the Indian roles; one pageant writer proposed using Italian immigrants, swarthy and dark, as Indians. In other cases organizers declined to use available and willing natives; the St. Louis *Pageant and Masque* disguised white performers as Indians with copper paint. The “masque” part of the St. Louis event was created by Percy MacKaye, a leading originator of pageants on timely civic themes, many having to do with immigration and citizenship. In St. Louis he deployed Indian symbols but no Indian performers. A giant puppet represented Cahokia, spirit of the Mound Builders and “pinnacle of the social aspirations of the Indian race, regarded ethnologically.”

MacKaye was a Progressive who believed that pageants served civic reform. The Mound Builders had represented a cooperative community; it fell to “Powers of Chaos,” but Cahokia cries out, “dreams are born and rise from ruined worlds.” A new civilization, carried by white settlers, will emerge in their place: “ruined worlds,” a polite euphemism for “the cyclone of civilization.” Historical pageants typically included Indian scenes, not all so rife with overblown symbolism as MacKaye’s, but few actual natives appeared in them.

Not so with the Way-ya-ga-mug Hiawatha, which brought large audiences from far and wide, make-believe witnesses of tribal history as national memory, prehistory passing over into the blessings of actual American history. Hiawatha returned in a time of need with a message on his prophetic lips, if only the vacationers, tourists, and seekers of Indian treasures could decipher it.
On the movement to reform Indian policy and the Dawes Act, see Prucha, *Americanizing the American Indians*. Hagan's *Theodore Roosevelt* offers an illuminating study of influences on Roosevelt's role in shaping Indian policy. Smith's *Reimagining Indians* gives a sympathetic portrait of turn-of-the-century writers who viewed Indians admiringly, learned something from their encounters, and influenced the reform of government policies.


1. **Singing Hiawatha**

1. Lockard, "Universal Hiawatha."
2. I take the biographical details from Arvin, *Longfellow*.
3. HWL to Francis Lieber, December 17, 1885, L.M.
4. Miscellaneous clippings from the Boston press, LC.
7. Fisko, "Mercurized Folklore."
8. Thompson, "Indian Legend."
10. Ibid. For musical versions of *Hiawatha* through the 1880s, see Bordman, *American Musical Theatre*, 58–58.
19. Jackson treats this paradox in her splendid essay, "Longfellow's Tradition."
72. Ibid., 160.
75. Newspaper clipping, LC.
77. Malmsheimer, "Imitation White Man."
79. Baker, *Remapping*, 5, 13, 64. See also Meredith, "They Remember Papa."
80. Eight pages of Horn's photographs also illustrate the brochure "The Indian Play 'Hiawatha.'"
82. Newspaper clippings, LC.
84. See Glassberg, *American Historical Imagery*, 164–99. See also Kahn, "Caliban."

**Additional Sources**


2. Conceivable Aliens

2. "Are We Facing an Immigration Peril?"
3. Walker, "Restriction of Immigration."
5. Higham, *Send These to Me*, 4.
7. Young, "Mother of Us All."
9. AS, xxv, xxvi.
10. Ibid., 307, xvii.
11. Ibid., 273.