, Lieber to Hon. B.S. Aikman, Newport, Indiana, May 8, 1916.

¹¹³ “Turkey Run Sold To A Timber Man – Lost To People Of The State For A Park When Bought By Veneer Company,” *Indianapolis News*, May 19, 1916, 1.

¹¹⁴ “State Park Boosters Lose Turkey Run,” *Indianapolis Star*, May 19, 1916, 1; “Turkey Run Brings \$30,200,” *Rockville Republican*, May 24, 1916, 1.

¹¹⁵ William Herschell, “A Tribute to Juliet V. Strauss (The Country Contributor) in Indiana Department of Conservation. “Turkey Run State Park: A History and Description,” 1919, 42.

¹¹⁶ Richard Lieber, Diary, May 19, 1916. Folder # 1 – 1909-1916, Lilly Library, Lieber Committee Mss.

¹¹⁷ “Turkey Run Sold To A Timber Man,” *Indianapolis News*, May 19, 1916, 1.

¹¹⁸ “State Park Boosters Lose Turkey Run,” *Indianapolis Star*, May 19, 1916, 1.

¹¹⁹ Chas. G. Sauers, “McCormick’s Creek Canyon State Park: A History and Description,” Publication Number 38. The Department of Conservation. State of Indiana. Division of Lands and Waters (Indianapolis, Wm. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1923), 6.

¹²⁰ Richard Lieber, “Report of Park Committee of the Indiana Historical Commission,” in Lindley, “The Indiana Centennial,” 1919; See also “Fund Complete Today – First Days Goal Exceeded In McCormick’s Creek Campaign,” *Indianapolis Star*, May 24, 1916, 3.

¹²¹ Richard Lieber Diary, May 25, 1916, Lilly Library, Lieber Committee, Mss.

¹²² Juliet Strauss to Samuel Ralston, May 27, 1916. Ralston, S.M., mss. Correspondence 1915, July – 1916, March 20 – Box 6.

¹²³ Samuel Ralston to Juliet Strauss, May 31, 1916. Ralston, S.M., mss. Correspondence 1915, July – 1916, March 20 – Box 6.

¹²⁴ Richard Lieber Diary, May 22, 1916. Folder # 1 – 1909-1916, Lilly Library, Lieber Committee, Mss.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, May 27, 1916.

¹²⁶ “State May Save Turkey Run – Hoosier Veneer Company Makes Three Proposals Under Which Park Committee Has Chance to Acquire Beauty Spot,” *Indianapolis Star*, May 24, 1916, 3.

¹²⁷ See, for example, Aldo Leopold, “The Land Ethic,” in *A Sand County Almanac, and Sketches Here and There*, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 201-226; “Conservation vs. Preservation and the National Park Service,” National Park Service, accessed January 31, 2017,

<https://www.nps.gov/klgo/learn/education/classrooms/conservation-vs-preservation.htm>;

¹²⁸ Albert Potts to Samuel Ralston, May 26, 1916. Correspondence 1915, July – 1916, March 20 – Box 6, Ralston, S.M., Mss.

¹²⁹ “State May Save Turkey Run,” *Indianapolis Star*, May 24, 1916, 3. One of the co-owners of the Indianapolis Motor Speedway was named Carl Fisher, who was also well known as an automobile entrepreneur in Indiana, as well as the developer of America’s first transcontinental thoroughfare in 1913: the Lincoln Highway.

¹³⁰ “Sees Beauties Of Turkey Run,” *Indianapolis Star*, July 4, 1915, 32.

¹³¹ “Nature Revels At Turkey Run,” *Indianapolis Star*, July 11, 1915, 22; see also “In The Gorges And Hollows Of Turkey Run,” *Indianapolis Star* June 11, 1916, magazine section, 6.

¹³² “Turkey Run In New State Park System,” *Indianapolis News*, November 11, 1916, 18.

¹³³ *Indianapolis News*, November 13, 1916, 1.

¹³⁴ “A Great Newspaper And Turkey Run,” *Rockville Tribune*, November 28, 1916, 5.

¹³⁵ “Turkey Run Is Now State Park,” *Indianapolis News*, November 11, 1916, 1.

¹³⁶ See Frederick, *Colonel Richard Lieber*, 1960, which notes that “the citizens of Indianapolis had raised nine-tenths of all the funds and practically did all the work without the prospect of having a park in their own county.”

¹³⁷ Indiana Department of Conservation, “Conclusion,” in “Turkey Run State Park: A History and Description,” 1919, 40.

Chapter Four: Spring Mill and Shakamak State Parks, and the Exhibitionary Complex

The enjoyment of nature does not come naturally except to a few persons. Most have to be trained.¹

The genesis of the state park movement in Indiana culminated in the designation of two separate parks—McCormick’s Creek and Turkey Run—in coordination with the activities of the Centennial Celebration of Statehood in 1916. These initial two units of the proposed park system were “appropriate commemoratives of Hoosier pride in their past achievements and in their future ambitions” and reflective of how, under the leadership of Governor Samuel Ralston, “Indiana unquestionably took its place among the nation’s progressive states.”² This idea is central to the current chapter which examines some of the ways that the parks were critical to understanding Indiana’s “future ambitions,” as well as how the parks fit into larger reform measures of the day, both nationally and within the state.

The parks of the Centennial Celebration focused on the preservation of the local landscape and older ways of life, and state heritage was now expected to carry significantly more meaning for Hoosier residents. These sites would not be places for Hoosiers to simply reminisce nostalgically about pioneer history, but would instead serve as critical elements of a new state architecture. With the express purpose of helping to connect people with the parks, Indiana would commence an unprecedented project for the planning and construction of new roads. So too would the parks function as a physical infrastructure to inculcate a new modern identity within Indiana. As part of an “exhibitionary complex,” these sites were central to the dissemination and display of

modern ideas about history, biology, technology, and personal health, as well as evolving cultural values concerning bureaucratic efficiency and state authority.

The first two park units created for the Centennial Celebration of Statehood in 1916 represented part of a tangible heritage to be protected and passed down to future generations. But whereas protection of the landscape would continue to be important, the idea of “conservation,” as opposed to “preservation,” was coming to the fore. This term was never too far from the park idea. Richard Lieber had been deeply concerned with the conservation movement underway in America for decades, and which gained momentum after Theodore Roosevelt gained the presidency in 1901. For both of these men, conservation had significance well beyond the natural environment. Historian Samuel P. Hays elucidates:

The broader significance of the conservation movement stemmed from the role it played in the transformation of a decentralized, nontechnical, loosely organized society, where waste and inefficiency ran rampant, into a highly organized, technical, and centrally planned and directed social organization which could meet a complex world with efficiency and purpose.³

Indeed, Theodore Roosevelt was firmly convinced of the truth of this statement and Richard Lieber’s ideas for the growth of Indiana’s State Parks would follow this precise trajectory.

The Department of Conservation

The purchase of lands by the state for park purposes highlighted the notion that scenery had a cash value. In speaking of the early pioneers in the state, historian Logan Esarey wrote, “Land! land! land! was what from the very nature of things obsessed them. Most of the litigation in the early courts rested upon land claims or boundary

disputes. There were rarely other cases on the dockets, at least until the wilderness began to absorb the civilized vices of the east.”⁴ But legal title to the land, and more specifically the cash value of land, should be considered distinct from the cash value of *scenery*. The latter idea was defined by a Hoosier citizen as “an income to be derived from excursionists, from special commercial privileges and concessions, and from fish and game, an income that can be turned toward the cost of maintenance.”⁵ It was further noted that this was far from a new phenomenon:

The European long ago learned the material value of scenery. The ubiquitous red Baedeker is an eloquent testimonial thereof. Take little Switzerland, for instance. It has 16,000 square miles compared to Colorado’s 104,000 square miles. We do not have to read ‘Tartarin on the Alps’ to know that it is the most superbly ordered and highest dividend paying scenery in the world. It is well enough to speak of Nature’s hygienic value, of its recuperative and recreative strength, but when one reflects for a moment that Americans alone—not to mention all the other nations—have left annually \$50,000,000 in that little country, it is realized that scenery has an inherent cash value and that the so-called ‘Lungs’ of a people have from a given viewpoint a most convincing resemblance to a fat purse.⁶

The State of Indiana would use their parks as a “most unusual” natural resource, which it was openly thought might possess a similar recuperative power, and with proper care would constitute an inexhaustible resource to be “used over and over again.”⁷

From very early on, Richard Lieber promoted an admission fee of 10¢ per person for visitors to Turkey Run (a practice that continues even today, adjusted for inflation). Along with public subscriptions, the site was purchased in part through an appropriation of money from the Indiana General Assembly, which did not include much for park development and maintenance. Thus, a small fee was thought not so large as to dissuade people from visiting but large enough to help supplement the cost of ongoing park maintenance. Indeed, some kind of admission fee was integral to the continuing success

of the park, as well as to the overall environmental health of this specially designated landscape. First, Lieber believed that guests would better respect the parks if they were financially vested in them. Second, he was also convinced that the parks should “be self-supporting and not a drain upon the tax payer.”⁸ In other words, Lieber’s hope was that people would gladly pay for the privilege of communing with nature in some of the state’s most breathtaking and culturally relevant scenic reserves, and further, that their investment in the park reflected a willingness to protect the heritage that had been left to them and that they would in turn be leaving to future generations.

The State of Indiana would soon begin to consolidate the relationship between scenery and economics. The rhetoric of the initial park movement appealed to the patriotism of Indiana residents and their emotional connection to their native landscape. Soon after, the state employed a more logical, more rational approach to park development (if not all their actions). They would follow in the words of Theodore Roosevelt, who, while giving a speech to the Second National Conservation Congress in 1910, said, “Henceforth, we must seek national efficiency by a new and better way, by the way of the orderly development and use, coupled with the preservation of our natural resources....”⁹ Such efficiency would be established within the various governmental bodies at the federal level, which almost necessarily trickled down into the state level, and then into the parks themselves.

The Yearbook of the State of Indiana, which is an annually published document that provides an outline of the state’s activities for the previous year through reports of various committees and departments within the state government, noted in 1917 that, “It is a commonplace remark that in a republic the government may be compared to a

corporation in which the people are the stockholders and the officials are the directors and officers.”¹⁰ With respect to conservation efforts, it said, “It is purely and simply a business matter, whether our people will get much or get little out of their own State.”¹¹ The state parks—and the entire Indiana landscape, more broadly—formally became a “business” in 1919 when legislation passed through the Indiana General Assembly to create the Department of Conservation:

The Department realizes that the natural wealth of the state is the foundation and the mainstay of our prosperity. The proper use, propagation and conservation of these riches are of utmost importance to all of the people within the State and should be treated comprehensively in an entirely non-partisan, non-political and business-like manner.¹²

The Department of Conservation, then, was to play an integral role in production and maintenance of state prosperity as it pertains to natural resources and also to cultural heritage. It is worth noting, however, that natural resource management in Indiana had been influenced by larger national events. Access to, and control of, physical elements such as water, minerals, soil, and trees were thought to have been fundamental components of a prosperous civilization, and more important to age, vital to success in the First World War in Europe and “the foremost instrumentalities for maintaining public security and national defense.”¹³ Coal, for example, provided necessary energy. And whereas production of coal towards the war effort in the United States increased 10% in 1917, the people of the State of Indiana prided themselves in the fact that they had increased their production of coal some 25%. More than just coal, “[t]he entire State entered into the spirit for wartime food production. Over 500,000 war gardens were planted. The corn acreage was increased by about 600,000 acres over 1916. About 524,000 more acres of wheat were sowed in the State in 1917 than the year before. The

production of hogs and all of our food products was greatly increased.”¹⁴ The forests, both locally and nationally, also provided crucial ingredients for success:

Could we expect victory in the present war if we did not have our great forests of spruce, ash, walnut and pine? It is our forests that have enabled us to have the best lumber in the world for aeroplanes, an abundance of walnut for gun stocks, and an unlimited amount of lumber and timbers for building ships and cantonments. Without this great national asset, what would have been our fate?¹⁵

And as important as these ideas were to national success in the war, they would also play a role in the continuing prosperity of Indiana and the state’s evolution as a political and governmental body in the modern world.

Conservation, of course, was not only concerned with actually *using* resources. As critical to the success of conservation, the other side of the coin was what was *not* being used; in other words, what was being saved and preserved for future use. No doubt that America had access to vast supplies of resources such as coal and wood during the war, but it would have been folly to believe that those stores were limitless, as generations of Americans had previously imagined. Richard Lieber lamented America’s apparent path down a road to “natural poverty” by way of the “three ex’s—exploration, exploitation, exhaustion.”¹⁶ He could not overlook the wastefulness that resulted from these actions:

The nation would rise in defense of a fractional acre taken from it by a foreign enemy. The public have stood by, however, and permitted a natural wealth untold, namely the forest and its soil, to be wasted, robbed of fertility, burned and pillaged by its beneficiaries and finally neglected by the individuals who for this short generation happen to hold possession of it.¹⁷

But, Lieber noted further, “[i]f in the process of building the nation great waste had to be endured, national maintenance from now on, demands careful and intelligent use,” and with proper management techniques, “we do not have to scrimp.”¹⁸ The state of Indiana

had previously experienced this waste in the 1880s and 1890s when natural gas was discovered in huge underground pockets in the east central portions of the state. A financial windfall followed, complete with new factories, jobs—even entire cities—but the boom faded when the gas supply was exhausted as a result of reckless usage.¹⁹ Thus, under the assumption that finite levels of natural resources were the problem, the burgeoning Department of Conservation was intended to be part of the solution.

The department was openly the “declared foe of waste in any form and the champion of greater use of all resources.”²⁰ Where these ideas would be most clearly marked was not necessarily in the explicit conservation of physical materials, but in the organization of the Department itself. Gone would be the days where individual governmental units and/or agencies related to the state’s natural resources such as Entomology, Geology, etc., would perform their duties in isolation. In the new mode, these units were gathered under a single conceptual umbrella and with a single leader where the “result is well directed effort with no duplication and the whole an efficient organization.”²¹ Ultimately, Lieber himself was selected for the role of Director of the Department of Conservation.²² Lacking specific expertise in any of the related fields of scientific study, his selection was probably due to his leadership in the preservation of Turkey Run and his notoriety within the state.²³ Richard Lieber was the *de facto* face of conservation within Indiana.²⁴

Lieber prepared a graphic sketch of how the new department would be organized, which gave form to the logic of efficiency that he hoped to project (Figure 4.1). In his mind, the makeup of the department “proves the wisdom of concerted action and serves as a fine example how unwieldiness of state departments can be changed into live

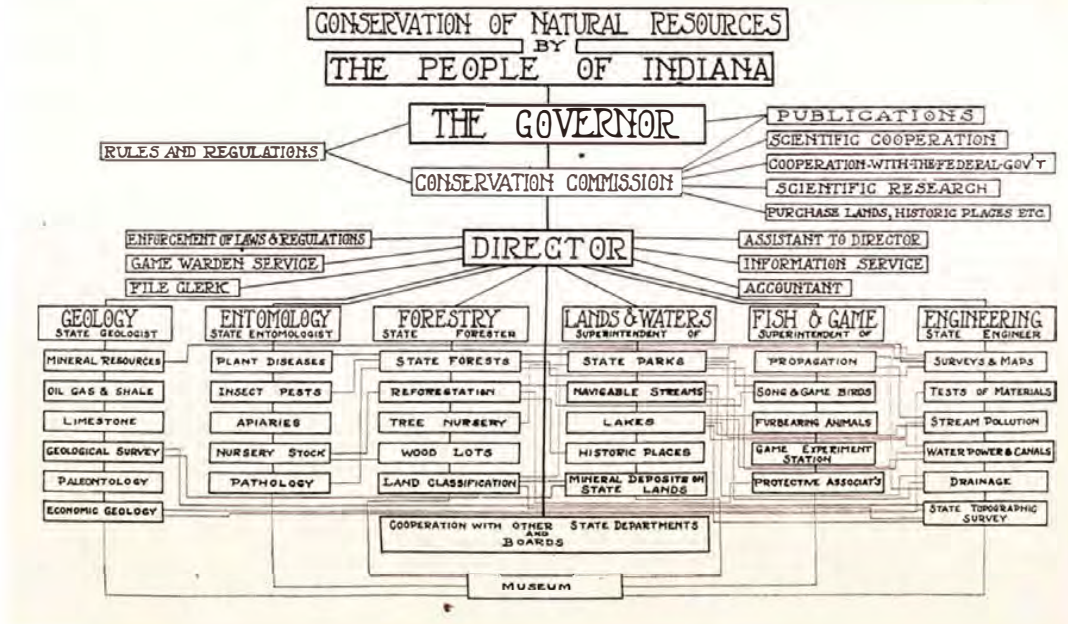


Figure 4.1 – Organization of the Department of Conservation
Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1919, p 371

agencies of businesslike public service at a minimum of cost.”²⁵ These various state governmental agencies, which were previously separated, were now unified under a coordinated effort. The general population of the State was shown to be the true leader of the Department, as evidenced by their position at the top of the pyramid. In other words, the conservation movement in Indiana was imagined to be directed by a mandate of concerned citizens. Such a populist crusade would ostensibly underscore the ideas of citizenship and state pride that catalyzed the creation of the state parks during the Centennial Celebration just a few years previously.

The nascent Department of Conservation was to consist of a distinctly segmented “force of scientists and experts,” one that was hardly a representative cross-section of the state’s still predominantly rural population.²⁶ Department employees were to be highly educated, skilled technicians that included such professions as engineers, entomologists,

apiarists, foresters, fish culturists, sanitary engineers, ornithologists, wardens, fire patrol, landscape architects, craftsmen, geologists, and nursery inspectors who would slowly bring “order out of the existing chaos by substituting technically and scientifically correct principles for rule of thumb methods.”²⁷ Such a focus on technocratic authority was a hallmark of the burgeoning department whose goal was to make every Hoosier a conservationist, “who believes in the *State* and the *laws* which are in force to *Conserve* its *Natural Resources* for the *Benefit, Education* and *Recreation* of all *Hoosiers Now* and *To Come*.”²⁸ Ultimately, then, the actions of the department were not done for their own sake.

In their *de facto* role as the protector of state heritage, the department’s actions were done for the people of Indiana—not just the scientists and professionals, but *all* residents—in the present, and in the future. However, doing away with the traditional methods of agriculture and forestry, for example, that guided the growth of Indiana and even much of the Midwest up until this historical moment would be no simple task. There was always a risk that Hoosiers might fear the modern ways and reject the assistance of the Department of Conservation. But “[i]f there still be left any who consider conservation a highly theoretical, nonutilitarian and expensive plaything,” the state recommended that they read some of the reports crafted by the Department to see how it,

assembles scientific parts into vehicles of practical everyday service. How it makes use of the research work of our universities and the knowledge of our men of learning. How it applies this learning for the benefit of our state and its people. How it interchanges its own experiences and finally how all of this work if expressed in taxes (in reality it is paid out of the state’s earnings) would have cost each person in the state the sum of two cents, or the price of a postage stamp.²⁹

From this it is clear that the intent of the Department was never to utilize science and technology to completely distance Hoosiers from their physical landscape or their cultural heritage. The advances of the modern world were part of a mechanism to reinforce those connections, but further to show how ideas about conservation would impact the everyday lives of Indiana residents. In other words, conservation did in fact seek to replace some of the older ways, but not to wholly redefine local culture and heritage. The Department of Conservation endeavored instead to find new and potentially stronger means by which to utilize that heritage while at the same time reinforcing the newly claimed centralized authority of the fledgling department.

Park Rules and Infrastructure

The ways that the parks themselves would be experienced was about to undergo significant changes. No longer simply sites for passive outdoor pleasure, the parks would begin to offer a more formal education to the people of Indiana containing a message that was legitimized by science, codified by law, and valued by local culture. By way of increased visibility and accessibility of these landscapes, the well-ordered, efficient organization imagined by the Department of Conservation would ultimately serve as a framework to organize and control the actions of visitors to the parks; in other words, the actions of the Department would reflect many key aspects of the exhibitionary complex.

Initial attendance figures are unavailable, but records show that during the summer season of 1918 (May 19 to November 4) over 25,000 people visited Turkey Run. This number is even more impressive given the fact that “gasless Sundays”—a temporary war time conservation practice asking citizens across America to avoid using gasoline—

were in effect beginning in August, a fact that must have limited the ability of visitors to get to the park.³⁰ Subsequent records indicate a marked uptick in attendance over the next few years: 33,145 in 1919, 45,297 in 1920, and 54,107 in 1921 (Figure 4.2).³¹ However, this increased popularity came at a cost for the influx of visitors to Turkey Run began to cause no small measure of stress upon its physical environment. Thus, to assist in keeping order in the park, and to maintain the site’s beauty, the Department of Conservation published some rules of conduct that would be enforced.³² These rules educated visitors to the ideals of the parks; they informed people about fire safety, the importance of not picking native ferns or wild flowers, and proper disposal of waste products, among other things. These rules function, in many ways, as the predecessors to the “Leave No Trace” and “Take only pictures, Leave only footprints” policies that pervade parks and backcountry areas today.

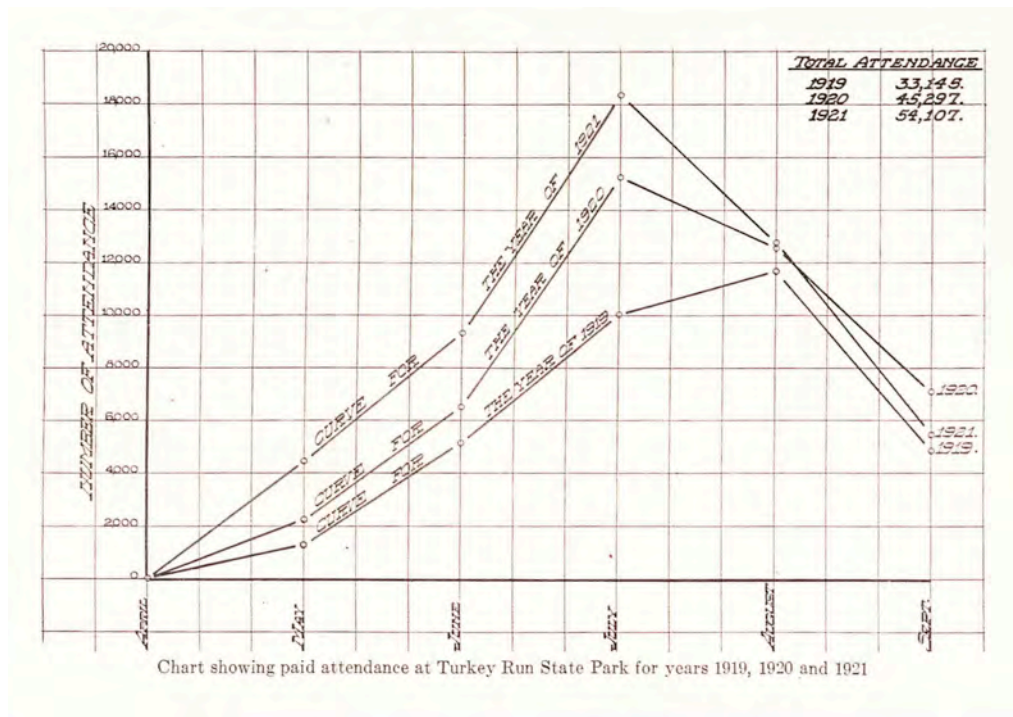


Figure 4.2 – Attendance at Turkey Run – 1919-1921
 Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1921, p 276

It was also noted, “Great care has been take to see that the rules set down by the Commission were rigidly enforced and this policy has met with but little objection and resulted in well-behaved crowds and practically no defacement or destruction.”³³ The State understood this positive behavior in the park as a sign of the usefulness of natural resources to “achieve their triumph over the spectre of mob rule. Not over embattled walls but through the open gate to the enjoyment of Nature’s gifts.”³⁴ Though never explicitly mentioned, the “mobs” originate from outside the parks—probably urban areas—but were almost magically subdued when they enter the “open gate” of the parks. Though visitors voluntarily entered through this “gate,” in fact park visitors were always being watched to ensure that the rules were being followed and that appropriate punishments were doled out to offenders. The language of the original legislation gave the Department of Conservation—and by extension, the parks themselves—broad authority to make rules and then to enforce them. It reads, “Any person who shall violate any provision of this act where a specific penalty is not provided shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be subject to a fine of not less than such an amount as the court in its discretion shall determine not to exceed fifty dollars (\$50).”³⁵

Indeed, surveillance was critical to the success of the parks, and by extension, of the exhibitionary complex. Tony Bennett explains that expositions had the effect of “transforming the crowd into a constantly surveyed, self-watching, self-regulating, and as the historical record suggests, consistently orderly public – a society watching over itself.”³⁶ No evidence exists pertaining to the self-reporting of violations by park

managers or users, but such actions likely occurred. In any event, much as Jean-Jacques Rousseau had theorized some 160 years previously in *The Social Contract*, visitors to Turkey Run were willing to sacrifice certain freedoms in order to enjoy their time at the park; they were willing to submit to the authority of the state over the individual.³⁷ In doing so, the power of the exhibitionary complex was confirmed, and given the apparent control over the park visitors *vis a vis* the posted rules of park use, so too was the legitimacy of state authority.

Interestingly, the rules themselves changed subtly over time, even in a matter of a decade.³⁸ Whereas additional rules were added in some instances (e.g. “Firearms are prohibited” and “Dogs are to be kept on leash”) and one was removed (i.e. “It is requested that all waste paper and trash will be thrown into the large wire baskets which are provided for this purpose”), others were reworded in a much more terse manner. In the initial version (1919), the first rule states, “It is prohibited to pick ferns and wild flowers in the Park. They are one of the Park’s chief beauties, and although the amount picked by one person seems small, the great number which would be taken away by the thousands who visit the Park makes the rule necessary.”³⁹ Another concerns the prohibition on the defacement of nature by way of inscribing initials or figures on the rocks and canyon walls. However, a version published in 1930 combines these ideas more generally: “Do not injure any structure, rock, tree, flower, bird or wild animal within the park.”⁴⁰ The spirit of the rules remains, but the manner in which the ideas were conveyed was done with a much greater economy of words, matching the proposed efficiency of the Department of Conservation itself rather than the romanticism of the early park movement

A New Infrastructure

One of the park rules active in both 1919 and 1930 was concerned with automobile traffic in the park, in hopes that visitors would keep cars on the prescribed paths through the site and avoid damaging the scenic beauty. The ever-increasing use of automobiles in Indiana allowed a broader range of people to leave their homes and to visit various destinations around the state, and indeed, across the whole of the United States.⁴¹ The increased automobile traffic in Indiana was due in part to automobile development within the state, which for a period in the early twentieth century rivaled even the burgeoning empire being created by Henry Ford in Michigan.⁴² We recall that one of the saving graces behind the purchase of Turkey Run State Park were members of the automobile industry rooted in Indiana such as Carl Fisher of the Indianapolis Motor Speedway and James A. Allison, who was a co-founder of the Indianapolis Motor Speedway as well as the founder of an automotive engineering company still located in Speedway, Indiana today. A number of niche automobile manufacturers existed in the state at this time, especially Stutz, Duesenberg, each of which was located in Indianapolis, as well as the Studebaker and Auburn brands, located in the cities of South Bend and Auburn respectively.⁴³

Indeed, this age of automobiles, road improvements were not far behind. Indeed, a movement for better roads had been percolating for decades. Originally conceived as a way to create better connections between rural and urban areas—and even more specifically, to provide these connections for bicyclists and rural farmers—the rise of the automobile served to hasten the work.⁴⁴ The State of Indiana, which was once heavily rural but now increasingly urban, recognized the importance of roadway improvement,

although there seemed to be a rural/urban division that stymied the process early on. A bill had actually gone before the Indiana General Assembly as early as 1913 to create a state highway department, but was ultimately defeated largely on the grounds that the legislation reflected “a clear-cut case of ‘country against city.’”⁴⁵ Although one of the benefits of creating a highway department was that it would have allowed federal monies earmarked specifically for roadway development to stream into the state, rural farmers were convinced that roadway developments throughout the state would place undue burdens on them, with respect to the levying of additional taxes to finance these roads. They were also suspicious that new roads would benefit urban dwellers more than themselves.⁴⁶

Hoping to win over such dissenters during the Centennial Celebration, Governor Samuel Ralston had declared October 12, 1916 “Centennial Highway Day” and even invited President Woodrow Wilson to attend the event. Wilson spoke to the crowds surrounding Monument Circle in downtown Indianapolis about the benefits of good roads, but further emphasized an ancillary result: that “good roads are necessary for every practical aspect of our lives—to draw neighbors together, to create a community of feeling.”⁴⁷ Put in these terms, and in the context of the Centennial Celebration, roads and parks were kindred spirits; they both helped Indiana residents imagine themselves as a single community with a single, shared heritage. More germane to this discussion, roads also helped Hoosiers imagine not only their past, but also their future:

The good roads movement inaugurated a few years ago has aroused much interest for a better system of highways and it bids fair to become one of the most potential factors in the social and commercial affairs of the people. It has already become nation-wide in its sweep, enlarging the sphere of activities in thousands of communities.

