

The Children of Chautauqua
Perceptions of Childhood in the Circuit Chautauqua Movement

by

Joseph Schoenfelder

A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

Approved April 2012
by the Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Roger Bedard, Co-Chair
Tamara Underiner, Co-Chair
Pamela Sterling

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

May 2012

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to explore the ways in which childhood was perceived in the circuit Chautauqua movement. The methodology followed a threefold approach: first, to trace the development of the Chautauqua movement, thereby identifying the values and motivations which determined programming; next, to identify the major tropes of thought through which childhood has been traditionally understood; and finally, to do a performance analysis of the pageant *America, Yesterday and Today* to locate perceptions of childhood and to gain a better understanding of the purpose of this pageant. My principal argument is that the child's body was utilized as the pivotal tool for the ideological work that the pageant was designed to do. This ideological effort was aimed at both the participants and the audience, with the child's body serving as the site of education as well as signification. Through the physical embodiment and repetition of different roles, the children who participated performed certain values and cultural assumptions. This embodiment of values was expected to be retained and performed long after the performance was over – it was a form of training through pleasure.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	Page
1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
The Topic.....	1
Interest.....	2
Research Question.....	3
Examination of Research Question.....	3
Materials.....	4
Organization of the Study.....	5
2 CHAUTAUQUA OVERVIEW.....	7
The Camp Meeting.....	7
Lyceum Movement.....	9
Rise of Management Bureaus.....	11
Chautauqua: the Beginning.....	12
Leisure/Vacation.....	15
First Chautauqua.....	16
Permanent/Independent Chautauquas.....	17
Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle.....	19
Circuit Chautauquas.....	19

CHAPTER	Page
Audience Composition and Racial Representation.....	22
Criticisms.....	25
Conclusion.....	27
3 THE IMPORTANCE OF CHILDREN AT CHAUTAUQUA.....	28
Introduction of Children.....	28
Advertising.....	29
Children’s Coordinators.....	29
The Pageant.....	31
Patriotism.....	36
Junior Town.....	38
Nature Themes.....	39
Setting.....	40
Conclusion.....	42
4 THEORY.....	43
Early Thoughts on Childhood.....	43
Children as Miniature Adults.....	44
Children as Incomplete.....	45
The child as evil or innocent.....	47

CHAPTER	Page
The Romantic Child.....	48
Children as the Subject of Inquiry.....	50
Social Constructivism and Childhood.....	51
Performance.....	53
5 <i>AMERICA, YESTERDAY AND TODAY: DESC. AND ANALYSIS</i>	55
Overview.....	55
The Role of the Director.....	56
Children as Uber-Marionettes.....	58
Goals of Pageant Work.....	59
Representation.....	60
History.....	61
Setting.....	62
Episode I. The Spirit of Indian Days.....	63
Treatment of Race.....	67
Episode II. The Spirit of the Wilderness.....	72
Treatment of Gender.....	80
Episode III. The Spirit of Patriotism.....	82
Patriotism.....	88

CHAPTER	Page
6 SUMMARY.....	94
WORKS CITED.....	96

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Topic

The Chautauqua movement began as a late nineteenth-century religious education movement aimed specifically at the training of Sunday school teachers in order to provide the highest quality of education to the children attending. In 1874 religious educators gathered at the first Chautauqua Assembly at Lake Chautauqua in New York to attend lectures on religious pedagogy. The Chautauqua Assembly became an annual event which was expanded to include secular lecturers as well, thus becoming a popular form of adult education.

The Chautauqua idea began in New York, but quickly spread throughout rural areas of the United States as small towns organized committees and erected permanent facilities for people to gather and share cultural experiences which they otherwise had no access to. This idea was then put into the form of touring circuits, beginning in 1904, in which equipment and entertainers were transported to rural towns for Chautauqua meetings.

Programming for both adults and children was present in the Chautauquas. Adults who visited the permanent Chautauquas might attend Bible studies, lectures on religious and secular topics, devotional hours, and Normal classes, which were Sunday school pedagogical instruction. Printed programs show that activities for children included Boys' Club, Girls' Club, Bible classes, boys' and girls' days, children's days, and performers such as magicians and musicians

(New Piasa Chautauqua Assembly Program). The programming of the circuit Chautauquas still included separate adult and children's programming, but largely comprised secular entertainers and lecturers in lieu of religious ones.

Interest

I chose to write about the Chautauqua movement because I was interested in its function as a popular education movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, specifically the general cultural notions of what children and childhood should be. The more research I did, the more I was compelled to explore the ways in which children were thought of and treated during this movement. I have enjoyed exposure to a wide variety of interests thus far in my academic career and so I was fascinated by the all-inclusive, interdisciplinary nature of the Chautauqua movement. I narrowed the focus of my research to the circuit Chautauqua movement because it represents one of the earliest examples of the commodification of childhood – a pervasive feature in our current society. I was intrigued by the complexities of this subject as it involves contradictory motivations for children's inclusion: the enrichment of children for the good of each child, the molding of children for the sake of reproducing a segment of society along with that segment's ideologies, and the offering of children's activities for financial gain.

I found little published academic writing about the social construction of childhood in the Chautauqua circuit, and I believe I can offer a unique analysis of how childhood was constructed and performed within the circuit Chautauqua movement.

Research Question

In my thesis, I attempt to locate the most commonly held perceptions about children and how these perceptions formed the social constructions of childhood within the circuit Chautauqua movement. This leads to my main research question: What was the perception of children in the circuit Chautauqua movement, and how was this manifested through performance?

Examination of Research Question

The methodology is historical in nature and follows a threefold approach: first, to trace the development of the Chautauqua movement, thereby identifying the values and motivations which determined programming; next, to identify the major tropes of thought through which childhood has been traditionally understood; and finally, to do a performance analysis of the pageant *America, Yesterday and Today* to locate perceptions of childhood and to gain a better understanding of the purpose which this pageant served. By inductive logic, this specific example is to stand as representative of the process of childhood construction in the circuit Chautauqua movement in general.

I examine this pageant as a performance event rather than just a piece of text, since it was written to be performed, and was performed repeatedly in the circuit Chautauquas. Since the rehearsal and performance of the pageant relies on the repetition of actions, I find it helpful to theorize on what is achieved through the repetition of the actions in the pageant. I believe that analyzing this event with social construction also in mind reveals important details about how

childhood may have been produced through common perceptions, and reinforced through participation and representation in the circuit Chautauqua movement.

Materials:

My research was aided by the wealth of material available from online digital repositories such as the Internet Archive at archive.org, the Digital Library of South Dakota at <http://dlsd.sdln.net>, Southern Oregon Digital Archives at soda.sou.edu, the Traveling Culture Circuit Chautauqua in the Twentieth Century collection from the Library of Congress' American Memory at <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/chautauqua/build.html>, and digitized books from Google at books.google.com.

For general theory on how childhood is socially constructed, I utilize childhood studies texts such as Steven Mintz's *Hucks Raft: A History of American Childhood* (2004) and Stuart C. Aitken's *Geographies of Young People: The Morally Contested Spaces of Identity* (2001).

I also include current academic writings which focus on social constructions present in the Chautauqua movement. The existing published writing about the children of the Chautauqua movement is fragmentary and limited – I have not found a single book dedicated to them; and where children are spoken of, it is either a chapter dedicated to them, or a mere mention of their participation. Most writings about Chautauqua have been without critical analysis, providing a historical chronology; however, some notable exceptions are Charlotte Canning's *The Most American Thing in America: Circuit Chautauqua as Performance*, and Andrew Rieser's *The Chautauqua Moment: Protestants,*

Progressives, and the Culture of Modern Liberalism. Both texts explore nationalism, race, and gender issues in the Chautauqua movement.

I also draw from Judith Butler's essay, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory," and Berger and Luckman's *The Social Construction of Reality*, to explore how childhood was performed as a part of the larger construction of society.

Organization of Study:

I begin this analysis by describing the overall arch of the Chautauqua movement in general, as I believe it will provide a glimpse of the ethos in which the heart of this analysis is situated. In Chapter Two, I describe the children's programming of the circuit Chautauqua movement. In Chapter Three I present a review of current literature written about childhood, social constructivism, and performance theory to provide a theoretical framework to guide the examination of children's programming. In Chapter Four, I analyze – with the established theoretical framework in mind – an event included in nearly all of the circuit Chautauqua programs: the pageant. I have chosen Nina B. Lamkin's *America, Yesterday and Today* because of its popularity, also because it has similar themes to other pageants included in programming, and thereby is representative of the circuit Chautauqua pageants in general. Lamkin's pageant was written in 1917 and was produced over 350 times that year by community groups and Chautauqua circuit groups (Lamkin 5). Finally, I summarize the results of my analysis in Chapter Five.

I will focus my analysis on the year 1917, the year in which the United States entered into World War I. This year reflects not only an increasing patriotic consciousness in the United States, but also an increased interest – nearly the peak – of the circuit Chautauqua movement. The Chautauqua movement began as a forum where theories about religious education could be put into practice on a larger scale, but then transformed into a more secular event in which citizenship was defined. Johnson notes of this change: “This is not a camp meeting ground now; those days are past, but a very helpful religious atmosphere prevails, and yet people are not asked to accept any certain religious creed or belief, but they are expected to have a high standard of morals and a love for the highest type of citizenship” (Johnson 1). As it became more difficult financially to keep the circuit going, the programming required an increased number of entertainment events: “Some of us kept the best evening spots for the speakers although we knew well enough that a play or light opera or even a musician would attract more silver” (Horner 175). I will consider these entertainment events as well as the popular circuit Chautauqua lecturers when theorizing on the ideological frameworks of the movement, within which the children’s programming was situated.

CHAPTER 2

CHAUTAUQUA OVERVIEW

Two major precursors to the Chautauqua movement were Lyceum meetings and camp meetings. The forms and purposes of these early-nineteenth century movements were quite different in nature, but a fusion of the two forms would later be utilized in the realization of the original Chautauqua Assembly.

The Camp Meeting

In her book, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States*, Cindy S. Aron argues that leisure time and vacations in the first half of the nineteenth century were, with little exception, exclusive to those with substantial financial means (29-30). Those with lesser financial means did not have the privilege of leisure time as all their time was occupied with farm work, household chores, cooking, and child rearing. Instead of vacationing, during this same time period, many people with only moderate and lower financial means engaged in camp meetings. These experiences resembled vacations and met both spiritual and recreational needs (Aron 30). The camp meetings were large-scale gatherings held in remote locations to accommodate large audiences who came to listen to preachers' sermons. People traveled to these remote gatherings for spiritual uplift, but were also able to socialize and take a break from their isolated lives and farm work.

The camp meetings began in Kentucky in the summers of 1800 and 1801 when Presbyterian and Methodist ministers held religious revivals responsible for

starting a wave of similar week-long meetings throughout the eastern United States (Posey, Rieser 22). These meetings were popular in rural areas of the United States and could draw up to five thousand participants (Aron 30). Those who gathered stayed in tents and listened to sermons which were full of religious fervor. Women and minorities were welcome to join the camp meetings, but could not sit in the same section as the men. According to Johnson, men and women had carefully demarcated sections in which they were to sit, and African Americans were allowed to set up their own camps but were segregated from the white audience members (46).

The inclusion of women and children in the camp meetings indicates that there was an element of family value which extended past the “enlightenment” of the patriarch to include the salvation, or at least edification, of all family members. Baynard Rush Hall wrote of this inclusion: “once or twice a year children were removed from school and whole families rushed to the camp meeting ‘under the belief that the Christian God is a God of the woods and not of the towns’” (cited in Johnson, 212).

Camp meetings did not focus on current events, political topics, or entertainment, but were dusk-until-dawn affairs centered on worship and salvation sermons. The stirring emotional approach to sermons was controversial from the beginning of the camp meeting era, eliciting both praise and criticism. In his book, *The Frontier Camp Meeting: Religion’s Harvest Time*, Charles A. Johnson says, “Because of the noise and disorder which were so prominent a feature of its services, and because of its deliberate use of emotional excitement, the camp

meeting was greeted from the very beginning with virulent condemnation by some laymen and historians” (3). For this reason camp meeting audiences were polarized: some were moved and uplifted and others were disappointed, even annoyed. At best, the camp meeting was praised as “an institution ‘originated by divine providence,’” and at worst, it was derided as ““an emotional outbreak which was even more psychopathic than the witchcraft mania in early New England”” (Johnson 3-4). This polarization was not necessarily harmful to the attendance at camp meetings, as many opponents still came to camp meetings to criticize and jeer the pastors.

