



# **Reassessing history : Native American narratives in Kentucky tourism**

**Mémoire**

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## Résumé

Dans toutes les sociétés, les rapports de pouvoir qui existent ont une grande influence sur les dynamiques de mémoire. Le colonialisme anglais et américain, et plus précisément les politiques de relocalisation comme l'*Indian Removal Act* (1830) ont eu un fort impact sur la présence autochtone dans le paysage culturel du Sud-est des États-Unis. La production de la mémoire collective à travers la commémoration, l'éducation et le tourisme sont un reflet de ces rapports de pouvoir. Elle démontre aussi quels événements du passé définissent le présent. Ce mémoire de maîtrise tente de comprendre comment les récits de la présence autochtone au Kentucky sont inscrits dans le paysage culturel de l'état.

Le Kentucky détient un riche passé précolonial encore visible sur le territoire. Plusieurs artefacts témoignent de l'occupation millénaire du Kentucky par des nations autochtones. Toutefois, selon l'histoire dominante du Kentucky, le territoire n'était pas occupé au moment des premiers contacts. La contradiction entre ce mythe et les preuves archéologiques qui se retrouvent dans le paysage a été peu étudiée. Ce mythe continue de servir de base pour, entre autres, l'éducation et le tourisme et encourage une image fautive de la présence autochtone au Kentucky. Les moyens utilisés par le pouvoir colonial américain pour tenter d'effacer la présence autochtone aux États-Unis vont au-delà de la violence des politiques de relocalisation et d'assimilation. En effet, des moyens plus subtils, comme la commémoration et les mythes, ont permis à la culture dominante de se réappropriier le territoire à travers la mémoire. Quels sont les facteurs qui ont permis de créer et qui aident à maintenir un écart entre l'histoire dominante du Kentucky et les preuves archéologiques? Quelles représentations matérielles dans le paysage culturel du Kentucky définissent cet écart? Le tourisme patrimonial au Kentucky sera l'élément central de cette analyse.

### Mots-clés

Autochtone, mémoire, identité, commémoration, tourisme patrimonial, Kentucky.

## **Abstract**

In all societies, power dynamics greatly influence memory. British and American colonialism, and relocation policies, like the *Indian Removal Act* (1830), had a strong impact on Native American presence in the cultural landscape of the Southeast United States. The production of collective memory through commemoration, tourism and education is a reflection of the power relations within society. It also shows which events in the past still define the present. This master's thesis seeks to understand how narratives of the past influence today's narratives about Native Americans in Kentucky, as well as how these narratives are inscribed in the cultural landscape of the state.

Kentucky holds a rich pre-colonial history that is still visible on the landscape. Many artifacts can be found on the land and bear witness to the long-standing Native American presence in Kentucky. However, according to Kentucky's dominant history, the territory was "empty" at the time of first contact. The contradiction that exists between this myth and the abundance of archaeological evidence, and the way it is translated into the cultural landscape, has seldom been studied. This myth provides the basis for, among other things, education and tourism, and promotes an inaccurate image of the Native presence in Kentucky, which contributes to keeping Native American identities in the past. The colonial means used to erase Native American presence in the United States went further than the violence of the federal policies of assimilation and relocation. Subtler methods, like commemoration and myths, have allowed the dominant culture to claim the land through memory. What are the factors that have created and helped to maintain the gap between Kentucky's dominant interpretation of history and archaeological fact? What material representations on the cultural landscape of Kentucky are most evident of the gap? Heritage tourism will be the focus of this analysis.

### **Keywords**

Native American, memory, identity, commemoration, heritage tourism, Kentucky.

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## List of abbreviations

<b>ARC</b>	Appalachian Regional Commission
<b>ARPA</b>	Archaeological Resources Protection Act
<b>BIA</b>	Bureau of Indian Affairs
<b>CÉRUL</b>	Ethics Committee of Laval University
<b>CVB</b>	Convention and Visitors Bureau
<b>EEC</b>	Kentucky Energy and Environment Cabinet
<b>EKU</b>	Eastern Kentucky University
<b>GPO</b>	U.S Government Publishing Office
<b>KAHT</b>	Kentucky Artisan Heritage Trails
<b>KAS</b>	Kentucky Archaeological Survey
<b>KDE</b>	Kentucky Department of Education
<b>KDFW</b>	Kentucky Department of Fish and Wildlife
<b>KDP</b>	Kentucky Department of Parks
<b>KDTT</b>	Kentucky Department of Travel and Tourism
<b>KET</b>	Kentucky Educational Television
<b>KHC</b>	Kentucky Heritage Council
<b>KHS</b>	Kentucky Historical Society
<b>KNAHC</b>	Kentucky Native American Heritage Commission
<b>KyLRC</b>	Kentucky Legislative Research Commission
<b>KyOPA</b>	Kentucky Organization of Professional Archaeologists
<b>LAW</b>	Living Archaeology Weekend
<b>NAGPRA</b>	Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act
<b>NAIA</b>	Native American Intertribal Alliance
<b>NPS</b>	National Park Service
<b>OVNAVWS</b>	Ohio Valley Native American Veteran Warrior Society
<b>RDC</b>	Riverside Discovery Center
<b>TTC</b>	Trail of Tears Commission
<b>UDC</b>	United Daughters of the Confederacy
<b>UK</b>	University of Kentucky
<b>UNESCO</b>	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
<b>WKU</b>	Western Kentucky University

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# CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Background

In all societies, power dynamics greatly influence memory. British and American colonialism, and relocation policies, like the Indian Removal Act (1830), had a strong impact on Native American presence in the cultural landscape of the Southeast United States. The production of collective memory through commemoration, tourism and education is a reflection of the power relations within society. It also shows which events in the past still define the present. This master's thesis seeks to understand how narratives of the past influence today's narratives about Native Americans in Kentucky, as well as how these narratives are inscribed in the cultural landscape of the state.

This subject belongs to the field of study of cultural geography, anthropology, archaeology and ethnohistory. The concepts of memory, commemoration, cultural identity, sense of place, destination image and heritage tourism, as they are defined in cultural studies, help to illustrate and analyze the way identity is created in relationship with the land and how the cultural landscape can impact the production of collective memory and history. This conceptual framework will allow us to better understand the way colonial narratives have impacted Native identity and presence in Kentucky's dominant history.

## 1.2 Problem statement

Kentucky holds a rich pre-colonial history that is still visible on the landscape. Burial mounds, arrowheads, spear points, village foundations, pottery, camps, bone tools, shell ornaments, petroglyphs and many other artifacts can be found on the land and bear witness to the long-standing Native American presence in Kentucky. However, according to Kentucky's dominant history, the territory was "empty" at the time of first contact. The contradiction that exists between this myth of an

empty land or simply a hunting ground and the abundance of archaeological evidence, and the way it is translated into the cultural landscape, has seldom been studied. This myth provides the basis for, among other things, education and tourism, and promotes an inaccurate image of Native presence in Kentucky, which contributes to keeping Native American identities in the past. The colonial means used to erase the Native American presence in the United States went further than the violence of the federal policies of assimilation and relocation. Subtler methods, like commemoration and myths, have allowed the dominant culture to claim the land through memory.

The central questions framing this research project are: What are the factors that have created and helped to maintain the gap between Kentucky's dominant interpretation of history and archaeological fact? What material representations on the cultural landscape of Kentucky are most evident of the gap? Heritage tourism will be the focus of this analysis.

### **1.3 Outline**

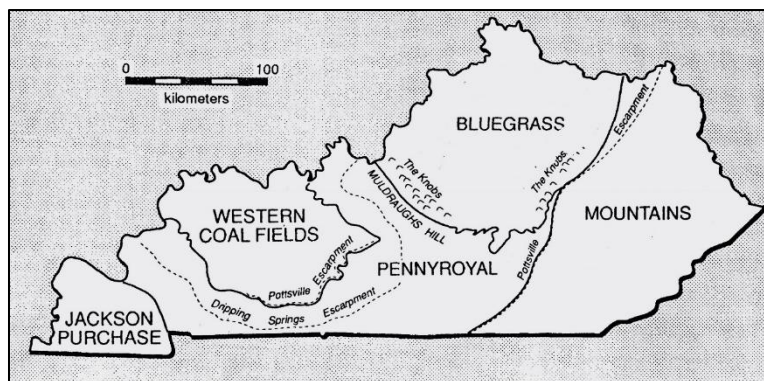
This thesis is divided in five chapters. The introduction establishes the geographical and historical context, by quickly relating the key moments of prehistorical and historical Native American presence in Kentucky. It also presents an overview of Native American modern presence in the state. The second part is a literature review of the concepts used for the theoretical framework: these are memory, cultural identity, commemoration, cultural landscape and concepts related to tourism studies. This part also includes the research objectives, which flow from the literature review. The third chapter details the research methodology, and the fourth includes the results and analysis. It begins with establishing the destination image of Kentucky and then analyzes heritage tourism in the state. All the tourist sites that were visited to gather data are presented by categories. The emphasis has been placed on the Native American cultural interpretation that exists within all these sites. The data gathered through interviews is also presented to get a general idea of Kentuckians' perceptions of Native Americans, but also to understand how Kentuckians self-identifying as Native Americans explore their own cultures. The fourth chapter also presents a section encompassing various elements of Native American imagery that can be found in the state and are not tourist sites or events (toponymy, state historic markers, etc.).

The last chapter is the discussion and conclusion. It includes tourism-oriented solutions that could help reassess Native American history in the state and a brief summary of the results.

## 1.4 Historical context

This research has been conducted in Kentucky. The state of Kentucky is bounded mainly by rivers, except for the South, where it shares a border with Tennessee. The Ohio River forms its northern border with Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. The Mississippi River forms its western border with the state of Missouri. Much of the eastern border is the Big Sandy River, but one part is the Appalachian Mountains. The states of Virginia and West Virginia are found across the eastern border. The archaeologist R. Barry Lewis (1996) divides the state into five geographical regions: Jackson Purchase, Western Coal Fields, Pennyroyal Region, Bluegrass Region, and the Appalachia (or Eastern Coal Fields) (figure 1). Kentucky's geography is central to understanding its archaeology and many modern issues (Lewis, 1996a: 3), as well as which type of tourism was developed in the area. Those regions are used in Lewis' book *Kentucky archaeology* (1996), which was the first recent publication on early Native American archaeology intended for the public (Morgan, 1996: ix).

**Figure 1**      **Geographical regions in Kentucky**



Source: Lewis, 1996a: 3

The different regions of Kentucky have been inhabited by the descendants of the Clovis culture for over 10 000 years (figure 2). The major archaeological periods of Kentucky are defined as follows: the Paleoindian period (9500 - 8000 B.C.), the Archaic period (8000 - 1000 B.C.), the Woodland period (1000 B.C. - 900 A.D.), and the Late Prehistoric period (900 - 1700 A.D.). The Late Prehistoric period is the last prehistorical archaeological era. The period encompassing European and American descendants is called the Historical period (Lewis, 1996a: 17). The Late Prehistoric period is not uniform throughout the territory of present-day Kentucky. Archaeologists explain that two different cultures lived during that time: the Mississippians period in the south and west and the Fort Ancient in the north and east (*Idem*: 15).

**Figure 2 Archaeological periods in Kentucky**

ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERIODS IN KENTUCKY		YEARS
Paleoindian period		9500 to 8000 B.C.
Archaic period		8000 to 1000 B.C.
Woodland period		1000 B.C. to 900 A.D.
Late Prehistoric period		900 to 1700 A.D.
Mississippi period (South-west of Kentucky)	Fort Ancient period (North-east of Kentucky)	
Historic period a) Pre-European Exploration b) Early European Settlement		? to 1775 A.D. 1775 to 1830 A.D.

Conception: B.-Martin, 2018

Source: Lewis, 1996a: 16-17; Pollack, 2008: 7

The Paleoindian period began with the first inhabitants of Kentucky until the end of the Pleistocene: the last Ice Age. This period can be divided in three: Early, Middle and Late. The populations of these eras were hunter-gatherers. The climate was cooler than it is now, but was beginning to warm up (Pollack, 2008: 4). Most of the big mammals they hunted went extinct by the end of the Paleoindian era or went north to follow the retreating ice (Tankersley, 1996: 21). The Paleoindian hunters' tools can be found across large distances because the type of specialized hunting they would practice, especially during the Early and Middle phases, required them to move across great distances to follow the seasonal migration of herds. Indeed, their lances and points were often discovered hundreds of kilometers away from where they were made (*Idem*: 24). Many remains of megafauna have been found in what is now Big Bone Lick State Park, in the north of the state. During the Late Paleoindian period, changes in the fauna permitted Native peoples to hunt in smaller territories (*Idem*: 38). As the climate was warming up and the big game disappearing, Paleoindian hunter-gatherers moved from the more open spaces of the Pennyroyal and Bluegrass regions to the Appalachian Mountains, to pursue foraging and smaller game hunting. By the end of the Late Paleoindian period, all regions of Kentucky were occupied (*Idem*: 35).

The Archaic period is also divided into three parts (Early, Middle, Late). It is the longest prehistoric period in North America (Jefferies, 1996: 76). The culture of this era shows important changes related to the end of the Ice Age (climate, vegetation, species, etc.) (*Idem*: 39; Pollack, 2008: 5). However, the people that lived during the Early Archaic period had a similar lifestyle to those living during the Late Paleoindian period. The groups were still highly mobile and scattered across the state (Jefferies, 1996: 50). Changes mainly appeared during the Middle and Late periods. The population density increased, mobility decreased, and many groups started to trade with groups located further away (*Idem*: 72, 77). Indeed, many non-local objects have been discovered in the graves of Archaic people, like copper and seashells (*Idem*: 77). There was also a significant evolution in tool making and many groups started to cultivate vegetables and plants (*Idem*: 76). The Bluegrass region shows the earliest evidence of sunflower and goosefoot cultivation. This region can be compared to China or the Levant, in terms of plant domestication (Henderson and Pollack, 2012: 5). Groups developed new social behaviors, even though burial rituals were still relatively simple. People were usually buried with tools and ornaments (Jefferies, 1996: 46, 54, 61). The excavated graves suggest that people were treated equally, apart from differences in gender and age (*Idem*: 74). During the Late Archaic period, pottery making started

being part of southern groups' culture (*Idem*: 77). It is also during the Late Archaic period and the following one that groups began to use the caves located in the Pennyroyal Plateau (Mammoth Cave, Salts Cave, etc.) for burial sites and mining. Gypsum was scraped off the walls and used to trade with other groups. Petroglyphs have been discovered in a few places. The cool climate of caves allowed for the textiles made during this period to be preserved (Henderson and Pollack, 2012: 6).

The Woodland period is defined by the Adena and Hopewell cultures, pottery making, gardening for subsistence, and more elaborate religious practices (Railey, 1996: 79, 124). Pottery is generally used as a marker for the beginning of the Woodland period (*Idem*: 119). Despite the rise of horticulture for subsistence, it was still used as a supplement to hunting and gathering (*Idem*: 120). The Adena people were the first to build earthworks and burial mounds in Kentucky, during the Middle Woodland period (*Idem*: 90), which could be indicative of more complex societies (Pollack, 2008: 6). At ritual sites, Native peoples performed ceremonies for the dead (Railey, 1996: 84). During the colonial era, explorers and historians found remains of the Adena culture and thought them to belong to a superior and long extinct culture. "Common 19<sup>th</sup> century racism" led them to the assumption that Native Americans could not be related to those people (O'Brien, 2010: 1987). They named this society the Mound Builders and the myth surrounding them has only recently been dispelled. Adena culture were inhabited by the ancestors of the Native American tribes located in the south-eastern United States during the colonial era (Lewis, 1996a: 8). The Late Woodland period brought important changes: The bow and arrow was invented, the practice of horticulture intensified, maize became part of the diet, and social organization became more complex (Railey, 1996: 124).

The Mississippi period is characterized by shell tempered ceramics (Pollack, 2008: 6), a culture centered around agriculture (maize, beans, squash, etc.), and a more complex social, political and economic organization (Lewis, 1996b: 127). Settlements ranged from farmsteads to administrative centers (Pollack, 2008: 6). Within this culture, many different languages likely existed (Lewis, 1996b: 127). The Mississippian towns, villages and farmsteads were located in southern and western Kentucky. The main difference with earlier periods is that the Mississippian societies were chiefdoms. However, the political systems that were created were not based on the absolute authority of the chiefs and differences in social status did not mean extreme differences in way of life, especially compared

with Mississippian societies in Illinois, which conducted mass human sacrifices (*Idem*: 153). Burial practices, however, show strong differences between ages. Infants were usually buried in the house floors or wall trenches, while youth and adults were buried in cemeteries (*Idem*: 154). Building fortified villages became more widespread during the Mississippian period, which implies some warfare activities (*Idem*: 159). The towns were organized around an open plaza, itself surrounded by platform mounds, houses and work spaces. An excavated site that shows the remains of a Mississippian settlement is located in Ballard County: namely, Wickliffe Mounds State Park (*Idem*: 131-132). Many Mississippian villages were deserted after 1500 A.D. probably indirectly due to the presence of European explorers (*Idem*: 152-153). Lewis argues that even though a lot of the literature states that the Mississippian culture became extinct around 1300 A.D. (before the arrival of Europeans), the data available in Kentucky strongly suggests that depopulation did not begin before Europeans' arrival (*Idem*: 153).

The Fort Ancient period presents a culture similar in many ways to the Mississippian culture, and its beginning is also marked by the use of shell temper in pottery (Pollack, 2008: 7). As I mentioned earlier, both cultures developed around the same time, in two different regions of Kentucky. The Fort Ancient culture was located in northern and eastern Kentucky. Agriculture was the main food source, and corn was a central part of it, even though Fort Ancient corn production was different than Mississippian corn production (Sharp, 1996: 178-179). The Fort Ancient villages were usually built around large plaza (*Idem*: 181-182), like the Mississippian villages, but did not present platform mounds (*Idem*: 161). Villages moved every 10 to 30 years, after the land had been exhausted, whereas Mississippian villages were occupied for longer periods of time (*Idem*: 179). By the end of the Late Fort Ancient period, people had stopped building burial mounds, and rather used family cemetery areas located near houses (*Idem*: 170). Instead of their social structure being organized in a clear hierarchy, the power dynamics of the groups were more diffuse. This can be said of all the different prehistorical nations in Kentucky.

The level of social equity is particularly evident through their burial rituals. The manner in which people were buried was related to their age or gender, instead of their placement within the social hierarchy, which indicates "a low level of social stratification" (*Idem*: 179). Individual achievement was usually

what determined social status, and not inheritance (*Idem*: 180). Sharp explains that these social and political patterns are similar to "[e]arly historical accounts of Native American groups in the Northeast and Great Lakes regions [...] (*Ibid.*). This type of organization is called "leagues or confederacies and include many groups, such as the Illinois, Miami, Huron, Neutral, Shawnee and many others, in addition to the Five Nations or League of the Iroquois" (*Ibid.*). Even though it is somewhat difficult to directly link prehistorical cultures to contemporary Native American tribes, the Shawnee are most likely descendants of the Fort Ancient culture (*Idem*: 161, 181). Indeed, "[i]n the 1700s the Shawnee had the clearest claim to the central Ohio Valley as their ancestral homeland, and some late Fort Ancient sites were probably occupied by the Shawnee (*Ibid.*).

The Ohio Valley was one of the last places in Eastern North America to be visited by Europeans. The earliest historical records of Europeans exploring the Ohio Valley only date back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Lower population density at the time of contact implies that indirect contact (through diseases) might have been the cause of depopulation. European trade goods (ornaments, rifle parts, etc.) found in Fort Ancient people's graves is evidence of direct or indirect contact (*Idem*: 175, 181).

The Historic period can be divided in two: Pre-European Settlement Exploration, and Early European Settlement (Pollack, 2008: 7). Pre-European Settlement started with the first Europeans (French government, explorers, traders, and land speculators) travelling through Kentucky, which only amounted to brief contact with Native American communities (*Ibid.*). Europeans were travelling through the Southeastern United States well before that, with the Hernando de Soto expedition in the 1540s. The goods they carried and exchanged travelled along Native American trade routes, and eventually to Kentucky (Henderson and Pollack, 2012). A smallpox pandemic occurred at the end of the 1600s in the Southeast, which might be what affected Native American groups in Kentucky and prompted some of the survivors to leave the region (*Ibid.*). The disease could have spread without direct contact with Europeans, but only through contact with infected goods, tribes, and rivers. Archaeologists believe that 50 to 90% of the population of Kentucky was wiped out by European diseases before first recorded contact. The rest of the population would have then met up with other tribes, while some might have also stayed. This phenomenon resulted in the loss of many Native American cosmologies and lifeways in Kentucky (*Idem*: 15-17). Indeed, between 1680 and 1730, there is little archaeological evidence of



active Native American villages in Kentucky (*Idem*: 15), with the exception of Lower Shawnee Town: a multitribal republic located on both sides of the Ohio River, half in Ohio and half in Kentucky. Lower Shawnee Town was a major fur trade center (McBride and McBride, 1996: 209-211). Between 1735 and 1758, Lower Shawneetown was one of the most important villages on the Ohio River (Sharp, 1996: 175). The village was inhabited by Shawnee, but also by Five Nations Iroquois and Canadian Iroquois, Delaware and other Native American nations, as well as some English and French traders (*Ibid.*). In the 1730s, some Native American groups returned to the Ohio Valley and to the ones who might not have left, and some new groups also established themselves there (Henderson and Pollack, 2012). The Native American village "Eskippakithiki" was most likely built in 1752, in Clark County (*Ibid.*).

English explorers, for their part, started to settle the eastern parts of North America in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The explorers would then talk of an empty territory—*Terra Nullius*—despite the high density of Indigenous people dispersed across the land (Merrell, 1989). Historical rivalries between France and England led to a global conflict in Europe: the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), which was called the French and Indian War in the colonies. During the war, French and English settlers allied with different Native American tribes, in order to gain economic and political control of the land. England sent additional troops and weapons to the colonies to secure victory and protect its colonial interests. English settlers had to pay for the war effort through a substantial tax increase. Eventually, this became one of the pillars of the independence discourse. England acquired most French and some Spanish colonies through the Treaty of Paris (1763). The English-American territory was then called the Thirteen Colonies (U.S. Department of State, 2015a). The Proclamation of 1763 divided the land along the Appalachian Mountains, with Native American land to the west and British colonial land to the east (Henderson and Pollack, 2012). In 1768, the Treaty of Fort Stanwix assessed the Ohio River as a boundary between Native American and British lands. The Cherokee drew the Treaty of Hard Labor to further define the boundaries of their land and keep their Kentucky claims. In following years, Native American groups attacked the settlements that did not respect the treaties.

The Early European Settlement period began with the first European settlement in Harrodsburg, Kentucky, in 1774, one year before the American Revolution. Earlier that year, the Shawnee had lost their claims to the land south of the Ohio River through the Treaty of Camp Charlotte (Henderson and

Pollack, 2012). Native American communities had claims on various land in Kentucky around the time of first European settlements (McBride and McBride, 1996) and that period saw many conflicts between the British and various Native American groups (Pollack, 2008: 7). The Cherokee relinquished their claims to Kentucky through the Treaty of Sycamore Shoals, in 1775 (Henderson and Pollack, 2012). Boonesborough, Kentucky was founded that same year. The precarious economic situation of England after the Seven Years' War; imperial control over the Thirteen Colonies, through taxes and customs regulations; and rebellious actions against the Empire eventually led to the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783). In 1775, the Thirteen Colonies unified under the name "United States of America" to declare their independence, and therefore war on England. France, Spain and their allies were also involved by siding with the United States (U.S. Department of States, 2015a). In 1776, Kentucky became a county of Virginia. Many Native American nations allied with England, threatened as they were by the increasingly invasive presence of settlers on their land. Only a few of them sided with the Americans. In the following years, Shawnee and Chickasaw led many attacks on white settlements in Kentucky in order to regain their land, and many settlements were eventually deserted. Some Native American groups sided with the British to defeat Kentucky militia at the Battle of Blue Licks (1782).

The United States eventually won the war and obtained their independence from England through the signing of the Treaty of Paris (1783). Native Americans were not included in the treaty and their choice of ally during the Revolutionary War contributed to further marginalizing them. Entire villages were even burnt down by settlers after the war (Prucha, 1988). The United States came into possession of Britain's Native American land, although this was not recognized by many Native groups (Henderson and Pollack, 2012). The Native Americans' socio-economic conditions deteriorated between the beginning of the colonial era and the Revolution. Diseases eradicated a large part of the Native American population, and commercial trade with English-Americans created a form of dependence towards English-American products (Clark, 2007: 58). The hunting, fighting and farming skills of the Native American people slowly became less and less useful to the colonial Americans as they started to establish permanent and organized settlements, reducing the need for harmonious relationships between Native Americans and the American government (Merrell, 1989). Kentucky settlers, for example, first relied on Indigenous crops and agricultural techniques. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the settlers' corn cultivation patterns were based on Native American traditions (Eslinger, 2009: 10). Eslinger

remarks that "[w]ether the settlers had much awareness of their cultural debt to the Indians, who were seen primarily as military foes, is a good question" (*Idem*: 11).

Many other conflicts involving Native American groups and Americans took place, after the Revolutionary War. In 1785, the Treaty of Hopewell defined boundaries for Cherokee hunting grounds. Archive records show that Kentucky men were paid to kill and scalp Native Americans, in 1788 (Calvert, 1977). In 1791, the Treaty of Holston defined boundaries for Cherokee people, and encouraged a farming lifestyle, among other things (Henderson and Pollack, 2012). In 1792, Kentucky became an American state while Native Americans were still trying to reclaim their lands (*Idem*: 18). The Greenville Treaty (1795) signed after the Battle of Fallen Timbers, in Ohio, put an end to conflicts between the Americans, the French and the Native Americans in the Ohio Valley (Ohio, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Illinois and Indiana). Through this treaty, Native Americans lost all the rights they had left to Kentucky. The main purpose of the treaty was to support westward expansion (*Idem*: 20). In 1798, the First Treaty of Tellico forced the Cherokee Nation to cede more land and to ensure safety for the Americans travelling along the Kentucky Road, which cut through Cherokee land. They could, however, keep hunting on the land they had ceded (Henderson and Pollack, 2012). The Third Treaty of Tellico took more land away from the Cherokee in the south of the state. The American policies of land management were using treaties as a removal weapon (Hershberger, 1999: 16). The Cherokee surrendered all their land between 1721 and 1819, first to England and then to the United States (Garrison, 2015: 80). In Georgia, between 1802 and 1809, federal treaties transferred over 20 million Native American acres to white settlers. By 1819, only 5 million acres were still owned by Native Americans. When Native Americans refused to give away their last piece of land, Georgia asked the federal government to remove them by force. Such demands were not answered by the government until the Andrew Jackson administration, even if other presidents before him were in favor of Native American removal (Hershberger, 1999).

Native Americans tried to defend their rights in court, but oftentimes in vain. By the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the violation of many treaties had severed the ties that still existed between Native Americans and the American government. Till (2008: 108) points out to a somewhat similar memory making process that occurred in Minnesota. The Minnesota Historical Center does not recognize the

ancestral homelands that were taken from Native American people, their removal and the violence and murders they endured during the settlement era, in Bdote "the birthplace of the Dakota people in the contemporary American Midwest". The site is now the Historic Fort Snelling, a place commemorating the white conquest of the West, Civil War memory and antebellum era (*Ibid.*).