The facilities of transportation determine very largely the position a people hold in the progress of their country. Good roads are the result of their far-sightedness. They are the outgrowth of necessity and the source of happiness and prosperity; but their construction and upkeep always constitutes a problem of importance.⁴⁸

In other words, roads were thought to allow Hoosiers an opportunity not only to bind themselves together as a community, but also to confirm their place on a path towards progress in the modern world.

In 1917, after years of political wrangling, the 70th Regular Session of the Indiana General Assembly enacted a law “creating a state highway commission, providing for the construction, reconstruction, maintenance, repair and control of public highways, and providing for co-operation with the Federal Government in the construction of rural post roads.”⁴⁹ From such a beginning, the entirety of the State of Indiana would soon undergo a transformation the scale of which had not previously been seen. By the early 1930s, there would be some 6,000 miles of state roads, over half of which (3,160 miles) of which are “high type pavement.” The remaining roads were surfaced with gravel, and some, while unpaved, were improved and made free of dust in the summer months by the use of various chemicals and oils.⁵⁰

Such results could surely never have been attained by the relatively decentralized government in the state of Indiana prior to 1917. Before the creation of the Highway Commission, the construction and maintenance of public roads within the state was not governed by any overarching or unified policy. Instead, local agencies controlled such decisions. Clarence A. Kenyon, the president of Indiana’s Good Roads Association, stated that “each county and township is a rule unto itself.”⁵¹ Under such conditions, the notion of a unified network of roads was untenable. Conversely, a centralized authority,

in the form of the state's official Highway Commission, was charged precisely with removing county rule, placing all decisions under the larger, state-wide umbrella, and ultimately bringing order to this chaos.

The initial step was the selection of a series of roads referred to as Main Market Highways, whose purpose was to connect a number of the larger towns and cities within the state. The various commissioners are said to have driven thousands of miles around the state on the existing roads during the year 1917 as a means to decide on the best route(s) for such system of highways, ultimately proposing a plan with five main roads consisting of approximately 2,000 miles in the network.⁵² As shown in Figure 4.3 (below), the road that runs east-to-west through the center of the state was an easy selection; it follows the old National Road (subsequently renamed U.S 40) that had been a major thoroughfare across half of America for nearly a century. The other four Main Market Highways did not possess nearly the same historical associations, but served a critical role in creating a network of improved highways across the state.

Two years later, in 1919, under an expanded vision of the previous work towards the construction of new highways, the state legislature amended the earlier law. The new law "imposed upon the Commission the duty of laying out a system of State highways which would reach every county seat and city of 5,000 inhabitants or more, making a net work of highways which will connect each and every market center of the State."⁵³ The obvious geographical gaps that were left in the creation of the 1917 plan were to be filled in by the new call to action (Figure 4.4). This increase in road construction was set to greatly benefit the developing park system. Truly, in the mind of Richard Lieber, park

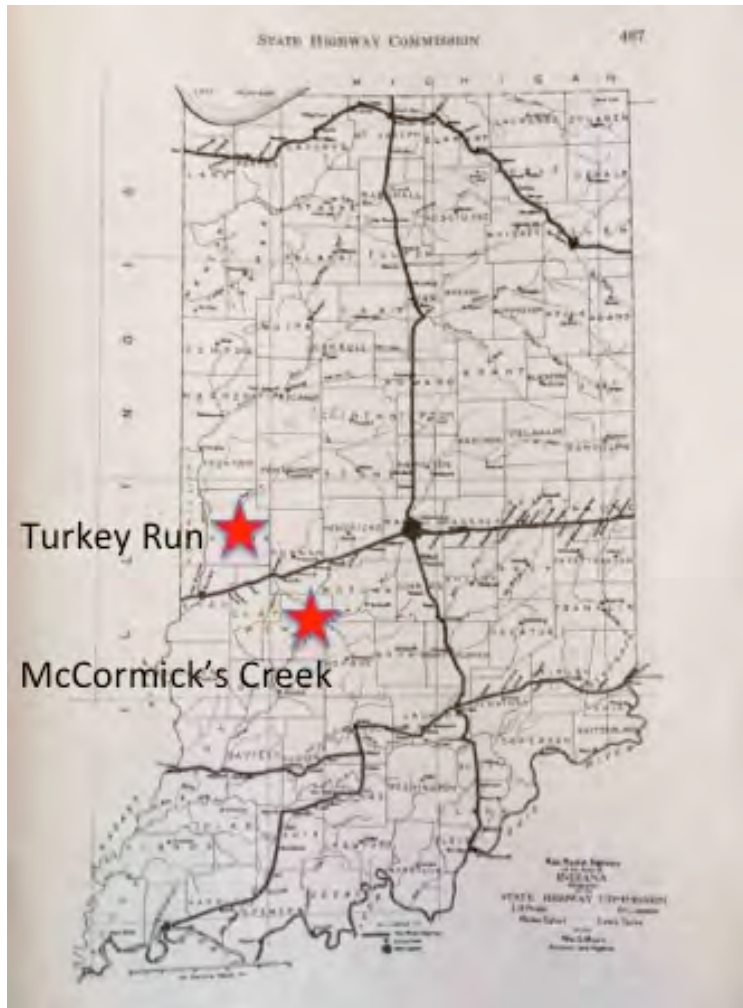


Figure 4.3 – Map of Main Market Highways
Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1917, p 487

development and state highways had always been intimately linked, particularly as it pertains to tourism. A great dream of his was that the two initial parks, Turkey Run and McCormick's Creek, would “form a nucleus of a great chain of state parks which will some day circle the State, and be connected with a great state highway.”⁵⁴

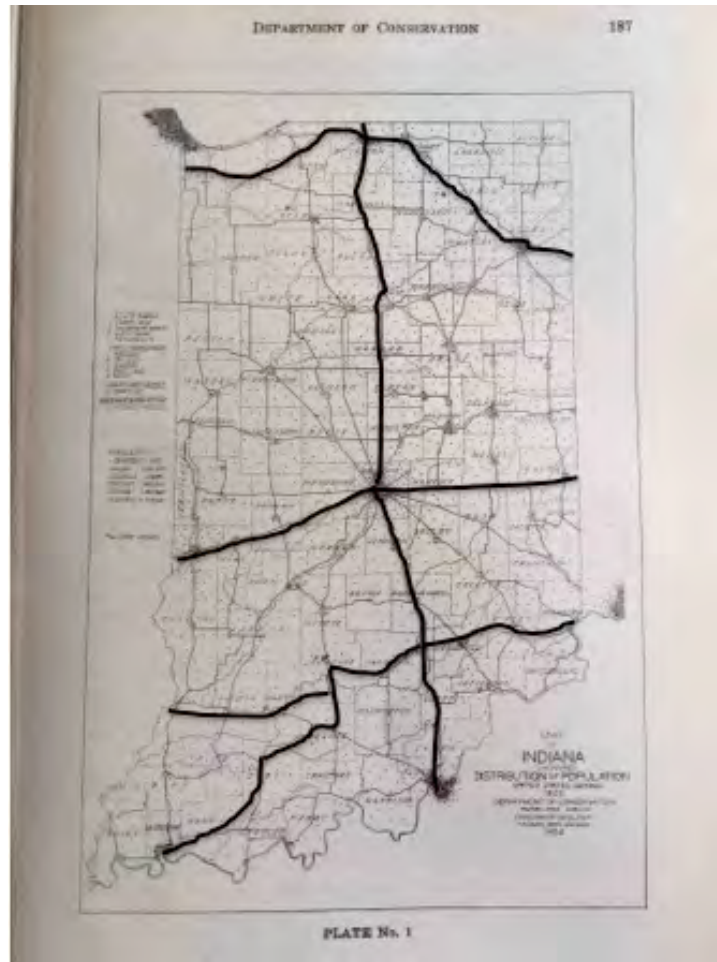


Figure 4.4 – Network of New Highways
 Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1924, p187

Up to this point, however, the lack of roads was a pronounced limitation for the popularity and use of the parks. Enos Mills, a man who sparked the founding of Rocky Mountain National Park in Colorado, had once spoken about the importance of automobiles, and by extension, roads, to the developing national park system, saying, “Our national parks are far removed from the centers of population. If visited by people, there must be speedy ways of reaching these places and swift means of covering long distances, or but a few people will have either time or strength to see the wonders of these parks. The traveler wants the automobile with which to see America.”⁵⁵ While obviously

not at the scale of the American West, Indiana was going through a similar issue. The two initial parks were some distance away from the larger population centers in the state, and accessibility was a problem.

McCormick's Creek State Park was virtually unvisited for a few years after its initial designation as a park, in part because of the unsuitability of local roads. The Department noted that "[t]his park eventually will become a most attractive spot," but, they continued, "in the absence of well kept county roads leading to it, a further expenditure of moneys would be unprofitable at this time."⁵⁶ For all of the romanticism given to the park idea as a nature sanctuary in previous years, it is very clear that this site was ultimately managed with very practical concerns in mind. The Department of Conservation was, to some degree, holding McCormick's Creek hostage by making a conscious decision to delay further investment in making the site attractive until state and county governments invested in the kinds of modern roads that were necessary to get people to the park.

Fortunately for McCormick's Creek, the park was located in between Bloomington, Indiana and Spencer, Indiana, the county seats for Monroe and Owen counties, respectively. The proposed highway plan necessarily suggested a route that passed right by the park. The same general principle applied to Turkey Run. This park was a few miles east of the most direct route that was proposed between the county seats in Parke County (Rockville) and Fountain County (Covington), as well part of a heavily travelled artery connecting Evansville to the south and Chicago to the north, and so a small spur route to the front gate of the park was considered crucial. In 1921, *The Indianapolis News* reported that it was Richard Lieber's,

desire to start immediately on planning to connect the main part of the park with the Rockville state highway road No. 9 by means of a new road that visitors may more easily reach the Indiana beauty spot. [H]e thought the state highway department would co-operate with the conservation department in building a road to connect the park with the state road.⁵⁷

Lieber argued that such effort to extend/lengthen this road would be worth the money spent given the amount of recreation that the park provided to its visitors.

Yet, even during this process of infrastructural modernization, an icon of the previous century, the railroad, still figured as a means to move park development forward. This notion gained more traction as a third unit of the park system was designated in 1920. Clifty Falls State Park, located on a tall bluff overlooking a broad turn of the Ohio River near Madison, Indiana, consisted primarily of forested acres and a network of deep canyons leading up to the waterfall itself. It was also situated within a mile from a spur of the Pennsylvania railroad connecting Madison to Indianapolis. The Department of Conservation envisioned that this spur would continue into the park and supplement park attendance. They argued that “Parks that lie two or three miles from a railroad point do not receive the patronage from visitors by rail that would be expected,” and that they “surely can not develop state parks for the use of those running automobiles only.”⁵⁸ Interestingly, the notion of rail travel was never carried out, and indeed, was hardly ever spoken of again.

Rail travel notwithstanding, better transportation routes were a clear catalyst for park development because accessibility yields visibility. The parks were meant to be visited and they were meant to be seen. Indeed, such sentiment extended to areas of the state that did not yet have officially designated parks, as in the case of the new highways that permitted comfortable travel into the hill country of southern Indiana. There, a

“[l]andscape of infinite charm and variety” awaited motorists, such as the mysteries of Wyandotte and Marengo caves, the architectural beauty of such places as the convent at Oldenberg and the monastery at St. Meinrad, or the historically significant towns of Corydon, New Harmony and Madison. The tourist now had an array of accessible destinations, “all of individual character and charm, steeped in historical atmosphere of early Indiana; and as he goes he will gaze upon great wooded areas, tremendous hills range upon range, canyons and swift streams, until he wonders that he has lived all these years neighbor to a wonderland and knew it not.”⁵⁹ In many ways, it was as if the whole of Indiana, whether natural or constructed, was something to see and that would be valuable to understanding the state’s historical past. Cartoonist Gaar Williams captured this era in Indiana history with an image of a man who had recently purchased an automobile, but who now needed roads, and places to go so that he could best utilize his new purchase (Figure 4.5). As a friend of Richard Lieber, Williams’ chose on many occasions to represent the relationship between transportation, tourism, and the parks.

In further keeping with this theme of visibility, Richard Lieber noted that the parks, in particular, were the “show windows” of the state. In other words, “These reservations of primitive outdoors are the windows from which are viewed a pageant of subjects and events with which many of the visitors have heretofore been unfamiliar.”⁶⁰ This notion that parks were part of a large-scale museum complex permeates the official discourse on parks, and particularly the words of Richard Lieber. He would also describe these sites “a large natural gallery portraying primitive, historic and scenic Indiana and its great resources.”⁶¹ In this sense, the parks would mirror the dioramas created for



Figure 4.5 – “After Workin’ Up to a Car”
Williams-Kuhn Mss, Lilly Library, Indiana University.

traveling exhibitions such as World’s Fairs, or even the permanent installations at the Field Museum in Chicago or the Museum of Natural History in New York City. They would be what Freeman Tilden would later refer to as an “educational asset,” a place for both school children and adults to learn about state resources; even the sites with less spectacular scenery would serve as object lessons in local history and culture.⁶² Roads, then, provided potential visitors with the formalized pathway by which to get to the sites. Next, it was a goal of the Department of Conservation to determine which lessons they wished for those visitors to learn once they were there.

New Technologies

Following the increase in roadway construction within the state, which helped connect residents and visitors to the growing park system, was an increase in additional changes within the parks themselves. It is important to understand these other changes as ways to showcase the parks as models of modernity, not as relics of a pioneer age.

Indeed, the Progressive Era—during which America catalyzed numerous physical and social reforms—greatly impacted the Indiana State Parks, well beyond the obvious link to the conservation movement.

Notably, increased attendance led to the desire for updated facilities that would accommodate additional visitors more comfortably. For example, whereas visitors to Turkey Run were still invited to spend their days at the old campsites, the park also introduced a new, modern hotel in 1919.⁶³ A few years later, McCormick's Creek State Park would construct a hotel of their own on the very foundation of the original sanitarium on-site. The Department of Conservation would pride themselves on appealing to the person of modest means by promoting the “simple, unostentatious service” and “good, well-cooked, wholesome food” available at the hotel.⁶⁴ With the addition of a modern power plant, Turkey Run was now a site of all-season recreation and offered “all the comforts of the city in this virgin wilderness”⁶⁵ (Figure 4.6). In other words, the line between the country and the city was being increasingly blurred; the “natural” was being melded with the artificial. On the one hand, modernization of the parks, including such amenities as running water, electric lights, and heating was to some extent a betrayal of the stripped down pioneer ruggedness that was a hallmark of the

original park idea. On the other hand, however, the very process of modernization was viewed as a “natural” by-product of civilized society; it was a kind of utopian

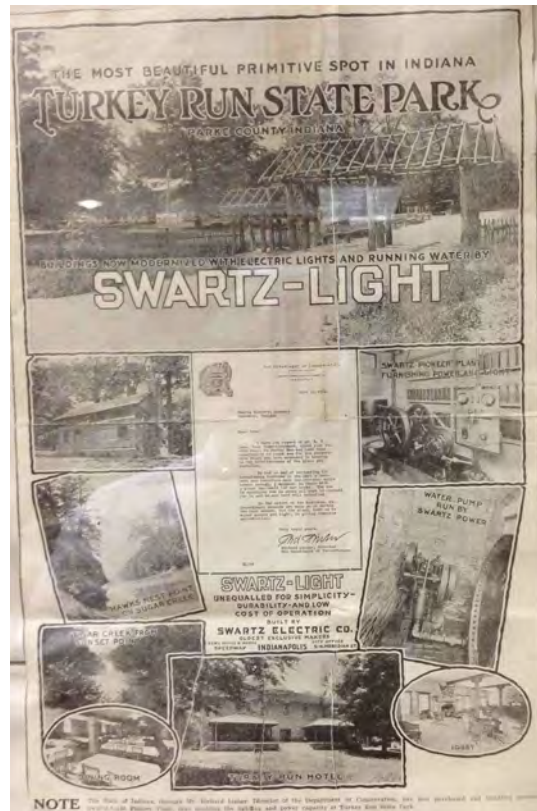


Figure 4.6 –Turkey Run State Park and Swartz-Light – a technologically advanced power plant to help support Turkey Run a “primitive” beauty spot – framed picture on the wall at Turkey Run Hotel, Photo by Author

modernism. Thus, the parks reflect some of the very real tensions of the process of modernization, further underscoring the importance of adaptation in the modern world.⁶⁶

These kinds of actions were occurring in other areas of the park as well. The Department of Conservation noted that a number of the great trees at Turkey Run—perhaps the very same trees that helped galvanize support for the park in the first place—had begun to decay due to their old age and “the fact that they do not well stand the tramp of civilization about their feet.”⁶⁷ The Department proposed various remedies including the filling of cavities caused by the decay as well as the removal of dead branches. The

goal of such activities was decrease the chance of the sudden collapse of a tree that might cause property damage or personal harm. Additionally, care was being taken to reduce the effects of natural erosion along Sugar Creek. More specifically they hoped to “put a permanent stop to this destructive force” through the inclusion of stone rip-rap or willows, because the latter would preserve “the natural effect and [do] away with any appearance of artificiality.”⁶⁸ In either case, the natural environmental processes of decay and entropy were being challenged by the deliberate actions of the scientifically managed Department of Conservation. They would eliminate any sense of imperfection, not ostensibly out of any perceived safety or liability hazard, but to meet the ideological needs of the state towards perfection.

Spring Mill as a Living Museum

As the system began to grow, the idea of what actually constituted a park began to take different forms. Beautiful scenery was still paramount, and such scenery stood increasingly in sharp contrast to a quickly degrading industrial present, and further served to connect Hoosiers with an idealized history. Up until the mid-1920s, however, that past was still largely abstracted. Excepting the John Lusk house at Turkey Run and the old mill that comprised a part of Muscatatuck State Park (designated in 1921) historic connections were only seldom drawn to human events or tangible interactions with the landscape; such connections were more typically made to growing trees, bodies of water and rock outcroppings.⁶⁹ Yet, it was the larger history of Indiana that the parks were intended to celebrate. Richard Lieber is famously quoted as saying, “our parks and preserves are not mere picnicking places. They are rich storehouses of memories and

reveries.”⁷⁰ To that end, plans for commemorating the grave site of Nancy Hanks Lincoln, which is also the site of the boyhood home of Abraham Lincoln, were underway in Spencer County, along the Ohio River. Though it would not be designated as a state park until 1932, this site (along with three other historical properties) was actually placed under the jurisdiction of the Department of Conservation seven years earlier, in 1925.⁷¹ However, the introduction of Spring Mill State Park would make similarly tangible and concrete historical connections five years prior to Lincoln State Park, in 1927.

Located just outside of Mitchell, Indiana, some eighty miles south of Indianapolis, Spring Mill revealed itself to be an exceptionally diverse site. The park was intended to protect the large stand of old growth forest, to be sure. The site was also situated on limestone bedrock common to southern Indiana called the Mitchell Karst Plain, which resulted in a visible sinkholes on the surface as well as a network of underground caves. But as intriguing as these natural systems were, it was another attraction that was to become the property’s centerpiece: an historic pioneer mill village.

In 1815, a Canadian-born soldier who had fought for the United States in the War of 1812 named Samuel Jackson, Jr. discovered a spring-fed stream in the woods and built a small grist mill and a home for himself. A couple years later, two brothers called Cuthbert and Thomas Bullitt, originally from Virginia, acquired the property and improved the size and output capacity of the mill, serving both local markets and exporting goods to Louisville and even as far as New Orleans. By 1832, the property was on its fourth owners, Hugh and Thomas Hamer, who were former employees of the mill itself. Meanwhile, the village itself had grown, now possessing two colonial-style residences (originally built by the Bullitts), as well as a post office, a distillery, tavern,

sawmill, schoolhouse, and a spattering of other smaller structures. The success of the village—which saw its peak around 1850—would be short-lived, however, as new roadway and rail constructions bypassed the site in favor of the nearby town of Mitchell, as well as the impacts of the Civil War, which closed access of many Northern goods to some of the southern markets upon which the milling industry relied.⁷²

The surrounding landscape and forests were saved and preserved due to the intervention of a relatively mysterious Scotsman named George Donaldson. Donaldson is thought to have first come to America in 1849. He was a global traveler of no particular avocation, but who was interested in horticulture, ornithology, natural history, and geology. The latter of which drew him to the limestone caves of southern Indiana. In 1865, Donaldson purchased tracts of land totaling nearly 200 acres near Mitchell. He lived there for over thirty years and it is said that he was so protective of the land that he “did not allow a snake to be killed, a butterfly caught or a twig broken.”⁷³ This philosophy allowed for the preservation of one of the last remaining old growth forests in Indiana, an area of the current park now called Donaldson Woods. George Donaldson himself died during a trip back to Scotland in 1898. Unlike the situation with John Lusk at Turkey Run, Donaldson had never been naturalized in this country and since he had no heirs, “his land in Lawrence county converted to the state and was, for several years, in the custody of Indiana University.”⁷⁴ The probate laws that nearly sunk the preservation of Turkey Run allowed the Spring Mill property to go virtually untouched for nearly three more decades.

Naturally, the mostly abandoned village site began to deteriorate; the various buildings fell into disrepair after only a few years of disuse. By the 1920s, with a

renewed sense of history and heritage still pervading local sentiment following the Centennial Celebration in 1916, a campaign proposed to salvage what remained of the Spring Mill Village and to,

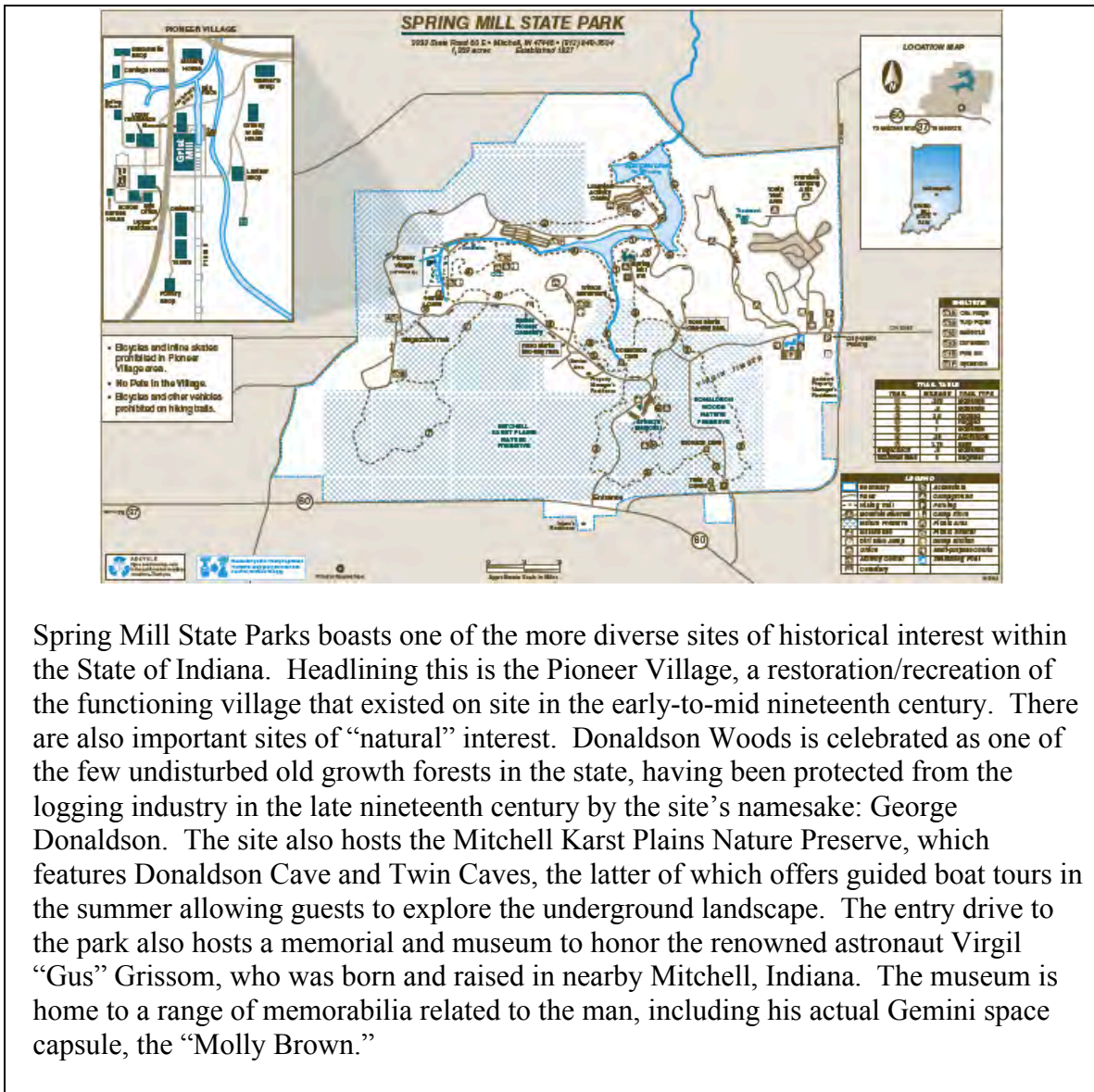
restore the entire group of buildings and hope to bring back the very atmosphere of 1816 to 1850, when this small but important community flourished. Again we find the emphasis on our historic past. What a joy to ourselves and what a boon to coming generations to see here again before their eyes this North Carolinian-Virginian settlement; one of the many but half-forgotten outposts of civilization that laid the foundation to our country's greatness and our state's prosperity.⁷⁵

Here, the village at Spring Mill, even in its dilapidated and deserted condition, served as a direct connection to the past by reflecting a portion of Indiana's architectural heritage.

This physical heritage thus reflects a portion of the state's cultural heritage.

Even if the original structures no longer stood, Margaret Scott reported in 1930 that the foundations of nearly fifty buildings had been found on site.⁷⁶ The state of Indiana began a site survey. They collected photographs, memory drawings and personal descriptions; they extended research into Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio, North Carolina and Kentucky; they consulted libraries in Indianapolis, Louisville and Washington D.C. concerning pioneer history, arts and crafts, etc.⁷⁷ Spring Mill project manager E.Y. Guernsey made visits in 1927 to both Colonial Williamsburg and Jamestown to get a better sense of what a "living village" looked like and how it functioned. He even participated in site excavations.⁷⁸ With all this information, Guernsey noted, "a very well defined program has been formulated, in following which it will be possible to recreate, upon a firm historic basis, one of the most interesting exhibits in America. Nowhere else, probably, will it be possible to illustrate the home life and occupations of a typical pioneer village with so pleasing a natural background."⁷⁹

However, much like what occurred at Turkey Run, this return to the past was



Spring Mill State Parks boasts one of the more diverse sites of historical interest within the State of Indiana. Headlining this is the Pioneer Village, a restoration/recreation of the functioning village that existed on site in the early-to-mid nineteenth century. There are also important sites of “natural” interest. Donaldson Woods is celebrated as one of the few undisturbed old growth forests in the state, having been protected from the logging industry in the late nineteenth century by the site’s namesake: George Donaldson. The site also hosts the Mitchell Karst Plains Nature Preserve, which features Donaldson Cave and Twin Caves, the latter of which offers guided boat tours in the summer allowing guests to explore the underground landscape. The entry drive to the park also hosts a memorial and museum to honor the renowned astronaut Virgil “Gus” Grissom, who was born and raised in nearby Mitchell, Indiana. The museum is home to a range of memorabilia related to the man, including his actual Gemini space capsule, the “Molly Brown.”

