

INFORMATION TO USERS

This dissertation was produced from a microfilm copy of the original document. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or patterns which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting thru an image and duplicating adjacent pages to insure you complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a large round black mark, it is an indication that the photographer suspected that the copy may have moved during exposure and thus cause a blurred image. You will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., was part of the material being photographed the photographer followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin photoing at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue photoing from left to right in equal sections with a small overlap. If necessary, sectioning is continued again — beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. The majority of users indicate that the textual content is of greatest value, however, a somewhat higher quality reproduction could be made from "photographs" if essential to the understanding of the dissertation. Silver prints of "photographs" may be ordered at additional charge by writing the Order Department, giving the catalog number, title, author and specific pages you wish reproduced.

University Microfilms

300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

A Xerox Education Company

72-30,052

STERN, Robert Ira, 1933-
THREE MICHIGAN PAGEANTS AND HOW THEY GREW.

Michigan State University, Ph.D., 1972
Theater

University Microfilms, A XEROX Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan

© Copyright by
Robert Ira Stern
1972

THREE MICHIGAN PAGEANTS AND HOW THEY GREW

by

Robert I. Stern

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Theatre

1972

PLEASE NOTE:

Some pages may have
indistinct print.

Filmed as received.

University Microfilms, A Xerox Education Company

ABSTRACT

THREE MICHIGAN PAGEANTS AND HOW THEY GREW

By

Robert I. Stern

The purpose of this study was to determine whether generalizations concerning the development and continuance of pageants could be made through an examination of three Michigan communities in which pageants have been produced. It was further hoped that an heuristic purpose would be served by this study.

In order to provide the information necessary for this study, several tasks were accomplished. The geopolitical community in which each pageant is produced is described in terms of its component parts: human, man-made, and natural. The interest community, i.e. the actual production agent, is described and its place within the larger community identified. Finally, interviews were carried out with members of the community to determine images of the pageant, and to determine agreement between the leadership and the community at large.

Three conclusions were arrived at: 1) Generalizations concerning the development and continuance of a pageant could be made. The three generalizations are:

- a. Although the size of the community is not necessarily of importance to the success of a pageant, the way in which the pageant becomes a part of the community is.

Robert I. Stern

- b. The longer a pageant is produced, the greater the chance of institutionalization.
- c. Control people or organizations linked to a pageant producing organization can aid in the success of a pageant.

2) Acceptance of the following premises allows one to test for possibilities of success or failure.

- a. The more knowledgeable a community feels it is about a community project, the more prone to success the project will be.
- b. The more closely allied the images of the Key informant and Checkoff informant are relative to community activity, the more success prone the activity will be.

3) The avenues for further exploration in the area are virtually unlimited.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This writer is deeply grateful to the members of his committee for their guidance and optimistic spirit during the preparation of this study. He is also indebted to Dr. Duane Gibson and the members of the Institute for Community Development for their interest and helpful insights. Furthermore, this writer owes a sincere debt of gratitude to his wife and children for their patient support.

Thanks are also extended to the citizens of the communities studied for their assistance.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION	1
Purpose (7)--Limitations (7)--Methods (8)	
--Organization (10)	
CHAPTER II. "EVENTS AT MICHILIMACKINAC" - MACKINAW CITY	11
Description of the Community (11)--History of the Pageant (15)--Community Images (30)	
--Summary (37)	
CHAPTER III. "THE BLACK GOWN TREE" - ST. IGNACE .	40
Description of the Community (40)--History of the Pageant (43)--Community Images (50)	
--Summary (57)	
CHAPTER IV. "REFLECTIONS OF KE-WA-WE-NON" - BARAGA COUNTY	60
Description of the Community (60)--History of the Pageant (65)--Community Images (73)	
--Summary (79)	
CHAPTER V. CONCLUSIONS	82
Suggestions for Further Research (91)	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	92

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Description of Mackinaw City Informants . .	31
2. Description of Pageant Involvement of Mackinaw City Informants	32
3. Mackinaw City Informant Images of the Pageant	33
4. Mackinaw City Informant Images of Organization and Leaders	35
5. Mackinaw City Informant Images of the Future	36
6. Description of St. Ignace Informants . . .	51
7. Description of Pageant Involvement of St. Ignace Informants	52
8. St. Ignace Informant Images of the Pageant	53
9. St. Ignace Informant Images of Organization and Leaders	55
10. St. Ignace Informant Images of the Future .	56
11. Description of Baraga County Informants . .	75
12. Description of Pageant Involvement of Baraga County Informants	76
13. Baraga County Informant Images of the Pageant	77
14. Baraga County Informant Images of Organization and Leaders	78
15. Baraga County Informant Images of the Future	79
16. Percentage of Checkoff Informants with Knowledge of Leaders or Persons Involved	85

17.	Percentage of Checkoff Informants with an Awareness of Historical Develop- ment	86
18.	Percentage of Checkoff Informants with Knowledge of Financing	87
19.	Comparison of Images of the Future of the Pageants by Percentage	88
20.	Comparison of Images of the Future of the Community by Percentage	89
21.	Percentage Comparisons of Reasons for Participation	89
22.	Comparison of Images of Positive Pageant Benefits by Percentage	90

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix	Page
A. Events at Michilimackinac	96
B. The Black Gown Tree	110
C. Reflections of Ke-Wa-We-Non	132
D. Interview Guide	152

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

When, in 1963, the tiny village of Mackinaw City, located at the tip of the lower peninsula of Michigan, decided to celebrate the reconstruction of Fort Michilimackinac and the two hundredth anniversary of the famous battle¹ between the Ojibwa and the British garrison which took place therein with a lacrosse tournament and a re-enactment of the battle, little did they realize that they were opening a door to the past which would be difficult to close.

The lacrosse tournament ran only one year (long enough to lose money for its backers), but the re-enactment of the battle has completed its ninth year of performance and preparations are being made for the tenth. And across the fearsome Straits of Mackinac the community of St. Ignace, Michigan gateway to the upper peninsula, finds itself portraying the founding of St. Ignace by Father Jacques Marquette each Labor Day weekend annually since 1967. And 229 miles northwest of St. Ignace,

¹In the past the re-enactment at Fort Michilimackinac was known as a "massacre"; however, complaints from various Indian organizations have suggested a less offensive term.

Baraga County had hoped that its portrayal of the effects of the missionaries upon the Ojibwa of Keweenaw Bay, first presented in the summer of 1969, would bring new visitors to this little traveled area.

What are these 're-enactments' or 'portrayals'? Why do these communities² continue to do them?

In answer to the first question posed, an understanding of the possibilities might be in order. An over-simplification would be to define these productions as "historical dramas"; however, since many questions could be raised, and rightly so, concerning the meanings of "historical" and "drama," it becomes necessary to break the term down further. McCalmon and Moe suggest three categories of "historical dramas":

. . . "biography-drama," which focuses on the lives of actual personages and centers its appeal to the audience in the related actions and reactions of its characters. Most frequently, one historical character predominates and unifies the action. Examples of "biography-drama" are such full-length plays as Robert E. Sherwood's Abe Lincoln in Illinois, Emmet Lavery's The Magnificent Yankee (Oliver Wendell Holmes), William Gibson's The Miracle Worker (Anne Sullivan Macy), Dore Schary's Sunrise at Campobello (Franklin D. Roosevelt), and The Crucible.

²The term "community" is not easily defined. Robert Mills French takes notice of this fact in The Community: A Comparative Perspective (Itaska, Illinois: F.E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1969), pp. 3-6. In this study "community" is used in an all-inclusive sense; the term implies any social entity within a given territory. And there are communities within communities as discussed by Robert Redfield in The Little Community (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955), pp. 113-131.

. . . "pageant-drama," commonly a series of loosely linked episodes, unified through theme rather than characters. The form usually presents a panoramic life story of a social, political, or religious community. Most often it is produced and performed by the community itself for a special occasion and may not or may be repeated. The name of the community frequently appears in a title as evinced by The Kansas Story, Castine, or The Pageant of Newark.

. . . "epic-drama." Its form combines the large scope of the pageant-drama with the character concentration and involvement found in biography-drama. Since it is still in a state of evolution, its characteristics of shape and style are not yet standardized. For the most part epic-dramas deal importantly if not principally with heroes . . . , or with national struggles epitomized by a regional community like that of the Cherokee Indian; and it is the loftiness of theme or character that justifies the use of "epic" to describe theme. Fostered by communities, epic-dramas like Paul Green's The Lost Colony, Robert Emmett McDowell's Home is the Hunter, and Kermit Hunter's Unto These Hills are presented every summer.

Within these three major forms there exist many gradations and variations. These are in large part determined by the individual communities and playwrights fusing their common desire for expression.³

The three productions cited above, "Events at Michilimackinac," "The Black Gown Tree," and "Reflections of Ke-Wa-We-Non," are in accord with the "pageant-drama" form; perusal of the appended scripts will bear this out. Acceptance of the form leads into an answer to the second question: Why have these communities decided to produce these "pageants"?

³George McCalmon and Christian Moe, Creating Historical Drama (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1965), pp. 6-7. Probably the best source at present for the community interested in the possibility of producing an historical drama.

McCalmon and Moe devote a chapter to "Why communities dramatize history."⁴ They offer the following possibilities: the commemorative purpose, the social purpose and advantages, economic goals and advantages, and the need to entertain. Claude Dierholf writes:

. . . people of varying backgrounds, from the right and wrong sides of the tracks, meet and work together for a common cause. This cooperation breeds tolerance and understanding and results in increased civic pride and loyalty--at least this is the thesis of many.⁵

He goes on to comment that "every book on pageantry and almost every article emphasizes the social and civic importance of pageantry."⁶ Hallie Flanagan of "Living Newspaper" fame noted the patriotic possibilities:

Such historic spectacles, celebrating faith and achievement which have helped to build our country, cannot but draw out of audiences and participants alike renewed devotion to the American way of life.⁷

It is rather clear that there are several reasons for producing pageants, and probably a combination of reasons responsible for the actual production. Christian Moe capsulated the functions of pageantry by stating:

⁴Ibid., pp. 30-39

⁵Claude E. Dierholf, The Pageant Drama and American Pageantry (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1953), pp. ii-iii.

⁶Ibid., infra., p. 12.

⁷Hallie Flanagan, Arena (New York: Duell, Sloane and Pearce, 1940), p. 312.

. . . this dramatic type possesses strong social, commemorative, and educative purposes, to a lesser extent, a theatrical purpose, and to an almost negligible extent, a commercial purpose.⁸

It is clear, therefore, that there are several reasons for the production of historical drama; however, there is a general pessimism in regard to success. Dierholf suggests that, although there appears to be a great belief in the benefits to be derived from pageants, ". . . by and large such a change is fleeting and . . . the fundamental nature of the town remains unaltered after the pageant becomes nothing but a memory."⁹ McCalmon and Moe suggest that "where a cooperative community effort has been lacking, historical drama frequently fails."¹⁰ And ". . . a community sometimes loses money it is not prepared to lose."¹¹ It would seem from the above that it is not only a question of why communities produce pageants, but what constitutes success for the community.

Since the aforementioned pageants were produced by and for the community, and since it would appear that some sense of goals or purposes are suggested as outgrowths of these pageants, it might be possible to view

⁸Christian Moe, From History to Drama (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1958), p. 19.

⁹Dierholf, The Pageant Drama, p. iii.

¹⁰McCalmon and Moe, Creating Historical Drama, p. 39.

¹¹Ibid., p. 42.

the production of a pageant as a community development project. That is we can accept pageant production as a community development project if we can accept

. . . community development as a democratic process which includes elements of involvement of people in a self-determined effort. Closely related to this is the almost universal idea that community development involves local initiative in the planning and local investment of time, energy and resources.¹²

Philosophically, the objective of any community development program is the elimination of ". . . poverty, hunger, ignorance, sickness, and fear."¹³ Simply stated the community development project is to do "good" for the community; that is to say that the project is to achieve a goal that is perceived by the community as beneficial. It is this community perception, its images,

¹²Edmond Alchin, et al. A Holistic Approach to Community Development (Technical Bulletin B-41, Institute for Community Development, Michigan State University, 1960), p. 2. This, of course, is but one approach to community development. Other definitions may be found in Community Development--A Handbook (Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, England, 1958) or in Irwin T. Sanders, "Theories of Community Development," Rural Sociology, XXIII, No. 1 (March, 1958), pp. 1-12. The view differs in terms of the background of the viewer; that is to say that the sociologist views it in sociological terms, the anthropologist in anthropological terms, etc. And each would approach the community development project primarily from his own viewpoint. The community development specialist, then, would be one who understands the views of other professionals and understands the methodology as well, and is able to utilize all this information according to the development project at hand.

¹³Ibid., p. 3.

that is a partial basis for this study. Alchin describes the concept of images as follows:

. . . individuals have images or a perception, understanding and interpretation of the world around them. Images are culturally determined and are composed of values, beliefs, traditions, mores--the collective knowledge of the individual. Images can be shared or not shared. Images result in plans.¹⁴

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to determine whether generalizations concerning the development and continuance of pageants can be made through an examination of three Michigan communities in which pageants have been produced. Since the three Michigan pageants offer an opportunity to view the community at different stages of development, it is possible that several factors of growth and development may be identified. Knowledge of these factors may provide information which would enable community development workers and/or communities to better assess similar projects. It is hoped that the heuristic aspects of this study will not be discounted.

Limitations

This study will not delve into the literary merits of the pageants, nor will it be concerned with the tech-

¹⁴Edmond Alchin, A Reconnaissance Research Plan for Community Development (Technical Bulletin B-49, Institute for Community Development, Michigan State University, 1965), p. 5.

niques of the physical production. For informational purposes a brief description of the physical production may be found in the appendix.

Methods

In order to provide the information necessary for this study, several different tasks were accomplished. The geo-political community in which each pageant is produced is described in terms of its component parts: human, man-made, and natural. The interest community (i.e. the actual production agent) is described and its place within the larger community identified. Finally key informants were identified and interviewed to determine their images of the pageant in relation to the community.

The first task required the collection and study of existing surveys, reports, maps, directories, census reports, etc. This information provided an understanding of existing images and plans within the community. The collection of this information took place "on site" to allow for opportunities to observe the characteristics and nature of the community.

The second task was to describe the interest community, and the way in which it achieves an input into the geo-political community. Its membership was carefully evaluated as to which Control People [those individuals ". . . who a) Carry on transactions to obtain

resources, b) Make management decisions concerning storage, conversion or distribution within the system, c) Make management decisions concerning linkages and flow of resources to other systems."]¹⁵ are involved. McClusky suggests ". . . the amount of power a person possesses will obviously have a strong bearing on the level of his performance."¹⁶ Power to McClusky means: ". . . the resources, i.e. abilities, possessions, position, allies, etc., which a person can command in coping with load [the self and social demands required to maintain a minimal level of autonomy]".¹⁷

The final task required interviews with "key informants," and "checkoff informants."¹⁸ "Key informants" are primarily Control People in the interest community as well as in the geo-political community. During the interview the informants were asked to identify others to be interviewed either because of agreement or opposition. "Checkoff informants" are randomly selected indi-

¹⁵Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁶Howard Y. McClusky, "A Dynamic Approach to Participation in Community Development," Journal of the Community Development Society, I, No. 1 (1970), p. 28.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 27.

¹⁸The "interview guide" which was utilized for the interviews can be found in Appendix D.

viduals, generally not Control People, whose information was utilized to test the views of Control People.

The interview was selected because of its flexibility and effectiveness with exploratory hypotheses. Used with the interview guide, the interview achieves desired information plus the ability to probe more deeply when desired. Although the open-ended character of the interview instrument made it possible to obtain data with much depth and richness, the result was data more qualitative than quantitative in nature and hence not easily amenable to extensive statistical analysis. Tabular data are presented whenever possible, however, and in the cross-community comparisons these data are converted to percentage figures although, since the number of cases is somewhat limited, the percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole per cent. Moreover, since probability samples were not obtained, no attempt was made to compute chi squares or other statistical tests of significance.

Organization

The body of this dissertation is organized into five chapters: Introduction, "Events at Michilimackinac" - Mackinaw City, "The Black Gown Tree" - St. Ignace, "Reflections of Ke-Wa-We-Non" - Baraga County, and Conclusions. An appendix includes copies of the scripts and other data considered pertinent to the study.

CHAPTER II

"EVENTS AT MICHILIMACKINAC" - MACKINAW CITY

Description of the Community

Mackinaw City lies at the northern tip of the lower peninsula of Michigan and acts as the southernmost gateway to the upper peninsula of Michigan by virtue of Inter-state highway 75 and the Mackinac Bridge. Fifty-eight miles to the north is the city of Sault Ste. Marie, border city between Canada [the Province of Ontario] and the United States. To the southeast Detroit is 284 miles distant; the State Capitol, Lansing, is 224 miles to the south; and Chicago is 390 miles to the southwest. To the northwest at a distance of 311 miles lies Ironwood, the upper peninsula community that borders Wisconsin. Mackinaw City is one day's driving distance from Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Canadian Province of Ontario, and the population centers of Michigan.

Although Mackinaw City wasn't incorporated as a village until 1882, a plat map of the site had been made in 1857 by R.C. Phillips, Surveyor, for the "Proprietors

of Mackinaw City Lands."¹⁹ These proprietors were Edgar Conkling, who owned one half the land, and Asbury M. Searles, S.H. Burton, James C. Conkling, John Reeves, and Solon McElroy who owned the remainder. All proprietors, except James C. Conkling who was from Springfield, Illinois, were from Cincinnati, Ohio. It is interesting to see how similar the 1857 map and the 1958 village map are. The only difference seems to be in the naming of the village streets.

The village is bound on the north and east by the Straits of Mackinac, and on the south and west by Emmet County road 31. The north-south area of the village measures approximately a mile and a half, while the east-west area measures approximately $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The majority of the residential and commercial areas are found in the northeast quadrant of the village. Central Avenue to the east of Inter-state 75 contains most of the shopping area for Mackinaw City. The Village Hall and the new Marina are found at the eastern end of the street. Huron Avenue, which is perpendicular to Central Avenue, and which turns into Straits Avenue as it passes under the Mackinac Bridge, is a major thoroughfare for motels and tourist shops. Fort Michilimackinac State Park is located at the northern tip of the village.

¹⁹This and the information following is from a copy of the 1857 plat map.

The village is actually located in two counties: Emmet on the west and Cheboygan on the east. Inter-state 75 can effectively be called the dividing line. This places the elementary school in Cheboygan County and the high school in Emmet County. This situation does not appear to disturb the community, if anything they appear to be rather proud to have something else unique to Mackinaw City.

Prior to Inter-state 75, US 31, US 23 and US 27 terminated at Mackinaw City. US 23, a part of the old Dixie Highway from Key West, Florida to Mackinaw City, Michigan, ended just a few feet from where the Dixie Bar stands today. And prior to the highways, because of the great lumber era, two railroads built along the shorelines of Michigan ended at Mackinaw City. The Michigan Central had a line from Detroit to Mackinaw City, and the Grand Rapids and Indiana ran ". . . from Mackinaw City by way of Grand Rapids and Kalamazoo to Richmond, Indiana."²⁰ Transportation, lakeshore facilities, and historical interest made Mackinaw City a logical place for a tourist industry to develop.

According to the 1970 census, Mackinaw City has a population of 810; a decrease in population of 13.3 per-

²⁰ Milo M. Quaife and Sidney Glazer, Michigan: From Primitive Wilderness to Industrial Commonwealth (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948), p. 244.

cent from 1960.²¹ Yet, according to the July 1970 Michigan Bell Telephone Directory, there are fifty-eight tourist accommodation establishments, i.e. motels, hotels, campgrounds, twenty restaurants, fifteen gift shops, four bars, three groceries, four ferry lines to Mackinac Island, thirteen service stations, and the new, village-owned, \$1.5 million Marina opened in 1969 and considered to be one of the best on the Great Lakes. The spiritual needs of the tourist and community are served by three churches: Church of the Straits - United Methodist and United Presbyterian, Mackinaw City Bible Church, and St. Anthony's Catholic Church.

Economically Mackinaw City represents just about every stratum, yet there is little physical evidence in the community to suggest any great differences. A similar comment may be made concerning the social atmosphere in this community, especially concerning such community activities as the pageant and snowmobile club. This seeming homogeneity also carries over to the political area. A Republican community for many years, Mackinaw City now appears to have a Democratic majority. And until recently the Village Council was elected on a non-partisan ticket. Perhaps this is all due to the community industry, tourism, which would seem to flourish

²¹U.S. Department of Commerce, "Advance Report, Final Population Counts," 1970 Census of Population, PC(V1)-24, February, 1971, p. 19.

in an atmosphere of seeming order.

Mackinaw City depends upon a tourist economy and the people recognize this simple fact. "We've never denied that most people in town make their living from tourism," said Mr. Raymond Desy, owner of several gift shops and member of the Village Council, "yet, at the same time, we have never knowingly abused the tourist. We know that most of our money comes from those people who return year after year; so we try to give the people reasons for returning."²² And the annual presentation of "Events at Michilimackinac" is one of the things offered to the tourist as a means of persuading him to visit the community the first time, and hopefully to persuade him to come back.

History of the Pageant

In 1962 members of the Mackinac Bridge Authority, who were interested in increasing traffic across the bridge, noted that 1963 would be the bicentennial of the famous Indian attack upon Fort Michilimackinac. Reasoning that if some celebration related to that historical event could draw people to Mackinaw City, a percentage would cross the bridge. Since the basis of the attack was the ruse of playing a game of baggattaway, a game quite similar to our modern lacrosse, and since the General Manager of the Mackinac Bridge Authority was

²²Interview with Mr. Raymond Desy, June 2, 1969.

a lacrosse fan as well as an ex-player, he offered a suggestion of having a lacrosse tournament.

The Mackinac Bridge Authority contacted the Mackinaw City Chamber of Commerce with their idea; the Bridge Authority would take over the expenses of publicizing and promoting the activities if the community could finance the All-American Lacrosse Tournament which would be a part of the activities. The community organized a Five Hundred Club, an organization of people who donated sufficient monies to raise the necessary \$5,000.00.

Also as a part of this celebration there was to be a re-enactment of the battle at Fort Michilimackinac. This was not a novel idea since this event had been re-enacted in both 1933 and 1934, and a production called "The Massacre of Ft. Michilimackinac or, The Curse and Its Fulfillment!" was presented in the late nineteenth century.²³ Other than the time in which the play is set, this production appears to have little to do with the actual events at Fort Michilimackinac. Little is known about the 1933 and 1934 re-enactments. The front page of the July 1, 1933 Cheboygan Daily Tribune noted

Perfect weather and a natural setting of forest greenery, colorful Indian costumes, red-coated British Soldiers, and decorations galore of flags and red, white and blue bunting marked the day of the ceremonies for the opening of Old Fort Michilimackinac.²⁴

²³From a clipping in my possession from an unknown newspaper with an undisclosed date except for a public notice of teacher examinations to be given in August, 1894.