Tecumseh, a Shawnee chief, led the Indian Confederacy in the War of 1812, along with the British, against the United States. In 1818, the border of Kentucky was extended to the west when the Chickasaw sold land to the United States (Henderson and Pollack, 2012). In 1818, the politician Richard Mentor Johnson, who became famous for allegedly killing Chief Tecumseh in the War of 1812, opened a school for Native Americans on his farm, in Scott County, Kentucky. The school closed for lack of funding three years later. Johnson opened a second school in 1825. It was called Choctaw Indian Academy and remained opened for 23 years (*Idem*: 31-32). The Choctaw Nation partly funded the school with the money they had received from land sales, but they had no control over its administration (Drake, 1993: 261; 268). Other nations eventually contributed to the school as well. The rest was funded by the U.S. War Department, which administrated the school, in theory. In practice, Johnson controlled the school and used it for profit, trying to fix his financial difficulties by "manipulating records, reports, and finances" (*Idem*: 261). Johnson eventually became vice-president of the United States in the Van Buren administration (*Ibid.*). Johnson shared the views of Thomas L. McKenney, the superintendent of Indian trade, on Native American education: to reform them "physically, mentally, and morally—according to nineteenth-century ideals. Specifically, McKenney recommended agriculture and education to 'civilize' the 'savages' [...] with a curriculum of white views and values, to transform Indian hunter-warriors into model Christian farmer-citizens" (*Idem*: 263). To save on expenses, Johnson had the older boys built their own dormitories, and his slaves would make the bedding, clothing and food for the boys. He would also restrict food intake and refused to get a doctor for the school, even though he was required to by the War Department, until the cholera epidemic that killed nine students (*Idem*: 274-277). The number of teachers required and funded by the War Department was never met, for Johnson was always keeping most of the money for himself (*Idem*: 280). Many young men who graduated from the Academy had learned nothing useful and " [d]uring their extended stay in Kentucky, they had forgotten customs, relatives, and attachments. Unable to cope with detachment and estrangement, some of these committed suicide" (*Idem*: 296). The school closed when the funding eventually stopped because of the Indian Removal Act, and of many

complaints received from the different nations that had sent their boys to the Academy (Drake, 1993; Henderson and Pollack, 2012: 32). None of the Native American groups that sent their children to the Academy lived in Kentucky at the time, even though Kentucky was the ancestral land of some of them (*Ibid.*).

The particular historical context that followed the independence of the colonies accelerated the events that led to the adoption of the Indian Removal Act (1830). Manifest Destiny, a set of Western expansionist policies, offered a mythic vision of the settlement of the continent. Between 1830 and 1860, Americans were relentless in their pursuit to conquer more land, even going so far as to declaring war on England again, as England still owned land in the north-west. The federal government did not hesitate to violate Native American treaties once they no longer served any purpose, and would even go against the Supreme Court's decisions (U.S. Department of State, 2015b). Native American lands in present-day Mississippi and Alabama were an obstacle to westward expansion. While some groups decided to fight the settlers, others just surrendered parts of their land, hoping to be allowed to keep the rest. Both tactics failed to save their land from the American settlers.

According to Cave (2003: 1330-1331), historians sometimes wrongly present the facts surrounding the Indian Removal Act, saying that the American Congress had passed a law to allow the use of military forces to relocate Native Americans tribes to the west of the Mississippi River. However, the Indian Removal Act passed by Congress only allowed for the voluntary removal of Native Americans through treaties. It "included a clause guaranteeing that 'nothing in this act contained shall be construed as authorizing or directing the violation of any existing treaty between the United State and any of the Indian tribes'" (*Idem*: 1335). The Congress gave money to the Jackson administration to negotiate the removal, pay for transportation and offer compensation for houses, farms or orchards loss (*Idem*: 1333). Jackson went against the Congress' wishes, as he did not have an authorization from Congress to use military force to remove tribes that wanted to stay on their land, but he still forced them out. The Jackson administration also tried to convince the American public that no force would be used against Native Americans (*Idem*: 1334). However, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Cherokee and Seminole tribes were all moved from the south-east of the United States—either through treaties or military forces—to Indian Territory (present day Oklahoma). Those five autonomous nations were known under the name

"Five Civilized Tribes". The route followed by the nations during their Removal is called *Trail of Tears*. It is now an historical trail that crosses Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Arkansas, Missouri, Illinois, and Oklahoma. Thousands died during the removal (U.S. Department of State, 2015b). By 1840, Native Americans in the Southeastern United States were the ones that had successfully hid from the authorities or resisted the removal. This territorial loss thus equated to identity loss, even if many tried to quietly preserve their cultures. Today, this situation greatly compromises the recognition of Native American rights in Kentucky, since there are now few tangible proofs of Native American occupation of Kentucky post-Removal. The stories of Native Americans who stayed behind are not part of Kentucky's dominant history or official records. "Officially, there [are] no Indians in Kentucky" (Sizemore, 2004: 2). They are not included in museums and historical accounts of the state. Instead of being the narratives of entire nations, they are "family histories and personal narratives shared in diaries and spoken about during family reunions and around dinner tables. Historians have not begun to research these sources" (Henderson and Pollack, 2012: 34).

The Civil War (1861-1865) also further alienated Native Americans from being part of American history. Native Americans' contribution to the Civil War was not recognized: "[e]ven as American Indian soldiers were fighting and dying for the army in the East, the U.S. government was recruiting white soldiers to 'subdue' Indians in the West" (Sutton and Latschar, 2013: 4). Kentucky held an ambiguous position during the Civil War. It did not secede and join the Confederacy, but it kept on practicing slavery and the state's population was divided, with people fighting for both sides. As a border state, Kentucky was living with two different narratives to commemorate after the war. Indeed, "[d]emocratic politics enveloped in a Lost Cause narrative [...] came to define Kentucky in the years following the war (Marshall, 2010: 34). In the South, more generally, it seems that slavery and having lost the Civil War has brought a type of commemoration based on nostalgia, alongside the commemoration of the Civil Rights Movement (Dwyer, 2004). This complex situation often left Native memory out of the commemoration process, as they did not really fit in any of the narratives. Indeed, "[l]ong plagued by its biracial struggles, the South's historical drama leaves little room for its marginalized Indians" (Taylor, 2012: 105).

As early as the 1800s, Native Americans were no longer part of the bicolor Southern society and the

authorities often tried to simply have them categorized under the African-American population, denying them their particular narrative (Merrell, 1984). For example, they were forbidden to pray in churches used only by white people (Merrel, 1984). In Kentucky, official government forms only allowed individuals to identify as either "white" or "colored" (Sizemore, 2004: 2). However, this procedure is not specific to Kentucky. O'Brien explains that herself, as well as many other scholars "have observed that demographic methods have historically been tools of colonialism used against New England (and other) Indian peoples. Ruth Wallis Herndon and Ella Wilcox Sekatau found that in the Revolutionary era, Rhode Island officials ceased identifying Indians as such in their dealings, instead "designating them as 'Negro' or 'Black', thus committing a form of documentary genocide against them" (2010: xvi). Hobson *et al.*'s (2010) book echoes this idea, talking about a "paper genocide". Native Americans who stayed behind after the Indian Removal Act suffered under the Jim Crow Laws, in similar ways as African Americans. Native Americans were not considered American citizens until 1924. They were considered to be at the bottom of the social ladder (Brown, 2015: Interview).

## 1.5 Myth of the "Dark and Bloody Ground"

The particular context of Kentucky, being said to be mostly empty at the time of contact, and the historical events that shaped the Southeastern United States led to the creation of a long-standing myth: the "Dark and Bloody Ground". The myth of the Dark and Bloody Ground was created during the Early European Settlement period. It might come from a statement made by Dragging Canoe, a Cherokee leader. In 1775, while he was negotiating a treaty transferring Kentucky to the Transylvania Company, he might have said that a dark cloud hung over the land known as the Bloody Ground (Henderson, 1992: 2). It was then assessed that Kentucky was only a war and hunting ground that had never been permanently inhabited by Native Americans. European settlers assumed Native American nations were fighting over it, which would have meant that it did not belong to anyone, and that it was theirs for the taking. In 1788, John Filson published *The discovery, settlement, and present state of Kentucke*, which includes an account of Native Americans in the area. In his book, Filson referred to Kentucky as the "Dark and Bloody Ground" (Henderson and Pollack, 2012: 27). The book was "instrumental in the early codification of the myth of the 'Dark and Bloody Ground'" (Henderson and Pollack, 2012). In order to encourage European immigration in Kentucky, Filson presented a safe,

empty land, explaining that there were no Native Americans in Kentucky. Land speculators used the myth of an empty ground and the agricultural fertility of the Bluegrass to entice settlers to come to the state and be farmers (Elsinger, 2009: 4-5). Filson's book was used by subsequent historians and pioneers who further amplified and perpetuated the myth (Tankersley, 2009: 9). *Collins' historical sketches of Kentucky. History of Kentucky* (Lewis Collins, 1847) and *Ancient life in Kentucky* (William D. Funkhouser and William S. Webb, 1928) also supported these early accounts (Tankersley, 2009 : 9). "Unfortunately, much of the early record is marred by a hatred and hostility between [Native Americans] and the settlers that led to the description of Kentucky as the 'Dark and Bloody Ground'" (Clark, 2007: 92). Many legends and stories about being held captive by the Shawnee are part of Kentucky's settlement era history (*Idem*: 93). Not only did this myth encourage settlement in Kentucky, it also defended settlers' claim to the land and denied Native Americans the right to fight for what was theirs (Sizemore, 2004: 10). Through these myths and legends, Native American attacks on settlers were made to appear irrational, unjustifiable and unprovoked, allowing for settlers to further dehumanize the people from which they had stolen the land. Differences between settlers' and Native Americans' views of land ownership and occupation of the land were also different, as Native Americans did not individually own land and were rather selling only access to it (Henderson, 1992: 5).

Stories and legends are often reinforced in museums. White protagonists are often commemorated (as in Jenny Wiley State Park), even though they "reflect the hatred and fear that the settlers felt toward the Shawnee", and are probably not the truth (Clark, 2007: 93). This myth was transmitted by the first historians and settlers of Kentucky, and still exists in popular culture through textbooks, children's books, magazines, newspapers, tourism information and brochures, etc. (Henderson and Pollack, 2012: 45). The awareness of archaeological evidence that dispels this myth is relatively recent and information is not adequately shared between scholars and the public (Henderson, 2015: Interview; Stottman, 2016a: Interview).



## 1.6 Native American modern presence in Kentucky

Due to the particular historical context of the state, no federally recognized tribes are located in Kentucky. There are 567 federally recognized Native American tribes in the United States (BIA, 2016). Federal recognition status can be received through several processes, like treaties, acts of Congress and presidential executive orders, to name only a few. The status gives Native people tribal sovereignty and other rights of self-government, as well as access to different federal benefits and services (BIA, 2016). Some states also have a process established to recognize tribes at the state level. This process does not replace federal recognition, but usually helps with matters related to cultural identity preservation. However, Kentucky does not have a process established for tribal recognition at the state level. Even though Kentucky does not offer tribal recognition, in 2000 and 2004, the Kentucky state legislature provided a definition for "Indian Tribe". "These regulations [marked] the first time Indians [appeared] in Kentucky statutes" (Henderson and Pollack, 2012: 41). In 2001, a task force was created by the Senate of Kentucky "to study the implications of and the issues involved in state recognition of Native American Indian tribes in Kentucky" (KyLRC, 2001). The members of the task force were supposed to investigate other states' recognition process, the federal process, the needs of Kentucky Native American population, etc. and report to the Kentucky Legislative Research Commission (KyLRC). The study did not lead to state recognition (*Ibid.*).

In 2014, Michael L. Dunn, the president of the NAIA, wrote a letter to the BIA, in Washington D.C. to contest a part of the *25 CFR 83 – Procedures for establishing that an American Indian group exists as an Indian tribe*. Section 83.7 is called *Mandatory criteria for federal acknowledgement*. Section 83.7(c) states that the federal acknowledgement of a tribe demands that "the petitioner has maintained political influence or authority over its members as an autonomous entity from historical times until the present" (GPO, 2012). Dunn (2014) insists that this particular section did not take into account peoples of the southeastern United States, because even though their tribal governments were forcibly removed, families stayed behind or returned to the area. They had to pass as "white" or "black" and could not reclaim their identity for fear of being removed or mistreated. "Due to prevailing laws and policies preventing ownership of property and many common freedoms to any other than white Americans, many Native American people kept their heritage secret from any but their own family, passing on

ceremonies and traditions intact to the future generations and maintaining their presence their cultural lands (*Ibid.*). Therefore, Native American identity is invisible in official records (birth, marriage, death certificates, etc.) (*Ibid.*). However, now that people of Native American descent can safely reclaim their heritage, they want to be "afforded the same opportunities to be identified and recognized as Native Americans tribes and/or groups" (*Ibid.*).

There can also be rivalries between Native American nations, because of the limited funds available through the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Opposition can therefore come from other Native American tribes when it comes to obtaining state or federal recognition for unrecognized tribes (Henderson, 2015: Interview). Furthermore, most Native Americans who now still live in Kentucky had to hide their identity and heritage in order to survive, which now renders their recognition as Native Americans through proving their continuous inhabitation of the land very complex (Henderson and Pollack, 2012: 36). Nevertheless, there are now more than 30 000 Native Americans in Kentucky—mainly of Cherokee and Shawnee descent—who either hid on the land or came back to their ancestral territory after Removal (Brown, 2015: Interview; Dunn, 2014). These people and families formed "the roots of the late twentieth century American Indian presence in Kentucky" (Henderson and Pollack, 2012: 34).

Beginning in the 1960s, a movement against discrimination towards Native Americans started to grow in the United States. In Kentucky, this era and the following decades brought a revival of Native American cultures. The Kentucky state government also passed a series of laws to protect archaeological sites, which was helpful in preserving archaeological records of pre-contact Native American presence in Kentucky (*Idem*: 34-39). Federal laws protecting Native American cultures and heritage are usually intended for federally recognized tribes, and they can be detrimental to unrecognized tribes. The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), passed in 1990, frames the process for returning human remains and artifacts to the nations sharing the same cultural heritage (*Idem*: 39-40). This process allows Native American nations to discuss these issues with museums presenting such materials, for example (*Idem*: 40). Many of Kentucky's Native Americans, because they are not federally recognized, cannot be part of this discussion. Among the federally recognized tribes who are involved in federal consultation for remains and artifacts found in

Kentucky are the Chickasaw (who historically lived in the Jackson Purchase region), the Cherokee and the Shawnee (who both historically lived in Kentucky statewide). Those nations are now located west of the Mississippi River, because of the Indian Removal Act and in North Carolina (*Ibid.*). Another example is the Arts and Crafts Act that was signed by Congress in 1990. It forbids artists that do not come from a federally recognized tribe to sell works of art or crafts that are marketed as being "authentic Native American product" (*Ibid.*). While this law gives an added value to Native American arts and crafts, it keeps Native Americans without an official status from selling their products as authentic (*Ibid.*).

Some commemorative sites were created to preserve Native American history in Kentucky, as well as organizations which promote Native American cultural identity through festivals, powwows, educational activities, etc. The Kentucky Native American Heritage Commission (KNAHC), which is part of the Kentucky Heritage Council (KHC) was established in 1996. Its mission is for "all Kentuckians [to] recognize, appreciate and understand the significant contributions Native Americans have made to Kentucky's rich cultural heritage. Through education and increased awareness, the people of Kentucky will understand the histories, cultures and matters of concerns to Native American peoples" (KNAHC, 2016). It deals with issues related to grave desecration, Native American stereotypes, and state recognition. The KNAHC counts 17 members. One is the Tourism, Arts and Heritage Cabinet Secretary and the others are appointed by the Governor, among which eight are of Native American heritage. The members come from universities, archaeology, Native American arts and the public (*Ibid.*). The KNAHC is one of the many sponsors of Living Archaeology Weekend (LAW), at Red River Gorge, an event that focuses on education children and adults on Kentucky's Native American and pioneer heritage. KNAHC is also present at various cultural activities and supports many educational initiatives.

In Kentucky, Native American cultures and history are not part of the curriculum of many elementary, middle and high schools. Such teaching is merely optional. Furthermore, the Kentucky Department of Education (KDE) does not assess which textbooks must be bought and used by the schools. Each institution can therefore choose their own textbooks (Brown, 2015: Interview). As a result, no unified approach exists in Kentucky for talking about Native American cultures, and teachers who decide to explore Native American cultures and history in their class do not always have the appropriate tools to

do so. To address this issue, the KNAHC created or makes available through their website guides and resource packets to give to teachers across the state, among which: *Native Americans: Who are they today? – A discipline-based unit in social studies (grades 4-5)* (Brown et al., 2001); *Teaching about American Indians: Stereotypes and contributions – A resource packet for Kentucky teachers* (Brown and Henderson, 1999); *Native peoples, continuing lifeways: The Native American cultural project, 1994 Kentucky State Fair – A resource packet for Kentucky teachers*, (Stephanie Darst, 1994); and *A Kentucky's teachers guide to Native American literature* (Judy Sizemore, 1999). *Native Americans: Who are they today?* was co-funded by the KDE. The KNAHC also produced materials to help teachers use the program *A Native presence* (KET, 1995): *A Native presence: A companion guide for middle and elementary school teachers (grades 4-8)* (KNAHC, 2003). The film *A Native presence* is about the 1987 looting at Slack Farms and the issues it raises and features Native and non-Native people. These educational materials propose interesting activities, an accessible approach to Native American cultures, and many links towards useful resources. Besides the efforts of the KNAHC, there are few resources and available information for elementary, middle and high school teachers (Henderson, 2015: Interview). The KNAHC also travels to schools, public institutions, and events to promote Native American cultures and history and raise awareness about stereotypes (Brown, 2015: Interview).

The Kentucky Archaeological Survey (KAS) (jointly administered by the KHC and the Department of anthropology of the University of Kentucky [UK]) also produces educational materials, like *Prehistoric Kentucky cave art – Resources and lessons for the Kentucky educator (grade 2-12)* (Gwynn Henderson, 2007). In the book on Kentucky's archaeology that he edited, archaeologist R. Barry Lewis (1996a: 1) was critical of the fact that knowledge about Kentucky's prehistory and early history had not yet reached a wide audience. This concern is still shared by many scholars (Lowenthal, 1989; Henderson, 2016: Interview; Stottman, 2016a: Interview).

The People of the Hunting Ground is an important non-governmental organization that manages many Native American activities in the Ohio Valley. It tries to maintain a relationship between the different Native American organizations in Kentucky, like the Native American Intertribal Alliance, the Ohio River Intertribal Community and the Mantle Rock Native Education & Cultural Center (Weather, 2015). These groups organize many powwows throughout the state, which usually feature traditional dancers, music,

arts and crafts, food vendors, etc. These events help to enhance awareness of Kentucky's Native American heritage and creates links between Native and non-native people.

## 1.7 Is Kentucky a Southern state?

The myth of the Dark and Bloody Ground, as well as the social context in which it was developed and can be partly explained by the cultural identity of the state. In the context of this research, I believe that Kentucky should be considered a Southern state. Depending on the field of study, Kentucky has been considered part of the Southeastern or Midwestern region of the United States. However, Kentucky is often considered part of the American South when social, economic, cultural and historical issues are discussed, like post-Civil War racial violence (Tolnay and Beck, 1992: 6). Although Kentucky was not among the Confederate states, it kept an ambiguous position during the Civil War. As a border state, its own population was divided between the Confederates and the Union (Phillips, 2012: 121). After the Civil War, Kentucky created a narrative for Civil War memory that was largely based in Confederate ideology and history (Marshall, 2010). The state views itself and is often viewed as a Southern state and even a former Confederate state by the Northern states (*Idem*: 110). The official website of the Kentucky Department of Travel and Tourism (KDTT) also refers to the southern identity of Kentucky when promoting different regions to visit: "Southern hospitality starts here in Western Kentucky, where Henderson's downtown is framed by the river and nature" (KDTT, 2017). A limited number of informal interviews support this belief that Kentuckians self-identify as Southerners. The traits mentioned as describing a *Southerner* were mainly cultural: attitude of the people (warmness, congeniality, welcoming and strong connection to the land [sense of belonging]), the accent, the landscape, religion, the importance of natural tourism (the large state park system), music and agriculture. Government funded tourist sites often refer to Kentucky as being part of the South (e.g., "Cumberland Falls is the Niagara of the South"). *My Old Kentucky Home*, the state song (1928), seems to reinforce this cultural link to the South, as it acknowledges its past as a slave-holding state. The state's economy, relying historically primarily on agriculture and the coal industry (Lewis, 1996a: 3-5), seems to align Kentucky more closely with the agricultural South than the industrial North. Kentucky presents a specific historical context that has been greatly shaped by colonial and post-colonial policies, the Civil War and its aftermath, the Civil rights movement and the duality of identity, perhaps this allowed Native

perspectives to be more easily pushed out, as the state created its Civil War memory and cultural identity. These events have shaped tourism in Kentucky and the way people relate to history and their own culture. For these reasons, and in the context of this research, it seems justified to consider Kentucky as part of the South.

## CHAPTER 2 – LITERATURE REVIEW

The relationship between culture and place is most tangible in the cultural landscape of a region. In order to analyze this relationship, the theoretical framework of this master's thesis is centered around concepts such as memory, identity and commemoration. The spatial dimension of these notions, the cultural landscape, will be explored through concepts related to tourism: destination image, destination branding and heritage tourism. In this analysis, heritage tourism is where questions of identity and culture intersect geographical concerns. In her article *Where history and geography meet: Heritage tourism and the Big House in Ireland* (1996), Nuala Johnson points out a key component of the concept of heritage tourism: the materialization of history. A better understanding of the relationship between national identity and heritage tourism can frame research on how national identity is formed and evolves (Palmer, 1999: 319). This is where I will look to define how narratives of Native American presence are included in the image and cultural identity of Kentucky. I will also study native tourism—as a part of heritage tourism—as I attempt to establish how Native tourism can facilitate identity maintenance, visibility and open discussion between Natives and non-Natives. In what follows, the literature relevant to these topics will be reviewed.

### 2.1 Memory

Once mainly belonging to psychology, the study of memory now belongs to other fields, geography being one of them (Hoelscher and Alderman, 2004: 347). The French philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945) and the French social historian Pierre Nora are two important figures of social memory studies (Till, 2006: 289). Halbwachs developed the concept of collective memory, which refers to the memory of a group as opposed to individual memory. "[...] [C]ultural memory [is] a collective concept for all knowledge that directs behavior and experience in the interactive frame-work of a society and one that [is obtained] through generations [of] repeated societal practice and initiation" (Assman, 1995: 126). A group can therefore maintain its identity through social memory (Johnson, 2004: 317). Nora brought the concept of *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory) to point out the replacement of an organic form of memory with a mechanical, orchestrated action of remembering the

past (Nora, 1984). Despite the fact that his work was chiefly about the specificities of France and the demise of its memory, it has inspired studies about memory all around the world (Rothberg, 2010: 3-4). The last decades have seen scholars of many disciplines study collective memory through different sites of memory (Johnson, 2004: 325). The concept of *lieu de mémoire* can be used to qualify any object, place or immaterial notion that has been invested with collective memory through a will to remember—an archive, a textbook, a minute of silence, etc. can all be a *lieu de mémoire* (Nora, 1984: XXXIV-XXXV). A *lieu de mémoire* has to be material, functional and symbolic (*Ibid.*). From a geographical point of view, the concept of *lieu de mémoire* seems to be all encompassing. It goes beyond physical sites into collective memories. Cultural practices and the material manifestation of memories fix in time events of the past. As a result, cultural memory does not necessarily waiver with the passing of time (Assman, 1995: 129).

Scholars from different fields agree that what lives on as memory is not the past as it was, but a reconstruction of the past through a society's contemporary frame of reference (Halbwachs, 1989, in Assman, 1995: 130). American historian David Thelen explains that psychologists who studied memory saw it mainly as an act of creation, while biologists realized that memory was built on association and not on the storage of information (1989: 1120). After a group study, British psychologist Frederic Charles Bartlett came to the conclusion that memory was more "an affair of construction than one of mere reproduction [and that] in each construction of a memory, people reshape, omit, distort, combine, and reorganize details of the past in an active and subjective way" (Bartlett, 1932, in Thelen, 1989: 1120). This recreation of memories is also shaped by people's perception while they are remembering: As people's views of themselves and the world evolve, the way they remember things also change to match the new situations (*Idem*: 1121). Memory or history as one vision does not exist, because any representation of it is in some way subjective (Crang, 1999; Sivan, 1997, in Poria *et al.*, 2003: 240). Therefore, when studying memory, the main question is not about how similar to actual events a memory is, but why, how, when and by whom memories were created (Thelen, 1989: 1125).

The spatial dimension of memory is what is mainly studied by geographers. The relationship between memory and geography is found mainly in landscape (Hoelscher and Alderman, 2004: 350). Stottman states that "[p]lace is important in the process of public memory, as it is the manifestation of memories,



where they can be inscribed on the landscape as transmitters of memory" (2016: 23). Monuments, memorials and museums are highly studied by geographers as places of memory (Hoelscher and Alderman, 2004: 350). Indeed, commemoration and heritage tourism are both parts of recent social memory analysis (Till, 2006: 289). Questions of gender, class, religion and identities are also being explored through these sites of memories (Johnson, 2004: 325), as well as "the processes, places, and people that went into the making of landscapes at multiples scales" (Mitchell, 2001; Schein, 1997, in Till, 2004: 348). Places of memory can take many forms: museums, monuments, memorials, statues, cemeteries, public buildings, parks, etc., along with the immaterial heritage associated with them (Till, 2006: 297). "Through the landscape, the memory of a nation is given concrete form as a reminder of what 'we' have been through and why 'we' need to remember" (Agnew, 2004: 233).

The production of memory has been used as a normative tool, in order to "maintain social stability, existing power relations, and institutional continuity" (Till, 2006: 292). Social memory then becomes instrumental, as it allows people to use the past to their own advantage (Hoelscher and Alderman, 2004: 349). The way the elite and dominant culture are shaping a form of dominant memory in order to reach political goals is also increasingly being studied by scholars. Cultural geographers examine different landscapes to understand how they "become dominant representations about how the world works that legitimate state and elite hegemony" (Till, 2004: 349). Johnson explains that, when it comes to national identity, "social memory as mediated through political elites both legitimates and simultaneously denies the significance of remembrance of things past" (2004: 318). The accuracy of collective memory can be challenged, when "dominant, official renditions of the past" are being contested (*Idem*: 319). In the context of marginalized groups, "local and oral histories [...] can be a powerful antidote to both state and academic narratives of the past" (Samuel, 1994, in Johnson, 2004: 320). Memory is a dynamic process and "what it contrives symptomatically to forget is as important as what it remembers" (Samuel, 1994: X, in Johnson, 2004: 321). In Kentucky, pieces of Native American history seem to have been forgotten in different sites of memory, like commemorative sites and museums. I tried to give equal attention to the stories that were told, as well as to the stories that were missing, in all the sites of memory that I analyzed.

## 2.2 Identity

The concept of memory is closely link to the concept of identity. Understanding how memory is constructed can shed light on how different groups "shape and reshape their identities" (Thelen, 1989: 1118), because "people develop a shared identity by identifying, exploring, and agreeing on memories" (*Idem*: 1122). The concept of identity can refer to many different notions: collective identity, personal identity, social identity, and so on (Debarbieux, 2006). Collective identity, and more specifically territorial identities and diasporas, are the most studied forms of identity in geography, because these identities find their support in space (*Idem*: 342). The identity of a group is kept alive through cultural memory, where knowledge of what one is and what one is not defines the unity of the group (Assman, 1995: 130). Indeed, collective identity refers to the willingness of many individuals to belong to the same group (Debarbieux, 2006: 342). Collective identity implies a reflection by those who adhere to it (*Ibid.*). Personal identity and the "mapping" of historical events happen through the process of remembering (Johnson, 2004: 317).

The collective identity of a specific place, however, does not include every person living in it. If smaller groups can have their shared identity within a bigger collective identity, their contribution can be excluded from commemoration and national narratives (Foote and Azaryahu, 2007: 126). False representations of specific identities can maintain and strengthen the distance between minorities and the dominant identity. In her study of Kentucky Appalachian identity, Katie Algeo reveals that identity can be created by outsiders with little attention to accuracy, and then be reinforced through stereotypes in popular culture, until the "imagined" identity becomes difficult to alter (2004: 28). Information that might deny this false identity is then disregarded in favor of information that reinforces the existing stereotype. Appalachian identity was created looking for exceptions that reinforced the existing stereotypes, instead of accurate representations of the average way of living of mountain communities (*Idem*: 34). Among a dominant identity, minority identities can be defined through "otherness" (*Idem*: 31), thus creating a group identity outside of the norm and fostering unity for the dominant identity.

Memory and identity are tied together, and this link can manifest itself in space, where history is preserved. It is, however, important to understand "whose history is preserved and why" (Manzo, 2003: 55). Identity serves to be distinguished from others and is a dynamic concept that can change over time, but that can also be erased. The dynamic character of identity can become complex depending on "how and who is defining distinction" (Stottman, 2016b: 10). Even though the dominant culture can control the production of memory through place, their dominance does not always extend to the ways in which people will relate to it, make sense of it and project it back into the world, thus contributing to the creation of identity (Till, 2006: 297). This allows for an imperfect causality between what is presented to the public and how much of it will become part of the collective memory and identity of a region or nation. Political agendas are not the only motivators for the reshaping of memories and therefore of identities. Belonging to a new group can also transform one's identity and raises many questions, as Thelen points out: "What did individuals emphasize, reinterpret, and abandon from their own memories in order to create a shared identity with others?" (1989: 1123). If history and identity are preserved in space, the cultural landscape is the site of this remembrance and where identities are made visible. The concept of cultural landscape will now be reviewed.