Figure 4.7 – Spotlight on Spring Mill State Park, 2017
<http://www.in.gov/dnr/parklake/2968.htm>

blurred with modern activity. Firstly, as hinted at above, not all of the structures were original. In fact, only five original structures were repaired. The rest of the fifteen or so buildings fit one of the following criteria: structures reconstructed on original foundations, exogenous period structures in their original form but from outside the village, or a replica structure on a new foundation.⁸⁰ Even the original garden plot would

be updated by securing “many rare old plants of historic association and significance, collected from the gardens of America’s men and women of note in Colonial days.”⁸¹ The scene would be beautiful, but it may not have been altogether authentic or historically accurate.

Secondly, many of the modern infrastructural additions to the village further undercut larger notions of historical authenticity, as it pertains to the construction and recreation of the pioneer village. Parking lots, camping sites, toilets and filtration systems to create potable water, while often at a distance from the actual village, were inextricably linked with the overall experience. Electric wires and telephone wires would be cabled together underground or at least away from main thoroughfares, and that “the street lights or lamps will be of a design as nearly of that period as possible to obtain.”⁸² This was concession to the fact that modern poles or towers for purposes of lighting the village would “destroy the ancient atmosphere.”⁸³ Even with such efforts, the modern amenities were unmistakable.

Yet with all these modern amenities and potentially inauthentic reconstructions, there was nevertheless a notion that Spring Mill was a special place where travelers would leave “a modern highway to enter a primitive village.”⁸⁴ One newspaper report speculated on how easy it would be for visitors to the site to walk through the replicated village and visualize the idyllic leisure activities of the early nineteenth century settlers; or how an accurate picture of daily life in the village could be gained simply by imagining “a drove of strutting peafowl parading around the village, and grunting pigs contentedly scratching their backs against the corners of the mill.”⁸⁵ Another article noted how the village, once completed, would employ “families whose simple crafts and

mode of living are similar to those of early residents of Spring Mill,” and would “operate shops and portray life in Indiana prior to the civil war.”⁸⁶ These latter instances undermine the complexity of daily life in the early-to-mid nineteenth century by ignoring the realities of difficult labor during this historical period. But, as Edward Bruner argues, modern visitors are willing to disregard such shortcomings because it is not authenticity that they seek, but “historical verisimilitude.” He reasons that a site need not be original, only “credible and convincing” or, quite simply, “believable.”⁸⁷ With the ongoing reconstruction of the site, Spring Mill possessed these characteristics in spades.

Health and Well-being

Along with the idea of historical verisimilitude, an increased focus of the parks was on health and well-being. For some time, the health of the state’s population was thought to be at risk due to environmental factors. Even prior to the creation of the Department of Conservation, the State of Indiana had recognized industrial pollution in this seemingly no-longer-rural Midwestern area as a problem that needed addressing. There was a call for “a *real* law to prevent the pollution of the waters of the State. The pollution of our streams, especially, and to some degree our lakes, is being carried out to such an extent that it is endangering the health of the people in the localities where pollution is greatest.”⁸⁸ It is worth noting that this statement was issued by the Fish and Game Commission, which suggests that it was a larger issue of wildlife and not solely human life that was at stake as a result of polluted waters. Nevertheless, the increased levels of pollution within the state served to underscore the value of the natural world as a welcome contrast to this situation.

Interestingly, this same notion was used to remind Hoosiers that it was machines, and not necessarily human beings, that were doing much of the work in the modern age. This was not an insignificant change in the way that people lived their lives. They now possessed something that had been reserved almost exclusively for royalty or the wealthy since the dawn of humanity: free time. The Department of Conservation was eager to jump at the opportunity to address this. They wrote:

The state parks of Indiana are helping to solve one of the difficult sociological problems of the industrial age—the profitable and pleasant enjoyment of leisure hours. With the development of the automatic machine, and the adoption of the eight-hour day, there have come to the great bulk of our population leisure hours to which they are not familiar nor with which they know what to do. Furthermore this same automatic machine has removed the need of apprenticeships, for one may learn to operate it in a few days and it takes but little brain activity and often but slight physical fatigue results. At the end of the day and the end of the week recreation of some sort is imperative.⁸⁹

In addressing this issue, the park idea was further revealed to be a rural amenity developed almost solely for urban populations. The eight-hour work day for which progressives had recently fought, after all, was most applicable to people in industrial centers. Rural dwellers were never explicitly excluded from the parks, but the discourse on park development makes only passing mention of them. Thus, the farmers' earlier suspicions that the new highways, and by extension, the parks, would only benefit urban dwellers were well-founded.

Indeed, a newly proposed park that would not only make a significant impact to industrial workers in need of recreational activities—but also meet Richard Lieber's criteria of scenic beauty, history, and geographic spread—was a place in northern Indiana unlike anything else in the state: the Dunes. This sprawling site of ever-shifting sand was thought to be,

the only real outlet for the people of Chicago and Indiana on to Lake Michigan. They are the one big and last opportunity to furnish a great recreational outdoors for the millions of Chicago and Northern Indiana industrial centers. Their health value is enormous. Millions of people are limited to two weeks' vacation and with little money to spend. Two weeks spent in the open air of the Dunes, away from the city, means a complete rejuvenation.⁹⁰

With Chicago possessing such a large, and diverse, immigrant population, Richard Lieber noted that the Dunes would make a gathering spot of "international citizenship" that was unprecedented and unmatched. Richard Lieber very much wanted the "foreign born laborers" to experience sites of natural beauty such as the Dunes, a site that would be officially designated as a state park in 1925. He believed that teaching them about primitive America would provide them with a newfound sense of proprietorship, presumably allowing them to better assimilate into American culture, and stated, "We are talking a good deal about Americanization and Americanism. Why don't we Americanize when we have the opportunity?"⁹¹ That these ideas mirrored the call to citizenship of the original park movement in 1916 suggests some potential alignment, however subconsciously, between the projects of progressivism and that of the anti-immigrant rhetoric of the Ku Klux Klan, an organization that was infamous in Indiana politics during the 1920s.⁹² That notwithstanding, whereas the call to citizenship at the Dunes attracted the diverse population of Chicago, which is obviously outside the boundaries of the state of Indiana, it was the proposed park's connection to Progressive Era ideas of health and well-being that is most critical.

Urban areas in the United States had witnessed the health benefits of local parks for over half a century, as evidenced in large eastern cities as New York and Boston. Indiana's capital city of Indianapolis had also seen similar advances beginning in the 1890s and coming to fruition under the guidance of George Kessler's City Beautiful-

inspired design in 1908. The Department of Conservation was quick to assert that any movement toward urban parks should neither be conflated nor substituted for the push towards state parks. They noted, “City parks became a sanitary and hygienic necessity for the material growth of the city, whereas state parks have more to do with the comfort, the well-being and the aesthetic requirements and balance of the population.”⁹³ However, the woodland aesthetic that they originally promoted was quickly being compromised, and in one case almost wholly supplanted through the integration of additional recreational activities on the park grounds.

Swimming pools were one form of recreation introduced into the parks that were a very clear response to the otherwise urban issue of health and cleanliness. In the early 1920s, McCormick’s Creek State Park, formerly a sanitarium, added formal swimming facilities on site, which the Department of Conservation noted, “proved the advisability of meeting the swimming demands of the public with this type of equipment.”⁹⁴ More than this, meeting the demands of the public further continued the goals of the Department itself. The Department made clear that formalized swimming pools such as at McCormick’s Creek, in opposition to the makeshift bathing spots along Sugar Creek at Turkey Run State Park, for example, afforded “the only means of absolute control over purity of the water and adequate supervision for the safety of the bathers.”⁹⁵

Industrialized cities were known to pollute water in the state, which may have ultimately fed into the various water courses flowing through the parks, thus creating additional risks for park visitors. Swimming pools at the parks, like those in the cities, provided a solution to this health risk.

Ultimately, it was recommended that provisions for similar swimming facilities be made at Turkey Run and Clifty Falls—as well as at Spring Mill and two proposed parks in the state located at Nashville and Coalmont, respectively—such that clean, safe water would be available throughout the Indiana State Park system and to protect what the Department sometimes referred to as the state’s greatest natural resource: health.⁹⁶ Thus, health and cleanliness could be found in recreational activities but only on the terms of the Department of Conservation, who were focused on modernization, efficiency and central authority. Closely related to this is the idea of supervision: not only would formal swimming pools offer cleaner, healthier recreational options, they also allowed for the constant surveillance of park visitors. Such amenities encouraged park users to congregate in particular areas of the park where they would watch each other, if only unconsciously. Rather than swimming in the uneven, and potentially dangerous, waters of a river bed, visitors could swim in the controlled environment and relative safety of the pool under the watchful eyes of park workers, i.e. the lifeguards. This means of institutional surveillance, with eyes constantly watching visitors and those same visitors adhering to stated rules, all but ensured that people were using the park amenities in the way that they were intended to be used; it was an ideal manifestation of the exhibitionary complex.

Such a foray into modern recreational activities was entirely in keeping with larger movements of the age.⁹⁷ There was a sense that this change had in some way violated the original mission of Indiana’s state parks that treated the untouched Hoosier landscape as a heritage to be protected. But whereas the Department of Conservation was not convinced that more vigorous activities such as swimming, tennis, boating,

horseback riding, and the like, were wrong or that such activities should be excluded from the parks, it did note, “it is up to state park executives to keep in mind the primary purposes of the establishment of parks and in their endeavor to make them popular, not to overstress these secondary sporting facilities and convenient accommodations.”⁹⁸ In contrast, even Richard Lieber had once said that the parks “constituted delightful recreation centers and health preserves for the public for all time.”⁹⁹ Following this, the parks were in many ways ideal sites for such activities, so long as they complemented, rather than detracted from the areas of quiet reflection in nature that were promoted in the initial park movement. By the early 1930s, the Department of Conservation had conceded:

Indiana’s state parks are trying to perform two services. The first and original conception was the service of conservation; to preserve and protect certain well-known of worth areas of Hoosier landscape and points of unusual scenic or historic interest. The other is to provide areas adaptable to picnicking, camping, hiking and general recreation for as great a number of people as possible at a minimum expense.¹⁰⁰

The designation of Shakamak State Park a few years earlier in 1929 foreshadowed this concession. This place was unlike anything that the Department of Conservation had previously attempted. It was a new type of park altogether, one that was not a product of natural processes in the manner of the earlier parks, but constructed by humans for the express purpose of creating recreational activities for Hoosiers.

Shakamak State Park and Youth Development

The Shakamak State Park began as an idea expressed in a letter addressed to George Mannfeld, Superintendent of Fisheries and Game in the Department of Conservation and dated July 21, 1926. The letter was written by a group of residents of

Jasonville, Indiana, located about 30 minutes southeast of Terre Haute, who informed Mannfeld of a massive amount of fill dirt that could be used to construct a dam, and thus, a lake, that could serve a crucial role in providing recreational options for the people of this area who did not have ready access to such amenities as fishing, boating, and swimming.¹⁰¹ Residents, and more specifically, youth groups such as the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, were routinely making the journey to McCormick's Creek and Turkey Run State Parks for such group activities.¹⁰²

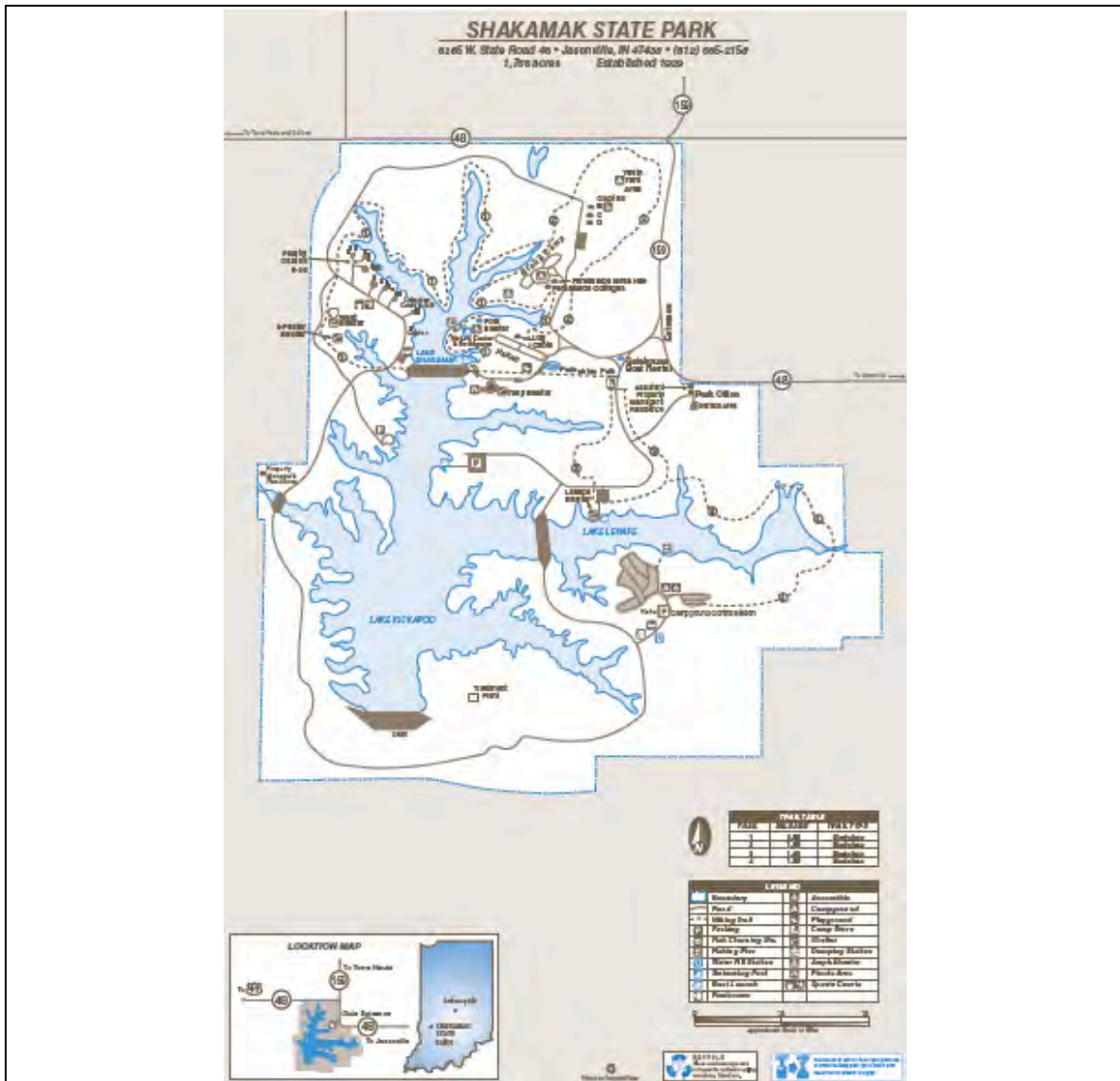
Three years later, the Department of Conservation gave approval to go forward with the plan for a park consisting of nearly 1,000 acres. A consortium of local banks purchased the entire \$23,000 bond issue to fund the purchase of the proposed site, which extended across the boundaries of the three neighboring counties of Clay, Green, and Sullivan.¹⁰³ Construction of the dam began on October 2 when T.C. O'Conner, president of the Jasonville Industrial Bureau ceremonially felled the first tree in the proposed basin that would comprise the approximately 55-acre artificial lake. By late October of 1929, work on the dam had progressed to the point where newly minted park custodian William Wallace was ordered by the engineers overseeing the project to close off the valve and allow the basin to be filled.¹⁰⁴ The park received a spattering of visitors during that season, but it wasn't until 1931 that Shakamak would come into its own.

The park would continue to grow due, in part, to a belief of the Department of Conservation's that "the proper training of the youth of America in the principles of honesty, in alertness, and in keenness of observation is paramount in the development of good citizenship."¹⁰⁵ Such ideas had been discussed during the initial park movement during the Centennial Celebration, but were being openly and concretely consolidated

over a decade later. Indeed, Shakamak State Park, among all of the parks in the system, would come to best embody this idea. Russell F. Abdill noted that as it is only through,

interchange of ideas and experiences that development and permanent success in any endeavor is achieved, it becomes necessary for us to travel, to get away occasionally from our own neighborhood and environment in order to exchange ideas and opinions with men from other localities whose problems, and methods of solving them, are different from our own. Since this is desirable for men and women of affairs it is equally important to the boys and girls of the 4-H clubs and similar organizations that they be given an opportunity of meeting the young people of various communities whose objectives and ambitions are similar but whose methods of achievement differ.¹⁰⁶

To that end, a group of Girl Scouts was given the privilege of dedicating the log cabin constructed to house various meetings and gatherings on site in early March of 1931.¹⁰⁷ These young women would be the first in a parade of groups who would make Shakamak State Park the site of their outings and underscore the reason why this place was established in the first place. Later that spring, the State Conservation Commission would appropriate \$25,000 for the construction of boys and girls dormitories, a mess hall, and an auditorium on property at Shakamak State Park.¹⁰⁸ This step was necessary because the park had been selected to host upwards of 400 young men and women from surrounding counties at their 8th Annual 4-H Encampment in August of 1931.¹⁰⁹ The facilities on the property were, up to then, insufficient to accommodate such large crowds, but it was exactly these types of youth groups, as well as adults, for whom the park was built and was intended to serve.¹¹⁰ Indeed, the Department of Conservation believed that the parks, broadly speaking, were particularly appealing to such groups not only on account of the pleasing natural atmosphere they offered but also because of the very practical aspects of recent park development, namely the “availability of buildings suitable for shelter, possessing adequate sanitary facilities, safe water supplies, and



Today, Shakamak State Park aims to accomplish almost exactly what it was created to do in 1929—provide outdoor recreation. There are now three lakes on property—Lake Shakamak, Lake Kickapoo, and Lake Lenape—comprising some 400 acres of water surface. Swimming is no longer allowed in the lakes; this activity was moved to a constructed swimming pool on property in the 1990s. But the water still sees much action. Boating, and particularly bass fishing, have become hugely popular pastimes at Shakamak. While lacking a formal inn as at some of the other parks, Shakamak teems with camping options, including family cabins located on the waterfront that sleep up to six people as well as the group camp that features dormitories and a mess hall that has been continuous use since it was built by the Civilian Conservation Corps in the 1930s.

Figure 4.8 – Spotlight on Shakamak State Park, 2017
<http://www.in.gov/dnr/parklake/2969.htm>

satisfactory supervisory controls.”¹¹¹ The department was additionally proud of the park’s appeal to such groups, taking it as evidence that the parks were not simply part of individual and family life, but that they had also entered into the life of the community.¹¹² In other words, the impact of the parks was becoming very visible.¹¹³

However, Shakamak would not long serve only functions of recreation and youth development. It would also become a tree nursery for the State of Indiana, very much in keeping with the conservation agenda of the department itself. With a number of clearings on property, whether by natural happenstance or a result of the mining operation on site, trees were imported to grow in these spaces. *The Indianapolis News* reported that in 1930, “50,000 evergreens and locusts were set out in the reservation and...15,000 locusts in the interest of reforestation,” and continued by saying “Thirty bushels of walnuts were planted [in 1931] in the lowlands with a view to replacement of the hardwoods.”¹¹⁴ By the spring of 1933, several thousand of these trees were packed and shipped to other units of the park system, and also used in the reforestation of some barren areas in the western half of the state.¹¹⁵

Another impact of this work was that the Shakamak property itself was being reforested. Rather than leaving the scars of the former mining site, Shakamak would have vast numbers of trees growing that, like Spring Mill before it, would provide a sense of “historical verisimilitude.” Even if patently untrue, visitors might one day stand near a grove of mature trees admiring all the modern conveniences (roads, shower houses, etc.) and consider for themselves “how much thought and labor have been expended in converting a primitive wilderness into this modern recreation camp.”¹¹⁶ Shakamak State Park was decades removed from any sense of “primitive wilderness,” but the park idea

was fully ingrained into the Hoosier Imagination. Even this deliberately constructed site could be imagined as one that was carved from nature rather than one where nature was given permission to grow around it. Moreover, the conscious development of this site towards maturity mirrored the development of the young people who visited it; both the physical space of Indiana as well its inhabitants were being deliberately molded to reflect how the state wanted to see itself.

Parks and Pedagogy

As Shakamak State Park was making a name for itself as a site for youth recreation, some of the other parks in the system were developing a niche for the active education of both children and adults. This kind of work was a relatively new phenomenon in some of the parks in the eastern part of the country in the early 1920s. Through a cooperative arrangement between the Indiana Nature Study Club and the Department of Conservation, the state of Indiana began a program in 1923 which allowed a woman named Luci Pitschler to spend three weeks at McCormick's Creek State Park organizing games and short educational hikes for children. By 1926, she was spending three months at the same park taking hikes with both children and adults. In June of the next year, following a meeting between Pitschler, Sidney Esten and Charles Sauers—the latter was head of the Division of Lands and Waters, right-hand man and heir-apparent to Richard Lieber—the program continued at McCormick's Creek but had also expanded to both Clifty Falls and Turkey Run state parks.¹¹⁷

The object of the nature services was three-fold: “to interest as many people as possible in the natural beauties that exist in the state parks; to teach people to know the

various plants and animals by habits and names for ‘friendship and appreciation for nature come only with knowledge,’” and; “to cultivate sympathy, understanding and appreciation of nature.”¹¹⁸ The various parks experienced great success in educating visitors. A summary of the work shows that from 1923 to 1929, over 940 general nature hikes were administered, guiding over 13,200 people; of these, 127 hikes led over 1,300 people specifically to look at birds; 161 lectures were presented to over 9,300 people; and an estimated 200,000 people walked the trails that were marked along with way with informative signage. During this time, a nature museum was also established at Turkey Run State Park that displayed assorted objects: pictures of birds, bird nests, plaster casts of the footprints of common birds and mammals, rock samples, fossils, moths and butterflies.¹¹⁹ The focus, of course, was on local objects, things found in the park, and that could be used as part of the larger state narrative that could explain local identity.

As these programs began to take hold, the parks, and Turkey Run more specifically, were also used as a non-traditional setting for more organized academics. Wabash College, located in Crawfordsville, Indiana, located about 25 miles northeast of Turkey Run, commenced a Senior Study Camp in 1930 that allowed for a small group of well-qualified upperclassmen to spend a week camping at the park (Figure 4.9). This program was the brainchild of Wabash Vice-President John G. Coulter, who believed that:

On its physical side, the Camp is a return for a time to conditions like those in which Wabash College began, an experience of scholastic life in surroundings such as the first students had. Its most important discovery, if any, is perhaps that such shift of scene and return to simplicity does act as a stimulus to intellectual effort. The Senior, it appears, has not out-grown a love of roughing it with a group of congenial companions and may find new zest in study as well as in sport when transported, for a time at least, to more primitive conditions. A book in the woods may be worth two in the library, and a discussion in a cabin on the creek may be

better in some respects than a formal seminar. The function of the Camp is to provide for "honors" Seniors, whose previous performance has indicated their capacity to profit by it, a period in which they continue their regular work in a fresh and secluded environment, an environment in which new stimuli are present and the usual distractions of college life are absent.¹²⁰

In other words, it was hoped that time spent at the park would not remove students from their academic work, but instead provide them time and space with which to achieve even greater focus.¹²¹



Figure 4.9 - Wabash Senior Study Camp
Image courtesy of Wabash College Archives

The winter months were chosen for the camp in part because it meant fewer other guests on property, adding to the sense of isolation, and in part because the winter weather would add “zest” to the afternoon hikes. In addition to the times of formal study and nighttime discussion sessions moderated by a Wabash professor, experiences in the park itself were found to be educational. Coulter notes, “[t]here was little attempt to

compel attention to botany and geology, but greater familiarity with trees and the interpretation of rock formations were an inevitable outcome of those long walks on wintry afternoons through the silent and snowy woods.”¹²² Turkey Run was here being used not only as the setting for student learning, but also the textbook itself. Harkening back to the pedagogical lessons of the Centennial Celebration nearly fifteen years prior, simply being engrossed in such an setting was thought to allow students, and indeed, all visitors, an opportunity to learn about the natural environment and local history, to help mold proper citizens, and “to refresh and strengthen and renew tired people, and fit them for the common round of daily life.”¹²³

Conclusion

As spaces of both active recreation and learning, the developing park idea blends almost seamlessly with that of the exhibitionary complex: a new kind of public space rendered wholly visible to the gaze of its visitors but still intent on helping to organize and regulate their activities. Formerly private grounds, the parks were now open to all, and filled with healthy, educational activities. They were, however, still subject to state authority. These sites were imaginatively shaped to meet the needs of the residents of Indiana, almost simultaneously fulfilling criteria for both “natural” landscapes and modern recreational amenities. This chapter also demonstrates how the parks helped to create an order of things within Indiana to meet the larger ideological needs of the state government.

Following the infancy of the state park system, which saw parks created to showcase the natural beauty of the Indiana landscape, this second wave of park

development underscored efforts of the state government to implement a range of Progressive Era reforms. Many of these activities allowed the state to test the range of its own authority and underscore the idea of progressive imperialism. Coinciding with the reinvention and rebranding of institutional bodies within the state on the heels of the Centennial Celebration of Statehood in 1916 was the rise of a large-scale government bureaucracy that exhibited a fair amount of control over its citizen, as manifest in the Department of Conservation. Moreover, newly constructed roads provided people with a clearly demarcated infrastructural skeleton by which to quickly and efficiently reach destinations within the state. The parks were expressly mentioned as being destinations along this network. Once at these parks, people were subject to rules and restrictions about how to use the space. Children, specifically, who visited the parks as members of various youth organizations, were further subjected to an even more rigorous disciplinary apparatus made possible through an array of planned activities, and even the architecture of the site itself. That the hotel at Turkey Run was actually built by prisoners from the state penal farm rather than a privately contracted labor force extends this notion of the parks as a site for corporeal discipline; the physical landscape was seen as a curative for an array of contemporaneous issues.¹²⁴

The diversity of experiences that a user might have had at the various parks by the beginning of the 1930s further underscores that each site constituted its own exhibition. Each park tells a different narrative: Turkey Run existed to preserve a piece of Indiana in its unadulterated, pre-settlement condition; Spring Mill restored a pioneer village to function as an object lesson of mid-nineteenth century ideas of work and craftsmanship; and Shakamak was created in complete absence of historical precedent to

provide recreational opportunities in an otherwise underserved area. The other parks of Indiana's state system possessed a personal narrative of their own, as well. Though obviously subsumed by a larger state sponsored narrative of progress, these were not intended to be museums to establish a permanent order of things. Instead, each park was created to serve the fluid and changeable ideological needs of the state at the specific moment in history that it was created.

Ultimately, the parks helped extend the reach of the Indiana state government and speak to the ongoing progress within the state. These spaces were filled with amenities to support modern culture, in spite of the anti-modern bent of the original park idea. Moreover, though the seat of central government remained in the urban city of Indianapolis, the parks provided sites by which power of that government could exude throughout the state, influencing rural communities from the Ohio River in the south all the way up to Lake Michigan in the north. The purview of state government was total. That the people of Indiana willingly conceded to the rising authority of the state underscores the power and pervasiveness of the exhibitionary complex and the legitimacy of local imperialisms.

Notes to Chapter Four

¹ William MacClintock, "Indiana's State Parks: How to Enjoy Their Scenery," in *Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1924*, p 252.

² Hoy, "Governor Samuel M. Ralston," 266.

³ Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 265.

⁴ Logan Esarey, *History of Indiana*, 20.

⁵ Harlow Lindley, "The Indiana Centennial," 54.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 55. See also Allen Chamberlain, "Scenery as a National Asset," *Outlook* 95 (May 28, 1910): 157-169, which praises the almost preternaturally practical early

conservationists for recognizing the beauty of the American landscape and preserving it for the public estate.