The outdoor setting of the camp meetings stemmed not only from aesthetic desire but from practical needs; in frontier towns, church buildings were often either non-existent in the particular location or too small to house a large number of participants (Johnson 27). The wooded outdoor areas provided a peaceful and naturally beautiful setting thought to be fitting for spiritual reflection.

Lyceum Movement

The Lyceum began as a popular education movement in the eastern United States and gradually worked its way west as the United States expanded and educational forums became popular in the Midwest. Science teacher Josiah Holbrook’s goal of introducing the study of natural sciences into public schools led to his vision of an “American Lyceum” in every city, town, and village in the United States (DaBoll 29). These Lyceums would offer science and cultural exhibits as well as lectures and debates. The first Lyceum meeting was held in

Millbury Massachusetts in 1826, and “within a year 100 villages had joined, and during the next 12-month period, Lyceums were formed in nearly every state in the Union” (DaBoll 29). Holbrook assembled this first Lyceum course as a series of lectures and demonstrations on mechanics and industry techniques for the textile workers of the community (Tapia 12). What began as a fairly simple and specific lecture course soon grew into a course which included lectures on politics, economics, entertainment, popular culture, and travel.

Children were acknowledged in some Lyceum courses and there is evidence that some communities even established a Children’s Lyceum with educational activities for children. An article in the periodical *The Friend of Progress* advocates for the organization of Children’s Lyceum: “the right of each child to an education, untainted by old time opinions, is being gradually acknowledged” (27). This article suggests a paradigm shift in children’s rights in the United States because it refers to education as the right and privilege of children, which was only gradually being recognized.

The Lyceum courses were not exclusive to larger cities; they eventually thrived in the Midwest as well. Harry P. Harrison was hired as a college student to work as an agent for James Redpath’s Redpath Lyceum Bureau – also known as the Boston Lyceum Bureau – and was tasked with selling the Lyceum course to towns in the Midwest. In his book *Culture Under Canvas: The Story of Tent Chautauqua*, Harrison tells of his travels into the young state of South Dakota along the railroad in 1901: “Here was an adventure! South Dakota was an infant state. Except for a few towns sprinkled along its eastern border and the roaring

gold camps in the Black Hills to the west, it was raw frontier” (20). This example also illustrates the overlap of the Chautauqua and Lyceum movements as South Dakota had established independent Chautauqua grounds a decade earlier.

Rise of Management Bureaus

In the 1840s, professional lecturers began scheduling speaking dates at Lyceum meetings. Each town had a Lyceum group which organized their meetings and sought lecturers; however, these groups were unwilling to let outside organizations coordinate and manage the lecturers and so such attempts failed. The result was haphazard coordination between the lecturers and the local Lyceum organizers (Tapia 12-13). Following the Civil War, there was a greater demand for lecturers and it was now possible for bureaus to be established for the management and coordination of lecturers at Lyceum events. The most successful of these bureaus was the Boston Lyceum Bureau, better known as the Redpath Lyceum Bureau, founded by James Redpath in 1868 (Tapia 14). In 1867, Redpath attended a lecture by Charles Dickens in Boston, throughout which Dickens complained about how awful his travels were, and how mistreated all lecturers were. After hearing this, Redpath devised a plan in which the bureau of organizers would be centrally located and would negotiate prices and accommodations which would make the lecturers feel welcomed and appreciated (Harrison 31-32). Many similar bureaus were founded after the Redpath Bureau; they negotiated travel arrangements and speaker fees, and later, provided the lecturers and entertainers for both independent and circuit Chautauquas.

Chautauqua: The Beginning

The founders of the first Chautauqua Assembly, John Heyl Vincent and Lewis Miller, were involved with both secular and religious education but were most passionate about religious pedagogy. They envisioned the gathering of many Sunday school workers for several weeks to study the Bible and Sunday school teaching methods (Hurlbut 20-21). In 1874, this idea materialized into an organized meeting called the Chautauqua Assembly, located at Lake Chautauqua, in Fair Point, New York. As Chautauqua historian Alfreda L. Irwin notes, the Chautauqua assembly was effective at promoting religion through education aimed at children, but as it gained momentum, it also became a popular education movement for adults: “As it turned out, her [Chautauqua’s] program expanded almost immediately to meet the needs of all those who wanted to continue to learn” (4).

John Heyl Vincent was passionate about improving the quality of Sunday School education afforded to children. He believed that the quality of teachers was, in many cases, inadequate. Vincent, a pastor, and later bishop in Illinois, founded the *Sunday School Quarterly* in 1868, in which he advocated the education of Sunday School instructors so that they might provide a higher standard of education for their students (Gould 3-4). To achieve this goal, Vincent promoted Sunday School Institutes which provided training for otherwise under-educated Sunday school teachers. These institutes were similar, in objective, to Normal Institutes – or Teacher’s Institutes, as they were sometimes

called – which were held by communities for teachers in the realm of secular, public education. Vincent cites the earliest Teacher’s Institute as occurring in 1839 in Connecticut; the goal of these meetings was to expand the depth and breadth of the teachers’ knowledge as well as providing them with the best methods of teaching (*Sunday School* 20-21). Vincent then translated this idea from secular interests to religious: “The success of Teacher’s Institutes in advancing the interests of secular education throughout the country suggested to Sunday-school workers the practicability and desirableness of adopting a similar method for the promotion of the higher and nobler ends which this institute contemplates” (*Sunday School* 21). While these institutes were helpful, Vincent wanted a similar event which was not so constrained by time limitations (Gould 4).

Vincent was unable to attend college, but was very well-read, and had the opportunity to travel extensively. Historian Joseph Gould claims that Vincent was “singularly free from the narrow sectional prejudice and the religious dogmatism” that was prevalent at his time (5-6). Vincent envisioned a meeting in which everyone is welcome and many viewpoints are represented: “Now the doctrine which Chautauqua teaches is this, that every man has a right to be all that he can be, to know all that he can know, to do all that he pleases to do.” He goes on to say that “position in life has nothing to with it. Well, then, poverty, birth, nor color has nothing to do with it” (Irwin 3). Although it is arguable to what degree the Mother Chautauqua actually attained a prejudice-free democratic process, its traces bear witness to a democratic spirit.

Lewis Miller was an educator as well as a successful inventor. Like Vincent, he was also interested in the improvement of Sunday Schools. Miller lived in Ohio, where he was superintendent of the First United Methodist Church in Akron. There, Miller founded a Normal School for the betterment of Sunday school teachers and established a system of grading in the Sunday school to make it a more formal education setting rather than just a meeting of children (Hurlbut 18-19).

Vincent and Miller met through working in consultation on planning a normal course for the Methodist denomination (Hurlbut 19). After Vincent and Miller discovered they had similar values, they exchanged their ideas about an extended meeting for religious educators and discussed the possibility of an outdoor setting to provide a pastoral backdrop for the event (Gould 4-5). A remote, outdoor location would provide opportunity for recreation and relaxation as refreshment between lectures and church services as well as a reflective atmosphere removed from the perceived evils of urban environments. Miller had recently become a trustee for a camp meeting held at Lake Chautauqua in Fair Point, New York and invited Vincent to visit this location as a possible venue for their first meeting. Hurlbut notes that Vincent was at first apprehensive due to his reservations about the camp meetings, but agreed after visiting the location and taking in the lake's natural beauty and surroundings (63). Despite the fact that the first Chautauqua meeting was held at camp meeting grounds, Vincent said that the Chautauqua Assembly was "totally unlike the camp meeting. We did our best to make it so" (Chautauqua 17). Vincent meant that the Chautauqua Assembly was

well-organized and featured content that appealed to the intellect rather than just stirring, emotional sermons.

Leisure/Vacation

Vacations became more common in the United States in the late 19th century as they became more attainable as well as more socially acceptable. Aron explains that middle-class men and women not only gained the privilege of taking vacations, but they also claimed it as a necessity for physical health and emotional and spiritual health (5). “In part, nineteenth-century Americans’ distrust of leisure derived from the legacy of Puritan ancestors. Those who hoped to build a ‘city upon a hill’ knew that work, not play, was the key to their success” (Aron 6).

Vincent and Miller knew well that vacations were increasing in popularity and they took advantage of this by promoting Chautauqua as a self-improvement resort, a place of religious, spiritual growth. This took the “risky” edge off of the prospect of vacationing and allowed middle class men and women the opportunity to vacation without being idle, or tempted by the ills of society: “connecting entertainments and pleasures with either health or education helped make them safe for God-fearing respectable men and women” (Aron 113). Vacationing was now a popular activity among many middle-class families, and the values of the Chautauqua assembly legitimated vacationing for those who were still apprehensive.

First Chautauqua

According to historian Jesse Hurlbut, Vincent objected to the camp meetings primarily because they tended to empty churches on Sundays and feature speakers who were emotionally-charged and stirring to the point of confusion and irrationality (29-30). The Lyceum meetings were very much like the Chautauqua, but differed somewhat in fundamental concepts: “The Chautauqua was no doubt the fruit of the Lyceum, but it was more expansive in idea, and surely more nearly religious and educational in concept” (Horner 34). Similar to the camp meetings, Chautauquas consisted of large gatherings of people crowded around platforms on which lecturers performed.

Lyceum meetings were indoor events, whereas the later Mother Chautauqua, independent Chautauquas, and circuit Chautauquas were outdoor events. Also, Lyceum meetings were held in the winters and Chautauquas were primarily summer events. Some Chautauquas in the southern United States were held in the winter months since the climate accommodated – this would later be a great advantage to Chautauqua managers who ran circuits there as it allowed for longer touring seasons. The independent Chautauqua founded in DeFuniak Springs, Florida, in 1885, functioned as a winter Chautauqua for nearly 50 years (McManus 42-43).

The first Chautauqua meeting was held at Chautauqua Lake in Southwest New York State at a location known as Fair Point. This location was grounds for camp meetings, which Miller and Vincent deplored, but they received an offer to use the grounds for their first meeting, and this seemed to be an ideal location as

well as a good opportunity to test out their idea. In his book, *The Chautauqua Movement*, founder John Heyl Vincent states that the first Chautauqua meeting was “simply a Sunday-school institute, a protracted institute held in the woods,” which consisted of “lectures, normal lessons, sermons, devotional meetings, conferences, and illustrative exercises, with recreative features in concerts, fireworks, and one or two humorous lectures” (16). The first Assembly was a success, and it is estimated that at the most popular lecture – by Rev. T. Dewitt Talmage – between 10,000 and 15,000 people were in attendance (DaBoll 34). Ulysses S. Grant visited the second assembly in 1875 lending national, celebrity publicity to the Assembly. Harrison cites that New York newspapers estimated the attendance of Grant’s lecture at 30,000 (46). In 1877, the assembly managers made application to have Fair Point’s name legally changed to “Chautauqua,” and their request was granted (Vincent, *Chautauqua* 276-277).

Permanent/Independent Chautauquas

The Chautauqua idea began in New York, but quickly spread throughout rural areas of the United States as small towns organized committees and erected permanent facilities for people to gather and share cultural experiences which they otherwise had no access to. Chautauqua had become an idea which many communities, especially those in the Midwest states, gravitated towards and tried to reproduce in their own towns. Gould posits that “healthy fun, wholesome recreation, religious reverence, good taste, and honest inquiry” were valued traits of the Chautauqua concept, and “the hundreds of self-styled Chautauquas that were founded by private groups, communities, and religious denominations

benefited by this association, although in point of fact none of them was ever in any sense a branch of the original” (10). Gay MacLaren, a dramatic reader who toured both independent Chautauquas and circuit Chautauquas, wrote, “Finding that even his [Vincent’s] organizing genius could not possibly meet all these demands, he contributed his blessing and left the task to the local communities” (77). Since Chautauqua was the name of a place, it was impossible to copyright (MacLaren 79). The independents strove towards the ideals of the New York Assembly, but there were no official affiliations, thus, no enforced standards.