### **2.3 Cultural landscape**

Carl Sauer first presented the notion of "cultural landscape" in 1925, referring to "the human influence on a natural site" (Korr, 1997: 2). The concept has evolved since then, but there is a consensus among scholars that "cultural landscapes are a manifestation of material culture" (*Idem*: 1), they reflect how a "society has imprinted its identity on the environment" (Dickens, 2017: 173). However, there are many specific definitions of the concept, as it is shared by many disciplines, among which anthropology, archaeology and cultural geography (*Ibid.*). Since the "cultural turn" in humanities, the conceptualization of landscape encompasses questions of identity, as landscape is "implicated in relations of power through its ownership, control and manipulation by social élites" (O'Keefe, 2016: 4). O'Keefe explains that this brings us to "see ourselves and others as situated inside landscapes, forming and reforming them" (*Ibid.*), which equates to forming and reforming identities. In cultural geography, the cultural landscape is not only "a reflection of social process", identities are "*realized* by the landscape" (Rowntree and Conkey, 1980: 459). The cultural landscape can be a "way of knowing

the world that is normative in its spatial and visual disciplines and which provide us an interpretive entry into the social processes that constitute the world" (Schein, 2006: 17). Rowntree and Conkey (1980: 459) state that "symbolization must be viewed as [an ever-changing] social process", which is shown in the cultural landscape. Landscape symbols can "alleviate cultural stress through the creation of shared symbolic structures that validate, if not actually define, social claims to space and time" (*Ibid.*). Historic preservation is seen as a process which gives meaning to selected past landscapes (*Idem*: 460). Functioning partly as a narrative, the cultural landscape bridges the gap between generations by carrying information (*Idem*: 461). It relieves stress brought by change in a society by bringing continuity of identities through its symbolic elements (*Idem*: 462-465). There is now a focus on the impacts of colonialism on the landscape and on the "grids of power, [the] cultural contestation and the active role played by the diverse 'insiders' of landscapes (Cosgrove, 2009: 133), as well as on the myths and memory expressed in the cultural landscape (*Idem*: 134). Mitchell (2002: 381) argues that interconnectedness is key in understanding landscape. Quoting Gold and Revill (2000: 15), he explains that "landscapes that express power and privilege are always the flip side of landscapes of exploitation and disadvantage" (*Idem*: 382). Analyzing landscapes in such a way helps understanding the "geographies of power within which we live" (*Ibid.*). Therefore, the elements missing from a cultural landscape can reveal the power relations that were at play in what is to be remembered. The materialization of memory in the landscape brings us to the concept of commemoration. Commemoration analyzes how identities and memory are imprinted onto the cultural landscape.

## **2.4 Commemoration**

Commemoration expresses memory and specific identities unto the landscape. It refers to the way the "past is constructed socially and expressed materially in landscape" (Foote and Azaryahu, 2007: 125). The material evidence of memory found in the cultural landscape and the conceptualization of such a process are increasingly being studied in cultural geography. In choosing which event is significant, commemoration defines the national narrative that holds a collective identity together (*Idem*: 125). However, this collective identity does not apply to everyone. Minorities are usually set aside. Until recently, particular groups and minorities, like Native Americans, were systematically excluded from official commemoration in America. If memory builds history, it is often through a modified and

"improved" version of events that hides political agendas (*Idem*: 126). For a long time, commemoration was used to glorify and embellish events and people that were seen as noble, like military victories and war heroes. However, there is now a different trend that involves the commemoration of dark events, like genocides (*Idem*: 130-131). Furthermore, different groups and minorities who were usually forgotten by dominant history are beginning to ask to be included in the commemoration process. Indeed, ethnic minorities, women, Native Americans and various other oppressed groups and their historical contributions are increasingly being included in American culture through commemoration (*Ibid.*). The commemoration of dark events can be used as an educational tool, but also as a tool of decolonization, as it allows for the inclusion of more than one narrative of an event. The commemoration of the Trail of Tears, for example, gives people starting grounds to reflect on the consequences and implications of American colonization and conquest of the West, and general treatment of Native Americans.

The material expression of commemoration—which creates and is created by collective memory—often takes the shape of memorials. In the last decades, the study of memorials has become increasingly popular among scholars (Johnson, 2004: 316). Cultural geographers, more specifically, study the relationship between memory, identity and the symbolic dimension of monuments (*Idem*: 317). Memorial landscapes are "built environments that embed and conduct meanings through their representation of social identities and their politics [...]" (Dwyer, 2000: 661). Memorials and monuments appear to be trustworthy because they are lasting and official (Dwyer, 2004: 419). They, however, offer a univocal view of the past, as they isolate historical events that have been taken out of context and usually only show the dominant culture's side of the story (*Ibid.*). While not all monuments have a strong and widely known symbolism, Johnson explains that their impact on everyday life and on building collective memory through their political and cultural meaning "cannot be underestimated", especially considering how they have been used in the creation and assertion of new nations during the last two centuries (2004: 316).

Memorials reflect visions of the past and shape the current collective memory and hence the future. However, memorials can reveal as much as they can hide (Dwyer and Alderman, 2008b: 169). For example, Native peoples have long been excluded from official commemoration in the United States.

As Dwyer and Alderman underline, when they are included, the narratives are often altered to present white explorers and settlers as heroes and Native Americans as primitive (*Ibid.*). A memorial can be best understood when its impact on society and the socio-political context in which it was erected are known. The cultural landscape can therefore be analyzed as an "open-ended symbolic system" (*Idem*: 165) offering an ever changing and historically rich source of information. In order to better understand a memorial and the people that erected it, many questions can be asked, like: "What does the memorial show (and not show) about the past? Which identities are forgotten and which are commemorated? Who claims responsibility for this memorial? Who visits this memorial? Where is it located?" (*Idem*: 168-175).

Collective memory expressed in urban space creates a "normative social order" (*Idem*: 165). Dwyer and Alderman (2008a: 13) explain that even once memorials become invisible through their complete integration to the everyday life, it does not make them irrelevant. On the contrary, this gives them "a measure or orthodoxy [and] this orthodoxy is a form a power—the power of the norm—as a particular interpretation of the past becomes granted, assumed" (*Ibid.*). If memory is a social construct, its spatial dimension can provide a way to understand the "social tensions, political realities and cultural values" that exist within a society (Foote and Azaryahu, 2007: 125). Divergent interpretations of historical events can sometimes reveal more about the social context than the actual memorial that resulted from these interpretations (*Idem*: 129). As Dwyer (2004: 425) states, memorials are therefore not a reflection of the past, but a production of it. "Even the most straight-forward memorial can be reinterpreted as a result of changes in time and space" (Dwyer and Alderman, 2008a: 14).

Many groups—such as cultural organizations, historical societies and war veteran committees—are involved in the commemoration process, along with the government. There is, therefore, a fine line between official and non-official commemoration, as commemoration is not solely motivated by political agendas (Foote and Azaryahu, 2007: 129). Commemoration is not always created from a unified dominant group. Different political parties, groups and individuals take part in a struggle for what and how a site should be remembered (Till, 2006: 295; Marshall, 2010). Memorials and parks can also be sites of contestation for the oppressed who want to contest the official interpretation of history (Foote and Azaryahu, 2007: 130). This idea brings us back to the changing nature of commemoration (Dwyer,

2007). Foote introduced the concept of symbolic accretion to refer to added commemorative elements on a site to reinforce or contest memory (Dwyer, 2004: 420-421). Dwyer (2007: 421) brings the concept further and proposes the terms of "allied" and "antithetical" accretion to refer to either a confirmation or a negation of the narrative found at a site. In his case study of Selma, Alabama, Dwyer describes an old cotton warehouse turned into a Voting Rights museum as an example of antithetical accretion. However, the presence nearby of the County Courthouse—which was the site of a demonstration to get the vote—and of historical markers highlighting the local churches' role in the Civil Rights Movement are an example of allied accretion (*Ibid.*). "As a commemorative strategy, symbolic accretion highlights the reciprocal condition of place and memory" (Dwyer, 2004: 431).

The way commemoration is organized in space through memorials, place names, tourist and historical sites can suggest different narratives. Other forms of narrative, like literature and film, are not challenged in the same ways as space narratives are, when it comes to conveying a "sense of chronology" (Azaryahu and Foote, 2008: 180). It is quite difficult to imprint a linear storyline on the landscape (*Idem*: 191). It is, therefore, difficult to tell more than one story on the same landscape. When successive groups have inhabited and impacted a landscape over time, only one group's transformation of the landscape might still be visible or might have been chosen to be interpreted. *The Trail of Tears National Historic Trail* passes through nine states: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Illinois, Kentucky, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma and Tennessee. Azaryahu and Foote's approach to commemoration could be interesting when studying large scale spatial narratives of history, such as the Trail of Tears. This approach could also be interesting when studying the interpretation of human impacts on a landscape through a long period of time, starting in pre-contact era and ending in modern days. Memorials usually focus on time periods. To understand the influence of memorials, it is important to understand "how historical time can be transposed onto historical place" (*Idem*: 180). The effort to bring back Native identity and memory in the landscape is an effort to inscribe and materialize a different historical time unto the landscape.

The analysis of commemorative sites can reveal the meaning that is inscribed into the choices that were made towards what should be remembered. If commemoration is not always organized by one united front, governments do put resources towards creating a specific image and brand of their

territory. Many scholars argue that the study of tourism, and more specifically heritage tourism, can highlight these dynamics. Heritage tourism is based in commemoration and memory, as it strives to present a specific identity of a place through its past. Trying to understand who chose what would be part of a heritage tourism site and for what reason can reveal many social dynamics in a society. I will now look into the creation of place identity through tourism.

## 2.5 Destination image and destination branding

Marketing management usually relies on the analysis of the brand image of a product to understand consumer choice in order to be able to influence the market positively (Lopes, 2011: 306). A brand image is a mental representation (Baüerle, 1983, in Lopes, 2011: 306) that resides in the collective memory of a stereotype or the attributes that have an impact on consumer behavior (Costa, 1987, in Lopes, 2011: 306). When studying tourism, a brand image is referred to as a destination image (*Idem*: 306). Using branding theories to analyze places (tourism destinations) is a recent enough field of study (Hosany *et al.*, 2006: 638). Destination image is one of the most studied variables in tourist literature (Gallarza *et al.*, 2002: 57; Hosany *et al.*, 2006: 638; Kim *et al.*, 2009: 715; Dolnicar and Grün, 2013: 3; Rudež, 2014: 246), but scholars do not yet agree on a definitive definition for it (Gallarza *et al.*, 2002: 59; Beerli and Martin, 2004: 657; Lopes, 2011: 307) and many authors mention a lack of conceptualization and framework (Gallarza *et al.*, 2002; Beerli and Martin, 2004: 658, etc.) Indeed, destination image contains many different aspects. The image of a destination is a construct and its aim is to increase the attractiveness of the tourist destination (Bourdeau, 2016). The attractiveness of the destination refers to a destination's capacity to attract tourists through its attributes (*Ibid.*). The attractiveness of a destination is composed of external and internal factors and is randomly influenced by contextual events (Kim and Perdue, 2011: 228). The concept of attractiveness is first linked to the features of a destination, and then to its perceived image.

The perceived image is built on the knowledge, feelings, beliefs, opinions, expectations, ideas and impressions that a tourist holds towards a given destination (Crompton, 1979: 18). It is based on the destination attributes highlighted by the tourism industry and by marketing. The perceived image can



therefore be different than reality (Li, 2015: 663). The destination image can be perceived, but it can also be projected. The projected destination image refers to the image promoted by the tourism stakeholders. It usually does not accurately represent the whole territory (Bourdeau, 2016) and often present a misleading image to tourists, where social issues and conflicting branding are ignored (Henderson, 2007: 265). Studies have shown that tourists use the perceived image of a destination when making a decision—which is influenced by the projected image—more so than objective reality (Crompton, 1979: 18).

The image of a destination can be organic or induced. An organic image is shaped in the tourist's mind by all the information that is not controlled by the tourist industry (Frochot and Legohérel, 2014). The organic image therefore includes perceptions that come from non-touristic sources (e.g., television, media, books, friends' and family's opinions, etc.) (Greaves and Skinner, 2010: 491). The concept of induced image is used interchangeably with the concept of projected image, depending on the authors (Henderson, 2007: 262). The induced image is built by the tourist stakeholders in order to transform the organic image (Frochot and Legohérel, 2014) and consists of promotional material like advertising campaigns and brochures (Molina *et al.*, 2010: 723). Optimal branding management tries to influence the organic image (Greaves and Skinner, 2010: 491). When trying to alter the organic image tourists hold of a destination, tourist stakeholders strive to create an induced image as close as possible to the reality they are trying to promote. However, the organic image is difficult to change (Frochot and Legohérel, 2014), partly because no standard method exists that can determine the image of a destination (Beerli and Martin, 2004: 657).

The destination image is influenced by the destination's attributes. The attributes can be tangible or intangible elements (Bourdeau, 2016). They can also be natural or anthropic elements (Stăncioiu *et al.*, 2011: 142). Tangible elements include natural features, material heritage, attractions, restaurants, etc., while intangible elements include immaterial heritage like language and culture, but also the feelings tourists might have towards a destination (Bourdeau, 2016). The natural elements can be the landscapes or the weather and the anthropic elements consist of all the monuments, art and tourist infrastructures like restaurants and hotels (Stăncioiu *et al.*, 2011: 142).

Destination branding consists of all the marketing activities that are put towards creating positive perceptions of a destination (Henderson, 2007: 263). Some destinations build an artificial destination brand, without basing it on reality (Stăncioiu *et al.*, 2011: 139), which demands higher marketing investments and is more likely not to fit the actual destination image. When a brand has been constructed, instead of flowing from the actual destination image, the tourists are more likely to be disappointed. For best results, the destination branding should be based on existing perceptions, thus the importance of studying destination image (*Idem*: 139). Ritchie and Ritchie define the destination brand as a "name, symbol, logo, word mark or other graphic that both identifies and differentiates the destination; furthermore, it conveys the promise of a memorable travel experience that is uniquely associated with the destination; it also serves to consolidate and reinforce the recollection of pleasurable memories of the destination experience." (1998: 17). Different parts of the destination brand will be attractive to different market segments (Qu *et al.*, 2011: 466). The destination image reflects parts of a region's identity and influences how the region perceives itself and how others perceive it. Studying the destination image of a region can highlight the inclusion or exclusion of certain events or groups and the reasons behind those mechanisms. Including marginalized groups to a destination image can give a voice and a sense of legitimacy to usually overlooked groups and cultures. The elements that are included in the destination image can help understand the dominant narratives of a region regarding specific events in time, especially when focusing on heritage tourism. In Kentucky, the destination image and branding does not seem to allow a lot of room for Native American identities and cultures. Including them could, however, be beneficial not only for Native American identities in Kentucky, but also for Native American struggles for self-determination all across the United States.

## **2.6 Native tourism**

Native tourism could be an answer to the lack of inclusion Native identities are facing in different regions. Native tourism or Indigenous tourism includes tourism activities that involve Native people through the valorization of their culture or through their direct involvement and control of the activity (Hinch and Butler 1996: 9, in Hinch, 2004: 246). In the academic literature, Native tourism is often included in heritage tourism rather than being analyzed as its own category, although this is changing (Martinez, 2012: 545). Though there are some exceptions, notably in British Columbia, Quebec, Alaska

or Arizona, Native tourism is not often used to promote North American destinations. However, the last decades have seen a growing demand for Native tourism experiences, as people try to escape urban landscapes and go back to, what they perceive as, simpler times (Hinch, 2004: 247). This situation can become problematic when tourists look for a "primitive Other" (*Idem*: 247). Indeed, when Native culture is included in a destination image, it is often through simplistic representations that can have negative effects on Native culture and identity. The destination image created to increase tourism activities can cause tourists to look for a certain perception of the destination. Chhabra *et al.* argue that heritage tourism product—which Native tourism is a part of—involves the "staging or re-creation of ethnic or cultural tradition" (2003: 702). This process can keep Native cultures in the past and force Natives to only play a passive role in the tourism industry, especially if Native people are not the ones controlling this image and the tourist activity (d'Hautesserre, 2004; Hinch, 2004; Iankova, 2005; Antomarchi, 2009).

A destination image that will meet the perceived image can be modern and accurate, but it can also refer to a romanticized and mythical conception of Native cultures and identities (Martinez, 2012: 545), choosing the traditional over the contemporary (Hinch, 2004: 251). It is often more lucrative to build a cultural identity that is one-dimensional and uniform, in order to offer a tourism product that is simple and easy to consume. However, cultural misrepresentation usually denies the cultural diversity and cultural specificities that exist within all the different Native cultures. For example, dream catchers—even though they are not relevant symbols for all Native American cultures—are often sold in tourist sites and offer a romanticized vision of a uniform spirituality, which reduces the dream catchers to a product that can be consumed outside of any cultural significance (Martinez, 2002: 557). These widely known images, like tepees, headdresses or Inuksuit, give a feeling of authenticity to Native tourism products, all the while denying the diversity of Native cultures and the modern reality of Native people. Lowenthal argues that "[e]quating history with fragments of popular culture familiar from memory and media replay likewise endears the American past. Famous film representations of historic features and events are more recognizable and convincing than the authentic, original lineaments" (Lowenthal, 1989: 1268), thus reinforcing stereotypes and tourists' idea of authenticity.

In order to offer a tourism product that will meet customers' expectations, the different Native cultures must be presented inside a predetermined frame to be considered *authentic* (Martinez, 2002: 559;

d'Hautesserre, 2004: 241-242). In the context of tourism, the word "authentic" means more than something simply being real or not and the consequences of looking for an authentic tourist experience can be damaging to Native cultures (Hinch, 2004: 250). The process of turning cultural practices into a consumable product can lead the gradual erosion of these practices (*Ibid.*). Certain groups might choose to keep some of parts of their culture private, especially aspects related to spirituality (*Ibid.*). This willingness to offer an authentic and traditional product that meets the tourist demand can also be "counter-productive with regards to another important aim: to become a respected and integrated part of the world. (Hinch, 2004: 251). However, in a context of dispersed nations and especially in the absence of reservations, well-known Native American symbolisms can be used by different nations in order to reaffirm their identity. In Kentucky, for example, Native American festivals participants use well-known symbols instead of items specific to their nation. More than a willingness to please tourists, this phenomenon can be seen as way to assess a general pan-Native American identity in the face of an historical loss of identity.

Tourism infrastructures can also create only a partial representation of Native American cultures. Museums have great influence on the popular culture and official history of a destination. They, however, sometimes offer an incomplete narrative of the colonial era (Martinez, 2012: 548) and leave Native people outside of the production of collective memory and national identity. Till argues that "existing memory traditions as well as the political economies of place at various scales influence what pasts are to be remembered by whom, where, and in what form." (2006: 297). Hoelscher and Alderman explain that in a postcolonial context, "[t]he memories projected on to [...] colonial spaces, and their frequent conflict with indigenous understandings of the past, make them part of an ongoing legacy of conquest [...]" (2004: 351). If narratives are rewritten as in museums, they can also be erased: Native places are not always included on tourist maps, although maps are an important indicator of places to visit. Maps, therefore, can give an inaccurate account of the cultural history of a landscape (Martinez, 2012: 548).

According to the literature, Native tourism can also have many positive effects on cultural identity. In the context of an increasingly globalized world, many scholars believe that heritage tourism gives safety and visibility to local identities (González, 2008: 807). For Native groups who control their tourism,

heritage tourism is an assertion of their identity and a way to diversify their economy, as well as reaffirm their rights to their traditional land (Hinch, 2004: 247). It can also help youth reconnect with the elders, their culture and the land (Colton and Whitney-Squire, 2010: 261). For the whole touristic process to be truly positive, Native nations must be part of the process and have decision-making power over it. "Self-determination appears to be the key for sustainable indigenous tourism" (Hinch, 2004: 253). Native tourism can, therefore, be a way to revitalize culture and give it more visibility, along with creating a stronger relationship between Native and non-Native population (Jacob, 2012: 465). In short, even though Native tourism involves many challenges, it can be an opportunity for many nations and tribes to reclaim their identity and generate economic growth within a territorial framework (Antomarchi, 2009: 47). Additionally, Hinch states that progress is being made in the tourism industry where Indigenous people's intellectual property rights are concerned (2004: 253), which should result in more harmonious Native tourism activities. In Kentucky postcolonial context where there is no reservation to give legitimacy to Native identity, Native tourism can especially help educate people, raise awareness and foster dialogues.

## **2.7 Heritage tourism**

Native tourism usually falls under the category of heritage tourism. Heritage tourism is central when studying questions of memory and power dynamics within society, as it encompasses commemoration and other activities related to memory. Heritage tourism has been a quickly growing part of tourism ever since the beginning of the 1990s (Chhabra *et al.*, 2003: 702; Poria *et al.*, 2003: 239) and is among the dominant types of tourism (Johnson, 1996: 551). Studying heritage tourism enhance understanding social behavior dynamics within a society (Hewison, 1987; Nuryanti, 1996, in Poria *et al.*, 2003: 239). Determining the relationship between market segments and the attributes of heritage sites is "essential for understanding heritage tourism as a social phenomenon" (Poria *et al.*, 2003: 239). Tourism studies incorporate economic activities and cultural practices, which are the foundation of "geographic landscapes and human identities" (Lew, 2014: 171).

The link between identity and tourism is obvious when the branding of a destination includes the selection of symbols of identity (Palmer, 1999: 314-315). "The past, whether represented through formal history or collective memory, is a definitional characteristic of any place and tourism is one of the processes through which memory and history are constructed (Johnson, 1996; McCabe, 1996; Summerby-Murray, 2002; Gold and Gold, 2003, in Hanna *et al.*, 2004: 459). Place is the frame of analysis for most studies about heritage tourism (González, 2007: 807). If it is usually understood that national identities are created in part through the education of history, national public holidays and other forms of normalization of culture organized by the dominant culture, heritage tourism (for the last few decades) has also been involved in "anchoring memories of the past" (Johnson, 1996: 552).

Heritage sites are now at the frontline of "the production and legitimization of historical knowledges and social identities" (Desforges and Maddern, 2004: 437). Through the activities held on heritage sites, "deep-rooted inequalities" can be preserved (*Ibid.*). Indeed, "[...] certain cultural groupings and configurations have been seen to remain excluded from history [...]" (*Idem*: 439). Gallardo and Stein reinforce this statement, explaining that even if tourism is supposed to be politically neutral, it faces the same problems that are prevalent in society (class, race, gender, etc.) (2007: 598). They concluded that their study about the participation of African Americans in tourism development of Hamilton County, Florida, "emphasized the need to recognize the historicity of certain groups' present-day absence from countrywide dialogue" (2007: 610). This is echoed by Shackel: "The heritage of peripheral groups is not always part of the story told of our national heritage. When looking at archaeological heritage, we not only need to interpret the dominant culture, but we also need to understand that racism, ethnocentrism, [...] are all part of our past" (2005: 1). Shackel (2005: 4) insists on the importance of heritage tourism, explaining that what we choose to commemorate externalizes who we are and in doing so, can become part of a "naturalized landscape". Mainly referring to archaeological heritage tourism, Shackel (2005: 1) made a list of different criteria that would ensure the creation of multi-ethnic sites: analyzing racism in the past, but also in the present; exploring diversity in the past and promoting it in the present; etc. However, Poria *et al.* (2003: 240) suggests that heritage tourism is defined by tourists' demand more so than by the artifacts presented, which raises questions about the dynamic process of identity creation.

Another key point to raise in the context of my study is that heritage tourism is strongly associated with nostalgia for the past (Chhabra *et al.*, 2003: 705). In their study of authenticity in heritage tourism, using the Scottish Highland games held in North Carolina, Chhabra *et al.* hypothesize that "satisfaction with a heritage event depends not on its authenticity in the literal sense of whether or not it is an accurate re-creation of some past condition, but rather on its perceived authenticity (consistency with nostalgia for some real or imagined past). Heritage is thus created and re-created from surviving memories, artifacts, and sites of the past to serve contemporary demand." (*Idem*: 705). These findings seem to support other authors' points of view, especially concerning Native American tourism, where the idea of authenticity, in the average tourist's mind, demands for actual stereotypes to be fed in order to be valid.

Heritage tourism can be used as a way to reframe history and narratives of national identity. "Tourism is not just an aggregate of merely commercial activities; it is also an ideological framing of history, nature and tradition; a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs" (MacCannel, 1992: 1, in Johnson, 1996: 551). This aspect of heritage tourism can make one wonder how authentic the representations of geographical and historical knowledge are (*Ibid.*). Johnson explains that some authors view heritage tourism has a "mechanism for reinscribing nationalist narratives in the popular imagination" (Wright, 1985, in Johnson, 1999: 190) and a way "to commodif[y] the past [...] by presenting evidence that implicitly reinforces the legitimacy of the nation-state" (1996: 552). When talking about England's history, Palmer (1999: 319) identifies an issue that can easily be related to the way Native Americans are included in tourist sites. She denounces how narratives do not often extend into the present day, which would allow for connections to be made with contemporary society. Indeed, when it comes to Native American culture in museums, "[...] the stories tend to end where they should begin" (*Ibid.*). The representations of Native Americans found in museums often portray them as only existing in precolonial and colonial days, while failing to demonstrate the persistence of Native American cultures into modernity and acknowledging their relevance in the current cultural landscape.

Scholars agree that the role museums play in the creation of national and state identities is not negligible (Desforges and Maddern, 2004: 437). Museums frame the world usually according to a

specific point of view and serve as a link between experts and official makers of history and the public. The various ways in which the past is inscribed into the landscape at heritage sites give it a concrete form. Oftentimes, all of this results in museums and heritage sites conveying a narrative that has the appearance of "durability which makes them difficult to contest" (*Idem*: 437). On the other side, in their study of the Ellis Island Immigration Museum in New York, Desforges and Maddern (2004) have found that presenting a fragmented vision of history can allow for various stakeholders (i.e., various visions) to build history, hence offering a past that has not been smoothed out by one dominant narrative. Furthermore, not only the content need be analyzed in order to get a sense of the identity that can be created through heritage tourism. Tourism workers (guides, interpreters, etc.) can also transform and shape the memory of a tourist site when interacting with tourists (Hanna *et al.*, 2004). Their partaking is therefore worthy of consideration when analyzing specific sites, as it can lessen or increase certain parts of an official narrative.

## **2.8 Research objectives**

What stands out in this analysis of relevant literature on the topic of memory, identity and commemoration is that tourism, and more specifically heritage tourism, can be an interesting and valid frame of analysis to study the creation and continuation of collective memory. The branding of a destination also highlights what version of history has been chosen to be included in dominant narratives.

Against this background, the main objective of this research project is to identify and analyze which factors contribute to the lack of inclusion of a Native presence in Kentucky's official history, cultural landscape and in Kentucky citizens' collective memory, despite the abundant archaeological evidence of a Native presence that can be found all across the land. When it comes to the inclusion of Native Americans in dominant narratives, Hendrix claims that there is a need to "revise the historical misremembering of mainstream American society" (2005: 763). Tourism sites and events in Kentucky will be used to measure and evaluate the inclusion of Native Americans in Kentucky's history and memory, because "[a]s a type of place, museums represent the nation through the cultural objects that



have been collected, classified, sorted, and exhibited." (Till, 2006: 293).

More specifically, I will try to: briefly identify the main events that have marked Native occupation of Kentucky throughout history and the impact they have had on the cultural landscape; explain how the frontier period and the culture of Kentucky have created a context in which Native American cultures are not part of the state's collective memory and dominant history; compile and analyze information about the tourist sites, educational events and memorials that interpret Native cultures in Kentucky, while assessing their impact on Native representations in Kentucky; and determine if the process of removing Native American cultures from Kentucky's dominant narrative has been effective.