⁷ Chas. G. Sauers, "The Taxpayer's Dollars Invested with the Department of Conservation, Trustee. *Where Shall We Go? Map Showing Points of Interest in Indiana. Information on Hotels, Trains and Accommodations in State Parks. Conservation Commission*. Pub 27 (VII Revision). 1929. Np.

⁸ Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1924, Report of Division of Lands and Waters, 243.

⁹ As quoted in Richard Lieber, *One Hundred Years of Indiana's Resources*. Department of Conservation (Fort Wayne, IN: Fort Wayne Printing, Co, 1920), 13. Original is found in *Proceedings of the Second National Conservation Congress at Saint Paul, September 5-8, 1910* (Washington: National Conservation Congress, 1911), 83.

¹⁰ Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1917, iii.

¹¹ Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1919, 370.

¹² *Ibid.*, 370. For a full text of the legislation, see Laws of the State of Indiana, 71st Session of the General Assembly, Chapter 60 of the Acts of 1919.

¹³ "Conclusion," Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1921, 215.

¹⁴ Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1919, 4.

¹⁵ "Bulletin No 36. October 24, 1918," Yearbook for the State of Indiana for the Year 1919, 425.

¹⁶ Richard Lieber, "Using Our Abandoned Farms" (Indianapolis: Indiana Department of Conservation, 1930), 11.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁸ Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1920, 250.

¹⁹ James A. Glass, "The Gas Boom in East Central Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History* 96, No. 4, (2000): 313-335.

²⁰ "Conclusion," Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1921, 215.

²¹ "The Why and Wherefore of Conservation in Indiana," The Department of Conservation, 1919, 4. See the Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1917, 27, for a discussion of how this idea was floated to the Indiana General Assembly two years previously. It was recommended that, "the office of State Fish and Game Commissioner as now constituted be abolished; that the State Board of Forestry, the offices of State Geologist and State Entomologist be abolished, and that there be created a commission of four, not more than two of whom shall belong to any one political party, to be known as a Conservation Commission, which commission shall serve without pay and have charge of and carry on the work now performed by the State Board of Forestry, the State Fish and Game Commissioner, State Geologist and State Entomologist, and also have charge of the public parks of the State; that they be authorized to carry on the work now authorized by law in the boards and offices abolished, and to select and employ the force necessary to do such work. The commission should be authorized to call on the state educational institutions for assistance. These institutions can be most helpful to the commission without any additional expense to the State." Interestingly, the bill was rejected at that time: either the State of Indiana was not prepared for such action, or perhaps other aspects of the bill were poorly conceived and/or written.

²² Lieber had previously been named Secretary of the State Forestry Board as well as a military secretary to Governor James Goodrich (which included the honorary title “Colonel” to which he was often referred for the remainder of his life). See “Military Staff Named By Governor Goodrich,” *Indianapolis News*, April 11, 1917, 1; Dane Starbuck, *The Goodriches: An American Family* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, Inc., 2001), 101-102

²³ See Laws of the State of Indiana for 1919 – Chapter 60, Section 3, which states, “The commission shall appoint a director who shall be chosen solely for fitness irrespective of political beliefs or affiliations...” (376)

²⁴ In an open letter to readers upon Lieber’s death in 1944, one columnist went so far as to say that Lieber was “the George Washington of conservation in Indiana—he was the father of Hoosier conservation.” “Fishin’ Info,” *Indianapolis Star*, April 23, 1944, 42. Such was the impact of Lieber’s contributions.

²⁵ Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1922, 483.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

²⁷ Chas. G. Sauer, “The Taxpayer’s Dollars Invested with the Department of Conservation, Trustee” Where Shall We Go? Map Showing Points of Interest in Indiana. Information on hotels, trains and accommodations in State Parks. Conservation Commission.. Pub 27 (V Revision). 1927. Np; “Lands and Waters,” Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1921, 213.

²⁸ Richard Lieber, *One Hundred Years of Indiana’s Resources*, 32-33. Emphasis original.

²⁹ “Report of the Department of Conservation,” Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1921, 210.

³⁰ Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1918, 542-543.

³¹ Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1921, 276.

³² See Indiana Department of Conservation, “Turkey Run State Park: A History and Description,” The Department of Conservation (Indianapolis: WM. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1919).

³³ Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1919, 436.

³⁴ “The Work, Present and Future,” Report of the Director, Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1920, 250.

³⁵ Chapter 60, Section 25 of the Laws of the State of Indiana, 1919, p 391.

³⁶ Tony Bennett, “The Exhibitionary Complex,” 81.

³⁷ See Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, trans. by Maurice Cranston (London and New York: Penguin Books, 1968).

³⁸ See “Turkey Run State Park: A History and Description, 1930,” accessed May 1, 2015. <http://www.turkeyrunstatepark.com/history/historic1930brochures/history.htm>

This, in contrast to the version written and published in 1919.

³⁹ “Turkey Run State Park: A History and Description,” 1919, 48.

⁴⁰ “Turkey Run State Park: A History and Description,” 1930, np.

⁴¹ The view through the glass of a moving car was a relatively new phenomenon, and further reflected an array of social relations. See Sandy Isenstadt, “Four Views, Three of Them Through Glass,” in *Sites Unseen: Landscape and Vision*, eds. Dianne Harris and D. Fairchild Ruggles (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007), 213-240.

⁴² See Chapter 2, especially, in James M. Rubenstein, *The Changing US Auto Industry: A Geographical Analysis* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), which provides a description of the historical distribution of automotive production in America, particularly how it concentrated in southeastern Michigan (Detroit) in the early part of the 20th century and then confined its efforts more generally along two federal highway corridors (I-75 and I-65) in the latter part of the 20th century.

⁴³ In this age, the State of Indiana was home to 198 automobile companies in 42 different towns. The Haynes-Apperson Company, based in Kokomo, Indiana, built one of the first gasoline powered automobiles in the United States in 1894. Thank you to Stephen Sears for these details.

⁴⁴ See Isaac B. Potter, “The Gospel of Good Roads: A Letter to the American Farmer” (New York: The League of American Wiremen, under direction of its National Committee on Improvement of the Highways, 1891); Carlton Reid, *Roads Were Not Built For Cars: How Cyclists Were The First To Push For Good Roads & Became The Pioneers Of Motoring* (Washington D.C.: Island Press, 2015); and Peter J. Hugill, “Good Roads and the Automobile in the United States, 1880-1929,” *Geographical Review* 72, No. 3 (1982): 327-349, which argues that that various technical and socioeconomic elements relating to the development of roads and automobiles helped in the democratization of America, providing transportation and recreational opportunities for families and individuals of even modest means. Richard Lieber was clear that the parks were to serve exactly this segment of the greater population, see “Report of the Division of Land and Water,” Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1921, 274.

⁴⁵ “Majority Report Against Hughes Roads Measure,” *Indianapolis Star*, January 29, 1913, 1; See also “Much Depends on Good Roads,” *Indianapolis Star*, January 29, 1913, 8; “Ralston Urges Good Roads Act,” *Indianapolis Star*, January 30, 1913, 3.

⁴⁶ See “Hughes Measure Rejected 79-13,” *Indianapolis Star*, February 7, 1913, 6; Suellen M. Hoy, “Samuel M. Ralston and Indian’s Centennial Celebration,” especially pages 259-265.

⁴⁷ Harlow Lindley, *Indiana Centennial*, 304. See pp 302-310 for a complete transcript of the speech. For more details of President Wilson’s visit to Indianapolis, see “Good Roads Nation’s Bulwark—Wilson,” *Indianapolis Star*, October 13, 1916, 1.

⁴⁸ Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1917, p 11-12

⁴⁹ Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1917, 480.

⁵⁰ Department of Conservation, “Vacation Tour in Hoosierland,” pamphlet, 1931, np.

⁵¹ “Highway Needs are Emphasized,” *Indianapolis Star*, December 31, 1914, 9.

⁵² As stipulated in Chapter 87, Section 9 of the Laws of the State of Indiana 1917; See also “Prepares Tentative System for Roads,” *Indianapolis News*, June 24, 1919, 16; Bruce E. Seely, *Building the American Highway System: Engineers as Policy Makers* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987); “Indiana Bridges Historic Context Study, 1830s-1965.” INDOT CC No. 050108. Report Prepared for Indiana Department of Transportation. Report Prepared by M&H Architecture, Inc. a Mead & Hunt Company. February 2007. Unpublished.

⁵³ “Report of the State Highways Commission – Report of L.H. Wright, Director,” Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1919, 559.

⁵⁴ Lieber, Richard. *One Hundred Years of Indiana's Resources*, 33. Lieber was very enthusiastic about the possibilities for increased tourism within the state and the capacity for opening Hoosier eyes to the diversity of Indiana's landscape, "such as the great prairie farms, beautiful lake district, the wooded hills and valleys of the south, the magnificent Ohio Valley and Wabash Valley, the great coal and stone mining districts and virgin districts such as Turkey Run. The advertising value of such a highway would be almost incalculable." Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1919, 439. For an excellent historical perspective of the billboard advertising industry, see Catherine Gudis, *Buyways: Billboards, Automobiles, and the American Landscape* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

⁵⁵ Enos Mills, "Touring in Our National Parks," *Country Life in America*, 23 (January 1913): 36.

⁵⁶ Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1918, 542.

⁵⁷ "Fight For Turkey Run Park Land is Settled," *Indianapolis News*, August 9, 1921, 1

⁵⁸ "Report of the Division of Land and Water," Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1921, 280.

⁵⁹ Chas. G. Sauers "Where Shall We Go? May Showing Points of Interest in Indiana. Information on Hotels, Trains and Accommodations in State Parks." Conservation Commission. Pub 27. 1924. np

⁶⁰ Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1922, 532-533.

⁶¹ Lieber is said to have first presented the idea of "show windows" at the inaugural National Conference on Parks held in Des Moines, Iowa, January 10-12, 1921; Richard Lieber, *One Hundred Years of Indiana's Resources*, 33.

⁶² Freeman Tilden, *The State Parks: Their Meaning in American Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), 10.

⁶³ The Department of Conservation no doubt would be making money, but they publically couched their decision in rhetoric of concern for Hoosier citizens. They ask "But what of the man of moderate means who wishes to enjoy a tramp through a bit of original America with his family but does not want to subject his women folk to the inconveniences of camping? In Indiana we believe he should be provided with simple lodging facilities." See Report of the Division of Lands and Waters, Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1929, 239.

⁶⁴ *The Indianapolis News*, July 10, 1931.

⁶⁵ "Turkey Run," *Montezuma Enterprise*, November 25, 1920, 1. See also Richard Lieber to Schwarz Electric Company, June 11, 1920 (framed image on the wall at Turkey Run State Park for providing a power plant that met the increased demands on the hotel; "Turkey Run Park Never More Beautiful Than in the Winter," *Indianapolis Star*, February 6, 1921, 5.

⁶⁶ An excellent discussion of these types of tensions can be found in Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York: Penguin Books, 1982).

⁶⁷ "Report of the Division of Lands and Waters," Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1919, 437.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 437.

⁶⁹ Muscatatuck is no longer a state park; in fact, it is one of only two sites to have its title stripped. The site was redesignated a state game farm in 1956 and changed yet again in 1968 when the land was given back to Jennings County to be managed as a local concern. See <http://muscatatuckpark.com/history1.php>. The other site, Bass Lake, in northern Indiana, is now similarly managed by its county authority.

⁷⁰ A Speech by Richard Lieber made October 10, 1928, Before the Ohio Valley Regional Park Conference at Oglebay Park, Wheeling, W. Va. As quoted in Yearbook for the State of Indiana for the Year 1928, 260.

⁷¹ See the words of the Department of Conservation in the Yearbook for the State of Indiana for the Year 1925, which reads, "This spot is practically the only material evidence of Lincoln's sojourn in Indiana. It has been treated heretofore largely as a local meeting place. In reality it is a national shrine and must come to that standing if Indiana is to pay proper homage to Lincoln." (390). The three other sites were the Lanier Mansion, in Madison, Indiana; the original State Capitol Building, in Corydon, Indiana; and the Tippecanoe Battlefield near Lafayette, Indiana. See Indiana Department of Natural Resources Historical Timeline: <http://www.in.gov/dnr/3245.htm>. Protection and general maintenance of the Lincoln site were paramount in the early years of Department oversight, prior to any real plans for park designation and accompanying tourism.

⁷² For histories of the Spring Mill site, see William R. Overlease, *A Study of a Pioneer Village: Spring Mill, Indiana* (Indianapolis: Indiana Dept. of Conservation, Div. of State Parks, Naturalist Service. 1936); Mohammad Ansari, *A Study of Spring Mill Village* (Bloomington: Indiana Committee for the Humanities. 1984); E.Y. Guernsey, "Spring Mill State Park: A History and Description," Publication 106 (Indianapolis, Department of Conservation, 1931).

⁷³ "George Donaldson, Whose Farm Now Is an Indiana Park, Was a Mysterious Man, Little Known Until After His Death in Scotland," *Indianapolis News*, June 16, 1929, 1.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁷⁵ Yearbook for the State of Indiana for the Year 1928, 259.

⁷⁶ Margaret M. Scott, "Enchanting Century-Old Village Of Spring Mill To Be Restored," *Indianapolis Star*, October 12, 1930, magazine section, np.

⁷⁷ Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1929, 249.

⁷⁸ Melody K. Pope, et al., "From Pioneer to Tourist: Public Archaeology at Spring Mill State Park," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 15, No. 2 (2001): 206-221; see also Guernsey, E. Y. (n.d.). Letters from Dick Lieber [sic] to Kate Describing the Origins of Spring Mill State Park and His Interest and Involvement in It. Mitchell Public Library, Mitchell, Indiana.

⁷⁹ Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1929, 249.

⁸⁰ See Jillian M. Rickly-Boyd, "Establishing Authenticity in a Tourist Landscape: Spring Mill Pioneer Village," *Material Culture* 41,1 (2009): 1-16.

⁸¹ Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1929, 250.

⁸² Scott, "Enchanting Century-Old Village Of Spring Mill To Be Restored," magazine section, np.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Department of Conservation, "Vacation Tour in Hoosierland. Turkey Run State Park, Haven for Lovers of Outdoors, Rest and Comfort, Proves Indiana Mecca for Vacationists and Motorists," Pamphlet, 1931.

⁸⁵ Ralph L. Brooks, "Indiana Will Rebuild Spring Mill, Quaint Village Of 75 Years Ago, In State Park Near Mitchell," *Indianapolis Star*, November 18, 1928, 36.

⁸⁶ "Restored Village of Century Ago With Grist Mill, Apothecary Shop, Tavern, Post Office And Log Houses, Among Attractions at Spring Mill State Park," *Indianapolis News*, May 9, 1931, 10.

⁸⁷ Edward M. Bruner, "Abraham Lincoln as Authentic Reproduction: A Critique of Postmodernism," *American Anthropologist* 96, No. 2 (1994): 399.

⁸⁸ "Report of the Fish and Game Commissioner, Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1918, 258 (emphasis original).

⁸⁹ Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1922, 532-533.

⁹⁰ "The Dunes," Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1920, 300.

⁹¹ *Ibid*, pp. 300-301

⁹² See, for example, Leonard Moore, *Citizen Klansman: The Ku Klux Klan in Indiana, 1921-1928* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Nancy MacLean, *Beyond the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

⁹³ Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1923, p 681.

⁹⁴ "The Utilization of State Parks," Report of the Division of Lands and Waters, Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1928, 242.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*.

⁹⁶ Charles G. Sauers, "Where Shall We Go?" Publication 27. No date, though likely 1922.

⁹⁷ See Galen Crazz, *The Politics of Park Design: A History of Urban Parks in America* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1989).

⁹⁸ Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1929, 238. It was mentioned a few years previously, however, that organized sports such as baseball or golf "cannot be permitted since that would require the destruction of large areas of natural landscape." Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1926, 360.

⁹⁹ Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1917, 495-496.

¹⁰⁰ Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1933, 383.

¹⁰¹ Judy Stone, Librarian of Jasonville Public Library, Notes for a talk given at Friends of Shakamak Meeting, 2013. A search at the Indiana State Archives for a copy of the original letter proved unsuccessful.

¹⁰² See "Boy Scouts Enjoy Camping Trip," *Jasonville Leader*, August 1, 1929, 1; "Boy Scouts Return From Camping Trip," *Jasonville Leader*, August 8, 1929, 1.

¹⁰³ "Jasonville Banks Come To The Front," *Jasonville Leader*, May 16, 1929, 1.

¹⁰⁴ For more detailed information about the timeline of dam construction and the filling of the reservoir, see "Work on State Park Has Started," *The Jasonville Leader*, October 31, 1929, 1; "Lake at State Park Covers 50 Acres," *Jasonville Leader*, January 16, 1930.

¹⁰⁵ Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1929, 241.

¹⁰⁶ Russell, F. Abdill, "Shakamak State Park: At the Junction of Clay, Greene and Sullivan Counties, Jasonville, Indiana," Publication Number 111. The Department of

Conservation. State of Indiana. Harry G. Leslie, Governor. Division of Lands and Waters, 1931. Located at DNR State Parks and Reservoirs. 1 folder of 3, entitled "Indiana State Parks – Guides – History. 1 box. Page 3.

¹⁰⁷ "Girl Scouts to Visit Shakamak," *Jasonville Leader*, March 5, 1931, 1.

¹⁰⁸ "\$25,000 Appropriated For Shakamak," *Jasonville Leader*, May 28, 1931, 1.

¹⁰⁹ "Shakamak State Park, Near City, Scene of 8th Annual Club Camp," *Jasonville Leader*, August 6, 1931, 1. Related news articles in this same issue suggest there were only 250 young men and women in attendance.

¹¹⁰ In June of 1932, 341 boys and girls from 52 counties within the State of Indiana attended a leadership camp at the park, See "4-H Leaders to Attend Camp," *Jasonville Leader*, May 5, 1932, 1 and "4-H Club Leaders Enjoying Camp at Shakamak," *Jasonville Leader*, June 9, 1932, 1; See also "Many Rotarians at Shakamak Park," *Jasonville Leader*, June 30, 1932, 1, which announced that a group of nearly 100 members of Rotary Club members and their families from towns such as Sullivan, Bloomfield and Linton met on park grounds for a picnic; "Metropolitan Club Met at Shakamak," *Jasonville Leader*, July 7, 1932, 1, talks about a reunion of the Metropolitan Club of Jasonville held at Shakamak.

¹¹¹ "Organization Camps in State Parks," *The Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1931*, 863.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, "Report of the Division of Lands and Waters," 868.

¹¹³ See Abigail Van Slyck, *A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890-1960* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010). Van Slyck's notion that the architecture of camps, as well as the activities that it supported, were shaped by larger social anxieties about race, class, and gender, is applicable to the actions at Shakamak State Park, even if the park might not technically considered a summer camp.

¹¹⁴ "Shakamak Park, In Western Indiana, Offers Facilities For Swimming, Boating, Camping, Picnicking On 1,000 Acres Of Knobs, Lowlands and 'Five-Fingered' Lake," *Indianapolis News*, July 11, 1931, 11.

¹¹⁵ "Trees Being Shipped From Shakamak," *Jasonville Leader*, March 30, 1933, 1.

¹¹⁶ Abdill, "Shakamak State Park," 5.

¹¹⁷ See Sidney R. Esten, "History and Results of Nature Guiding in Indiana State Parks," *Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Science* 39 (1929): 39-42.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 40.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 41.

¹²⁰ John G. Coulter, "A Senior Study Camp," *The Journal of Higher Education* 3, No. 2 (February 1932): 63-66; See also "Turkey Run State Park, Haven for Lovers of Outdoors, Rest and Comfort, Proves Indiana Mecca for Vacationists and Motorists," *Indianapolis News*, April 11, 1931, 11.

¹²¹ For a modern look at issues concerning education, health, and the physical environment, see Rachel Kaplan and Stephen Kaplan, *The Experience of Nature: A Psychological Perspective* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Richard M. Ryan, et al., "Vitalizing Effects of Being Outdoors and in Nature," *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 30 (2010): 159-168; Dongying Li and William C.

Sullivan, "Impact of Views to School Landscapes on Recovery From Stress and Mental Fatigue," *Landscape and Urban Planning* 148 (2016): 149-158.

¹²² Coulter, "A Senior Study Camp," 66.

¹²³ Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1917, 498

¹²⁴ Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1919, 436.

Chapter Five: Pokagon and Mounds State Parks, and Imperialist Nostalgia

“It seems altogether fitting that an esthetic interest in lakes and other features of natural scenery should also incline to names with appropriate romantic associations. In America we may find an abundance of the most picturesque and romantic races that earth has produced—the American Indian. These characteristics are enhanced by the history and tragedies of the red man in their contact with a dominant race.”¹

Early development of the Indiana state parks allowed local residents and state institutions to imagine physical space as a tangible heritage. The parks served almost interchangeably as a reminder of the past and as a site of ongoing progress that reflected the state’s march into the future. Noticeably absent from these discussions are references to the history of various Native American people in Indiana. Indeed, at the beginning, Native American discourses in the state’s official discourse surrounding the parks were almost entirely non-existent. But if the parks were initially intended to reflect the state’s history, and Native Americans lived on this land for centuries prior to contact with European settlers, then how were these people represented in the development of the park system? Moreover, what do those representations reveal about institutional attitudes towards Native Americans?

Tony Bennett’s discussion of the Exhibitionary Complex demonstrates how museums and other exhibition spaces were “shaped by the relations between an array of new disciplines: history, art history, archaeology, geology, biology, and anthropology.”² He notes the crucial role that this final discipline—anthropology—played “in connecting the histories of Western nations and civilizations to those of other peoples.” But, he continues, this could be accomplished “only by separating the two in providing for an

interrupted continuity in the order of peoples and races—one in which ‘primitive peoples’ dropped out of history altogether in order to occupy a twilight zone between nature and culture.”³ In doing so, Native Americans were made invisible. They were considered objects of study; they were only just barely considered part of the state’s past, and most certainly not part of the present.

A surge in imagery and media discourse related to Native Americans in Indiana in the 1920s, and specifically as they pertained to the parks, culminated in the designation of Mounds State Park, near Anderson, Indiana, in 1930. However, the presence of Native American narratives in the Indiana State Park system during the 1920s is no indication that Indiana residents had accepted these narratives as part of the larger history of Indiana. On the contrary, it demonstrates how the parks were used to help ensure that those racial narratives were understood as distinct. I situate these spaces within the context of an idea called “imperialist nostalgia,” which ethnographer Renato Rosaldo defines as “a pose of ‘innocent yearning’ both to capture people’s imaginations and to conceal its complicity with often brutal domination.”⁴ It was not Native American history that was being privileged, but the *idea* of the “Indian.” Thus, as opposed to being part of a fluid heritage that is subject to change, as seen with other aspects of the park movement, Native American narratives in the parks are ultimately used to reflect a history that is frozen in time, bound to the past, and, in the case of Mounds State Park, both literally and conceptually buried underneath the ground.

Native Americans in Indiana and their Removal

The State of Indiana is known as the “Land of the Indians.” It received its name

as a by-product of a protracted legal dispute in the late-eighteenth century between the State of Virginia and an entity known as the Indiana Land Company.⁵ And true to this name, numerous tribes—Delaware, Shawnee, Kickapoo, Potawatomi, Miami, Wea—as well as smaller bands of native people had, for millennia prior, lived on this soil.

Interactions between Native Americans and French fur traders, as well as with Jesuit missionaries, whose goal was to convert and civilize the natives, were common in the seventeenth century. Later relations with the colonizing British were often paternalistic and strained. The end of the American Revolution saw Native Americans as wards of the new American government. Oftentimes their land claims were recognized, but they were rarely honored. The legislation that created the Northwest Territory in 1787 included language that sounded positive in regards to relations between the Native Americans and the new nation-state, noting that:

The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians, their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent, and in their property, rights and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress.⁶

President Thomas Jefferson spoke of the need to maintain peace with the Native Americans. His immediate successors as President, James Madison, James Monroe and John Quincy Adams would take similar stances. Monroe would note that “[w]ith the Indian tribes it is our duty to cultivate friendly relations and to act with kindness and liberality in all our transactions. Equally proper is it to persevere in our efforts to extend to them the advantages of civilization.”⁷ The mission was still paternalistic in nature, with ambitions of having the natives give up their hunting practices and turn to farming and ultimately assimilating into American culture, but the relationship between the federal government and Native Americans was, at least in word, cordial. By the time of

President Monroe's second Inaugural Address in 1821, however, his position seems to have changed. The American government would openly suppress Native American sovereignty.⁸

Ongoing battles between American military forces and native people were commonplace at the outset of the nineteenth century, specifically in the Indiana Territory prior to statehood. Governor William Henry Harrison's forces defeated the Shawnee Indians at the Battle of Tippecanoe near present-day Lafayette in 1811; one of the soldiers involved in that conflict was Salmon Lusk, the patriarch of the family who held claim to the Turkey Run property prior to its designation as a state park. These battles, of course, were the precursors of a much larger federal policy pushing for the forceful removal of Native Americans from their ancestral lands, a removal that resulted in either relocation to distant reservations out west, or death.

By 1830, the "good faith" promised in the words of the Northwest Ordinance had seemingly vanished, catalyzed by the presence of Andrew Jackson as President of the United States. The Indian Removal Act of 1830 authorized the President to grant lands west of the Mississippi River to Native Americans in exchange for their existing lands.⁹ In theory, this practice was voluntary, prompting President Jackson to question why the natives would refuse such terms. He asks:

Can it be cruel in this government, when by events which it cannot control, the Indian is made discontented in his ancient home to purchase his lands, to give him a new and extensive territory, to pay the expense of his removal and support him a year in his new abode? How many thousands of our people would gladly embrace the opportunity of removing west on such conditions?¹⁰

Of course, the process was rarely this simple, as coercion and duress were often employed by the Jackson administration to achieve their generally unstated goal of forced

removal.¹¹ By 1838, it was clear: “[t]hat a mixed occupancy of the same territory by the white and red man is incompatible with the safety or happiness of either, is a position in respect to which there has long since ceased to be room for difference of opinion. Reason and experience have alike demonstrated its impracticability.”¹² And thus began one of America’s saddest hours, with numerous tribes—Cherokee, Seminole, Creek, Choctaw, and Chickasaw—forcibly removed from their ancestral lands by federal militia to designated reservations west of the Mississippi.¹³

Even the settlers of European descent in the state believed that removal of Native Americans from Indiana—the “Land of the Indians—was “consistent with the policy, faith, and honor of the nation.” In 1836, a joint resolution of the Indiana General Assembly stated:

That the interest in the extinguishment of the Indian title to lands within, and removal of the Indians from her limits, is held by her citizens and this General Assembly, of continued and increasing importance. That, acknowledging the paternal care and benevolent policy of the Government, in securing the rights of humanity and justice to the Indians; the interest, peace, prosperity, and happiness of the people of the State, require that they should soon as possible be separated from us.¹⁴

There was little ambiguity in either the federal or state government’s view of the Native American people. Physical distance was the only obvious solution. That said, the removal of the Native population from Indiana was never total. A handful of treaties were honored by the state of Indiana and the federal government that allowed the Miami Nation, in particular, to maintain a modest presence of approximately 250 individuals within the state in 1850.¹⁵ Smaller bands also could be found throughout, but ultimately, few of these groups were discussed much in popular discourse for nearly a century.

By the early twentieth century, when Native Americans were talked about in Indiana in local histories written by white Americans, they were often mentioned only as a passing phrase, a blip in history, or noted for their aggression.¹⁶ Still other times, they were represented as more myth and legend than reality. A history of Parke County, Indiana, where Turkey Run State Park is located, states that the last known Indian who killed in area was called Old John Green. The story notes that “Johnny” Green was a bad guy whose actions—lying, stealing, etc.—had all but estranged him from his own people, and had made him fall far out of favor from the white people. And then one day he was no longer around. Public opinion gave credit for the disappearance to a Mr. Litzey. However, Mr. Litzey would never acknowledge involvement in the disappearance, “always stating that the last time he saw the Indian he observed him sitting on a flat rock, in Sugar creek, just below the narrows, fishing; suddenly he jumped up, as if crazy, and dived into the water, from which he never rose.”¹⁷ A body was apparently never found. The story itself speaks to the myths by which Native Americans were imagined in Indiana; they could be rendered invisible, even erased from sight without consequence if they did not properly assimilate to more commonly held American values.

