

INDIAN-WHITE RELATIONS AS REFLECTED IN
TWENTIETH CENTURY WYOMING TOWN CELEBRATIONS

by

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Town celebrations or festivals are common in many regions of the United States. Such celebrations frequently take as their theme the founding of the town or a similar historical event of local or regional interest. These festivals are more than entertainment; they are cultural performances which entail the dramatic presentation of cultural symbols.¹ They are occasions in which a culture or society reflects upon and defines itself, dramatizes collective myths and history, presents alternatives, and promotes stability and change.²

Wyoming town celebrations which focus on local history frequently use images of American Indians as cultural symbols. These symbolizations make use of the Indian, whether noble and benevolent, or savage and bloodthirsty, as a classic view of "the other." This paper examines the use of the Indian as cultural symbol for three pageants that have been part of communities' celebrations. The argument developed here demonstrates that the images of the Indian represent the view of whites in different time periods which have coalesced and in some cases been maintained until the present.

The town of Lusk presented a pageant from 1946-1965 which depicted the Indian as brutal in the Old Testament sense of "an eye for an eye." Their pageant, "The Legend of Rawhide," focused on Indians killing a member of a wagon train by skinning him alive because he had earlier killed an Indian woman. A pageant presented in Thermopolis, Wyoming in 1925 and from 1950 to the present depicts the Indian as noble and charitable. In this "Gift of the Waters" pageant, Washakie, a Shoshoni chief, gives some hot springs to the white man so they can be used for the benefit of all. The seventy-fifth anniversary pageant of Newcastle, Wyoming, presented in 1964, portrayed Indians as first successfully keeping the whites out of their territory, then succumbing to the white advance and finally disappearing from the scene completely.

The Lusk pageant uses a local myth of bloodthirsty Indians that became prominent in the mid-nineteenth century. Thermopolis' view of the "gift of the hot springs" seems to have first arisen in newspaper accounts from 1897-1899. The Newcastle pageant purports to be an accurate view of the history of their area from a twentieth century perspective. Each of the images of the Indian reinforces what appears to be a common American value of "progress," and a sense that the United States was destined for great power and prosperity. Wagon trains continued to follow the Oregon trail; the hot springs were developed into a resort area; the Indians were relegated to reservation and the land settled by people who would use it "productively."

Historical data used in the analysis was collected in 1981-1984 in the state historical archives in Cheyenne, Wyoming; in the American Heritage Center at the University of Wyoming in Laramie, Wyoming; and at the county libraries in each of the three communities. In addition, individuals in the communities were interviewed on their view of local history, their perceptions of Indians, and their ideas about town development. In the case of Thermopolis where the pageant is still conducted, planning, organization, and performance were the focus of ethnographic research.

The analysis proceeds in two sections. In the first part, a historical framework for each community and its pageant are described. The pageants are viewed as "metacommentaries" on the world as perceived by local residents.³ The last section indicates how the various portrayals of the Indian reflect historical and contemporary Indian-white relationships.

DESCRIPTION OF THE THREE COMMUNITIES AND THEIR PAGEANTS

The three communities are in different geographical areas of Wyoming. The choice of historical material for use in each pageant has to some extent been determined by geographical location.⁴ Lusk, in east-central Wyoming, is in a relatively flat area. Though the Oregon Trail ran about 50-70 miles south, the people of Lusk selected a local landmark, three buttes 15 miles southwest of town, to use as a focal point for their presentation. A legend about the origin of the name, Rawhide Buttes, had circulated since the mid-nineteenth century. The legend involves a wagon train on its way to the California gold rush in 1849 and may date from the gold rush period. Clearly, the view taken is Indian as Savage, which is appropriate to the period of active hostilities before 1880.