As already suggested, tourism can play an important role in creating a local identity and culture. Indeed, the tourist industry of a region takes part in the way tourists and local people perceive and create space and place (Lew, 2014: 171-172). I will here focus on the projected and induced destination image of the state of Kentucky, through its anthropic attributes. More specifically, I will try to define the projected destination image of Kentucky and how Native American culture is or is not part of it. Over time, the groups, events and features that a state chooses to include in the branding of its destination image form part of the cultural identity and memory of the state. Commemoration and the inscription of a specific narrative on the landscape are often part of the destination image of a region, through its heritage tourism. Heritage tourism, therefore, can be an important materialization of the collective memory of a region. Kentucky has created a strong destination image built around international equestrian events and adventure tourism (Lane, 2007: 1). Heritage tourism is also an important part of the destination image of the state. I will briefly analyze the destination image and branding of Kentucky and identify the main elements that are included in it. I will look more closely at heritage tourism, since this is where Native tourism would be found. It seems as if the heritage tourism part of the destination image of Kentucky is strongly based in the past, with colonial, frontier and Civil War memory at the forefront. I could argue that the branding of Kentucky as the horse capital of the world, as well as the associated agricultural and natural landscapes also project an image that is turned more toward the past than toward modernity. This particular image is embellished by several shades of Southern nostalgia: Civil War reenactments; heritage tourism imagery, not limited to tourist sites, but also included in stores, restaurants, etc.; a profusion of antique stores; architecture being influenced by neo-

colonial styles; Southern pride (accent, individualism, suspicion of outside influence, resistance to change); etc. While the state's choice to promote this specific era of their history, instead of modern culture, has many causes, it also demonstrates an ignorance, willful or not, of Native American contribution to history and memory. Taking all these factors into account, what interests us here is how Kentucky's dominant culture created colonial and frontier narratives that fail to adequately include Native Americans.

## CHAPTER 3 – METHODS

This research project focuses on finding the factors that are unique to Kentucky to explain the faint presence of Native American cultures in the state's dominant history and landscape. In order to fully understand what influences the current situation, the historical framework has been defined in the introduction chapter. Events that have characterized Native presence in Kentucky have been included, as well as a brief depiction of the current context. The secondary source data used for the historical context have been collected through archaeology, history, geography and anthropology sources. However, the analysis period is the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Current era research activities have been built around primary source data gathered through observations of tourist sites, commemorative sites and events, as well as interviews. This should help define a partial image of how Native American culture is currently included in Kentucky's history and identity.

According to Baxter and Eyles, different ways are used by researchers to ensure the rigor of their qualitative research: explaining why a qualitative method was chosen; using more than one method; giving information on the participants; quoting what the participants said; explaining how they were recruited; detailing how they were interviewed, etc. (1997: 508). In what follows, I tried to meet these criteria.

### 3.1 Sources and data gathering

As there is no one way of doing qualitative research, I chose to mold it on the purpose and goals of the research (Snape and Spencer, 2003: 2). Tourism, and more specifically heritage tourism and commemoration are a central part of this research. The way Native cultures are interpreted in museums and other tourist sites should be a good indicator of the way Native history is part of Kentucky's collective memory. Indeed, in choosing which event is significant, commemoration defines the national narrative that holds a collective identity together (Foote and Azaryahu, 2007: 125). Many scholars agree that monuments, memorials and museums are important to study as places of memory and

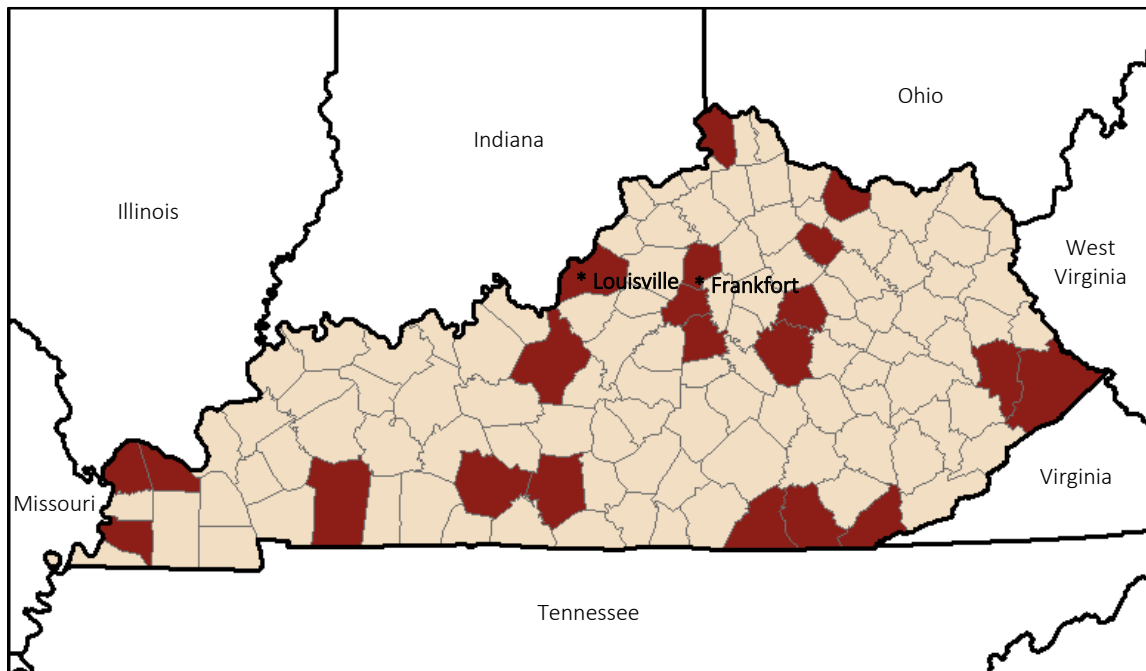
identity (Desforbes and Maddern, 2004; Hoelscher and Alderman, 2004; Till, 2006). The fieldwork necessary for this research was conducted in Kentucky over the summer of 2015, 2016 and 2017.

I decided to focus on tourist sites claiming to interpret Native American culture and history through their websites or brochures. Some other sites might also interpret Native American culture without promoting it, but I assumed it would be to a lesser degree. The chosen sites all have a larger interpretative scope, which means that tourists visiting those sites are not necessarily there for the Native American cultural heritage. The chosen sites are both privately and publicly owned sites. However, I chose to first focus on sites promoted by the state of Kentucky, because I supposed they would offer representations closest to the dominant narrative.

The first group of chosen tourist sites are promoted by the state of Kentucky. All the sites listed on the KDTT website, under the section "Native American Cultural Heritage" were analyzed. Secondly, all the state parks (Kentucky Department of Parks [KDP]) and national parks (U.S. National Park Service [NPS]) located in Kentucky and claiming on their website to have a museum interpreting Native history were visited. The third group of tourist sites visited were not promoted through the state of Kentucky or the federal government. They were selected because they promoted some type of link with Native American culture through their publicity, such as educational events, festivals, memorials and private museums. This is not an exhaustive approach to Native American culture in Kentucky, but an attempt to cover all the sites that are publicized by the government as representing the Native American cultural heritage of the state. The other sites were found randomly or were suggested as sites of interest by people involved in Native American research in Kentucky. Those sites do not represent an exhaustive study of Native American events and festivals in the state. Time and money constraints have mostly decided which event could be attended, as I was in Kentucky only during the summer months. When choosing other sites to visit, I tried to cover as many different parts of the state as possible. The intent was not to discover a trend in the inclusion or exclusion of Native American culture by region, but simply to have a sample that included sites found in counties located all over the state.

Twenty-one tourist sites and events are analyzed in this research. I was able to include sites located all over the state (figure 3). I visited seven sites located in the Appalachian Mountains (Bell County, Clark County, Floyd County, Garrard County, McCreary County, Nicholas County, and Pike County); eight sites located in the Bluegrass Region (Anderson County, Boone County, Campbell County, Franklin County, Jefferson County, Madison County, Mason County, and Mercer County); two sites located in the Pennyroyal Region (Barren County, and Hardin County) and three sites located in Jackson Purchase (Ballard County, Hickman County, and McCracken County); and one site in the Western Coal Fields.

**Figure 3** Visited tourist sites by county



*Conception: B.-Martin, 2018*

I took photographs, field notes and conducted interviews to record the "representations of the phenomena" I was studying (Snape and Spencer, 2003: 3). I also used a questionnaire that I filled out myself after visiting each site (appendix A). I was looking for the same kind of information at each site, to be able to compare the data easily. I tried to record what kind of information was presented to the public in the exhibit or site, what kind of products were found in the gift shops and if interpreters were available to reinforce or alter the information available in the static exhibits.

I also conducted informal interviews with the sites' employees (rangers, interpreters, curators, etc.) in order to gather more information about the sites and their mandates. However, the sites were visited over the course of three summers and I did not always visit at a time when employees were available to answer my questions. Furthermore, the project took a more definite shape the second year of fieldwork, and I wanted to be able to ask a standardized list of questions to gather data that could easily be compared together. I therefore decided to wait until I had visited all the sites to email them a similar list of questions (appendix B) to learn more about the exhibit, and to know why they chose to interpret Native American culture. I did not send email to events' employees as they seemed too different to be compared through a list of questions in the way museums and parks could. I sent all of the emails (16) in the summer of 2017. I did not send an email to the Salato Wildlife Educational Center as they had removed their Native American exhibit when I visited them the second time, in 2016.

Although a "mixed mode interviewing strategy" are preferred to gather data, interviewing through email can be a "viable alternative to face-to-face and telephone interviewing" (Meho, 2006: 1284). Limitations in cost, time and access to participants made me choose to send emails (Meho, 2006: 1285). I followed Meho's guidelines for conducting effective email interviews (*Idem*: 1292-1293), when they were relevant to this research. I solicited the participants individually with a customized email. I first contacted them to present my project and myself, and asked them if they would be interested in answering a short list of questions. I explained how I got their email address. I offered the participants the possibility to answer the question via email or telephone. They all chose to answer through email. I then sent each participant a similar list of questions, each slightly adapted to the specific site. I sent a few follow-up emails to sites that had interesting answers for my research. I never asked for specific deadlines and let them answer the questions at their convenience. Their answers were all compiled in a table and anonymized. All tourist sites answered my initial email, saying that they would be glad to help and answer my list of questions. However, a few sites (6) never answered my second email (the list of questions), despite the follow up emails I sent. I also contacted the KDTT by email to determine how sites are chosen to be listed as part of the "Native American Cultural Heritage" of Kentucky. I conducted informal interviews with the staff coordinator of the KNAHC regarding the Commission's mandate, activities, legislation, history, and festivals including Native American heritage. An analysis of interviews conducted by the KNAHC is also included. These interviews are about women's Native American identity in Kentucky.

I conducted informal interviews with visitors at the LAW in the summer of 2016 to try to understand the way Native Americans are perceived by people in Kentucky, and the impact of educational programs. Gwynn Henderson, who is one of the coordinators of the event, allowed me to ask questions to the visitors. I asked only a few questions (appendix C), which usually lasted under five minutes. I questioned over 30 visitors. Their answers were gathered in a table and made anonymous.

I conducted five semi-structured interviews with Kentucky inhabitants that self-identify as Native Americans, in order to determine if there has been a rupture in the transmission of their culture and cultural identity (appendix D). Members of federally recognized tribes were not interviewed because their experience was not within the scope of this research, which focuses on the invisibilization of Native Americans in Kentucky. Moreover, their experience would probably differ greatly from the experience of people living their culture outside a government-sanctioned Native American identity. The sampling was therefore not random. I tried to find participants that "[were] experiencing the phenomenon that is being explored" (Rudestam and Newton, 2007: 106). These interviews happened during the Native Dawn Flute Gathering, a Native American festival in Lawrenceburg, in the summer of 2016. Tressa Brown, the staff coordinator of the KNAHC is the one who introduced me to the people I interviewed during the festival. The interviews were under 30 minutes and pertained to the Native American cultural identity of the participants. The interviews were recorded, transcribed and anonymized.

### **3.2 Data processing methods and analysis**

The analysis of qualitative data used to be an obscure subject until the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Spencer *et al.*, 2003: 199). It is now well documented, and many approaches to analyzing qualitative data have been developed (*Idem*: 200). However, as Spencer *et al.* point out: "unlike quantitative analysis, there are no clearly agreed rules or procedures for analyzing qualitative data" (*Ibid.*).

The data was reduced, transcribed and divided under themes and concepts (*Idem*: 214). It was then analyzed through the chosen concepts, searching for patterns and establishing a connection between

official narratives, tourism approaches, stereotypes and Kentucky's collective memory. Frontier and pioneer symbols seem to be embedded in the way Native Americans are seen in Kentucky and an attempt was made during this research to determine how exactly this affects their presence in the dominant narrative of the state.

The secondary source data establishes the historical background, focusing on the events that played a role in shaping the relationship between Native Americans and Kentucky. The primary source data presents the current situation of Native American identity and history in Kentucky. Subsequently, an effort was made to determine the destination image of Kentucky and in which capacity Natives are part of it, as well as the impact of inclusion/exclusion dynamics on Native identity. Kentucky's tourist sites were visited to determine the way Natives are presented to the public, and in order to shed light on the way they are perceived in popular culture. Each predetermined tourist site or event was visited, photographs were taken and the same questions were systematically asked to the curators and other individuals in position of authority through emails, when it was not possible to meet with them in person, during the visit of the site. The websites of the sites have been surveyed, as well as their brochures. I have not been able to visit two sites that are included in this analysis. I have however studied their website and talked to people in charge of the sites. The data was compiled on forms in order to be able to compare and contrast the different sites through different angles (e.g., source of funding, date the exhibit was created, region, mandate, experts involved or not, etc.). All the data have been reduced into tables for easier analysis and comparison (Spencer *et al.*, 2003: 202).

The semi-structured and informal interviews were used to deepen the understanding of the issue and obtain a sense of the way Natives are perceived in the specific context of the state of Kentucky. Learning to view the world in the same way as a specific group allows for a better understanding of the meaning of the subject analyzed (Baxter and Eyles, 1997: 506). Interviews are a way to try to get a sense of how selected individuals within a chosen group make sense of the world they live in, using the historical and social context to try to find meaning behind them. "In Schwartz and Jacob's phrase, interpretative geography is in the reality reconstruction business, attempting to develop representations and constructions to describe the representations and constructions that take place within the social world" (*Ibid.*).



The sample for the semi-structured interviews of people self-identifying as Native American is so small that it is difficult to make a representational generalization—to generalize the research sample to "the parent population from which the sample is drawn" (Lewis and Ritchie, 2003: 264). However, the analysis of other interviews with Native American persons living in Kentucky allowed me to do so. Inferential generalization happens when "the findings from a particular study can be generalized or inferred to other settings or contexts beyond the sampled one" (*Ibid.*). Although the context of Kentucky is particular when it comes to Native American memory and identity, many of the processes that are used to preserve and revitalize Native American cultures seem to be similar to ones that are used in other geographical areas with slightly different colonial backgrounds, like in Canada (Anderson, 2000: 27).

### **3.3 Ethical considerations**

Contracts are a recent enough part of human geography research and social science research, in general. Experimental sciences guidelines are slightly adapted and employed to frame the methods used when gathering data. They usually come from a demand by ethics committees that oversee research on human subjects (Bradshaw, 2001: 203). Since this project involves human beings and personal information, it was submitted to the Ethics Committee of Laval University – *Comité d'éthique de la recherche de l'Université Laval* (CÉRUL) for approval. The project was approved by the CÉRUL on May 31, 2016 (approval number: 2016-088 31-05-2016). The CÉRUL reviewed the project proposal; the questions that were going to be asked to participants; the consent form; and the recruitment of participants through email (although this form was not used during the project, since I met all the participants face-to-face during an event and asked them questions right away). However, they all read and signed two copies of the consent form and kept one for themselves. In compliance with the CÉRUL guidelines, no names are mentioned in the project and the data used for the project were destructed within the timeframe suggested.

### 3.4 Research limitations

I encountered certain limitations while doing this research, which set "boundaries [to] the evidence in terms of any wider inferences that can be drawn" (Lewis and Ritchie, 2003: 278). This research could not and does not pretend to be in any way an exhaustive study of Native American presence in Kentucky. Limitations in time and resources have made us decide to focus mainly on tourist sites to get a general idea of the way Native American cultures were presented to the public, in Kentucky. Even within the tourist sites located in Kentucky and presenting in Kentucky, I only visited the ones advertised on the KDTT website and a few others. Other tourist sites in the state might offer Native American interpretation, but I was not made aware of them through my research and conversations with experts. Furthermore, I could not attend many Native American powwows and festivals because I was not in the state when they took place. However, the events attended are diverse (festival, educational event, etc.), thus showing a small sample of such events in Kentucky.

Incorporating various approaches focusing on other aspects, besides tourism, would be needed to have a complete picture of the Native presence in Kentucky. One other way to approach this would be through education. The state of Kentucky does not regulate the curriculum of elementary, middle and high schools at the state level. Indeed, each school is in charge of deciding which textbook to use to teach history. It would be interesting to analyze how Native Americans are included in the history presented to children and adolescents, across the state.

The number of people self-identifying as Native American who were interviewed was rather small. A larger sample would have allowed for a more realistic understanding of the situation. The participants were solicited during a festival celebrating Native American cultures. It is safe to assume that interviewing descendants of a Native American nation, but not taking part in any cultural Native American activities might have provided a different point of view, when compared to people actively involved in the revival and protection of their culture. The sample cannot therefore be considered a representation of all people self-identifying as Native American and living in Kentucky. However, these interviews are not the central focus of my research. These interviews were not used to add statistical

data to this research and the results are not based on the data obtained through the interviews. On the contrary, the interviews were used to get a general impression of the perception the participants had of their Native American identity. Their stories and comments have been included as a way to illustrate and support the rest of the data.

The people interviewed during the LAW educational event were sampled randomly, while walking around the site. They do offer an interesting perspective on Kentuckians' representations of Native Americans. However, the people attending the event present a very specific group of people that had already chosen to attend an event about mostly prehistorical Native American cultures. It is easy to suppose that most of them had some kind of pre-existing interest or knowledge of Native American cultures. Furthermore, the location of the event, far off in the Appalachian Mountains, would imply a willingness to attend the event and not a random happenstance. It is an annual event that is usually located on the same site and that includes frontier culture exhibits, which means some locals might attend without a willingness to take part in a Native American event.

These limitations notwithstanding, the study still offers a look into Native American integration in Kentucky's identity and history. It also points out the shortcomings of governmentally supported tourist sites, when it comes to presenting Native American cultures and identities to the public.

## CHAPTER 4 – RESULTS & ANALYSIS

### 4.1. Destination image of Kentucky

Tourism can play an important part in the creation of a local culture and identity. Indeed, tourism is embedded in the way locals and tourists perceive and create place and space (Lew, 2014: 171-172). While focusing on Native American heritage sites should give a good idea of how they are presented to the public, I will first look into the general destination image of Kentucky to understand where and how Native American narratives fit in the image of the state and to determine what are the mechanism at play in the memory making process of the state. The narratives missing from a cultural landscape can reveal the power relations that were at play in what is to be remembered. Dwyer and Alderman (2008b: 169) explain that memorials reveal as much they can hide, and the same could be said of the destination image of a region, as it is closely link with identity making. The elements that are included to the destination image can help understand the dominant narratives of a region regarding specific events in time, especially when focusing on heritage tourism.

Kentucky has only been part of the tourism industry at the national and international level for a few decades. Up until the beginning of the 1990s, Kentucky was not a popular destination for out-of-state Americans and was also quite unknown world-wide (Baker, 1990: 68). Kentucky used to mainly be a rest stop for tourists on their way to Nashville (Tennessee) or to the Deep South (Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina). Towards the end of the 1990s, the KDTT tried to reposition the image of Kentucky to ensure it would be a destination in itself (Summers, 1997: 30). Back then, Kentucky did not have many main attractions that could get tourists to come and visit the state all year long, the Kentucky Derby being only a seasonal attraction. Mammoth Cave National Park was the most important attraction with two million visitors in 1995. However, the tourism industry was and still is the 3<sup>rd</sup> most important industry in Kentucky. The tourism industry was then facing challenges, trying to turn into a lucrative touristic product the scenic beauty of the state, especially the rural landscapes and the national parks, which has a strong attractive quality for tourists (Summers, 1997: 30).

The Kentucky Commerce Cabinet is in charge of the KDTT. It manages many other departments and groups like the KDP, the KDFW, the Arts Council, the Kentucky Historical Society (KHS), the KHC, etc. One of the tasks of the Cabinet is to coordinate the activities of all these state agencies, groups and departments in order to promote a strong destination image at the local, national and international level (Lane, 2007: 1). The Commerce Cabinet has been working on its brand—*Kentucky Unbridled Spirit*—for over a decade, trying to unify marketing strategies under the same tourist brand. The Cabinet first relied on anthropic attributes to promote the brand, like international events held in Kentucky (the 2010 World Equestrian Games or the 2008 Ryder Cup). These world-renowned events helped bring attention to Kentucky's destination image on the international level and generated economic impacts (Lane, 2007: 3). These events were also meant to help the Kentucky brand at the national level (Minnick, 2007: 50). Direct flights between Northern Kentucky Airport and Europe were added to enhance access to Kentucky. The 2010 Alltech World Equestrian Games, held at the Kentucky Horse Park, helped create better infrastructures in central Kentucky, like a new highway and stadium. The various events surrounding and the Kentucky Derby in Louisville bring visitors from all over the world, but only for a short period of time, during the spring season. Selling Thoroughbreds attracts buyers from different European and Middle-Eastern countries as well as buyers from other states. Kentucky is therefore aiming to define its image mainly around international events, chiefly related to equestrian culture and interests. This part of the destination image of Kentucky is particularly visible in the Bluegrass Region, located in the northeastern part of the state. The Bluegrass Region is covered by agricultural land, horse farms and cattle farms. Horse breeding, especially Thoroughbreds and the Derby are part of the world-renowned image of Kentucky (Minnick, 2007: 50). The sporting events of a region can also have a positive effect on tourism and can help to define local, regional and national identities (Augustin, 2011; Hinch and Ramshaw, 2014). UK's basketball team is known across the nation and also outside of the United States. College basketball reinforces the sense of belonging to the state and gives Kentucky some visibility outside of its territory.

According to research conducted by the Commerce Cabinet, the Kentucky brand is now well-known in the United States (Lane, 2007: 1). Residents of other states could more easily link the *Unbridled Spirit* brand to Kentucky than they could their own state's brand. According to George Ward, the secretary of the Commerce Cabinet, the success of the brand lies in the fact that it was not created out of nothing and then excessively promoted. The Louisville-based marketing agency NewWest chose to go with

representations that had been used in the past by the state (*Idem*: 1-2). However, they did not portray all parts of Kentucky's identity. The many issues that plague Kentucky (related to drugs, violence, poverty, obesity, lack of education) are not included in Kentucky's destination image, even though the state ranks among the lowest states for its sociodemographic statistics (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). The induced image is therefore more positive than the organic image.

The Commerce Cabinet also counts on the natural attributes of Kentucky when it comes to promoting tourism in the state. According to George Ward, the secretary of the Commerce Cabinet, "one of the state's priorities is adventure tourism effort in Eastern Kentucky" (Lane, 2007: 3-4). A major portion of the Cabinet's funds are used towards bettering the state parks and their sleeping facilities. There are 53 state parks and historic sites in Kentucky and only 17 have sleeping facilities (*Idem*: 2). The Cabinet is using the rural landscapes, the mountains, the rivers and lakes to make adventure tourism part of Kentucky's destination image. Adventure tourism can make up for the lack of anthropic attributes and is increasingly popular in the Western world (Barry, 2013).

The Appalachian Mountains extend along the easternmost part of the state. The Appalachian Region struggles with many sociodemographic issues, and the government is trying to revitalize it through various economic programs. Tourism, but mainly adventure tourism, is part of the effort to change the image of the Appalachian Region and better the living conditions of its inhabitants (ARC, 2018). Many state parks and one national park can be found in the area (*Ibid.*) and offer various activities related to adventure tourism: hiking, rock-climbing, kayaking, horse-back riding, etc.

The Pennyroyal Region's famous caves and its many state parks and one national park also contribute to adventure tourism in Kentucky. Mammoth Cave, the longest system of underground tunnels in the world, is located in this area (NPS, 2016). Consequently, tourism in the region is chiefly based on the many caves that are opened to the public for guided tours. In addition, horse-back riding is an activity that is increasingly associated with adventure tourism in Kentucky (Hackbert and Lin, 2009: 47-48). Indeed, horse-back riding fits nicely into the equestrian destination image of Kentucky, coupling adventure tourism with horses, as Lexington (and the state in general) presents itself as *The Horse*

*Capital of the World (Idem: 50)*. According to many studies about attractiveness of destination, the ideal destination for an American tourist has to be accessible, entertaining and adventurous, while also presenting part of the local culture (*Ibid.*). The KDTT is aiming to develop these assets throughout the state.

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Mammoth Cave National Park was one of the most popular destination in the United States (Algeo, 2013: 380). As a major tourist site, Mammoth Cave has transformed the cultural landscape of the region over the years (Algeo, 2004: 27). According to Algeo, Mammoth Cave went through distinct eras of place-making and those phases shaped the symbolic meaning of the site within American culture (2004: 27). The caves were used by Native Americans for thousands of years (Henderson and Pollack, 2012: 6). The caves subsequently became part of American culture during the westward expansion and nation-building era, as white settlers started exploring them. Saltpeter (potassium nitrate) was extracted from the caves to make gunpowder by combining it with sulphur and charcoal (Algeo, 2004: 31). Extraction intensified during periods of war (*Ibid.*). "Mammoth Cave saltpeter helped secure the American frontier against foreign incursion, making continued westward expansion possible" (*Idem: 32*). During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the impressive underground tunnels turned Mammoth Cave into a tourist destination sought after by the American and European elites who were then turning to natural landscapes to escape the ever-growing urban centers (*Ibid.*). Indeed, Mammoth Cave met the specificities of the romantic era. The United States was a young country that it did not possess all the culture and history that Europe had and therefore chose to base its tourist image on the wild and overwhelming landscapes that could be found all across the country (*Ibid.*). In that sense, precolonial Native American peoples did not really count as part of the history and culture of the country, which is consistent with the idea that civilization only started with the first white explorers. According to more recent representations, they would be included in a "wild" vision of the American landscape.

Mammoth Cave eventually became a mainstream tourist destination. The national park has been a United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) world heritage site since 1981 and a biosphere world reserve since 1990 (*Idem: 27*). However, the UNESCO label is not included in the destination image of the region. This could be explained by the fact that the segments of the

tourist population targeted by Mammoth Cave are mainly locals Americans and Americans from other states. It seems that the UNESCO and the international politics they are connected to are not seen in a very positive light; this might account for mostly leaving the UNESCO label out of the destination image of Mammoth Cave, as it would not improve its attractiveness for the tourist population that is targeted as its main clientele. The United States left the UNESCO during the Reagan administration in 1984 because it deemed the agency to be "politized leftward and financially irresponsible" (Omang, 1984). The United States rejoined UNESCO in 2002, during the Bush administration, stating the organization had made "significant progress" and that the management structure had been "dramatically reformed" (U.S. Department of State, 2002). However, the United States has not funded UNESCO since 2011, siding with Israel when Palestine joined the organization (Clarke, 2018), and left again under the Trump administration (U.S. Department of State, 2017). On the other hand, such a label could bring added value for international tourists.

Heritage tourism is also part of Kentucky's destination image. Kentucky bourbon is known world-wide and many distilleries offer guided tours. Bardstown, in Nelson County, is known as *The Bourbon Capital of the World*. More than a mere drink, bourbon is a cultural product linked to Kentucky's identity; it has a rich history linked to the Prohibition era and moonshine production. Bourbon has been increasingly marketed in Kentucky since the 1990s (Veach, 2017). The Kentucky Bourbon Trail offers tourists the chance to discover and sample bourbon at all the participating distilleries, while driving around a scenic landscape (KDTT, 2016). The Kentucky Holy Land Trail adds religious and heritage tourism to the Bourbon Trail (Brown, 2016: 1), as their slogan playfully suggests: "Whether your religious experience involves spirituality, bourbon or a combo, you can plan it along the Kentucky Holy Land trail" (*Idem*: 2). The link between religion and bourbon is materialized in a symbolic place: the St. Joseph Proto-Cathedral complex in Spalding Hall in Bardstown. It was built in 1826 and is the first catholic college and seminary in Kentucky (*Ibid.*). The building was used as a hospital during the Civil War, as a boarding school and as a prep school. It is now the Oscar Getz Museum of Whiskey History, which has, among other things, many artifacts that date back to the precolonial era up to the post-Prohibition era, as well as a moonshine mill. The Bardstown Historical Museum is also located inside of Spalding Hall. The Rickhouse Restaurant and Lounge, which is also part of the complex, offers more than a hundred of different types of bourbon (*Ibid.*). The tourism industry centered around bourbon goes



further than the drink itself and distillery tours, bourbon is now part of many cocktails and food and is used to market festivals, classes, bars and restaurants (KDTT, 2018).