²⁴Found in the George Coffman collection.

It also noted that Governor Comstock and Congressman Prentice M. Brown attended the re-enactment which took place at 3:00 P.M.

A flyer for the 1934 "Annual Reenactment - Pontiac Massacre of 1763 at Old Fort Michilimackinac, Mackinaw City, Michigan - June 30th, 1934"²⁵ gives us some idea of what was done.

A large cast of Real Indians in their Native Regalia Portraying in Six Acts. British Possession of Fort, Conspiracy of Pontiac, Gathering of Indians, Game of Bagattaway, Victory Dance and Grand Victory Feast. Under Direction of Indian Missionary Fr. Aubert.

A Realistic Portrayal of this Historic Event, Played by the Native Indians as only they can play it. Be sure to see -- Massacre of the Red coated Haughty British Garrison.²⁶

The "Annual Reenactment" was not to be done again until 1963. George Coffman, Mackinaw City's oldest living resident and unofficial historian, suggests that the re-enactments ended because of a general lack of interest. "It's different now, isn't it? Not like when I was a boy."²⁷ He is 94.

In 1963 while plans were being readied for the lacrosse tournament, plans were also developed for the bicentennial re-enactment of the Indian attack on Fort

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Interview with Mr. George Coffman, August 17, 1970.

Michilimackinac. Through the efforts of Lawrence Rubin, Executive Secretary of the Mackinac Bridge Authority, a script and director were arranged for. On May 20, 1963 the Sault Ste. Marie Evening News carried a story that

. . . the re-enactment of the Massacre which will take place at Fort Michilimackinac in the same place it occurred 200 years ago is scheduled for 1:30 P.M. on Thursday [May 30], 1:30 P.M. on Friday [May 31] and at 2:30 P.M. on Saturday [June 1].

The script for the 1963 re-enactment was written by Dr. George May, a member of the Michigan Historical Commission; the director was Dr. John A. Walker, who is presently Chairman of the Department of Theatre at Ohio University; the narrator was Clare Frederick Baum.²⁸ Clare Baum narrated every production that followed until his death in the summer of 1970.

The 30 minute re-enactment was an instant success, "Between 3,000 and 4,000 people watched the re-enactment of the massacre [on Memorial Day], according to Ray Desy, Secretary of the Bi-centennial Committee."²⁹ And Neil Downing, a member of the General Committee and the Mackinac Island State Park Commission, ". . . estimated that 5,000 spectators saw the re-enactment Saturday [May 31]."³⁰

²⁸Robert Evans, "An Eye on Everything" Sudbury Star (June 3, 1963), p. 13.

²⁹Cheboygan Daily Tribune, May 31, 1963, p. 1.

³⁰Cheboygan Daily Tribune, June 3, 1963, p. 1.

Meanwhile the lacrosse tournament did not fare as well.

A feature of the celebration was a series of three lacrosse games between the national champion University Club of Baltimore and Midwest All-stars.

Expense of the games was considerable. The Baltimore team flew here by chartered plane. The attendance was below expectation, and a deficit resulted on the games.³¹

The attendance at the re-enactment of 1963, however, was not forgotten by some members of the community.

At their March 12, 1964 meeting, the members of the Greater Mackinaw City Chamber of Commerce were urged to take over the idea of the re-enactment and present it during the Memorial Day weekend of 1964. A sub-committee of the Chamber was created to handle the details of production; financing for the pageant was to be handled by donations in addition to an allocation in the Chamber budget. The script written by Dr. May was to be used again, and the cast was again to be comprised of the men, women, and children of Mackinaw City and members of the National Muzzle Loading Rifle Association. The man who agreed to direct the production was John Minsky, a teacher of Business in the Mackinaw City schools.

The re-enactment was performed for two days: Friday, May 29 and Saturday, May 30. Sunday, May 31, a mass was held in the newly constructed Church of Ste. Anne de Michilimackinac inside the fort; an historical marker commemorating Ezekial Solomon, Michigan's first

³¹Ibid.

Jewish resident and survivor of the attack of 1763, was presented to the Mackinac Island State Park Commission by the Jewish Historical Society of Michigan for erection at Fort Michilimackinac; and a scroll signed by actual descendants of those involved in the 1763 attack was placed in the fort.³² Again the re-enactment drew crowds and accolades:

The Northern Michigan tourist season was kicked off to a splendid start by a Decoration Day weekend three day celebration at Mackinaw City marking the 201st anniversary of the Fort Michilimackinac Massacre and commemorating reconstruction of the fort church.

Approximately 3,000 people attended the drama Saturday.

The massacre was dramatized both Friday and Saturday with the Saturday crowd being much larger.

. Plans are being talked about for making the celebration an annual event.³³

At the same time that thought was being given to making the Memorial Day weekend re-enactment an annual event, an attempt was made to resurrect an earlier plan for an "epic-drama" production:

The Mackinac Bridge and Mackinac Island combine with the fort as Mackinaw's principal attraction. According to [1965 President of the Greater Mackinaw City Chamber of Commerce] Mr. Vendt, 1,253,000 cars crossed the bridge between Mackinaw City and St. Ignace last year. Mr. Vendt said this represents 4,000,000 people.

He pointed out that a great many other tourists, resorters, and vacationists come to Mackinaw City who did not go across the bridge.

³²Program listing found in the 1964 Mackinaw City re-enactment promotional flyer.

³³Cheboygan Daily Tribune, June 1, 1964, pp. 1-2.

Before long Mackinaw City may have another big attraction. A promoter has been hired to try to interest capital in building the proposed outdoor theatre at Mackinaw City and operating a perpetual historical drama, Mr. Vendt said.³⁴

In early 1962 the Mackinac Historical Drama, Inc. was formed. The venture was described in a letter seeking contributions:

In an attempt to bring an outdoor historical-musical drama to Mackinaw City, a non-profit corporation -- the MACKINAC HISTORICAL DRAMA, Inc. -- has been formed for the primary purpose of acquiring funds sufficient to finance such a project. The music and script for the production have been prepared by three members of the faculty of Michigan State University [script by Dr. Roger Busfield, music by Dr. Owen Reed, direction by Dr. John A. Walker]³⁵. Using music, dramatic acting, colorful lighting and costuming, this theatrical production will depict a segment of the history and culture of the Straits of Mackinac region during the 18th century.

In October of 1963, site development plans for an Historical Drama Theatre were drawn up by Milton Baron, Landscape Architect, from Michigan State University. The corporation is currently in a dormant state, but in the minds of some the drama will come into being at some time in the future. However, in May of 1965 thoughts were primarily on the 1965 re-enactment.

Minsky, the 1964 director, had left the community, so Michigan State University was asked for assistance.

³⁴Cheboygan Daily Tribune, May 11, 1965, p. 5.

³⁵John A. Walker, "Prospectus for Mackinac Historical Drama, Inc.," 1962, p. 1.

Mr. Frank Rutledge, Director of Theatre Production, and Mr. Vance Paul, a graduate student in theatre, went to Mackinaw City on May 25 to prepare for the re-enactment scheduled for May 29, 30, 31.³⁶ The Mackinac Bridge Authority was still closely allied to the Mackinaw City event and handled the promotion. The financing was still by Chamber allocation and donations. On May 29, the opening day, the re-enactment was hailed as ". . . the outstanding Decoration Day celebration in Michigan."³⁷

The 1965 re-enactment seems to have been the one that really convinced the Greater Mackinaw City Chamber of Commerce of its potential for the future.

"It was a tremendous success in promoting business," President Earl Vendt of the Greater Mackinaw City Chamber of Commerce who operates the Hiawatha Motel declared.

"I believe this was the best Decoration Day business-wise that Mackinaw has ever had. It was the biggest in the 21 years I have been in this area, including my 16 years at Carp Lake and 5 years at Mackinaw City.

"Motels were filled 95 percent of occupancy on Saturday and Sunday nights as against 75 percent of capacity last year.

"Gas stations, restaurants, and gift shops improved their business up to 40 percent while last year their business picked up about 25 percent over Decoration Day.

"Decoration Day business is going to be better every year."³⁸

³⁶Cheboygan Daily Tribune, May 18, 1965, p. 1.

³⁷Cheboygan Daily Tribune, May 29, 1965, p. 1.

³⁸Cheboygan Daily Tribune, June 1, 1965, p. 1.

Attendance at the three-day re-enactment was estimated at 7200 to watch ". . . about 75 people of Mackinaw City and vicinity [who] took part in the play, including about 40 children who played the part of Indians."³⁹ 1965 was also the year in which the "Indians" wore stage makeup instead of a mixture of grease, water, and cocoa. This change came about through a new motel owner in town, Mrs. Dorothy Barnes, who had experience with makeup with the University of Michigan Opera Company. Through the efforts of Mrs. Barnes, the making up of the now more than 100 "Indians" is an extremely smooth and efficient operation.

Mackinaw City again requested help from Michigan State University for the direction of the 1966 re-enactment. This time the assistance came from the Institute for Community Development and Services in conjunction with the Theatre Department. I,⁴⁰ as newly appointed Community Theatre Specialist with the Institute, and David Karsten, graduate assistant in the Theatre Department, went to Mackinaw City to direct the May 28, 29, and 30 performances.

Meanwhile Mackinaw City prepared for larger crowds by purchasing bleachers for 600 which were paid for by

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Because of my first-hand involvement with the pageants discussed, at those times when it would best describe the situation the first person will be utilized.

the school, Village, Chamber of Commerce, and the Lions Club.⁴¹ The school board approved a plan for granting credit in drama to those students participating in the re-enactment.⁴² The script was also expanded to cover sixty-one years of history at Michilimackinac; this extended the playing time to fifty minutes. The cast size was also increased; the current cast numbers around 200 with about 100 additional in the production crew.

Attendance at the 1966 re-enactment was approximately 7,000 due to the ". . . wintery weather Saturday on the opening day [which] forced cancellation of the first showing of the massacre re-enactment pageant."⁴³

I have continued to direct the re-enactment at Mackinaw City. Michigan State University is no longer connected with the re-enactment of the Indian attack at Fort Michilimackinac, but it is still involved with the efforts of the Mackinac Island State Park Commission to excavate the area archeologically. In 1970 the Mackinac Bridge Authority was no longer financially involved with the re-enactment as it had been in the past. "This is exactly what we hoped would happen," said Lawrence Rubin,

⁴¹Cheboygan Daily Tribune, May 24, 1966, p. 1.

⁴²Cheboygan Daily Tribune, May 13, 1966, p. 1.

⁴³Cheboygan Daily Tribune, May 31, 1966, p. 1.

Executive Secretary of the Mackinac Bridge Authority.⁴⁴

The beginning of financial autonomy was in 1967, when the Mackinaw City Lions Club created the "Fort Michilimackinac Gazette" as a means of raising funds to help pay for the bleachers. In 1968 the "Gazette" was utilized by the Pageant Committee as a resource for financing the pageant's weekend events which have come to mean a large parade and exhibitions by members of the Order of the Arrow and the Muzzle Loaders. A further source of financial aid came in 1968 with the beginning of an annual donation from the Mackinac Island State Park Commission. By 1970 the Committee had purchased sufficient bleachers to seat at least 2000 people. The budget for 1971, the first year a financial statement was prepared, was in excess of \$12,000.00. This figure contained the cost of the bleachers, the parade expenses, and the additional expenses of promotion which in the past had been taken care of by the Mackinac Bridge Authority.

By 1971 the Committee had expanded to handle the various parts of the weekend activities. Although still a sub-committee of the Greater Mackinaw City Chamber of Commerce, the Pageant Committee acts with a great degree of autonomy. The 1971 Committee consisted of Co-chairmen,

⁴⁴Interview with Mr. Lawrence A. Rubin, Executive Secretary, Mackinac Bridge Authority, August 31, 1970.

Secretary, Treasurer, Director, Narrator, Park Commission Liason, School Participation, Costuming and Casting - Indians and Padres, French Army, British Army, Civilian Traders, Trappers, Civilian Women and Children, Visiting Muzzle Loaders, Properties, Sound and Public Address, Makeup, Publicity, Budget and Finance, Boy Scout Participation, Parade, Chick-a-game Maidens, and Other Entertainment.

The year 1971 also brought the Great Lakes Indian Youth Alliance to Mackinaw City. It was in fact their second visit. They had picketed the 1970 re-enactment. The primary argument was a difference of opinion concerning the events of 1763. GLIYA argued that no massacre occurred; an Indian military victory actually took place at Fort Michilimackinac. There were other arguments, but it was not until the members of the Pageant Committee offered to meet with GLIYA that these were to be listed. During the fall, winter, and spring of 1970-1971, the Pageant Committee met with members of not only the Great Lakes Indian Youth Alliance, but also other members of the Indian community.

In March of 1971 a list of objections to the pageant and the script was presented to the "Ft. Michilimackinac Pageant Committee" by Gerald Chingwa, Board Member, Great Lakes Indian Youth Alliance. In all, sixteen items were recommended for change:

1. The use of names of specific tribes such as Ottawa, Chippewa, Menominee is preferred to the word "Indian" in the narration.
2. The importance of Indian support given to the British in taking the Fort from the French should be stated. Presumably this means in looking at the broad picture of the conflict between the British and French in North America and not necessarily at Michilimackinac. It possibly might apply to the British capture of Mackinac Island from the Americans.
3. The quote from Alexander Henry's diary that "60 people entered the house preceded by a Chief" --tends to perpetuate the stereotype of a quiet impassive Indian. 60 persons in one house would be quite noisy.
4. The "blood brother" episode has no basis in fact and should be eliminated.
5. The British are referred to as "Courageous people." Later (in the script) Captain Etherington states, "My orders are. . . ." indicating that he is a military man and therefore is at the Fort because of military order not because he was courageous. Further to single out the whites as being courageous reflects on the courage of the Indians. No credit is given them for their assistance to the whites without which they (the whites) could not have survived in the wilderness.
6. A massacre is really a strategic, military plot.
7. The phrase "the French agreed with the fears of the Indians . . ." must be deleted.
8. If no one observed the tomahawking of English trader Tracy (who arrived by canoe during the playing of the lacrosse game and just prior to the attack) then how is it known that it happened (at that time or in that manner)?
9. Henry's account of the scalping by Indians should also point out that the British brought this practice to this country (if that is true) or that they also practiced scalping, or that they also practiced brutal acts (e.g. infecting trade blankets with smallpox germs).
10. Quotations from Henry's diary should be credited to him, a white man, not necessarily the Indian point of view.
11. In the narration where a description is given of a British soldier being tomahawked with such force that his body broke through the door, no like mention is made of the ferocity of the British soldiers (e.g. a musket ball passing through the skull of an Indian). The act of the Indian against the soldier is really a fight between two soldiers and brutal action is an expected, integral part of such conflict.

12. An objectionable, stereotype description that must be deleted is "a Chippewa Chief who was late for the massacre, killed five men and feasted on their bodies."

13. "A drunken celebration was held on the Island" must be deleted for the same reason as above.

14. White trader Tracy had his boots stolen, either by or under orders of Minavavana in 1763. In 1770 Minavavana was killed by a white in retribution thus indicating that the whites were vindictive and harbored a grudge for seven years.

15. The passage on page 5 of the script must be reworded. It now states "the Indians are sullen and unhappy at the liquor shortage. . ." perpetuates the stereotype of a drunken Indian. More important was the fear of loss of hunting rights.

16. The closing sentence in the script, "We now enter Fort Michilimackinac home of courageous women, remarkable missionaries . . . made this plot secure. . ." is objectionable because no mention is made of courageous Indians. Whites are not supermen!

The Pageant Committee replied:

The name will no longer be "The Massacre at Fort Michilimackinac." The presentation will instead be called "The Fort Michilimackinac Pageant." The word "massacre" will not be used in the script or narration or in our publicity except to publicize the fact that we are making a change from the former name.

We recognize that you would prefer to term the event that followed the famous bagattaway game in 1763 a military victory for the Indians. We see no problem here and will adapt the script accordingly. . . .

We recognize that your basic desire is to eliminate any derogatory implications that the Indians of the time were bloodthirsty savages, drunk. . . , and similar characterizations that tend to paint a stereotyped, inaccurate image. . . .⁴⁵

In order to see that the Committee did, indeed, keep its word, members of GLIYA gathered at the fort for the 1971 Pageant.

⁴⁵Letter from Raymond Desy to Gerald Chingwa, March 20, 1971.

A group of militant Indians will converge on Mackinaw City Memorial Day weekend to make sure their side gets a fair shake when local merchants restage the historic battle between Indians and British soldiers at Fort Michilimackinac.

The Indians claim the gathering will not be a protest,⁴⁶ but it's clear they are not there to applaud.

During the 1971 re-enactment, approximately fifty supporters and members of the Great Lakes Indian Youth Alliance entered the fort to hand out leaflets. The leaflet mentioned, among other items, a "point of view about the Fort, Pageant, and area Businesses":

1. They perpetuate the negative screaming, yelling Hollywood image of the Indian while ignoring all the beauty in our traditional way of life.
2. They do not illustrate the many good things our Grandfathers and Grandmothers did to help the invading peoples when they respected our way and our Mother Earth.
3. They use objects that are considered sacred by those of us following traditional beliefs - we would not dress in sacred clothing of ministers and priests to put on a show to illustrate what the foreign invaders did, have done, and are still doing to Indian people.
4. They encourage digging, in the name of science, starting many others digging in the graves of our Grandfathers and Grandmothers, exposing their bones for the gawking public eye and their rude comments.
5. They use negative images of one battle to lure tourists to their stores to buy imported junk while our unemployed craftsmen seek work and fair wages.
6. They teach all children to fear and show disrespect to living Indians, even Boy Scouts who traditionally intended to honor the beauty of our religion and culture.
7. They base most of their arguments on a history of one point of view, the written history of a British subject, the enemy of all Americans.

⁴⁶William Schmidt, "Militant Indians to Converge On Michilimackinac Pageant," Detroit Free Press, May 23, 1971, p. 9.

Following the three day re-enactment, members of the Great Lakes Indian Youth Alliance commented upon the revised script and even suggested that some of what had been taken out could be returned for 1972, the tenth anniversary of the current re-enactment.

Community Images

It would appear from the history of the pageant that all is well in Mackinaw City. Interviews with members of the community seem to support the preceding statement. Thirty-four people were interviewed in Mackinaw City, representing 4 per cent of the population. Of these thirty-four, twelve are considered Key Informants by virtue of their community position and their being viewed as such by a majority of those interviewed. The remaining twenty-two persons interviewed are considered Checkoff Informants. Table 1 provides a general view of the persons interviewed relative to their sex, time spent in the community, occupation, and community membership. It is interesting to note that, although Pageant Committee membership is held by several women, no women appear as Key Informants. Also of interest is the seeming "young" informants in terms of the length of time in the community. In the case of the Key Informants, seven have been in the community for less than ten years. This tends to suggest that the community does not require longevity as a requirement for community status.

TABLE 1.--Description of Mackinaw City Informants

	Key Informants (12)	Checkoff Informants (22)
<u>Personal Information</u>		
Male.	12	12
Female.	0	10
Average years in community.	15	18
<u>Occupation</u>		
Professional.	4	7
Business.	6	1
Worker.	1	8
Retired	1	2
Student	0	4
Housewife	0	0
<u>Community Memberships</u>		
Three or more	12	4
Less than three	0	8
None.	0	10

Although the amount of time one might have lived in Mackinaw City does not appear to have any great affect upon status in the community, there definitely seems to be a relationship between community membership and status. Table 1 shows the twelve Key Informants as having membership in more than three community organizations (i.e. religious, social, fraternal, political). There appears to be little importance given to the occupation of the leadership individual. It should be noted that although no student appears as a Key Informant, a student representation attends Pageant Committee meetings with full voting powers.

It was mentioned earlier that people become involved in pageants because of the sense of civic pride achieved through the efforts in a common cause. As shown in Table 2 this is true for the leadership; however, the average person seems to become involved for other reasons. More interesting are the reasons given for non-involvement. Although at first glance one might think that work is a fair reason for non-participation, it should be recognized that many of the persons involved also work, and that performance is not the only thing necessary for the success of the pageant. Some employers give paid time off to employees who participate.

TABLE 2.--Description of Pageant Involvement of Mackinaw City Informants

	Key Informants (12)	Checkoff Informants (22)
<u>Involvement</u>		
Committee.	12	3
Average length of time (years)	6	3
Cast and/or crew	12	9
Average length of time (years)	6	5
<u>Reasons for Involvement</u>		
Community pride.	12	2
Asked.	0	4
Fun.	0	3
Other.	0	1
<u>Reasons for Non-involvement</u>		
Work . . . . .	..	3
Never asked. . . . .	..	1
No reason. . . . .	..	2
Other. . . . .	..	6

Of the six "other" reasons for not being involved, two claimed age as a reason and four suggested that they

did not participate because they were not residents of Mackinaw City. It should be noted here that many of the muzzle loader participants are also non-residents.

An important element to be considered was the relationship between the beliefs of the leadership and the community concerning the benefits of the pageant. Another factor to be considered was whether or not the community was aware of how the pageant was financed. These relationships are shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3.--Mackinaw City Informant Images of the Pageant

	Key Informants (12)	Checkoff Informants (22)
<u>Awareness of Historical Development</u>		
Very aware.	7	0
Some awareness.	5	15
No awareness.	0	7
<u>View of Economic Benefit</u>		
Very beneficial.	12	9
Some benefit.	0	8
No benefit.	0	5
<u>Awareness of Financing</u>		
Very aware.	12	3
Some awareness.	0	10
No awareness.	0	9
<u>View of Social Benefit</u>		
Very beneficial.	12	12
Some benefit.	0	7
No benefit.	0	3
<u>View of Educational Benefit</u>		
Very beneficial.	12	15
Some benefit.	0	7
No benefit.	0	0

The twenty-seven persons with an awareness of the development of the pageant made remarks concerning

their feeling that positive changes had taken place in the pageant as well as within the community. Only those persons involved with the pageant since 1963 could identify the four different directors; this involved seven persons, five of whom were Key Informants. Of those informants who felt that there was no economic benefit from the pageant, three were students, the others a professional and a worker; none were involved in any way with the pageant. It is possible that their image of the lack of positive benefit from the pageant was affected by a general lack of knowledge of the economics of financing the pageant. This seemed to be the only area where any large amount of disagreement between the Key Informants and the Check-off Informants occurred.