Thermopolis, in the southern Big Horn Basin, is in west-central Wyoming. Part of the Wind River Shoshoni and Arapaho Reservation lies in Hot Springs County for which Thermopolis is the county seat. The people of Thermopolis therefore chose to present how the townsite and nearby hot springs were ceded from the reservation. Agitation for the land cession seems to have begun in the early 1890s, culminating in the 1896 treaty. Note that the history of these events begins with Indians who were already confined and somewhat adjusted to reservation life. The legend of the benevolence of Chief Washakie, who gave the springs to the white man without compensation so that men of all races could be healed, was already in circulation in newspapers before the turn of the century. The Indian as Noble Savage is perhaps more easily applied to those like the Shoshonis who were already peacefully restricted to the reservation.

Newcastle, which is located in the eastern Black Hills, was on the fringe of the area sacred to the Sioux. In their pageant, the Sioux's early victories are mentioned, but the inexorable white migration into the area for mining is stressed. The Indians disappear from the historical narrative after their defeat in battle.

Lusk and the Legend of Rawhide

Lusk, the county seat of Niobrara County, is the center of a farming and ranching area. Before the town was founded, the area was part of the Texas Trail, the route used to drive cattle from Texas to the rangelands of the Dakotas, Wyoming, and Montana. After the discovery of gold in the Black Hills in 1875, the area was home to several stage stations along the Cheyenne and Black Hills line. A limited period of copper



Rawhide Buttes, 15 miles south of Lusk.

mining in the Rawhide Buttes area began in 1884. Between 1884 and 1898, the Great Western Mining and Milling Company operated a mill one mile west of the townsite. Silver, gold, and copper were mined and processed during this period.

Construction of a new terminal point for the Elkhorn and Missouri Valley Railroad (later to become the Chicago and Northwestern) led to the founding of Lusk. Frank Lusk, the railroad's representative, opened the sale of lots for a new town in 1887. Aside from the limited mining activity, the economy of the region was primarily agricultural until oil was discovered in 1917. The Lance Creek Field, 30 miles northwest of Lusk, was the largest producing field in Wyoming from 1939-1945.

The agricultural economy of the area was modified from the early exclusive raising of cattle with the addition of sheep. Dry land farming also developed. Sprinkler irrigation has increased the production of such crops as alfalfa hay, winter wheat, barley, oats, and sugar beets.

From 1946 to 1965, the highlight of the summer in Lusk was a festival focused around the performance of a pageant, "The Legend of Rawhide." The pageant's story was based on a legend about the naming of Rawhide Buttes south of Lusk. A covered wagon train on its way to the California gold fields in the rush of 1849 was surrounded by hostile Indians. It seems that a member of the wagon train had sworn to kill the first Indian he saw and had performed this act on a lone Indian girl at a nearby stream. The Indians demanded that the killer be released to them. The members of the wagon train were reluctant and prepared for battle. However, the man gave himself up to the Indians saving the wagon train. He was brutally skinned alive at the base of the buttes, thus giving rise to the name, "rawhide."⁵ The story is said to be one often told by H.B. Kelly, a rancher and early settler in eastern Wyoming who went to California in 1847 and later returned to Wyoming. Kelly's ranch was burned by the Sioux in 1867.⁶ Another version was recounted by George Lathrop, a driver on the Cheyenne-Deadwood Stage who wrote in his memoirs that ". . . while the poor fellow fainted a number of times he lived 'til they had him nearly skinned."⁷

An alternative to this legend and a more prosaic account of the naming of Rawhide Buttes is given by a local historian and poet. At the base of Rawhide Buttes was a large spring on Rawhide Creek, long a favorite campground for Indians and trappers. A trading post provided a site for the exchange of beaver and buffalo hides. These were salted and pressed into packs. Then the furs were taken by horseback to boats farther down Rawhide Creek and the Platte and Missouri Rivers to market in St. Louis. Therefore, the station gained the name, "Rawhide," for its importance in the processing of raw animal pelts.⁸

The more colorful legend of Rawhide attracted the attention of Dr. Walter Reckling, a local physician and member of the county fair board in 1941. Reckling wanted to make the county fairs more attractive to tourists. In the post-war euphoria of 1946, Reckling gathered support from other townspeople and persuaded Eva Bonsell, a Lusk resident who was studying for a master's degree in drama at Denver University, to write the story in pageant form. The performance called for over a hundred participants, wagon train members and Indians. The entire wagon train was built by hand and only materials and techniques available in 1849 were allowed in creating the costumes. The show was given in pantomime with a hidden narrator, the county prosecuting attorney, reading the script. The mayor was the first to volunteer to portray an Indian. Those playing the Indians were required to ride bareback.