The Return of the Natives

Such stories as above portray Native Americans in stereotypical terms, often as tricksters and alcoholics. They also underscore the fact that Native Americans had vanished from existence within the state. However, an idea of Native Americans, as imagined by white Hoosiers, would return to play a part of the Centennial Celebration of Statehood in 1916. Indeed, they would be portrayed in different, if not equally odious

ways. Pageants and parades at the Centennial played a significant role in making the history of the State of Indiana tangible. These pageants predominantly featured the pioneer history and the migration of Euro-American people into the territory. Native American presence in Indiana was also reintroduced during the Centennial Celebration in various media. Rather than being a full participant in state history, however, the iconographic presence of the Native Americans underscores many stereotypical ideas associated with Native Americans in the early part of the 20th century, which ultimately resonates with the ways that Native Americans would be portrayed in the parks only a short while later.

Of course, naïvely constructed public ideas about Native American history in Indiana predated the Centennial Celebration. *The Indianapolis Star* tells a story from the previous year (1915) about a July Fourth celebration held in Ellenberger Park on the near-east side of Indianapolis. It explained that a pageant told the history of Indiana in three distinct episodes. The first was referred to simply as “Nature’s Gifts to Indiana.” No other description is given, but it is easy to visualize a scene whereby land and water are represented as the source of modern prosperity. The second episode would display “an Indian village before the coming of the white man. The establishing of an Indiana village with the setting up of teepees, etc., will be shown, and this will be followed by a dance of 150 ‘Indian’ children.” The third episode shows Indiana prior to the Civil War, and includes 50 individuals in period costumes dancing quadrilles on the village green.¹⁸

The newspaper reports that:

The finale will be one of the most impressive scenes in the pageant, when all the performers, in their various costumes, and headed by the Irvington veterans of the civil war, will form in a procession, with a brass band playing ‘The Star Spangled Banner,’ and the audience joining in the chorus.¹⁹

Native Americans were clearly essentialized in this pageant and portrayed as conceptually distant from the modern world. Even the details were wrong, given that teepees are more appropriately associated with Native American tribes in the Great Plains such as the Sioux and the Cheyenne, not the Delaware and Miami tribes in Indiana who would have built oval structures with woven reeds. Moreover, their “otherness” was muted by a juxtaposition with more commonly celebrated aspects of local white history. They were linked to the Indiana landscape, as with all other Indiana residents, though this link nevertheless resigns them to the past.

This is not to say, of course, that these pageants had allowed for Native American history to be legitimized and integrated into state history. Rather, their history is assumed to have been integrated into mainstream Indiana culture by popular period discourse, and indeed, into national culture. Simon Pokagon, a noted chief of the Potawatomi tribe in northern Indiana, foresaw such assimilation for the Native American people nearly twenty years previously, despondently saying:

I do not wish to be understood that I advocate or desire the amalgamation of our people with the white race. But I speak of it as an event that is almost certain, and we had much better rock with the boat that bears on us, than fight against the inevitable. I am frequently asked:

“Pokagon, do you believe that the white man and the red man were originally of one blood?”

“My reply has been: I do not know, but from the present outlook they will be.

“The index finger of the past and present is pointing to the future, showing most conclusively that by the middle of the next century, all Indian reservations will have passed away. Then our people will begin to scatter, and the result will be a general mixing of the races. By intermarriage, the blood of our people, like the waters that flow into the great ocean, will be forever lost in that of the dominant race, and generations yet unborn will read in history of the red man of the forest, and inquire, ‘Where are they?’²⁰

The mingling of all the performers into a single procession, combined with the playing of the Star Spangled Banner during the Indianapolis pageant, confirms a similar integration of cultures. It compels the native culture to disappear into a larger, Americanized narrative. Ultimately, this imagery fits into the original schemes of assimilation promoted by Presidents Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Quincy Adams, even if those schemes were a far cry from the policies that were ultimately implemented.

Similarly, the pageants of the Centennial Celebration, which were openly didactic in purpose and tone, intended to “illustrate the epochs in the growth of Indiana.”²¹ However, it is clear from materials edited by Charity Dye and circulated across all corners of the state, that only certain aspects of that narrative would be privileged. Modern historian of Indiana, James H. Madison, notes that in these celebrations there was, for example, “little room for the late nineteenth century and thus little sense of the industrialization and urbanization that had so changed the Hoosier state by 1916,” because, he suggests, such ideas “seemed not to fit the pattern of pioneer success stories.”²² Native Americans similarly did not fit into these narratives, and yet, as demonstrated below, they were intimately linked to the success of the pioneers.

The suggestions for pageant development written by Dye were broken down into only a small handful of categories: Nature, People, Forces out of which our state has emerged, and pageant adjuncts or accessories. The category of “Nature” was further broken down into “Land” and “Water.” She wrote that the land would be used as a background, a set piece for the larger narrative. She continues that the forests, mountains and lower lands might be represented on stage in various ways, but that these representations would speak to the gifts that the land had provided to the pioneers. For

example, the forests would tell “of the place she has given to plough for the raising of crops, and has yielded her trees for the building of the home,” and the lower land would “call attention to her gifts of the stone, the clay, and other minerals that have forwarded civilization.”²³ Likewise, the water was described in its service to humans, as a “highway” for missionaries, explorers, and the stream of pioneer immigrants from the east and south that had initially populated the state. In each case, nature was feminized and shown to have yielded to the wishes and needs of humans, presumably resulting in foundations of wealth seen in early twentieth century Indiana.²⁴

Interestingly, Dye notes that the “Indian, like nature, belongs in the scenic as well as the historic background of the entire state.” Through such juxtaposition, the natives of Indiana were conceptually removed from humanity and hardly considered to be people at all, just accessories to the past. They would function in the pageants only in the service of the more privileged pioneer history. She continues by describing the ways that Native Americans can, or should, be represented in the pageants:

1. In the dance with the braves in either peace or war.
2. As smoking the peace pipe with a friendly tribe or with the pale face in the ratification of a treaty or the confirmation of friendship.
3. In the camp fire where he shouts his war whoop.
4. In throwing down the wampum belts for either peace or war to the white man or to a hostile tribe.
5. In the making of treaties
6. In the making of a chief
7. In the wonderful eloquence of his race or in the weird legends that have been retold to the world
8. The squaw industries of bead work, basket weaving, carrying wood, cooking the meat brought down by the brave, caring for the papoose and singing her appealing lullabies to her young.²⁵

In each instance, the picture of a Native American is one that fits the imagination of Indiana residents. Such natives were thought to be part of primitive culture that were

distanced from the realities of the industrialized present and who quite naturally and inevitably succumbed to the European pioneers. In her work on nineteenth-century American painting, Barbara Novak states that Native Americans are often used to represent nature, not culture: “[l]ike the forests, the Indian exists in a state of nature, before he is cut down. His tenancy as a natural citizen is premised on his inseparability from nature. When separated, he dies.”²⁶ Similarly, the ways that Native Americans are described and portrayed in the pageants deny them a presence in the modern world and further refuse any sense of group agency for them.

False representations of Native Americans would continue throughout the Centennial Celebration. During the lead-up to the anniversary celebration in December, *The Indianapolis Star* published a weekly column called “The Centennial Story Hour” that made frequent mention of Native Americans. One of the first of these columns, which dated back to late 1915, speaks of Lena, a white woman who had been saved by an Indian man years before as another band of natives burned her village and killed her family.²⁷ She lived as his daughter on the banks of the Wabash River near Terre Haute for some time. Later, she is returned to her family in Pennsylvania, but is refused the opportunity to marry an Indian man because of local laws. They abscond back to Indiana where they live in relative peace until the man is killed in a confrontation with other Indians and she puts a knife into her own chest in solidarity. The final part of the story discusses an apple orchard that had been planted by these two people during their peaceful years in the Wabash Valley. It notes that whereas the trees bore fruit for many years, the Indians of the area never ate from the tree, “leaving it for the spirits for whom they believed to be hovering near.”²⁸ Then, as the white settlers came to the area, they

chose this site on the hill for their own burial grounds as the City of Terre Haute grew up around this place along the Wabash River. Rather than a story about the Native Americans, then, this narrative functioned more specifically as an origin myth for white civilization, ultimately highlighting how the natives ostensibly disappear into the ethereal past and are replaced by the tangible objects of modern living.

Subsequent articles follow a similar trend. One column begins by talking about the leadership and military skill of a man known as Little Turtle. However, after a fair amount of discussion of these issues, the focus of the article shifts. It closes with a celebration of the prowess of General Anthony Wayne, who after being placed in command, was much feared by the “red” men. Even the formidable Little Turtle advised to make peace with Wayne, noting that Wayne was “a man who never slept; one who could never be surprised and one who would bring sure defeat upon the red men.”²⁹ In other words, Little Turtle’s early success against the Federal government’s ostensibly superior forces is moved to the background of the narrative and supplanted by praise of the white victor, Anthony Wayne.

Yet another tells the story of John B. Richardville whose father was a French fur trader and whose mother was a Miami Indian woman and the sister of Little Turtle.³⁰ Richardville was not simply “playing Indian;” he identified largely with his Miami heritage rather than his European heritage.³¹ He exhibited keen physical prowess, earning him the nickname “Pe-she-wa” which translates roughly to “Wildcat,” gaining the respect of his Miami tribe, and ultimately being elevated to the role of a chief of the Miami tribe around the turn of the nineteenth century.³² He was by all accounts a good leader, and helped keep numerous Miami in Indiana during forced removals in the 1830s

and 1840s while other native populations were not so fortunate. Indeed, Richardville himself was rewarded with \$600 by the United States government for his role in signing the Treaty of the Mississinewas.³³ It is unclear whether this exchange of money was done for services rendered or whether it was a bribe. Either way, Richardville used this money to begin construction of what is the earliest, and now longest-standing, Greek-Revival style house in north-east Indiana.

In each story there is clear sense that the narratives are not about Native Americans at all, but about how contemporaneous white people had found ways to discuss this aspect of local history as a means to underscore their own successes. Yet another of the Centennial Story Hour columns speaks to a notion that by the time the pioneers had arrived in Indiana with a responsibility “to conquer a wilderness and found a state,” the “mound builders had long been shrouded in the mist of time,” and the Indians still in the area had claimed their land and “had no further care.”³⁴ White residents of Indiana in the present age could, in the words of literary critic Robert Dale Parker, “define their own culture through progress and change while fencing progress and change,” for the Native Americans.³⁵ Indeed, the very burden of progress was incumbent upon the modern world; the conceptually distant natives serve as the contrast to just how much progress has been made. Moreover, the ability of the modern society to claim control over the narrative, and to create the Native American as an “other,” perpetuates the imbalance of power. Such is the very essence of imperialist nostalgia.

Imagery of the Centennial Celebrations

Ideas concerning the place of Native Americans in the construction of Indiana’s

identity revealed themselves in different aspects of the Centennial Celebration as well. Rather than a single celebration for the entire state, smaller ceremonies and pageants were held in multiple locations, most often at the county scale. Various localities might have generally followed the state pageant template laid out by Charity Dye, but because each place was also celebrating its own local history, each had its own color and flavor. Despite so many types of celebrations and representations, themes relating to the supposed “otherness” of Native Americans were quite common.

One important representation was found on the covers of the booklets and brochures produced by each county. Some of the materials, such as that from Dubois County, are rather plain (Figure 5.1). There is no mention of Native Americans on these materials, only a title, some basic information about the date and site of the celebration, and the Indiana State seal. The materials from the Michigan City, Indiana celebration has

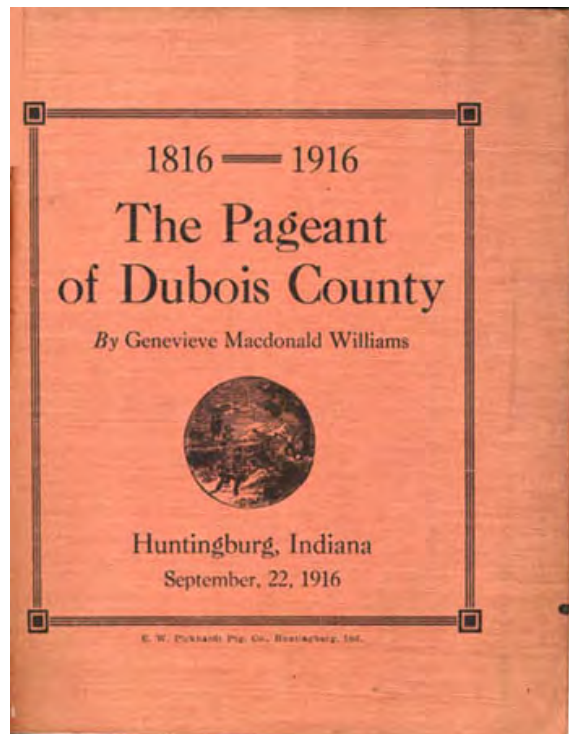


Figure 5.1 – Brochure for Dubois County Pageant
<http://www.in.gov/library/2523.htm>

some additional sophistication in the graphics (Figure 5.2). In these examples, the pioneer experience is given clear priority, and they also underscore the importance of state pride.

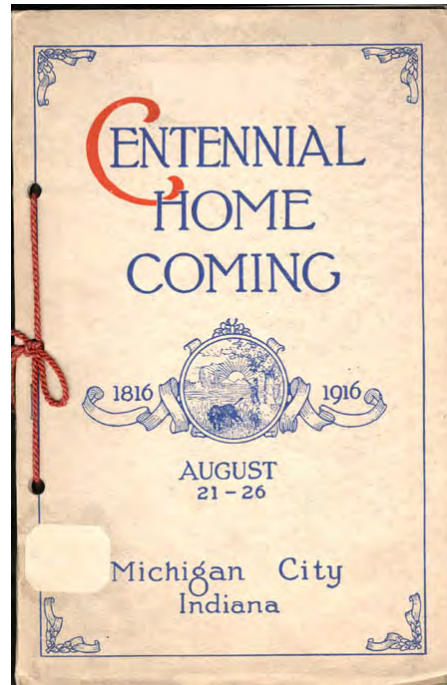


Figure 5.2 – Brochure for Michigan City Pageant
<http://www.in.gov/library/2523.htm>

On the other hand, a number of county celebrations utilized brochures that proudly displayed and featured Native American imagery. Certain trends define the ways that Native Americans are portrayed. One is that Native Americans are typically situated in the foreground of the image, and often to the side, with their backs facing the viewer, forming the *repoussoir*. Its effect is to guide the viewer's attention towards the objects and events occurring in the rear and center of the frame, which are typically of greater importance. Further, the decision to show the backs of the natives deprives them of any definable features or personal identity; only the understood label of "Indian." In an

example from Bartholomew County, an armed pioneer stands in between the native and his teepee, as if to deny the native access to his own home. In the distance, a wagon moves onward into the future. The native will also be denied access to such progress (Figure 5.3).



Figure 5.3 – Brochure for Bartholomew County Pageant
<http://www.in.gov/library/2523.htm>

An exception to the trend of not seeing a native's face is shown in the brochure from Decatur County, which instead features a Native American in sitting in a canoe, curled up in a near-fetal position (Figure 5.4). Still a *repoussoir* in that his gaze directs us to the white man, he looks lonely and afraid as he drifts down the river, having been banished by the armed white settler on the left side of the frame. The native is part of the past; he is no longer welcome in this area—or perhaps more to the point, he is not welcome in the present historical period—where the sun shines brightly on the courthouse with the now iconic tree that has grown at the top of the steeple.³⁶



Figure 5.4 – Brochure for Decatur County Pageant
<http://www.in.gov/library/2523.htm>

Additional examples that display Native Americans looking at a modern world to which they do not have access are found in the pageants at Fayette County, Fort Wayne and Indianapolis. The former two examples each display a man in who is either a warrior or a scout. One wears moccasins, pants that are presumably made of animal skin, and a feather in his hair. The other has a full headdress and moccasins, and save for a small utility belt to carry his knife he is otherwise naked. Both have a bow in their presence as they stare downward from their elevated viewpoint—with their right hand placed on their forehead to shade their eyes—onto an industrialized world where they do not belong. They are physically distanced, literally placed at the margins of the picture, and removed

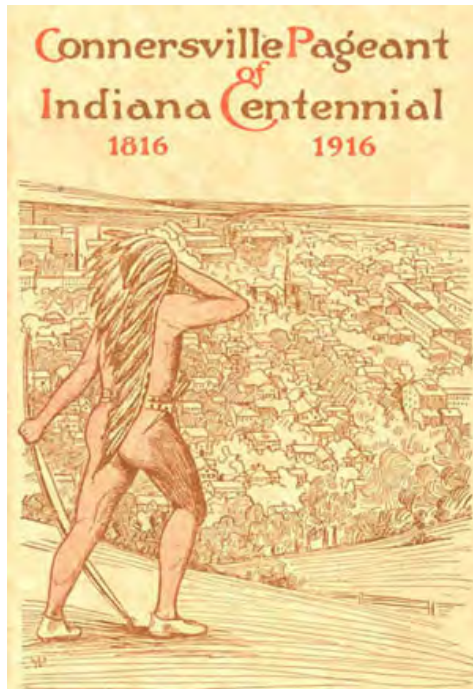


Figure 5.5 – Brochure for Connersville Pageant
<http://www.in.gov/library/2523.htm>

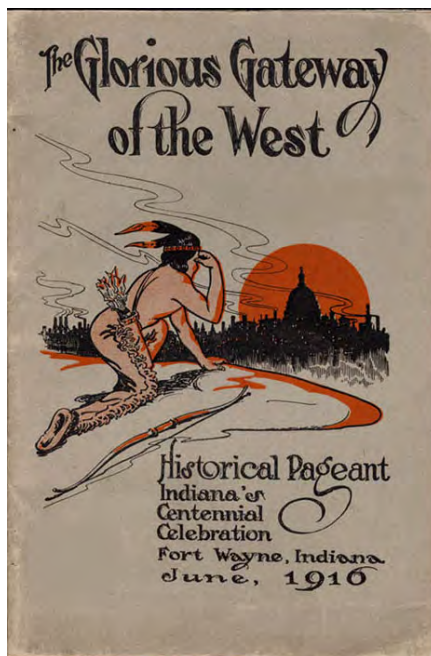


Figure 5.6 – Brochure for Fort Wayne Pageant
<http://www.in.gov/library/2523.htm>

from this world, and in their apparel it is also clear that they are conceptually distant from what is happening below (Figures 5.5 and 5.6). Lacking adequate clothes, money, speech and know-how with which to participate in the modern world, they can only look at it from afar.

The Indianapolis pageant brochure shares some thematic similarities, but also some noticeable differences (Figure 5.7). In this instance, a Native American form is shown as a dark outline or shadow elevated in the clouds and surrounded by other aspects of the past such as tee-pees and wagons. However, this form is in stark contrast to the urban skyline shown below it. Again, this kind of imagery displays a marked disconnect between the past and the present. As before, Native Americans are not part of the modern world; they are mythologized in the past. Following the idea of manifest destiny, white settlers conquered these indigenous cultures and removed them from the land so that they could fulfill a divinely ordained mission to expand across America.³⁷ It is no coincidence, then, that the objects on the right of the frame—a Native riding a horse, a horse drawn carriage, and an airplane—reflect a continuum of modes of transportation leading Hoosiers from the past into the modern world. The former two objects are physically and conceptually separated from the modern world by the clouds, resigning them to the past, yet the airplane is part of that world as it flies close to the urban forms. Likewise, the visage and idea of Native Americans was necessary to remind contemporaneous white Hoosiers of what their ancestors—the pioneers—had done to accomplish that goal and to make the modern world so exceptional. Thus, Native Americans were part of Indiana history, but only inasmuch as they served as an essential contrast to what existed in the contemporary world.



Figure 5.7 – Brochure for Indianapolis Pageant
<http://www.in.gov/library/2524.htm>

Native American Nomenclature in the Parks

Of course, the Centennial Celebration was designed for Hoosiers to imagine themselves as a single community of people, united in a common heritage and a common ancestry of strong willed pioneers determine to found a state. But whereas such imagery of Native Americans was present in the Centennial Celebrations extending across the state, such representations were not found in the early years of the park movement itself. The initial goals of the movement were wholly intent on privileging the pioneer experience; there is almost no mention of Native Americans in local discourse surrounding the creation of Turkey Run State Park, for example.

It is perhaps curious then, that only a few short years later, Native American imagery and representations started to appear in the burgeoning park system. At first,

such references hardly seemed significant. In 1921, the State of Indiana created Vinegar Mills State Park in Jennings County, about sixty miles southeast of Indianapolis as the fourth unit of the park system. This site, while not as overtly dramatic as Turkey Run or Clifty Falls, for example, had some notable scenery and also possessed the remnants of a mill used to cut stone during the nineteenth century. *The Indianapolis News* reported that, with the designation as a state park, this site was to “be given back to the youth and the maiden, to the nature lover and the sightseer as a place where one’s aesthetic nature can revel in the beauty of God’s handiwork, where romance can become imbued with lofty ideals and where one in contemplation may find ‘tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones and good in everything.’”³⁸ Such a discourse that reveals the landscape as part of a metaphorical narrative of local history was entirely in keeping with the initial park movement. Interestingly, the name of the park was changed the following year from Vinegar Mills State Park to Muscatatuck State Park. In itself, such a change impacts the narrative that was being told about the place. The word “Muscatatuck” referred to the river along which the park and the mill was set, and reflects the historical name of the river: an Indian word thought to mean “Clear River.”³⁹ The change reflects the romanticized connections between landscape, local history, and Native Americans that were observed a few years earlier in the Centennial Celebrations. These discursive connections would become an integral part of the park system over the next decade.

Indeed, two other parks added to the system during this era were subject to similar name changes. Shakamak State Park was not the original name for this site. Due to the fact that this site was made possible in part through the collaborative financing of three

bordering counties, Clay, Sullivan and Greene, it was to be named the descriptive, if lackluster “Tri-County Park.”⁴⁰ Another possible name for the park was listed as “Tri-State Park.” This area, however, was once populated by the Kickapoo and Delaware Indians in the early nineteenth century. And though there were no more of these people in the area, the Kickapoo word for the nearby Eel River, Shakamak—which means “water of the long fish”—was appropriated and used as the formal designation of this park on April 30, 1929.⁴¹ This particular park was unlike the other parks in the system up to that point in that it was artificially constructed and possessed no obvious connection to the past. While such nomenclature was not wholly inappropriate, the name Shakamak provides the place with a sense of poetry and a connection to the past, albeit highly romanticized and cleansed of the very people who could most legitimately lay claim to it. It was a small, but powerful rhetorical device to invoke a historical narrative where one might not otherwise exist, thus affording this newly constructed park the opportunity to enter the conversation with the other parks in the system.

Pokagon State Park

A few years prior to the activities at Shakamak State Park, another site in the state gained attention for its combination of natural scenery and the relationship to the Native American history of the region. At Pokagon State Park, native history and languages may not have been as haphazardly appropriated as they were at both Muscatatuck and Shakamak, but the narratives surrounding Pokagon nevertheless underscore the tensions between local history and cultural dominance of modern society.

One of the goals of the original park movement was to establish parks in various

parts of the state. With the establishment of Indiana Dunes State Park along Lake Michigan in 1925, Indiana now had five parks: Turkey Run, McCormick's Creek, Clifty Falls, Muscatatuck, and Indiana Dunes. Four of these sites were located in the central or southern part of the state and only the Dunes represented the northern portion. But as early as the previous year, the people of Steuben County, located in the north-east corner of the state, just miles from the Michigan border, had begun lobbying for a park in their area. *The Steuben Republican* listed "Ten Reasons Why You Should Want a State Park in Steuben County."⁴² Many of these reasons concerned local finances: monetary gain for local tourist industries, road development, and increased property value. Others addressed the recreational needs of the population and the need for conservation efforts.⁴³ None of the reasons mentioned the preservation of state history or heritage, and certainly not local Native American history.

Nevertheless, interest in the natural attractiveness of this area grew. One writer was "struck with its particular scenic type, with the gentle beauty of the smooth, rolling glacial moraine hills and the broad, delightfully irregular lake, a larger example of the hundred of kettle hole depressions in the wide moraine strip that extends across the northern counties of Indiana." He goes on to celebrate the remains of earlier historic periods of glaciation noting that the "continental glacier was the greatest of landscape architects."⁴⁴ One of the "irregular" lakes to which he was referring was Lake James, which was to be the central feature of the proposed park. This geological history is also what had up to the present made the area difficult to access. Contemporaneous Indiana historian George Cottman wrote:

Ingress and egress were too difficult. Roads, among the first requisites of civilization, had to reckon with long, sprawling arms of water and impassable

bogs, and while this did not frustrate the sturdy pioneers whose life training it was to overcome natural handicaps, yet it served to localize, so to speak, this county by diverting from it the main-traveled, inter-state thoroughfares, leaving the region of difficult traveling isolated and aloof.⁴⁵

But whereas Cottman celebrates the various character traits of the pioneers in this description, his association of “roads” with “civilization” ostensibly downplays the history of the Potawatomi Indians who for centuries prior had called northeast Indiana and southeast Michigan home, further distancing Native Americans from modern culture.⁴⁶

He goes on to say that though they did not possess roads in the modern sense, the Potawatomi had paths that they used for transportation routes. In describing these paths, he notes that they now only exist as faded lines on old maps. His language romanticizes these people, though his final lines speak clearly to the fate of the Potawatomi, and Native Americans more broadly:

These old thoroughfares on the surveyor’s maps, unnamed and incidental though they are, speak to the imagination. The dim penciling winding around the lakes and marshes tell of a people whose primitive and romantic life fitted into this wild land of many waters as all creatures of nature fit into their habitats. They tell of aboriginal customs—of objectives—of visitings to and fro, now on peaceful ceremonial errands, and, again, with blood-thirsty intent in quest of vengeance or glory. The picture arises of long lines of swart figures, silent as moving shadows, threading the forest depths in single file along the beaten track that followed the best and easiest way through the wilderness. Or, where the trails converge at the villages we see the picturesque home life of the red man with its setting of primeval nature—the cluster of wigwams, the curling of smoke from outdoor fires, the squaws at their various tasks, the lounging braves resting in indolence, the children and dogs playing together in happy comradeship, the display of gaudy finery brought from afar by the trader offsetting the bead-wrought garments fashioned from the skins of wild animals.