It was in the economic area that most informants were less inclined to respond to probe questions concerning specific examples of "economic benefit." Probe questions in regard to Social benefits brought such responses as, "I met many new friends," and "It brought many people together," and "It helped develop a sense of community by bringing the town together." Response to probing Educational benefit brought forth views concerning the audience, "It is of great immediate benefit to those watching in that they are quickly made aware of the history of the place they are visiting;"

the local students, "It seems to me that the students in the local system are much more aware of the history of this immediate area than the average student in other areas is aware of his immediate history;" and the individual, "I have become an Indian lore buff because of the pageant."

There appeared to be general agreement concerning the overall view of the pageant organization and its leaders, as shown in Table 4. When the question of opposition was probed further, the thirty-one positive responses cited "Indians" as the opposing faction.

TABLE 4.--Mackinaw City Informant Images of Organization and Leaders

	Key Informants (12)	Checkoff Informants (22)
<u>Awareness of Pageant</u>		
<u>Leadership</u>		
Very aware.	12	13
Some awareness.	0	4
No awareness.	0	5
<u>Awareness of Persons Involved</u>		
<u>With the Pageant</u>		
Very aware.	12	19
Some awareness.	0	0
No awareness.	0	3
<u>Image of Need for More Help</u>		
Needed.	0	7
Not needed.	12	15
<u>Image of Opposition</u>		
Opposition.	12	19
No opposition.	0	3

However, the range of feeling concerning the opposition was not great; no one felt that the situation could not

or had not been settled peacefully. All agreed that the opposition was made known primarily through the picketing of the pageant performances in 1970 and 1971.

There also appears to be agreement between the Key Informants and Checkoff Informants in their images of the future (see Table 5). The suggestion of changes that would take place in the community were in the area of community government and housing; "better" in each case. No basic change was expected in the social or economic areas of the community.

TABLE 5.--Mackinaw City Informant Images of the Future

	Key Informants (12)	Checkoff Informants (22)
<u>Future of the Pageant</u>		
Growth.	12	16
No change	0	6
Die out	0	0
No reaction	0	0
<u>Future of the Community</u>		
Positive change	12	15
No change	0	7
Negative change	0	0
No reaction	0	0
<u>Change Agents</u>		
Community organizations . .	12	2
Outside organizations . . .	0	1
Individuals	12 ^a	1
No one.	0	19
<u>Opposition to Change</u>		
No one.	12	20
Outsiders (Indians)	0	2
Individuals	0	0

^aMultiple responses to this question.

Perhaps the strongest area of disagreement in Mackinaw City was the difference in view as to the Change Agents. The leadership tended to think that Community organizations and Individuals would be responsible for future change. The Checkoff Informants tended to disagree and felt that change would just occur.

Summary

Mackinaw City is a small community located at the tip of the lower peninsula of Michigan whose principal economic source is tourism. Mackinaw City, then, is a community of motels, restaurants, gift and candy shops, and service stations. In an effort to hold the tourist for longer periods of time, to start the season as early as possible, and to attract returning tourists, the Village has dedicated itself to providing the tourist with a pleasant place to spend time and money.

With a bit of prodding from the Mackinac Bridge Authority in 1963, the Village decided upon a bicentennial celebration of the attack on Fort Michilimackinac, a reconstruction of which had recently been built in Mackinaw City by the Mackinac Island State Park Commission. Part of the celebration was a re-enactment of the attack similar to re-enactments done in 1933 and 1934.

The re-enactment has become a regular part of the Memorial Day weekend celebration in Mackinaw City

during the past nine years, and has become a major tourist attraction in Michigan. The re-enactment is provided free of charge to the tourist, and is performed on the site of Fort Michilimackinac. The financing is accomplished through community donations, a donation from the Mackinac Island State Park Commission, and a budget item of the Greater Mackinaw City Chamber of Commerce. The Pageant Committee is a standing committee of the Chamber of Commerce, but it has great freedom of operation.

Interviews were carried out in the community with Key Informants and Checkoff Informants. In general there was agreement between the two informants concerning images of the pageant, its leadership, and the future. Only two areas showed disagreement: the Checkoff Informant view of how the pageant is financed is not as knowledgeable as the Key Informant view, and where the Key Informants tend to look upon community organizations and individuals as change agents, the Checkoff Informant seems to have little regard for change agents. Other than these areas, the community and the Pageant Committee seem to have a healthy relationship.

The general community view of itself is positive, and along with the seeming enthusiasm for the pageant it would appear that both the community and pageant are doing well. The situation with the Great Lakes Indian

Youth Alliance does not seem to have deterred the community or Pageant Committee in any way, for they have attempted to work out a viable course for the future.

CHAPTER III

"THE BLACK GOWN TREE" - ST. IGNACE

Description of the Community

St. Ignace lies at the southeastern end of the upper peninsula of Michigan, and is the northern end of the Mackinac Bridge which ties the upper and lower peninsulas together. Because of this bridge, St. Ignace like Mackinaw City is only one day's driving distance from the population centers of Michigan and the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, as well as the Canadian Province of Ontario.

In 1882 St. Ignace became the Mackinac County seat; in the same year it incorporated as a village; and in 1883 St. Ignace incorporated as a city.⁴⁷ However, St. Ignace tends to consider itself as having been founded in 1671 by Father Jacques Marquette. The only question here is whether or not there was a continuous settlement from 1671, for when Detroit was founded and the governmental offices moved from St. Ignace to Detroit, there was little left in St. Ignace. In fact in 1706 the

⁴⁷Michigan; A Guide to the Wolverine State (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), p. 380.

Jesuit Fathers burned their mission and set out to find new places to labor for God.⁴⁸ It wasn't until the beginning of the lumber industry in the nineteenth century that St. Ignace was again developed.

The 1970 census shows St. Ignace with a population of 2,892, a 13.3 per cent decrease from 1960.⁴⁹ The 1970 decrease is almost exactly the same as the 1950 to 1960 increase of 13.2 per cent.⁵⁰

St. Ignace, like many of the towns in the upper peninsula, was at one time a port city for the lumber trade; and also iron smelters were once located there.⁵¹ But the smelters closed down in 1900, and the primary product moving from the port these days is tourists on their way to Mackinac Island. So St. Ignace now relies heavily on the tourist for its economic welfare.

According to the July 1970 Michigan Bell Telephone Directory for St. Ignace, the community and the immediate area offers fifty-seven motels, three hotels,

⁴⁸Milo M. Quaife, Lake Michigan (Indianapolis: The Bobbs Merrill Company, 1944), p. 51.

⁴⁹U.S. Department of Commerce, "Advance Report, Final Population Count" 1970 Census of Population PC(V1)-24, Feb. 1971, p. 21.

⁵⁰U.S. Department of Commerce, 1960 Census of Population, p. 37.

⁵¹Ferris E. Lewis, My State and Its Story (Hillsdale, Michigan: Hillsdale School Supply Co., 1949), p. 273.

nineteen restaurants, four gift shops, seven taverns, and seventeen service stations. These and nine grocery stores exist in St. Ignace for tourist and citizen. Unlike Mackinaw City whose residents must travel to Petoskey, St. Ignace provides medical care at the Mackinac Straits Hospital and Health Center; there are two M.D.s, two Osteopaths, and two dentists in the community. There are also two Funeral Homes. Seven churches are found in St. Ignace: The Assembly of God, the Glen Memorial Baptist, Episcopal, Lutheran, Presbyterian, United Methodist, and St. Ignatious Loyola Roman Catholic.

Politically St. Ignace is Democratic with leadership coming from Senator Prentiss M. Brown, who served two terms in the Congress of the United States beginning in 1932 and followed with a term in the United States Senate. Senator Brown is also Chairman of the Mackinac Bridge Authority, one of St. Ignace's largest employers, and has been since its inception in 1950. Philosophically St. Ignace seems rather conservative. All seem to be beholden to the Brown dynasty: Senator Brown serves as a director of Detroit Edison, and is a principal in the First National Bank of St. Ignace. His sons James and Prentiss, Jr. are attorneys in St. Ignace, and Prentiss Brown, Jr. is currently Prosecuting Attorney for the County.

Socially St. Ignace is rather clearly stratified.

There is the Brown level; immediately below this is a rather large and diversified middle ground that has its own stratafication; below this is the level of the unemployed, the welfare cases, and the Indian.

State Street, Business Loop I-75, is the major thoroughfare of St. Ignace, and most of the business establishments of the city may be found here. This street follows the curve of the bay upon which St. Ignace rises. The one grassy area along the water is known as Kiwanis Beach. A marker on the site designates "Michilimackinac Cove [as a] Famous landing place for 17th century adventurers, explorers, voyageurs, traders, coureurs de bois, soldiers and missionaries." This minimally attended bathing beach affords a sight of Mackinac Island, fuel storage tanks, and, during the Labor Day weekend, "The Black Gown Tree."

History of the Pageant

According to an article written by Herman D. Ellis for the 1966 Souvenir Book, the Father Marquette Pageant at St. Ignace has had a long history.

"The Pere Marquette Pageant at St. Ignace 1966," although entirely new, larger, and very different from previous pageants, owes much to the traditions kept alive since 1949 by the Knights of Columbus of St. Ignace in their annual re-enactment of the landing of Father Marquette.

There had been previous re-enactments. A few yellowed undated clippings and faded photographs show that perhaps 38 years ago there was re-enacted the canoe procession which brought the bones of Father Marquette back to his home mission at St.

Ignace. On another occasion there was a Mackinac County Historical Pageant, a John B. Rogers Production with a cast of over 300 residents and students, which included scenes relating to Marquette's life and death. As this book goes to press, detailed information has not been obtained regarding these and other early pageants---including some sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce, the American Legion, Odd Fellows, and Lions Club.

The August 7, 1949 Pageant, beginning the series which continued through 1965, initiated its cast and audience into the hazards of outdoor presentations. A dense fog caused the canoes to lose their way, although they were able to arrive fifteen minutes late and the pageant proceeded. In other years high winds caused equal problems, but the pageants were always completed.

Most pageants featured the arrival by canoe of Father Marquette, his reception by the Indians, and a special Catholic Field Mass. In recent years Msgr. Bernard Karol, Pastor of the St. Ignatius Loyola Parish, played the part of the great missionary and celebrated the Mass.

The Indian sequences were usually conducted by people of real Indian ancestry, and varied year by year. Sometimes an Indian choir, ably directed by Mrs. Joseph Lambert, sang the Mass in Indian tongue. Other years there were symbolic Indian dances, directed by the late Ralph McCarry, who--though not an Indian--had lived with the Indians in his youth and did much to help keep alive their traditions. Other members of the local Indian community, such as Willard Lambert, contributed much to the occasions. Members of the Knights of Columbus and Father Karol bore the main responsibilities.

Always, although Catholic groups were the sponsors, the entire community watched with interest, and thousands of tourists of all faiths learned that St. Ignace was the home mission of the great Jesuit explorer who so greatly influenced the history of the New World.

Now, in 1966, there begins a new era of expanded observances of the history of three hundred years ago, involving hundreds of citizens of all faiths.

The 1969 souvenir book, which was also used in 1970, repeated the article word for word except for the final paragraph:

Now The Black Gown Tree has become an entire-community project involving citizens of all faiths, united in their appreciation of the tremendous influence of Father Marquette on the History of this area--and by their determination to develop an inspiring and entertaining attraction for visitors.

The 1969 souvenir book also contained an article giving a brief history of the new pageant as well as offering a reason for its development:

As this book is being printed, enthusiastic committees are assembling costumes and props, and the 100 members of the cast for The Black Gown Tree are rehearsing their parts for this fourth year "new era" production of the Pere Marquette Pageant at St. Ignace.

A worthy tradition is being preserved but the pageant is very different from those which occurred during the peak tourist season in August for many years. All the people of St. Ignace are now determined to develop a musical-dramatic historical spectacle which will bring national attention to this city. The following are some of the reasons:

- (a) 1971 will be the 300th Anniversary of the founding of St. Ignace by Father Marquette.
- (b) Some people do not yet know that St. Ignace is the logical site for the proposed Father Marquette National Monument.
- (c) The inspiring adventures of the great explorer-priest, centered at his home Mission of St. Ignace, can be dramatized against the authentic background of the shore where he landed, on the ground he trod, a stone's throw away from his grave, along a curving street of the three-centuries-old city.
- (d) Just a mile away, sixteen thousand or more lively people assemble Labor Day morning for the annual world's greatest walking event across the Mackinac Bridge. Many would enjoy being in the area a few days earlier, if they could look forward to an outstanding dramatic event in addition to seeing the great scenic attractions.
- (e) The annual Father Marquette Pageant of the Knights of Columbus, each August, had been enjoyed by thousands of people. If expanded and shifted to the three days before Labor Day, it might introduce thousands of tourists to the joys of later-season vacations.

Naturally, realization of all the above did not come to all the Community at once. In late 1965 the St. Ignace Chamber of Commerce had been considering a strong suggestion by Lawrence A. Rubin that some promotion be devised to make it worth while for the thousands of bridge walkers to come a day or more early, enjoy St. Ignace and the surrounding vacation areas, then join the Bridge Walk. This would not only be good for the economy of the area, but it would also relieve some of the Labor Day morning congestion when thousands of people would be coming north-bound across the span in the special buses bringing walkers to the starting line.

I⁵² attended the Chamber of Commerce meeting at which possible pre-Labor Day activities were discussed. It happened that for many years I (and others) had frequently argued that the traditional annual re-enactment of the landing of Father Marquette, staged by the local Knights of Columbus, could be the basis for a much-enlarged spectacle. I presented the idea to the Chamber. There was enthusiasm. It was discussed by the Knights of Columbus. There was agreement that it could become a whole community project. Under Chamber of Commerce leadership a committee was formed representing the Chamber, the Knights of Columbus, Kiwanis and Lions Clubs, the Jaycees, and the Mackinac Bridge Authority. Local-businessman Art Della Moretta agreed to serve as temporary Chairman.

Because of the close ties of Marquette University, Milwaukee, with the Jesuits, and because a great authority on Father Marquette was University Archivist, it was decided to seek the assistance of this University. The committee went to Milwaukee, the matter was discussed, and script-and-direction cooperation was planned. Months later Marquette University regretfully withdrew when key personnel assigned to the St. Ignace project moved to other parts of the country.

Meanwhile, the committee learned that Michigan State University's Institute for Community Development and Services had engaged a man of wide experience in theatrical acting and directing, Robert Stern, as Community Theatre Specialist--specifically to aid in such projects. Moreover,

⁵²Herman D. Ellis, editor of the Father Marquette Pageant souvenir book and ex-Public Information Executive for the Mackinac Bridge Authority.

Stern had just scored an impressive success with his direction of the annual Memorial Day weekend Re-enactment of the Massacre at Fort Michilimackinac, in Mackinaw City. The committee successfully negotiated a cooperative arrangement with Michigan State University for Stern to write the new script and direct the 1966 Pageant. It also formed a non-profit corporation, The Father Marquette Historical Production Association, with Clair Kalbfleisch as General Chairman for 1966.

Thus was launched the successful Pere Marquette Pageant at St. Ignace 1966. The entire community was now enthusiastic over the tremendous potential for improving and enlarging the event.

One need was for a less cumbersome name. The script itself provided the answer. The Black Gown Tree was the Indian name for the cross which Father Marquette erected at his mission. The title seemed to have the proper ingredients: it is short, easy to say and thought provoking, it can be simply illustrated, and it relates to a key bit of action in the drama. St. Ignace people hoped that the four words would become nationally known.

The 1967 Pageant's success was even greater. Audiences were larger. Travel editors and feature writers began to take notice. People who intended to walk across the bridge on Labor Day did come a day or two early and made St. Ignace their headquarters. In 1968 the success was repeated with still larger audiences.

In 1969 the production will be more lively--⁵³ dramatizing the conflicts in Father Marquette's work, and introducing entertaining features which will still be in keeping with the jealously guarded historical accuracy of the spectacle.

No one is paid except the Director. Our best reward will be increased public knowledge of the fact that here at St. Ignace a dedicated man's great deeds influenced the lives of all Americans.

The Father Marquette Historical Production Association consists of a President, Vice President, Secretary, Treasurer, six Directors, and nine Committees: Cast-

⁵³No real change occurred. The script was revised prior to the 1967 pageant, and has been used since. Copyright was not obtained until 1971.

Direction Co-ordination, Budget and Finance, Properties, Program Advertising, Sales and Distribution, Costumes, Sound, Publicity, Casting, and Makeup.

Although the article by Ellis suggested that all was well with the pageant, such was not the case. From the start there was a problem of achieving a workable relationship with the local school system relative to students for the cast. Many of the students that were needed were also on the football team and rehearsals for the pageant tended to interfere with football practice. Even with the St. Ignace Superintendent of Schools in the cast, little cooperation could be achieved from the football coach. Following the initial production, I wrote to the Association with some recommendations; primary among them was the need for older persons to play 'braves,' since too many of the Indians were played by young Boy Scouts. This plea was made each year that the pageant was given.

In 1970 Lawrence A. Rubin heeded the cry and wrote a guest editorial for the Republican News, a weekly newspaper printed in St. Ignace. The basic theme of Rubin's editorial was the need for more civic participation in civic efforts, particularly the ". . . need of adults, able-bodied persons to participate [in the pageant]." A similar plea was made in 1971, this time by Prentiss M. Brown, Jr.:

Our main problem now is obtaining talent. We are in dire need of families, as well as adult males. Our production has been weak in the past due to the unwillingness of St. Ignace men to volunteer a few hours of their⁵⁴ time each day for a week or so before Labor Day.

As 1971 was the tercentenary of the founding of St. Ignace, there was an attempt at creating a new look for the pageant. A new souvenir book was printed containing no articles with reference to the past history or development of "The Black Gown Tree;" there was a photographic "Essay" of past productions. A new director was hired to direct the 1971 pageant; Dr. John McCabe, Professor of English at Lake Superior State College. Unfortunately the 1971 production suffered from the weakness of the past even though Prentiss M. Brown, Jr. joined the 1971 cast. It had been thought that perhaps the lack of community leaders being involved in the pageant was a reason for the general lack of interest on the part of the community. It must be stated that even though Prentiss M. Brown, Jr. and several other "leaders" are involved in the production, there are still many St. Ignace business people not involved.

⁵⁴Prentiss M. Brown, Jr. quoted in the Evening News (Sault Ste. Marie) July 31, 1971, p. 8.

Community Images

It would seem that there are problems in St. Ignace relative to the production of "The Black Gown Tree." The interviews seem to support this feeling. Forty-nine people were interviewed in St. Ignace, representing 2 per cent of the population. Of these forty-nine, six are considered Key Informants primarily because of their position in the Father Marquette Historical Production Association and their acceptance as such by a majority of those interviewed who were able to suggest leadership. The remaining forty-three persons interviewed are considered Checkoff Informants.

Table 6 provides a general view of the persons interviewed relative to their sex, time spent in the community, occupation, and community membership. It is interesting to note that, as it is in Mackinaw City, although women hold membership in the Father Marquette Historical Production Association, none appear as Key Informants. Unlike Mackinaw City, however, none of the Key Informants in St. Ignace were residents for less than ten years. Three of the six Key Informants were native to St. Ignace; the other three indicated acceptance of St. Ignace as a permanent residence. One gets a very definite impression that the newcomer is not quickly accepted in any leadership capacity in St. Ignace.

TABLE 6.--Description of St. Ignace Informants

	Key Informants (6)	Checkoff Informants (43)
<u>Personal Information</u>		
Male.	6	21
Female.	0	22
Average years in community.	28	23
<u>Occupation</u>		
Professional.	3	4
Business.	2	9
Worker.	1	19
Retired	0	2
Student	0	4
Housewife	0	5
<u>Community Memberships</u>		
Three or more	4	4
Less than three	1	20
None.	1	19

The informants in St. Ignace do not appear to be the 'joiner' type. The organizations cited most were church affiliations, Lions, and Kiwanis. The one Key Informant who listed no community memberships did belong to state and regional organizations that did in some ways affect St. Ignace. He is one of the informants not native to St. Ignace.

It is interesting to note that no one in St. Ignace that was interviewed gave community pride as a reason for becoming involved in the pageant (see Table 7). This is especially interesting since both Rubin and Brown asked for participation in the pageant on this basis. It is significant to note that whereas the Key Informants average six years involvement as a committee member,

only three have been involved in the actual production, and then only for an average of four years. Only one of these three can claim participation in all six years of production. It is also interesting to note that of the fourteen Checkoff Informants who participated in the production, only two have been involved since the beginning.

TABLE 7.--Description of Pageant Involvement of St. Ignace Informants

	Key Informants (6)	Checkoff Informants (43)
<u>Involvement</u>		
Committee.	6	0
Average length of time (years)	6	0
Cast and/or crew	3	14
Average length of time (years)	4	2
<u>Reasons for Involvement</u>		
Community pride.	0	0
Asked.	0	8
Fun.	0	4
Other.	6	2
<u>Reasons for Non-involvement</u>		
Work . . . . .	..	14
Never asked. . . . .	..	0
No reason. . . . .	..	8
Other. . . . .	..	7

Some of the "other" reasons given for not participating were, "It's Catholic and I'm not;" "They don't need girls, and I don't like the makeup;" and "I don't get involved so that it will be more ecumenical." The last statement is from a Catholic Priest.

Of some interest is the diversity of images of not only the Checkoff Informants, but also the Key Informants. In Table 8 the Key Informants differ in their view regarding the Economic and Social benefit of the pageant. The greatest difference between the view of the Key Informants and the Checkoff Informants is in the area of how the present pageant developed.

TABLE 8.--St. Ignace Informant Images of the Pageant

	Key Informants (6)	Checkoff Informants (43)
<u>Awareness of Historical Development</u>		
Very aware.	6	6
Some awareness.	0	7
No awareness.	0	30
<u>View of Economic Benefit</u>		
Very beneficial	2	22
Some benefit.	4	8
No benefit.	0	13
<u>Awareness of Financing</u>		
Very aware.	6	18
Some awareness.	0	12
No awareness.	0	13
<u>View of Social Benefit</u>		
Very beneficial	4	18
Some benefit.	1	13
No benefit.	1	12
<u>View of Educational Benefit</u>		
Very beneficial	6	23
Some benefit.	0	17
No benefit.	0	3

This in itself is rather strange since the souvenir book has such a detailed history in it, at least the pre 1971 issues did.

The view of the economic benefits derived from the pageant in St. Ignace among the Key Informants is one of degree; all agreed that there was a benefit, but the four noted under "some" remarked that it was only a feeling, they could cite no evidence. The Checkoff Informants with positive views cited the increase in people in St. Ignace during the pageant days as the reason for their view. The Checkoff Informants who did not think there was any Economic benefit generally answered in one of two ways when probed; either they just said that's what they feel, or they suggested that Labor Day weekend business has always been good. It was at this juncture that comments concerning the time that the pageant was being given came up. There appeared to be a rather strong feeling that the Labor Day weekend was not the best time for the production. The reasons given were 1) Labor Day weekend business has always been good, 2) people are either too busy or too tired to get involved in anything then, and 3) something is needed mid-summer to pick up the season.