The knottiest problem faced by the pageant organizers was how to display the actual skinning of Clyde Pickett, the man who killed the Indian, after he gave himself up. Reckling took the performer chosen for this role to his operating room, stripped him, and covered him with plaster of paris. From the plaster models, he created a papier-mâché duplicate which was painted red. Some flesh tinted longjohns were sewn over the body, so that at the strategic moment, the papier-mâché body

was substituted for the real man, and the pink longjohns were stripped revealing the red, "rawhide" body underneath.⁹

Though rain spoiled the end of the first performance, the town gained valuable publicity and \$6000 for the construction of a new community building. The pageant continued in popularity for a number of years. The audience in 1955 was estimated at 3000 with receipts totalling \$1323. The 1969 performance was seen by 1200. Other features were added to the county fair through the years including a parade and a ball where prizes were awarded to those in the best pageant costumes. The pageant was discontinued in 1965 for financial reasons according to the local newspaper. In 1962 a mayoral candidate campaigned on the issue of a name change from Lusk to Rawhide. A popular national television show with the name, "Rawhide," was aired during this period. The candidate was defeated and the town remained Lusk.

The 1946 written version of "The Legend of Rawhide" was included in a souvenir program that also included ninety pages of advertising. The text itself is written in western dialect.

"Clyde gave himself up. Just ran out there a wavin' a white flag right into 'em."

"What?"

Gave himself up. Walked right out into 'em. Poor devil knew that they couldn't last it out. It took a brave man to do that, but he sure saved their necks. Couldn't they do anything? Nope, it's too late now, the Injuns are takin' him away. What if they gets one taste of blood and want more. They'll be back and massacre the whole train. There ain't anything they can do for Clyde now. But they all hafta git outta there if they want to save their own skins.

Hurry . . . hurry . . . Whips cracked . . . teams broke into a run . . . running madly over the prairie to the safety of Fort Laramie . . . running past the blue-black buttes . . . leaving Clyde to a horrible death at the foot of Rawhide Buttes.¹⁰

Thermopolis and the Gift of the Waters Pageant

Thermopolis is the center of a ranching and oil producing area. The town grew up near the site of several thermal mineral springs which were originally part of the Wind River Reservation given to the Shoshoni tribe in 1868. The treaty of 1896 negotiated by Indian Inspector James McLaughlin gave the springs and a ten mile square surrounding them to the federal government for \$60,000 in cash, cattle, and other supplies. The land was opened to settlers except for a one mile square surrounding the springs which was ceded to the state for use as a park.¹¹ Big Spring, the largest in the park, supplies water for a free of charge state-operated bathhouse and two commercial swimming pools.

The Gift of the Waters Pageant, still presented annually in Thermopolis, was originally written in 1925 for the state Women's Clubs convention held in Thermopolis that year. The author, Maria Montabe, a local resident, was a charter member of the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR). After moving away, Montabe corresponded with several DAR members who urged that the pageant become an annual event. In 1950 on its silver anniversary, the pageant was presented under the sponsorship of the DAR with Montabe returning as the director. In addition to the pageant, the annual summer town celebration typically includes a kiddie parade, an adult parade, melodrama and horse show performances, a demolition derby, and a sidewalk sale with fundraising booths.

The pageant reenacts the Shoshoni gift of the springs to the white man.¹² The Shoshonis are called to bless the water and say farewell to their springs. The Shoshoni signed the treaty ceding the springs seventy miles away at Fort Washakie. Thus, the reenactment portrays a poetic farewell, not an historical one. The cast is composed of Thermopolis residents and a Shoshoni extended family who are paid for their participation.