Civil war memory is also a part of Kentucky heritage tourism destination image. Kentucky is located between two important cultural areas, the North and the South. The state's identity seems to be linked to southern culture (Marshall, 2010) but Kentucky was not part of the secessionist states during the Civil War. Kentucky did not split from the Union, but maintained the practice of slavery (KDTT, 2016) —"the most defining characteristic of southern society" (Marshall, 2010: 1). The president of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis, and the president of the Union, Abraham Lincoln, were both from Kentucky. The state's population was divided between the two sides during the war. Many members of the Lincoln family fought and died for the Confederate army. This duality, however, was not particular to the Lincoln family, as a great number of families were divided during the war (KDTT, 2016: 4-5, 8). However, "[d]espite its divided Civil War experience, by 1895 Kentucky was a former Confederate state in the eyes of the nation (Marshall, 2010: 110). Indeed, many events led to Kentucky fabricating a strong Confederacy-based memory, which eventually overshadowed most of the Union commemorative projects (Marshall, 2010: 83; 156; 174-176). Commemorating the Union also meant commemorating African American narratives, something many white Kentuckians were not willing to do, going as far as denying their the African Americans' part in the Civil War (*Idem*: 166-167; 180). Many other isolated occurrences strengthened the case for Confederacy commemoration in Kentucky. One of them is the fact that Appalachian Kentucky, for various reasons, sided mainly with the Union. The Appalachia—being painted as a backward and violent region—was usually in opposition with the rest of the state, which "ultimately served only to reinforce the state's general Confederate identity" (*Idem*: 112). Early 20<sup>th</sup> century nostalgic literature written in Kentucky embellished the Confederate past of Kentucky and further contributed to Kentucky's portrayal as a Southern state (*Idem*: 154).

Civil War memory and the sociohistorical context that shaped Kentucky's culture are both marketed by the tourism industry. Heritage tourism is increasingly being used as part of Kentucky's destination image. Kentucky's Civil War heritage is commercialized through many historical tourist sites: museums; battles reenactment sites; historical battles sites; state historical buildings; memorials; downtown restorations and historical houses; historical interpretation sites; state parks; national parks; etc. Tourist

sites are linked together through the *Kentucky Civil War Heritage Trail*. This initiative includes a brochure, *Civil War: The home front*, which offers a course to follow along the *Kentucky Civil War Heritage Trail*. This unified image built around Civil War memory has been formed in collaboration with the KDTT and The Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC) (KDTT and ARC, 2016: 11). The Cabinet has been trying to capitalize on Kentucky's "dual identity" regarding the Civil War (Marshall, 2010: 125) in order to commemorate conflicting narratives: the antebellum nostalgia and the Civil Rights movement (*Idem*: 187).

This valorization of historic sites has had some impact on small towns in Kentucky. For example, the cabin where Lincoln's parents spent their honeymoon has become a tourism site and transformed the city of Harrodsburg into a tourist destination, which involved the creation of new roads and helped the local economy. In many small towns, the destination image is linked to Civil War political and cultural history and is unified around Lincoln (Moore, 2008: 58). The reconstruction of Fort Harrod, the first European settlement in Kentucky (1774) is the main attraction in Harrodsburg: its architecture echoes that of Lincoln's parents' cabin, which expresses a certain continuity in the region's history. The new Fort Harrod was built at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The architecture of the fort is based on archive files, but also on the techniques that were then used in the Appalachian region. However, using the contemporary know-how of the mountain culture promotes a perception that their culture has remained static for over 150 years, which falsely represents the past and denies the importance of poverty and socioeconomic issues in the region (*Idem*: 63-64). While relatively small, misconceptions such as these betray a trend in the heritage tourism industry to ignore social and historical developments in favor of a consistent destination image, all the while fostering counterproductive stereotypes, in this case concerning Appalachian culture.

The various Native American cultures of Kentucky are not generally included as part of the heritage tourism of the state. This research shows that Native Americans are often discussed only in regard to the colonial era and their contribution to the official history of the state boils down to the violence of first contact. Contemporary issues are not usually mentioned. Native Americans are often portrayed in a negative or stereotypical manner. They are either depicted as the antagonists in frontier narratives or as belonging only to the prehistorical past. More activities and sites related to Native tourism could help

diversify the tourism products available. Indeed, small businesses bring a local flavor to tourism products, something that is sought after by many tourist segments who are looking for an experience that would be more authentic than the one offered by vast malls and American restaurant chains (Brown *et al.*, 2014: 768). It would therefore be possible to suppose that Native tourism, by highlighting a historical relationship to the land, could easily be inserted into a local and cultural perspective of Kentucky's destination image and thus increase the attractiveness of the state. It could also offer more knowledge and raise awareness concerning contemporary challenges being faced by Native Americans in Kentucky, but also across the United States, thus providing the general public with some tools to understand Indigenous issues not only in the past but in the present day. I will now analyze specific tourist sites and events across the state of Kentucky and their interpretation of Native American cultures and history.

#### **4.2 Heritage tourism in Kentucky**

Marshall insists that recent memory studies have shown "how societies are defined by the stories they tell about their past. Historical pasts [...] are not simply immutable transhistorical narratives, but dynamic human constructions" (2010: 5). I will now look at specific sites of heritage tourism in Kentucky to try to understand what kind of past was constructed for the state and which events are included and forgotten. Indeed, "[t]he choices about what is included and what is excluded, as well as how to depict what has been retained, are not haphazard. Erasing and obscuring are fundamental to the collective process of social memory" (d'Hautesserre, 2004: 237).

The main narrative regarding Native Americans in Kentucky suggest that the land was empty at the time of first contact and solely used as a hunting ground by the Shawnee and the Cherokee, implying a detachment to the land that justified white settlement. Even if we were to accept the myth of the Dark and Bloody Ground as true—implying that Kentucky did not have permanent villages at the time of first contact—it still did so for thousands of years prior to first contact. For this reason alone, Kentucky is still the cultural territory of different Native American communities through their historic claims to the land. Ancestral hunting grounds imply knowledge of the land, cultural markers and camps to follow

herds. Even though this relationship to the land did not visually transform the landscape in the same way as European villages and cities did, it is still indicative of an intimate and continuous occupation of the land. It translates an attachment to Kentucky that does not seem to have been taken into account in national narratives. Various treaties and governmental policies have been disregarding the importance of the land for Native American nations and their own vision of landownership for centuries (Nelson, 1994: 527). Indeed, the historical relationship between Native Americans and the United States is "marred by government and private exploitation of Native American rights" (*Ibid.*). Hendrix argues that Native Americans should pursue land claims through the legal system "simply as a way of forcing mainstream Americans to encounter the real facts of their history" (2005: 771).

The official website of the KDTT encourages this ethnocentric vision of Native Americans use of the land on their website: "Although there were Native Americans in Kentucky in prehistoric times, when explorers and settlers began entering Kentucky in the mid-1700s, there were no permanent Kentucky Indian tribes or Native American settlements in the region. Instead of serving as a home for Kentucky Indian tribes, the country was used as common hunting grounds by Shawnees from the north and Cherokees from the south" (KDTT, 2017). The idea of Kentucky not being a "home" allows other people to come in and turn it into *their* home, all the while banalizing the act of taking it away from Native people.

This is not the only myth that betrays a denial of Native American relationship to the land dating back to colonial days. Indeed, the "Legend of Madoc and 'White Indians' lives on in state's history" (Pentecost, 1976). This legend refers to Prince Madoc, who is said to have come to America from Ireland, centuries before Columbus, starting a civilization of light-skin, blue-eyed "Indians" (*Ibid.*). John Filson, whose book *The discovery, settlement, and present state of Kentucke* (1788) spread the myth of an empty territory, originally came to the state to find the "Welsh Indians" (*Ibid.*). Accounts of bones and European artifacts dating back to the pre-contact era; pioneers stories of being captured by "white Indians" who spoke an archaic version of Welsh; as well as old Wales legends were used to sustain the narrative. The narrative was persistent enough that it had to be officially denied a few decades ago, as amateur archaeologists were still supporting the myth (*Ibid.*). In 1976, KHC prehistoric archaeologist Marcia Weinland declared that "[n]o proof exists that any other race than the American Indian was

responsible for the mounds, fortifications, rock carvings and village sites found in Kentucky" (*Ibid.*). She accounted the Prince Madoc Legend on the early settlers' refusal to recognize Native Americans as a civilization capable of mound building (*Ibid.*). The 1970s and 1980s saw a new wave of interest for archaeological research, slowly dismissing the myth of "Kentucky as a territory where pioneers drove off nomadic Indians with no historic claim to the land" (Gutsell, 1984). Many archaeological sites were excavated across the state and old land records, settlers' memoirs, letters and fur trade journals were analyzed (*Ibid.*). The presence of these myths in historical narratives not only shaped the dynamics of Native presence and cultural heritage in the past, but their persistence continues to shape popular perspectives of Native American heritage in the broader cultural heritage of present-day Kentucky.

If those myths have long been dismissed at the scholarly level (e.g., Henderson, 1992), they seem to still persist in popular culture, namely at tourist sites. To better how this myths are persisting in the tourism industry, I contacted the director of cultural heritage tourism for the KDTT to ask her questions about Native American heritage tourism in Kentucky. I first inquired about the destination image of Kentucky, to find out how the main components of Kentucky's branding image (equestrian industry, bourbon, etc.) had been selected.

Horses and bourbon are by far and away what Kentucky is best and most widely known for. (Our industry partners tell us this and our marketing research verifies this.) Kentucky's very long and distinguished history in Thoroughbred racing, and its history with bourbon, which has in recent years become widely popular to visitors and potential visitors worldwide, drive and support this branding. We use these as our main focus of promoting Kentucky to potential visitors to attract them to visit, where we're then able to show them so much more that Kentucky has to offer (Director of Cultural Heritage Tourism, 2017: Interview).

When I asked if the KDTT had any plans of incorporating Native American culture in its branding image, she said that the KDTT was currently in the process of hiring a new advertising agency, which implies a brand and image assessment of Kentucky. KDTT would then review all research and feedback regarding its current and future messaging and change things accordingly. I asked the director how the tourist sites in the section "Native American Cultural Heritage" of their website were chosen, if the sites had to answer to certain criteria or if they could just ask to be put on the web page. She said that the sites displayed on the Native American page of their website are pulled automatically through the system database from any pages designated as "Native American interest", which is done when the sites are entered into the system by local tourism representatives or by the KDTT.

When I asked her why important cultural sites had been omitted, she said that it was a mistake. She stated "while we don't have a large number of Native American sites around the state, we certainly have more than what we were displaying on the page at the time you viewed it, as well as sites that have a more related story to tell with regard to Native American heritage. We are working to correct the problem" (Director of Cultural Heritage Tourism, 2017: Interview). I went on the website a few months later and they had, in fact, changed the listing. They had removed some of the tourist sites that did not really interpret Native American culture, and added new ones, like Lost River Cave. Lost River Cave is a park with educational activities and it is famous for offering boat rides inside the cave. The park is an important Archaic archaeological site. I visited Lost River Cave in Bowling Green, Warren County in the summer of 2014. I did not see anything related to Native American heritage, nor do they mention it on their official website (Lost River Cave, 2018).

The previous version of the KDTT website offered outdated information (2 or 3-year old information about Native American festivals and events), with many links that did not work. I asked her why this section was not up-to-date and functioning. The director said that "festivals and events are not normally displayed on our listings pages. Those events would have to be searched under festivals and events, with 'Native American' included in the search criteria to get the desired results". I tried to look for events in their search bar using those words and could not get any results. This seems to show that Native American heritage is not a priority for the KDTT. The director said they were in the process of updating their entire website in August 2017. Some links to Native American commemorative sites still do not work. I asked if the KDTT was aware that some of the tourist sites included in the page "Native American Cultural Heritage" offer only a very limited interpretation of Native American culture and history, and that some of these sites offer inconsistent narratives about Native American contributions to Kentucky history and culture. She said that they were aware of this, but that they do not have any control regarding what is presented at local sites. The director said that sometimes a limited interpretation is all they have and that those issues must be addressed at the community level. I asked the KDTT if they had any guidance from any Native American organizations when selecting sites to be listed on the website.

No. This is because the sites listed come from our tourism partners at the local/community level relative to what the community has available and/or wants to promote. We have a finite number of tourism-related

Native American interest sites, and our website serves simply to provide potential visitors with tourist options available in our state related to a particular interest or niche. A listing of a site does not necessarily mean an endorsement of a site. We of course strive to present sites that are informative, authentic and offer entertainment value to potential visitors as tourist destinations (Director of cultural heritage tourism, 2017: Interview).

Based on the interview with the Director of Cultural Heritage Tourism, it is clear that Native American heritage is not an important part of Kentucky branding image. It also shows that the government has no control over what is presented as being "Native American heritage" in private or public tourist sites across the state. However, despite the director saying that the listing on a official state website is not an endorsement by the KDTT, this distinction is not clear for the public. Referring to tourist site as presenting a Native American cultural heritage on a resource of the state government is tantamount to an endorsement, which legitimizes the narratives that are found at the sites. This creates a mechanism by which flawed or out-of-date information is rendered somewhat official. The KDTT does not seem to be mindful of the impact heritage tourism can have on state identities (Desforges and Maddern, 2004: 437). Museums use a certain perspective to frame the world and are a link between experts and the public. Especially when it comes to sites being promoted on a governmental website, it seems like those sites would convey a narrative that has the appearance of "durability which makes them difficult to contest" (*Ibid.*). Therefore, it seems that the KDTT could use the help of the KNAHC—a state commission charged with educating Kentucky about Native American cultures and heritage—to decide which tourist sites should be included in the listing.

In order to determine what material representations on the cultural landscape of Kentucky are most evident of Native American exclusion from dominant narratives, I visited sites including Native American heritage (table 1), and I sent a list of questions by email to park managers, curators or other persons in charge of the sites. Through these questions, I was trying to determine why the information presented about Native Americans at their facility was incomplete or misleading (lack of funds, resources or governmental regulations, indifference, will to erase, etc.). The questions—or slight variations, depending on the specificities of the site—are listed in appendix B.

**Table 1 Visited tourist sites in Kentucky**

<b>TOURIST SITE</b>	<b>TYPE</b>	<b>CITY</b>	<b>COUNTY</b>	<b>KDTT WEBSITE <i>Native American heritage page</i></b>	<b>KDTT WEBSITE <i>More related article page</i></b>	<b>PUBLIC or PRIVATE</b>	<b>DATE VISITED</b>	<b>EMAIL ANSWERED</b>	<b>MY OVERALL IMPRESSION</b>
BIG SANDY HERITAGE MUSEUM	<b>Museum</b>	Pikeville	Pike County	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PRIVATE	Summer 2016	NO	Negative
BLUEGRASS HERITAGE MUSEUM	<b>Museum</b>	Winchester	Clark County	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PRIVATE	Summer 2016	YES	Negative
KENTUCKY GATEWAY MUSEUM CENTER	<b>Museum - Research library</b>	Maysville	Mason County	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PRIVATE	Summer 2017	YES	Positive
PADUCAH CONVENTION & VISITORS BUREAU	<b>Museum</b>	Paducah	McCracken County	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PRIVATE	Summer 2017	YES	Neutral
HARDIN COUNTY HISTORY MUSEUM	<b>Museum</b>	Elizabethtown	Hardin County	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PRIVATE	Summer 2017	NO	Negative
THOMAS D. CLARK CENTER FOR KENTUCKY HISTORY	<b>Museum - Research library</b>	Frankfort	Franklin County	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PUBLIC	Summer 2015	YES	Neutral
SALATO WILDLIFE EDUCATION CENTER	<b>Educational Center</b>	Frankfort	Franklin County	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PUBLIC	Summer 2015 Summer 2016	N/A	Negative
CUMBERLAND GAP NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK	<b>National Park</b>	Middlesboro	Bell County	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PUBLIC	Summer 2016	YES	Neutral
MAMMOTH CAVE NATIONAL PARK	<b>National Park</b>	Cave City	Barren County	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PUBLIC	Summer 2014 Summer 2016 Summer 2017	YES	Positive
WICKLIFFE MOUNDS STATE HISTORIC SITE	<b>State Park</b>	Wickliffe	Ballard County	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PUBLIC	Summer 2015	YES	Positive
TRAIL OF TEARS NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL	<b>State Park</b>	Hopkinsville	Christian County	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PUBLIC	Summer 2014	NO	Positivechapter
BLUE LICKS STATE PARK	<b>State Park</b>	Carlisle	Nicholas County	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PUBLIC	Summer 2016	NO	Negative
CUMBERLAND FALLS STATE RESORT PARK	<b>State Park</b>	Corbin	McCreary County Whitley County	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PUBLIC	Summer 2016	YES	Neutral



FORT BOONESBOROUGH STATE PARK	<b>State Park</b>	Richmond	Madison County	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PUBLIC	Summer 2016	YES	Negative and Positive
OLD FORT HARROD STATE PARK	<b>State Park</b>	Harrodsburg	Mercer County	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PUBLIC	Summer 2015	YES	Negative
JENNY WILEY STATE RESORT PARK	<b>State Park</b>	Prestonsburg	Floyd County	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PUBLIC	Summer 2016	NO	Negative
BIG BONE LICK STATE HISTORIC SITE	<b>State Park</b>	Big Bone	Boone County	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PUBLIC	Summer 2016	NO	Neutral
NATIVE AMERICAN INTER-TRIBAL WEEKEND	<b>Cultural Event</b>	Big Bone	Boone County	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PRIVATE	Summer 2016	N/A	Positive
NATIVE DAWN FLUTE GATHERING	<b>Cultural Event</b>	Lawrenceburg	Anderson County	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PRIVATE	Summer 2016	N/A	Positive
LIVING ARCHAEOLOGY WEEKEND (LAW)	<b>Educational Event</b>	Daniel Boone National Forest	-	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PUBLIC	Summer 2016	N/A	Positive
RIVERSIDE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM	<b>Educational Event</b>	Louisville	Jefferson County	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PUBLIC	Summer 2016	N/A	Neutral

Conception: B.-Martin, 2018

#### 4.2.1 *Private and public museums*

Issues related to postcolonialism can be reflected in museums and commemorative sites through representations of minorities. D'Hautesserre observes that "[t]he difficulties of the postcolonial present do not, however, concern relations just between the Western world and the Third World. Contemporary globalization masks unequal relations within the First World through occlusions and mystifications inherent in most attractions, including, for example, heritage sites" (2004: 243). I visited seven museums over the course of three summers: five private ones and one publicly funded. The curators of four of these museums answered by email the list of questions I sent after I had visited all the tourist sites. Their answers are included in the description of the six museums. I also had informal conversations with people on site.

The Big Sandy Heritage Museum is located in Pikeville, Pike County. I visited the museum in the summer of 2016. The private museum was difficult to find and located above the local jail. I had to go through the visitors' section of the jail to reach the museum. It looked more like an antique store than an actual museum: artifacts and other objects were simply displayed without a cohesive structure, or explanatory material. The Native American artifacts they had were not particular to Kentucky cultures. For example, they mainly had objects related to Great Plains tribes (figure 4), such as a headdress. A member of the museum staff invited me to try on the headdress, minimizing the cultural and spiritual meanings attached to it.

The familiarity linked to Great Plains symbols through popular culture gave a sense of authenticity to the exhibit, while denying the diversity of Native American cultures. Those items were intended to be reminiscent of America's frontier era (Lowenthal, 1989: 1268), thus reinforcing stereotypes and tourists' idea of authenticity. Nostalgia for some constructed or real version of the past is what heritage sites are usually trying to sell to tourists (Chhabra *et al.*, 2003: 705).

Interpreters were available to talk to us. However, they did not bring a new perspective on Native American cultures. They used negative terms like "mean Shawnee" to relate historical events and reinforced the myth of the Dark and Bloody Ground as a historical fact. For example, one interpreter told me that Kentucky used to be called the "Dark and Bloody Ground" by Native Americans. They did not mention anything about contemporary Native Americans still living in Kentucky, and when asked if Native Americans still lived in the area, they said no.

Many oral accounts of Native Americans staying in Kentucky after Removal mention them having to hide in the mountains. Considering that Pikeville is located in Appalachia, I was expecting some narratives related to their presence in the area. The Pike County Tourism website (2016) says to come to the museum to "learn of Native American culture from our region", but the Native American part of their exhibit was very limited, and it did not seem substantial enough to be placed under the "Native American cultural heritage" section of the KDTT website. The focus of the museum was on the many feuds that happened in Appalachian Kentucky and the ever-declining coal industry (EEC, 2016). An interpreter gave me a piece of coal to keep, what seemed to be a vestige of a fading industry and community, holding on to a foregone idea of the past. This museum seemed to have less resources than other sites, which led me to hypothesize that the nostalgia for America's great past might take up more space in locations struggling economically and socially, like Appalachian Kentucky (ARC, 2018). The narrative offered by the museum staff was not motivated by a willful deconstruction of Native American presence in Kentucky, but rather further evidence of the pervasive nature of dominant narratives in modern Kentucky.

**Figure 4** Big Sandy Heritage Museum's Native American display



*Source: B.-Martin, 2016*

I also visited the Bluegrass Heritage Museum, a private institution located in Winchester, Clark County in the summer of 2016. The museum was mentioned on the "Native American Cultural Heritage" page of the KDTT website and, on their own website, the Bluegrass Heritage Museum mentioned the interpretation of Native American cultures among their list of activities. Interpreters were available, but they did not bring a more inclusive Native American perspective. The gift store sold educational books on Native American culture.

Similar to the Pikeville museum, this private museum looked more like an antique shop or a collectors' exhibit than a museum. Explanatory signs were few and focused on the Civil War and the two World Wars. They only had a few Native American artifacts all located in one display (figure 5). However, they did offer a mainly neutral interpretation of prehistoric Native American culture. The museum had some region-specific elements about precolonial Native Americans and used neutral lexicon in the static exhibit. On the other hand, they did not mention Native American contributions to American history, generally presented Native Americans as one homogenous group and did not mention contemporary Native American presence in Kentucky.

The museum curator answered my questions about the museum. She knew the museum was on the KDTT "Native American Cultural Heritage" page, but she did not know why. The museum receives no funding to present Native American history and does not have any relationships with any Native American organizations. The curator said that archaeology professors from the University of Kentucky worked on the exhibit. The museum does not have any plans at this time to further incorporate Native American heritage in their exhibit. When I asked why they chose to interpret Native American history in their museum, she said that "many tribes used this area as their hunting ground and when Fort Boonesborough was founded, the fort was harassed by Native Americans. We have many artifacts that have been found in this area, some of which date back 3000 years" (Bluegrass Heritage Museum curator, 2017: Interview). The way the curator worded this part of the region's history seems to convey the somewhat one-sided vision of European settlement in Kentucky, painting Native Americans as invaders in their own land. Hendrix states that "[w]e need to take seriously the effects on Native communities of being bombarded daily by historical narratives that routinely ignore, downplay, or attempt to justify the crimes committed against their ancestors, and that more or less ignore their continued existence" (2005: 774). Although it might seem trivial, the multiplication of such narratives in small museums reinforces the idea that Native Americans were forced from their land for greater purposes. While the prehistorical representation was unoffensive, it was limited and not very educational. It was not the kind of exhibit one would expect to be labelled as "Native American cultural heritage".

**Figure 5** Bluegrass Heritage Museum's Native American display



*Source: B.-Martin, 2016*

Another site which I analyzed in the context of this research is the Kentucky Gateway Museum Center, located in Maysville, Mason County. They are a private non-profit organization with no connection to outside institutions or entities. Their funding comes from memberships, donations and grants, but none are specifically for the Native American display. There is also a research library and available librarians on the second floor. I visited the museum in the summer of 2017 and met with the director, a curator and a research librarian. They were all extremely helpful and willing to talk about the Native American part of their exhibit. The librarian printed out several articles on Native American cultures and myths in Kentucky. Interpreters were available and they offered a different perspective on Native American presence in Kentucky. For example, they stated that some Native Americans stayed behind and hid during the Removal and still live in Kentucky. Indeed, while the

static exhibit offered mainly information about prehistorical Native American presence in Kentucky, reinforced the myth of the Dark and Bloody Ground, and used a strong negative lexicon (kill, massacre, etc.), the interpreters countered the information by making links to the present and by using a positive or neutral lexicon. The exhibit itself was well organized and followed the timeline of occupation and settlement in Kentucky. Native Americans were not mentioned beyond the settlement era. The gift store sold some educational Native American culture products.

One of the curators said that they were not aware that the museum was mentioned on the "Native American Cultural Heritage" page of the KDTT website. They never contacted the Department and were never contacted by it to be listed as a Native American cultural heritage site. They chose to interpret Native American history and cultures in their exhibit because they are presenting the history of the area, so it was naturally included, as well as prehistoric geology. They do not have any ongoing relationship with any Native American organizations. A museum design firm prepared the exhibit so they do not know which sources were used to construct the narrative of the exhibit, but they have held conferences about different subjects, among which Native American history was included. The museum staff does not have any specific plans to further incorporate Native American cultures and contributions to Kentucky society in the exhibit, however the education curator does "include those elements during student field trips, when appropriate" (Kentucky Gateway Museum Center curator, 2017: Interview).

The staff of the museum showed interest in presenting more Native American information and deplored the fact that they did not do enough to counter myths and stereotypes. They mentioned not having the funding necessary for a more accurate Native American display. They are preparing a new exhibit about bourbon, one of the main element of Kentucky destination branding. As bourbon is one of the main tourist products promoted by the KDTT, this choice is more likely to bring tourists and revenue to the museum, especially with the popularity of the Kentucky Bourbon Trail. The museum staff helped shift the perspective of the outdated and misleading Native American exhibit through the tours and activities.

The Paducah Convention and Visitors Bureau (CVB) is located in Paducah, McCracken County. The CVB itself does not present Native American history or cultures, but other attractions promoted by the CVB do. The director of marketing at the CVB said that they were aware of being mentioned on the "Native American Cultural Heritage" page of the KDTT website. Even though the CVB works closely with the KDTT on a variety of cultural heritage initiatives, they did not recall a specific request to be placed under that category. River Discovery Center (RDC) interprets Native American history and cultures as a part of its programming and educational mission.

The educational center focuses on preserving the heritage of the rivers, but they also have a program on Native American archaeology: "Mound Builders". It is an "off-site classroom program for 5<sup>th</sup> grade students in partnership with school districts. [...] The experience teaches students about our Indigenous peoples" (RDC, 2017). Their website offers the Powerpoint presentation that is used with the children and it shows a positive lexicon. The program received the 2015 Kentucky History Award from the KHS.

The Paducah floodwall murals are another popular attraction in the area. The CVB received private funding for the floodwall murals painting. The 14-foot high floodwall protects from flooding of the Ohio River and Tennessee River and shows the history of the city through paintings on over 50 panels (Bame, 2017). A few of these paintings depict Native Americans before the settlement era (figure 6). Although they do not have a relationship with a Native American organization on a regular basis, there has been communication between the CVB and Native American organizations. They have been part of festivals, events and exhibitions in the past. In order to further incorporate Native American cultures, the CVB is participating in discussions on the Trail of Tears Water Route. The director of marketing explained that Lewis & Clark Eastern Legacy includes Native American culture, and they are active in preserving that connection with trail maps and markers. The Paducah CVB offers a neutral enough approach to Native Americans presence in Kentucky but is nevertheless focused on the past and their narrative does not go further than the frontier era. As an important part of the cultural landscape of the city of Paducah, the floodwall tells the story of the region in chronological order, with a narrative that features Native Americans existing only in a distant past and that does not address the reason why they are gone. Schein explains that "[t]he cultural landscape serves to naturalize or concretize—to make normal—social relations as embodied in the



various discourses and their combinations" (1997: 676). The floodwall murals impose the city's dominant narrative on the landscape and reinforce the idea that Native Americans are only to be remembered. However, this site distinguishes itself from other Kentucky tourist sites because it has an ongoing dialogue with Native American nations, which has the potential to be a productive avenue to further incorporate Native American history to the cultural landscape of the state.