Comments concerning the social aspects of the pageant ran from "It brings families together in a community effort," and "The pageant made people more aware of community organizations," to "I don't think that any new friendships have taken place because of the pageant. If anything, it has created a greater separation between some peoples."

Table 9 suggests specific differences between the images of the Key Informants and Checkoff Informants in St. Ignace. In general the Checkoff Informants are not very aware of either the pageant leadership or the persons involved in the pageant. This coupled with the seeming lack of knowledge of the history of the development of the pageant seems to suggest that the average person in St. Ignace is not too interested in the pageant activity. This idea seems to be supported further by the fact that when asked about the need for more help with the pageant the greatest response was a lack of response.

TABLE 9.--St. Ignace Informant Images of Organization and Leaders

	Key Informants (6)	Checkoff Informants (43)
<u>Awareness of Pageant Leadership</u>		
Very aware.	6	11
Some awareness.	0	16
No awareness.	0	16
<u>Awareness of Persons Involved With the Pageant</u>		
Very aware.	6	13
Some awareness.	0	14
No awareness.	0	16
<u>Image of Need for More Help</u>		
Needed.	6	17
Not needed.	0	0
No response	0	26
<u>Image of Opposition</u>		
No opposition	6	33
Opposition.	0	10

The ten informants who felt that there was opposition to the pageant mentioned "Indians" as the opposing faction. St. Ignace has experienced only one protest from a militant Indian group; the Great Lakes Indian Youth Alliance picketed the Indian Burial Ground tourist attraction. However, few believe that the militants will picket or protest in any way the pageant.

Divergence of opinion is once again apparent in the informant images of the future (see Table 10).

TABLE 10.--St. Ignace Informant Images of the Future

	Key Informant (6)	Checkoff Informant (43)
<u>Future of the Pageant</u>		
Growth.	6	14
No change	0	17
Die out	0	0
No reaction	0	12
<u>Future of the Community</u>		
Positive change	6	20
No change	0	18
Negative change	0	0
No reaction	0	5
<u>Change Agents</u>		
Community organizations .	1	10
Outside organizations . .	2	2
Individuals	0	10
No one.	3	21
<u>Opposition to Change</u>		
No one.	4	30
Outsiders	0	0
Individuals	1	13
Community organizations .	1	0

It appears that the pageant leadership and the Checkoff Informants are of different opinions concerning the future of the pageant. This seems to further support

my earlier statement that the St. Ignace community is not as interested in the pageant as the leadership would like.

Summary

St. Ignace is a small city located at the southeastern end of the upper peninsula of Michigan. Historically it has been a place from which people set out to find other lands, and today it remains as the southern gateway to the upper peninsula and a source of transportation to Mackinac Island. St. Ignace relies heavily upon the tourist industry for its economic well being.

For many years the Knights of Columbus had re-enacted the landing of Father Marquette at St. Ignace during the early part of August. But in 1966 with a bit of prodding from the Mackinac Bridge Authority, the Chamber of Commerce and the service clubs got together with the Knights of Columbus to discuss the possibility of having an enlarged re-enactment. This new pageant would be similar to that at Mackinaw City, and it would be presented during the Labor Day weekend to correspond with the Annual Mackinac Bridge Walk. A non-profit corporation was organized to bring about this newly enlarged pageant, the Father Marquette Historical Production Association, Incorporated. The pageant became known as "The Black Gown Tree."

The Father Marquette Historical Production Association, Inc. has been able to keep the pageant going continuously each Labor Day weekend since 1966. For the first five years I, as author of the script, was also the director. The 1971 director was Dr. John McCabe. "The Black Gown Tree" has become one of the major attractions in Michigan during the Labor Day weekend.

Forty-nine persons were interviewed in St. Ignace to determine their images of the pageant. Of the forty-nine only twenty had been involved with the pageant in any way at any time. The reason given most often for not being involved was "work," and one person gave a religious reason for not being involved. The lack of involvement seems to coincide with the general lack of involvement in other community endeavors; only eight persons interviewed belonged to three or more organizations, twenty-one belonged to at least one but less than three, and twenty belonged to no organizations.

There are several instances of differences of images between the Key Informants and the Checkoff Informants. This and a general lack of knowledge of the historical development of the pageant amongst the Checkoff Informants leads me to believe that the general community cares less about the pageant than the pageant leadership would care to admit. This would

suggest a less than healthy atmosphere for a successful
pageant continuing.

CHAPTER IV

"REFLECTIONS OF KE-WA-WE-NON" - BARAGA COUNTY

Description of the Community

Baraga County lies at the base of Keweenaw Bay which is located in the northwest section of the upper peninsula of Michigan. L'Anse, the County Seat, located on U.S. 41 is 517 miles from Detroit and 457 miles from the State Capitol at Lansing; approximately three times the distance from Lansing to Chicago. One hundred two miles to the west lies Ironwood and the Wisconsin border; 85 miles south through Iron Mountain and Kingsford the Wisconsin border is again reached. To the east 232 miles is Sault Ste. Marie and the Canadian border to the Province of Ontario. The eastern entrance to the lower peninsula, St. Ignace, is 229 miles distant, and the lower peninsula itself, represented by Mackinaw City, is 234 miles away.

Although it might appear that Baraga County is quite isolated, the Baraga County Board of Commissioners is proud to point out ". . . that 75 per cent of the county is within 35 miles of an urban center of 10,000 or more population." Of further interest is the fact that the County Seat is but 33 miles from Michigan Tech-

nological University at Houghton to the northwest, and 67 miles from Northern Michigan University at Marquette to the east.

Encompassed within its 904 square mile land area, Baraga County offers 60 miles of shoreline along Keweenaw Bay; the highest point in Michigan, Mt. Curwood, rises 1994 feet above sea level, and the highest lake in Michigan, Dirkman Lake, is but 10 miles southeast of L'Anse. And more than 20 scenic waterfalls dot the area along with remembrances of gold and silver mines, logging camps, missionaries, voyageurs, and the Ottawa and Chippewa who still live in this county where one of Michigan's two Indian Reservations may be found.

Although Baraga County was not organized until 1875, Baraga Township - a part of Houghton County - was organized in 1869; and L'Anse was located in the seventeenth century.

L'Anse ranks as one of Michigan's oldest place names. It is unique in the state, as it shares its ancient French name with no other geographical designation along Michigan's many miles of Great Lakes shore.

Just when the term, meaning "The Cove," was first applied to the head of Keweenaw Bay is uncertain, but it has appeared in one form or another on early Great Lakes maps since at least 1668.⁵⁵

⁵⁵James L. Carter, "L'Anse Shown on 1668 Map," Baraga County Historical Pageant Souvenir Book (Baraga County, Michigan: The Pageant Division of the Baraga County Historical Society, Inc., 1969), p.8.

The County, of course, was named for Bishop Frederick Baraga, who built and maintained a mission in the L'Anse area from 1843 to 1853 when he was appointed Bishop of Upper Michigan.

The late nineteenth century was the period of lumbering activity in the upper peninsula. "The chief centers of operation on the south shore [of Lake Superior] were Marquette, Ontonagon, Baraga, Houghton and Bayfield counties."⁵⁶ Lumbering continued to be a major industry in Baraga well into the twentieth century.

Lumbering is the chief industry. Much of the county is owned by the Ford Motor Company which carries on logging operations and runs a large sawmill at L'Anse and a smaller one at Alberta. There are also mills at Baraga and Skanee.⁵⁷

Ford's lumber town at Pequaming is no more than a ghost town today, and the sawmill at Alberta is now the Ford Forestry Center operated by Michigan Technological University. The lumber industry remains, but at a much lesser degree than before. The current major industries in Baraga County are Pettibone Michigan Corporation and the Celotex Corporation.

In the years following 1940, Baraga County's population declined; however, the 1970 census recorded a

⁵⁶Grace Lee Nute, Lake Superior, The American Lake Series ed. Milo M. Quaife (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1944), p. 195.

⁵⁷Ferris E. Lewis, My State and Its Story, pp. 284-285.

population of 7,789, an 8.9 per cent increase over 1960.⁵⁸

Baraga County has two incorporated villages, Baraga and L'Anse. Each is located within the political township of the same name.

On a combined basis, L'Anse and Baraga Villages have increased their shares of the total County population from 37.8 percent in 1930 to 47.4 percent in 1960. This proportion decreased slightly by 1970. Trends show that the County's population is becoming more concentrated in urban areas. Baraga Village is growing at a more rapid rate than Baraga Township. L'Anse Village experienced a much lower growth rate in the past 10 years than did the Township.⁵⁹

The 1970 populations for the Villages of Baraga and L'Anse, respectively, were 1,116 and 2,538; Baraga had a 12.6 per cent increase over 1960 while L'Anse increased by 5.9 per cent.⁶⁰

Baraga County has not had a tourist orientation. However, with changing methods of tourist travel, i.e. campers, trailers, etc., more tourists are finding the area to their liking, but they also find a lack of tourist facilities. The L'Anse, Alston, Baraga, Tapiola Telephone Directory for November 1970 lists nine restaurants [four of which are in L'Anse Village], nine motels and four hotels, thirteen service stations, fifteen taverns [six in L'Anse], two drug stores [the L'Anse store also acting as a tourist gift shop], fourteen

⁵⁸Baraga County Planning Commission, Future Land Use Plan for Baraga County, Michigan (April 1970), p. 1.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 3.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 2.

food stores, and two banks. Ten churches are in the area: L'Anse - St. John's Lutheran, First Lutheran, Methodist, Baptist, Church of the Nativity [Episcopal], Sacred Heart [Catholic], Seventh Day Adventist; Baraga - Holy Cross Lutheran, St. Ann's [Catholic]; Skanee - Zion Evangelical Lutheran. There are also three medical facilities in the County: Baraga County Memorial Hospital in L'Anse, the Moyer Diagnostic Clinic in Baraga Township, and the Winkler Nursing Home in L'Anse.

Though, as indicated above, the county has never been particularly oriented to tourism, this is not to say that Baraga County has not considered the possibilities of tourism. In 1966 the Upper Peninsula Committee on Area Progress had a report prepared for them which offered guidelines for tourism-recreation in the upper peninsula.⁶¹ In 1969 a Baraga County Recreation Plan was developed which placed emphasis ". . . not only upon resident use and enjoyment, but on the attraction potential for tourists as well."⁶² This report mentions "Reflections of Ke-Wa-We-Non" as a positive example of an "Historical-Cultural" activity.⁶³ The 1970 Future

⁶¹Uel Blank, Clare A. Gunn and Johnson, Johnson and Roy, Inc., Guidelines for Tourism-Recreation in Michigan's Upper Peninsula: A Report and Recommendations, Prepared for the Upper Peninsula Committee on Area Progress, November, 1966.

⁶²Baraga County Planning Commission, Recreation Planning in Baraga County, Prepared by Vulvan-Leman & Associates, Inc., November 1969.

⁶³Ibid., p. 18.

Land Use Plan for Baraga County, Michigan reaffirms the County Recreation Plan.⁶⁴ In 1971 interested citizens of Baraga County organized the Baraga County Tourist Association whose objectives are ". . . to improve and promote the Tourist Industry in Baraga County and to Co-operate with other agencies with similar goals; to foster the development of facilities which will lead to increased travel to Baraga County."⁶⁵ Many of the same citizens behind the Baraga County Tourist Association were also behind the Pageant Division of the Baraga County Historical Society, Inc., which stated its purpose for starting a pageant in 1969 as ". . . not only to help the economy of our community by encouraging tourist trade, but also to keep alive our rich heritage."⁶⁶

History of the Pageant

In 1968, the centennial year of the death of Bishop Frederick Baraga, Bernard Lambert, author of Shepherd of the Wilderness, a biography of Baraga, and president of the Baraga County Historical Society, Inc., was in St. Ignace promoting the cause of Bishop Baraga. His

⁶⁴Future Land Use Plan, pp. 40-48.

⁶⁵By-Laws of the Baraga County Tourist Association.

⁶⁶Letter from Bernard Lambert, Direction Co-ordinator, to possible sponsors. Date unknown.

visit coincided with the annual production of "The Black Gown Tree."

Interested in the St. Ignace production, Lambert me if it would be possible to do something similar in Baraga County. I agreed to work with the county if Lambert could get a supporting organization together.

In January of 1969 I was invited by the newly organized Pageant Division of the Baraga County Historical Society, Inc. to speak at a public meeting in L'Anse. At this meeting it was agreed that I would write and direct the first annual Baraga County Historical Pageant, which was to be presented on July 25, 26, and 27, 1969 at Oliver Curwood Park in L'Anse Township. The presentation was to follow the same pattern as the pageants at Mackinaw City and St. Ignace; there would be no admission charge, local people would be in the cast, a broad based committee structure would be employed, the only person to be paid would be the director; donations, advertisements, booster buttons, etc. would provide the necessary operating funds. The Baraga County Historical Society, Inc. was the sponsoring organization.

The Pageant Division of the Historical Society organized into an executive division consisting of two Co-chairmen, Direction Co-ordinator, Secretary, and Treasurer. Under this were the Promotion Division; Budget and Finance, Advertising and Sales, Publicity, Souvenir

Book, and the Production Division: Research, Properties, Costumes, Makeup, Dance, Casting, Music, Sound.

The community was kept informed of pageant affairs through a column called "Pageant Talk" in the L'Anse Sentinel, Baraga County's weekly newspaper. When necessary, important notices were broadcast by radio station WMPL of Hancock, Michigan. In May the "Baraga County Historical Pageant Souvenir Book" made its appearance. This publication, which incidentally was dedicated to the "Keweenaw Bay Indian Community and Their Forefathers," contained many articles and photographs about the historical past of Baraga County.

During the weeks prior to the week of rehearsal, meetings were held with members of the community as a means of keeping people informed as well as interested. Other meetings were held by the various committees to check progress of their assigned areas. For instance, since the committee had decided to supply basic costumes for the Indian participants, they met to check on the completion of the costumes.⁶⁷

Other activities were also planned to coincide with the pageant weekend:

The three days will be filled with additional planned festivities throughout the days with the Grand Parade Friday evening, dances Saturday evening and canoe racing, Parade of lighted flotilla

⁶⁷"Pageant Costume Meeting July 8th," L'Anse Sentinel, July 2, 1969, p. 1.

and fireworks display Sunday evening in addition to day time activities.⁶⁸

"Pageant Talk" of July 9 reminded everyone that there were only fifteen more days until pageant time. Meanwhile word of the pageant was spreading:

It is surprising how many news media have picked up the news of the Baraga County pageant: The Detroit News, Green Bay Press, Houghton Gazette, Marquette Mining Journal, WMPL, WLUC-TV, WFRV, and others.⁶⁹

Probably the one item that received the most coverage was the following,

Baraga County's Chippewa Indians are having trouble paddling their canoes.

About 75 Chippewa were recruited to add authenticity to the Upper Peninsula county's first historical pageant scheduled for 2:30 p.m. Friday, Saturday and Sunday in L'Anse.

Pageant director Robert Stern, a drama professor at Lake Superior State College in Sault Ste. Marie, and the local historical society marveled at the thought of real Indians doing real war dances, wearing buckskin, deftly paddling canoes and enjoying a rhapsodic speech in Chippewa.

It didn't work that way.

Ninety percent of the Chippewa had never been in a canoe; most of the young people were more familiar with pop dances than the war dance; those buckskin outfits turned out to be print house-dresses and plaid sport shirts, and the only response to the taped speech was: "Do you have a translator?"

Stern enlisted the help of a Chippewa with a long memory and that Chippewa gave war dance lessons, directed a quick practice run in the canoes and interpreted the Chippewa speech.

⁶⁸"Historical Pageant to be \$10,000 Spectacle," L'Anse Sentinel, July 9, 1969, p. 1.

⁶⁹"Pageant Talk," L'Anse Sentinel, July 23, 1969, p. 5.

George Curtis, Chippewa chief, said most of the young people are leaving the area and the older folk, the tradition bearers, are dying off. The result is that the first Americans are becoming more and more like the people who took their land.

Baraga County's pageant will cover 200 years of local history, from 1660 with the arrival of one of the first white men to the arrival of Frederick Baraga, a missionary, in 1834.⁷⁰

Unfortunately, the article is more fancy than fact, and if one were to attempt to find any one thing that occurred in 1969 that might have brought about the events of 1970, this article may have been it. The fact that George Curtis was not re-elected chief in 1970 should, perhaps, have been looked upon as a presagement of change. However, the 1969 pageant was presented without major difficulty.

"First Historical Pageant Big Success; Viewed by More than 5,000." So read the headline of the July 30, 1969 edition of the L'Anse Sentinel, for the crowds had been greater than any had expected. And the reaction to the pageant ". . . was more than we could ever want."⁷¹

After the seeming success of the 1969 pageant, it might be assumed that the 1970 pageant would be a rather simple project; however, it was not to be. In June, flyers began appearing in Baraga County:

⁷⁰"Canoes, Dances, Speech Baffle Indians at Pageant," Detroit Free Press, July 25, 1969.

⁷¹Mrs. Agnes Demaray, Co-chairman of the Pageant Division, quoted at the post production meeting, July 27, 1969.

The G.L.I.Y.A. [Great Lakes Indian Youth Alliance] announces a protest pow-wow, held at L'Anse, Michigan.

We are protesting the Baraga County Historical Pageant. We find the re-enactment of the welcoming of Father Baraga to Michigan by real Indian participants as degrading. This is merely a Holloywood production directed by Robert Stearn [sic] who also directs the "Massacre" at Michilimackinac.

Let's show the white tourist some of the real aspects of our beautiful culture!

The American Indian Movement of Minneapolis, Minn. Drum and Singers will be there to provide some of "the sweetest music this side of heaven."

If at [all] possible, be there! We have allowed the exploitation of our people for commercial purposes for too long.

On July 15, 1970, the L'Anse Sentinel carried the following stories; the GLIYA story:

In a telegram received this morning . . . from Ted Holappa, assistant director of the Great Lakes Indian Youth Alliance, he stated that the Indian Youth Alliance and the American Indian Movement, with support of the local Indians, plan to protest at the Baraga County Historical Pageant. . . . This protest is called, according to Holappa, because of the refusal of the Pageant Committee to support a pow wow; also for the hiring of Bob Stern as Pageant Director, and the commercializing of local Indians.

the Pageant Committee story:

The Baraga County Historical Pageant Committee feels that some unfortunate statements have been made by Mr. Ted Holappa. Representatives of the committee would like to meet with him and his committee to discuss the misunderstanding that seems to exist.

The Pageant Committee categorically denies its refusal to support a pow wow. Also, the Committee does not understand what Mr. Holappa's complaint is concerning the hiring of Mr. Stern and "the commercializing of local Indians."

The Pageant Committee desires to settle these differences in a peaceful and open manner.

Elsewhere the public was treated to a more complete, though not necessarily more factual, report of what was occurring in Baraga County. The Detroit News of Sunday, July 19, 1970, offered the following eight column headline on page eight, "Pageant Casting Angers L'Anse Indians." Meanwhile the Pageant Committee was attempting to clarify the problem.

Through the assistance of radio station WMPL, a public discussion between members of the Pageant Committee and members of the Great Lakes Indian Youth Alliance was held on July 21, 1970. The result of this discussion was an agreement that both parties would meet again to talk over the problem. It was further understood that little could be done to change the 1970 pageant. On the morning of July 24, 1970, a committee from the Great Lakes Indian Youth Alliance headed by Charles "Moose" Pamp, president of GLIYA, met with Bernard Lambert, Agnes Demaray and Kay Brisson of the Pageant Committee; I was also in attendance. GLIYA delivered a list of conditions "to assure a successful pageant:"

1. Rewrite script with Indian consultation.
2. Financial assistance to Indian performers in the cast. \$15.00 per show.
3. Authentic costumes to be used in the pageant.
4. Financial support of an all Indian Pow Wow, the sum being \$2,500.00. Funds used for prize money, food and transportation of dancers and singers.
5. Pow Wow be contracted to the Great Lakes Indian Youth Alliance.
6. End commercialization of Indian Heritage and culture by local non-Indian businessmen.

The Pageant Committee members present agreed to the first and third conditions immediately, with the understanding that this could only be accomplished for future years. The Pageant Committee members also agreed to present the other conditions to the entire committee for consideration. Again it was agreed that nothing could be done relative to the 1970 pageant which was scheduled for its first performance that afternoon. GLIYA agreed to the terms, and further agreed to a public announcement via WMPL that an agreement had been reached between GLIYA and the Pageant Committee, and that GLIYA would not disrupt the pageant. The afternoon performance went on as scheduled.

Saturday was a different situation. Members of the American Indian Movement [AIM] of Minnesota and Cleveland came into town. They massed at the pageant site and began harassing the Indian members of the cast. Many of the families involved became worried about the safety of their children, and many members of the cast in general became a bit nervous. As director, I was also a bit nervous and fearful of what might occur. I decided to cancel the Saturday performance, but assured all that the Sunday performance would go on as scheduled.

The Sunday performance did go on, but not without some difficulty. Several members of the cast did not show up for the Sunday performance because of nervous-

ness evoked by rumors of possible trouble. Trouble not only from AIM, but local people looking for a fight.

Trouble did come to the pageant:

A group of 80 Indians disrupted the Baraga County Historical Pageant Sunday because they said it wasn't a fair depiction of Indians and because Indians in the cast had to wear makeup to look more "Indianish."

One man was arrested when the group started clapping in front of the grandstand at L'Anse's Curwood Park during the national anthem.

. . . The Sunday pageant continued after the disruption.⁷²

The harm, however, had been done. The possibility of a pageant in 1971 seemed unlikely to the members of the Pageant Committee as they met the Monday following the pageant. It was agreed to allow time for "cooling off," and then to begin looking into the possibilities of a 1971 pageant.

A few meetings were held that winter with members of the Indian community, and members of GLIYA. But little was accomplished. It appeared that no one was willing to commit themselves to a 1971 pageant. So in the summer of 1971 no annual Baraga County Historical Pageant was performed.

Community Images

With what appeared to be a rather definite situation in Baraga County, it was rather interesting to

⁷²"Indians Disrupt Pageant," Detroit Free Press, July 27, 1970.

return and interview people in the community. Fifty-one people were interviewed in Baraga County, representing .07 per cent of the population. However, the actual area of interviewing was primarily in L'Anse and Baraga Villages, which represent 47.4 percent of the total County population.⁷³ The persons interviewed, therefore, represent 1 per cent of the village populations of L'Anse and Baraga.