The poetic narration which accompanies the silent blessing, gift, and farewell, is recited by a town resident dressed in fringed buckskin as a mountain man. The poem directs the various activities of the participants in a scene by scene story. Scene 1 includes a call to the audience to be witness to the gift of the waters.

You, who love the winds of summer
Singing, sobbing through the pine trees
And the lure of open spaces
The great call of rushing waters
Listen to this tale depicted,
Harken to this gift of waters
The great gift of the Shoshonis,
To the Tibos, foreign brothers. (script)

In this scene, the Shoshonis are also called to gather for their farewell.

Continuing narration in Scene 2 directs the Shoshoni who plays the medicine man to bless the water in preparation for the gift:

Down the northward slope of mountain
Comes Shoshoni man of healing
Comes to bless the smoking water. (script)

The scene also contains the water ceremony in which a Shoshoni "princess" and her two handmaidens dip bowls into the spring. The Shoshoni men drink the water from the bowl. At this point, another Shoshoni girl steps to the front facing the audience and performs the Lord's Prayer in sign language. A member of the town women's chorus sings the Lord's Prayer at the same time.



Townswomen of Thermopolis dressed as Indians in the Gift of the Waters Pageant.

In Scene 3, a chorus composed of townswomen dressed as Indians express their loss in a chant to Dama Upa, Shoshoni for "Our Father," referring to God. These women are dressed in handsewn deerskin dresses; some wear black wigs with braids to cover their own hair. These clothes are not at all similar to those worn by Shoshonis, yet they are readily recognizable as "Indian" clothes. In the 1950s, the women wore ruddy makeup on their faces, arms, and legs to look more like Indians. In Scene 4, the gift is made by a Shoshoni man portraying Washakie, the Shoshoni chief when the treaty session was made. The Shoshoni then bid farewell to the springs.

Basically, the pageant develops three interwoven themes, that the Shoshonis made a gift of their hot springs because they knew it would benefit mankind; that the springs have healing qualities; and that all people are brothers who share in God's bounty. The themes are interwoven by the emphasis given to the role of Chief Washakie who is portrayed as a wise, generous man who not only willingly gave up the springs to his white brothers, but also specified in the treaty that some of the waters should be reserved for free public use. In fact, white pressure and encroachment forced the Shoshonis to give up the springs. They received some compensation in the transaction. Free access to a bathhouse was not specified in the treaty, but appears to be a result of various newspaper campaigns from 1897-1899.¹³ In the pageant, the charitable gift of the Shoshonis is clearly connected to the fact that the springs were themselves a gift from God. The theme of universal brotherhood under God culminates in the closing dance

of the pageant in which all the Shoshonis and the townswomen's chorus intermingle in the Shoshoni round dance.

The first presentation of the pageant in 1925 was a huge success. Even the governor of Wyoming was present. Through the 1950s, the pageant remained popular with several thousand attending each performance. Through the years, the pageant has declined in audience until now only several hundred attend.

The one hour performance is primarily somber and dignified in atmosphere with the exception of the exuberance of some of the Shoshoni dances. These dances are part of a standardized repertoire and are not connected to the story line. The dances end each scene. One of the major complaints about the pageant mentioned by townspeople is that the tone and pacing of the events make it slow-moving. Townspeople also note that the organizers of the pageant were the same individuals, civic and social leaders, for over ten years.

Newcastle and its Seventy Fifth Anniversary Pageant

Newcastle, the county seat of Weston County, is the center of an area based on a mixed economy of mining, lumber, and agriculture. The town is referred to as the "Western Gateway to the Black Hills." The area first gained prominence during the Black Hills gold rush of the 1870s. In 1875 at the direction of President Ulysses S. Grant, a party of scientists and miners with a military escort established a stockade about seven miles from the current townsite. This stockade was later used as a station along the Cheyenne-Deadwood Stage route. Though gold was the early impetus for the arrival of white men in the region, coal was more important in local development.