John Heyl Vincent wrote of the popularity and remoteness of the Chautauqua gatherings: “It is said that the roads leading to the groves where they were held were literally crowded, and that entire neighborhoods were forsaken of their inhabitants” (*Chautauqua* 23). In a time when transportation was limited, rural areas of the United States were isolated from the experiences of the rest of the country. Many people in these rural areas longed for knowledge, education, and the experience of the ways of other cultures. The promise of fulfillment of these desires is given in the programming of the independent Chautauquas:

It brings to the general public the opportunity, formerly denied to all save the favored few, of seeing and hearing the great speakers, teachers, musicians, entertainers and specialists of the day. To the mass of people who have been denied the advantages of college training, it gives ‘the college outlook on life.’ To the students, the teachers, and the many who are pursuing home studies, it affords inestimable opportunities for intellectual improvements. (Lake Madison Chautauqua Program)

Heyl and Vincent both envisioned the Chautauqua meeting as an inter-denominational event, yet as the Chautauqua meetings developed, they became more inclusive of secular interests. Soon Chautauqua included religious, political, and social lectures, as well as a wide variety of entertainment.

Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle

After the Mother Chautauqua had debuted and proven its staying power, programming expanded to include a correspondence course. In 1878 the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle (SLSC) was formed (Hurlbut 116). This was a correspondence reading course in which individuals could enroll, purchase books for, and take a comprehensive exam on the fourth year to receive a degree. Tapia estimates that by 1900, more than 2,500,000 people belonged to the Circle (21). This indicates that the CLSC was very effective in promoting year-round interest in the Chautauqua by providing an opportunity for education to those who were otherwise unable to attend a school or college.

Circuit Chautauquas

Eventually, traveling tent Chautauquas began touring the United States when it was discovered that a circuit of stops could be coordinated, through careful planning, in which a pre-packaged show would be offered in each town of the circuit for maximum efficiency and greater financial return. According to James R. Schultz, who traveled the circuits with his mother and father (a circuit manager), Keith Vawter introduced this idea in 1904 (9). Vawter, an employee of the Redpath Bureau (which managed lecturers and entertainment groups for the Lyceum meetings and independent Chautauquas), experimented with these circuit

Chautauquas, but did not have financial success. He launched a revitalized plan in 1907, which still did not return a gain, but was much more ambitious as it covered thirty-three towns (the previous plans only covered twelve towns); it was a step closer to a successful plan implemented in the following year (Schultz 9).

One of Vawter's approaches to maximizing his profits was to have local group sponsors from each town agree to guarantee a certain number of ticket sales. In Vawter's first agreement, a sponsor in Marshalltown, Iowa guaranteed \$2,000 in ticket sales; Vawter was to receive the first \$2,500 from sales and then 50% of all profit beyond that (Harrison 52). This approach was successfully implemented by the many circuit Chautauqua bureaus that would follow.

Circuit managers preferred absolute consistency in their lecturers as it promised consistency in their packaging. According to Case,

Chautauqua, by its very nature, did not require a new lecture for each town. The principle upon which the circuits were organized was as forthright as that followed by an experienced farmer at planting time. Given the same fertility in adjoining fields, why vary the seed? The soil is just as receptive beyond the fence. 'What one small town likes, the next small town will like.'" (103)

Standardized programming was the common practice for the Chautauqua circuits as it was cheapest method of providing a fully pre-packaged event. This also provided circuit organizers with the ability to promote their product with predictable quality expectations.

One negative effect of this approach is that it necessarily only represented the most popular, or dominant, viewpoints in order to ensure the greatest financial return in the form of attendance and ticket sales. Thus the original Chautauqua ideal which strived to embrace the inclusion of multiple, differing viewpoints was abandoned and replaced with a product that represented dominant viewpoints as uncontested truths.

The major downfall of this approach – first for the towns that wanted contracts, and later for the circuit organizers – was the fact that the towns that signed circuit Chautauqua contracts had no say in the programming. They could either take the pre-packaged program or leave it, and increasingly in the mid-1920s, many towns decided to leave it (Case 233). Ironically, the structure that made the circuit Chautauqua such a powerful machine also contributed to its demise.

The circuit Chautauqua movement celebrated its “Jubilee Year” in 1924, which marked the peak of the movement. It is estimated that in 1924, the circuit Chautauquas reached over 12,000 towns and drew over 30,000,000 spectators (Case 225). Andrew Rieser attributes the decline of circuit Chautauquas in the 1920’s to a paradigm shift in “the history of useful knowledge” in which the availability of secondary and higher education in the United States increased greatly (286). Due to this paradigm shift, along with the increasing popularity and availability of newer media forms (radio, TV, and motion pictures), advancements in transportation, economic recession, and increasing lack of

interest from towns that had previously contracted circuit Chautauquas, the tent Chautauquas folded, completely, in the early 1930's.

Both the permanent and the traveling Chautauquas functioned as mass media outlets, providing rural towns with the most popular lecturers and entertainers of the day. John Edward Tapia, who wrote a study on changes in the circuit Chautauqua movement based on his analysis of publicity brochures, posits that the circuit Chautauqua movement “literally transformed nineteenth century platform arts and popular education into a standardized commercial product that eventually fostered the acceptance of the radio, sound movies, and perhaps television” (3). While Chautauqua can be thought of as a stepping stone to the spread of modern media, circuit organizers also embraced new forms of media and entertainment including Broadway plays, Victor Talking Machines, and Motion Pictures in their programming.

Audience Composition and Racial Representation

As previously mentioned, part of Chautauqua's success was due to the widespread rise of vacationing in the late nineteenth century. This movement was composed of middle class workers who now had the financial means to vacation and the time to vacation. Chautauqua provided the morally-acceptable place to vacation. Rieser notes of the Mother Chautauqua:

Chautauqua's membership records reveal a core constituency: native-born, Protestant, middle-class men and women of European ancestry. The Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle (CLSC) was 85 percent female,

99 percent Protestant, and so thoroughly white that its otherwise detailed application questionnaire dropped race as a response category. (136)

The composition of the circuit Chautauqua audiences was not unlike this. According to Tapia, “Chautauqua audiences were always dominantly Anglo and generally were made up of ethnic groups who had come from northern Europe” (100). Many accounts reveal that Native Americans and African Americans occasionally attended a Chautauqua, but these appearances were a rarity. Canning notes African Americans in attendance of a lecture by South Carolina senator Benjamin Tillman, who demanded they move from the front of the tent to the back of the tent before he would begin his lecture (*Circuit Chautauqua*, 80). Charles Horner notes a group of Native Americans in attendance at one of his Chautauquas. This Chautauqua was in Pawhuska, Oklahoma where there was a large Native American population (Horner 135).

Andrew Rieser points out that although, prior to the twentieth century, Chautauqua discourse showed prejudice towards some groups of white immigrants, this prejudice shifted by becoming more race-oriented in the first decade of the twentieth century (134). According to this new discourse, the world was now viewed as being either white or non-white with only a few distinctions. Rieser cites this as an example of historian David Hollinger’s racial theory where there is a “reduction of the racial universe into five constellations, ‘the white, yellow, black, red, and brown races of the earth’” (135). In this theory, the “non-white” world is seen as having its distinctions, but these distinctions were only along the lines of race and therefore were reduced to the five aforementioned

categories by gross generalizations. In Chautauqua lectures and entertainment, the world was often reduced to white and non-white, and was never expanded past Hollinger's five constellations.

This reduction was a part of the depoliticization of Chautauqua events. In order to ensure the greatest possible consensus of approval from their audiences, Chautauquas ensured that their lecturers and entertainers were not controversial. This meant including African Americans so long as they would not raise the issue of civil rights; and Native Americans and New Zealanders so long as they were presented as "reformed" or "civilized savages." One popular act was the Rawei family from New Zealand. The Raweis performed music and gave descriptions of their native New Zealand culture. The Raweis – Rawei, his wife, and his daughter – were advertised with pictures that portrayed them as either cartoonishly and stereotypically primitive or as "refined" and "well-dressed" by American standards. They were advertised as belonging to a group of people who came from "savagery to civilization" or "savagery to Christianity" (Lyceum Entertainment Committee).

Tapia notes that while there were few Native Americans on the Chautauqua stage as performers prior to WWI, Native American acts were still performed by Anglos in costume (104). One such example is Miss Marion E. Gridley, who appeared in "Indian" dress as she lectured about her observations from time spent with a group of Menominee Indians in Northern Wisconsin (*Indian Life*). Another such example is that of Rev. Joseph K. Griffis who appeared in "Indian" dress for his oration about his time with the Kiowas, a group

of American Indian people in Oklahoma. Griffis performed his oration as “Tahan,” his name while with the Kiowas. According to the story, when Griffis was two years old, his parents were attacked and killed by the Kiowas; he was then raised by the Kiowas. As an adult, Tahan converted to Christianity (Redpath-Slayton). Tahan’s story reflects the “from savagery to civilization” motif; he even wrote an autobiography called, *Tahan, Out of Savagery into Civilization*, published in 1905. The example of Tahan is given here because although it was a claim to “authentic” Indian life, it was later questioned as a possible fabrication. According to Harrison (1958):

Oklahoma historians still dispute whether Joseph W. Griffis, a Presbyterian minister from Buffalo who appeared for many seasons as Tahan, a white boy brought up by the Kiowa Indians, actually was Tahan. At the time, his *Up from Savagery* was a lively horror story that fascinated its listeners. Not until years later did anyone challenge its authenticity.

(147)

Criticisms

The Chautauquas were important to small towns across the United States because these towns were still somewhat isolated from larger metropolitan areas. Due to the isolation, there was a limited variety of experiences, news information, and exposure to outside cultures. The permanent and circuit Chautauquas provided their towns with cultural capital such as knowledge, entertainment, and cosmopolitanism. The people of these towns were then filled with civic pride, which led to feelings of exceptionalism when compared to non-Chautauqua

towns: “There was a certain feeling of...’culture’ is the only way I know how to say it...that wasn’t present in the other small towns like ours” (McManus 41). It was thought that Chautauqua gatherings promoted more educated and responsible citizens; however, this civic pride was viewed much differently to those outside of the town, and even some of the visitors. One lecturer complained that he had “such a stench of smugness in his nostrils that he must hurry to Buffalo, New York, where the noise and blood and incredible smell of the stockyards could purge him of the respectability” (Case 17).

Circuit Chautauqua meetings were partially blamed for the decline of the once-thriving independent Chautauquas, which now had to compete with the more commercial offerings of circuit Chautauquas being brought into, or near, their towns. These independent Chautauquas closely resembled the Mother Chautauqua, and the circuit Chautauquas were criticized for including entertainment and lecturers that strayed from these ideals. Sinclair Lewis wrote of the small Midwest town Chautauqua experience in his novel *Main Street*, in which a young college girl visits Gopher Prairie’s circuit Chautauqua meeting held on their main street. She had heard about the Chautauquas and was excited to attend because it was to offer a university experience. The girl is disappointed because, rather than a university experience of intellect-based lectures, she encounters inspirational lectures and entertainment: “from the Chautauqua itself, she got nothing but wind and chaff and heavy laughter, the laughter of yokels at old jokes, a mirthless and primitive sound like the cries of beasts on a farm” (Lewis 237).

Conclusion

While the Chautauqua movement began with a focus on training Sunday school teachers, it would later be commonly referred to as a popular adult education movement. By the time the circuit Chautauquas were introduced, there was great emphasis on the entertainment value of programming – targeting adults – at the permanent Chautauquas as popular lecturers and entertainers ensured larger crowds.

CHAPTER 3

THE IMPORTANCE OF CHILDREN AT CHAUTAUQUA

Introduction of Children

Although adults were originally the primary intended audience members for traveling Chautauquas, the value of children's programming was soon realized. In the Chautauqua circuits, the children's programming fell under the heading of "Junior Chautauqua," "Youth's Chautauqua," or "Children's Chautauqua" depending on each bureau's word choice.