Of the fifty-one interviewed, six are considered Key Informants by virtue of their position in the Pageant Committee and their acceptance as such by a majority of those interviewed. Baraga County was interesting because not only were women in important positions on the committee, but they were also accepted as leaders by persons not on the committee (see Table 11).

Of the four Key Informants listed as "workers," two are elected officials of the County. One is County Clerk, and the other is County Treasurer. All six are residents of L'Anse. Two of the six have been residents of Baraga County for less than ten years; the remaining four are life-long residents. Of the forty-five Checkoff Informants, thirteen had been in the community for less than ten years.

⁷³Future Land Use Plan, p. 3.

TABLE 11.--Description of Baraga County Informants

	Key Informants (6)	Checkoff Informants (45)
<u>Personal Information</u>		
Male.	3	23
Female.	3	22
Average years in community.	25	18
<u>Occupation</u>		
Professional.	1	5
Business.	0	3
Worker.	4	16
Retired	0	3
Student	0	7
Housewife	1	11
<u>Community Memberships</u>		
Three or more	5	1
Less than three	1	19
None.	0	25

It is quite possible that the involvement pattern in Baraga County was a product of the youth of the pageant. As we can see in Table 12, there are very few Checkoff Informants who had any involvement with the pageant. It is possible that people were taking a wait and see attitude toward the production before becoming involved. In some ways this idea seems to be supported by the seeming lack of involvement in community organizations (see Table 11).

Three Checkoff Informants said that they did not become involved in the pageant because they felt it was a L'Anse project; however, although there is a bit of rivalry between the two villages, the rivalry did not

appear to be a major reason for non-involvement.

TABLE 12.--Description of Pageant Involvement of Baraga County Informants

	Key Informants (6)	Checkoff Informants (45)
<u>Involvement</u>		
Committee.	6	1
Average length of time (years)	2	1
Cast and/or crew	3	4
Average length of time (years)	2	2
<u>Reasons for Involvement</u>		
Community pride.	6	1
Asked.	0	3
Fun.	0	0
Other.	0	1
<u>Reasons for Non-involvement</u>		
Work . . . . .	..	15
Never asked. . . . .	..	6
No reason. . . . .	..	11
Other. . . . .	..	8

In only one area concerning possible benefits of the pageant was there almost complete agreement; the area of educational benefit (see Table 13). In the other areas there appears to be a degree of variance between the Key Informants and the Checkoff Informants. The only reason one can come up with for the poor sense of how the pageant developed is that those who were not directly involved did not read the L'Anse Sentinel well or at all. A similar reason is offered for the seeming lack of knowledge of how the pageant was financed. In the area of social benefit, some people responded as they did because of the militant Indian situation. The Key Informants remarked that they had come to know many

new friends because of their involvement with the pageant.

TABLE 13.--Baraga County Informant Images of the Pageant

	Key Informants (6)	Checkoff Informants (45)
<u>Awareness of Historical Development</u>		
Very aware.	6	8
Some awareness.	0	17
No awareness.	0	20
<u>View of Economic Benefit</u>		
Very beneficial.	4	16
Some benefit.	2	7
No benefit.	0	22
<u>Awareness of Financing</u>		
Very aware.	6	5
Some awareness.	0	13
No awareness.	0	27
<u>View of Social Benefit</u>		
Very beneficial.	6	16
Some benefit.	0	9
No benefit.	0	20
<u>View of Educational Benefit</u>		
Very beneficial.	6	19
Some benefit.	0	16
No benefit.	0	5

The responses shown in Table 14 suggest a rather poor communications relationship between the pageant leadership and the community at large. Not only were the Checkoff Informants not well aware of who was running the pageant, but they were also not sure of who was in the pageant. It was only natural, therefore, for the Checkoff Informants not to be able to speak to the need for more help. When the question of opposition was raised, however, there was almost total agreement

that "Indians" were the opposition. Some even mentioned "AIM" and "GLIYA," others made comments about "Indians from Minnesota and Wisconsin."

TABLE 14.--Baraga County Informant Images of Organization and Leaders

	Key Informants (6)	Checkoff Informants (45)
<u>Awareness of Pageant</u>		
<u>Leadership</u>		
Very aware.	6	10
Some awareness.	0	23
No awareness.	0	12
<u>Awareness of Persons Involved</u>		
<u>With the Pageant</u>		
Very aware.	6	6
Some awareness.	0	10
No awareness.	0	29
<u>Image of Need for More Help</u>		
Needed.	6	1
Not needed.	0	5
Don't know.	0	39
<u>Image of Opposition</u>		
No opposition.	0	6
Opposition.	6	39

It is interesting that in spite of the seeming general lack of knowledge concerning the producers and participants, there seems to be a rather positive view toward a revival of the pageant (see Table 15). Some informants, however, did suggest that it would be a pageant without "Indians." It should be noted that when Indians were mentioned, many people were quick to point out that they were talking about "outsiders," not the local Indians.

TABLE 15.--Baraga County Informant Images of the Future

	Key Informants (6)	Checkoff Informants (45)
<u>Future of the Pageant</u>		
Will be done again.	6	27
Finished.	0	8
No reaction	0	10
<u>Future of the Community</u>		
Positive change	5	18
No change	0	14
Negative change	0	0
No reaction	1	13
<u>Change Agents</u>		
Community organizations . .	4	6
Outside organizations . . .	2	2
Individuals	0	0
No one.	0	31
Industry.	0	6
<u>Opposition to Change</u>		
No one.	6	31
Outsiders	0	1
Individuals	0	13

Summary

Baraga County lies at the base of Keweenaw Bay in a little traveled part of Michigan's upper peninsula. The Baraga County Board of Commissioners, however, is quick to point out that ". . . 75 per cent of the county is within 35 miles of an urban center of 10,000 or more population." The County Seat is less than one hundred miles from two universities, Michigan Technological University and Northern Michigan University.

In 1968, Bernard Lambert, author of a biography of Baraga and President of the Baraga County Historical Society, Inc., visited St. Ignace during a presentation

of "The Black Gown Tree." He thought that it would be a good idea to have something like it in Baraga County, and he asked me if I would be willing write and direct such a pageant. Arrangements were made, and "Reflections of Ke-Wa-We-Non" was written and produced in July of 1969. The pageant was repeated in 1970, but this time militant Indians protested the production. Because of the events of 1970, the pageant was not repeated in 1971.

Fifty-one people were interviewed in Baraga County to determine their images of the pageant. Of the fifty-one, only eleven had been involved with the pageant in any way at any time. The majority of reasons given for not being involved centered around either being too busy or no reason at all. This seems to follow the general trend of not being involved in any community activity, since twenty of the fifty-one belonged to only one or two community organizations, and twenty-five belonged to none.

There also appeared to be a general lack of knowledge concerning the pageant development, leadership, participants, and financing. It appeared that the information available in the L'Anse Sentinel, the weekly newspaper, and on radio WMPL was not wholly grasped by the average member of the community.

Yet, in spite of the seeming lack of interest in the pageant, as well as the remembrance of the events

of 1970, there appears to be a positive attitude that a pageant will be done again. "A pageant" rather than the same pageant, since some people feel that it might be better without Indians. However, if any pageant is to be produced in Baraga County in the future, much work will have to be done by the producing organization to provide more wide-spread information, and obtain more participation.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

It was the intent of this study to determine whether generalizations concerning the development and continuance of pageants could be made through an examination of three Michigan communities in which pageants have been produced. It was hoped that factors of growth and development could be identified by virtue of the time differential in the age of each pageant considered. The purpose is twofold: the information gathered would be of benefit in assessing feasibility in other communities interested in embarking upon pageant production, and this study would provide a stimulus for further investigation.

Although the basic production practice and production organization were basically the same in each community, there were differences between communities. Baraga County, the largest community, was the home of the youngest pageant, "Reflections of Ke-Wa-We-Non." Geographically 'off the beaten track' and not a tourist oriented community, these factors were no deterrent to what must be considered a very successful first year of pageant production. However, following the events of

of 1970, the pageant seems doomed. Part of the fault for the demise of the pageant must be blamed on the effect of the militant Indian protest on the community. However, the militant Indians were a factor that no one had anticipated, and, given a stronger producing organization, should not have brought about the immediate end to pageantry in Baraga County.

The city of St. Ignace, the middle-sized community, is the home of the six-year-old pageant, "The Black Gown Tree." Geographically accessible to the tourist and generally conducive to his needs, St. Ignace would appear to be a good location for a successful pageant. The militant Indians have not attacked the pageant; yet, were it not for a determined producing organization, this pageant, too, would no longer be in production.

The village of Mackinaw City, the smallest community, is the home of the nine-year-old pageant, "Events at Michilimackinac," formerly "Massacre at Michilimackinac." Similar to St. Ignace, Mackinaw City is accessible to the tourist and conducive to his needs; however, Mackinaw City is more tourist oriented. The militant Indians picketed the 1970 performance, which brought about a series of meetings between the Pageant Committee and the Indians. These meetings brought about a change in the name of the pageant as well as changes in the actual performance. The militant Indians attended the 1971

production, but did not attempt to stop it. The Mackinaw City pageant seems the least likely of all to have problems continuing production.

It would appear from what was said above that the smaller the community, the more probable the success of a pageant. However, this conclusion is a bit too simplistic. What may actually be the case is that the concept of institutionalization has been supported.⁷⁴

GENERALIZATION: Although the size of the community is not necessarily of importance to the success of a pageant, the way in which the pageant becomes a part of the community is.

GENERALIZATION: The longer a pageant is produced, the greater the chance of institutionalization.

Historically, two of the pageants, Mackinaw City and St. Ignace, had similar development; the third, Baraga County, owes its development in a peripheral way to the other two. Both Mackinaw City and St. Ignace have a history of some type of pageant being done in the past. The current pageants were initiated in part by the Mackinac Bridge Authority as a means of increasing traffic across the bridge. The Mackinac Bridge Authority

⁷⁴ Broom and Selznick define institutionalization as ". . . the development of orderly, stable, socially integrating forms and structures out of unstable, loosely patterned, or merely technical types of action." Sociology, Third Edition (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), p. 250.

also acted in a supportive capacity during the early years, providing promotional assistance as well as man-power. One might speculate whether the Baraga County pageant might have weathered the events of 1970, if it had had an organization such as the Mackinac Bridge Authority supporting them. Indeed, the affect of the Executive Secretary of the Mackinac Bridge Authority on the Board of Directors of the Father Marquette Historical Production Association, Inc. may be a reason for the St. Ignace pageant continuing.

GENERALIZATION: Control people or organizations linked to a pageant producing organization can aid in the success of a pageant.

If one accepts the premise that the more knowledgeable a community feels it is about a community project, the more success prone the project will be, then it is possible to suggest possibilities of success by comparing the responses of the various community informants. Table 16 compares Checkoff Informant knowledge of both pageant leadership and participants.

TABLE 16.--Percentage of Checkoff Informants with Knowledge of Leaders or Persons Involved

	Mackinaw City	St. Ignace	Baraga
Knowledge of leadership	77	63	73
Knowledge of persons involved	86	63	35

It is interesting to note that both the newest and oldest pageant communities seem to be more aware of the leadership than St. Ignace. Based upon the premise stated above, this would suggest that St. Ignace is not as prone to success as the other communities [For the purpose of discussion, it is being assumed that Baraga County has not suspended production]. However, looking at the "knowledge of persons involved," it would appear that Baraga County exhibits a factor of non-success. Yet, in this situation it is possible to argue that limited production in a large community could be the reason.

This argument is strengthened when one looks at a comparison of the Checkoff Informant awareness of the historical development of the pageant (see Table 17).

TABLE 17.--Percentage of Checkoff Informants with an Awareness of Historical Development

Mackinaw City.	68
St. Ignace	30
Baraga County.	55

If a pageant is ". . . developed as an expression of strong local interest and feeling for the history of a community and its people,"⁷⁵ then it should follow that a community should have a strong awareness of how the pageant came about. After six years of production, one

⁷⁵Christian Moe, From History to Drama, p. 14.

would expect more than a 30 per cent awareness of development in St. Ignace. Again St. Ignace seems to be not prone to success.

Yet, in one area St. Ignace seems to be ahead of the other two communities, and this area is very important to the success of any pageant: finance. The figures in Table 18 in no way suggest success in obtaining the funds necessary for production, but rather suggest how well the producing organization informs the community of the way in which it gets the necessary funds for production. It would seem that secrecy of financing would tend to provoke suspicion on the part of the community toward the producing organization.

TABLE 18.--Percentage of Checkoff Informants with Knowledge of Financing

Mackinaw City.	54
St. Ignace	70
Baraga County.	40

The low figures for Mackinaw City and Baraga County would seem to suggest that these communities, if they decide to continue, should do more to acquaint the public with the knowledge of how the pageant is financed.

Acceptance of a second premise, i.e. the more closely allied the images of the Key Informant and Checkoff Informant are relative to community activity, the more success prone the activity will be, gives us another means of looking at the communities and

suggesting possibilities of success.

In Table 19 the images of the Key Informants and Checkoff Informants are compared. Once again, looking at the figures, St. Ignace does not appear prone to success.

TABLE 19.--Comparison of Images of the Future of the Pageants by Percentage

	Growth		No Change		No Reaction	
	K	C	K	C	K	C
Mackinaw City	100	73	0	27	0	0
St. Ignace	100	33	0	40	0	27

Baraga County was not included in this comparison since the question was phrased differently for them. Yet it should be noted that 60 per cent of the Checkoff Informants in Baraga County had a positive view of the possibility of the pageant being done again; the Key Informant figure was 100 per cent.

As it seems in Table 19 that there is a greater optimism toward the pageant in Mackinaw City than in St. Ignace, Table 20 seems to suggest that this optimism carries on into a view of the community also. St. Ignace, meanwhile, seems to exhibit apathy toward the community as well as the pageant.

TABLE 20.-- Comparison of Images of the Future of the Community by Percentage

	Positive Change		No Change		No Reaction	
	K	C	K	C	K	C
Mackinaw City	100	68	0	32	0	0
St. Ignace	100	47	0	42	0	11
Baraga County	83	40	0	31	17	29

Another area that might suggest something about St. Ignace is the reason for pageant participation. It is quite interesting to note that no informant in St. Ignace cited community pride as a reason for participation (see Table 21). Further, only 41 per cent of the St. Ignace informants were pageant participants as opposed to 65 per cent in Mackinaw City; Baraga County was the lowest with 22 per cent of the informants as participants.

TABLE 21.--Percentage Comparisons of Reasons for Participation

Reasons	Mackinaw City	St. Ignace	Baraga
Community pride	64	0	64
Asked	18	40	27
Fun	14	20	0
Other	4	40	9

In the three areas of pageant benefit, there does appear to be almost general agreement between the Key Informant and Checkoff Informant of all communities (see Table 22). The low figures among the Checkoff

Informants in Baraga County relative to economic and social benefit may have been colored by the events of 1970. Although these figures do not suggest success, they do suggest that the communities generally agree the pageant does good for their community.

TABLE 22.--Comparison of Images of Positive Pageant Benefits by Percentage

	Economic		Social		Educational	
	K	C	K	C	K	C
Mackinaw City	100	77	100	86	100	100
St. Ignace	100	70	100	72	100	93
Baraga County	100	51	100	56	100	78

The Baraga County pageant is no more; a product of outside interference and youth. Baraga County hadn't the time to strengthen itself to handle a situation posed by outside organizations such as the Great Lakes Indian Youth Alliance or the American Indian Movement. Mackinaw City is preparing for its tenth year of production having weathered attempts at disruption by the Great Lakes Indian Youth Alliance. Except for minor weaknesses in its structure, Mackinaw City seems to have the healthiest pageant situation. Whether St. Ignace will be preparing for its seventh year of production or not is unknown at this time. What does seem to be the situation in St. Ignace as far as the pageant is concerned is not good. It appears that if the pageant were not produced any longer the community at

large would not really miss it.

Suggestions for Further Research

As mentioned earlier, it is hoped that this study will provide stimulus to further research. It is not suggested that such research be undertaken by a student of Theatre only; rather, it is suggested that people in other fields might be interested in what has been suggested in this study.

Several thoughts concerning further research are offered, it is hoped, as a beginning:

The methodology could, and perhaps should be refined. The three communities could then be studied once again testing the new methodology, or, if they can be found, three new communities could be studied.

It might be interesting to return to the communities after a period of some years to 1) see if the pageants are still being produced [in the case of Baraga County to see if they did produce again], and 2) to see if the various images remained fairly constant.

The total effect of the arrival of the militant Indian in Baraga County in 1970 would be an interesting area to explore.

Finally, it is hoped that this attempt at an interdisciplinary approach to a theatrical venture will stimulate, suggest, etc. further research of a similar nature from those with a background in either theatre or sociology or other seemingly diverse disciplines.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sources Consulted

Books

- Broom, Leonard, and Selznick, Philip. Sociology. 3rd ed. New York: Harper and Row, 1963.
- Dierholf, Claude E. The Pageant Drama and American Pageantry. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1953.
- Flanagan, Hallie. Arena. New York: Duell, Sloane and Pearce, 1940.
- French, Robert Mills. The Community: A Comparative Perspective. Itaska, Illinois: F.E. Peacock, 1969.
- Lewis, Ferris E. My State and Its Story. Hillsdale, Michigan: Hillsdale School Supply Company, 1949.
- McCalmon, George, and Moe, Christian. Creating Historical Drama. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1965.
- Michigan: A Guide to the Wolverine State. New York: Oxford University Press, 1941.
- Moe, Christian. From History to Drama. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1958.
- Nute, Grace Lee. Lake Superior. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1944.
- Quaife, Milo M. Lake Michigan. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1944.
- _____, and Glazer, Sidney. Michigan: From Primitive Wilderness to Industrial Commonwealth. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1948.
- Redfield, Robert. The Little Community. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955.

Articles and Reports

- Alchin, Edmond. A Reconnaissance Research Plan for Community Development. Institute for Community Development, Michigan State University, 1965. Technical Bulletin B-49.
- _____; Donoghue, John; Ishino, Iwao; and Marquis, Stewart. A Holistic Approach to Community Development. Institute for Community Development, Michigan State University, 1960. Technical Bulletin B-41.
- Baraga County Planning Commission. Future Land Use Plan for Baraga County, Michigan. April, 1970.
- _____. Recreation Planning in Baraga County. November, 1969.
- Blank, Uel; Gunn, Clare A.; and Johnson, Johnson and Roy, Inc. Guidelines for Tourism-Recreation in Michigan's Upper Peninsula. Upper Peninsula Committee for Area Progress. November, 1966.
- Carter, James L. "L'Anse Shown on 1668 Map," Baraga County Historical Pageant Souvenir Book, 1969, p. 8.
- Community Development - A Handbook. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1958.
- Evans, Robert. "An Eye on Everything," Sudbury Star (June 3, 1963), p. 13.
- McClusky, Howard Y. "A Dynamic Approach to Participation in Community Development," Journal of the Community Development Society. I, No. 1, (1970), pp. 25-32.
- Sanders, Irwin T. "Theories of Community Development," Rural Sociology. XXIII, No. 1, (March, 1958), pp. 1-12.
- Schmidt, William. "Militant Indians to Converge on Michilimackinac Pageant," Detroit Free Press (May 23, 1971), p. 9.

U.S. Department of Commerce. "Advance Report, Final Population Counts," 1970 Census of Population. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971.

_____. 1960 Census of Population. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961.

Newspapers

Cheboygan Daily Tribune, May 31, June 3, 1963; June 1, 1964; May 11, 18, 29, June 1, 1965; May 13, 24, 31, 1966.

Detroit Free Press, July 27, 1970.

Detroit News, July 19, 1970.

Evening News (Sault Ste. Marie), July 31, 1971.

L'Anse Sentinel, July 2-25, 1969; July 15, 1970.

Souvenir Books

Baraga County Historical Pageant Souvenir Book, 1969, 1970, Baraga County, Michigan.

The Pere Marquette Pageant at St. Ignace Souvenir Book, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, St. Ignace, Michigan.

Other Sources

Baraga County Tourist Association By-laws, 1971. (Mimeographed.)

Desy, Raymond. Letter to Gerald Chingwa, March 20, 1971.

Coffman, George. Clipping Collection. Mackinaw City, Michigan.

Great Lakes Indian Youth Alliance. Conditions, Baraga County, Michigan, July 24, 1970. (Typewritten.)

_____. Leaflet, Mackinaw City, Michigan, May, 1971.

_____. Objections, Mackinaw City, Michigan, March, 1971. (Typewritten.)

_____. Protest Flyer, Baraga County, Michigan, June, 1970.

Lambert, Bernard. Letter to prospective donors,
Baraga County, Michigan, Date Unknown. (Type-
written.)

Mackinaw City Re-enactment Promotional Flyer, May, 1964.

Personal Interviews, Baraga County, Michigan, 1970-1971.

_____, Mackinaw City, Michigan, 1970-1971.

_____, St. Ignace, Michigan, 1970-1971.

Walker, John A. "Prospectus for Mackinac Historical
Drama, Inc., 1962," Mackinaw City, Michigan.
(Mimeographed.)

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

EVENTS AT MICHILIMACKINAC

Production Fact Sheet

Site

The production is staged on the grounds of Fort Michilimackinac in Mackinaw City, Michigan. The southern stockade, Land Gate, and a French trader's house provide the setting. Admission to the Fort is free to see the pageant; however, following the pageant, persons interested in visiting the Fort exhibits must purchase admission.

Seating

Bleacher seating for approximately 4,000 is made available by Mackinaw City. The bleachers are brought from the High School football field to the Fort during the week prior to performance by members of the Pageant Committee; the bleachers are removed the week following the performance.

Sound

Narration and most of the music and sound effects are provided by tape and public address system. Narra-

tion is done 'live,' other character voices are on tape. transitional and mood music is provided by tape. Parade drums, Indian drums, and gunshots are 'live.' Sound is controlled from the southeast blockhouse of the Fort. In the past sound has been controlled from the Land Gate blockhouse, a truck cab, and a portable sound booth built by the Pageant Committee.

Makeup

Standard theatrical makeup is used on the "Indians." The formula used is similar to that used in Unto These Hills. No makeup, other than 'blood,' is used on the other performers. Blood is made from poster paint.

Makeup is applied in assembly line fashion by members of the makeup committee at the High School. The performers are then taken to the pageant site by bus. During the first four years of the pageant, makeup was applied at the Fort; however, the facilities were extremely limited.

Costumes

Originally rented, costumes now fall into two categories: personal property and pageant property. In the early years of the pageant, those individuals who could afford the expense purchased their own costumes. This had the effect, in some instances, of guarantying the owner of the costume a specific role.