Frank Mondell, an employee of a railroad construction company, was sent to find locomotive coal so that a branch line could be built into the Black Hills. In 1888, a workable vein was discovered, and the town of Cambria sprang up about ten miles from present day Newcastle. Cambria was built as a planned mining community with miners of 23 nationalities and their families brought into the area. In the spring of 1889, rumors spread that the Burlington and Missouri Railroad would come through the region. Deloss Tubb, grocer of Custer, South Dakota, surveyed the area and built a general store two miles from the present townsite, which he named Tubb Town. When the railroad bypassed Tubb Town, the people who had settled there moved everything to the new site. J.L. Hemingway, superintendent of the Cambria mines was given the honor of naming the new town. He called it Newcastle in memory of his home, Newcastle-in-Tyne in England, also an important coal mining town.¹⁴

Currently, Newcastle hosts the Weston County Fair and a new festival called "Whoop'n Holler Days" that includes exhibits, concerts, rodeo, a carnival, square dancing, special sales, and decorations. While this festival's name hearkens back to the early wild days of the town then known for its saloons and dance hall girls, there is nothing specifically

celebrated about the gold rush or mining past. However, in 1964 on the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding a commemorative historical pageant, "The Coals of Newcastle," was presented at the fairgrounds.



Newcastle, Wyoming.

This pageant presented the local view of town history from prehistoric times to 1928 when the mining at Cambria ended. The pageant, written by two local women, Mabel Brown and Elizabeth Thorpe, expresses a somewhat ambivalent view of Indian-white relations in which it is admitted that the land was stolen from the Sioux because of the discovery of gold in the Black Hills. Yet, the Indians are depicted as attacking the Warren Expedition with "blood-curdling screams." Then, they suddenly disappear from the story after a confrontation at the Jenney Stockade.¹⁵

The pageant began with a prologue on the creation of the world recounted in verse. Dinosaurs battle, eventually cave people appear, and finally Indians build a camp. A narrator explained the events that were silently taking place on stage. The Indians were introduced in the verse:

Long after came our Indians
 Worshippers of the Great Spirit--
 Spirit of the land, the sky, the waters
 They lived a life of freedom
 From mountain to plain and back again,
 Free as we have never been,
 They used the land, and all its creatures
 With great wisdom.¹⁶

The Indians on stage carried on various activities including a ceremonial dance and council fire.

In Act I, the Indians again carried on their camp activities on stage while two narrators discussed the discovery of gold in the Black Hills. Stage directions of the scene include a battle between the Indians and the 1867 Warren expedition sent to map the region and check out the rumors of gold. The Indians successfully chased the Warren camp from the stage returning with the expedition's instruments and guns. The act ended with a duplicate of the preceding scene but with a reversed ending. The Jenney Stockade is built on the site where the Warren expedition camped. As soon as the building is completed on stage, the Indians attack but are defeated. The Indian women pick up the props which constituted their village and follow their men who have run away on horseback. The Indians were never mentioned again despite the fact that in the fall of 1903 the Weston County Sheriff was killed in a fight with Indians who were allegedly hunting stock. This event is frequently referred to in various local historical sources as the last battle with Indians in Wyoming.¹⁷

The stage action continued with homesteaders gathering at the Jenney Stockade and a robbery of a stagecoach that passed the station. The founding of Tubb Town and Cambria are shown. Modern Newcastle is introduced in a narrated slide presentation. The development of the town, especially the role of women in creating respectability, concludes the pageant. The women organized clubs, built schoolhouses, and started church groups.

The pageant was produced by members of the local Lions Club with the participation of many civic organizations, the Jaycees, Junior Women's Club, Rebekah Lodge, Boy and Girl Scouts, the 4-H Riding Club, Job's Daughters, Lutheran Church, county and city employees, and the local national guard unit. All roles including the Indians were taken by townspeople. Indian roles were categorized as braves, chiefs, women, and children.