Victoria and Robert Case, authors of *We Called it Culture: The Story of Chautauqua*, argue that the Junior Chautauqua, "began, simply enough, from the necessity of keeping the children out of mischief while their elders attended the programs. But a liability was soon recognized as a potential asset, and managers seized upon and expanded the asset at once" (148). Harrison also noted that children were a distraction to parents and lecturers and required someone to watch them to alleviate the problem (225). In time, they learned how to capitalize on the situation, "Within a few seasons we discovered that in Junior Chautauqua we had a silver mine in our back yard" (Harrison, 225).

While adults attended a wide variety of entertainment at traveling Chautauquas, their children could be entertained through nature walks, dramatic play, pageantry work, physical play, and performers such as magicians, cartoonists, and musical demonstrators. The children were provided with separate programming, and, in many cases, were even provided their own tent.

Advertising

In addition to providing adults with child care and generating extra profit, there was advertising value in children's programming as children could be used to sway a greater number of community members to purchase tickets. Schultz notes that advance agents from the forthcoming Chautauqua would visit communities to hold a "ticket hunt" for the local children: "The lucky finders of season tickets were the envy of their friends, who would badger their parents for money to buy their own tickets" (131). Children participated in parades and gatherings as part of the advertising strategy of advance agents (Canning, *Circuit Chautauqua* 62). Since creating an image of Chautauqua as a family event was important for maximizing attendance, such advertising strategies and the careful planning of children's programming were critical for success. Children's programming became one of the factors which determined whether or not a town would sign another contract with a bureau for an engagement the following season, and so, Chautauqua bureaus had added incentive to strive for the highest possible quality of activities and instructors for children's programming (Schultz 144).

Children's Coordinators

The person responsible for management and entertainment of the children was often referred to as the "Chautauqua Girl," "Story Lady," or "Junior Girl." The Playground Movement was contemporary to the Chautauqua movement, and many of the Junior Girls were college students who were studying playground work ("Junior Chautauqua Play Leaders").

The playground movement began to take shape between 1894 and 1898 as playgrounds were built in larger cities such as New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Providence, Brooklyn, Milwaukee, and San Francisco (Wood 5). The playground movement gained popularity and continued into the twentieth century as a reaction to crowded and increasingly-industrial nature of large cities which, up to this point, provided no space for children to play. British researcher Walter Wood argues that the movement began with the primary purpose of keeping children from playing in the streets (5). Even if this was the motivation, the children also benefited from the new spaces to play and the movement was under way. The first playgrounds were founded by associations such as Mother's Clubs, Settlement Houses, Sunday Schools, and churches. By 1900, the playgrounds had grown too large to be managed by a department of one of these associations, and so the Playground Associations were formed with a sole focus on improving the playgrounds (Wood 5). At this point the focus had shifted its purpose to the enrichment of the lives of urban children. Also at this point, Playground Associations began to spend most of their budgets not on more equipment, but on more trained staff members (Wood 6). The playground was no longer just a space in which to keep children out of the way of adult activity, but a place of interactions with trained staff to facilitate organized play for the benefits of health and development. The coursework for potential playground workers included first aid, structures of organized play, philosophy of play and adolescence, principles of education, athletics, musical interests, nature interests, folk dancing, and popular children's stories (Wood 38-39). The

playground workers who passed their courses were well-rounded specialists in children's play and education.

Chautauqua offered the opportunity of summer positions for those training to be playground workers. The Chautauqua circuits benefited from a healthy supply of trained Junior Girls and these Junior Girls gained experience while also promoting the work of Playground Associations. These Junior Girls often encouraged communities they visited to form Playground Associations and to create playgrounds: "The Junior Girl, being a trained play supervisor, and bold to express her opinions, missed no opportunity to urge community leaders to provide space and equipment for the permanent use of her flock" (Horner 78). These attempts were often successful, and so, Chautauqua and its staff of trained playground workers helped to spread the playground movement through rural America.

The Pageant

The pageant was one of the most popular children's events in the Chautauqua circuits. By World War I, pageants were ubiquitous in the circuits. The popularity of the pageant in the Chautauqua circuits reflected the popularity of pageantry in the United States, in general, during this time.

In his book, *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century*, author David Glassberg attributes this form of pageantry to British pageants occurring after 1905; these were a product of the arts and crafts movement, a revival of Renaissance imagery and craft (43). Glassberg cites a pageant by Louis Napoleon Parker which is generally credited

as the first modern historical pageant. Parker's pageant presented episodes from the city of Sherbourne's past from 705 C.E. to 1593 and contained images of anti-modernism, community strength, and civic pride (Glassberg 43-44).

These early twentieth century pageants were no doubt inspired by earlier pageantry in Europe. During the middle ages, pageants were commonplace in European towns in the form of cycle plays. These pageants were performed on outdoor stages or wagons and depicted religious stories in dramatic form. Each stage or wagon portrayed a drama about a religious story or earthly locale; these were often performed sequentially, hence the name "cycle play." These pageants relied heavily on visual spectacle, especially the most elaborate stages which depicted heaven and hell. These pageants were written in the vernacular, performed outdoors, and utilized amateur actors, all of which suggests they were suited for large audiences as a community function (Wilson, Goldfarb 131-136).

Glassberg credits the first American translation of the modern historical pageant to Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer in 1908. Oberholtzer persuaded a member of the mayor's office of Philadelphia to include a historical pageant to the events celebrating the 225th anniversary of the city's founding (Glassberg 47). This pageant promoted civic identity through staging familiar scenes of Philadelphia's past, processional-style on floats. This particular pageantry craze in America was pervasive yet short-lived, as it became evident in the late 1920s that there was no longer a demand or support for pageantry. In the 1910s there was great demand for pageantry as it supported the "reform impulse" of the time, but that impulse collapsed after WWI (Glassberg 286). However, there are resonances of this

pageantry movement in our current time as religious and historical pageants are still presented at churches and in schools.

Constance D'Arcy Mackay was a prolific playwright who contributed many plays to the pageant movement. Mackay wrote children's plays and was involved in community theatres as well. The most well-known of Mackay's pageants is *Pageant of Patriots*, in which the Pilgrims peacefully encounter the Native Americans; it then follows several episodes depicting the childhoods of well-known figures such as Abraham Lincoln and Benjamin Franklin. It is an overwhelmingly patriotic play which establishes "American" heroes and values while downplaying the violent nature of the settlement of the frontier.

Pageant of Patriots (1912) contains examples of several elements which were common to historical pageants of its time. Many historical pageants had a Spirit, or multiple Spirits, which served as the personification of abstractions and offered some introduction or prologue to the following action. In *Pageant of Patriots*, the Prologue is spoken by The Spirit of Patriotism (9). In *The Answer* (1918), by Josephine Thorp, The Spirit of Progress gives the introduction (3). There are opportunities for the insertion of the name of the town or community into the text of the play. There are almost always Native Americans; these Native Americans appear early in the pageant and serve as an image of what the land was like before it was settled. For example, in the beginning of *The Answer*, an Indian Chief welcomes a Spanish Discoverer, French Explorer, and Pilgrim to America. In the second act of *Pageant of Patriots*, which is about Pocahontas, the stage is deserted except for two teepees. Indian women and children slowly enter after

foraging and begin making blankets, grinding corn, and tending to a papoose (13). America is presented as being welcoming to any and all immigrants who are willing to assimilate. *Pageant of Patriots* ends with a “Liberty Dance,” which consists of groups of people dancing traditional folk dances from Germany, Russia, Italy, Ireland, Scotland, France, and Sweden; this is to be “symbolic of the Old World coming to the New (98). As with most other historical pageants, *Pageant of Patriots* was written to be performed outdoors in a field or park.

Almost all of these pageants produced a staging of historical events. The staging of history was an important mechanism of the pageant as it showed the community members the events which shaped the community. This functioned to instill a sense of pride in the community as well as a sense of unity, and thereby to create the animating rhetoric for goals to be strived for by the community members as a collective. For example, many pageants contained strong images of patriotism juxtaposed against images of countries which were either a danger to the rest of the world, or in need of rescue from an evil oppressor. In *When Liberty Calls* (1918), by Josephine Thorp, Justice and Liberty work together to assemble the Allied Nations to free the Captive Nations (Serbia, Belgium, Poland, Armenia) from Force. The United States is the last country to join in this fight, to the disbelief of Force, who believes “America will never cross the seas to take part in a quarrel not her own” (29). This also reflects an effort to mobilize the country for war by gaining public support since the United States had maintained neutrality until 1917. The intended effect was to unify the community as “Americans,” inspire pride through the superior values of “America,” and to

motivate the community to participate in war time efforts such as military involvement or the purchasing of war bonds. Thus, the historical nature of the pageant was just as much about future direction as it was about past goals.

Since Chautauqua had been deemed an “American” institution and an official war time activity, the marriage of Chautauqua and the pageant was perfectly fitting, if not inevitable. During the war years Chautauqua relied heavily on patriotic themes which were emphasized in almost all pageants. As previously mentioned, the main influence on Chautauqua programming was finances, and pageants promised involvement – and therefore ticket sales – of hundreds of participants and an even greater number of spectators. Also, both Chautauqua and the historical pageant were forms of mass media with powerful ideological influence.

Although the pageants were highly theatrical, the circuit Chautauqua movement kept a safe distance from using language that would reflect a theatrical nature of performance, at least in the early years of the circuits. The pageant, however, was accepted as legitimate because it was based on community celebration and civic pride. Theatre, referred to as such, had to slowly ease into the circuits. From the time they were introduced in the independent Chautauquas, and for much of the circuit movement, dramatic performers were referred to as “readers.” Gay MacLaren explains that, due to the early Chautauqua audiences being almost entirely composed of church people who were opposed to the theatre, “The only way the Chautauqua patrons could hear the plays of Shakespeare or other dramatic literature was in a ‘reading’” (134).

Children's dramatic performers were also referred to with strategic verbiage. Kathleen Scott and Catherine Denny presented pantomimes of storybook characters and costumed enactments of popular children's stories, but they were referred to as "readers" and "character delineators" in a promotional brochure (*Kathleen Scott, Catherine Denny*). Despite similar ambiguous advertising verbiage, children's play also included dramatization of stories and characters. The most common dramatizations of children's stories in the Chautauqua circuits were those of Mother Goose. Children would watch enactments of Mother Goose Stories and would also participate in the staging of a Mother Goose Festival ("Mother Goose"). Many different versions of the Mother Goose pageant were performed in the circuits; they were based on the characters of Mother Goose and were called Mother Goose "Festivals," "Parties," or "Pageants."

The Chautauqua girl often arrived a few days in advance to lead children's activities and to select participants for the pageants; this also led to a greater number of sales as many parents would make plans to attend to see their children perform (Tapia 106-107). These pageants were flexible in casting and could accommodate a great number of participants.

Patriotism

Chautauqua circuits valued patriotic themes during the World War I era, and programming was advertised as being truly "American" and valuable to the war effort. One newspaper from 1918 quotes President Woodrow Wilson's declaration of Chautauqua as a wartime activity: 'Let me express the hope * * *

[sic] that the people will not fail in the support of a patriotic institution that may be said to be an integral part of the national defense' (War Time Chautauquas). The main discourse of wartime lecturers at Chautauqua was the definition of "American" and the values subsumed under the concept. Theodore Roosevelt praised Chautauqua as 'the most American thing in America,' and William Jennings Bryan, secretary of state and arguably the most famous of the Chautauqua lecturers, claimed Chautauqua was a 'potent human factor in molding the mind of a nation' (Canning, "What was Chautauqua?"). Such political endorsements claimed Chautauqua's position as a tool for constructing and reinforcing what was and was not "American." A thorough examination of the constructions of "American" present throughout the circuit Chautauquas is beyond the scope of this analysis, but recurring themes include assimilation, wartime services participation, and civic duties.

The children's programming reflected these values as children were taught certain expectations of Americanism. Junior Chautauqua programming taught children their role in the war effort in programs such as the Thrift Stamp, the Junior Red Cross, food production, and food conservation through storytelling and games (War Time Chautauquas). Children's events also emphasized good citizenship through service to community and country. This is referred to in one newspaper article as "aggressive patriotism," and it is stated that children should be taught that they naturally owe public service ("Keynote").