**Figure 6** Paducah's floodwall murals – Native American section



Source: Bame, 2017

Located in Elizabethtown, the Hardin County History Museum is a private museum funded by memberships, donations and loans. The museum is mentioned on the "Native American Cultural Heritage" page of the KDTT website. They have only a few Native American artifacts and they are presented as novelty items, as opposed to being part of a dynamic and lasting culture (figure 7). The artifacts are displayed attractively in frames, with little educational material. Their presentation is reminiscent of someone's private collection. The information about Native Americans is focused on the violence between Native Americans and settlers. The term "Indian" is used along with a negative lexicon, with terms such as "death", "attackers", "killed", etc. It is also notable that the history of Hardin County is presented as beginning with 18<sup>th</sup> century European explorations, thus reinforcing the myth that the land was only a hunting ground. Still, the museum's website mentions that "these

Indians would arrive in the spring to plant their corn and return in the fall to harvest their crop and hunt", denoting a strong Native American presence on the land. There is no mention of Native Americans in the present or of different cultures existing. Like other small private museums, the Hardin County History Museum does not really present Native American cultural items in a way that includes them in the cultural heritage of the region.

**Figure 7**      **Hardin County Museum's Native American display**



*Source: Hardin County Museum, 2018*

The Thomas D. Clark Center for Kentucky History located in Frankfort, Franklin County has a research library, like the museum in Maysville. The museum is public and belongs to the KHS, which is a governmental agency. However, the museum was not mentioned on the "Native American Cultural Heritage" page of the KDTT website, even though it had more information on Native American prehistory than most of the other tourist sites mentioned on the page. A curator said they were not aware that the museum was not included in the listing. She said it was an oversight and that they had forwarded my comment to their marketing/communications personnel so that it could

be corrected. However, several months later, they still are not on the list of Native American cultural heritage sites.

When asked why they chose to interpret Native American cultures in the museum, they said that it was decided by the team who designed the exhibit. The museum opened about 18 years ago and an exhibit design firm was hired to come up with the concept. According to the curator, Kentucky's Native American history is often overlooked, because people thought that Native Americans did not live here, so therefore there was no Native American presence in Kentucky history. The curator said that the team wanted to correct that misconception. They received funding for the exhibit, but not for a specific section. The team working on the exhibit collaborated with several Kentucky historians and archaeologists and did primary source research. Although they are plans to update the permanent exhibit, they do not know what specific topics will be updated. The exhibit is mainly focused on prehistoric Native American presence in Kentucky (figure 8), but states that more than one culture exists, is region-specific and uses a neutral or positive lexicon, although it uses the term "Indian". The museum presents a substantial permanent exhibit that chronologically explains the lives of the first inhabitants of Kentucky, and then of European settlers into the present. Native Americans are mainly part of the precolonial era section and are not included in the modern section, with the exception of one sign (figure 9). The way Native people might have helped settlers to adapt to the new territory or any knowledge that was borrowed from them in that regard is not mentioned. Native American presence in colonial era is limited to struggles with settlers over the land.

Figure 8 Thomas D. Clark Center for Kentucky History's Native American exhibit



Source: B.-Martin, 2015



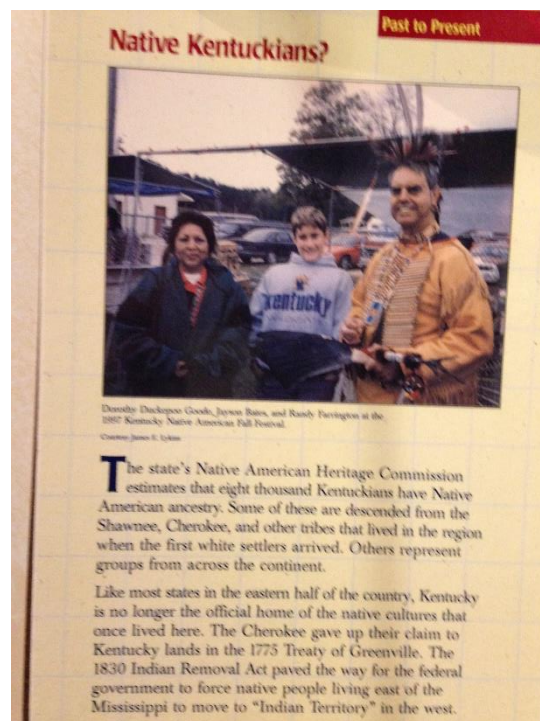
Source: B.-Martin, 2015

The exhibit goes into some specific elements on different Kentucky Native Americans cultures. Some signs state or imply that Native Americans lived in Kentucky at the time of contact: "When European explorers and hunters first arrived in Kentucky, they found people long accustomed to trading for goods not available locally. For these native Kentuckians, beaver and other furs bought iron kettles, wool blankets, guns, and knives. Deadly diseases, whiskey, and involvement in foreign political conflicts also came with the new Americans". The exhibit presents some links with the present with information about looters endangering Native American artifacts. As mentioned earlier, there is one sign about present-day Native Americans in Kentucky: "The state's Native American Heritage Commission estimates that eight thousand Kentuckians have Native American ancestry. Some of these are descended from the Shawnee, Cherokee, and other tribes that lived in the region when the first white settlers arrived. Others represent groups from across the continent." The sign shows a picture of a Native American family, with a teenager wearing a Kentucky sweatshirt and the father dressed in traditional apparel (figure 9). Through the title of the sign (*Native Kentuckians?*), the curators seem to want to challenge the mainstream idea that they are no longer any Native



Americans in Kentucky. The sign says that "Kentucky is no longer the official home of the native cultures that once lived here", referring to the fact that they are no federally recognized tribes in Kentucky. Regardless, this wording seems to imply that because colonial authorities removed Native Americans from the Southeast, this can no longer be their home. No mentions is made of Native American festivals in the region or any other cultural expression. As a public tourist site, it could be enriched by offering more direct links between Native Americans and the present, as well as Native American contributions to Kentucky and American history. The museum should probably work with Native American groups to try to include their own narratives in the exhibit. Still, compared to other museums, this one is more informative and shows a more complete narrative.

**Figure 9** Native Americans in present-day Kentucky



Source: B.-Martin, 2015

The Salato Wildlife Education Center, which is also located in Frankfort, Franklin County, explores the fauna and flora of Kentucky. The center belongs to the Kentucky Department of Fish and Wildlife (KDFW). It is funded through government grants and fishing and hunting licenses. The center offers many exhibits, children activities, a zoo and a garden on its grounds, with bison, bears and other

animal and plant species that are endemic to Kentucky. I visited the center twice, once in the summer of 2015 and once in 2016. In 2015, there was a mural inside the center: *Kentuckians before Boone* (figure 10), which represented the first inhabitants of Kentucky and a few artifacts. To find such a mural in a natural history educational center seems to challenge the place of Native Americans in contemporary society. The Native American exhibit had been there since 1998, but in 2016 it was replaced by a bear attack prevention display. The staff said there was a change in the mission of the center.

**Figure 10** *Kentuckians before Boone* mural in Salato Wildlife Educational Center



Source: B.-Martin, 2015

#### 4.2.2 State and federal parks

In addition to the museums, I visited two national parks and eight state parks, over the course of four summers. The curators of six of these sites answered by email the list of questions I sent after I had completed my visit of all the tourist sites. Their answers are included in the description of the sites. I also had informal conversations with people and, as with the museums, engaged in participant observation on site.

I visited Cumberland Gap National Historical Park in the summer of 2016. The Kentucky portion of the park is located in Middlesboro, Bell County, but the park also stretches over two other states: Virginia and Tennessee. As it is a national park, funding comes from the federal government. I spoke with the chief of interpretation and education and she did not know that the park was listed on the "Native American Cultural Heritage" page of the KDTT website. She supposed that a questionnaire could have been sent to them, but they respond to so many questionnaires from federal and state governments, educational institutes and visitors that it is hard keeping track of them all. I then asked her if interpreting Native American history and cultures was part of an institutional mandate or a governmental policy. The chief said that every unit in the National Park System has an enabling legislation which identified why that site is of national significance. Native Americans and use of the Warrior's Path are specifically identified. The Warrior's Path refers to a game trail in the gap between the mountains that was used by wildlife, but also by Shawnee and Cherokee (figure 11). It was subsequently used by explorers and pioneers to come into Kentucky. The Shawnee name of the trail is *Athiamiowee* (NPS, 2018).

The park consults with seven federally recognized tribes: the Absentee-Shawnee Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma; the Chickasaw Nation; the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians; the Eastern Shawnee Tribe; the United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians in Oklahoma; the Cherokee Nation; and the Shawnee Tribe. Various sources were used to construct the narrative of the exhibit. Each of the federally recognized tribes identified above were invited to participate. They also consulted with other national parks displaying similar Native American stories. State Historic Preservation offices for Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia were involved as well as subject matter experts. Research was also conducted at numerous archives, as the park is constantly working with the tribes to develop program ideas. Special events are held at the park during which members of the various tribes participate. The park also works with park partner Eastern National which operates the bookstore area to secure educational items for purchase so visitors can continue learning about Native Americans well after their park visit.

Even though the park consulted with Native American nations for the exhibit, Native Americans are only included in the prehistoric and first contact parts of the exhibit and no contributions to American

society are mentioned. The lexicon was mainly neutral. Although there were a lot of references to Native American violence, the stories told were more nuanced. The exhibit does not question what happened after the Removal or if some Native Americans stayed in Kentucky, where they hid or how their culture survived or changed. However, Native American culture is not presented as only one homogenous culture, but different depending on the community. The dominant settlement narrative of righteous settlers and violent Native Americans is still somewhat present in the park's museum. Some of the signs located outside on the trails also support that narrative with words like "moccasin clad warrior" and "dreaming pioneer" (figure 12). Nonetheless, the narrative is nuanced. For example, a sign explains the difference in landownership between European settlers and Native Americans. There is also a sign showing Euro-American and Native American ways of recording treaties: paper and wampum belts, without superiority of one way over another.



**Figure 11**      **Cumberland Gap**



*Source: B.-Martin, 2016*

At the time I visited the park, there was also an art exhibit of painter David Wright's work in the visitor center. Most of the paintings were representations of settlement era landscape with settlers and Native Americans. The Native Americans were mostly depicted as the attackers, warlike and proud, standing and dressed in bright colors. The settlers had the noble explorers' position, dressed in subtler colors and also painted as the victims of Native American violence. This temporary art exhibit seemed to somewhat weaken the more balanced narratives found in the park's museum.

**Figure 12** Sign found on one of the trails of the Cumberland Gap National Park



Source: B.-Martin, 2016

I visited Mammoth Cave National Park in Cave City, Barren County in the summer of 2016, and 2017. The park receives federal funding for the entire exhibit. I spoke with the chief of interpretation and visitor services at Mammoth Cave National Park. The chief did not know they were not considered a Native American heritage site on the KDTT website.<sup>1</sup> Mammoth Cave interprets Native American history and culture because it is part of their cultural history. They interpret Native American history on cave tours due to the abundance of archaeological and cultural resources pointing to the Native American presence in the park. Interpreting Native American history was not part of their 1983 *General Management Plan*, but it is in their *Long Range Interpretive Plan* and in their *Park Foundation Document*. The federally recognized tribes that are involved in NAGPRA consultation at Mammoth Cave National Park are the Chickasaw Nation, the Eastern Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma, the Cherokee nation, the Shawnee Tribe, the United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians, the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, and the Absentee-Shawnee Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma. Those

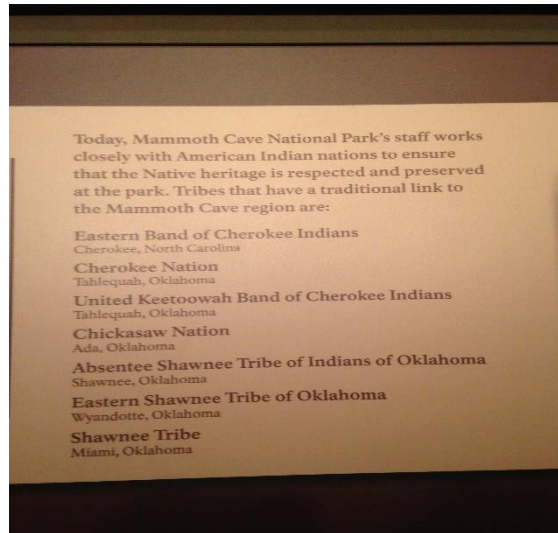
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<sup>1</sup> They were not considered a Native American cultural heritage site at the time of the interview, but they now are.

are the same seven federally recognized tribes that Cumberland Gap National Historical Park consults with. The experts that worked on developing the narrative of the exhibit are Patty Jo Watson (Department of Anthropology, Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri); Darlene Applegate (Department of Anthropology, Western Kentucky University [WKU]); and George Crothers (Department of Anthropology, UK). Seven affiliated tribes may have also been consulted. The park is pursuing the development of an accessible trail that shows how the Native Americans used the land. Furthermore, they will incorporate any Native American interpretation into programs, exhibits or trails as they change and add things where it is appropriate.

Even though the caves of Mammoth Cave National Park were used by Native Americans during the precolonial era, their culture is sparsely represented on the site. There is a little exhibit which contains a few artifacts from the Superior Archaic era and the Inferior Woodland era. During the 1970s, many Native American bones were uncovered and displayed in the caves to attract tourists. However, following the backlash by various Native American tribes, the bones were buried back and the national park chose not to interpret this aspect of the site. The Native American exhibit in the visitor center offers a positive approach to interpreting Native American cultures and history. The exhibit does not only look at prehistory and first contact Native American elements, it also mentions contemporary Native Americans, linking the past with the present (figure 13). They explain that tribes work with the park to ensure the preservation of Native American heritage. The lexicon is also neutral or positive, for example: "sophisticated knowledge of medicinal plants". The park therefore seems to strive to include Native American federally recognized tribes that have ancestral claims in Kentucky.

**Figure 13 Mammoth Cave National Park's sign about Native American heritage**



*Source: B.-Martin, 2017*

Wickliffe Mounds State Historic Site, in Wickliffe, is another park that projects a positive image of Native Americans. In the summer of 2015, I visited the state park, which is located in Ballard county, in the far west of the state, by the Mississippi River. I spoke with the park manager, about Wickliffe Mounds, which is the only park in Kentucky that exclusively focuses on Native American heritage. The park is built on the archaeological remains of a Mississippian culture village (1000-1700 A.D.). It features burial mounds, the village's foundation and artifacts (figure 14). As a state government agency, their funding comes from the state government, through the KDP. The park manager was not aware that the KDTT had a page related to Native American heritage sites in Kentucky, and that their park was not on it. She said she would make sure it was, and the park is now listed on the web page.

The park works closely with the Chickasaw Nation. The Chickasaws are a federally recognized sovereign tribe, based in Ada, Oklahoma. The park consults with the Chickasaws on various Native American issues and the nation provides educational presentations to their park visitors, from time to time. Ballard County is part of traditional Chickasaw homeland, before the 1818 treaty of the Jackson Purchase. The current exhibits are primarily based on the archaeological research conducted by Dr. Kit Wesler, of Murray State University, in which Dr. Wesler supervised extensive

research on the Wickliffe Mounds site for over twenty years (1983-2004). The park has educational programs about the prehistoric Mississippian culture, as well as contemporary programs, like cultural presentations by the Chickasaw Nation and shows by the Chickasaw Nation Dance Troupe.

The park is an archaeological site that belongs to Murray State University. There are no longer any ongoing excavations. The park presents detailed signs on the Native American inhabitants of the region and on the ways in which they subsisted on the land, on their architecture, art, cosmology, etc. The site is therefore region specific and the language used is neutral or positive. The exhibit itself is obviously focused on prehistoric elements, but the educational activities links it all back to the present. As the only tourist site focused exclusively on Native American cultural heritage, Wickliffe Mounds is definitely a useful educational tool and the participation of Native Americans to events held by the park are an important element, as it allows them to inscribe their interpretation of their history on the landscape of the park, even if only through temporary events.

**Figure 14** Wickliffe Mounds State Historic Site's excavation exhibit



Source: B.-Martin, 2015

In 1987, Ronald Reagan signed a bill to create the Trail of Tears National Historic Trail. This historical trail contains a few commemorative parks, one of which can be found in Hopkinsville, Kentucky. I visited the Trail of Tears National Historic Trail in Hopkinsville, Christian County in the summer of 2014 and in the summer of 2017. This park includes the tombs of Cherokee chiefs who died during the Removal and a small museum. The headstones had little keepsakes and flowers on them, showing that people are still going to the park and commemorating the Trail of Tears (figure 15). Indeed, the members of different tribes meet yearly to commemorate the events of the Trail of Tears and, among other things, hold pow-wows and various festivals (TTC, 2011). Although the museum was small, it did not only have prehistoric artifacts: it also had clothing items, first-hand documents, and musical instruments (figure 16). The exhibit portrayed the Cherokee people as being "civilized" and "peaceful". The display resembled that of a live culture, instead of being focused on archaeological evidence and giving the impression of commemorating an extinct society.

In an essay on Native American's Removal from the Southeast and from dominant narratives, Carson states that "The Trail of Tears was neither a natural outcome of the flow of progress nor a regrettable artifact of the Old South's prehistory when brave men first tamed the land. Removal was an act of ethnic cleansing that, when considered in this way, lays bare what theorist and social critic Dominick LaCapra has described as the 'narcissistic investments and desired self-images' that are necessary to perpetuate such myths" (2008: 26). Despite the harshness of Carson's words, they point out an important dynamic that exists between Native American and non-Native people in the United States, but also in other post-colonial countries. The commemoration of the Trail of Tears through different sites does succeed, in some way, to counter that main narrative that fed on the myths of the nation-building era. On the contrary, many museums' and state parks' exhibits imply that the erasure of Native Americans from the region was the inevitable result of settlement and of the conquest of the West.



**Figure 15**      **Decorations around and on the Cherokee tombs**



*Source: B.-Martin, 2014*

**Figure 16**      **Trail of Tears National Historic Trail Museum**



*Source: B.-Martin, 2017*

Another state park that included an important Native American exhibit is Blue Licks State Park in Carlisle, Nicholas County. I visited the park during the reenactment of the Battle of Blue Licks (August 19-21, 2016), the last battle of the Revolution fought in Kentucky. The visitor center of the park offers an exhibit on prehistoric Native American presence in Kentucky and on the settler era. The exhibit had a larger than usual section dedicated to Native American heritage. The language was positive or neutral, region-specific and did not present Native American cultures as one homogenous culture. Native Americans' role in the Revolution was explained, which is a rare instance of showing their contribution to American history. There was also a sign trying to raise awareness about the damage looters do to archaeological sites. The sign read: "looters take away a chapter of our history". Considering Native American heritage has part of "our" history and not just prehistory, or violent obstacles to settlement is a subtle shift in perspective that was not present in most tourist sites. However, the reenactment battle had white people dressed up as Native Americans with their faces painted red (figure 17), which somewhat undermined the positive message related in the exhibit. Even though the reenactment of the battle did not seem to present offensive elements for Native Americans, the shade of red chosen by the reenactors was. This choice seems dubious, especially on a governmental site.

**Figure 17**      **Reenactment of the Battle of Blue Licks (August 20, 2016)**



*Source: B.-Martin, 2016*



Cumberland Falls State Park had a smaller Native American exhibit than Blue Licks. I visited the park in Corbin, McCreary County and Whitley County in the summer of 2016 and 2017. The park program services supervisor answered my questions concerning the park. The supervisor was not aware that the KDTT had a page related to Native American heritage sites in Kentucky, and that their park was not on it. The park decided to interpret Native American history and cultures in the early 1980s, when a private collection was donated to the park by a local person. The collection was moved from the DuPont Lodge to the Visitor Center about 10 years ago. As a state park, Cumberland Falls is funded through the state government, but no funding was received to present Native American heritage in the park. The narrative of the exhibit was constructed by the KNAHC, with research done by archaeologist Gwynn Henderson (KAS). The park held a Native American Weekend for about three years and worked with Helen Danser, a commissioner at the KNAHC, but does not have plans to further incorporate contemporary Native American culture in the park. When I visited the museum of the park, there was no interpreters available to answer questions. The exhibit was focused on prehistoric Native Americans in Kentucky (figure 18). It was region-specific and the lexicon used was neutral. There was a sign to raise awareness about looting and artifacts trade, which does highlight the importance of Native cultural heritage. The exhibit was well-organized and educational but did not draw any links between the first inhabitants of Kentucky and present-day Native Americans.

**Figure 18** Cumberland Falls State Resort Park's Native American exhibit



*Source: B.-Martin, 2016*

Not unlike the Blue Licks State Park exhibit, the Fort Boonesborough State Park's Native American exhibit did not align with the rest of the elements of the park. I visited the park located in Richmond, Madison County, in the summer of 2016. The park curator that was in charge of the exhibit at the time of its creation, answered my questions about their Native American exhibit. The curator said that he was not aware of the KDTT "Native American Cultural Heritage" web page, so he never asked for the park to be added to it, which would explain why the park is not on the page. There was no institutional mandate or governmental policies that prompted the interpretation of Native American history. Native American history and cultures are in the exhibit because it is a major part of the story of Fort Boonesborough and the story would make no sense if they were excluded. The funding for the exhibit came from the KDP, with some minor funding coming from the Fort Boonesborough Foundation and non-profit organizations. The park has no formal relationships with any Native American organizations, but from time to time individuals will do historic presentations and/or lectures as special events. The main sources used for the narrative of the exhibit were primary sources, like the Draper papers and period writings (Fort Boonesborough State Park curator, 2017: Interview). Secondary sources the curator relied on are scholarly works using the most recent discoveries (e.g., Jarrod Diamond, Charles Rice, Ted Bealeu, Ann Hutchinson, Nancy O'Malley, etc.). There are no formal plans to further incorporate Native American cultures, history, and contributions. However, any discoveries of historical information would be included in new museum text or a new exhibit.

Fort Boonesborough State Park's exhibit often goes further than other tourist sites in the state to dispel myths about Native Americans. For example, a sign says that white people were crueler towards Native Americans than they were towards white people, and another sign says that North America was highly populated before contact. Most tourist sites mainly talk about the violence of Native American tribes during contact and put forward the *Terra Nullius* myth. The park benefits from the fact that the curator is also a researcher and historian:

The Department of Parks gave me a free hand to develop and build the museum from scratch. Everything written or on exhibit as an artifact is documented and verified as being accurate. The fort construction is so historically inaccurate that I felt it imperative to present the story and history of the area correctly and not embellish the "urban legend", myths and misconceptions that had been in place at the site from the 1970s... No coonskin caps or feathered war bonnets! (Fort Boonesborough State Park curator, 2017: Interview).

The curator's efforts to offer the most accurate information are evident throughout the exhibit and challenge many misconceptions about the frontier era. Native Americans are not portrayed as the usual antagonists in the pioneer story. In a lot of sites, "these injustices are reframed as examples of national virtue. Attempts to revise these incomplete or inaccurate narratives often go unheard" (Hendrix, 2005: 772). Still, these alternate narratives presented in museums and other tourist sites can be helpful in slowly changing the mainstream stories.

Fort Boonesborough is not only a static exhibit. The park is a reproduction of the fort that was built on the land in 1775—land that was bought from Cherokees. The site presents a few little houses with costumed interpreters pretending to be settlers and explaining their way of life. When I asked the interpreters if what they were doing (soap making, basket weaving, etc.) came from Native American tradition or knowledge, they all said it came from European traditions. If the exhibit brings a more impartial approach to first contact and settlement era, the live exhibit does not, however, and the paintings that can be seen in the orientation building offer a classic example of how Native Americans were generally perceived and of the opposition between European-Americans and Native Americans: indeed, the former are portrayed kidnapping and attacking settlers. Also, on the paintings were Native Americans seem to be negotiating treaties or having discussions with colonial authorities, they are usually sitting and barely clothed, while white people are standing and fully dressed. Furthermore, the marker at the entrance of the park notes that it: "commemorates the courage of Daniel Boone, the pioneers he led, the Indians he fought [...]". During the spring and summer, the park also has reenactments of the Seven Years War/French and Indian War and of the 1778 Siege of Boonesborough.

Old Fort Harrod State Park in Harrodsburg, Mercer County presented the dominant version of Native American narrative throughout its site. Harrodsburg was the first white settlement in Kentucky. The park curator answered my questions regarding the park. He said that the park was not on the KDTT "Native American Cultural Heritage" web page because it is a pioneer memorial, dedicated to the interpretation of the settlers. However, the first contact era does necessarily include Native American history, as one cannot accurately explain the pioneers' story on the far western frontier without the Native American component. The park did not receive specific funding to interpret Native American

history. The main sources that were used to construct the narrative of the exhibit are the Fort Harrod employees along with a Native interpreter. The park curator said they are always looking for a Native interpreter to add to their exhibit. Much like Fort Boonesborough, Fort Harrod has interpreters wearing costumes and explaining their life on the frontier. Native Americans are seldom mentioned, and almost exclusively when it comes to attacks on settlers, scalping, etc. O'Brien (2010: 74) explains how the celebration of the first white settlements renders illegitimate the Native American ways of inhabiting the landscape, of doing politics, and of living in communities, focusing on the improved, settler's way of inhabiting the landscape. The park's programming states having "replicas of several structures that a few of the tribes that hunted Kentucky would have used for their winter camps". There is a wooden wigwam structure; some information about the Three Sisters (bean, corn, and squash); and some Native American myths and legends. Interpreters and guides are present on the site. "Regardless of the precise factual basis of monuments, their presence [inscribes] meanings on the landscape by privileging particular peoples, events, histories, and interpretations" (O'Brien, 2010: 66). The same could be said of museums, and commemorative sites.

In a more temporary way, events can also inscribe meaning in the landscape. During the month of August, the *Pioneer Days Festival* commemorates the life of the first white settlers in Kentucky. The event usually includes a race, the James Ray 5K, which seeks to commemorate the pioneers. On August 16, 2015, the participants were invited to dress up as pioneers and the race ended at Old Fort Harrod, to symbolize the Native American attacks. Furthermore, a few non-Native people were dressed up as Native Americans and ran behind the participants with tomahawks (figure 19). The first race of that sort happened without much backlash, as the KNAHC was not made aware of it. However, in 2016, a negative response arose in the media, the public and the KNAHC. The organizers (the City) had to remove the Native American element from the race. The KNAHC went to the event to provide information about Native American cultures and to try to raise awareness about racism and stereotypes (Brown, 2015: Interview). The ways in which Native American cultures and memory are commemorated and included in the official narrative of Kentucky highlights the colonial dynamics that still exist in the state and a desire to rewrite national narrative through, among other things, tourist activities and the production of official memory. Having the race end at Old Fort Harrod added a new layer of meaning to the site, by animating the divide between Native Americans

and European settlers, and Americans by extension.

Figure 19 3<sup>rd</sup> Annual Pioneer Days James Ray 5K



Source: City of Harrodsburg, 2015

From my limited experience of Kentucky heritage tourist sites, sites located in Appalachia generally seemed to have less resources to work with. In the summer of 2016, I visited the Jenny Wiley State Resort Park in Prestonsburg, Floyd County, in Appalachian Kentucky. I could not go inside the interpretation center when I visited, because it was closed. Moreover, I had trouble finding it as its sign had fallen and was on the ground. From what I could ascertain, the exhibit had to be quite limited because it was located in a small wood cabin. When I asked employees in the visitor center, they were not aware of any Native American exhibit. This further reinforced my assumption that the exhibit had to be small. From the staff's reaction, I also got the impression that Native American heritage was not used as a way to attract tourists, even though the park bears the name of a pioneer woman who supposedly escaped from Native Americans.

Despite all this, the park's website states presenting Native American history in its interpretation center. The website also offers an extremely negative perspective on Native Americans relationship with settlers during the frontier era. The website describes the story of Jenny Wiley who was allegedly kidnapped by Native Americans who murdered her family, and then escaped to come back to her settlement. The website cites no sources and uses strong words like: "one of the Indian leaders seized her child from her and dashed out its brains against a large beech tree", "Indians raids", "Indians killed", "onslaught", "Indians scalped their victims", etc. These factors give me the strong impression that they probably offer a one-sided frontier narrative that paints Native Americans as violent oppressors and settlers as simply trying to survive. Hendrix explains that "the dominant national narrative in the United States gives far too little acknowledgment to historical injustice [and that] most Americans continue to see the United States as a long-term example of liberty [...] that can guide other, more flawed nations toward a better world, while unfortunate historical events like slavery, segregation, and the massive expropriation of Native lands seem to largely fade from view" (2005: 772-773). Hendrix insists that even though most people will readily acknowledge the wrong that done to Native Americans, they still "persist in telling a triumphal story nonetheless" (*Idem*: 773). He explains that the frontier narrative is focused on the "suffering and hardship endured by the brave 'pioneers' who turned empty lands into civilization—as if these people were not moving into lands from which other human beings had been forcibly evicted" (*Idem*: 773). This kind of narrative does seem to be frequent in Kentucky tourist sites, even if some wrong-doing is admitted. "For obvious reasons, this is not the sort of narrative that Native Americans can easily claim as their own" (*Ibid.*).