ANALYSIS--THE INDIAN AS SYMBOLIC REINFORCEMENT OF WHITE VALUES

Each of the pageants has a different story line. The themes can be seen as the twentieth century expression of the images of the Indian that appeared as early as the seventeenth century in Europe. In the Lusk version of the "The Legend of Rawhide," the Indians, tribe unnamed, are presented in a close approximation to savagery. They brutally skin a man while he still lives. In fact, the Indians and the man, Clyde Pickett, reverse positions through the story.¹⁸ At first, the Indians are peaceful; and Pickett is portrayed as a foolhardy risk-taker who brutally kills an Indian woman. However, by the end of the pageant, Pickett has redeemed and ennobled himself by giving himself up for the sake of the group. He sacrifices himself for progress; the wagon train makes its escape while the Indians are busily skinning Pickett. Thus, he has become a hero; and the Indians, who might have been considered to have had just cause, become bloodthirsty.

In the Thermopolis pageant, the Indians are presented in the symbolization of the Noble Savage. The Shoshoni are referred to as Nature's people who perform what is basically described as an act of Christian charity. They give up some hot springs so that these may be developed by others more suited to the task of bringing them to the attention and benefit of all mankind. Here the Shoshoni are portrayed as recognizing God as a giver of nature's bounty. This bounty is to be used to benefit mankind. This notion that man is needed to make nature productive for his own benefit reflects the white value structure of the "conquering" of the wilderness.

In both the pageants discussed above, there is the implicit idea that the Indian is about to disappear. In Lusk, the wagon train makes its escape to Fort Laramie, symbol of the increasing hegemony of the United States as it fulfills its destiny to control and populate the area from ocean to ocean. In Thermopolis, the new town will assume the Indian's sacred trust over nature and will develop the area so that the Indians themselves are no longer needed to exercise control. The clearest example of the vanishing Indian is found in Newcastle where the Indians are defeated in battle and simply vacate the premises. In these cases, culture change for the Indian is not a possibility. The Indians represent the past which may or may not have had positive qualities, but the past is over and only the future counts. If there were any positive values in the Indian lifeways, these are usurped by the whites; the Indians are just washed away in the sea of progress.

The use of the Indian as a symbol of the past is clearly shown in the fact that these pageants include townspeople dressing up as Indians. The townspeople do not dress up in clothes worn by contemporary Indians, but in clothes which were supposedly worn in the nineteenth century, beaded deerskin, feather headdresses, etc. There is an emphasis on making the clothes authentic in most cases. Yet, the idea of whites taking the roles of Indians is incongruous, for rather than indicating continuity with Indians, the costuming and portrayal appears to be a distancing mechanism. The Indians are part of make-believe, part of the past, made exotic and still part of "them, not us."

Significantly, it is the traditional higher echelon of town social structure that takes these roles, those active in civic organizations or politics. In many calendrical rituals of traditional societies, at certain culturally defined points in the seasonal cycle, groups or categories of persons who habitually occupy high status positions in the social structure are ritually insulted or made to switch places with those of low status.¹⁹ In this case, there is no true symbolic inversion; no real Indians take up high status positions. Rather, the make-believe Indians disappear; they fulfill the myth of the disappearing Indian that whites constructed when they sought control of the land. In reality, the various tribes failed to vanish, but the value of "Manifest Destiny" continues to dominate these cultural performances.

In each case, the pageants symbolically reenact a transfer of sovereignty and legitimize the present. In fact, present conditions, stereotypes about Indians, and the lack of contemporary social relations are used to define and limit the past. In the case of Thermopolis where one Shoshoni family does participate, differentiated costuming and spatial separation in the pageant still reflect the white perspective of values and social structure.

To summarize, the townspeople who have participated and watched these events, the social arrangements, activities and words in each pageant reflect the virtuous and proper interpretation of past, present, and future. The past is portrayed by a transfer of sovereignty that dignifies the contemporary control of the land by those who represent the elite of town social structure. The present is represented by separation between Indians and whites and by the values of mastery of nature for the sake of prosperity. The future is represented by the stress on progress and the growth of the town as a symbol of the United States.