Junior Town

One approach to teaching children citizenship and democratic processes was through dramatic play. Redpath Vawter Chautauquas offered citizenship training through dramatic play in what they called “Junior Town.” As with pageant involvement, children learned experientially through participatory roles; however, in Junior Town, children improvised based on a process rather than following a scripted text. Children were organized into a town headed by a Mayor, Town Clerk, Law and Order Commissioners, Service Commissioners, Health Commissioners, and Thrift Commissioners. Citizens then participated in service activities, campaigns, and town meetings (“Junior Chautauqua for Boys and Girls”). Schultz says that the Junior Town Song was sung at the beginning of each town meeting:

I am proud of my town,

Is my town proud of me?

What she needs are citizens

Trained in loyalty.

When we work, when we play

With our fellow men,

Good citizens we will be.

Then I'll be proud,

Be proud of my home town,

And I'll make her proud of me. (134)

Junior Town promoted teamwork, cooperation, and obligation to community service through repetition of this song as a value statement along with the embodied experience of the civic process. Children were given training for real life situations through participation in hypothetical situations. Children learned the process of working cooperatively in making decisions aimed at improving the world around them. In many cases, children focused on issues relevant to their actual town. For example, one Junior Town made plans to clean up a city landfill that had become an eyesore, and another Junior Town actually established a permanent playground after the group identified and discussed the lack of playground areas in the community (Schultz 134).

Nature Themes

Nature-themed activities were popular in the Junior Chautauqua. One of the more popular nature activities featured was Seton Indian work, named after its founder Ernst Thompson Seton. Participants in Seton Indian work dressed as Native Americans and participated in 'Indian songs and games, bow and arrow practice, out of door jaunts, natural history observations, health talks, war whoops and a merry lot more' (Schultz 134-135). Participating in role as Native Americans was an attempt to explore nature through roles representing people who live closer to nature or to be more in touch with nature through their ideals. The Chautauqua Girl often led such activities in role – meaning that she also took on the role of a Native American – and in some circuits, the Chautauqua Girl was even known as the “Squaw Girl” (Harrison 226). The image of Native Americans

was used extensively in the Chautauquas. Children dressed as Native Americans (as they were thought to have dressed) for organized play and for Seton Indian work, which was directed nature study that placed a great deal of emphasis on Native American folklore and traditions.

Setting

Rural areas of the United States were lacking in the number and variety of the cultural experiences offered by their urban counterparts, and this lack of entertainment and cultural events helped make Chautauqua assemblies possible. The Chautauquas were perceived and celebrated as popular and successful because of the thirst for culture and knowledge – often perceived as a “uniquely American” phenomenon – which was fulfilled through the creation of the Chautauqua – a “uniquely American” institution. However, this theory makes natural the “thirst for knowledge” in rural middle-class American citizens, although it is arguably historically contingent, at least in part. Andrew Reiser calls this the “Vacuum Theory” and posits that it was used to gain cultural authority:

It is all too easy to interpret the pre-Electrolux age as a cultural vacuum. Moreover, the Vacuum Theory’s tendency to use the words *thirst* or *hunger* rested on dubious assumptions of human nature and made biological what was really a cultural construct. The self-culture impulse embodied by Chautauquans was bound up in middle-class efforts to exert cultural authority. (4)

Rieser argues that while the growth of the Mother Chautauqua and independent Chautauqua assemblies had relied on anti-urban rhetoric, they began embracing urban themes at the beginning of the twentieth century: “Whereas they had once billed the assembly as pastoral middle landscapes that negated most aspects of a pluralistic, industrial metropolis, they increasingly reenvisioned the assembly as a ‘model city,’ a microcosm of an idealized cosmopolitan society” (245). However, anti-urban rhetoric was still present at the independent Chautauqua assemblies in the early 1900s, at least to promote vacationing. The *New Piasa Chautauqua 1912 Yearbook* program reads,

The only relief from the city, when the streets become like hot Arizona canyons, and the nights forbid sleep is the Week End Trip from Saturday noon to Monday morning to find a spot near to nature’s heart, to revel in the pure air of the outdoors and go back to work with a new lease of life, is the thing. (6)

In this example, the rural landscape was privileged in this hierarchy and was presented as being healthier than the urban. If the small, rural towns could also stake their claim in culture and cosmopolitanism by importing entertainment and education, they could use it as leverage to convince tourists to move into their towns to partake in a lifestyle rich in cultural experiences. This reasoning also privileged rural areas with having the best environment in which to raise a family, which served as a motivating factor for children’s programming as the opportunities offered to the children could be claimed as cultural capital.

Conclusion

The Junior Chautauqua was added to the Chautauqua circuits not for the enrichment of children, but for the economic functions that it could serve. Not only were children used to enhance circuit Chautauqua advertising strategies, they were now targeted as ticket sales opportunities. However, it is evident that many people were primarily motivated not by financial gain, but rather by the genuine concern for the education and quality of life of the children involved. The circuit Chautauqua movement intersected with the Playground Movement and the Historical Pageant Movement and circuits utilized the experts of these movements for their programming. The Junior Girls used their employment with the circuits as training for their future careers as playground workers and other similar careers.

Many children's activities provided creative play and physical recreation opportunities. Other activities were ideologically loaded as the children learned notions of how to function in public as consumers, supporters of the war effort, and civil servants. The major difference between adult programming and children's programming was the fact that children were usually active participants in activities, whereas the adults were *always* merely the recipients of a lecture or an entertainment. While there was clearly an attempt to inculcate children with specific values, children actually had more opportunities to contribute their ideas within their program events than adults had within theirs.

CHAPTER 4

THEORY

The adults of the United States Chautauqua movement created various constructs of childhood by imposing their perceptions of childhood onto children. For example, children were dressed up as adults for mock weddings, parades, and marches (Canning, *Circuit Chautauqua* 66). Children also took active roles in activities such as Junior Town, creative play, and pageants. To identify the constructions of childhood present in the focus of this study requires a brief explanation of some common perceptions of childhood throughout history. This is not meant to be an exhaustive history of childhood, but rather the tropes of thought that seem to have been most prevalent. It must also be noted that these thoughts on childhood do not comprise a linear and chronological sequence; they have, and continue to coexist as they are reflected throughout history as well as in our current moment.

Early Thoughts on Childhood

In his landmark text, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (1962), Philippe Ariès posits, “In medieval society the idea of childhood did not exist” (128). Ariès does not mean that there was no affection for children, nor does he mean that adults of the time did not notice the physical differences between adults and what we now refer to as children. Rather, Ariès says that there was a lack of “an awareness of the particular nature of childhood, . . . which distinguishes the child from the adult” (128). In Ariès’ opinion, the Renaissance

marks the beginning of an era of greater interest in children which led to many paradigm shifts in the perceptions of children and childhood.

Adrian Wilson, author of the article *The Infancy of the History of Childhood: An Appraisal of Philippe Ariès* (1980), notes that Ariès' work has been criticized as being unclear and flawed in both its methodology and its conclusions (133). Writing a book which gives a history of several centuries of childhood is indeed ambitious, and seemingly must rely on making broad generalizations. Wilson says that the early popularity of *Centuries of Childhood*, as a point of reference for researchers, was due in large part to this flexibility in chronology and interpretive approach – its methodology drew data from a “veritable feast of material, from its illustrations of the family in art to its detailed exposition of manuals of etiquette” (137). The groundbreaking aspect of Ariès' work was his theory that childhood is something which is not universal and biological, rather it is culturally-relative.

Children as Miniature Adults

Ariès cites several examples of paintings spanning the eleventh and twelfth centuries which depicted children not as significantly different from adults, but rather as miniature adults who bore the same physique as adults. According to Ariès, paintings of the thirteenth century began to show these scaled-down adults as being somewhat different in physique, but not until the fourteenth century did paintings portray children as having a physique recognizably unique from that of adults (34-35). At that point, religious iconography depicted physically-realistic children, but they were always in the

company of adults; it was not until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that children were portrayed alone in paintings or other iconography (Ariès 36-37). In his book *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood*, Steven Mintz uses Shirley Temple as a later (depression-era) popular culture example of the miniature adult. In her films, Shirley Temple occupied the space of both adult and child:

Part of her attraction was here cuteness, charm, dimpled-cheeks, and bouncing curls. She was adults' ideal girl – athletic, flirtatious, independent, even-tempered, but also adorable and infectiously optimistic. (Mintz 251)

Mintz also offers Colleen Moore (*Little Orphan Annie* in 1918) as an earlier, “less mass-produced,” child stars example (251). Temple and Moore represent miniature adults who are at once youthfully adorable and mature beyond their years. This seems a fitting metaphor for circuit Chautauqua programming as the children shifted from participation as “adults” in mock weddings, Junior Town activity, and in pageantry to participation as “children” in story time and physical play.

Children as Incomplete

Ariès posits that there is a great deal of evidence that in the sixteenth century, for the first time in history: children were distinguished from the adults by different clothing, children received coddling as an outward expression from parents and caregivers, and children were no longer to mingle with adults inasmuch as it might cause them to become ill-mannered (129-131). While

children amused their parents with their antics – an amusement now outwardly acknowledged by the parents who took part in coddling and playing games with babies – many who observed this were not amused that parents should derive pleasure out of the antics of these incomplete beings (Ariès 130-131).

Ariès notes that, in the seventeenth century, children were no longer just a source amusement, but were now the focus of psychological and moral interest (131). Childhood was viewed as a stage of incompleteness and imperfection which needed to be overcome. While this reflects a greater focus on the developmental aspects of childhood, it also reflects an emphasis on the product of childhood over the process. Childhood was now a phase of life which must be overcome to be a rational adult.

In 1693, John Locke wrote *Some Thoughts on Education*, in which he described children as a *tabula rasa*, a blank slate. Locke said that children possess temperaments and uniqueness, but that they have no concepts or knowledge; children should be molded like soft wax through rigorous instruction (Cunningham 60). Locke's approach did not advocate excessive corporal punishment, but noted that it is sometimes necessary to correct the impulsiveness of a child so he is more open to reason and logic.

Although Locke advocated for a child-centered approach to education, the ultimate goal is an obedient, conforming adult (Cunningham 60-61). Locke posited that by impressing knowledge and behavior on the child from the earliest stages of life parents could cultivate an obedient and socially responsible person.

Through this approach, Locke was ultimately more concerned with the product of childhood than with the process of being a child.

The Child as Innocent or Evil

The view of children as incomplete and imperfect acknowledged the fact that childhood was a stage of weakness. This meant that children were in need of protection not only from physical danger, but from the immoral pollution of the adult world. Since children were perceived as weak and lacking in knowledge, they were often said to be “innocent.” This is another important dichotomy in the perceptions of childhood.

Aries notes that in the second half of the sixteenth century, certain pedagogues “refused to allow children to be given indecent books any longer” (109). This followed a progression of children being withheld lewd jokes and a shying away of society from nudity and the touching of children’s genitals as acceptable behavior. Thus the “innocence” often said to be inherent in children was partially created by sixteenth century society. From then on, social policies and laws have reflected censorship and sought to maintain “innocence” in children.

In contrast to the theory that children are naturally “innocent,” are theories that children are naturally wild, sinful, or at least in need of correction. According to Cunningham, Puritans in the late eighteenth century’s evangelical revival emphasized that children are born with original sin and it is dangerous to

make children think that they are innocent (66). This showed an interest in spiritually “saving” the child by acknowledging that babies are born with natural sin – a sin which must be dealt with immediately in order to avoid damnation after death. Through baptism and early instruction in morality, a child could be “saved.”

The Romantic Child

In 1762, Rousseau wrote *Émile*, a book which advocated the perception of childhood as an important process in each child’s life in which they develop and learn experientially. He argues that we should not forget that childhood is a valuable process which should be enjoyed by each child rather than sacrificed for the ultimate goal of adulthood. The importance of Rousseau’s work is that it picked up on the conversation set forth by Locke, but it made the counter-argument that children should learn by experiencing childhood rather than spending all of childhood preparing to be an adult (Cunningham 62-63).