The last tourist site of this section is the Big Bone Lick State Historic Site in Big Bone, Boone County, which I visited in the summer of 2016. The Native American exhibit of the park was focused on prehistoric cultures. The language was neutral and region-specific. The exhibit was well-organized and educational, but there was no explanation given as to why Native Americans disappear from the narrative as soon as settlers come in. There was a sign on how Native Americans used the brine flowing out of saline springs to manufacture salt. Captive settlers were brought to Big Bone Lick by the Shawnee to help in salt making. The Shawnee were exiled in 1790, but salt making went on until the salt works closed in 1812, due to market competition. Without directly saying it, this information implies that Native American technical knowledge and knowledge of the land was used by settlers.

Even though settlers must have used Native American knowledge of the land to first survive on the new continent, this kind of information is rarely seen in Kentucky museums. Mentioning Native Americans' contribution to American society would help make them part of an actual "cultural heritage" of the state.

Even though most of those sites are on the "Native American Cultural Heritage" web page of the KDTT, if no links are made between Native American cultures and the present, it can hardly be considered a cultural heritage. Narratives are not constructed as if Native Americans are part of modern society. The fact that there was no one in Kentucky at the time when explorers first came is repeated endlessly, as if to justify their coming here. But then museums go on to explain how Native Americans ruthlessly attacked settlers, which seems a contradiction. Presenting Kentucky as not their home makes it more justified that it should be taken from them and makes their fighting it easier to dismiss. Memory making and the creation of myths bring out the needs of a society. If the myth of *Terra Nullius* generally supports American exceptionalism and the westward expansion, the Dark and Bloody Ground myth highlights a similar process on a smaller scale. The myth that there are no longer any Native Americans in the South reveals a "[...] fiction of departure [which] relies on the region's dominant anxieties and needs rather than reality" (Taylor, 2012: 105). "While the "Vanishing Indian" myth has been largely dismissed for exactly what it is—an ideological myth—the U.S. South nonetheless remains a strangely vacant territory in both Native and American studies" (*Ibid.*).

As this survey of museums and park sites indicates, even though "the Anglo-American ethnic landscape that comprises [t]he dominant culture of the United States was preceded by the cultural landscape of Native Americans that was essentially obliterated" (Zelinsky, 1997: 158, in Manzo, 2003: 56), some museums, state and federal parks in Kentucky still hold on to small pieces of the Native American landscape. This heritage is highlighted on the KDTT website, through their list of Native American tourist sites. However, the government website promotes tourist sites that offer negative representations of Native Americans and should be revised, as it perpetuates stereotypes in the actual dominant narrative of the state.

Some museums and parks offered positive and balanced interpretation of Native American cultures. Those sites are usually the ones involving experts and Native American peoples, like in Wickliffe Mounds State Historic Site, where the thorough archaeological data is enhanced by activities led by Native Americans. Highlighting Native Americans' contribution to American society, like in Blue Licks State Park's exhibit where their role in the Revolution was explained, lets them be a part of modernity. Interpreters can make up for an outdated exhibit by adding layers of information, they must however be trained to offer an accurate representation of Native Americans, like at the Kentucky Gateway Museum Center, where the interpreters completed the exhibit.

Nevertheless, in most sites, Native American people are mainly portrayed as oppressors and as an extinct people. They are also often depicted through stereotypes, which dehumanizes them. One key theme seems to run through the bulk of the narratives presented at these various sites: Native Americans are used as the antagonists in the pioneers' story. In the replication of the American exceptionalism narrative, Native Americans are used as a personification of the obstacles to the conquest of the West and of nature. This frontier narrative of self-reliance and determination is deeply rooted within the American consciousness and identity. This seemed to come to life in some of the tourist sites, like in Pikeville, where I was invited to try on a headdress; at the Blue Licks reenactment and the Old Fort Harrod race, where white people painted their face red and dressed up as Native Americans; or at Fort Boonesborough, where toy tomahawks were being sold. This all seems to confirm the American penchant for "playing Indian" (Algeo, 2009: 7) as a mechanism for the reproduction and solidification of a closely-held national identity founded on the myths and legends of the pioneer past.

#### *4.2.3 Festivals and educational events*

Also, as part of my fieldwork and data collection, I visited two cultural events (festivals) and two educational events, over the course of one summer. I informally interviewed the participants of one of the educational events, as well all the coordinators of the two educational events. Their answers are included in the description of the events. I also had informal conversations with people on site.



I went to the Native American Inter-Tribal Weekend (July 16-17, 2016), in Big Bone, Boone County. The event was located on the site of the Big Bone Lick State Historic Site. It was organized by an Ohio-based organization, the Deer Valley Inter-Tribal Learning Circle, which has no affiliation with the state park. However, the festival was announced on the state park's website. The event included dances, music, arts and craft vendors, food carts, etc. It was organized by Native Americans and attended by Native and non-native people. Many of the objects sold and other elements present were not region-specific, but were general Native American symbols (figure 20): dream catchers, tipis, headdresses for the dancers, etc. The Ohio Valley Native American Veteran Warrior Society (OVNAVWS) was present at the event and participated in the dances. The Native American war veterans' presence at the event helped to create a link between the past and the present and to highlight Native Americans' contemporary place in American society. This kind of events is organized by Native Americans of different nations and helps foster dialogue between Natives and non-natives. Even though the use of pan-Indian symbolism can be negative, as it denies the fact that many different Native American cultures exist (Lowenthal, 1989: 1268), it can also be positive in certain contexts. In Kentucky, where there are no reservations and no federally or state recognized tribes, those well-known symbols unify Native people and give them a visibility, which can help to reaffirm their identities as Native Americans. Even though this might not be ideal, it can be an important step towards recognition, especially for people living outside of reservations or that have not been brought up in a land-based culture. Native scholar Kim Anderson explains that "once we become urbanized or non-language speakers, many non-Native people feel inclined to tell us that we no longer exist. We are no longer Natives" (2000: 26). This is a struggle faced by a lot of Native Americans who feel "insecure because [they] lack the knowledge that was ripped away from [their] ancestors" (*Ibid.*). In this context, turning to "symbols of tradition, ceremonies and a pan-Indian approach" help them reconnect with their identity (*Idem*: 27).

**Figure 20** Native American Inter-Tribal Weekend (July 17, 2016)



*Source: B.-Martin, 2016*

The second festival I went to was the 5<sup>th</sup> Annual Native Dawn Flute Gathering (July 22-24, 2016) in Lawrenceburg, Anderson County.<sup>2</sup> The annual event is funded mostly through donations and organized by Fred Keams, a Native American musician from Kentucky. The event features traditional musicians and dancers—members of the Seneca nation in New York, among others—arts and craft from different Native American nations and food vendors. There were also dancers from the Kentucky Chinese American association, Aztec dancers, and bagpipe players. The vendors sold some region-specific products, Native American musical instruments, etc. The OVNAVWS was present. In addition, the KNAHC had a stand at the event and gave out information about Native Americans in Kentucky. Once again, the Native American war veterans' presence at the event helped to create a link between the past and the present and to highlight Native Americans' contemporary place in American society. Crafts from different Native American nations established a strong link

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<sup>2</sup> I conducted formal interviews with people self-identifying as Native Americans, during that event. However, the results are included in a later section.

between Native American nations in the past and in the present. Cultural events held by Native Americans can be highly supportive of Native American identities (Hinch, 2004: 246), as they are shown inhabiting their culture in the present, in a tangible and relevant way. This process has the added benefit of presenting their contributions to American society in a more animate way.

LAW (September 17-18, 2016) took place in the Red River Gorge on the Daniel Boone National Forest and is hosted by the U.S. Forest Service. LAW is funded through private and public grant: archaeology consulting firms, state and federal agencies, and federally recognized Native American.<sup>3</sup> LAW is a multi-award winning annual event that was created in 1989. Its educational purpose is to teach children and the public about Native American and pioneer technologies and lifeways, as well as archeological interpretation and preservation (LAW, 2018). One of the program's goals is to "promote in the public an appreciation for cultural diversity and accomplishments, focusing on the rich American Indian heritage of Kentucky spanning 11,500 years and continuing in the present, as well as the lifeways of historic period settlers in Kentucky" (*Ibid.*). In addition to all the demonstrators of Native American prehistoric lifeways, there was also a stand from a federally recognized Native American tribe from Oklahoma (United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians).

There were no stands with not federally-recognized Native Americans, as the event occurs on federal land. The federal government only works with federally recognized tribes who have historical claims to the land. Despite the heavy focus on the past—it is an archaeological event—the demonstrators and educators still included a link to the present, mainly through the contemporary tribe that attended the event and talked to the public. This event should definitely be on the KDTT website.

I conducted a few informal interviews with people attending the event. The LAW steering committee allowed me to ask questions to the public. These questions can be found in appendix C.

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<sup>3</sup> To name only a few, the KAS, Eastern Kentucky University (EKU), UK, the KNAHC, the Kentucky Organization of Professional Archaeologists (KyOPA) and the KHC are all sponsors of the event

I asked questions to 31 different persons, both adult and children, but mainly adults. Only 7 out of 31 had attended LAW before. Only one person said that, before coming to the event, they did not know that Native Americans lived in Kentucky for thousands of years, otherwise everyone knew that Native People had lived in Kentucky. There were many different answers as to where they had learned about Native Americans in Kentucky. The most common answers were that they learned it from their community, or from school. However, most people who mentioned learning it in school said that they did not learn much about Natives Americans, one participant saying "All I've learned in school is how white people got rid of them".

One participant was an elementary school teacher. She said "we just don't have the material [to teach about Native Americans] and it's so hard to change the curriculum, there's no room to talk about Native people". Five persons said they had learned about Native Americans through a friend or were part Native American. Only nine participants did not know Native Americans still lived in Kentucky. The rest said they knew, with one person saying "I imagine so, although they don't have a strong presence in Kentucky". Another person said that they attended a lot of Native American events because their husband is part Cherokee. One person mentioned their Cherokee heritage, but not having been raised in Cherokee culture and therefore did not consider themselves Native, and then they went on saying that Native Americans still had to be in Appalachian Kentucky because "the Mountain people are not a mobile group. They've been here for over 200 years, generation after generation. It's the same for the Native people that settled here. They would still be here. It only makes sense. People in the Appalachia region have a strong spiritual connection to the land. Even if they leave to go work up North for 40 years, they still call Kentucky home".

The fact that people mentioned having Native American blood, but then said that no Native Americans still resided in Kentucky is an indicator that modernity as well as the lack of a process for federal recognition created barriers for a contemporary expression of Native American identity. As the dominant Native American narratives are not usually portrayed, in museum and popular culture, as continuing into modernity (Palmer, 1999: 319) it seems as their identity is defined by existing only in the past.

Riverside, the Farnsley-Moremeyn Landing, in Louisville, Jefferson County, offers multiple educational events during the summer. I went there on September 19, 2016, for the Riverside Educational program. The archaeological site mainly interprets 19<sup>th</sup> century history of a plantation, along the banks of the Ohio River. It has had a continuous interpretation program since the 1990s. It was only an archaeological site in the beginning, but then grew to be a tourist site. The site is owned and operated by the City of Louisville and the government park system. Archaeologists from the KAS work on the site and offer guided tours, educational activities, reenactments of historical events, etc. Although Riverside focuses on 19<sup>th</sup> century artifacts, there is also a Native American burial site on the estate. The burial ground is only mentioned on the map of the site stating "Prehistoric Native Americans: the first settlers of Riverside". The site is not accessible, but there are plans to develop it (trails, signs, interpreters, etc.). Future plans include a linear trail showing all the Riverside inhabitants over time. One person on staff said they wanted Native American reenactors, but that they were not available.

Even though the Native American occupation at Riverside is not used, interpreters and educators do talk about prehistoric Native Americans, and try to change perceptions. An archaeologist for the KAS, explained that it is difficult to bridge the gap between the past and the present, when it comes to Native American presence in Kentucky. Even though Native American history and cultures are not the focus of the site, Native American artifacts are found during excavation. Through the available interpreters, the Riverside Educational Program offers more possibilities for understanding the human impact on the landscape, and the information goes beyond what can be seen in the static exhibit (the houses). Riverside could do more to explore the life of Native Americans who lived along the river, but the interpreters bring a positive perspective on Native American presence on the site. Still, it is interesting to ask why only the 19<sup>th</sup> century plantation is brought to life through archaeology, reconstruction and reenactments.

In the next section, I will now present various Native American imagery found in Kentucky, which are not directly related to heritage tourism, in order to get a wider sense of the way Native American are represented and—willfully or not—misrepresented in Kentucky.

#### 4.2.4 Native American place names and imagery

The spatial dimension of memory can be seen through the touristic products of a destination, but also through place naming. "Place names are social signals of belonging to a group, and the more names that are shared, the stronger the bonds are within the group" (Helleland, 2012: 96). Place names are part of individual and collective memory and collective identity (Eskeland, 2001, in Helleland, 2012: 96) and "provide important supplements to the history of the places where people settled, as ties to the past" (*Idem*: 101). Indeed, place names can be interpreted as "voices from the past", as they tell the stories of relationship between humans and nature (*Idem*: 102). There are very few Native American place names in Kentucky, especially in comparison with the surrounding states, which often have hundreds of these names (Rennick, 1988: 7). In Kentucky, the main ones that remain are *Kentucky*, the *Ohio River*, the *Mississippi River* and the city of *Paducah* (*Ibid.*). However, their precise connection to Native American culture may not be obvious to most residents as they have become widespread in American culture.<sup>4</sup> A few Native American place names for landscape features and places like *Eskalapia Mountains* (Lewis County) and *Tyewhoppety* (Hancock, Hopkins, Owen, and Todd Counties) can be found in small villages. Rennick explains that the low density of Native American villages at the time of first contact, the complexity of Native American names for European settlers and the general antagonism they felt towards Native Americans are all common reasons to explain the situation (*Ibid.*). Place naming constituted another way for settlers to assert that they had replaced Native Americans and to inscribe their own stories on the land (O'Brien, 2010: 57). It "summarizes the process of claiming the landscapes through naming". (*Idem*: 91).

Furthermore, in Kentucky, Native American historical trails no longer exist in the dominant mapping of the state. Throughout the state, many important roads have been built over Native American seasonal migration and trading routes (Henderson and Pollack, 2012: 46; Tankersley, 2009: 27). For example, the US Highway 27 follows the trail of the Great Tellico Road and the US Highway 25 follows the Warriors Path (*Ibid.*). Daniel Boone's Wilderness Road also followed a Native American

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<sup>4</sup> The same phenomenon exists North of the border where toponyms such as "Canada" and "Ottawa" are not readily associated with Native heritage, although "Canada" comes from the Huron-Iroquois word "*kanata*", which means "village" (Government of Canada, 2017). "Ottawa" comes from the Algonquin word "*adawe*", which means "to trade" (Gillis, 2017).

trail (Henderson and Pollack, 2012: 46). The Great Indian War Path, used by for trading and warfare by tribes from the north and the south, extends from Pennsylvania down to Georgia, one part of it crosses central Kentucky through the Cumberland Gap (Myer, 1928, in Toplovich, 2017).

In Lexington, there are a few streets bearing the names of Native American tribes name (Cherokee, Lackawanna, Chesapeake, Pensacola, Tahoma, Chelan, etc.), but this is only a naming convention, and it is not related to Kentucky's Native American heritage (*Idem*: 47). The word "Indian" is also used for many places: Indian Bottoms (Letcher County), Indian Creek (Owsley County), Indian Fields PO (Clark County), Indian Old Fields (Clark County), etc. (Rennick, 1988: 148-149). A gas station in Wickliffe (Ballard County): *Indian Hills Trading Post* seem to suggest a Native American imagery based in the violence of the colonial era, using a caricatural Native American face for their logo (figure 21).

**Figure 21** Indian Hills Trading Post gas station



Source: B.-Martin, 2015

Official commemoration evaluates which historical events are meaningful. Having been shaped mainly by colonial narratives, official commemoration offers a mostly white interpretation of history, which erases the cultural identity of Native Americans all across the United States. In Kentucky, most Native place names have been replaced by English place names. This points to the ways in which toponyms are a symbolic construct. As means of sustaining memory, Native American place naming, as a means of sustaining memory, shows the strong connection between place and memory (Collignon, 2002: 54). Paired with the Indian Removal Act and other significant events, place naming by the colonial authorities contributed to the erasure of Native presence on the land, as the dominant culture superimposed its own naming system on an existing one. Because Native history is passed down through oral traditions, the renaming of land features paired with the removal of the tribes has weakened the relationship to the land (Hercus and Simpson, 2009: 10-12) and, as a result, the possibility for Native Americans to prove their continuous occupation of the land in order to obtain federal recognition and tribal rights.

Historical markers highlight places that are meaningful for a state's or nation's history. They also establish whose history is important to preserve. According to a report that was submitted to the KNAHC by Darlene Applegate (2006) from the Historic Markers Committee, only 115 of the 2071 historical markers that can be found in Kentucky mention Native Americans (5.5%). This, as well as the faint presence of Native American history in museums, seems to confirm Carson's words: "[t]he history of the First Peoples has remained on the margins of the mainstream antebellum narratives of westward migration, white freedom, and black slavery—narratives that also continue to reproduce, almost as asides, age-old assumptions about the conflict between whites and Indians" (Carson, 2008: 9). Among the 115 markers linked to Native Americans, only 10 are about events concerning only Native Americans (9%). Of the 105 markers that are about Native and non-Native relationships and events, 80 historical markers (76%) relate stories of Native American attacks on white people, the rest (24%) are about treaties or prehistoric sites. The 80 markers about attacks present negative words and depict violence against white people "massacre, ambush, brutally killed, scalped, etc." (Applegate, 2006: 2). These words offer an incomplete and reductive commemoration of Native American culture in Kentucky.



The KHS has an historical marker (#135) in Scott County to commemorate the location of the Choctaw Indian Academy (Talbot, 2018a) as well as a website which lists all its historical markers and provides further information on them. As a government agency, the KHS presents a form of dominant narrative, or at least state-condoned narrative. The language describing the Choctaw Academy seems to exist in a time bubble, as if it were still promoting the acculturation of Native Americans: "At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century, as the population of Euro-American settlers increased and the threat of Native American attacks decreased, efforts were made to acculturate Indians who were willing to assimilate" (*Ibid.*). They do no mention that the "threat" decreased because most Native Americans had been killed or removed. The article tells the story of a school which opened to bring education to Native American boys and closed due to the Indian Removal Act, which led to the "migration of thousands of Native Americans". The words used place no blame on the American government for the Removal and almost make it sound as if Native Americans lost their cultures and their land willingly: "some tribes chose to remain in their home areas and adopted white ways of living [and] chose to incorporate white forms of dress, marry white neighbors, and practice white agricultural methods. Some Native Americans even owned African-American slaves" (*Ibid.*). Which aligns with Hendrix's understanding of "the stories told in national narratives [which] tend to fade into mythology at many points, and tend to downplay or even entirely ignore unpleasant historical facts" (2005: 772). Another example is their take on the Indian Removal Act: "Jackson, like most whites at the time, believed that the Indians' removal to new western lands would be best for both Native Americans and whites" (Talbot, 2018b). If those ideas were once more easily accepted in society, the careful wording of dark events can downplay their gravity. Carson (2008: 10) explains how even simply calling the expulsion of Native Americans from the South a "removal" is a way to rewrite history, "to sanitize it, to banalize it, to avoid confronting it". Carson says that it was nothing less than an "ethnic cleansing", which "allows [Native people] no rightful place in contemporary society" (*Ibid.*).

The Choctaw Academy located in Scott County is one of the nation's "oldest building linked to Native American history" (Eblen, 2016: 1C). Although the Choctaw Academy was put on the National Register of Historic Places in 1972, restoration of the crumbling structure only began in 2016, after the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma raised the funds (17 000\$) needed (*Idem*: 2C). The local man who

owns the building, William Richardson, also used his own money and donations to restore it. The KHC also overviews the project (*Ibid.*). Local newspaper articles often make the claim that the Choctaw Academy was the first interracial school in the country, saying it was of such quality that white children were also enrolled, strangely ignoring the damage the Academy and similar schools did to Native American communities. While some left the school to be leaders in their communities, most of them were estranged from their people and culture. Most accounts of the Choctaw Indian Academy found in local newspapers or websites—which is where mainstream knowledge of the Academy can be found—denote this lack of acknowledgement of the treatment of Native Americans, in the state and the country. The narratives are always neutral or focused on something else than the damage that was done through Removal and forced assimilation. Only scholarly articles (e.g., Drake, 1993) seem to be willing to consider what the school represented and how it affected Native Americans, and ultimately to place the responsibility on policies defined and imposed by white Americans and politicians.

Other elements found in the cultural landscape of the state, like the architecture of commercial buildings can also undermine Native American presence in Kentucky's dominant history. The chain of Wigwam Village tourist cabins which started in 1933, in Kentucky, can be analyzed as more than a relic of the Americana. Wigwam Village is a motel with tepee-shaped rooms made out of steel and stucco (figure 22). The dwelling style depicted is one found on the Great Plains, and in English is called "tepee", and not "wigwam" (Algeo, 2009: 10). The rooms are decorated with a blend of Native American and pioneer inspired style and motif. At the height of the chain's popularity, seven motels were opened to tourists across the United States. Only three now remain, with one of them located in Kentucky. Wigwam Village is a vestige of the golden age of automobile mass tourism and mid-century roadside Americana (Algeo, 2009: 5), but it also echoes the act of colonization (*Idem*: 7). Algeo suggests that "Wigwam Village facilitated the unconscious re-enactment, in symbolic and bloodless form, of Euro-American occupation of Native American lands. Tourists enter an Indian village devoid of Indians, mirroring the early colonial experience on the east coast of North America where introduced diseases wiped out indigenous inhabitants in advance of settlers, who then often took advantage of the hospitable domestic landscape prepared by vanished Indians" (*Ibid.*). "Playing Indian" and exploring the "uncivilized" "Other" was part of creating a narrative that justified westward

expansion and claiming the land (Algeo, 2009). Through its imagery in pop culture, the motel reinforces the social construction of a unique Native American identity, or pan-Indian identity, "through the markers of generic 'Indian-ness' rather than specific tribal cultures" (*Idem*: 1).

**Figure 22**      **Wigwam Village Inn #2 (Cave City, Kentucky)**



Source: *Wigwam Village*, 2018

However, Algeo (2009: 14) concludes that 21<sup>st</sup> century tourists' experience of Wigwam Village might be different than the one of mid-century tourists. It would be an experience veiled in nostalgia, rather than the exotic, looking for the "slower pace" of early modern America (*Ibid.*). If Wigwam Village has now lost its racially charged symbolism, and the focus has switched from Native Americans to looking for "simpler times", it might only be possible because it exists in a landscape that has already mostly erased Native Americans from its narrative and that is not a strong site of contestation. Maybe one of the reasons why the motel survived in Kentucky, despite "the heightened sensitivity to Native American interests" (Brook, 1996; Dooling; 1996; Wise, 2003; Sanders, 2004, in Algeo, 2009: 5) has its roots in the same causes that erased Native Americans from Kentucky's dominant narratives. In other parts of the country, this heightened sensitivity has "led to the renaming of school mascots and the replacement of offending topographic names" (*Ibid.*), but this trend does not seem to be visible in Kentucky. The Kentucky Government website, while promoting the state's unique lodging, encourages people to try Wigwam Village: "Kentucky is full of great places to rest your head, but what if you want to experience something truly unique? Sleep at historic church, authentic

wigwam..." (Commonwealth of Kentucky, 2015). Calling the motel an authentic wigwam, as innocent as it might sound in a tourism context, still implies a lack of sensitivity towards Native American identity issues in the state and the country.

In Kentucky, heritage tourism does not seem to include Native Americans as real contributors to the state's history. They are either part of a past that has no real connection with the present, or figure as the Other in frontier narrative. They are presented as being all the negative things the settlers were not and they frequently come up in narratives as an obstacle. Native Americans seem to exist within Said's binary system, where the Orient is always the negative Other of the West (Said, 1978). The same dynamics seem to be at play here, between settlers and Native Americans, as the frontier narrative is defined through the contrast with Native Americans. The fact that museums are mainly focused on local knowledge in Kentucky (Stottman, 2016a: Interview) also adds a layer of complexity to this issue. A lot of the information that would help create a more accurate narrative for Native American presence in Kentucky is mostly published in academic journals. Even though the dominant culture in Kentucky largely views itself as a part of Southern culture, the fact that Kentucky is not fully integrated and viewed as part of the South by former Confederate states adds complexity and struggle to its own identity, which makes it less porous to the inclusion of other cultures, like Native American cultures. Furthermore, the concept of symbolic accretion acknowledges how commemoration is a changing and dynamic process (Dwyer, 2004: 421). The concept refers to the addition of layers of commemoration to a monument, either to strengthen its original purpose or to alter it (*Ibid.*). With the current growing interest in multicultural heritage tourism, many Southern cities are taking advantage of the past, creating a specific destination image based in both their Civil War and Civil Rights heritage (*Idem*: 426). The South, therefore, is divided between the desire to commemorate the Civil Rights Movement and the fear to forget the Antebellum and Civil War periods or reduce them to a racial conflict. The commemoration of the Confederacy is currently gaining importance, especially among working-class whites who are opposed to cultural integration (Dwyer, 2004: 420). Indeed, there has been a shift in Civil War memory during the last 40 years. Commemoration of the Confederacy used to be reserved for the elite but has now become a proletarian struggle with openly racial undertones (*Idem*: 420). There is little doubt that this kind of endeavor challenges the social fabric of the South. It also leaves very little space for a Native

perspective on the antebellum and Civil War periods.

The commemoration of dark heritage is not apparent in the cultural landscape of Kentucky, regarding Native Americans. Native Americans are often depicted as an extinct people. They are not shown as taking part in modern Kentucky society. In a way, being modern renders them "inauthentic" (O'Brien, 2010: 22). They often seem to lose the right to their own culture and to be recognized as Native Americans, if they do not fit the widespread "Plain Indians stereotypes" (*Ibid.*). Their contributions to Kentucky history are therefore limited to pre-contact, to the violence of first contact or to the Kentucky settlement period. This makes federal recognition very complex and not easily accessible to tribes that cannot document continuous habitation in an area since the pre-contact era. In addition, history is written as if "civilization" had been brought by Europeans; thus, the colonial era becomes the beginning of history in America.

The western expansion of colonial settlement, slavery, the Confederate defeat and the subsequent fall of the South, among other things, all influenced what is and what is not commemorated in the American South. In order to clearly define the Southern identity during Reconstruction, many Southern historical societies chose to rewrite Native memory of the Civil War to make it fit with their own version of events. The United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) in Oklahoma, for example, forced the integration of Native Civil War memory within the white American Civil War narrative through the erection of monuments (Fortney, 2012: 538). Most Native Americans felt no nostalgia for the *Lost Cause* (*Idem*: 541), but still were included in its commemoration through a "white Southern reinterpretation of [their] role in the Civil War" (*Idem*: 539). I can argue that, on a smaller scale, similar processes might have affected Civil War memory in Kentucky, and further exclude Native Americans from dominant narratives. The needs to create a strong Confederate identity did not allow for Native Americans to be included in the post-Civil War narratives.

In Kentucky, a certain fear or distrust of experts exists among people, but also government employees (Stottman, 2016a: Interview). It is a particular context that allows private collectors to open a museum in an old house and interpret history with no experts, and then present it like the

truth, because it is found in a "museum" (*Ibid.*). Depicting Native Americans as simple, but violent oppressors is common in frontier narrative. It dehumanizes them and renders settlement acceptable not only in Kentucky, but over the entire continent. For example, *Night comes to the Cumberlands. A biography of a depressed era* (1963), written by Harry M. Caudill, is seen as an important historical work for a contemporary understanding of Appalachian Kentucky and brought to light the important poverty issues faced by people in the region. But for all its eloquence and relevance regarding Appalachian people, it fails to neutrally portray Native American history in the region, describing them in violent, negative terms: "the Indian, simple savage that he was [...]" (Caudill, 1963: 13); "while he fought the Indian as a beast, the frontiersman unhesitatingly mated with the red man's squaws [...]" (Caudill, 1963: 16). Although this book was written decades ago, this perception of Native Americans can still be found almost intact in some museums.