CONCLUSIONS

The messages about Indians conveyed by these pageants are at one level very different. In one case, the Indians are savages who enjoy torturing an errant white man. In another case, the Indians are noble and benevolent who are willing to give up their property without recompense since the entire world will be thereby aided. In the last case, the Indians seek to maintain control over their property but cannot because of the ultimate superiority of the white man. Despite the variability in these messages, at an underlying level all the stories celebrate the American ideal of progress. The contemporary control of the land by the white man and the manipulation of nature for the sake of human productivity are emphasized and justified. The Indian is in all cases relegated to the past as a symbol of static time which is condemned in the American value system.

The value of mastery over nature was presented in these pageants as a commentary on the importance of the social good. In "The Legend of Rawhide," a man sacrifices himself to save a wagon train. In "The Gift of the Waters," the healing benefits of the water are given to all mankind. In "The Coals of Newcastle," progress, settlement, and the development of natural resources were all linked to the "Manifest Destiny" of the United States. This mastery of nature for the social good seems to reflect an additional concern with legitimizing the position of those with power since they have presumably acted for the social good. This value has its roots in traditional town social structure. In this regard, it is noteworthy that officials and leaders of civic organizations are the ones who take the role of Indians. In so doing, they reinforce their own positions as the upholders of the American value system.

NOTES

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1. For a historical account of the perspective on pageantry used in this paper see W. Lloyd Warner, The Family of God [abridged edition] (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), 43-144. A more recent collection is Frank Manning, The Celebration of Society: Perspectives in Contemporary Cultural Performance (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1983), 7.

2. Forms of imagery presented in different types of cultural performances are discussed in John MacAloon, Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals Toward a Theory of Cultural Performance (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1984), 1. See also Roger Abrahams, "Shouting Match at the Border: The Folklore of Display Events," in And Other Neighborly Names: Social Process and Cultural Image in Texas Folklore, ed. Richard Bauman and Roger Abrahams (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981).

3. See Robert Lavenda, "Family and Corporation: Two Styles of Celebration in Central Minnesota," in The Celebration of Society, ed. Frank Manning (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1983), 51-64.

4. Economic and historical data for the three communities was obtained from the University of Wyoming pamphlet and clipping file. Some materials in these files are undated.

5. Eva Bonsell Paris, "The Legend of Rawhide," Souvenir Program (1947), 7-11.

6. Charles Coutant, The History of Wyoming, vol. 1 (Laramie: Chaplin, Spafford, and Mathison Printers, 1899), 336; and Charles Coutant, "The History of Wyoming," Annals of Wyoming, vol. 12, Part 1 (January 1940), 44.

7. George Lathrop, Some Pioneer Recollections (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Co., 1927), 17.

8. Mae Urbanek, Ghost Trails of Wyoming (Boulder: Johnson Publishing, 1978), 163.

9. William Barker, "Skinned Alive Every Year," Rocky Mountain Empire Magazine, 30 July 1959, and Sally Griffith, "The Legend of Rawhide--Pageantry is a Vivid Memory," Lusk Herald, 9 September 1971.

10. Paris, "Legend of Rawhide," 11.

11. Dorothy Milek, The Gift of Bah Guewana (Loveland, Colorado: Lithographic Press, 1975).

12. Maria Montabe, "Gift of the Waters" (Casper, Wyoming: Commercial Printing Co., 1925). Loaned by Historical Museum, Hot Springs County.

13. Milek, The Gift, 45-50.

14. Mabel Brown and Elizabeth Thorpe, "And Then There Was One--The Story of Cambria, Tubb Town and Newcastle," Copyrighted Manuscript, 1962. University of Wyoming American Heritage Center File.

15. Mabel Brown and Elizabeth Thorpe, "The Coals of Newcastle," Program, 2, 4 July 1964, 34-36. University of Wyoming American Heritage Center File.

16. *Ibid.*, 34.

17. "Sheriff William Miller was killed by Sioux Indians in 1908--Newcastle Posse Met Sad Fate at Hands of Redskins," Newsletter Journal. Half Century Anniversary Edition, Section 7, 17 August, 1939.

18. Bruce Rosenberg, the Code of the West (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 57-77.

19. Victor Turner, The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), 167.