In *Émile*, children are seen as innocent and natural beings that have not yet been tainted by human interference: “EVERYTHING is good as it comes from the hands of the Author of Nature; but everything degenerates in the hands of man” (Rousseau 1). Rousseau theorizes that children gain habits, such as education, through socialization, yet the natural and the habitual are seen as two separate things (4). Rousseau argues that while the pre-social, or natural, child is inherently innocent, the child is also wild – a “savage” – in need of either civilizing or being left to live in nature: “There is a wide difference between natural man living in a state of nature and natural man living in a state of society.

Émile is not a savage to be banished to a desert, but a savage made to live in cities” (187).

Rousseau’s work reflects the late nineteenth century emergence of a romanticized view of childhood propagated largely by writers and poets. In the poems of Wordsworth and the writings of Charles Dickens, children were seen to be endowed with blessings and sensibilities from God (Cunningham 68-69). In this perception, children possessed unique, somewhat mystical, gifts which were thought to enrich the lives of adult world. According to this view, these precious gifts of childhood were ephemeral, and those adults who did not preserve and retain some amount of the gifts of childhood would surely be miserable. Due to the mystical nature of the romantic perception of childhood it serves no practical value in child-rearing and education. The importance of the romantic perception of childhood is that children now occupied an incredibly elevated social space, at least in sentiment.

Mintz posits that “modern childhood” in America was invented in the 19th century as middle-class children were spared from labor and devoted to schooling (76). Urban middle-class mothers now took up the responsibility of childrearing and children were protected from the workplace and were encouraged to focus on schooling (Mintz 76). This form of sheltering reflects the Romantic child notions of purity and innocence which must be sheltered from the polluting world of adults.

The fact that circuit Chautauquas featured special programming for children suggests the desire for more age-specific programming by parents. After

all, it would not have been financially viable to add a special children's program if the demand was not present. This reflects the thought that children should be separated not necessarily to be sheltered from adults, but because childhood is now granted the respect of separate programming which is more beneficial to their educational and developmental needs.

Children as the Subject of Inquiry

Steven Mintz credits the increased scientific understanding of children with leading to both childrearing advice and the concept of modern adolescence (186). The scientific study of childhood began with Darwin's "A Biographical Sketch of an Infant," a study in which Darwin made observations of his son's childhood and tried to determine which of his son's actions were determined by biology, and which were determined by nurture (Mintz 188). Darwin's work inspired scientific studies about children's development by Granville Stanley Hall in the late nineteenth century. Hall, a psychologist, gathered empirical data about children's development (physical growth, psychological growth, sexual maturation) through questionnaires and observations. With this data, developmental stages of childhood were defined and this information was used in child-rearing advice manuals:

Its standardized norms also altered the way young people were reared by inspiring new kinds of childrearing manuals, written by physicians and psychologists rather than by ministers and moralists and espousing rational rather than spiritual advice. (Mintz 189)

While this seems to suggest a shift from spiritual theory to rational theory, there were instances where the two approaches co-existed. Hall was a lecturer on the Chautauqua circuits who used religious interpretations to support eugenics – the idea of an improved race brought about by selective, and also restrictive, breeding. According to Christine Rosen, author of *Preaching Eugenics: Religious Leaders and the American Eugenics Movement* (2004), Hall employed a radical reevaluation of Biblical text to present Jesus as a eugenicist, and suggested that eugenics be taught both in the classrooms and in Sunday school so that the upcoming generation could overcome, through education, what Hall saw as the degeneration of the human race (38-39).

Social Constructivism and Childhood

While Rousseau's views of childhood and education have been pervasive in Western thought, they have not gone unchallenged. In *Geographies of Young People: The Morally Contested Spaces of Identity*, Stuart C. Aitken argues that this imagined connection between children and the natural world is usually assumed without regard to how people might actually create this as a superficial connection: "Two hundred years after the publication of *Émile*, young people are still thought to be naturally closer to nature with little thought to how childhood is constructed as closer to nature" (36).

As a social construction, the "natural child" is also problematic in that it carries cultural assumptions and biases: "To accept that Rousseau's *Émile* set the foundations of Western thought of childhood as particular and innocent is also to accept certain class and gender biases. . . . the education of *Émile* was not one that

could be readily imitated except by people of rank whose children were brought up by tutors in private schoolrooms” (Aitken 38-39). There are many assumptions about children accepted to be true due to natural biological dispositions when, in fact, they could not exist as they are without human social intervention.

Childhood is our perceptions of children, as historically produced through discourse. Social Constructivism emphasizes the fact that meaning is heavily influenced by culture and context. As Aries has shown in his writing, there is not one static, monolithic form of childhood that can be spoken of. Childhood is culturally dependent and is formed through a historical dialectical process.

When I speak of the “constructions” of childhood, I am referring to the social aspects of childhood as opposed to the biological, or natural. There are two main elements which contribute to this process. The social construction of childhood is the ways in which adults perceive childhood and then act on those perceptions when interacting with children, educating children, and making decisions, rules, and policies regarding children. It is also the ways in which children recognize, or simply choose to react to the structures, guidelines, and expectations set forth for them.

The construction of childhood is then participatory, as it refers not only to external forces of normalization, but also to habitualization and performance: “All human activity is subject to habitualization. Any action that is repeated frequently becomes cast into a pattern, which can then be reproduced with an economy of effort and which, *ipso facto*, is apprehended by its performer *as* that

pattern” (Berger and Luckmann 43). Childhood then, is not merely the product of a system or structure which determines behavior, but is also the result of each child’s participation as a social actor. Allison James and Adrian L. James make a useful illustration in their book *Constructing Childhood: Theory, Policy and Social Practice*: the very fact that we feel we must tell a child to do, or to not do something makes apparent that child’s experimentation of agency and potential from deviating from normalized behavior (3-4).

Performance

Performance is a significant factor in the establishment of various childhood constructions and will be referred to in two different ways in this analysis. In the more literal sense, performances such as classes, pageantry, storytelling, and music were included in circuit Chautauqua children’s programming. Children were not expected to be interested in lectures but they did partake in supervised play, athletics, and pageants that were performed ubiquitously throughout the circuit (Canning, *Circuit Chautauqua* 34).

In a more figurative sense, the repeated actions in everyday life which establish normal behavior can also be thought of as performance. In her article, “Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory,” Judith Butler says that gender is, “tenuously constituted in time – an identity instituted through a stylized repetition of acts” which must be understood through “bodily gestures, movements, and enactments of various kinds” (519). I believe that this is a good metaphor for the exploration of the childhood constructs of the Chautauqua movement because it accounts for both

locus of agency and temporality. That is to say, children both constructed, and were constructed by “a stylized repetition of acts” in time. I believe that this approach will make apparent ways in which ideology is naturalized into perceptions of childhood through performance.

Since society is reproduced by the maturation of younger generations, it became important for the adults to consciously mold and shape the children: “Chautauquas urged parents and communities to take their responsibilities to their children very seriously as part of a larger agenda of making audiences conscious of their identities as citizens” (Canning, *Circuit Chautauqua* 42). Even in the original plans of Miller and Vincent it was stressed that care for children’s education meant a more morally sound future if adults imparted moral behavior to ensure “regeneration and sanctification of man” (*Chautauqua* 9). While it is not uncommon, in any time period, for parents to teach their children what they believe is best for the children, it is useful to analyze these teachings to reveal what layers of ideology are intended to be reproduced.

CHAPTER 5

AMERICA, YESTERDAY AND TODAY: DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS

Overview

America, Yesterday and Today was written by Nina B. Lamkin in 1917 to be used by the Lincoln Chautauqua Bureau (Canning, *Circuit Chautauqua* 34). According to Lamkin, this pageant was produced 350 times by schools and communities in 1917 (5). The estimated run time for this performance is one hour and fifteen minutes, and it accommodates a large cast of one hundred to five hundred participants.

Lamkin was director of the Training School for Physical Directors and Playground Workers at Northwestern University School of Oratory and Physical Education as well as a pageant writer and director (*Organized Play and Pageantry*). Lamkin was active in the Chautauquas as well, working with children in physical play and pageantry, and lecturing about the value of physical education for children.

The pageant is divided into three episodes: “Episode I. The Spirit of Indian Days,” “Episode II. The Spirit of the Wilderness,” and “Episode III. The Spirit of Patriotism.” Each episode is named after the only character in that episode with a speaking part. These “spirits” narrate the rituals and dances that are performed by the collective in the acting space. Each spirit seems to represent an entire group of people, and acts as the spokesperson for that respective group and its values.

America, Yesterday and Today is reflective of “adult” theatre of the early twentieth century as it utilizes many of the theatrical conventions of the time period. Playwrights such as Henrik Ibsen, Anton Chekov, and George Bernard Shaw introduced a new type of theatre known as *realism* in the late nineteenth century. Realism was a departure from larger than life characters and plots, favoring instead plots that were realistic to everyday life. Near the turn of the century, many artists reacted to realism by creating works built around characters and plots which were much less literal; this type of theatre is broadly referred to as *antirealism*. *Symbolism*, the main genre of antirealism, sought to represent the inexpressible through use of symbols, metaphors, poetry, music, spirituality, and ceremonial structure. Notable works of this genre are *The Intruder* (1891) by Maurice Maeterlinck and *A Dream Play* by August Strindberg (1902) (Wilson, Goldfarb 419).

The Role of the Director

In *America, Yesterday and Today*, Lamkin has included copious stage directions which explain every movement and dance with meticulous detail. There are ten pages of play text; approximately half of each page is spoken lines, with the other half stage directions. Following the text of the play, there are twenty-six full pages of detailed directions for each dance, piece of music, prop piece, and costume choice. The emphasis on stage directions seems to suggest an attempt at identical reproductions of the pageant in every community. Lamkin stresses that the effectiveness of this pageant relies on producing it as it is written and she does not support any deviation from the stage directions. She warns:

“You are requested to use it in its entirety and to follow the business instructions carefully; otherwise, the author does not vouch for its stately scenes or for its community influence” (Lamkin 5). This great concern for following stage directions seems appropriate in the case of the pageant, since an event with such spectacle and hundreds of actors could quickly degenerate into a haphazard mass of meaningless actions if the actors began deviating from directions.

This insistence upon consistent reproduction is not uncommon in theatrical production; it reflects the often-assumed responsibility of the director for the overall cohesion and effectiveness of a play. Many artists contended, at the beginning of the twentieth century, that the director should be the theatre’s primary artist. Scenic designer Edward Gordon Craig argued that there should be a master artist responsible for all of the production elements. Craig’s ideas appealed to French intellectual, Jacques Copeau, who wrote in the literary periodical *La Nouvelle Revue française* (February 1909), “It is the totality of the movements, gestures, and attitudes, the congruence of facial expressions, voices, and silences, it is the whole of the theatrical performance, which is the product of a single thought that conceives, regulates, and harmonizes it” (cited in Esslin, 376). Vsevolod Meyerhold, a Russian director who experimented with antirealism with his symbolist dramas in the first two decades of the twentieth century, was asked to leave Vera Komissarzhevskaya’s company because of his contention that the director should be the primary theatre artist (Wilson, Goldfarb 426).

Children as Uber-marionettes

This pageant hints at an approach to childhood education that closely resembles the theory of John Locke in which the child was a blank slate in need of the inscribing of knowledge and social conduct. Since the children's actions were so constrained by copious and detailed stage directions, they were given little opportunity to contribute anything other than their bodies as a part of image composition in the playing area. When such a production is realized, the children participate as actors, but every aspect of their movement is pre-determined. The children are not allowed to make decisions, and they are, in effect, nothing more than controlled pieces of an overall composition. In this case, it seems that the locus of agency lies in the director, or the script itself.

The total control of the actors' bodies was not unique to children's theatre as adult theatre practitioners also utilized this technique. Edward Gordon Craig called for the expulsion of the actor as it existed in his time in favor of the Uber-marionette, an actor who functions as a body in the performance space who is manipulated by the director, thereby achieving a "state of mechanical perfection that his body was absolutely the slave of his mind" (cited in Esslin 364). Meyerhold experimented by teaching his actors physical technique borrowed from *commedia dell'arte*, the circus, and vaudeville; these techniques were meant to mechanize the actors' bodies and to evoke internal responses in themselves and their audiences – this system would later be developed into what Meyerhold called *biomechanics* (Wilson, Goldfarb 427).