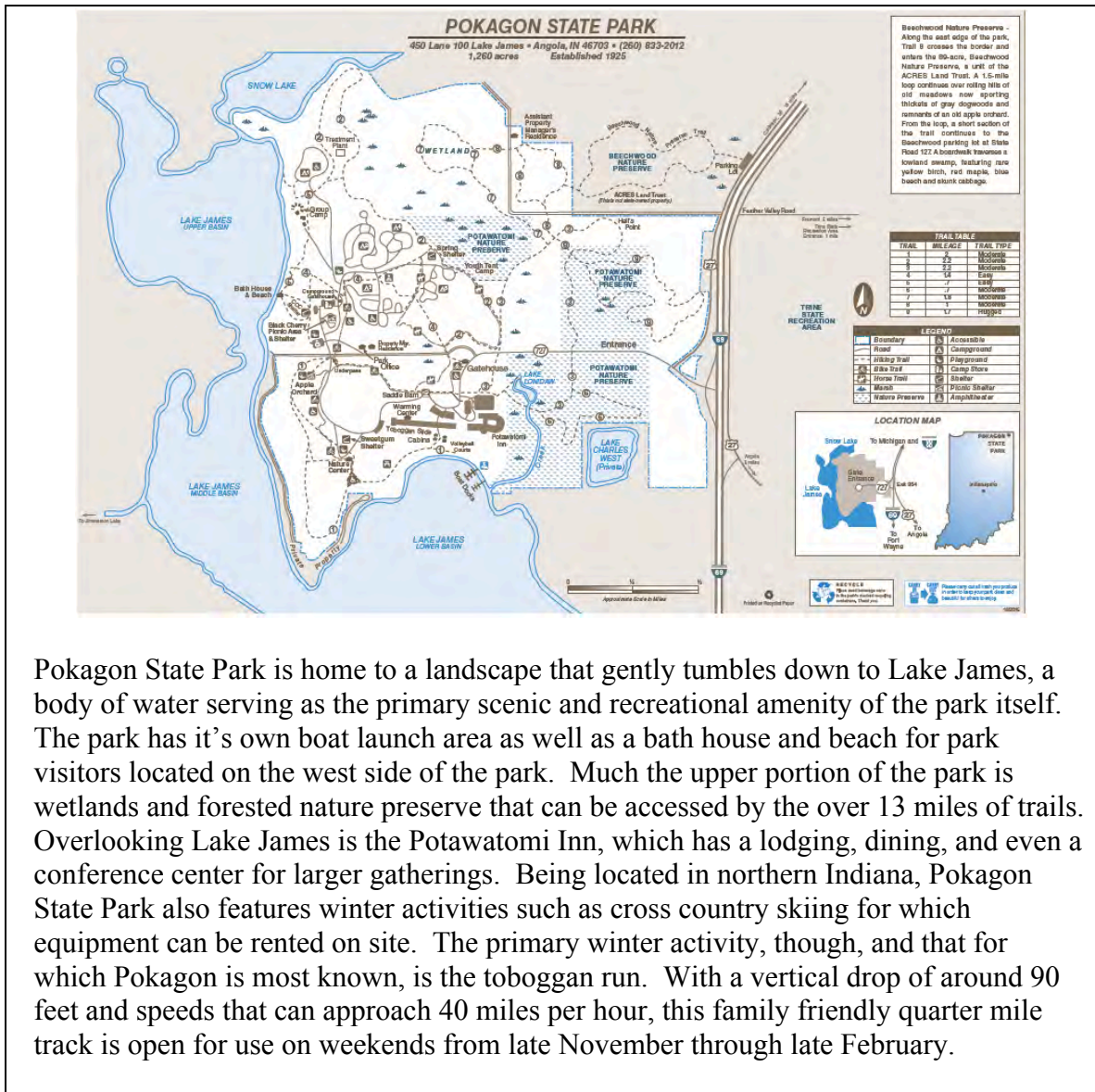
And now comes the surveyor’s party making its slow way over hill and valley, using strange instruments in what the simple-minded red man might well consider cryptic rites. For him indeed, those rites were fraught with significance. For him it was the beginning of the end, the inauguration of a new order. The land where lay the graves of his fathers was his no longer. Not even a memorial was to remain to signify that he had ever existed here, and the only tokens that

speak to him are these old tracings on the maps of the vanguard that came to reduce his unlimited ancient domain to townships, ranges and sections, and the signatures of their chiefs who signed away their inheritance. Such is the grimness and the mockery of fate!⁴⁷

With such ideas lodged in the imaginations of early 20th-century Hoosiers, it was difficult to envision Native Americans as anything but a strange and mysterious people, resigned to the past. In spite of their (albeit limited) presence in the modern world, the Potawatomi Indians of Northern Indiana were considered little more than “dim penciling” on a map, mere shadows of their former selves.

The physical land, however, including its abundant marshes and lakes, was highly prized for its scenery in the modern world. In 1925, the people of Steuben County, Indiana began a campaign to preserve these lands as a state park. Similar to what happened at Turkey Run nearly a decade previously, the Steuben County Chamber of Commerce initiated a campaign of subscriptions to help pay for the purchase of a nearly 600-acre parcel of land. This action was done in concert with a special act of the state legislature that would allow for counties to purchase land and then gift it to the State of Indiana.⁴⁸ A goal of this endeavor was so that, “...when the park visitors tramp over the trails in the woods and view the expanse of the lake from the promontories, they are treading the paths of the Potawatomi Indians to whom that ground belonged years ago.”⁴⁹ Modern trails may supplant some of those dim markings on the map, but the park and its visitors would nevertheless attempt to maintain a connection to the area’s Native American past.

This concept is no more apparent than in the naming of the park itself. The initial idea was simply to name the site Lake James Park, and in fact, the park was dedicated with this name on July 17, 1926. A number of distinguished and prominent Indiana



Pokagon State Park is home to a landscape that gently tumbles down to Lake James, a body of water serving as the primary scenic and recreational amenity of the park itself. The park has its own boat launch area as well as a bath house and beach for park visitors located on the west side of the park. Much the upper portion of the park is wetlands and forested nature preserve that can be accessed by the over 13 miles of trails. Overlooking Lake James is the Potawatomi Inn, which has a lodging, dining, and even a conference center for larger gatherings. Being located in northern Indiana, Pokagon State Park also features winter activities such as cross country skiing for which equipment can be rented on site. The primary winter activity, though, and that for which Pokagon is most known, is the toboggan run. With a vertical drop of around 90 feet and speeds that can approach 40 miles per hour, this family friendly quarter mile track is open for use on weekends from late November through late February.

Figure 5.8 – Spotlight on Pokagon State Park, 2017
<http://www.in.gov/dnr/parklake/2973.htm>

citizens were in attendance such as Richard Lieber and past governor James Goodrich, and the festivities were headlined by current governor of the State of Indiana, Ed Jackson.⁵⁰ Perhaps not surprisingly, there is no extant evidence to suggest that any Native Americans were invited at all. As these celebrations were occurring, however, a motion was advanced by some local citizens to provide a name for the park more

evocative of the site's history. On May 26, 1926, *The Steuben Republican* first suggested that the park should have a Native American name rather than just "Lake James Park."⁵¹ Over the course of the next six weeks, a small handful of editorials were printed in the paper supporting this position. One contributor suggested naming the site,

...Pottawattamie Park after the name of a tribe of Indians that roamed over our vicinity years ago. The name would be a good one, and I would like to mention the name Pokagon Park. Pokagon was the name of the chief of the Pottawattamie tribe here seventy-five years ago. As an Indian name I would choose this one.⁵²

The area's competing media publication, the *Angola Herald*, was running similar editorials. One by Mrs. D.W. Rothen, "wondered if anyone had thought of making it sound *real Indian*," by naming the park "Potawattomie," one of the main buildings "Pokagon," and even some of the lesser buildings, trails, and roads after "some of the members of the tribe." In this way, the entire park "might be kept all Indian, in memory of the red man who was compelled to give up his home for the white brother."⁵³ And whereas Rothen's larger scheme was ultimately fulfilled, inasmuch as the name of the park was actually changed to Pokagon (and not Potawattomie), her desire for authenticity—for a *real* Indian experience—bears witness to the presence of imperialist nostalgia. By calling white people the "brother" of the Native American, she assumes that the damage done by the previous century's forced removal has been forgotten. Her words are no apology, and she certainly suggests no compensation or reparations, but only a nonchalant statement that effectively relieves herself of the guilt of her ancestors' actions.

Indeed, the expectations of Indiana's white residents for what qualified as a *real* Native American was given voice a few weeks later in yet another editorial concerning the possible name change for what was still officially known as Lake James State Park.

Maurice McClew recalls an event from some thirty years prior, ca. 1898, when Simon Pokagon, the last tribal chief of the local Potawatomi band of Indians to inhabit the area, delivered a speech at the meeting of the Old Settlers in Angola, Indiana.⁵⁴ He notes that, “At the time he came here he was an old man with gray hair. The meeting was held in the grove that stood where the library now stands.”⁵⁵ Obviously, things had changed greatly, even in this small town, over the past three decades; where there was once nature, there was now a stone edifice that marked the dominance of European enlightenment.

Yet it was Simon Pokagon’s physical presence that would receive additional attention from McClew. He continued:

This was the first Indian I had ever seen and I remember that I was disappointed in his appearance. In my imagination I had perhaps pictured an Indian of the type of one of J. Fenmore [sic] Cooper’s heroic red men. Instead, I saw a short, rather small man, dressed in the ordinary garb of civilization. Like most Indians do on such occasions, he sat through the proceedings as impassive and stoical as a statue, with a half sad, half dreamy look, that is often seen in the eyes and features of the Indian.⁵⁶

Simon Pokagon was a real person, but he failed to satisfy McClew’s vision of a *real* Indian: he wore no headdress or moccasins, and he was not big, strong, or otherwise imposing. McClew sought an “other,” but found an ostensibly ordinary person. That said, McClew recognized other aspects of Pokagon—specifically the quiet melancholy of his demeanor—that did, in fact, match some of the stereotypical character traits of this noble savage.

Simon Pokagon, however, had led a somewhat contradictory life. It was in part due to these contradictions that he was in attendance at the meeting in Angola in the first place. His ancestry suggested that he was Native American, but many of his life experiences were deeply entrenched in an American, if not more broadly western,

culture. Simon was the son of Leopold Pokagon, a chief of the St. Joseph band of Potawatomi Indians that would later bear his name. It was chief Leopold Pokagon who “...signed away, unwillingly, under stress of conditions, a million acres in which Chicago now stands.”⁵⁷ Note, however, that the 1833 Treaty of Chicago was not a document approved solely by Pokagon.⁵⁸ Representatives from numerous bands (such as the Citizen, Prairie, Hannahville, and Forest County) were present, each seeking terms that best benefitted their people, and not necessarily a larger “Nation” of Potawatomi.⁵⁹ Indeed, there was at least one crucial difference between the various bands: the bulk of Pokagon’s people had converted to Catholicism. Thus, to get Pokagon’s support for the overall treaty, the American commissioners granted him and his people, “on account of their religious creed, permission to remove to the northern part of the peninsula of Michigan.”⁶⁰ In other words, the embrace of western ways, and particularly the Christian religion, provided Leopold Pokagon a powerful bargaining chip in the treaty negotiations, which ultimately allowed this band of Indians to legally resist the movement to western reservations that was the fate of so many other Native Americans following the Indian Act of 1830.⁶¹

Like his father before him, Simon Pokagon was also a practicing Catholic.

Furthermore, he was ostensibly well educated. By his own admission, Pokagon notes:

About this time [the early 1840s] my dear father died; and, soon after, my mother, on the advice of one of the Catholic Fathers, sent me to Notre Dame School, near South Bend, Indiana, where I remained four or five years. But, desiring a more liberal education than I was likely to get there, I sought out my old missionary friend Coles, and laid before him my great anxiety to go to school at Oberlin, Ohio, where race and color were disregarded.⁶²

This cultural overlap—having one foot in the world of the Indian and another foot in the world of mainstream Americanism—allowed Simon Pokagon to maintain relevance in a

constantly moving world.⁶³ More specifically, it was his skill as a writer and orator that provided him with a voice and gained additional notoriety for himself and his people prior to his death in 1899.

One of Pokagon's most notable writings was called "The Red Man's Rebuke," (1893, sometimes referred to as "The Red Man's Greeting"). First presented as a speech at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893—ironically enough on part of the very land in Chicago that his father had ceded to the American government sixty years previously—this work was a response to some of the race-related controversies at the fair whereby Native Americans were represented as savages.⁶⁴ The text of the work itself is primarily a lament of the traditions and heritage that Native Americans had lost as the "cyclone of civilization rolled westward."⁶⁵ Furthermore, the work resembles a reformist manifesto, as Pokagon blames the introduction of alcohol for the current state of depression, violence and mental illness in the Native American community and pleads for temperance.

This work, however, was not printed on typical paper, but on birch bark bound with ribbon. In the introduction to this text, Pokagon writes:

My object in publishing the 'Red Men's [sic] Rebuke' on the bark of the white birch tree, is out of loyalty to my own people, and gratitude to the Great Spirit, who in his wisdom provided for our use for untold generations, the most remarkable tree with manifold bark used by us instead of paper, being of greater value to us as it could not be injured by sun or water.⁶⁶

At least one other of Pokagon's writings, the *Pottawattamie Book of Genesis: Legend of the Creation of Man* (1901), was similarly published with such materials.⁶⁷ Scholar Jonathan Berliner suggests that the use of birch bark allowed Pokagon to juxtapose modern printing practices with traditional materials, producing "both an Indian subject

and a critique of white society by using nature as an authenticating device.”⁶⁸ Further, by drawing on a nostalgia that was “linked in the popular imagination with American Indian curiosities,” Pokagon was able to “mass-produce an aura surrounding these Native traditions.”⁶⁹ Indeed, it was this “aura” of Indian-ness, rather than any authentic Native American representation, that exuded most powerfully from Simon Pokagon’s writings.

Arguably his most famous work, entitled *O-Gi-Maw-Kwe Mit-I-Gwa-Ki*, or *Queen of the Woods* (1899), took this aura a step further. Like “The Red Man’s Rebuke” before it, this work slides into a diatribe on the necessity of temperance, though the primary function of the book is as a semi-autobiographical historical sketch of Simon Pokagon and his wife, Lonidaw. The narrative relates many of the traditions of the Potawatomi people, but is also a deliberately romanticized vision of Indian life. One of the important ways that it accomplishes this is through the bi-lingual publication of the text itself. The initial text was written entirely in Pokagon’s native language—Algonquin—but he noted that in the translation to English, “many parts of it seem to lose their force and euphony.”⁷⁰ Thus, a decision was made to leave many of the words in their original language, which served not only to preserve romantic nature of the narrative, but also to preserve the language itself. The words and expressions would be “monuments along the way, to remind the reader in after-generations, that such a language as ours was once spoken throughout this loved land of my fathers.”⁷¹ At well over 200 pages, this work was too long to be printed on birch bark, but the Algonquin language—like the bark—would serve as its authenticating device and keep the ideas in the book itself a part of the Hoosier imagination.

And it was, in part, through the legitimacy of Simon Pokagon's life and how that life was represented in the public sphere by way of his speeches and his published work that many of the residents of north-east Indiana began to call for Lake James State Park to be renamed.⁷² Moreover, there is evidence to show that invoking his name might have served to mitigate the violence that white people had done to Native Americans in the previous century. This again underscores Rosato Ronaldo's definition of imperialist nostalgia whereby the current generation would claim Pokagon as their own to help assuage the guilt of the actions of previous generations. Maurice McClew, who spoke about Pokagon earlier, continues:

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. All we can do now is to attach their name in some way to the land so that it will be an imperishable monument to their memory, and I can see nothing more fitting that to give to this tract of what was once Indian domain, the name of an Indian chieftain. And in this case more particularly so, as it would be the name of an Indian who was worthy of the honor.⁷³

In this sense, however, it was not just the Native American culture of the region that was so compelling. Historian of Potawatomi culture, James A. Clifton, suggests instead that Pokagon "had become a very considerable celebrity in an age when Indians, believed to be disappearing as a culturally distinctive population, once more started to come back into popular consciousness, but only if they were 'good Indians.' Simon Pokagon was considered to be an ideal product of the American Indian policy."⁷⁴ In other words, Clifton suggests that Simon Pokagon was not celebrated for being an Indian; he was celebrated for fitting the expectation(s) of what a modern Indian *should* be in the modern world. This, of course, is in contrast to the vision of a Native American, and Simon Pokagon specifically, given earlier by Maurice McClew, that the expectations of Native

Americans had also changed in a matter of decades. Pokagon's education and religious affiliation, in concert with his quiet demeanor and typically western dress demonstrates that those Native Americans who were not sent to reservations—where they remained largely out of sight—could in be assimilated into American culture and that there were rewards for doing so. Pokagon “was always conciliatory, sweet and grateful for kindnesses. He was a Christian in the real sense of the word, a gentleman by nature, and—an Indian. The least we can do is to remember him.”⁷⁵ Truly, just remembering Simon Pokagon and the Potawatomi band of Indians *was* the very least that was done for him.

Ultimately, a small article in *The Indianapolis Star* on February 20, 1927 almost unceremoniously noted that, “Pokagon State Park is the official name conferred on the Lake James park by the state department of conservation.”⁷⁶ The park was rededicated “to an Indian on whom history sheds luster as having been emblematic of the true standards of the aboriginal race.”⁷⁷ There is no indication of whose standards were met through such actions, and there was little other fanfare accompanying the notice. The balance of the February 20, 1927 article is concerned with who won the concessions contract for the newly built, and newly named, Potawatomi Inn. Even this impressive addition to the park acknowledged the Native American history of the region in name only. Designed by an Indianapolis-based architect, Richard Bishop, who is said to have previously collaborated with the Department of Conservation in the planning of state park hotels, the inn was of an “imposing English architecture,” that blended “harmoniously with the landscape.”⁷⁸ This structure was further described more as “an old picturesque English tavern than a resort hotel”⁷⁹ (Figure 5.8).

Such aesthetic decisions, while not directly related to Native American—or even Indiana’s—history, still aid in connecting both of those things with the new park. Following Kenneth R. Olwig’s reading of Oliver Goldsmith’s poem *The Deserted Village* (1770), I argue that the picturesque construction of the inn and the grounds served to

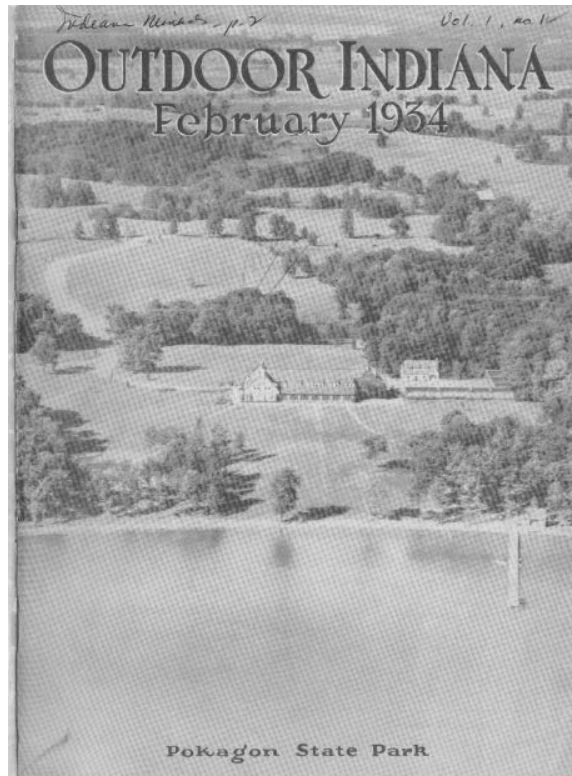


Figure 5.9 – Aerial Image of Pokagon Inn
Outdoor Indiana Vol. 1, No. 1, 1934

recall for visitors to Pokagon State Park the “‘rural virtues’ of England.” Association with these values “was not only a means of creating an idyllic scene,” but also clarified for Indiana residents that this was “a means of appropriating an important symbol of natural community and thus ‘naturalizing’ a process of enclosure that was anything but natural.”⁸⁰ The park, which was constructed to *appear* as “natural,” was now related to

the Native Americans, who were *imagined* as “natural.” In other words, the deployment of an ostensibly disparate design sensibility actually functioned to unify the park grounds with the Native American history of the region, to the extent that “...when the park visitors tramp over the trails in the woods and view the expanse of the lake from the promontories, they are treading the paths of the Potawatomi Indians to whom that ground belonged years ago.”⁸¹ Both the past and the present were “naturalized.” This notion is not too far from the original park idea in Indiana, which privileged the untouched virgin forest—a seemingly “natural” landscape—as the best means to connect with the imagined ideals of the state’s earlier pioneers and settlers. The ruggedness of Turkey Run’s topography was a decided contrast to the rolling hills and controlled views presented at Pokagon, but the results were analogous.

While openly named in honor of local tribesmen, “many believe that [the park’s] chief attraction rests in the fact that its perpetuates two and one-half miles of lake front for posterity, safe from the encroachments of the summer cottages that fringe all of the popular Hoosier lakes.”⁸² In this view of the park, Pokagon State Park was only a shell of a tribute to Native American history in the region. Though the two issues are clearly related, the promotion of local history was of secondary importance to the protection and preservation of scenery.

Mounds State Park

While Pokagon State Park was being created in north-east Indiana, another park was being developed in the east-central part of the state, near Anderson. This site would be called Mounds State Park, due to the presence of a collection of Native American

earthworks, or mounds, that were the centerpiece of preservation efforts. Mound work is common to the Midwest, located most prominently in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. These sites, which are by-products of an array of indigenous, Pre-Columbian Indians such as the Mississippian, Hopewell, and Adena cultures, feature raised earthen mounds that range in height from a few feet to the massive, nearly 100 foot tall platform constructed at Cahokia Mounds outside of St. Louis. These groups of people, of course, were no mere subsistence hunters and gatherers. They were powerful, and well educated, civilizations. Some of these mounds are small circles, some are elaborate shapes (e.g. Serpent Mound, located in southern Ohio), and still others contain complex alignments of mounds that are believed to have functioned as astrological observatories.⁸³ Importantly, these sites were certainly unlike what modern Americans were familiar with.

Indeed, the Indiana Department of Conservation made efforts to make sure that this aspect of local history was understood by Hoosiers as something “other.” The ways that the public discourse romanticized Native American history at Mounds as well as how the site was developed as a more typical woodland park, serves to underscore the unequal privileging of pioneer history and the modern world. As at Pokagon State Park, Native American history is conflated with Indiana history, but is also seen as necessarily separated from it. In the case of Mounds State Park, Native American history is literally part of the landscape.

Local media outlets spoke of interest in the earthworks well before the establishment of a park. As early as 1875, an article discussed a detailed survey of the Mounds made by Professors Cox and Collett, though no further credentials were given for these individuals.⁸⁴ They identified eleven different mounds, “all being on the land of

Fred Bronnenberg.” Details for each, including circumference and height were also provided, along with a diagram showing their relative position, noting further that eight of the mounds lie in a single group. The article further stated, “One thing specially remarkable about these mounds is their fine state of preservation, the banks being perfect and not showing even a gully or inequality of any kind. The Professors were delighted with them. Prof. Cox pronounces them far ahead of anything of the kind in the state.” These mounds were little more than a provincial curiosity at this stage; their importance further undermined by the fact that a “State road runs through [mound] No. 4.”⁸⁵

Indeed, prior to its designation as a state park in 1930, a wide variety of activities occurred on the property. The most significant was the construction and maintenance of an amusement park, beginning in 1899, by the Union Traction Company. The Union Traction Company, which was based in nearby Anderson, Indiana, was better known as the company responsible for the proliferation of Interurban rail lines that connected an array of smaller rural towns to the larger cities within the state, particularly Indianapolis.⁸⁶ In keeping with their main business, the Union Traction Company installed a miniature train that encircled the Great Mound, a giant earthwork some 11 feet high and 1200 feet in circumference, and which was the centerpiece of the entire group of mounds. The amusements also included a carousel, roller coaster, dance hall, and a roller skating rink.⁸⁷ It is also worth noting that, as an interest of the UTC, this site served as a disembarkation point for various excursions to the Great Lakes and Niagara Falls every Monday.⁸⁸

Notices in local newspapers advertised for Old Settlers’ meetings, concerts, and various vaudeville-style productions held in the park, or shows like the “Gibson Quintette

& ‘Hadji Lessik’ Company” which featured “Anita” the trained monkey.⁸⁹ At one point, following a report from the State Geologist, the site was also heralded as a possible health resort. The report stated that the spring water at Mounds Park, “is a very pure calcic chalybeate water, a fine tonic and alterative, and is admirable for persons laboring under general debility and dyspepsia.” Apart from the waters, which were a natural resource yielded by the landscape, the article suggested yet another advantage of the site: “The location is all that could be desired for a watering place and resort,” and just as importantly, “The antiquities will furnish a never-ending interest to those who like to study the works of past generations of men.”⁹⁰ This “interest,” however, was often expressed by treating the mounds—and the people who created them—as curiosities, objectifying them and marginalizing their history and significance.

From very early on, the mounds were treated very differently from the people who created them. *The Anderson Democrat* published a column in 1876 that spoke to earthworks in the Ohio Valley, more broadly, but not necessarily the area that would become Mounds State Park over fifty years later. It said:

For at least half a century the mounds of the Ohio Valley have been the standing puzzle for students of the early history of our country. The problem became more deeply complicated by fresh discoveries. No Indian traditions bear any record of the people who built the mounds; the growth of trees upon them indicates an antiquity of not less than eight centuries; the skulls and skeletons of the Mound Builders are those of a peculiar race, and their relics indicate a different civilization from that of the tribes found in the vicinity.⁹¹

Words like “puzzle” and “peculiar” were not uncommon in period discourse concerning the mounds. It was as though the value of the mound builders derived from their enigmatic nature, and even their differences from other more well-known Native

American tribes.⁹² There was currency in drawing attention to such curiosities of history, and in establishing these mounds as the work of an “other.”

Additional descriptions of the mounds, particularly those descriptions that were more contemporaneous with park development, bear this out further. An historian of the mound-builders, Henry Clyde Shetrone, deliberately stoked the imagination of his readers:

MOUND-BUILDERS! What magic in the very word; what an epitome of all that is romantic and mysterious in human experience! Mere mention of the name suffices to conjure visions of a shadowy race dimly viewed across the ages—come from no one knows whence, gone no one knows whither, or when. Giants in physical stature and legion in numbers; weird rites and long-lost magic arts; populous cities and impressive temples; haughty priests and human sacrifice!⁹³

Others, including official publications of the Indiana Department of Conservation, speculated on the ancestry of this “mysterious and vanished race of the North American Continent,” saying that:

The Mound Builder either was the forefather of the existing American Indian or he was the cultured descendant of the ancient Mexican civilizations, according to the reasoning of various authorities. Earliest descriptions of the Mound Builder pictured him as being the cultured Aztec transplanted to the mid-continent. Later authorities have dragged the Mound Builder down from that high pedestal, but they have placed him higher in intelligence than the Indian which DeSoto and the first white men found.⁹⁴

In any scenario, of course, the actual people were long dead and buried; they had been conquered—whether by Spanish conquistadors in the sixteenth century or the American cavalry in the nineteenth century—and replaced by a modern civilization who constructed roads and buildings, not “mysterious” earthworks.