Uniforms for the two armies have been subsidized

in part by the Pageant Committee. The actual sewing and, at times, the design, has been done by the wives of the men in the 'armies.' Indian costumes are subsidized also; assembly is done by cast members. Muzzle loaders, traders, and trappers provide their own costumes.

Properties

Properties such as bagattaway sticks, balls, tepees, and bundles are built and maintained by the properties committee. The High School shop is utilized when necessary. Flags are borrowed from the Fort. Army rifles were purchased; muzzle loader rifles are owned by the individuals. The army rifles are toys.

Storage

Most of the pageant equipment is stored in the attic of the Chamber of Commerce building. Some costumes are stored by the performer.

Rehearsal

Generally three or four days of rehearsal just prior to the first performance is all that is necessary to re-acquaint the performers with the production. When the weather is good, rehearsals are held at the Fort; when the weather is not good, rehearsals are held at the High School gym. Rehearsals are held late in the afternoon. There is usually one semi-dress rehearsal.

Script"Events at Michilimackinac"

by

Robert Stern

NARRATOR: Nearly three centuries ago, across the Straits of Mackinac to the north, before the majestic Mackinac Bridge spanned that great waterway, the French established a fort on the present site of St. Ignace. In 1715 they moved south across the straits to this site and built a new fort, Fort Michilimackinac.

You see before you a reconstruction of that original fort, made from plans set down over two centuries ago. The stockade, the blockhouses, and several of the buildings have been carefully restored on the same foundations and footings of the original structures. It is due to the efforts of the Mackinac Island State Park Commission that you, today, are able to view the fort as it was seen by the British, the French, the Chippewa, the Huron, the Ottawa, and the Menominee over two hundred years ago.

Today the citizens of Mackinaw City, cultural heirs of those who first were here, are going to dramatize some of the events of that by-gone era as they might have happened; events that have stamped the name of Fort Michilimackinac indelibly into the history of Michigan and of the United States.

Military life has not changed much for the outpost soldier. Today, as every day, the French Commandant officiates at the raising of the colors.

The force is small, but far superior to the Chippewa because of their firepower. And so it is that when the Commandant inspects the troops and finds that a man has not properly cared for his kit, he speaks harshly to the Sergeant, who, of course, mentions it to the Private.

All this delights the Chippewa and French traders who have been watching.

When the ceremonies are over, the soldiers and their families join the Chippewa families at the displays of the traders.

Fort Michilimackinac was located in the midst of a traditional Indian-Trader gathering place. Here the Chippewa, Huron, Ottawa, and Menominee met in peace bringing furs to trade with the French. The fort was maintained by the French because it enabled them to control the waterway connecting Lakes Huron and Michigan, one of the main arteries leading from Montreal and Quebec in the east to the wealth of the west--the fur trade.

The Indians traded their furs for many things from the traders and from the commander of the fort. There were the colorful and very practical trade blankets, the colorful trade beads, the clay pipes, and, of course, the metal tomahawks desired by many of the warriors.

Today a new item is offered to the Indians traders; the trade gun, the muzzle-loader, which is to become so vital to the Indian for hunting and protection. This weapon was soon to become the "equalizer" of the northwest.

The gun trader is demonstrating the way in which the gun is prepared for firing. He measures the charge; places the patch and ball; gives them a short start and then cuts the excess patch; now he rams the ball and patch; he primes the pan, and the gun is ready for firing.

Although it might appear that the procedure for loading takes a long time, the men who used these weapons quickly developed a rapid procedure, as well as a sense of accuracy still wondered at today.

To get these important products of the white-man's civilization, the Indians brought furs they had trapped all through the winter in the lands and lakes to the north, the upper peninsula, Minnesota, and Ontario.

This was a rich and risky trade in which a fortune could be made in a season, and a life lost in a minute for a foolish gesture; for not all understood each other's ways. But the promise of adventure and perhaps wealth attracted these hardy men and their families. And generally they were accepted and taught by the Indian.

Life for these people was not easy, for they were in a strange land with strange peoples, and they had few of the comforts they had known. However, they managed to create a sense of community spirit which is not uncommon in the small towns of the twentieth century. Perhaps one of the most important factors in maintaining this community life was the establishment of a mission at these new world outposts.

The Jesuit missionaries came before the traders and with the traders to Christianize the Indian. In the settlements, such as this one at Fort Michilimackinac, they ministered to the faith and ills of their own people. The missionary priest also provided these people with a means for educating the young. There is no doubt in the minds of these people as to the importance of the "Black Gowns" in the community life in this new and rugged land.

In 1761, English fur traders also came to Michilimackinac to seize a share of the fabled fur trade which had been the envied monopoly of the French for so long. For this reason the English were not welcomed by the French; they were merely tolerated.

There is Henry Bostwick, the first of the English traders to arrive. He will be a prominent trader in these regions for many decades. The man meeting him is Ezekial Solomon, Michigan's first Jewish resident. He is also a rather prosperous trader. And here comes Alexander Henry to join them. Henry is a native of New Jersey. He will write a classic account of his life on the frontier, and his role in the events at Michilimackinac.

Perhaps, at this very moment, he is telling his friends of a visit he had from the Chippewa chief, Minavavana. Here is the tale in Henry's own words.

HENRY:

At two o'clock in the afternoon, the Chippewas came to the house, about sixty in number, and headed by Minavavana, their chief. . . . Their chief entered first, and the rest followed without noise. . . . Minavavana appeared to be about fifty years of age. He was six feet in height. . . . The Indians smoked their pipes, while I inwardly endured the tortures of suspense. . . [then] Minavavana . . . began the following speech:

MINAVAVANA:

Englishman, it is to you that I speak . . . you know that the French king is our father. He promised to be such; and we, in return promised to be his children. This promise we have kept. Englishman, it is you that have mad war with this our father. You are his enemy; and how then could you have the boldness to venture among us, his children? . . . Englishman, your king has never sent us any present, nor entered into any treaty with us; wherefore he and we are still at war; and, until he does these things, we must consider that we have no other father, nor friend, among the white men, than the King of France But for you, . . . you do not come armed, with the intention to make war. . . . We shall regard you, therefore, as a brother; and you sleep tranquilly, without fear of the Chippewas.

NARRATOR:

Henry seems to be very lucky to have friends among the Indians. Such friendship will be very helpful later. Here comes another friend of Henry's. This time it is Chief Wawatam.

WAWATAM:

Alexander Henry, my friend, I have come to see you. Early in my life I prayed to the Great Spirit for guidance, and during this period it was revealed to me that later in my life I would meet a white man whom I should adopt as a son, friend, and brother. It is you who are sent by my guiding spirit to fulfill my revelations. Here are gifts I wish you to accept to show your acceptance of me.

HENRY:

My thanks Wawatam. Now you must come with me to my shop so that I may offer gifts in return. Come with us Ezekial and Henry.

NARRATOR:

Little does Alexander Henry know how fortunate this adoption is. It will later save his life.

Meanwhile in Europe, England and France battle for supremacy of the Old World, and for the vast wealth of the New World: its fur trade and rich land.

Here at the mighty Straits of Mackinac is the gateway from Quebec and Montreal to the teeming wealth of the western North American continent. The power that controls the Straits, can control the flow of that wealth to Quebec and thence to the coffers of the European monarchs.

That European war is known on this continent as the French and Indian War. Here at Fort Michilimackinac the British win a decisive victory. With control of Fort Michilimackinac, the British bring a temporary halt to hostilities in this area.

Charles Langlade is the Fort's acting commander. He is a French frontier hero and adventurer who will later write that he regretted that he had fought in only ninety-nine battles. Now he must surrender this fort to Captain Henry Balfour of the Royal Americans. The date is 1761.

LANGLADE:

With the lowering of this flag, and with my sword, I surrender Fort Michilimackinac to you, Captain Balfour.

BALFOUR:

Commander Langlade! In the name of His Majesty, King George the Third, I hereby take command of this Fort. For your personal bravery, I return your sword, and permit your men to retain their arms.

NARRATOR:

This changing of the flags marks the end of the reign of Louis the Fifteenth in the American northwest, and the beginning of British rule under His Britannic Majesty, George the Third, an imperious and inflexible tyrant who incurred not only the wrath of the Indian Nations, but eventually forced the New England colonies to revolt against the throne.

Captain Balfour continues to the west leaving the Fort in possession of Lieutenant William Leslie and twenty-eight men.

After the British take possession of Fort Michilimackinac and the other French posts to the west, there is general unrest among the Indians. There is rivalry and tension among the tribes; ancient feuds which end in quick and violent death are renewed.

It is June 2, 1762, a fateful pre-sagement of what is to come. A Menominee is suddenly killed by Chippewa tribesmen. They act in retaliation for the death of some Chippewa at the hands of the Menominee.

Both the white community and the Indian are disturbed by what has happened. Chief Minavavana comes to the fort to apologize to the new English Garrison Commander, Captain George Etherington, who had arrived that spring.

MINAVAVANA:

Minavavana is sorry for what had happened. Not for the death of the Menominee, but for having disturbed the peace of the white man's fort. We mean no harm to the white man. To show my good faith, here, for the Captain, is a slave.

NARRATOR:

Captain Etherington accepts the apology of Minavavana, and everything seems peaceful and friendly again.

The peace is only on the surface, however. For although the Indians fight amongst themselves, they all agree that they are unhappy under the British. Long accustomed to the friendly and flattering

ways of the French, the Indians are disappointed and angered when the English do not ply them with presents as the French had.

Probably the most serious situation is the failure of the English to furnish the Indians with sufficient ammunition and powder for the trade guns to enable them to kill the game they need to live.

MINAVAVANA: Captain Etherington! It is necessary that you allow us more ammunition for our weapons. We do not have enough to provide for our families.

ETHERINGTON: I'm sorry, Minavavana, but my orders are to provide just what I have been giving you. To give you more would be to go against my orders, and you know that I can't do that. I'm sorry.

MINAVAVANA: Captain! My people will starve! Their death will be on your head!

NARRATOR: The French traders who have remained tell Wawatam and Minavavana that they will get nothing from the British but words; that the British wish them to starve to weaken them; that more British will come to take the land from the weak Indians. These arguments fan the flames of hatred toward the British, and bitterness toward them spreads through the northwest like a plague.

Near Detroit, Pontiac, the Ottawa leader, calls for a great council of war. He whips his followers into a war frenzy and sends runners to the chiefs of all tribes in his domain. The runners tell the chiefs of a great plan devised by Pontiac: the annihilation of all British outposts in the northwest. Pontiac will seize Detroit, and each chief is to seize the military post in his area.

Minavavana gathered his advisors and formed a plot for the seizure of Fort Michilimackinac. He sets June as the time for the attack, and word is sent to the tribes to assemble at Fort Michilimackinac for a bagattaway contest.

The Indians begin to gather in great numbers around the stockade. Among them are a band of Sauk Indians from the Wisconsin River. Then, as now, not far away to the southwest are the villages of the Ottawa at L'Abre Croche, the Cross Village and Good Hart areas.

As the morning of June 2, 1763 dawns, Captain Etherington finds nothing amiss in the number of Indians gathered around his fortifications, and does not react to the heavily blanketed women. Although his thirty-five men are hopelessly outnumbered, he is sure that the Indians will not attack a fortification as well armed as Fort Michilimackinac; beside the small arms, there are cannon in the blockhouses, six pounders.

Etherington has not yet heard of Pontiac's seige of Fort Detroit. And despite several warnings of impending disaster, he sends word to his superiors that "Everything seems in perfect tranquility."

Today, as they had for several days, the Indian men were going to play a game of bagattaway on the grounds outside the fort. The soldiers come out of the fort in anticipation of the sport. The game will be between the hometown favorites, Minavavana's Chippewa, and the visitors from Wisconsin, the Sauk. Etherington and some of his men have placed their money on the local tribe, making them the sentimental favorite to win.

Bagattaway was a popular Indian sport; today we call it lacrosse, after the French, and play it in schools and colleges in Canada and the Eastern United States. The way the Indian played it, it was more like mass mayhem; indeed, it was often called "little war." Each player is equipped with a stick that has webbing at one end. The object is to catch, carry, and throw a small stuffed leather ball with this stick. A goal is scored by knocking the ball through the posts at the opponent's end of the field. The

teams play until a pre-determined number of points are scored. It had happened that games lasted for several days. Replacements were no problem since as many could play as desired.

In a seeming gesture of good-will, Minavavana asks Captain Etherington to start the game. Honored, Etherington sends for his family to watch with him.

The game is on!

The game is merely a part of Minavavana's plan to take over the fort. He realizes the power of the cannon in the blockhouses, and he also realizes that surprise is necessary for the success of his plan. The ball is to go over the stockade three times; the first time no Indian will go after the ball; the second time one Indian will attempt to enter the fort to get it; if this Indian is allowed in, a group of Indians will go after the ball the third time and thus be inside for the attack. In order to make sure that there is no mistake that the next time the ball goes over the stockade the attack should begin, the ball will be put into play by Minavavana as a signal.

While the game is being played, more Indians arrive from Saginaw by canoe. One of the English merchants, Mr. Tracy, notices their arrival -- no one else does. Tracy goes to see what these Indians want. They, fearing he knows of the plot, kill him. Tracy is the first to die this day--no one sees it. The plot is still not discovered.

Minavavana is putting the ball into play, the next time the ball goes over it will mean the attack will begin. Will it be successful? Do the British suspect anything?

The ball is over the wall. A few braves are allowed into the fort. The plot has succeeded. The attack is on.

Alexander Henry, who is inside the fort when the attack begins, later wrote in his diary:

HENRY:

Going instantly to the window, I saw a crowd of Indians within the fort furiously cutting down and scalping every Englishman they found.

I had in the room in which I was, a fowling piece loaded with swan shot. This I immediately seized and held for a moment, waiting to hear the drum beat to arms.

In this dreadful interval, I saw several of my countrymen fall, and more than one struggling between the knees of an Indian, who, holding him in this manner, scalped him while yet living.

NARRATOR:

Henry Bostwick wrote that he saw a soldier racing toward the open door of a French home with the Indians in hot pursuit. The door was closed in the soldier's face, and he was struck in the head with a tomahawk. In the house that had denied the soldier refuge were Alexis Sejourne, his wife, and twelve year old daughter.

Minavavana's plan had succeeded. It was all over in a few moments. Captain Etherington and Lt. Leslie are taken prisoner. Lt. Jamet has been killed. Twenty soldiers and one trader have been killed. Ezekial Solomon, Henry Bostwick, and Alexander Henry are taken captive after being discovered hiding in a garret. The French are unharmed.

For the survivors the outlook is bleak indeed. A group of Ottawa from L'Abre Croche arrive late, and are furious with Minavavana for not being told of his plan. They demand captives in payment for the insult, and, after much parley, some of the English prisoners are turned over to them.

Minavavana decides to leave the fort and regroup his forces across the straits in villages on Mackinac Island. Once there a victory celebration is held, and during it, thanks to his friendship with Wawatam, Alexander Henry escapes to hide in the caves and forests of the island.

Within a year, fresh British troops under the command of Captain William Howard re-occupied Fort Michilimackinac. Peaceful relations were once again restored between the English and the Indian.

Peace, however, did not last long for Minavavana. In 1770 he was killed by Mr. Bruce, an English trader who had had his goods stolen by Minavavana's warriors during the summer of 1763.

In 1781 the British abandoned this fortification and moved the garrison to Mackinac Island. In a few decades nothing was left of this fort, Fort Michilimackinac, one of the most famous on the American Frontier.

Now, over two centuries later, we are able to enter this restored fort and experience the daily life of those people, Indian and white, who once hunted, played, fought, and died for those things held dear to them. On this little patch of ground, and in nameless meadows and forests throughout this land, men and women died for the spirit of freedom.

It is in this spirit that the citizens of Mackinaw City re-create each year this bit of their history.

FINIS

APPENDIX B

THE BLACK GOWN TREE

Production Fact Sheet

Site

The production is staged at Kiwanis Beach, a bathing beach along State Street in St. Ignace that is right across from the site of the grave of Father Marquette. A section of the beach is roped off to establish the actual stage area. The natural setting serves as scenery. Traffic on State Street is limited to two lanes during the pageant.

Seating

Bleachers capable of seating approximately 500 people are borrowed from the county fair grounds and are moved to the site a few days prior to performance by city crews. They are removed the day following the production.

Sound

Narration, music, and sound effects are provided by tape and public address system. Narration is 'live.' Prior to the 1971 performance, the character voices

were taped; at the 1971 performance the character voices were done 'live' by the narrator and director. Transitional and mood music was generally taped; the 1971 performance used less transitional and mood music than in the past. The portable sound booth used in Mackinaw City is used in St. Ignace. The Mackinac Bridge Authority usually transports the booth.

Makeup

Standard theatrical makeup is used on the "Indians." No makeup is used by the other performers. Makeup is applied by members of the makeup committee at the Knights of Columbus Hall. The performers are then taken to the pageant site by bus. The system used is quite similar to Mackinaw City.

Costumes

Most costumes were built and maintained by members of the costume committee. Some costumes from the old Knights of Columbus pageants are utilized. Those cast members who play voyageurs make their own. The Boy Scout dancers also supply their own costumes.

Properties

Most properties such as tepees, shawamagon, trade goods, and canoe covers are built and maintained by the committee. The Boy Scout dancers supply their dance properties. Canoes are borrowed from the Boy

Scout Council. They are picked up by members of the committee and returned after the production.

Storage

Most pageant materials are stored in the Knights of Columbus Hall. Some performers keep and maintain their own equipment.

Rehearsal

Generally, three or four rehearsals are all that are needed to re-acquaint the performers with the action. These rehearsals usually begin at five o'clock in the afternoon on the Monday prior to performance. As long as the weather is good, the rehearsal is carried out on the pageant site. In the event of inclement weather, the Knights of Columbus Hall is used for rehearsal. The first performance on Friday sometimes is the first time that most of the performers appear together. For this reason it is considered by many as the dress rehearsal.

Script

"The Black Gown Tree"

by

Robert Stern

NARRATOR:

Good afternoon and welcome to St. Ignace and THE BLACK GOWN TREE. This afternoon the community of St. Ignace will re-create some of the events which might very well have taken place on this site over three hundred years ago.

The writings of that time indicate that it was probably on this spot, at this very time of year, that Pere Jacques Marquette, missionary of the Society of Jesus and emissary of France, landed on these shores with a small band of Huron Indians. Here he built the mission of St. Ignace, named in honor of Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Jesuit order. Here Louis Jolliet came to take Pere Marquette on an exploration that was to make them a part of our American history. Here were returned the bones of Jacques Marquette two years after his death. And here the City of St. Ignace began.

Let us return, now, to a time before the arrival of Pere Marquette, and let the memory of those who were here before us guide our journey.

NARRATOR 2:

Many times had the Northwind clothed the land and trees in white, and covered the waters with a shining surface. Many times has the Southwind come with her warm smile to return the land and the trees to their coverings of green, and the waters to a rippling blue. Many times have my people walked through these lands in search of food and furs. For this, this land that you see around you, this great water before you, this was the land and water of my people: the Ojibwa and the Ottawa.

When it is the time of peace, life in the village is pleasant. All know what work there is to do, and all go about this work. There would be women to tend the cooking fire, women to gather firewood, women to care for the very young and instruct them, and women to ready hides so that they would easily be made into clothing and moccasins. The men of the village also had their work to do. Some braves would take to their canoes and search the clear waters for the fish which would provide food for our stomachs, needles for the women's sewing, and fertilizer for our crops. Some braves would go forth to hunt in the great forests, others would remain to teach the ways of the bow and arrow to the younger braves.

This day, then, began as many days had in the past. Then, all at once, the braves who were fishing paddled into shore and told the women to return to the village; for a strange canoe was approaching, and in this canoe were strange men, whose skin was pale as the clouds. Our Chief went to the shore to meet these strangers to find out their desires. These men greeted the Chief in peace, and said that they came to trade. They showed their wares to the Chief and made him a gift of a fine metal tomahawk. Accepting the gift as well as the peaceful intent of these strangers, the Chief sent to the village for all to see the things offered for trade.

The white man brought many things to trade with my people. He brought knives and tomahawks of metal, stronger than any we owned or made. He brought blankets which were warm for the outside, and he brought rum which was warm for the inside. Many would trade with the white man for these things, for all that he asked in return was furs, which were plentiful to our people.

The white man also brought tales of wonder to our ears. He spoke of the lands across the great waters to the

east, and of the peoples who lived there in great lodges of stone. He spoke of a great Manitou who lived high above the clouds and was a father to all white men. And he told us of the priests of this Kitchie Manitou who would one day come to us and teach us how we too could be the children of the Kitchie Manitou. He told us that these priests, these Mekatewikwanaie of Kitchie Manitou, would be all in black like the night. There was fear in our hearts from this tale, but none would show it to these white men.

One night the council drum called to us, and we of the village went to the council ring. The white trader also came to the council fire, for this was a place of peace and friendship.

Our council this night was of great importance, for the young braves were to show their skill at dancing; one of the many skills they must show before full acceptance as men of the tribe. They would do the pipe dance, which is a type of competition dance, and then they would do the dance of the night and the day, a dance that would protect us against the magic of the black priests. The dance shows that in spite of the black of night, the day, with the Great Spirit, always returns triumphant.

This was our heritage, this singing and dancing away of our troubles; but to the white man this was a time of gaiety, and he desired to perform. This we accepted, since we had no desire to shame him in his ignorance.

When all was done, we offered a prayer to the Great Spirit that all would be well for us and our visitors. Then we went to our tepees warm with the knowledge that our dance and prayer would keep us safe from harm, and warm also with the blankets and the rum of the white trader.

Life is pleasant when there is peace and the sun is warm, and my people went

about their daily work with joy and tranquillity in their hearts. Then there came a morning when the women and children were tending the cooking fires and preparing our food, that a shout was heard from the shore. Several canoes were approaching; Huron canoes! Who were these who were coming, and what was their desire? The braves sent the women and children back to the tepees while they stood ready. For, although this was a place of peace, there were always some who would not leave it so.

As the canoes came closer we saw something which brought more fear to us than the possibility of battle with the Huron. There in one of the canoes was a black priest, one such as we had heard about. Had he made magic on the Huron? Was he now bringing them here to destroy us?

The white traders who were in our camp told us to hold our weapons. The priest comes in peace, they said; wait to hear his message, they begged us. We agreed.

The canoes came to the shore and the priest and the Huron walked toward us. The priest carried a small tree with a man upon it in one hand, and the other hand was raised in the sign of peace. It was then that we realized how foolish we had been. The priest was not covered all in black as we thought; he was only a white man in a black gown.

When the Huron and the Black Gown were close enough, the Black Gown spoke to us in our own tongue:

MARQUETTE:

My children, I am called Pere Marquette. I come to you with these, my followers, in peace. I come to you to make here a home for the Great Spirit, Father of all. I come to you from a place where we have been forced to flee because of those who desire to make war. We do not make war, and come to you in peace. Accept us here in this way, and I will bring the word of peace to you.