The primacy in this pageant is placed on imagery rather than text. The spoken word is still important, but it is secondary to the meanings evoked by the images the players create as a collective. In fact, the only spoken text throughout the entire pageant comes from the three spirits and serves as introduction to, or commentary on the physical action; thus, there is a primary focus on ensemble work in the creation of images. This focus on ensemble was typical of the adult theatre world in the early twentieth century as theatre artists such as Jacques Copeau and Vsevolod Meyerhold pioneered acting techniques – such as Meyerhold’s biomechanics – which focused on creating strong ensemble performance.

Goals of Pageant Work

The manifest goals of this pageant are community cohesion and patriotic loyalty built through the celebration of a common past. Nina B. Lamkin says of the historical pageant, in general: “Through this revival of, or this ‘making alive’ past events of local importance, have come the wonderful results of whole communities working and playing together” (5). She also places emphasis on learning to “be more childlike” through outdoor play (Lamkin 5). Lamkin also says that patriotism can be strengthened by the binding together of groups of people who share common interests; she claims that communities anywhere will be strengthened through the themes of “American History, Patriotism, Loyalty, Community Interest, and Play” (5).

Lamkin indicates the beneficial outcomes of pageant work in small communities includes unity and cooperation among community groups and

members, increased civic pride, love for the outdoors, and the foundation for the establishment of community organizations and events such as playground direction, library clubs, storytelling hours, and social evenings for the youth of the community (47).

Representation

Since the Chautauquas functioned as mass media, they provided images of the rest of the country – images which were received by the audience and reconciled with images from other representation of the time. Chautauqua functioned before radio and television were widely available, but other forms of media at the time included motion pictures, newspapers, and traveling shows such as medicine shows, circuses, and Wild West shows. Newspapers were available to rural America, and motion pictures were available – if not in the town then in larger neighboring communities or at least in the form of traveling motion picture show tents.

This representational power, combined with the pageant's goal of creating a unified vision gave way to imagery and symbolism which reified value systems that were already prominent in the United States. In her essay, "*The Most American Thing in America:*" *Producing National Identities in Chautauqua*, Canning argues that Chautauqua offered a construction of America that was utopic: "What Chautauqua claimed to present was a true depiction of the United States that was predominantly homogeneous, unconflicted, and stable" (*Producing National Identities* 98). Children who participated in the Chautauqua movement were then presented with ideals of gender, citizenship, and American

patriotism which were created under the perception of this utopia. If this was the “American childhood” that Chautauqua presented to the children, then it was within this set of assumptions that children were given opportunity to perform their childhood.

History

This pageant is not really the history of the community, but the imagined history of America. This indicates mobilization or the striving for unity of the entire country through patriotism. Nationalism was manifest in political rhetoric during the World War I years. President Roosevelt championed the importance of being “100% American” and those who still partially retained their national heritage, such as German-Americans, were derogatively referred to as “hyphens” (Canning, *Circuit Chautauqua* 51). This sentiment of nationalism was also present in pageantry.

It would seem that the local importance, in this case, is the alignment of local interests with national interests – to recuperate the local into the national. The “making alive” of history that occurs in this pageant – and was of significance in many pageants of the time – was the staging of historical events. Through the staging of historical events, a group necessarily frames history in a certain way thus retelling, reinterpreting, and ultimately, rewriting history in the way that best suits its goals and intentions. Through the retelling of history, the group with the power of representation had the legitimacy of historical accuracy. The functions of history in pageantry are: to inspire unity by highlighting shared

experiences or backgrounds and to motivate the audience to move in a certain direction.

Chautauqua was a mass media apparatus and had a great deal of representational influence because of its pervasiveness. Glassberg says, “Since every way of seeing the world – past and present – excludes hundreds of alternatives from view, the power to define what particular version of history becomes the public history is an awesome power indeed (2).” History then is not written only through what is told, but also by what is omitted.

One function of the pageant, as previously mentioned, is to generate ambition and pride for the group to move in a forward direction. To create pride for the future, one must be proud of one’s past. The most expedient way to be proud of the past is to prevent ambivalence in the audience by eliminating historical conflict. This lack of ambivalence supports a unified vision of the future and inspires unity in the audience as a collective. It would appear that in this pageant, the conflicts between the pioneers and the Native Americans have been intentionally omitted; after all, the frontier was considered to be closed at the turn of the century and there were still sentiments of manifest destiny as justification for the displacement of native peoples.

Setting

This pageant may be produced indoors, but it is stressed by the author to perform outdoors whenever possible. Lamkin says that a wooded area by a stream is ideal, and if possible, the Indians should enter down the stream in canoes (Lamkin 30). Most of these pageants were produced outdoors, especially

in the Chautauqua circuits, and this outdoor venue presents obstacles that dictate the performance elements of this pageant. For instance, this pageant contains a great deal of spectacle, in terms of costume, symbolism, and movement, and very little spoken word. From a practical standpoint, this is likely due to the difficulty of projecting the voice and being heard at long distances outdoors, especially under windy conditions.

This choice of a virtually bare, unspecific, outdoor setting is reflective of antirealist scenic design of the early twentieth century. Meyerhold and Craig, as well as their contemporary designer Adolphe Appia, did away with the “fourth wall” convention in their productions and believed that the ideal space for actors was suggestive of a setting, but not a reproduction of a setting.

Episode I. The Spirit of Indian Days

This episode begins with two to three minutes of “Indian music.” All music is to be played live by an orchestra or band, and as a general note on all the music, Lamkin says to, “Keep authentic music for all folk groups” (33). It is noted that many pieces of music for this pageant are included in *Emerson’s Moving Picture Music Folio*. One specific song suggestion for this introduction is “To an Indian Lodge” from McDowell’s *Woodland Sketches*. However, “Any of the Hiawatha or other good Indian music can be used for this introduction” (Lamkin 33).

While the term “Indian music” seems to present a very general point of reference for this music selection, the suggestion to use “Hiawatha” music points to specific groups of Native Americans, at least thematically. Also, as previously

noted, with all music being played by an orchestra or band, this “Indian music” would have a very Anglo American sound. As Native American participation was very rare in the circuit Chautauqua movement, it seems most likely that the melodies of the “Indian music” were appropriated for performance by bands and orchestras. It is also unlikely that “To an Indian Lodge” or the “Hiawatha” songs are Native American in origin; they are more likely songs that are based on a specific Native American melody or a melody that is thought to sound like it is “Indian.”

The Spirit of Indian Days enters advancing a short distance and delivers a monologue. The Spirit of Indian Days is to be played by either a girl or woman. She is dressed in fringed brown denim or cambric with bright figures hand-painted onto it. She wears a red cloth head band with one feather in the back. Her hair is braided and she has one red scarf thrown over a shoulder.

The Spirit of Indian Days says she speaks for the tribes of the forest; she gives thanks for peace and an abundance of food. She directs this thanks to Great Manitou, “Who mad’st his children from the red clay” (Lamkin 7). She is to look upward when saying “Great Manitou” and to extend her arms forward and up as she says “I the Spirit of the Prophet call to thee” (Lamkin, 7).

The second time the Spirit says “Great Manitou,” many “Indians” enter, each carrying a stalk of corn; they slowly circle around the campfire. This campfire was an actual electric light in the middle of the acting space and was covered by a wire light guard and red cloth. While the Spirit gives thanks, the other Indians raise their arms and look upward. There are 8-30 Indian Men

(played by boys or men) and 8-30 Indian Women (played by girls or women).

The Indian Men are wearing dark or khaki pants with fringes, loose dark skirts, headbands and feathers, grease paint, and some are in blankets. There is also the mention that the Indian Men can wear an “Indian suit” (Lamkin 40). The Indian Women are wearing campfire dresses or dresses made from sewing a yard of fringed red and yellow calico onto a loose, dark dress; some wear blankets. The Indian Women wear headbands with one feather at back and either grease paint or liquid paint.

After The Spirit of Indian Days gives thanks, the other Indians lower their arms, face left, and begin the Corn Dance to the music of “Indian War Dance.”

As they dance they chant,

Kitchemandedo,

Master of Life,

Kitchemandedo

Sent us the corn. (Lamkin 8)

The Corn Dance begins with “the best known of the Indian steps,” described as “like our skipping step, only with lifted knee weaving the body forward and back” (Lamkin 16). This suggests that “Indian steps” were well known at the time – most likely from their performances in traveling shows and motion pictures. D.W. Griffith, best known for his highly controversial work, *The Birth of a Nation*, used represented Native Americans frequently in the hundreds of films he made previously. Gregory S. Jay notes that while Griffith did not

have any firsthand knowledge of Native Americans – “He seems mainly to have adapted standard material from rival studios or other popular media, reshaping these according to his own concerns (whether ideological, psychological, or aesthetic) – he employed two Native American actors as consultants for more details on dancing and costumes when making a series of Indian films in 1909 (9-10). “In the next segment, each Indian bends one knee near the ground and beats the ground twice, with the palm of one hand. Then, standing, with hand to mouth, each Indian gives a short “Indian yell” (Lamkin 16). There are eight more forward steps of the aforementioned “Indian step” and then the entire segment is repeated until three circles are made around the campfire to show “the ground and the joy of a harvest” (Lamkin 17). Then, to thank the Great Spirit for harvest, the Indians face center, raise arms high with palms forward, then lower their arms and bend bodies forward. This is repeated three times. In the final segment of Corn Dance, each Indian brings his/her final ear of corn from harvest and places it in the fire. They then dance the “Indian step” around the fire and end with “a prolonged joyous Indian yell” (Lamkin 17). A long, low “Indian yell” is heard in the distance; the dancers say “Hiya, Hiya, Hiya” and look into the distance.

There is no direction given for how to execute any of these “Indian yells,” and no clarification of what “Hiya, Hiya, Hiya” means. It seems that they may be just noises thought to be made by Native Americans, although some of the nature work in the children’s programming included “war whoops” and “Indian yells.” However, it is not clear if these sounds were based on any actual form of vocalization or if they were merely constructed out of common perceptions.

As another tribe approaches, the “home tribe” runs to meet them. Members from the home tribe bend bodies low and raise their right hands in welcome. Although not noted anywhere else in the script, there is mention of two chiefs in this section; no delineations of costume are given. The home tribe brings the others to the fire – now referred to as the “council fire” – with uplifted hands. The tribes circle around the fire with the two chiefs in center front. A messenger (who is also not delineated in stage directions) runs to a teepee and brings back a calumet. The messenger gives the calumet – now referred to as “peace pipe” – to the home tribe chief and then to the visiting chief; each takes a “whiff.” This peace pipe is constructed of an eighteen inch length of either stick or bamboo with bright ribbons tied to it. There are some ambiguities presented in these symbols as not all Native American tribes used teepees and types of peace pipes varied from group to group.

There is silence as the peace pipe is passed around the circle. During the meeting of the two tribes and their gathering around the fire, the Spirit of Indian Days speaks again. The Spirit refers to the other tribe as “Brothers from another tribe” and says that all ancient hate is forgotten (Lamkin 9). She suggests peace among all the tribes of the forest, and invokes Great Manitou to bid peace. She once again refers to her people as “red men” and asks Great Manitou to lead them on in “the everlasting forests of thy Kingdom” (Lamkin 9). The Spirit, with right arm raised, then leads the Indians out. The Indians follow with arms extended out toward her. They are accompanied out by “soft Indian music.”

Treatment of Race

One of the most overwhelming assumptions in this pageant is the assumption that “ideal America” was to be all white. The only non-Anglos in the pageant were portrayed by Anglos and quickly faded into the distant past. The only immigrants embraced by America in the pageant were from predominantly white nations. In a time of mass immigration to the United States, the United States children were being taught that they were culturally superior to immigrants and that the immigrants must submit to one hundred percent assimilation.

Native Americans are depicted in a stereotypical way in Episode I of *America, Yesterday and Today*. With references to Great Manitou, corn dances, and Hiawatha, this portrayal of Native Americans is a conflation of several distinct tribes into one general category of “Indian.”