And as the mound-builders were no longer a threat to modern civilization, they could be discussed in the past tense. Moreover, ideas about their existence—whether accurate or not—could be used to excite public imagination. An archaeological study of

the entire state of Indiana, under the supervision of the Indiana Historical Society, was undertaken in the late 1920s. Specific stops were made in Anderson to view the extant earthworks. The scientists had pronounced the mounds as “excellent specimens of the work of the ancient race and are interested in what can be found by uncovering the mounds.”⁹⁵ Their observations, ultimately, were “expected to determine the historic value of the formations,” and thus help to justify the push to protect this area as a state park.⁹⁶

As early as 1922, the initial discussions for designating this site as a state park drew upon the idea of landscape as curiosity when the notion was floated at a meeting of the Kiwanis Club in Anderson, Indiana. Their resolution mentioned that “there is in our midst a number of mounds, the work of a pre-historic people, known generally as the ‘Mound Builders,’ and there are [sic] danger of all or most of these evidences of an ancient people being destroyed or lost to our people...”⁹⁷ Though deliberations and discussions were ongoing, it was nearly a decade later that the site was formally granted status as a park in 1930.⁹⁸

But for all of the scientific study of the earthworks, little real information seems to have been gained. Additional excavations occurred in 1930, and yet the public discourse still revolved around the mysterious: “The lure of the unexplained is expected to attract thousands of persons to Indiana’s newest state park, the Mounds, purchased by Madison county recently for presentation to the people of Hoosierdom. And at the Mounds there are not only things beyond explanation but there are also things which are yet to be found.”⁹⁹ The historian Henry Clyde Shetrone, who had opened his book with fantastical details to fire up the imagination, similarly concludes that even with addition

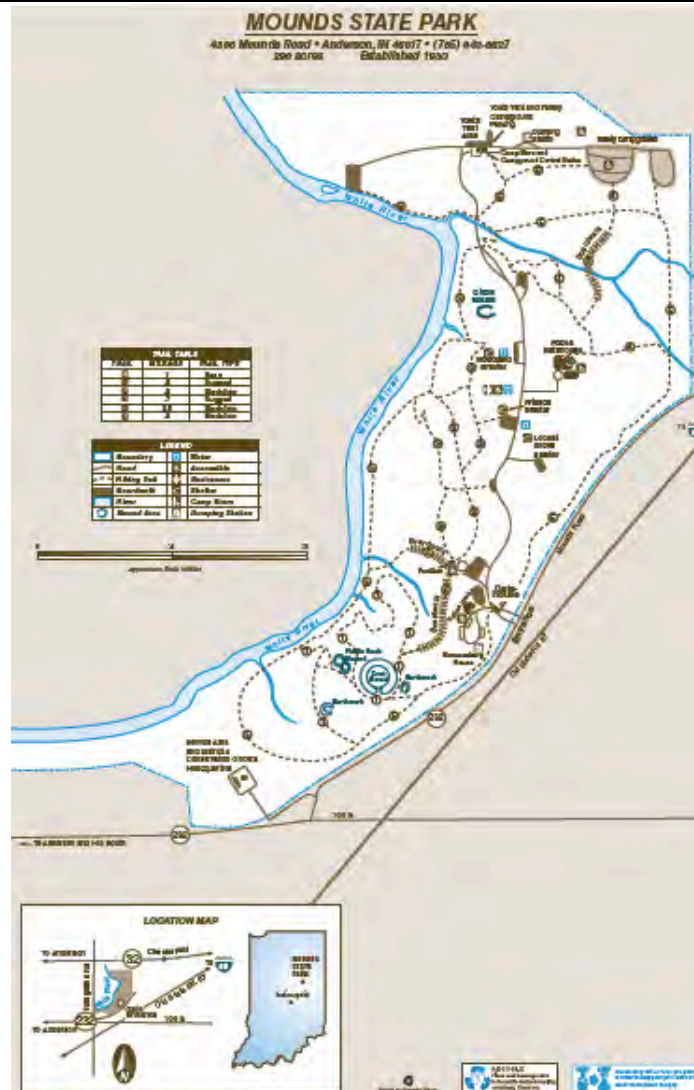
of new information, there was still much that was unknown about the Moundbuilders. He wrote:

Originally portrayed as a superior and separate race of people with a superior civilization, they have been relegated to the rank of mere ‘Indians,’ hardly worthy of serious attention. This reaction, it must be admitted, has been beneficial and salutary, in that it has served to curb the unbridled range of imagination and theorizing. But in the end it has come no nearer to the truth than did the early visionaries.”¹⁰⁰

Through all of this apparent scrutiny, it is clear that the mounds themselves were treated as little more than objects with no appreciable cultural history.

The notion of imperialist nostalgia is ever-present in the contemporary discourse; modern Hoosiers felt an odd sense of loss for the Native American narratives that they had spent decades destroying. In the face of the potentially confusing realities of the modern world, Hoosiers longed for an ostensibly simpler time. Indeed, the purchase, study, and classification of the mounds themselves was a crucial aspect of the state’s archeological survey project, but perhaps more importantly, it was control over the narrative itself that was important for Hoosier residents and institutions. Referring to the site as “mysterious” or “shadowy” was an ideal approach. It allowed for a clear separation between the culture of the moundbuilders and that of modern Hoosiers. One contemporary newspaper, trying to promote the preservation of mounds, even showed images of the earthworks and spoke to the damage done by “civilization.”¹⁰¹ The implication is that the people who created the mounds were not a civilization, and ironically, it suggests that it was the decidedly uncivil modern behavior that was currently threatening the site.

In spite of the presence of the mound complexes, and the ostensible focus on the protection of the state’s Native American history, the recently designated Mounds State



This site is one of the smallest properties in the state park system, comprised of just under 300 acres. With little room for other activities, the focus is on the earthworks themselves. Only a handful are featured prominently, such as Great Mound, Fiddle Back Mound, and Circle Mound. There is rumor that a number of other smaller earthworks exist on site, but that their location is kept secret and hiking trails are kept at a distance so as to avoid visitors from flocking to them and potentially destroying them. Full service electric camping options are available, as are more primitive sites in the Youth Tent area. There is some uncharacteristically rugged topography in the property, including a bluff overlooking the scenic White River, with a well-maintained boardwalk and network of stairs to help visitors navigate the particularly tricky sections of trail close to the Visitors Center.

Figure 5.10 – Spotlight on Mounds State Park, 2017
<http://www.in.gov/dnr/parklake/2977.htm>

Park, like Pokagon State Park before it, went to great lengths to provide potential visitors with a more typical park experience. In doing so, the actions of the Department of Conservation served to undermine their overt interests in the mounds. Whereas the department openly stated that the main interest of the park is the mounds, they also concede that the bulk of the work towards park development

...included first the tearing down of the many unsightly and undesirable buildings standing on this property at the time the department acquired it. Picnicking and camping areas were developed; necessary sanitation was provided in the service areas; a road was built; the tract was fenced in; marked trails were made; a house standing on the grounds was remodeled to serve the custodian as a home; and necessary wells dug to supply safe water.¹⁰²

Much of the work described above was critical for actually welcoming visitors to the property, and was entirely in keeping with themes of modernization and service expressed in the previous chapter. However, the remodeling of a house on the grounds speaks to a larger injustice towards the Native American history of the site. Built in the Federal style around 1840, the Bronnenberg House was home to one of the early landowners of the area. The elder family member, Frederick Bronnenberg Sr., is said to have considered the mounds of “unusual interest and he wished to protect them from molestation. This he did in part by erecting a fence about some of them.”¹⁰³ This measure provided the minimal degree of protection, as were the actions of his heirs who allowed an amusement park to be developed around the mounds when they leased portions of the estate to the Union Traction Company. And yet, media outlets praised the family, noting that “This house and the 700 acres of woods and fields are a monument to the family who preserved the mounds for us...”¹⁰⁴ In other words, the site of one of the most well-preserved earthworks in the United States was no longer to be considered a monument to the Native Americans who constructed the mounds, but to a family of

European descent who had profited for nearly a century from the objectification of those mounds.

Along these same lines, a log cabin that had been built by a man named Daniel Noland in the mid-1840s in nearby Chesterfield, Indiana was slated to be dismantled from its original site and rebuilt at Mounds State Park.¹⁰⁵ The entire development, intended to be a monument to frontier courage, would include the aforementioned cabin and a newly constructed period barn “with surroundings typical of Indiana in 1830-1840.”¹⁰⁶ The juxtaposition of this cabin with the earthworks is curious because the structure, as well as the Bronnberg House itself, celebrates a specific point in American history that coincides with the federally mandated removal of Native Americans from the state. Featuring these kinds of structures in concert with the woodland aesthetic that characterized the bulk of the property served converts the site into a more typical park, drawing attention away from the mounds and back to the state’s pioneer history. And whereas the mounds were already thought to be a distinct, misunderstood, and “other” part of Indiana history, they were now also in marked contrast to other aspects of park programming and forced to compete directly with dominant historical narratives on the same property.

Summary

In the early years of the development of Indiana’s parks Native Americans were not a real presence or a theme for historic representation. Although they formed part of the imagined heritage of the state, they had long ago been removed to other places. If in the 1920s four new parks made reference to Indians, it was reference to a

people who were safely absent, relegated from the political to the literary sphere. Two Indiana parks, Muscatatuck and Shakamak, appropriated the language of the Native American peoples who had once lived in the area, though the parks themselves made no other obvious acknowledgement of this history. The words alone added a dense layer of romanticism commonly ascribed to the native population, enough to sufficiently intrigue visitors. Two other sites, Pokagon and Mounds, provided additional Native American imagery and ideas into the growing park system.

This dissertation, of course, argues that such mention of Native Americans was used as a form of currency to draw visitors into these parks, and further implied increased objectification of Native Americans. Rather than legitimizing Native Americans, the appropriation of their narratives in the parks—as well as in earlier pageants associated with the Centennial Celebration—served instead to reinforce modern progress in Indiana in which elevation of some citizens required the suppression of others. This is why imagery of Native Americans often portrayed them in full dress regalia, removed from the comforts of modern amenities. It firmly established Native Americans as an “other,” an action that paralleled globally pervasive imperialist ideology. Critic Robert Dale

Parker notes:

Change, the colonizing people think, is for ‘us.’ Any hint of change in ‘them’ must be denied, because it threatens to slide into mimicry. It threatens the binary opposition that allows colonizers to see themselves as essentially different from the people they colonize, thus allowing colonizers to justify their conquests.¹⁰⁷

Alternatively, some Native Americans, particularly Simon Pokagon, were sometimes portrayed as fully assimilated to white culture: educated, well-dressed, and separated from his traditions. In doing so, such portrayals reaffirm the conquest of Native Americans from nearly a full century before and support the rightness of those actions in

the creation of the modern Hoosier. As this occurred at the scale of the state, and not a nation-state, I refer to it as a local imperialism.

Such ideas fit well into the idea of imperialist nostalgia. Ultimately, the parks served as sites to naturalize this relationship between Native Americans and contemporaneous Indiana. They would be visible in the parks, and even be the primary focus of Mounds State Park. Yet, Native Americans would be remembered only as distant memories, frozen in the past to serve as necessary contrasts to the ever evolving modern Hoosier.

Notes to Chapter Five

¹ George S. Cottman, *Pokagon State Park and Steuben County: A Description of Indiana's Most Picturesque Lake Region*, Publication No. 66, The Department of Conservation, Division of Lands and Waters, State of Indiana (Indianapolis: WM. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1927). 43.

² Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," 87.

³ *Ibid.*, 90.

⁴ Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth*, 70.

⁵ See Cyrus W. Hodgin, "The Naming of Indiana." Richmond, IN: Nicholson Printing Mfg. Co., Papers of the Wayne County, Indiana Historical Society 1, No. 1 (1903): 3-16. The dispute, which the State of Virginia won largely because it used the case against them to help consolidate sentiment in the early American republic towards state's rights, resulted in the ratification of the 11th Amendment to the Constitution prohibiting federal courts from hearing certain cases brought against states. In 1800, upon expansion of the United States, Congress recalled the name "Indiana" from this case and applied it to the new, western-most lands: The Indiana Territory.

⁶ "Northwest Ordinance, July 13, 1787, Section 14, Article 3," The Avalon Project, Accessed December 7, 2016, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/nworder.asp,

⁷ "James Madison, First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1809," The Avalon Project, Accessed December 7, 2016, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/madison1.asp,

⁸ "James Madison, Second Inaugural Address, March 4, 1813, The Avalon Project, Accessed December 7, 2016, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=25806>,

⁹ See Anthony F.C. Wallace, *The Long, Bitter Trail: Andrew Jackson and the Indians* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993); Alfred A. Cave, "Abuse of Power: Andrew Jackson and the Indian Removal Act of 1830," *The Historian* 65, No. 6 (2003):1330-1353;

Thomas J. Campion, "Indian Removal and the Transformation of Northern Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History* 107, No. 1 (2011): 32-62.

¹⁰ President Andrew Jackson's Message to Congress "On Indian Removal," December 6, 1830, as quoted in Daniel McDonald, *Removal of the Pottawattomie Indians from Northern Indiana; Embracing also a Brief Statement of the Indian Policy of the Government, and Other Historical Matter Relating to the Indian Question* (Plymouth, IN: D. McDonald & Co., Printers, 1899), 9.

¹¹ Cave, 2003.

¹² "Address by President Martin Van Buren to Congress, December 3, 1838," The American Presidency Project, Accessed December 7, 2016,

<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29480>,

¹³ See Gloria Jahoda, *Trail of Tears: The Story of the American Indian Removal 1813-1855* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1975); Robert Remini, *Andrew Jackson and His Indian Wars* (New York: Viking, 2001); Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932).

¹⁴ "Memorial of the Legislature of Indiana to obtain the extinguishment of the title of the Pottawatamie and Miami Indians to lands in that state, and the removal of said Indians from that state; April 23, 1836," *Indiana—Legislature* (Gales & Seaton, 1836), 328.

¹⁵ The 1818 Treaty of St. Mary's and the 1826 Treaty of Mississinwas, for example, created a limited number of land allotments to certain Miami families, which ultimately spared them from later forced removals. See Stewart Rafert, *The Miami Indians of Indiana: A Persistent People, 1654-1994* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1996), especially chapters 4-5; Elizabeth Glenn and Stewart Rafert, *The Native Americans* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society Press, 2009), especially chapters 5-6.

¹⁶ See, for example, Jacob Piatt Dunn, Jr. *True Indian Stories, with Glossary of Indiana Indian Names* (Indianapolis: Sentinel Printing Company, 1908).

¹⁷ Beckwith, *History of Vigo and Parke Counties*, 447; For a variation on this story, see "Turkey Run Park, Hoosier Tourist Playground, Picturesque Under Dazzling Mantle of Snow," *Indianapolis Star*, February 12, 1922, 41. Here, these words are attributed to John Lusk. The article also provides an alternate story whereby Green, while sitting on a rock fishing in Sugar Creek, was shot and killed by a resident of Rockville, Indiana named Coleman Puett.

¹⁸ "Pretty Irvington Girls in July 4 Pageant," *Indianapolis Star*, July 4, 1915, 32.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ McDonald, "The Pottawattomie Indians in Course of Ultimate Extinction," 57.

²¹ Report of the Indiana Historical Commission From Its Organization April 24, 1915 to December 1, 1916. Bulletin NO. 7 (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Commission. State House, December 1916).

²² James H. Madison, "Celebrating Indiana: 1816, 1916, 2016," in *The State of Indiana History 2000: Papers Presented at the Indiana Historical Society's Grand Opening*, ed. Robert M. Taylor, Jr. (Indiana Historical Society: Indianapolis, 2001), 273-296.

²³ Charity Dye, "Pageant Suggestions for the Indiana Statehood Centennial Celebration. Indiana Historical Commission," Bulletin No. 4. (Indianapolis, State House. 1916), 3.

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- ²⁴ Note further how this more complete description of the pageant probably reflects what occurred the previous year at the pageant in Ellenberger Park, as discussed on pages 8-9.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.
- ²⁶ Barbara Novak, *Nature and Culture: American Landscape Painting, 1825-1875*, 3rd ed. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 162; see also Mick Gidley, "The Figure of the Indian in Photographic Landscapes," in *Views of American Landscapes*, ed. Mick Gidley and Robert Lawson-Peebles (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 199-220.
- ²⁷ "The Old Indian Orchard," *Indianapolis Star*, December 12, 1915, B1.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁹ "Little Turtle and Anthony Wayne," *Indianapolis Star*, April 23, 1916, SM 3.
- ³⁰ "How Wildcat Became Chief of the Miamis," *Indianapolis Star*, January 23, 1916, SM 8.
- ³¹ See Phillip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988); Shari Huhndorf. *Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001).
- ³² For more information about John B. Richardville, see Chapter III of Arthur L. Bodurtha, *History of Miami County, Indiana: A Narrative Account of its Historical Progress, its People and its Principal Interests*, (Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1914); Harvey Lewis Carter, *The Life and Times of Little Turtle: First Sagamore of the Wabash* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987).
- ³³ "Chief Richardville House," History Center, Allen County-Fort Wayne Historical Society, accessed February 21, 2017, <http://www.fwhistorycenter.com/chiefRichardvilleHouse.html>.
- ³⁴ "Some Aspects of Pioneer Life," *Indianapolis Star*, May 21, 1916, A12.
- ³⁵ Robert Dale Parker, *How to Interpret Literature: Critical Theory for Literary and Cultural Studies*, 3rd ed. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 300.
- ³⁶ "Greensburg's Famous Tower Tree," Decatur County, IN, Accessed May 13, 2016, http://www.decatourcounty.in.gov/Greensburg's_Famous_Tower_Tree.htm
- ³⁷ See Robert J. Miller, *Native America, Discovered and Conquered: Thomas Jefferson, Lewis and Clark, and Manifest Destiny* (Westport, CT and London: Praeger, 2008).
- ³⁸ "Memories of Romance Attend Vinegar Mills State Park, Which Has Been Enlarged," *Indianapolis News*, May 27, 1922, 20. Note also how the final phrases of this text borrow from William Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, Act II, Scene 1.
- ³⁹ Jacob Piatt Dunn, *True Indian Stories*, 286. Dunn points out that the word is a product of the Delaware Indians, and is more accurately spelled, "Muscackituck." Others believe that the word should be translated as "swamp river." See Michael McCafferty, *Native American Place Names in Indiana* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 154-155.
- ⁴⁰ See Judy Stone, Notes for a talk given at Friends of Shakamak Meeting, 2013, unpublished, no date.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.* See also "Name Shakamak Is Approved," *Jasonville Leader*, May 2, 1929, 1
- ⁴² *Steuben Republican*, October 29, 1924. Conversely, three individuals (Amos W. Beach, William G. Stayner, and Jay Abbott) published an editorial in *The Steuben Republican*, April 1, 1925, entitled "Taxpayers Disapprove of State Park," expressing

objections towards the development. Their position, which they reiterate on a couple of other occasions in the *Steuben Republican* throughout 1925 (April 15, May 29) is that the law which creates state parks is unconstitutional, and puts an undue tax burden, by way of the issuance of public bonds, on residents. For a collection of all articles from this particular newspaper that mention the park, see also Jim Somers and Terry Gorney, *Pokagon State Park: The Early Years, 1923-1927*. No publisher, 2010.

⁴³ See “We Should Have a State Park In Steuben County,” *Steuben Republican*, November 24, 1924, 3, for a similar discussion.

⁴⁴ “Pokagon Park is Beautiful Type of Glacial Formation,” *Indianapolis Star*, May 8, 1927, 16. See also N.K. Bleuer, *Geologic Story of Pokagon State Park: Legacy of Indiana’s Ice Age* (Bloomington, IN: State of Indiana, Department of Natural Resources, Geological Survey, 1974).

⁴⁵ George S. Cottman “Pokagon State Park and Steuben County,” 7-9.

⁴⁶ For histories of the Potawatomi people, see Otho Winger, *The Potawatomi Indians* (Elgin, IL: The Elgin Press, 1939); Judi Johnson, “The Potawatomi,” Pamphlet No. 7 (Springfield, IL: Illinois State Museum, 1981); For a cultural history on how the various bands of Potawatomi Indians maintain connection with each other and a larger group identity today, see Christopher Wetzel, *Gathering the Potawatomi Nation: Revitalization and Identity* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015).

⁴⁷ Cottman, “Pokagon State Park and Steuben County,” 33.

⁴⁸ “The State Park Law,” *Steuben Republican*, April 1, 1925, 3. For a complete discussion of the purchase of this land, see Cottman, “Pokagon State Park and Steuben County,” 11-13.

⁴⁹ Indiana Department of Conservation. “Pokagon State Park, with Beautiful Lake James, Once Hunting Grounds of Potawatomi Indians, Popular for Variety of its Vacation Activities. Indianapolis: Department of Conservation, 1931). See also “Pokagon State Park, With Beautiful Lake James, Once Hunting Grounds of Potawatomi Indians, Popular For Variety of Its Vacation Activities,” *Indianapolis News*, April 25, 1931, 12.

⁵⁰ “Lake James Park Dedication on Saturday,” *Angola Herald*, July 16, 1926, 1. Efforts were also made to request the presence of various public officials from both neighboring states of Michigan and Ohio, as well as the son of former President of the United States, U.S. Grant, who was said to be “connected with the national park work, and is an expert on the subject of state parks.” See “State Park Dedication on July 17th,” *Angola Herald*, July 2, 1926, 1.

⁵¹ “An Indian Name Suggested For Lake James State Park,” *Steuben Republican*, May 26, 1926, 8.

⁵² “Would Name State Park ‘Pokagon Park,’” *Steuben Republican*, June 30, 1926, 9.

⁵³ “Pottawattomie Park is Name Suggested,” *Angola Herald*, July 16, 1926, 1. See also “Pottawattomie Park is Name Suggested,” *Steuben Republican*, July 28, 1926, 7. Emphasis is mine.

⁵⁴ Even the local newspapers are not very specific on the actual date or year of this speech. “Pokagon Park is Official Title,” *Steuben Republican*, February 23, 1927, simply states that it was “about 1898 on Old Settler’s Day.” Note also that Old Settler’s Day was an annual event in Angola, usually in August, that was a combination of parade, circus, and community gathering that sought to recall the efforts of the early residents of

the area. A further hope was to relay messages about those times to the children of the present, that they might understand the costs associated with all of the amenities with which they have been blessed.

⁵⁵ “Favors Name Pokagon Park,” *Steuben Republican* July 21, 1926, 1.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Indiana Department of Conservation. “Pokagon State Park,” no page; See also “Pokagon State Park,” *Indianapolis News*, April 25, 1931, 12.

⁵⁸ For more specific information on the 1833 Treaty of Chicago, see especially Chapter 10 of R. David Edmunds, *The Potawatomi: Keepers of the Fire* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978); and Anselm Gerwing, “The Chicago Indian Treaty of 1833,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* LVII (1964): 117-142.

⁵⁹ For a discussion of the tensions surrounding the concept of Native American nation and nationhood, and specifically as it relates to the Potawatomi Indians, see Christopher Wetzel, “Rereading Sociological Theories of the Nation: Potawatomi Bands, the 1833 Treaty of Chicago, and an Alternative Vision of Nationhood,” Paper Submitted for Presentation at the 2003 American Sociological Association Meeting. Atlanta, Georgia.

⁶⁰ Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, Volume II. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), 413.

⁶¹ One scholar notes that seeking support from the Catholic Church was indeed a conscious strategy for the Pokagon band of Potawatomi Indians to resist removal. See Thomas J. Champion, “Indian Removal,” 32-62; See also James A. Clifton, *The Pokagons, 1683-1983: Catholic Potawatomi Indians of the St. Joseph River Valley* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1984).

⁶² Simon Pokagon, “Indian Superstitions and Legends,” *Forum XXV* (July, 1898): 618-619. Pokagon’s educational claims, however, have been disputed. See David H. Dickason, “Chief Simon Pokagon: ‘The Indian Longfellow,’” *Indiana Magazine of History* 57, No. 2 (1961): 127-140. Dickason mentions that there is no documentation of enrollment at either school, though he notes that the records at Notre Dame are admittedly incomplete due to devastating fires in the 1870s. It is suggested that Pokagon more likely attended an affiliated trade school near Notre Dame (not the University proper), and a school near Cleveland called the Twinsburg Institute rather than Oberlin.

⁶³ Park historian George S. Cottman asserts that there is a connection between individuals and the natural world, and that even natives raised in the “civilized” world would resort back to their primal stages. Speaking about Simon Pokagon, Cottman writes that he, “preferred life with his tribe to anything that he might have gained from life with the whites. His book, the ‘Queen of the Woods,’ though obviously modified by the white man’s way of thinking as a result of his education, yet reveals the psychology and instincts of the Indian as Cooper in his Indian fictions could never do.” Cottman, “Pokagon State Park and Steuben County,” 46.

⁶⁴ See Robert Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), especially Chapter 2;

⁶⁵ Simon Pokagon, *The Red Man’s Rebuke* (Hartford, Michigan: E.H. Engle, publisher, 1893), 4.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Introduction, no page number.

⁶⁷ Simon Pokagon, *Pottawattamie Book of Genesis: Legend of the Creation of Man* (Hartford, Michigan: E.H. Engle, publisher, 1901). Note that this work was posthumously published.

⁶⁸ Jonathan Berliner, "Written in the Birch Bark: The Linguistic-Material Worldmaking of Simon Pokagon," *PMLA* 125, No. 1 (2010): 77.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 79.

⁷⁰ Simon Pokagon, *O-Gi-Maw-Kwe Mit-I-Gwa-Ki (Queen of the Woods): also Brief Sketch of the Algaic Language* (Hartford, Michigan: C.H. Engle, 1899), 35. Note further that pages 35-48 in this text provide an extensive explanation of the Algonquin language (also called Algaic), particularly as it pertains to pronunciation and syntax.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁷² It should be noted, however, that Simon Pokagon's authorship of these various works has been disputed. See James A. Clifton, *The Prairie People: Continuity and Change in Potawatomi Indian Culture, 1665-1965* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1998). Clifton writes that Pokagon, "seems to have been little more than literate, with his creative writings being the result of a collaboration with the imaginative, middle class wife of a local attorney. It was a curious *ménage à trois*. While the wife ghosted Pokagon's essays, poems, and novels, the husband, working on a contingency basis, prosecuted his claims against the United States Government." P 312. The "local attorney" was C.H. Engle, who was also the publisher of many of the Pokagon manuscripts. Clifton would later note that he should re-evaluate his own earlier assessment, but died before he could do so. Most current scholarship admits that Pokagon surely had some editing assistance, but that the words and ideas were largely his own: see Tracy Sue Jordan, "Braving New Worlds: Breed Fiction, Mixedblood Identities," (PhD Diss. Columbia University, 1999), especially pp 24-26; and Dickason, "Chief Simon Pokagon: 'The Indian Longfellow,'" 1961. Nevertheless, Clifton's initial criticisms have remained a baseline with the burden of proof set on others to show that Pokagon was indeed the primary author.

⁷³ "Favors Name Pokagon Park," *Steuben Republican* July 21, 1926, 1.

⁷⁴ James A. Clifton, *The Prairie People*, 311-312. See also Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1982).

⁷⁵ George S. Cottman, "Pokagon State Park and Steuben County," 42. For a larger discussion of expectations in the modern world about how Native Americans should act, what they should look like, how representations of Native Americans could be used by whites, and how these kinds of expectations and representations serve to continue the violence upon Native American culture, see Philip Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004).

⁷⁶ "Lake James Site Now Pokagon State Park," *Indianapolis Star*, February 20, 1927, 32. See also "Pokagon Park is Official Title," *Steuben Republican*, February 23, 1927, 1. Both articles note the name change, and then are much more concerned with the progress of the new hotel.

⁷⁷ "Pokagon State Park Embraces Beauty Spot in Lake County," *Indianapolis News*, June 3, 1927, 21.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

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- ⁷⁹ Indiana Department of Conservation. “Pokagon State Park,” no page; see also “Pokagon State Park,” *Indianapolis News*, April 25, 1931, 12.
- ⁸⁰ Kenneth R. Olwig, “Reinventing Common Nature: Yosemite and Mount Rushmore—A Meandering Tale of a Double Nature,” in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996), 391; see also Raymond Williams, “Ideas of Nature” in *Problems in Materialism and Culture*, ed. Raymond Williams (London: Verso, 1980), 67-85.
- ⁸¹ “Pokagon State Park,” *Indianapolis News*, April 25, 1931, 12.
- ⁸² “Pokagon State Park Embraces Beauty Spot in Lake County,” *Indianapolis News*, June 3, 1927, 21.
- ⁸³ Warren K. Moorehead, *The Cahokia Mounds*, ed. John E. Kelly (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2000); William R. Iseminger, *Cahokia Mounds: America’s First City* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2010); Susan L. Woodward and Jerry N. McDonald, *Indian Mounds of the Middle Ohio Valley: A Guide to Mounds and Earthworks of the Adena, Hopewell, Cole, and Fort Ancient People* (Blacksburg, VA: The McDonald and Woodward Publishing Company, 2002).
- ⁸⁴ A much later article about the park, “State Will Acquire Mounds Park As Historical Preserve,” *Indianapolis Star*, April 13, 1929, 1, quotes an E.T. Cox, who is said to have a geologist with the State of Indiana. This is presumably the same “Professor Cox” that was mentioned previously.
- ⁸⁵ “The Mounds,” *Anderson Democrat*, June 25, 1875, 1.
- ⁸⁶ For a history of interurban rail in Indiana, see George K. Bradley, *Indiana Railroad: The Magic Interurban* (Chicago: Central Electric Railfans Association, 1991); Jerry Marlette, “Trials and Tribulations: The Interurban in Indiana,” *Traces of Indiana & Midwestern History* 13, No. 3 (2001): 12-23.
- ⁸⁷ “Mounds State Park: Amusement Park. Union Traction Company, 1899-1926, Vol 2.” Unpublished collection and clippings file housed at the Madison County Historical Society, Anderson, Indiana. Np.
- ⁸⁸ “Special Notice,” *The Anderson Herald*, July 22, 1919, 5.
- ⁸⁹ Ibid; see also “Old Settlers’ Meeting,” *Anderson Herald*, August 6, 1920, 9.
- ⁹⁰ “Mounds Park Health Resort,” *Anderson Herald*, June 25, 1915, 8. This article, which continues on by providing the chemical composition of this water, cites as its source an abstract from “the State Geologist’s Report on pages 129-134.” No year was given for this report. I have combed through these reports from the previous few years. None of them substantiate the information in this page range, nor even in the section from the 1912 report that actually has a section related to Madison County, where the park is located. Note, also, that such a health resort never came to fruition.
- ⁹¹ “Our Mound Builders,” *Anderson Democrat*, May 5, 1876, 1.
- ⁹² Such ideas, i.e. polygenism, are also in keeping with early work in the fields of paleontology and natural conducted by George Cuvier and Louis Agassiz. Also known as scientific racism, these notions were still popular in the mid 19th-century prior to the larger acceptance of Charles Darwin’s theories of evolution and natural selection. See, for example, Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996), especially Chapter 2.; and Christopher Irmscher, *Louis*

Agassiz: Creator of American Science (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2013).