CHIEF:

Black Gown of the Great Spirit, you and the Huron are welcome here if you come in peace. Here there is food and game plentiful for all. We welcome you to this place, our home. It can be your home also. Rest now, and later we will meet in council together.

NARRATOR:

The Black Gown thanked my people for this welcome. Then he went to the Huron who had come with him and led them to a place where he held the small tree high and began a ceremony. My people feared that this was some evil magic, but the traders among us told us that the Black Gown was giving thanks to his Father. Then they, too, went to the ceremony.

The braves gathered to laugh about this man in the blackgown who came armed only with a small tree and who called us children. He, who knew so little of the ways of our land, was more of a child than our youngest.

The time was late in the period of the Southwind; by the white man's count, the year was 1671. This Black Gown who came to us, called Pere Marquette, was from a great land across the great water to the east. The land was called France, and it was ruled by a great King called Louis the Fourteenth, who was a great leader in a place called Europe.

The Black Gown, Marquette, had arrived in our land five years before he arrived on our shore. He had been with the Huron at Saint Esprit, and had traveled west with them to escape the threats of the Iroquois. Then troubles developed between the Huron and the Nadouessi, the Iroquois of the west called the Sioux. It was because of these troubles that the Black Gown and his followers now came to our place.

In the days to follow, the Black Gown, Marquette, began to build a home for their Great Spirit. This home was to be of the same kind as those of my people. Meanwhile my people would watch with

great interest, and the children peeked from behind their parents at the Black Gown. Sometimes he would gather the children about him and teach them a song of his God. We did not mind, since it might be a song of great medicine and be useful to them. Many of the elders also learned the songs.

Many of the warriors were not sure this singing was good and they would go to where the Black Gown was and drag their children and families away. Pere Marquette would ask that they not harm the children and elders, and would plead with them to let him continue. The warriors did not listen. The Black Gown was saddened by this, but not discouraged, for he seemed to understand the ways of my people.

MARQUETTE:

"One must have patience with savage minds who have no other knowledge than of the devil, whose slaves they and all their forefathers have been; and frequently relapse into those sins in which they have been reared. God alone can give firmness to their fickle minds, and place and maintain them in grace, and touch their hearts while we stammer into their ears."¹

NARRATOR:

In the days that followed, the Black Gown visited with my people and spoke with them. He told them that he was not a "great priest," as they called him, but only one who was true to his calling. He spoke of God, and of His son who died so that all would be forgiven their evil deeds. This story touched the hearts of my people, for they understood how one must be brave when in enemy hands to show that his people are brave.

Each day that the Black Gown and his followers met, more of my people would go to the meeting. And although many were accepting the teachings of the Black Gown, many of the warriors would stand outside the meeting and make fun of those who entered. My people would motion for them to stop, but the Black Gown only

smiled and showed them no anger. This made the warriors angry and finally they would stalk away.

One day, after one of the meetings of the Black Gown, a young warrior called Running Deer went to Pere Marquette and said:

RUNNING DEER: Kitchie Mekatewikwanaie, I wish to be one of your followers; instruct me in what I must do.

MARQUETTE: Running Deer, it is good that you wish to be with us, but you must know that these are not my followers; no, I am but poor Pere Marquette, servant of Christ; a guide to those who wish to follow Christ. Know also that the trail is not an easy one; one must be sure that he wishes to travel it; he must know in his heart as well as in his body. Many will be the temptations offered you as you try to live as one of us, and you must not surrender to them. Knowing this, do you still wish to try?

RUNNING DEER: If it is to be your follower, yes, I wish.

MARQUETTE: Not my follower, my son, but to follow God.

RUNNING DEER: I still wish.

MARQUETTE: Then come with me, and we will begin your teaching.

NARRATOR: Running Deer found that the Black Gown spoke truly; it would be difficult to be a follower of the white man's God, for he spoke of peace and kindness, and the warrior deals with death and cruelty.

Many times Running Deer went with the Black Gown to learn of the white man's God and of the magic of the Black Gown tree where the son of this God was tied. And many more times Running Deer spoke with the Black Gown, for Pere Marquette would not accept anyone to his church until he was sure they had fully accepted and understood his teachings.

Running Deer told his fellow warriors that there was much strength in the Black Gown's teaching, and that they, too, should accept this new God. The other warriors laughed and told Running Deer that soon he would be wearing women's dress like the Black Gown. This was too great an insult for Running Deer to take, and he wished to fight with those who had offended the good Pere Marquette and himself.

MARQUETTE:

Hold thy hand Running Deer! Remember how I taught you love of one's enemies, and how thou shouldst turn the other cheek? It is during these trying times when the true love of God is put to the test.

NARRATOR:

The warriors laughed at this and walked away. Running Deer wished still to follow and fight, but the Black Gown smiled at him, and shook his head. Running Deer understood and returned to his dwelling. As he did so, the Black Gown looked upward and seemed to say thank you.

Soon the day came when the dwelling of the Black Gown's God was completed, and all who had come to understand the ways of this God came to gather in thanksgiving. Pere Marquette looked with approval upon the crowd as they gathered. For he saw that the crowd increased with each meeting, and he knew that he was successful in his teachings.

Then Pere Marquette saw Running Deer and the two braves who had joined him running toward him and shouting. The Black Gown wondered at this, and he called them to him to ask the trouble.

RUNNING DEER:

My Father, I fear there will be trouble here. You know that there are some who do not welcome your being here; they fear their spirits will be angered. We have heard some whispers that on the day of your great ceremony, today, that some would come here for a test of strength. We do not fear the test, for we believe in the strength of God and the magic of

your tree; but we fear that those who will come here have been passing the rum too freely. Their wits will be clouded and their anger quick.

NARRATOR:

Pere Marquette thanked Running Deer and his friends and told them not to fear, that all would be well. But inwardly, the good father knew that there could be great trouble, for he had heard how the rum worked for the spirits of evil with my people.

There was no time for worry now; the people were assembled for the first Mass in the new Mission. If he were to show fear and send them back to their dwellings, all that he had worked for would be destroyed; he had to continue. As he turned to my people, a sound of a drum came from the village. Walking toward him were the warriors with their weapons ready.

The file of braves walked slowly toward Pere Marquette; then, when they were but a few feet from him they stopped. The drumming stopped also, and there was not a sound. The leader of the braves stared at Pere Marquette, who stood holding his tree before him. Then the Black Gown spoke.

MARQUETTE:

My children, why do you come here with such ceremony, and with your weapons so? Have I chosen a time for my meeting that is the same as yours? Tell me, for I wish only peace with my children. If you have come in ceremony to join with us in celebrating the completion of our mission, you are welcome. Come and join us, for all are welcome here.

NARRATOR:

The braves stood still for a moment. Then the leader turned and told his followers to return to the village. They could not fight this man who showed no fear and spoke only in kindness and without anger.

Pere Marquette watched them as they returned to the village. Then, before

turning back to those who had watched all quietly, he lifted his eyes and spoke a brief prayer. All who watched knew then that his strength in the face of the dangers presented by the warriors came from his God, and he was giving thanks to Him. As he turned to us to begin the Mass, we looked upon this Black Gown with new eyes and respect. For here was one who was willing to learn our ways, and willing, also, to share his ways with us.

Soon the warriors who had come before in a threatening manner returned to join us in the service. They had evidently decided that it would be wise to find out more of the ways of the Black Gown; for any teaching that makes a man unafraid of death must be powerful indeed. The warriors were not fully won over to the Black Gown's teachings, but they were now willing to see if there was anything that would be of use to them. Pere Marquette might not have known it, but he had just won a great victory.

When the Mass came to an end, all returned to the village with a strange sense of gladness. And when we looked back at Pere Marquette, we saw him kneel and offer another prayer to his God.

The days became shorter and the sun lost its heat as the darkness of night began to extend its power. The time of the Northwind was coming and preparations had to be made for the time when the game and fish would be scarce. We had been favored in the warm time and so had much of our harvest for now, and the game and fish had also been plentiful. The good Pere Marquette said we should give thanks to his God for providing us, his adopted children, with such a bounty. Many agreed and did so, yet many were still not sure of this God.

During the coldest times, when we stayed within our dwellings for warmth, Pere Marquette would visit and tell us tales of the children of God. There were

tales of great wonder; there were tales of sadness; there were tales of great joy and happiness. No matter how the weather, the good Pere Marquette would always be willing to stay and tell us a tale or make a sick child well or pray to his God for our well-being.

Soon the darkness of the Winter passed into the light of Spring and all were happy that the darkness was over. Pere Marquette, too, was happy to see the dark days gone, for one day he called all for a special meeting, and all came, and Pere Marquette told us a story of great sadness and yet a story of great joy, and he prayed with great devotion for us, and all prayed and sang with the good Father at this time. The teachings of the dark winter had made more interested in the goodness of this God.

As the earth renewed itself with the warmth of the sun, and our crops flourished, so Pere Marquette went about his teaching with even greater strength and effort so that our souls would flourish with goodness as our crops flourished.

It was the time of the long days, and some of the braves had finished making a large tree similar to the one carried by Pere Marquette. This was to be the finishing touch for the chapel, for now a large Black Gown tree would stand outside to tell all that this was a place of peace, and here dwelt a Black Gown. As we were putting up the tree, someone came from the shore to tell us of a canoe approaching the shore. Ordinarily this would not be news, but this time another Black Gown was in the canoe. We watched to see what this new Black Gown would say and do; we hoped the good Pere Marquette would not be taken from us. For in the short time that he had spent with us, he had become important to us, and we wished him with us forever.

The canoe soon landed and the Black Gown got out. Pere Marquette walked to the canoe to greet the new Black Gown.

MARQUETTE: Pere Allouez, Pere Allouez; what is it that brings you to my beloved St. Ignace?

ALLOUEZ: Pere Marquette, how nice to see you after all this time. There is to be a great ceremony at Saint Marie du Sault in a few days, and Pere Dablon wishes that you should be in attendance. I have been sent to escort you on the journey. When can you be ready to leave?

MARQUETTE: I will be ready as soon as I speak to my children, to admonish them to continue in the faith while I am away, and to assure them that I will return. Running Deer, call the people here so that I may speak with them, if you please. Meanwhile I will gather some things for the trip. Will you await me here, Pere Allouez?

NARRATOR: Pere Marquette went into the Chapel to gather a few things for the trip; meanwhile Running Deer went to call the people together. They were already wondering what the two Black Gowns spoke about. Soon Pere Marquette came from the Chapel and spoke to the people.

MARQUETTE: My children, I must leave you for a short time, but I will return to you before the moon has gone from the sky. Do not think that because I am not here that the good God, the father of all, is not watching over you. Therefore, I wish you to continue in the ways that I have taught you; do not disappoint me.

NARRATOR: Pere Marquette then walked to his canoe with the other Black Gown. Before he entered the canoe, he made the sign of the cross over us and repeated again that he would return in a short time.

The the canoe left the shore and the people watched silently and sadly as our friend left us for awhile. Little did we know that before this time came again, he would be gone from us forever.

The days passed slowly without Pere Marquette here; there were no stories for the children, no kind words for the old, no words of strength for the braves. There were songs from the Chapel. We had promised Pere Marquette we would not forget his teachings, and always there were some at the Chapel who would pray and sing the hymns the good father taught to them. All hoped that Pere Marquette would be pleased by this.

Each day we would look out over the water to watch for the return of Pere Marquette, and each day some would go to the Chapel, where Running Deer and his followers stood vigil, to pray and mark the time of being gone on the Black Gown tree.

Some said that Pere Marquette would not return, that his words were as empty as many of the words spoken by other white men who had betrayed the Indian. Many were the tales of such men that came to us from other tribes. Running Deer said that the Kitchie Mekatewkwanaie was not like other white men; he was a true friend to the Indian. But as we made the fourteenth mark on the Black Gown tree, the mutterings of some became louder, and there was fear for the destruction of the Chapel. That night Running Deer and the Huron were ever alert to trouble, and all who believed prayed even harder for Pere Marquette's return.

The next morning all went to the fields as usual, but not happy, for the talk of the destruction of the Chapel was heard everywhere. Then something happened that brought joy to many hearts again; there was a cry from the shore, a canoe was seen, and a Black Gown was visible. Pere Marquette was coming back to his mission at St. Ignace.

All went to the shore to greet the good father, and there was fear that there would be no room for the canoe to land. But space was made, and all joined with Pere Marquette in a short prayer.

The days of summer passed into the time of changing colors, the time for the harvest, the time for the feast of squashes. Each year, when the harvest was good and the squash ripe, my people would join together in a time of feasting and dancing. This year, because of Pere Marquette, we had dedicated the feast to God who had adopted us and had provided us with food in abundance because we had accepted him,

The celebration began as usual with all going to the council ring and seating themselves. Then, as the elders came into the circle, the drums began, and the dancers entered for the harvest dance.

After the dance, Pere Marquette spoke to us and asked those of us who had been baptized to acknowledge Him whose adopted children we were by making the sign of the cross. This was done, and it made the good Father happy to see that almost all were now baptized. He then blessed us all before we returned to our dwellings.

The days shortened and the winds blew colder, and soon it was the month of the birth of the son of God. Pere Marquette told us it was the eighth day of the month of December, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. This was a day he held in great honor, for Pere Marquette always prayed to this Blessed Virgin. It was on this day that Pere Marquette received a visitor, who was to be responsible for taking him away from us forever.

The Children came to tell Pere Marquette that two canoes were approaching; white men were in the canoes. Pere Marquette went down to the shore with the children to see them, and when he reached the shore, one of the men in a canoe began shouting and waving his cap. We did not understand this until Pere Marquette began shouting in return; they seemed to know each other.

Later Pere Marquette introduced this man as an old friend, Louis Jolliet. Pere Marquette wrote about Jolliet's coming and his reasons for coming:

MARQUETTE:

"The Feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin--whom I have always invoked since I have been in this country of the outaouacs, to obtain from God the grace of being able to visit the Nations who dwell along the Mississippi River--was precisely the Day on which Monsieur Jolliet arrived with orders from Monsieur the Count de frontenac, our Governor, and Monsieur Talon, Our Intendant, to accomplish This discovery with me. I was all the more delighted at This good news since I saw that my plans were about to be accomplished; and since I found myself in the blessed necessity of exposing my life for the salvation of all these peoples, and especially the Illinois, who had very urgently entreated me, when I was at the point of St. Esprit, to carry the word of God to Their country.

We were not long in preparing all our equipment, although we were about to begin a voyage, the duration of which we could not foresee. Indian Corn, with some smoked meat constituted all our provisions; with 5 men--in 2 bark canoes, fully resolved to do and suffer everything for so glorious an undertaking.

Accordingly, on the 17th of May, 1673 we started from the Mission of St. Ignace at Michilimackinac, where I then was."²

NARRATOR:

There was much discussion as to the way the explorers were to travel west to the great waters. Pere Marquette and Jolliet spoke with my people and the traders, and all with whom they spoke agreed that the way south, through the straits, would be dangerous to the party and their canoes. My people told of an inland water-way to the west, which, after a short portage, would lead them to Gros Cap and the great waters. It was decided by all that this would be the safest and best way to begin the journey.

Sad were the people to see the good Pere Marquette leave us, and all went to see him off. He told us as he walked among us that he would return, that this was his home. These words made less the sadness of his leaving; we did not know that his soul would be gone from his body when he again returned to us.

He promised also that another Black Gown would soon come to our village, and he asked that we act toward this new priest as we had toward him. This we promised.

Then Pere Marquette, Louis Jolliet, Peter Porteret, Jacque Largilliers, Pierre Moreau, and two others went to their canoes and started on their journey. Pere Marquette stopped, shading his eyes with his hand, looking back at the little Chapel of St. Ignace, which he was never more to see. We kneeled as our Kitchie Mekatewikwanaie, Pere Marquette, blessed us. We remained kneeling until they were gone from sight, then we slowly rose and went to stand before the Black Gown tree and listen to the girls sing one of the hymns we had learned.

It was not long after Pere Marquette left St. Ignace that Pere Pierson and Pere Nouvelle came to us. They were both happy to see how we had kept to the teachings of the good Pere Marquette and praised us for it.

During the next two years Pere Pierson, and Pere Nouvelle, when he visited with us, often assured us that Pere Marquette would return. And when word was received of the success of Pere Marquette's travels they told us, and we were happy for him and went to the Chapel to pray for him.

Then one day two men came to the village. One we recognized as a traveler with Jolliet and Pere Marquette two years ago. We inquired about our Kitchie Mekatewikwanaie, and what we heard saddened us greatly.

They told us that Pere Marquette had been very sick during the last part of his travels, but continued his mission to the Illinois as he had promised. He then desired to return to St. Ignace, his home, and began the journey along the southern shore of Lake Michigan.

Eight days before his death, he was thoughtful enough to prepare the holy water for use during the rest of his illness, in his agony, and at his burial; and he instructed his companions how it should be used.

The evening before his death, which was on a Friday, he told them, very joyously, that it would take place on the following day. He counseled them in the manner in which he was to be buried. This he told them while traveling up the lake.

Then they saw a place on the shore near a river, and Pere Marquette said it was well suited as the place of his last repose. He was brought to the shore and stretched on the ground in much the same way as was St. Francis Xavier, as he so passionately desired. He thanked the men for their charities on his behalf during the journey and entreated pardon for the trouble he had given them. He also gave them a paper, upon which he had written all his faults since his own last confession, and requested they place it in the hands of the Father Superior.

At the hour of his agony he called to them and asked for holy water and his reliquary. He removed the small Black Gown tree, which he always carried, and asked that it be held before his eyes. He made his final profession of faith, raised his eyes, and died as peacefully as if he had been going into a deep sleep.)

By the time the tale was fully told, all in the village were around the two

travelers who had been with the good Pere Marquette in his last hours. Then, very quietly, all turned toward our Black Gown tree, and Pere Nouvelle and Pere Pierson led us in prayer. The date of his death was 18 May 1675.

We were saddened by the fact that Pere Marquette did not return to us, and now we thought that it was impossible for him to return, but, as we discovered God truly does move in strange ways.

Almost two years exactly from the date of the death of Pere Marquette, a party of Kiskakon Indians, who had been hunting in the Lake Michigan area, passed the site of the grave of Pere Marquette. God must have put it into their hearts to remove the bones and bring them to the mission here at St. Ignace.

They went to the spot and opened the grave and prepared the body as they would prepare the body of one of their own whom they hold in great respect. They cleaned the bones and exposed them to the sun to dry; then, carefully laying them in a box of birch bark, they set out for St. Ignace.

As they passed other villages that were told of the contents of the box, other canoes joined in the procession. There were nearly thirty canoes in the procession, and members of the Iroquois, Algonquin, and Illinois joined with the Kiskakon to do honor to our Kitchie Mekatewikwanaie.

As the canoes approached the shore, Pere Nouvelle and Pere Pierson went there and stopped the canoes. They asked whose body was carried in such state; the answer was quickly given. It was the body of Kitchie Mekatewikwanaie, the great priest, Pere Marquette. Pere Nouvelle asked if this was truly so, and again the answer was quickly given that it was so. Satisfied that all was said in truth, the two Black Gowns motioned the canoes into shore as they chanted a song to the good God.

Soon the canoes came to the shore, and the birch bark casket was slowly lifted from the canoe. With Pere Nouvelle and Pere Pierson leading, the warriors from the canoes slowly carried the casket to the Chapel between the lines of people whose very lives had been changed by this man; this man who loved them, and they in return loved.

There was weeping, but to my people the tears that flowed were not those of sadness; sadness had passed long before. The tears now were of joy, for Kitchie Mekatewikwanaie, our own good Pere Marquette had returned to his village and his people. Pere Marquette was home; home at St. Ignace.

NARRATOR 1:

Father Jacques Marquette, of the province of Champagne, the country of France, died in the New World at the early age of thirty-eight. Of those thirty-eight years, twenty-one were spent in the Society of Jesus--twelve in France and nine in the New World. And of those nine, only two years of his short life were spent here at St. Ignace; here at the place christened by him.

We will never know if anything would have been different if Father Marquette had not come to these shores and started a mission, but we do know that because he did, the community of St. Ignace, born in 1671, close to this date over three hundred years ago, has tried to keep his memory and principles ever alive.

FINIS

¹Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), Jesuit Relations (Volume 57, Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1900), p. 249.

²Jesuit Relations, Volume 59, pp. 89, 91.

³Based upon the account in Jesuit Relations, Volume 59, pp. 191-199.

APPENDIX C

REFLECTIONS OF KE-WA-WE-NON

Production Fact Sheet

Site

The production was staged at Oliver Curwood Park, the L'Anse Township Park, approximately one mile north of the village of L'Anse on Skanee Road. The park overlooks Keweenaw Bay. The stage area was roped off on the days of performance. A stockade was erected to mask an old monument, and to provide masking for the offstage players. Other than this, the natural setting provided the scenery.

Seating

Bleachers capable of seating approximately 300 persons were borrowed from the L'Anse High School football field and transported to the park the week prior to performance. They were removed the week following. The seating area was a large grassy rise, and many persons sat on blankets, personal chairs, or the grass.

Sound

Narration, music and sound effects were provided by tape and public address system. Narration was 'live,' and all character voices, mood music, and transitional music was on tape.

The first year, the Mackinaw City-St. Ignace sound booth was used. It was transported to Baraga County and returned to St. Ignace by the Pettibone company. A pre-fabricated booth was built for the 1970 pageant.

Makeup

Standard theatrical makeup was used on the Indians; they did not like the idea. No makeup was used on the other characters. No makeup was needed for the 1970 pageant.

Makeup was applied by the committee at L'Anse High School, and performers were taken to the site by bus. Even though there was no makeup for the 1970 pageant, performers still met at the high school and were transported to the site.

Costumes

From the beginning, all Indian costumes were built by the committee. The first year the missionary costumes were borrowed from St. Ignace; copies were made for the 1970 pageant. Some period coats were borrowed from the Marquette Little Theatre group the first year,

and were built the second year. Traders and trappers provided their own costumes.

Properties

Properties were built by the committee when needed, purchased if available. Several performers brought their own properties as part of their character image.

Storage

No central storage area was defined. Committee chairmen in most cases made provision for the items they were responsible for.

Rehearsal

The first year, two weeks of rehearsals were necessary to get the performers acquainted with the action flow. The second year one week was all that was necessary. All rehearsals were held at the pageant site. Contingency planning called for the elementary school gym in L'Anse to be used in the event of rain; the gym was not needed in the two years of production.

Script

"Reflections of Ke-Wa-We-Non"

by

Robert Stern

NARRATOR:

The smoke rises, rises to the moon of forgetfulness. Yet as it rises we look back to the past, back to the time before time. Back to the land and sky and water of my people.