Archaeology is important because it can inform us about extinct cultures and the way people lived, but when only this part is incorporated in museums, it strengthens the idea that Native Americans no longer exist and are only a thing of the past. Indeed, "[h]istorical narratives and relic collecting place Indians in the past" (O'Brien, 2010: xxiii). In Kentucky museums, the stories about Native Americans rarely go beyond frontier era. In her case study of Native American erasure in New England, O'Brien (*Idem*: 206) explains that colonial archives support the myth that they are now extinct. O'Brien (*Ibid.*) talks about the "mythology of Indian extinction" in New England, which also seems to exist in Kentucky tourism, as most exhibits not supported by the federal government fail to include Native Americans in contemporary history, simply stating that Native Americans did not live in Kentucky after the Indian Removal Act. This idea is so well-embedded in Kentucky's dominant history that sources which could help understand the complexity of Native American enduring presence in Kentucky rarely being studied (Henderson and Pollack, 2012: 34). Furthermore, "[i]n their fight against this discourse, New England Indians are forced to rely on a record that sought to make them disappear in order to prove their survival. Whether they have (yet) succeeded or not, they continue to remake themselves as Indian peoples in their homelands and in modernity. More than five hundred years of Indian resistance to colonialism suggests that the struggle will not end" (O'Brien, 2010: 206). Much the same could be said about Native Americans in Kentucky, when their survival demanded

for them to hide their identity. Being denied their cultural heritage on official demographic records—when they were forced to either be "White" or "Black"—further guaranteed their cultural disappearance, making it impossible to know from archival research how many Native Americans stayed in Kentucky. O'Brien also explores what she calls the "New England replacement narrative". She explains how "local histories built a collective case that they had replaced Indians on the landscape" through memorials, commemoration, amateur archaeology and place naming. Monuments to non-native people "assert English origins" (*Idem*: xxiii). Replacing Native Americans on the landscape includes many aspects: relocating them, erasing their presence through place naming, memory making, and keeping them in museums as part of the past only. All of these processes were in place until Native Americans and their culture and history were "literally buried" and "no trace of their former presence remained except artifacts that from time to time were revealed" (*Idem*: 85).

### **4.3 Native American memory and cultural identity**

I conducted semi-structured interviews at the Native Dawn Flute Gathering, in Lawrenceburg, Anderson County, with five people self-identifying as Native American and who were participating in the event (appendix D), in order to determine if there has been a rupture in the transmission of their culture and cultural identity. Tressa Brown, the staff coordinator for the KNAHC is the one who introduced me to the people I interviewed during the festival. Most of the people I interviewed were members of the OVNAVWS.

Another participant is a war veteran. He said that he started being interested in his cultural heritage in 1994. He is part Shawnee and part Cherokee. He is a member of the OVNAVWS and goes to many Native American cultural activities, like powwows and festivals. When I asked him if he felt a special connection to any part of Kentucky, through his cultural heritage he said: "I feel a connection to the whole landscape of the state of Kentucky" (Native Dawn Flute Gathering participant A, 2016: Interview). In his youth, he did not feel a connection to any Native American landmarks in the state, but he now does. He said his family has been living in Appalachia since the 18<sup>th</sup> century and that

they hid in the mountains during Removal. Although Native American culture was not taught to him as a child, he has since then learned about it and he raised his children in their Native American heritage. He does not believe Native American history is justly taught in public school and said people still had an inaccurate vision of prehistoric- and frontier-era Native Americans. All the same, he said that people in Kentucky do not have an accurate vision of modern-day Native Americans, because "popular culture (television, movies, etc.) mainly portrays Native Americans as being tribes from the Plains" (Native Dawn Flute Gathering participant A, 2016: Interview).

Another participant I interviewed is a firefighter. He said he wanted to tell me what it meant for him to be Native American. "As a child, I was raised in some Native American heritage, but I never knew I was Native. It was a way of life. Hunting, fishing, learning how to use medicinal plants, it was all very important. Also, we ate food that was based in Native American culture, we just didn't know we were Native through our heritage" (Native Dawn Flute Gathering participant B, 2016: Interview). He only started being interested in his Native heritage a few years ago, because of his brother's interest. He is Cherokee and a member of OVNAVWS. He said he did not feel any specific connection to Kentucky through his heritage. For him, it was more about the values that he's learned, like community and spirituality: "I used to be angry more easily, but I'm not anymore. Interconnectedness makes me feel at peace" (Native Dawn Flute Gathering participant, 2016: Interview). He is trying to get his children interested in their heritage.

I also talked with a KNACH commissioner at the and a member of the Native American Intertribal Alliance (NAIA). He and his family are all members of the Southern Cherokee Nation of Kentucky. Like others, he was raised in some Native American heritage, but he never knew that he was Native: "It was just a way of life, hunting, fishing" (Native Dawn Flute Gathering participant C, 2016: Interview). He said that he uses medicinal plants to heal cuts which heal quicker than with antibiotics. He was taught all those things by his uncle and dad when he was a kid. "They were purposely hiding the fact that they were Native American, because it wasn't a good thing, back then, to be Native American. Legally, the state could take your land and take everything you own. When census people would come they would check 'white' or 'black'. Native American wasn't a choice" (Native Dawn Flute Gathering participant, 2016: Interview C). He said that Native American history is not being taught



properly in school and that people have very false ideas about Native Americans. His family was in Kentucky before Removal. He said that through the Treaty of 1866, Cherokees were moved to Arkansas, but then the mixed-blood Cherokees left Arkansas, because of issues with full-blood Cherokees. They came back and now live in Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee and Indiana. He has filled-out an application for the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, but he believes mixed-blood people have the right to be recognized as Native Americans. All of his people have concrete proven lineage to Cherokee heritage. He said the KNAHC has their hands tied, because they have a small budget. He believes that NAIA can help the KNAHC with finances and be more political and speak their mind about congress and state legislature. Their function is to look out for all Native Americans, especially mixed-blood, because they have no rights. "According to the federal government, if we don't have ancestors that appear on their rolls, the Miller roll, etc., then you are not Native American" (Native Dawn Flute Gathering participant, 2016: Interview C). He said that federally recognized tribes are usually opposed to other groups being recognized, because of the lack of funds. But he said this was not about money: "We don't want casinos. Money will not buy our people their culture or buy it away. We can't use the eagle feathers in our religious ceremonies, because only recognized tribes can use the eagle feathers" (Native Dawn Flute Gathering participant, 2016: Interview). He raised his children with Native American values and they try to adhere to their culture and still "live within the white world".

The participants all explained not having been directly raised in Native American culture. They learned of their Native American ancestry only once they were adults. Until recently, being Native American was something that people kept hidden, in Kentucky. It is only through an interest in their roots that these people became involved with Native American culture. "Many urban Aboriginal people do not have the opportunity to return 'home' (Anderson, 2000: 123), especially people from relocated tribes. "In order to nurture their sense of identity, they must look for alternatives" (*Ibid.*). One way to reconnect with their identity is meeting with other Native peoples (*Ibid.*), for example during those Native Americans festivals and powwows. However, some of them realized afterwards that they were raised with some Native American heritage, even though it was not presented as such: hunting, fishing, survival in the forest, learning about medicinal plants, etc. People said they had a connection to Native American culture before they knew about their ancestry. This element is

an important symbol of the erasure of Native American identity that occurred in Kentucky. It seems as if dominant frontier narratives, treaties and removal policies have succeeded in severing a strong direct and visible Native American cultural transmission, in the state. In 2004, Judy Sizemore published a collection of interviews with Native American women from Kentucky: *Strong voices: Native American women of Kentucky*. Judi Conway Patton, the wife of Paul Patton, a former governor of Kentucky (1995-2003) is interviewed in the book. Ms. Patton was raised in Cherokee heritage, in the Appalachia. She says "a lot of people here [Appalachia] are part Cherokee. That's just the way it is. It happened during the Trail of Tears, when the Cherokees came to the mountains to hide and they mingled with the population" (Sizemore, 2004: 29). She is the one who prompted her husband to create the KNAHC, in 1996: "I was floored to learn that Kentucky was one of the few states that did not have a Native American Commission" (*Idem*: 30). Darla Jackson, another woman interviewed, is also part Cherokee, and was also raised knowing she was Cherokee: "I can remember being a very young child and listening to my mother and her two sisters talking of being Cherokee. [...] I have always felt connected with my heritage" (*Idem*: 32). "I feel that Cherokee culture really bleeds into the culture of southeast Kentucky" (*Idem*: 38). Because she "looks" Native American, she was often asked by strangers if she was Native American, the tribe she affiliated with and "how [she] was Cherokee" (*Ibid.*). This incited her to start researching her own genealogy. She says that a lot of people still claim that there is no Cherokee blood in Kentucky, but she and her husband "proved [their] Native American heritage through DNA testing" (*Idem*: 33). She struggled a lot with having to "prove [her] heritage" (*Ibid.*). However, she will never have a Certificate of Degree of Indian Blood (CDIB) card, because she cannot find an ancestor that registered on a roll (*Ibid.*). Helen Danser, chairman of the KNAHC, was not raised in Cherokee heritage, but she knew she was part Cherokee. When she visited a reservation in Arizona, she felt at home: "Watching the people on the Reservation, I recognized many of the things my mother did as we were growing up in her house. I recognized some of the housekeeping techniques that were like hers. After my visit to the Reservation, I began to think more of myself as an Indian woman" (Sizemore, 2004: 55).

These stories of Native American women that are now important figures of the Native American community, in Kentucky echoes the ones of the people I interviewed at the Native Dawn Flute Gathering. A sense of confusion about their identity; an identity usually hidden by the family, but still

transmitted through values and lifeways; and an interest in their Native American heritage that grew stronger as they became older. These accounts seem to confirm the depth of the territorial and identity loss Native Americans had to endure in Kentucky. Anderson argues that this is all part of the "Native experience" (2000: 27). This experience is shared by all Native peoples, whether they were brought up in Native American culture or not, as it includes "being relocated, dispossessed of [their] ways of life, adopted into white families and so on. All Native peoples have experienced loss to one degree or another because of these policies, and as a result [they] have to work at making sense of [their] identity. For many of [them] part of being Native is feeling like [they] aren't!" (*Ibid.*).

In the case of relocated groups whose history has traditionally been recorded and passed on through oral transmission, artifacts are sometimes one of the only material vestiges left of a group's memory. In Kentucky, the laws protecting graves and burial mounds do not include artifacts found on private property. Only artifacts found on public land are supposed to be protected. The Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) (1979) ensures that archaeological resources and sites found on public lands and Native American lands are protected and also to encourage collaboration between the government, the professional archaeological community, and individuals which have archaeological data collected before the enactment of APRA. ( . Many burial mounds found on farmlands and in towns have therefore been destroyed (Lewis and Pollack, 1996: 224). Looters and amateur collectors sell the artifacts they find or transformed their property into a tourist site. A lot of information is lost this way (Lewis and Pollack, 1996: 218-219). In the 1970s and the 1980s, another wave of interest for Native artifacts and cave exploration caused the destruction of many archaeological sites (Lewis and Pollack, 1996: 225). It seems as if the Native cultural identity in Kentucky must now exist partly through "dreams and myths" (Bonnemaison, 1981: 256), because some of its spatial dimension has been destroyed or is undocumented.

After visiting tourist sites interpreting Native American history in Kentucky, and after talking to Kentuckians about their perception of Native Americans, as well as people identifying as Native Americans, it seems clear that the myth is very much alive in the state: Native Americans no longer live in Kentucky. If the myth of the Dark and Bloody Ground justified and encouraged white settlement, this contemporary narrative, or absence of narratives about Native American presence

in Kentucky, appears to be the result of centuries of replacement narratives and erasure. It then becomes obvious that "[...] what has been forgotten shapes the writing of history every bit as much as what has been remembered" (Carson, 2008: 9).

## CHAPTER 5 – DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

### 5.1 Tourism-oriented solutions

This thesis offers an analysis of how Native Americans are represented by the state of Kentucky and its tourism industry. I first studied the destination image of the state to determine in which capacity Native American narratives were part of it and what were the other dynamics influencing the memory making process of the state. Kentucky's destination image mostly revolves around horses, bourbon and its frontier era. After the Civil War, Kentucky worked on creating a narrative for Civil War memory largely based in Confederate ideology and history (Marshall, 2010), Native Americans did not fit into that narrative. The frontier narrative does include Native Americans, but only in opposition to the settlers, as a hardship to be overcome. This was confirmed in most of the tourist sites I visited. Many museums presenting Native American history had a strong focus on pre-contact Native American presence. However, some sites, mainly the ones owned by the federal government and some state parks and museums presented a more balanced version of history. The myths which help to sustain Native American erasure from the past and current landscape have also been identified. The cultural landscape of the state is filled with commemorative elements which influence the memory making process and mainly serve to further confirm the absence of a Native American presence in Kentucky. The myth of the "Dark and Bloody Ground" and Native Americans as obstacles to settlement justify and legitimize settlement in Kentucky.

An important challenge remains to ensure that the various Native American cultures of Kentucky are not confined to a distant past, through the tourist products that are offered across the state. Heritage sites interpreting Native American cultures should present Native American narratives which align with their own experience in Kentucky, highlight their existence in contemporaneity, and strengthen the link between Native and non-Native people. More activities and sites related to Native tourism could help diversify the tourism products available. Indeed, small businesses bring a local flavor to tourism products, something that is sought after by many tourist segments who are looking for an experience that would be more authentic than the one offered by vast malls and American restaurant

chains (Brown *et al.*, 2014: 768). It would therefore be possible to suppose that Native tourism, by highlighting a historical relationship to the land, could easily be inserted into a local and cultural perspective of Kentucky's destination image and thus increase the attractiveness of the state. It could also offer more knowledge and raise awareness concerning contemporary challenges being faced by Native Americans in Kentucky, but also across the United States, thus providing the general public with some tools to understand Indigenous issues not only in the past but in the present day.

Even though most of the heritage sites I visited are on the "Native American Cultural Heritage" web page of the KDTT, if no links are made between Native American cultures and the present, the Native American content found in those sites can hardly be considered a cultural heritage. Currently, at most sites highlighted as Native sites, narratives are not constructed as if Native Americans are part of modern society. If the pre-contact Native American presence is now included in the dominant narratives of the state, a Native presence at the time of contact is often contested. This narrative justifies settlement in Kentucky and absolves the country and the state from any faults against Native Americans. Moreover, the stories of Native Americans who stayed behind after the Indian Removal Act of 1830 are not part of Kentucky's dominant history or official records. The presence of these myths in historical narratives has not only shaped the dynamics of the Native presence and cultural heritage in the past, but their persistence continues to shape popular perspectives of Native American heritage in the broader cultural heritage of present-day Kentucky. The colonial means used to erase Native American presence in the United States went further than the violence of federal policies of assimilation and relocation. Subtler methods, like commemoration and myths, have allowed the dominant culture to claim the land through memory. Even if this process is not currently and willfully in place, the extent of the damage is still visible in its absence. Placing blame on contemporary people for the wrongs done by their ancestors can be difficult to sustain and can show little nuance (Hendrix, 2005: 773). Using Abdel-Nour's logic, Hendrix argues that "individuals have an obligation to feel ashamed of historical wrongs *if* they feel pride in their imagined connection to earlier members of the nation (Abdel-Nour, 2003, in Hendrix, 2005: 774). As such, non-Native people should be mindful of this when revisiting history. Working towards a process of reconciliation would imply acknowledgement and featuring both sides of the story in national and state narratives (*Ibid.*). This would imply "revising the content of public education, revising the stories told on national

holidays and on the placards of historical monuments, and ultimately a change in the way that Natives are treated in popular culture" (*Idem*: 775). "Failure to recognize such "facts of New World oblivion" Handley has suggested, runs the risk of reifying "existing memories of conquest, enslavement, and colonization as naturally born from history itself, not as selected recollections that have emerged in the context of a struggle among competing powers of representation" (Carson, 2008: 28). If the myth of *Terra Nullius* generally supports American exceptionalism and the westward expansion, the Dark and Bloody Ground myth highlights a similar process on a smaller scale. Furthermore, when it comes to museums, archaeology is important to teach us about extinct culture and lifeways, but when only this part is incorporated in exhibits, it reinforces the idea that Native American cultures no longer exist.

Presenting a tourist site referred to as a Native American cultural heritage site on a resource of the state government can be equivalent to an endorsement, which legitimizes the narratives that are found at the sites. In Kentucky, this seems to have created a mechanism by which flawed or out of date information is rendered somewhat official. Museums use a certain perspective to frame the world and are a link between experts and the public. Especially when it comes to sites being listed on a governmental website, it seems like those sites would convey a narrative that has the appearance of "durability which makes them difficult to contest" (*Ibid.*). Therefore, the KDTT should work with the KNAHC to decide which tourist sites should be included in the listing.

Heritage tourist sites are important in "the production and legitimization of historical knowledges and social identities" (Desforges and Maddern, 2004: 437). When certain groups' history is absent from the narratives found in heritage sites, it strengthens inequalities (*Ibid.*). It is therefore important to recognize who is not mentioned and to develop strategies to include them. The representations of Native Americans found in museums encourage the false notion that there are no Native Americans in Kentucky. They are not usually part of the narratives that go beyond the colonial era. While we know that there are still Native Americans in Kentucky, they have mainly been erased from the cultural landscape, as if Native American identity cannot survive modernity.

The tourist sites and events which went beyond the myths and strived to incorporate Native American narratives in a sensitive way had a few things in common. Mainly, they were organized by Native American people or they were federal sites—the latter must include the federally recognized tribes that are involved in the site through their heritage. Many scholars (d'Hautesserre, 2004; Hinch, 2004; Iankova, 2005; Antomarchi, 2009) agree that involving Native people in the tourism industry can ensure that the tourism product does not perpetuate stereotypes. For the whole touristic process to be truly positive, Native nations must be part of the process and have decision-making power over it. "Self-determination appears to be the key for sustainable indigenous tourism" (Hinch, 2004: 253). Therefore, the recommendations I am making for the KDTT revolve around Native American participation. The second element that was shared by the tourist sites offering positive Native American representations was narratives built by scholars or relying on scholarly work. Indeed, current and impartial data in history, geography, archaeology, etc. can provide narratives which include different perspectives.

The KDTT, along with the KNAHC, should formulate a list of criteria that would dictate which sites can be included as a Native American heritage site, especially when it comes to governmental tourist sites. Although it does not seem realistic to control the information presented in private museums, if the sites do not adhere to certain criteria, they should, at least, not be promoted by the state of Kentucky as Native American cultural heritage sites. The interpretation centers of national and state parks are a good opportunity to present a unified and complete narrative across the state, which would also include Native Americans' experiences. For Native Americans, the frontier narrative is not a story of overcoming obstacles and perseverance, "it is the story of land theft and forcible relocation, and the destruction of political institutions, languages, and religions" (Hendrix, 2005: 773). This story of cultural, identity, and territorial loss is not usually comprised in the frontier narrative. Therefore, the governmental Native American heritage sites should strive to include a counter-narrative that has been crafted by Native Americans living in Kentucky, and federally recognized tribes who consider Kentucky their ancestral land. This narrative could then include stories of relocation and ruptures with their cultural identity, but also the stories of those who stayed in the state and had to hide their own identity to survive. Considering the absence of state or federally recognized tribes, creating a single narrative seems impossible. Native Americans' narratives in



Kentucky could only be based on diverse stories. There are many unofficial Native American groups in Kentucky, with a lively cultural presence, hosting powwows and festivals across the state. Those groups should be invited to contribute to the tourism industry by submitting counter-narratives through oral family stories, Native American landmarks in Kentucky, Native American place names for geographical features, etc. Giving a voice to those groups that are not federally recognized would be an important step into acknowledging other narratives coming from groups whose identity does not have to be sanctioned by the federal government. Consequently, the narratives presented at government heritage sites that choose to interpret Native American cultures should strive to meet the following criteria:

- a neutral or positive lexicon;
- present Native Americans as inhabiting Kentucky during the prehistoric era, the frontier era and present-day, as opposed to their existence being only confined to the past;
- the diversity of Native American cultures should be presented, with a focus on Kentucky-based cultures; the site should bring a balanced counter-narrative to the pioneer story that does not simply frame Native Americans as the oppressors;
- more research should be conducted to determine which Kentucky tradition and knowledge actually has its roots in Native American cultures;
- include Native American contributions to American society at large;
- when exhibit space or funding is limited, interpreters should be able to provide an alternative perspective, they should also provide a counter narrative to old and outdated exhibits;
- the information should be supported by archaeological and historical data, but a place should be given to oral narratives and stories, as, in most cases, they might be the only records of Native Americans' enduring presence in Kentucky, after Removal;
- lastly, the site should strive to have an ongoing dialogue with Native communities.

## 5.2 Conclusion

"The American cultural landscape *is* interesting for what it has to 'say' about 'us', just as its normalizing, normative capabilities simultaneously make the landscape central on the ongoing production and reproduction of identity" (Schein, 1997: 676). Heritage tourism can, therefore, be an important materialization of the collective memory of a region, and its impact on identities should not be overlooked. Inclusion and exclusion processes do not always happen naturally. They can be a conscious choice from the dominant culture to project a certain vision or image of the past. The Native presence in Kentucky is part of the landscape, with artifacts and burial mounds, but it still is not a significant part of the cultural landscape of the state. Choices have been made to promote a narrative that leaves out Native Americans. This is now so embedded in the state history that it has an appearance of truth. Even though some are trying to create a counter-narrative that includes Native Americans' experience in Kentucky, the dominant landscape of the state mainly remains a praise to pioneers' endurance during the frontier era. "By obliterating from our memory of the region's past the humanity of the region's First Peoples and their existence as *people* rather than as impediments to progress, we have become complicit in cultivating a logic of atemporality and inhumanity, of locating the region's—and, indeed, the nation's—origins in a primordial natural world, and or reproducing a history premised on elimination" (Carson, 2008: 28).

Revisiting history through a perspective less partial to American exceptionalism would offer narratives more inclusive of minority groups. The state government of Kentucky has a particularly vital role to play in the reconstruction of inclusive narratives in present-day Kentucky. Indeed, they have the power to legitimize what is presented to the public and they are the only entity in the state that has the resources to support such project of historical reassessment. Additionally, it is incumbent upon the state government to consult as many relevant perspectives as possible in presenting a counter-narrative. Particularly, this counter-narrative should be crafted by self-identifying Native Americans living in Kentucky and federally recognized tribes who consider Kentucky their ancestral land. Even beyond the relevance to heritage tourism, the Kentucky state government should put in place a process for the state recognition of Native American tribes which takes into account their historical realities. Events such as the Indian Removal Act and the "documentary genocide" (O'Brien,

2010: xvi) that followed render the typical threshold for bureaucratic legitimacy void. The state of Kentucky should therefore create its own recognition process that acknowledges these challenges. State recognition would provide the Native people of Kentucky with the foundation and visibility necessary to play a central role in the memory making process of the state. Moreover, it would give them a means to appeal to the government for needs specific to their communities.

For further research, looking more closely at education and the curriculum used in elementary, middle and high schools would provide an interesting and more complete approach to understanding Native American presence in the dominant narratives of Kentucky. On a similar note, studying Native American representations in popular culture would also offer an important component of their inclusion in American society. Comparative studies with other states which have successfully included a Native presence in their dominant narratives would be productive in fostering a more equitable presentation of the Native past and present.

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# APPENDIX A

## - TOURIST SITES QUESTIONNAIRE -

### TOURIST SITES IN KY WHERE NATIVE AMERICANS ARE MENTIONED

SITE: \_\_\_\_\_  
LOCATION (city and county): \_\_\_\_\_  
ORGANIZATION IN CHARGE: \_\_\_\_\_  
FUNDING: \_\_\_\_\_  
DATE THE EXHIBIT WAS CREATED: \_\_\_\_\_

NAME OF THE CURATOR (or person in charge): \_\_\_\_\_

- Contact: \_\_\_\_\_
- Why are NA mentioned (historical event, governmental policy, mandate, etc.)?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- Historical sources, perspective on the removal and its impact on Kentucky's NA history?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- Links between present and past Native presence in Kentucky?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

STATIC EXHIBITS?	Yes	No ( <i>explain</i> )
_____		
_____		

INTERPRETERS AVAILABLE?	Yes	No
• Do they bring new NA perspective?	Yes	No
• Words used to describe NA:	Positive	Negative
• Their vision:		
_____		
_____		

**GIFT STORE?**

- NA cultural products?
- What kind?

**Yes**  
Yes  
Caricature

**No**  
No  
Historic Other (*explain*)

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**WEBSITE?**

- Mentions NA?
- Link to their website on KY tourism website, in the section *Native American Cultural Heritage*?
- Why are they (or why aren't they) on that section of the website? Were they contacted, did they ask to be put there, etc.?

**Yes**  
Yes  
Yes

**No**  
No  
No

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**HAND OUTS, PROGRAMMING, etc.?**

- Do they mention NA?
- If they do, what kind of activities or information is presented?

**Yes**  
Yes

**No**  
No

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**THE EXHIBIT (overall)**

**Positive**      **Negative**

POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
<input type="checkbox"/> Present (post-removal)	<input type="checkbox"/> Past (prehistoric or colonial only)
<input type="checkbox"/> Many Native American cultures	<input type="checkbox"/> One Native American culture
<input type="checkbox"/> Region specific	<input type="checkbox"/> Not region specific (uses Great Plain culture to represent all Native American cultures)
<input type="checkbox"/> Neutral or positive lexicon	<input type="checkbox"/> Negative lexicon (kill, massacre, etc.)
<input type="checkbox"/> Inhabited the land	<input type="checkbox"/> Myth of the Dark and Bloody Ground
<input type="checkbox"/> Contribution to American history	<input type="checkbox"/> No contribution
OTHER: _____ _____ _____	OTHER: _____ _____ _____
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>TOTAL:</b>

## APPENDIX B

### – EMAILS TO TOURIST SITES –

- Are you aware that the [tourist site] is mentioned [or not] on the "Native American Cultural Heritage" page of the official website of the KDTT?
- Did you contact the KDTT to ask to be placed under this category (Native American Cultural Heritage) or were you contacted by the Department? And if so, what is the process to be listed as a Native American Cultural Heritage site, on the website?
- Why did you choose to interpret Native American history and cultures in your exhibit? Was that part of an institutional mandate or a governmental policy?
- Did you receive funding in order to present Native American history and cultures in your exhibit? If so, what was the nature of that funding (private, public, grant, etc.)?
- Do you have any ongoing relationship with any Native American organizations?
- What are the main sources that were used to construct the narratives of your exhibit?
- Does the site have any future plans of further incorporating Native American culture (e.g., contemporary Native American cultures, history and contributions to Kentucky society)?

## APPENDIX C

### – LAW QUESTIONNAIRE –

- Is it your first time here, at LAW?
- Prior to coming to this event, did you know that Native Americans lived in Kentucky thousands of years ago?
- Whether the answer is yes or no, where did you learn that? School, museums, historical events, etc.?
- Did you know that Native Americans still live here, in Kentucky?

## APPENDIX D

### – FORMAL INTERVIEW QUESTIONS –

- Are you part of a Native American nation or do you claim Native American ancestry?
- If part of a Native American nation, which one is it?
- Are you part of a cultural group that organizes activities to promote Native American culture in Kentucky or the Southeastern part of the United States? Or do you participate to such activities. If so what are they?
- Through your cultural heritage, do you feel any special connection to the land of Kentucky? Which specific area?
- If so, is it prior to or after the Indian Removal Act of 1830?
- Has your family or your nation inhabited the land since before or after the Indian Removal Act of 1830?
- Is any Native American culture still an important part of your way of life?
- Do you feel a connection to any Native American landmarks, place names or regions within Kentucky?
- Do you believe the way Native American history is taught in public school is accurate?
- Do you believe the people of Kentucky have an accurate vision of precolonial and colonial period Native Americans?
- Do you believe the people of Kentucky have an accurate vision of modern days Native Americans?
- Do you believe that tourist sites across the state of Kentucky portrays Native American history in an accurate way? (Prehistoric era, colonial era, Removal, etc.)