⁹³ Henry Clyde Shetrone, *The Mound Builders: A Reconstruction of the Life of a Prehistoric American Race, Through Exploration and Interpretation of Their Earth Mounds, Their Burials, and Their Cultural Remains* (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company, 1930) 1.

⁹⁴ Dudley Smith, "The Mound Builders of Indiana and The Mounds State Park in Madison County near Anderson, Indiana," Publication No. 115, (The Department of Conservation. State of Indiana, 1932), 7 and 15-16.

⁹⁵ "Archeological Survey to be Started Soon," *Anderson Daily Bulletin*, June 26, 1928, 16.

⁹⁶ "Scientists Paid Visit to Mounds," *Anderson Daily Bulletin*, May 28, 1928, 1; see also "Local Mounds Are Described As Best Seen," *Anderson Daily Bulletin*, July 19, 1928, 13.

⁹⁷ "Start Movement to Make Mounds Indiana Park," *Anderson Daily Bulletin*, November 27, 1922, 1.

⁹⁸ See "Anderson Mounds To Be Accepted By Governor For State Park," *Indianapolis Star*, October 5, 1930, 7, for public confirmation of this addition to the park system; also "State Will Acquire Mounds Park As Historical Preserve," *Indianapolis Star*, April 13, 1929, 1.

⁹⁹ "Close Study and Excavations in Newest State Park Expected to Reveal Pre-Historic Information," *Anderson Herald*, June 1, 1930, Part 2, 13.

¹⁰⁰ Shetrone, *The Mound Builders*, 471. See also E.Y. Guernsey, "The Cultural Relationship of Certain Indiana Mounds Groups," in *Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1932*, who can only similarly concede, "It yet remains to piece together the related threads of evidence obtained by various investigators [sic], and to pick up the more obscure loose-ends which are necessary to complete the record." (545).

¹⁰¹ "Damage Done Mounds By Civilization Is Shown In Pictures," *Anderson Herald*, June 1, 1930, 3.

¹⁰² Year Book of the State of Indiana for the Year 1931, 881.

¹⁰³ "Bronnenberg Family Bought Lands to Preserve Anderson Indian Mounds," *Indianapolis Star*, May 24, 1931, 16.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ "Century-Old Noland Home is Dismantled," *Anderson Daily Bulletin*, August 20, 1932, 1.

¹⁰⁶ "The Mounds," *Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1932*, 379. See also "Site is Selected for Pioneer Home at Mounds Park," *Anderson Daily Bulletin*, February 6, 1933, 12.

¹⁰⁷ Robert Dale Parker, *How to Interpret Literature*, 301.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

“Our work is not merely for the day; based on the
experience of the Past, it works for the Future
in the Present, that small allotted parenthesis
between two eternities.¹”

By focusing on changing conceptualizations of Indiana history and heritage, this dissertation has investigated how the developing system of parks reflected the state’s own struggle to create an identity for itself in the modern world. Since their inception, the Indiana State Parks have been expressions of the Hoosier Imagination; they have consistently offered a physical touchstone at which state residents and institutions could imagine the glories of the past, the realities of the present, and the possibilities of the future. Not simply recreational sites, ecological preserves, or archaeological museums comprising an inert state history, the parks were dynamic spaces that made manifest local ideas about statecraft. They were markers of “local imperialisms,” the often subtle ways that government institutions control their subjects through the (re)production of political authority. In doing so, the state parks in Indiana embody themes that have been characteristic of the Midwest since its beginnings as the Northwest Territory: tensions between the country and the city, between urban and rural values, and importantly, a crisis of identity pitting who Indiana residents and institutions are against who they were and who they want to be.

Importantly, the parks allowed Hoosiers to look backwards while simultaneously sanctioning the inevitable march forwards. These sites would serve as tangible reminders of state history as Indiana began a second century of existence in 1916. To promote

spaces such as Turkey Run, Richard Lieber and his supporters “created a visual imagery that many still associate with early Indiana.”² The deep sandstone gorges and old growth forest of Turkey Run, for example, invoked images of Indiana’s pioneer history, and of a strong, sturdy people who persevered through seemingly unimaginable physical and emotional toil to found the state. The parks were planned to be a tangible heritage to that legacy; in protecting the physical landscape, the people of Indiana also believed they were protecting desirable character traits of the pioneers that could be inculcated in succeeding generations of Hoosiers. This was not just environmental conservation, but also cultural conservation.

The landscape provided a sense of stability and permanence that stood in sharp contrast to the dramatically changing, quickly urbanizing world surrounding it and was hoped to ease the nerves of anxious local residents on the cusp of a new century. Parks spaces were physically distant from urban centers and away from the ostensible chaos of modern life. For contemporaneous Hoosiers, this physical distance was translated into temporal distance, allowing park space to function as an Arcadian ideal where Indiana residents could celebrate what they imagined to be the best version of themselves. Thus, protecting the landscape privileged a powerful origin myth for the people of Indiana. Further, statewide participation in the parks movement by the print media helped Hoosiers to imagine themselves as part of a single community, whereby support for the parks was understood to signify local pride in the state’s past.

Following the initial push for parks in Indiana, support for these spaces implied support not only for the past, but also for the state of Indiana as it moved forward. The grassroots crusades that created McCormick’s Creek and Turkey Run state parks were

almost immediately replaced with a technocratic institutional bureaucracy that mirrored a larger, national trend of the modern age towards professionalization and scientific management. Officially created in 1919, the Indiana Department of Conservation was conceived to be a model of scientific knowledge and Progressive Era efficiency. In the process of modernization, Hoosier residents and institutions established the direction that the state wished to proceed into the future. Beyond their value as scenery, the parks began to assume a distinctly pedagogical function during the 1920s, a marker of the exhibitionary complex, which featured an imperialist mentality bent on training the local population how to use the parks. New and expanded park infrastructure, especially with respect to interior roads, on-site hotels, swimming pools, and recreational facilities, helped to modernize the sites. Yet, contemporary Hoosiers never saw themselves as destroying “nature” with the introduction of roads and modern amenities on-site. Rather, this kind of modernization was viewed as a natural extension of a civilized society. Ultimately, through the incorporation of modern amenities and equally modern ideas about educating both children and adults, the physical space of the parks helped to tell a story, not necessarily of the state’s past, but of its progress into the future.

Finally, the introduction of an otherwise silent narrative in Indiana history, that of Native Americans, by way of the designation of Pokagon and Mounds state parks represents a third phase of park development. Though common practice for the age, this narrative unfairly represented Native American people. Simultaneously, Native Americans were portrayed as either conceptually distant—through imagery that showed them in full dress regalia, either belonging to the past, or to “nature”—or as fully assimilated to dominant American culture, which is to say, rendered invisible. The

example of Simon Pokagon, discussed in Chapter Four, reveals this dichotomy quite strikingly. These representations are linked to an anthropological notion called “imperialist nostalgia” that is also extended to the parks. The parks afforded the dominant white culture a space in which to subsume Native American narratives while simultaneously confirming their own cultural progress in contrast to a “primitive other,” but without the ancestral guilt caused by the forcible removal of the natives from Indiana nearly a century prior.

In doing so, however, the parks underscore the differences in land values held by the capitalist system of modern society in contrast to the communal territory concept traditionally held by Native Americans. The physical space of the parks may be named for the Native American, but it does not belong to that system of land sharing. These sites are the opposite of the reservations to which the Native Americans were relegated. The reservation is for the Native American, but it is where they are made invisible to White people. Conversely, the park is for White people; the Native American only becomes visible on the terms controlled entirely by the dominant population. The parks thus reflected an ideal space of imperialist ideology. By glossing over deeper histories of Native Americans in Indiana, the overt narrative serves to legitimize state authority. The result of this is that whereas in the early park movement Native American history was not recognized at all, the history of Native Americans in Indiana was now flattened into a larger narrative of history of Indiana itself.

Moving Forward

By the early 1930s, the Indiana State Park system consisted of ten separate units, eight of which have been mentioned in previous pages: McCormick's Creek, Turkey Run, Clifty Falls, Indiana Dunes, Pokagon, Spring Mill, Shakamak, and Mounds. One of the parks that has not been discussed thus far is Brown County State Park. Located in the forested, rolling hills of Southern Indiana where Richard Lieber is said to have first conceived the park nearly twenty years before, this site was added in 1929. The second, Lincoln State Park, which officially memorialized President Abraham Lincoln's early years in Indiana, was created in 1932. The latter also served as the last park at which Richard Lieber would have direct involvement.

In the wake of the Great Depression that saw vast political and ideological changes at both the local and national scale, Democratic candidate Paul McNutt, riding a wave of distrust against the Federal Government, was easily elected as Governor of Indiana in November of 1932 and assumed office the following January. With this change, there was some uncertainty as to what role Richard Lieber would play as the Department of Conservation moved forward. McNutt had rather quietly voiced some displeasure with how the Department had been handled, but provided no specifics, and so Lieber himself was still optimistic about his future with the State of Indiana. In April of that year, however, Governor McNutt called for a fundamental reorganization of administrative government in the state, which, among other things, moved the Department of Conservation to come under the umbrella of the Department of Public Works. McNutt's stated rationale for these actions was to eliminate any perception of political intrusions into the Department, a point on which Richard Lieber had, from the

start, given assurances that this was never to be the case. Yet, the governmental reorganization over the next two years under McNutt's watch saw the largest deliberate system of political patronage that the State of Indiana had ever experienced. Most positions within the Department were replaced with political appointees.³ Richard Lieber himself was stripped of his authority as Director and replaced by a McNutt appointee loyal to the Democratic Party. Though Lieber was allowed to retain a position within the Department as Director of the Division of State Parks and Lands and Waters, this demotion, along with the chaos of the administrative transition, compelled his resignation from the Department of Conservation, effective July 15, 1933.⁴ Richard Lieber's days working directly for the State of Indiana were over, though he would continue to labor tirelessly for both state and national parks until his death in 1944 while staying at the Canyon Inn at McCormick's Creek State Park.

As Lieber himself once wrote, "We will all die, but the Parks will live on."⁵ Whereas the initial changes brought about by Governor McNutt's reorganization of state government came as a shock, even without Lieber, park work would continue to flourish in Indiana. Many of these renewed efforts in the parks were a result of Governor McNutt's quick introduction of President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal policies, especially the direct correlations between natural resources and recreation development such as those programs that responded to the Emergency Conservation Work Act of 1933. Beginning at Lincoln State Park in that same year, groups of young men who signed up to participate in federally sponsored work programs such as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and the Works Progress Administration (WPA) would spend the better part of the next decade building new trails, roads, water and sewer lines, dams,

and other crucial infrastructure within various units of the park system. Much of this infrastructure still exists today and is celebrated for its own historical significance.⁶ These types of interventions might also be seen as extensions of local imperialisms whereby vast numbers local citizens were employed under state and federal authority towards the goal of landscape conservation, as well as the social welfare of its citizenry.

Additionally, a number of new sites within the state received federal designation as Recreational Demonstration Areas. These sites were also constructed by CCC and WPA labor camps, but unlike existing parks which privileged either exemplary scenery or were of historic interest to the state, the intent of the new sites was to demonstrate “the recreational value of agriculturally submarginal lands that had proven virtually worthless for farming.”⁷ The State of Indiana had two such sites, at Versailles and Winamac, featuring group camp areas that typically allowed urban youths to experience outdoor activities in a controlled setting. In 1943, as domestic relief programs gave way to economic and political efforts towards the escalating war in Europe, these sites were transferred from the federal government to the State of Indiana and redesignated as Versailles State Park and Tippecanoe River State Park, respectively.

This focus on active recreation has been a hallmark of park development since the 1940s. Few sites remained in the state that could rival the sense of “untouched” nature that Turkey Run exudes, but groupings of glacially formed kettle lakes and second growth forests, such as those preserved as Chain O’Lakes State Park in 1960, for example, have resulted in parks that provide ample fishing and hiking opportunities. More recently (1996), the Indiana Department of Natural Resources (the modern incarnation of the Department of Conservation) has converted two former military bases

into Fort Benjamin Harrison State Park and Charlestown State Park. These places help to preserve not only the history of Indiana's contribution to national security, which has been a great source of pride for the state since the days of Governor Oliver Morton's support of Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War, but also the expansive forested landscapes that were a by-product of government land ownership. The last park to be formally designated in the state is called Prophetstown State Park, opened in 2004. Located near Lafayette, Indiana, the park eschews the heavily forested aesthetic that defines most other park sites in Indiana, instead recreating the expansive prairie environment that existed in the north-west part of the state prior to settlement. This park certainly draws attention to the Battle of Tippecanoe in 1811 which occurred on and around the site, but an important rationale for its existence is also much more utilitarian: the geographical location of this site made it so that no Hoosier resident is more than one-hour's drive time from a state park.⁸ Richard Lieber's goal of creating a distributed network of parks throughout the state was accomplished. The state currently boasts a total of 25 parks comprising nearly 60,000 acres of protected land ranging across the state from Michigan to Kentucky, and from Ohio to Illinois (Figure 6.1).

Significance

The development of the parks network involves more than simple access. It is concerned with the establishment and maintenance of local Indiana heritage. Heritage is a remarkably liquid phenomenon. It does not reflect the historical past of a given group in its entirety but more accurately represents what that group values in its past and what it consciously chooses to protect and to cherish into the future. That set of values is

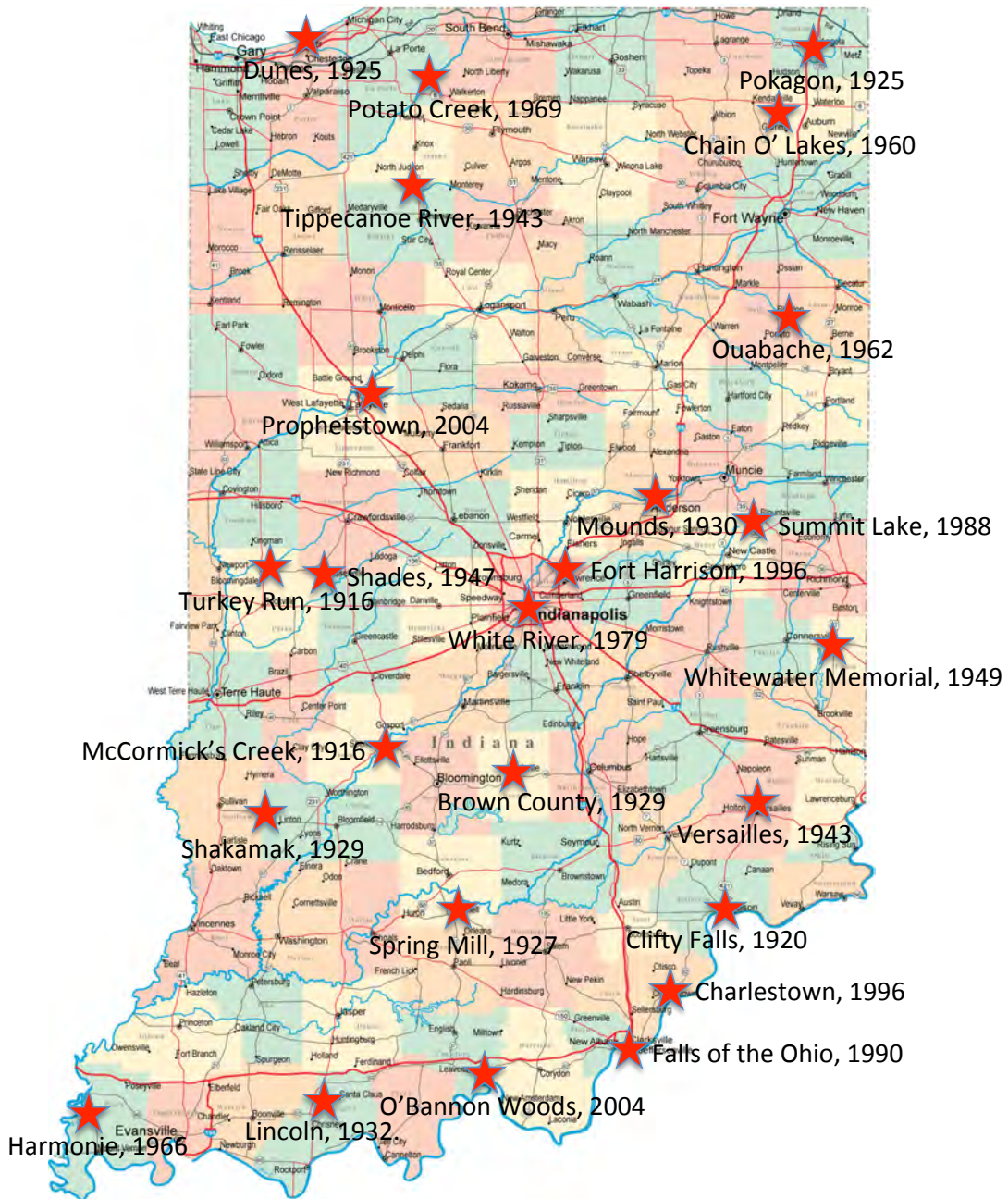


Figure 6.1 – The Indiana State Park System in 2017
Map created by author

constantly subject to change as generation gives way to generation; those aspects of the historical past that are desirable, or that can be used, are forever shifting. This dissertation demonstrates the lengths to which the State of Indiana went to identify which specific portions of their heritage to preserve. There was little desire to have Hoosier residents remember the state's shortcomings, but tapping into the collective memory of Indiana residents, asking them to imagine a golden age of Indiana—an invented history replete with pioneer heroes and the promise of a new age—was a relatively easy assignment.

Of course, we can also see that the needs of the state, not just the means by which those needs were expressed, were similarly liquid. Without any sense of irony, the state would designate isolated, untouched nature spots and then invite people to visit it by way of newly constructed modern roads; they would celebrate the rugged individualism associated with the early nineteenth century while touting the governmental bureaucracy that legitimized the state in the early twentieth century; they would construct Native Americans as a cultural “other” while also appropriating and subsuming that culture to define their own. Other states have surely done likewise. Though the parks themselves were initially conceived to be places of “natural” beauty, ostensibly in opposition to urbanity, virtually every aspect of parkland development was informed by urban interests. One might look to the composition of the Centennial Commission, primarily Indianapolis politicians and businessmen, or a donor list to the Turkey Run subscription fund, comprised largely of urban residents, or the fact that centralized control over the parks was given to the Department of Conservation, whose offices were located in the capitol city of Indianapolis, as evidence of this.

Thus, this study addresses the age-old dialectic between the country and the city. The parks provided important space to situate the ever-industrializing State of Indiana within the pervasive myth of Midwestern pastoralism. Rural living was thought to be on the verge of extinction. And much like the process of creating a cultural “other,” the parks were constructed to create an “environmental other.” In other words, by preserving a cultural landscape as something different, in this case, as “wilderness,” contemporary Hoosiers were able to construct something worth preserving.⁹ Ultimately, these sites became part of a usable past, a desirable heritage. Simultaneously, the native forests, restored villages, and Native American mounds confirmed to modern Hoosiers, and particularly urban dwellers, just how far they had advanced beyond the founding of the state. Looking backward allowed the dominant white culture to confirm the promise of Indiana, and to legitimize the progress of government organizations as they moved forward purposefully into a new era.

The Future of Park Scholarship

As the State of Indiana celebrates its bicentennial in 2016, the park system itself turns 100 years old. In a world that is exponentially more industrialized and urbanized than in 1916, it is worth reflecting how the parks have weathered the past century, how they have been perceived, used, and valued, and what impact these sites still have on Hoosier residents today. Future studies might begin where this one left off, tracing park development in Indiana since Richard Lieber’s departure from the Department of Conservation in 1933. In addition to the economic and infrastructural influences of New Deal policies, a number of parks were designated in the wake of World War II and later,

during the environmental movement of the late 1960s. These eras might provide very engaging lenses through which to examine work in the parks, and an ongoing development of the Hoosier imagination. Comparisons with the park systems of other states might also prove interesting especially if the development of parks in those places also coincided with a political milestone or other parallel event. The similarities and differences between the ideological needs of the state and the imagery used to convey those needs would help to show whether the relationship between the physical landscape and statecraft are particular to Indiana or if those patterns and practices are more generalizable.

Moreover, the role of women in the parks is also vastly understudied. Numerous scholars have explored the relationships between gender and space, yet, short of the direct involvement of Juliet Strauss and Luci Pitschler, and indirectly, Charity Dye, women are rarely discussed with respect to the parks movement.¹⁰ Work might be done to uncover the contributions of women to the parks, or even the role that women have had in the preservation and protection of landscape more broadly. It should not be lost that many of the financial contributions to the Turkey Run campaign in 1916 were from an array of women's clubs around the state. Ultimately, this addition to the dialogue on parks will contribute to the multi-layered meanings of the parks. Of course, the methodological focus on newspapers and official, state-sponsored publications was a regrettable shortcoming in this regard. Given the male-dominated political and economic culture of early twentieth century America, it is clear that neither of these forms of source materials are particularly conducive to highlighting women's contributions.

More broadly, while extremely beneficial in exposing the message(s) that the state

wished to disseminate, these kinds of sources revealed very little with respect to how state message were actually received. The growth of the park system no doubt implies that these sites were desirable amenities to taxpayers and voters, but the supposed usefulness of the parks is no substitute for showing how the ideals represented in the parks were actually internalized by the local population. Future studies might also seek to incorporate journals and personal correspondence from parks users, if such source material can be located to understand how visitors traveled to the parks, what were their experiences, and how have those experiences been passed down to their progeny to create and maintain future generations of park visitors.

Additional consideration should be given to narratives relating to Native Americans in the parks. More in-depth study of, and interaction with, the Pottawattomi and Miami tribes who still live in the state, for example, might provide insight into current Native American attitudes towards the parks. Even today, an interpretive sign hanging in the Nature Center at Turkey Run State Park that was certainly conceived, created, and given legitimacy by employees of the Department of Natural Resources depicts a time line of human interaction in the area. Its only mention of Native Americans is the very first marker, which reads “18th Century and Earlier: The Miami Indians walked many of the trails that current park visitors use today” (Figure 6.2). This message conveyed to park visitors is that history simply ended for Native Americans at Turkey Run upon the arrival of European settlers. In other words, the tradition of silencing Native American narratives in the parks continues today, further confirming the march of progress for the dominant culture.

Additional studies might also provide insight into current day attitudes concerning



Figure 6.2 – Time Line of Turkey Run’s Human Past
Turkey Run Nature Center – Photo by Author

the country and the city. The recent presidential election (2016) certainly suggests that, in Indiana as in the rest of the country, there are vast political divides between urban and rural dwellers. What is the extent to which urban dwellers still carry imagined ideas about the rural landscape, and vice-versa? Given the rise of nativist sentiment in the current conservative climate, will the “natural” environments of the parks come to represent “pure” spaces where immigrant and “others” are no longer welcome? Indiana is a much more heterogeneous population than it was one hundred years ago, a demographic shift that is reflected in the parks’ visitors as well. The Department of Natural Resources has never kept accurate demographic data on park users, but any recent trip to Turkey Run on a weekend would reveal a place where the trails, the hotel, the picnic areas, the swimming pool, and everywhere else on site are heavily used by a representative cross-section of the state population: African-Americans, Latinos, Asians

and people of European lineage fill the space. With that in mind, how do these various cultures understand the parks—and the Indiana landscape more broadly—today? Are these simply convenient sites for active, outdoor recreation? Are the parks still considered a larger state heritage of which these other cultures are also a part?

Or, are ideas of local imperialism and the exhibitionary complex still relevant to the dynamics of the current park system? Future studies might help explain the pedagogical role, if any, of the modern day park. The question of access continues to be a concern, with new solutions proposed to attract visitors who might not otherwise have the ability to visit the parks. The ground is certainly fertile for such a study. During the year 2016, each public library in the state was issued one park entry pass that could be checked out just like a typical book and which would provide free access to any park in the system. Clearly, on the centennial celebration of the parks, and the bicentennial of the state of Indiana itself, Hoosier residents are encouraged to visit these sites. The extent to which the state government is still successful in disseminating ideas about a modern-day narrative of history, heritage, and state progress in the parks today might provide support to this dissertation, as well as a significant case-study on the impact(s) of state and federal policies of environmental justice in Indiana.

Fully a century ago, the people of Indiana successfully campaigned to protect certain portions of the state's original domain and to keep these areas as a heritage passed down to future generations. In doing so, they established physical sites at which Hoosier residents and institutions struggled with the confusion of modernity. Yet, these seemingly “natural” sites cannot be seen as distinct from the city. Instead, Indiana's state parks are inexorably linked to urban dynamics and systems. In them, Indiana positioned

itself in the vanguard of Progressive Era social and economic growth, creating a veritable laboratory to explore modern ideals and to consolidate the freshly minted authority of the state. Importantly, the people of Indiana were not just protecting the local landscape.

The parks were a crucial site in which they re-baptised the state itself.

Notes to Chapter Six

¹ Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1920, 248.

² Geib, George, “Civic Myth in Indiana,” in *The State of Indiana History 2000: Papers Presented at the Indiana Historical Society’s Grand Opening*, ed. by Robert M. Taylor, Jr. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society: 2001), 182-183.

³ Early in his career, even prior to the beginnings of the parks themselves, Richard Lieber had on at least one occasion openly railed against partisan government. See “Talks on Evils of Partisan City Rule,” *Indianapolis News*, October 7, 1913, 2.

⁴ Frederick, *Colonel Richard Lieber*, 333-341 where he provides an extensive, and well-documented account of the days leading up to Lieber’s resignation, pages 333-341; See also “Lieber Resigns State Park Post,” *Indianapolis Star*, July 8, 1933, 20.

⁵ Lieber to the Editor of the Indianapolis News, November 11, 1935 *Folder – 1935-1936, May, Lieber Mss.. For information about Lieber’s work with both the Federal Government and with the National Conference on State Parks, see *The Indianapolis Times*, June 20, 1937; “Lieber Made U.S. State Park Head,” *Indianapolis Star*, June 6, 1939, 12.

⁶ See Glory-June Greiff, “New Deal Resources in Indiana State Parks,” National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, Indiana Department of Natural Resources, Indiana April 3, 1992; Glory-June Greiff, “Roads, Rocks, and Recreation: The Legacy of the WPA in Indiana,” *Traces* 3 (1991): 40-47; For a broader discussion, see Phoebe Cutler, *The Public Landscape of the New Deal* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

⁷ See Alfred Runte, op. cit., 2010. In this work, Runte advanced a controversial—and largely discredited—idea known as the “worthless lands” thesis which stated that parks, and particularly National Parks, were not designated solely because of their aesthetic or ecological relevance, but because local geology and topography made them unprofitable for mining or agricultural interests.

⁸ Heather Poston, “Prophetstown State Park Receives Funds, Promises Activities for All Hoosiers.” June 25, 2003. http://www.purdueexponent.org/city_state/article_7dc2ace6-38e6-5b36-a480-b2364ec2fdb2.html. Accessed October 11, 2016.

⁹ See 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 & Co., 1995), 69-90; Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 4th ed. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001).

¹⁰ See Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); Gillian Rose, *Feminism & Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993); Delores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1995), see especially Chapters 2 and 6; Carolyn Merchant, "Gender and Environmental History," *The Journal of American History* 76, No. 4 (1990): 1117-1121.

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