Here visited the Indian on this great water Ki-wi-wai-non-ing.

Here fished the braves for the great trout and whitefish so that their families would not starve.

Here the women tended the cooking fires.

Here the women prepared the hides of the animals of the forest for clothing and shelter. Here they made the shirts and moccasins.

Here the young gathered with the elders to learn the ways of our people. Those who have become too old to hunt or fish are still wise in these ways and are able to pass on the skills. In this way nothing that was - is lost.

Here they met the chief of my people to see that all was well and to listen to their problems. For to be chief one must be brave and wise. Here the chief and I spoke together of that which is good for our people. And on this day all looked good to the people, the chief, and the great Gitchie Manitou.

As the earth again regains its life, so we meet together to renew our faith in the Great Spirit and also to instruct the young braves who are ready into the ways of our tribe.

First we make our peace with the spirits that control our lives. To the East from whence comes the sun and our birth at each day. To the West where goes our spirit each evening to rise with the moon, bright with the hope of return upon the next rising of the sun. To the North from whence comes the cruel wind which brings the terrible cold to our land and paints it a white of death to remind us of its power. And to the South whence comes the restorer of life, the warm winds heated by the great sun.

VOICE:

Toward the end of March, 1640, a flotilla headed by the ship Esperance left France for Quebec. Father Rene Menard, Missionary of the Society of Jesus, was a passenger.

NARRATOR:

Next the young braves entered to proclaim their readiness to enter as full members the tribe of their birth. It is now that they must prove their ability to withstand the rigors of being a brave. For weakness in the face of one's enemies is the one thing that a brave should never show, for it suggests a weakness on the part of his brothers and the band to which he belongs.

After saluting the Chief and their Shaman, the Braves form a circle for the dance of the calumet; a challenge dance where each brave shows his skill at the dance and in turn challenges his brothers to do as well or better. Skill is applauded and mistakes a great source of delight for the elders. Special attention is paid by the maidens, who see before them their husbands to be.

When the dance is over, the braves receive their first feather to mark them as full members of the band.

Now it was time for the young girls to celebrate their coming of age and desire for an abundant life for themselves and the band.

At the close of the council, all would slowly dance in a great circle while I would call upon all the great spirits to

grant us the bounty of the land and water and sky during this time of the new life.

Then all returned to their dwellings to dream the good dreams of Gitchie Manitou.

VOICE: On August 28, 1660, Father Rene Menard and eight Frenchmen joined an Ottawa flotilla at Three Rivers for a journey to Lake Superior.

NARRATOR: Time passes quickly in this land; from the early green of the new year to the changing of the colors of the coming of the end of the year, is but a short time. Plans had to be made for the white time.

MENARD: The Indians, who granted me passage, with the assurance of fair treatment, considering my age and infirmities, have after all not spared me. They require me to carry on my shoulders very heavy packs every time we had to make a portage, and although my paddle, wielded by hands as feeble as mine, did but little service towards hastening the journey, they would not allow it to be idle.

NARRATOR: Most of the braves had traveled to the land of the white man with furs for trading. Soon they would be returning . . .

Soon they would be returning with goods and white man's water that burns and warms. This drink of the white is bad for my people, but . . .

There was suddenly a cry from the shore - the braves were returning.

A runner came to tell us of yet another thing. The braves were returning, but this time they were returning with one of the Black Gowns they had told us were in the land of the whites.

MENARD: Our journey has been a happy one for our Frenchmen, who arrived all in good health, about the middle of October, not, however, without having suffered much and run great risks from high seas on the lakes;

from rapids and cataracts frightful to behold, which we had to pass over on a frail piece of bark; . . . This is a large bay on the south shore of Lake Superior, where I arrived on St. Theresa's day.

NARRATOR: Our Chief, "The Pike," called by the French, le Brochet, introduced this Black Gown to us.

CHIEF: My people. This Black Gown is called Menard. He says he comes to teach us of a great spirit in the sky who is the father of all. He says that this god is stronger than all. He says this god makes him strong also.

I have tested the strength of this man on the journey here. I have made him paddle harder than the brave; made him carry more than the brave; made him bear more than the brave. This he has done. I will continue to test him while he remains with us. We will see if his god is as strong as he tells us.

NARRATOR: The Chief having spoken, he walked to his lodge leaving the Black Gown and his followers. All went with the Chief - I alone remained to see what this strange man would do; to see if there was a stronger medicine with the Black Gown.

He gathered his followers around him and they all knelt on the ground.

MENARD: After all the hardships we had endured coming to this place, it was all made well by my being able to once again say Mass.

NARRATOR: During the times that followed, the followers of the Black Gown visited among my people with small gifts to trade for food; this was strange - this begging, for though these men spoke of a great power they understood little of the ways of fishing and using what the great spirit provides.

The Black Gown, Menard, visited with my people also to speak of his god. He

spoke also with the Chief and angered him by saying that his wives were more than one should have. The Chief sent him from his lodge. The Black Gown would now have to dwell by himself. It is strange that this man of knowledge did not know the need for many wives when the men are few; how else can the the tribe grow and continue?

MENARD:

One of my first visits was to a hovel which I entered almost on all fours where I found a woman abandoned by her husband and her daughter, who had left her two little children, and they were dying. I began to speak of the faith to this poor afflicted creature, and she heard me with pleasure. . .

WOMAN:

My brother, I know well enough that my people do not approve of your discourses; but, for my part, I relish them very much, and what you say is full of consolation.

NARRATOR:

The Black Gown was successful with the old, the ill, and the poor; since these people are of no help to the tribe we do not urge their remaining with the tribe. These then would go quickly to anyone who would aid them. They did not know what we had heard, that those who went with the Black Gowns soon died from the magic water placed upon them.

The ways of my people are still good and time must be given to free their spirits from the evils within. Menard and I disagreed as to what my people needed; yet I saw that what he was trying to do was not an evil thing. He forgot that these were my people, not his.

MENARD:

These people are so poor, and we likewise, that we cannot find a scrap of cloth wherewith to make a compress; of a piece of stuff as large as one's hand with which to mend our clothes.

There has been no winter here, to speak of. Our great bay of Ste. Therese, on whose shore we have wintered, has been frozen over only since the middle of February. I have said Holy Mass every day

from All Saint's Day to March without any fear that the elements would freeze or that I would need any fire at the altar.

I have called the rude church that I have built after Notre Dame de Bon Secours and have done my best to bring the word of God to these people. I have heard of a nation of Huron one hundred leagues from here who have heard of my being here and have requested that I come to them. Perhaps it is best that I go where the call of God is the strongest.

VOICE:

Father Rene Menard built the first church in the Northwest here in the land now called Baraga County.

His departure from Keweenaw Bay on the thirteenth of July, 1661, was the last he was seen. Menard's body was never found.

NARRATOR:

I was not sad to see Menard go, nor were most of my people. The few who accepted the ways of this man were of little influence in the tribe.

Many years passed uneventfully for my people. An occasional trapper or trader would come through and occasionally we would hear of or even see another missionary. Few would remain here for long.

The white man pushed ever closer into our land and became ever braver in taking from us whatever he thought he desired. Though we are generally a peaceful people, an occasional incident brought swift notice of our strength.

Two white trappers were camping near our village; such was not strange at this time. They had been passing the spirits between them and evil visions took hold of them. A maiden from the village was crossing into the woods for berries when the men attacked her.

Her screams brought the braves from the village quickly. Soon the two whites were dead, but sadly so was the maiden.

The bodies of the whites were quickly removed and their camp dismantled so none would ever know they had been here. The maiden was prepared for burial.

Sad were we to travel this way, but sure were we of our sister's easy travel to the land of the Shadows.

For four days a fire would burn to light her way. For four days I would remain to offer words to aid her on her journey past the guardian of the path to the land of shadows. All must be passed safely before reaching Ponemah and Gitchie Manitou.

VOICE:

Daniel Meeker Chandler arrived at Sault Ste. Marie in August of 1834. He was with the Ottawa four years.

CHANDLER:

The place to which I am going is called Ke-wa-we-non, on the south shore of Lake Superior. I shall have no company but an Indian exhorter, and a boy for my interpreter. These are to remain with me until spring.

I am provided from the mission with three barrels of flour, two of pork, one of hulled corn dried, twenty-five pounds of rice, tow pounds of tea for the Indians who go with me; and one keg of salt, with a few other articles, such as pepper, ginger, etc. Upon these, I and my companions are to subsist eight months, excepting what fish we may take, for doing which, we are furnished with a net or two. Thus equipped, I am to direct my course into the interior of the Indian country.

NARRATOR:

Much time had passed and no man came to remain here. The Ottawa left and the Ojibway came in. The Ojibway left and the Huron passed through. The Sioux visited but briefly.

Now a white man and two Indians dressed as whites came to this place. The white speaks through one of the Indians to explain that he has come to offer salvation to us.

CHANDLER:

How do you do! My name is Daniel Chandler. I am from the East.

TRANSLATOR: (Same in Ojibway)

CHANDLER: I have come to offer you salvation through the acceptance of Jesus Christ our Lord.

TRANSLATOR: (ditto)

CHANDLER: May I introduce Master George Copway and Mr. John Taunchev.

TRANSLATOR: (ditto)

NARRATOR: Chandler was made welcome among us. It was explained that most of the braves were away hunting, but that soon they should return; then we would listen.

We showed him where he should be allowed to dwell, and left him with his aides and the French trader.

In the days that followed Chandler busied himself with the building of a place that would be home, school, and church.

CHANDLER: This day I have been at work building my house. I am, in one respect, as was my Master when on earth, inasmuch as I have not where to lay my head.

While it was yet dark, I arose, and directed my steps toward my unfinished house, so great was my anxiety to finish it. I have good reason however for being thus anxious, as in my present condition I am exposed to every storm. I am much fatigued by carrying clay from morning till night, to the top of my house, with which I plaster the roof, before shingling it with cedar bark. The clay is designed only to keep out the cold. O my father! grant that a few hours of repose may restore to my limbs their wonted activity. Preserve my health, that I may still labor in thy vineyard.

NARRATOR: When the sun was no more, this Chandler would visit my people in their lodges.

CHANDLER:

I have visited a lodge of Indians today, and endeavoring by means of an interpreter to instruct them in the way of life, but saw no other token of good than attention while I was speaking. Could I speak their language, I am confident I could convince them of the divine reality of the Christian religion, and persuade them to embrace it.

I feel more and more attached to the Indians. The native exhorter and interpreter are fast stealing my affections. This they do by treating me with kindness and respect. I feel an increasing anxiety to learn the Indian language; and hope to be able to turn my attention to this subject, when I get through with my building.

NARRATOR:

It was late in the time of changing colors when this young man Chandler completed his house. Now he had a place to meet with my people and speak to all about his God; now he also had a place where he could teach the children the way of the white man; now was my strength weakening.

CHANDLER:

This first day of December I commenced my school, and greatly rejoiced to see my kitchen so nearly filled with Indian children. I hope to have twenty or twenty-five through the winter, which will give me full employment through the day. The most of those present can read a little, some of them in words of two syllables; having been taught by the Chippewa brother, John Sunday, who was here last year.

I close my school by prayer, and every little one without my instruction, is in a moment on his knees engaged in devotion. How should those parents blush, who live in civilized society, and who neither teach their children to pray, nor even to kneel while others pray; but encourage them to treat those solemn duties with contempt, while Indian children pray!

NARRATOR:

It is always strange that the whites who come amongst us are impressed by the ways of our children. That respect is paid to the elder and the guest is only natural; that a desire to learn exists is also only natural.

The winter winds blew colder, and the chill and the return of the braves and chief added to the discomfort of Chandler.

CHANDLER: Tomorrow is Christmas. This day my soul is with the Lamb, but my body in a circle of lions. I looked out at my window and saw two Indian canoes approaching the shore near my dwelling, and waited to receive the newcomers. At length my house was filled with Chippeways, among whom was the chief who presides over this section, painted black. Yet his face would have appeared like pure snow, if compared with his heart. All were seated, and silence for the space of half an hour brought forth its convincing arguments to prove that their call was not that of friendship. The painted chief broke the silence in a tone which I shall long remember.

CHIEF: Where do you come from? Who gave you a right to build a house on my land? I have come now for my pay.

CHANDLER: You were from home on a hunting tour, so that I could not consult you; and as winter was at hand, I was obliged to build before you came back, or not at all.

CHIEF: Well, now pay me for the land your house covers.

CHANDLER: What do you ask?

CHIEF: A great deal!

CHANDLER: How much? Name it if you wish me to pay it!

CHIEF: I will not sell it, but every year, I must have a barrel of flour, one bag of corn, and some tobacco, for the land your house covers, and the wood you burn.

CHANDLER: Agreed. I said that I would make arrangements with the trader for these goods, and they could go for them.

But before we could do these things, my exhorter cried out to them . . .

EXHORTER: Behold, your house is left unto you desolate; and verily I say unto you; you shall not see me, until the time come when you shall say, Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. So spoke our Lord unto the Pharisees, and so speak I to you.

CHIEF: Brother! Do not shout your evil spirits to us. We are of our people, and will remain so until death. Remember who allows you to remain here.

NARRATOR: The Reverend Chandler's spirits were a bit dampened by the visit of our Chief; however, ~~that~~ our chief allowed him to remain he took as a great gift from his God.

His spirits revived even more the next day, which he called Christmas, when the French trader and his wife asked that he preach at his house. This surprised me since I knew that the Frenchman had another God than that of Chandler; yet they worshiped together.

As the time of the cold winds increased I felt more of my power decreasing. Most of those in the past who have accepted these white God talkers have been the old and the ill, the women and their young children. Now some of the braves were going to them. Perhaps it is acceptance that the white man is here to remain, perhaps our ways are no longer right at this time . . . we will wait and see.

The warmth of the south wind has finally begun to blow over this chill land, and with these winds blow tales to make our Chief fear for his people.

CHIEF: Reverend Chandler, I see you are doing well on the land that I allow you.

CHANDLER: This land that I rent from you. What can I do for you, Chief? Are you ready to accept our Lord, Jesus Christ?

CHIEF: Perhaps at another sun. I have come to see if you have heard anything, some word, from your people during the cold time.

CHANDLER:

I have heard that your brothers at Green Bay have begun to pray. I have heard that another brother of mine, Brother Clark, is to come here to visit.

CHIEF:

When this new preacher comes, will he send us from this place? Will Brother Clark send us to where the soldiers will put us in prison?

CHANDLER:

Perhaps you can ask these questions to Mr. Clark himself, for I see he has arrived.

Brother Clark, how pleasant to see you; I have been meeting with the Chief and his followers and would like them to meet with you to answer some questions that have been bothering them. They seem to believe that you are here to send them away.

CLARK:

Oh great Chief and his people! I have not come to send you away, rather I have come with thoughts to give you great joy.

We wish to build for you here a fine village with houses for your people to protect them from the storms. We wish also to build a school for your children to protect them from ignorance and make them wise. And we wish to build a fine church to protect your souls from perdition and make you pure. All this we offer you if you will allow us to do so.

CHIEF:

You tell us all that you will do for us, yet you forget that we do this for ourselves already. We have dwellings to protect us from the winds and rain. Our children know the ways of the forest and the waters, this is not ignorance. My people live in the way of the Great Spirit, Git-chie Manitou, and are good. Why then should I allow you to build your village? No houses will be built on the Ke-wa-we-non for the Indian if I have anything to say!

CLARK:

Do not be too hasty in your words. Think what I have said carefully, I ask you to allow us to do as we wish; yet, if

you refuse to allow this, we will do it anyway.

CHIEF:

Now the speech of the white man is clear; now all can see the way in which the wind is bending the trees of the forest. So be it! You may build your village on this side of the bay. I and those who follow me shall go to the other side; I wish nothing to do with your religion. Yet you must do one more thing in this village of yours. You will have a church for your religion, I must have a house of council to meet with my people - I am still their Chief!

CLARK:

So it shall be; you have only to tell us where it is to be and it shall be built.

VOICE:

On June 30, 1835, John Clark made arrangements for the Indian village which was to become Zeba, then left. Immediately following this, Chandler left for LaPointe, where he remained till late July. Although Father Frederic Baraga arrived at LaPointe to establish a mission on July 28, 1835, he and Chandler were never to meet.

NARRATOR:

For eleven moons longer Chandler remained with my people, building his village, and showing them how to grow plants from small seed in special ground. The days of the great braves were limited.

VOICE:

On the 20th of June, 1836, Daniel Meeker Chandler left Keweenaw Bay for home. On September 8th he married Elizabeth Beecher of Hinesburgh, Vermont. On November 1st, Chandler and his wife returned to Sault Ste. Marie to take up residence. He made one last trip to the Keweenaw Mission in March of 1838. The trials of that trip were so great that he never recovered; he returned to New York and on October 2, 1838 Daniel Meeker Chandler died.

NARRATOR:

All was not well with my people during these times. Chief Bineshi, who had said he would not accept the white man's religion, was not well. I urged against his seeking information from the French trader about the secret book of the white,

but he insisted that all must be done to find a cure.

Pierre Crebassa, the trader here, spoke to the chief. A priest was sent for, but before he could arrive, Chief Bineshi was dead.

There were bad feelings here at Ke-wa-we-non about the new chief and the news of a priest coming here. On the day of this priest's arrival much whiskey was passed through the village and my people ran with the spirit.

CREBASSA: Father Baraga, how good of you to come here. Please meet my wife, Nancy. I am sorry that your arrival is to be greeted in such a way by these people; I do not know how they received this whiskey. They will listen to you, I am sure, when they are sober.

NARRATOR: After several passages of the sun, Pierre Crebassa called my people together to meet this priest, Baraga.

BARAGA: My children, what you have done is wrong, for it makes animals of you instead of strong people. If this is the way you are to act, it would be best that I return from whence I came. If you wish me to speak to you, you must tell me.

OLD MAN: If you come to us for only a short visit we will not listen to you and will not follow your words, but if you come and stay with us perhaps we will listen to you and practice your religion.

BARAGA: So be it. I have food and clothing to offer you. Spiritual comfort to give you. You are God's children and I love you as God loves you. I must first return to those Children I have left and explain that I must leave them. I also must find a teacher to return with me so that I might better teach your children.

When I return we will gather on the west side of this bay. It will be as if I first saw you then, and never will what

has happened be spoken of again.

Pierre and Nancy, I thank you for your hospitality. Now I must return to my mission to prepare for my return here.

NARRATOR: As this priest Baraga left our shores I knew that if he returned my life would be finished. No longer would there be a need for my medicine or my council. The white God would then be the stronger.

VOICE: On October 24, 1843, Father Frederick Baraga returned to Keweenaw Bay with Pierre and Mrs. Cotte to establish the mission at what is now Assinins.

NARRATOR: With the return of Baraga I was left with only the ability to watch and comment, for my power was gone.

The Reverend Pitezel, who arrived with his family shortly after Baraga, became quite friendly with the priest.

PITEZEL: Father Baraga, I'm so happy to see you in such good health.

BARAGA: Welcome, Reverend Pitezel, what can we do for you this fine spring day?

PITEZEL: Father Baraga, I have heard that you will soon be receiving a new bell for your church, and I was wondering if you would find it possible to let us have the old bell for my mission.

BARAGA: The bell you speak of does not belong to me; it belonged to Mrs. Cotte, may she rest in peace. I will inquire of her husband for you if you wish.

PITEZEL: Thank you, I would appreciate it.

VOICE: On April 7, 1845, Father Baraga informed Reverend Pitezel that Pierre Cotte consented to give the bell to the Methodist mission as soon as the new bell arrived from the Sault.

NARRATOR: For eight more years Father Baraga labored for my people here on Keweenaw Bay. Not only did he remain here and

preach, but he also traveled to the new Fort Wilkins and the mining communities north of here.

He cared for my people and often went without to help them. He protected them from the whites who wished to push all the Indians to the west by purchasing the land occupied by the Indians here on the west of Keweenaw Bay.

He cared for my people and taught them by carefully studying Chippewa and writing books in Chippewa.

We missed him when he left us to go to Europe for funds to help maintain his works. He was delayed . . .

On his way down the lakes he received word that he had been appointed Bishop of Upper Michigan.

VOICE:

On November 1, 1853, Father Frederic Baraga was consecrated Bishop of Amyzonias and Vicar Apostolic of Upper Michigan in Cincinnati.

NARRATOR:

Bishop Baraga made many visits to us in the years that followed. In the spring of 1867 he returned to visit with us again. This was to be his last visit to Keweenaw Bay.

Father Terhorst, who had been with us since 1861, gathered my people about him as Bishop Baraga came up the hill to the Church. The years had not been good to the old missionary. He suffered from rheumatism and temporary deafness; yet there was still a clarity to his eye that told us all that he had not forgotten us, and my people remembered all that he had done for us.

It may have been wrong, but it was necessary. As the Bishop of Upper Michigan looked about him and saw what had once been a labor of love for him, I stepped forward and spoke out.

You spoiled the Indians, Bishop;
you gave them too much.

He said nothing, but turned slowly
and walked away with Father Terhorst. I
had said enough, but I had said too much.

VOICE:

On January 19, 1868, Frederic Baraga
died at the age of seventy in Marquette.

NARRATOR:

For over three hundred years the trails
of Missionaries, Protestant and Catholic,
Indians, Voyageur, Miner, and Soldier have
crossed here at what is now Baraga County.

Today the people of Baraga County, those
who have inherited the qualities of individ-
ualism exemplified by their ancestors ,
have attempted to portray just a few of
the events that make this country a part
of the great tradition of Michigan and the
United States of America.

FINIS

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW GUIDE

- I. Informant Information
 - A. Personal information: Name, Occupation, Length of time in Community, etc.
 - B. Community Information: Community status and/or positions.
 - C. Pageant Information: Involvement and reasons.
- II. Informant's images of the pageant.
 - A. Historically: Dependent upon the informant's length of time in the community, probe for patterns of development.
 - B. Economically: Probe for how the pageant is financed as well as specific economic development as perceived by the informant.
 - C. Socially: Probe for changes in friendship patterns, and cross-cultural movement.
 - D. Educationally: Probe for examples of increased interest and/or actual activity development in an area possibly suggested by the pageant.
- III. Informant's images of organizations and leaders.
 - A. Who are the people and organizations who are contributing most to getting things done on the pageant?
 - B. Who and what organizations could be of more help?
 - C. Who and what organizations could give me more information?

D. Who and what organizations have opposed the pageant?

1. What were the reasons for opposition?

2. What form did the opposition take?

IV. Informant's images of future needs.

A. What do you think needs to be done in the community in regard to the pageant in the future?

B. What changes do you anticipate in the community in the future (next five years)?

C. Who and what organizations will affect (oppose) future changes?