The costume recommendations are also problematic as they represent the stereotypical Native American. Again, there are no cultural specifics and the result is a visual conflation of several things thought to be “Indian.” Symbols are used as props in this pageant, such as the peace pipe and the teepees, but they are made in such a way that gives an appearance without specific meaning. For example, the bowl for the peace pipe is to be decorated with bright chalk, but no detail is given as to what any of the symbols might be or their sacred meanings. The spoken words in this section also show a disregard for any type of accuracy of meaning as “Indian yells” and the words “Hiya Hiya Hiya” are given no description of what they might actually mean. The Spirit of Indian Days also seems to exoticize her own people by referring to them as “red men.” It seems apparent that there was little interest in an accurate depiction of a specific Native

American culture, something that would have been striven for if the goal was to honor the Native American tribes that were displaced. If the goal was not to honor a specific culture then it is possible the function of Native American representation in this pageant must be ideological in nature. The Native Americans serve as the exoticized “other,” a representation of a strange and very different past as portrayed in this pageant.

In nature exercises, the “Indian” and his way of life were used as a metaphor or a theme. It was a romanticizing of their way of life as closeness to nature; this image is often referred to as the “Noble Savage.” The “Noble Savage” metaphor also seems nostalgic as this disappearing way of life mirrors the disappearing wilderness in the not-so-distant history. While these depictions seem highly offensive today, they reflect a fascination with the Native American way of life. The paradox is that while there was a fascination that does not seem ill-natured, there was also an inattention to detail in which everything represented as “Indian” was loosely based on the theme of “Indian” constructed by the assembly of bits and pieces of knowledge and images from the many diverse Native American groups. The image of the Noble Savage is best exemplified in the description of the Woodcraft Indians or Seton Indians as it was sometimes referred. The Woodcraft Indians Organization promoted outdoor activity and was included in many circuit Chautauquas. Founder Ernest Thompson Seton says,

To exemplify my outdoor movement, I must have a man who was of this country and climate; who was physically beautiful, clean, unsordid, high-minded, heroic, picturesque, and a master of Woodcraft, besides which, he

must be already well-known. I would gladly have taken a man of our own race, but I could find none. Rollo the Sea-King, King Arthur, Leif Ericsson, Robin Hood, Leatherstocking, all suggested themselves, but none seemed to meet the requirements, and most were mere shadows, utterly unknown. Surely, all this pointed the same way. There was but one figure that seemed to answer all these needs: that was the Ideal Indian of Fenimore Cooper and Longfellow. (9)

In his essay, *Wanting to Be Indian: When Spiritual Searching Turns into Cultural Theft*, Myke Johnson argues that the use of the “Noble Savage” image is also due to the common perception that Native Americans are naturally spiritual and have an innate connection to the earth. However, Johnson argues that this is part of the constructed image: “It is important to realize that these images are really fantasies - projections of fears and dreams of White people onto those perceived as ‘other’ (3).

In terms of popular representation, the opposite side of the “Noble Savage” coin is the “Ignoble Savage,” or “Hostile Savage.” Gregory S. Jay argues that this image was pervasive in dime novels, traveling medicine shows, and “Wild West” shows – such as Buffalo Bill Cody’s Wild West Show started in 1883 – which reenacted Indian attacks on pioneer camps, cabins, and wagon trains (5).

In Episode I of *America, Yesterday and Today*, the “Indian music” is played by an orchestra or band. This instrumentation is European-American, but

a traditional Native American melody is played. When performed this way, this reflects assimilation as the melody is absorbed into the dominant culture's form.

The first episode transitions into the next without any interactions between the Native Americans and the Pioneers. In fact, the appearance of the Pioneers does not even occur until after several dances by flowers, butterflies, and other creatures of nature. The way in which this reads on stage provides a completely alternative and depoliticized history. By the time the pioneers enter, the Native Americans have been out of the performance space for the span of several lovely nature dances. The only thing that stands between the pioneers and their settlement is the wilderness. Several performers are onstage as trees when the pioneers begin to settle. The pioneers conquer the trees and force them to the ground. With the events staged in this way, not only does the audience experience a conflict-free history, but the performers have effectively re-written history as it stands in their memories and those of the audience.

A common metaphor used by some adults likens children to "Indians," or "savages." By this metaphor the adults meant that the children were wild and in need of civilizing. This also meant that Native Americans were uncivilized, underdeveloped, and in need of refining. Therefore, the children were, in turn, signifying back to the audience that this perceived Anglo dominance was a fact.

Through the creation of the exoticized other, the Chautauquas reified the racial divides that existed. The perceived cultural superiority of the Anglo American culture was reinforced as it was presented as the saving grace of many "reformed" others. In *America Yesterday and Today*, children participated in the

reinforcement of this “other” by embodying and performing the stereotypical portrayal of Native America. Rather than the children learning specific information about unfamiliar cultures of Native Americans, the children were simply presented with many symbols that were strange to them. They had embodied the perception of the world as “white” and “non-white.”

Episode II. The Spirit of the Wilderness

Episode II. abounds with dances and stylized movements. These dances and movements reflect the origins of modern dance and theatre techniques of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. These conventions reflect the anti-realist nature of the pageant as well as the practical requirements of staging.

Francois Delsarte (1811-1871) developed a theory of movement which would later be brought to the United States by Steele Mackaye (1842-1894), Delsarte’s student and an American theatre artist (Chalfa Ruyter 65). One of the most influential contributions of Delsarte’s technique was his relation of motion to emotion. Delsarte postulated that each gesture signifies a specific meaning and emotion based on that gesture’s altitude, force, motion (the relationship of emotion to the motion), sequence, direction, form, velocity, reaction, and extension – for example, an excitement requires an expanded gesture while thought and reflection requires a more contracted gesture according to Delsarte’s Law of Motion (Chalfa Ruyter 65). These movements were necessary to stage this pageant given the large number of actors and the outdoor setting which requires clear and sizable gestures to make meaning to audience members who may be viewing from a considerable distance. Also, given the symbolic style of

the pageant, these stylized gestures were appropriate as they were designed to evoke emotions in both the actors and the spectators.

Delsarte's movement techniques influenced modern dance pioneer Isadora Duncan (1877-1929), who studied Delsarte movement in the United States. Duncan reacted against female dance convention of her time by abandoning bodily control and restraint and espousing a movement style of constant flowing motion and unrestrained release (Straus 44). This new style also called for a change from the traditional corset to the free-flowing Greek toga (Straus 44). Both the style and dress of Duncan are utilized in this pageant as nearly all players in Episodes II and III wear Grecian-inspired garments and all of the dances utilize a free and constant motion.

The "soft Indian music," which accompanied the Indians out, now turns into "strong march music," marking the transition into Episode II. The suggested piece for this transition is "Priest's March." The Spirit of the Wilderness enters wearing a dull green drape over a green or brown slip, and a band of leaves in her hair. She advances to center stage and delivers a monologue which is an exaltation of nature. In this monologue, the Spirit of the Wilderness proclaims to the birds, trees, and flowers that "this is our earth, . . . this is our home" (Lamkin 10). She then calls forth the wild flowers and Butterflies to dance and sing; while introducing them, the Spirit gestures to the entrance. When the Spirit's lines are through, a waltz plays and the Daisies enter and dance.

The Daisies wear white dresses, daisy chains, and daisy hair bands; it is noted that they may also carry baskets decorated with daisies. There are 10-30

Daisies, ages 9-10, and they must be girls. The Daisies dance to the “La Florentine Waltz.” The Daisies form a circle, left hand high and right hand on hip. They face left, run three steps, point, and then repeat seven times. The last point is held for eight more measures, and that segment of dance is then repeated while pointing sideways. The Daisies also have garlands which they hold out while pointing. The Daisies then waltz for sixteen measures, face outward, then kneel. With partners, the Daisies then do a step and swing move while turning in a circle. All Daisies then waltz up center and scatter, half on each side of the field. While the Daisies dance, the Spirit of Wilderness is upstage gesturing as if she is holding the Daisies under a spell. When the dance is finished, the Spirit gestures as if controlling the Daisies to spread out; they scatter to either side and kneel. The “Roma Waltz” plays as the Daisies scatter and the Roses enter.

The Roses are dressed in white dresses, pink sashes, rose headbands; they each carry a branch with a pink rose tied to the top. There are 10-30 Roses, ages 7-8, and they must also be girls. The Roses run in waving their branches and scatter over the field. They wave to the music, kneel, then hold their branches in front of themselves; this is then repeated. The Roses wave to the music again then circle around a partner. Again the Roses wave to the music; then they turn around and run outward. They kneel, wave again, and then run off. The Roses are welcomed by, controlled by, and then scattered by the Spirit just as the Daisies were. As they scatter, both the Daisies and the Roses form circles with their arms above their heads and run “lightly” to their places (Lamkin 10).

When the Spirit says “Butterflies,” the Butterflies enter as the Butterfly Song is sung by the Roses and Daisies. There are 10-20 Butterflies, age 5-6, both boys and girls. They are dressed in white dresses with tarleton bows fastened between shoulders. For the first half of the song, the Butterflies run with little steps among the flowers and move their arms. For the second half of the song, the Butterflies each pose over a flower with arms outstretched. The lyrics for “Butterflies” are:

See the butterflies dipping

As they flit here and there,

All the honey sweet sipping

From the blossom cups fair.

Now away it is flitting,

From the garden it goes:

Can you guess who is hiding

In the heart of a rose? (Lamkin 37)

After the song is finished, the Butterflies, Daisies, and Roses dance to the back or sides of the field and stay there for the remainder of the episode.

The Poppies then enter. There are 10-20 Poppies, ages 11-12, all girls. For reasons unknown, there are no costuming directions for the Poppies other than they carry poppy garlands. The Poppies dance to the music of “Blue Danube,” or “any good waltz” (Lamkin, 34). The Poppies run in and scatter with

their arms raised at their sides. They swing their garlands and do a repetitive dance of stepping forward and pointing a toe, and then stepping backward while pointing a toe. They then form circles of three and run to the left, then to the right, with arms reached high and head back.

The Dryads then enter. There are 10-20 Dryads, ages 7-8, boys or girls. They are dressed in slipover coats of green cambric and a band of leaves around their heads. They dance to “Reuben, Reuben, I’ve Been Thinking.” Their dance consists of forward and backward movement accompanied by head bobs, running in a circle, and finally, scattering into the forest area.

The Grasshoppers then enter. There are 10-20 Grasshoppers, ages 7-8, boys or girls. They are dressed in green cambric suits that are similar to nightgowns. They also wear green caps with black eyes and antennas. They dance to “La Cinquantaine.” Their dance consists of hopping in both directions while head bobbing, and then hopping off stage.

The Bluebirds then enter. There are 10-20 Bluebirds, ages 7-8, boys or girls. They are dressed in light blue cheesecloth slips. The slips fit over the middle finger of each hand so the fabric is draped to resemble wings. They dance to “La Grace.” Their dance consists of gliding in each direction with arms diagonal or pointing to the direction of movement.

The Trees then enter. There are 10-20 Trees, ages 7-8, boys or girls. They are dressed in light waists and dark pants with green caps and a stick in each hand. They may also be dressed in a costume of green cambric. They march to “On Dress Parade.” It is a very militaristic march in which they all march in to

center with branches at sides. Then, they march down the center by twos and to the corners with branches overhead. They then cross diagonals with branches at sides. Several similar movements occur and the march ends when the trees march to back to form a “guard” with branches at their sides. Before the trees march, the Spirit refers to them as the “strength of the forest” that “guard the greensward” (Lamkin, 11).

The Tree Nymphs then enter. There are 10-20 Tree Nymphs, ages 7-8, boys or girls. They are dressed in green silklike slips with skirts of yellow and brown. They also wear a wreath of leaves about their heads. They perform a dance consisting of five sets of movements in front of the guard of trees. They dance to “Torch Dance” or “Sleigh Bells.” Each of these sets of movements has a repetition of steps that finish with the group in a circle. The only new movement introduced during this dance is where the Tree Nymphs lean to one side, listen, then lean to the other side and listen.

The Mist Maidens then enter as the Spirit introduces them saying that they have traveled from the sea seeking rest in the forest. There are 10-20 Mist Maidens, ages 7-8, boys or girls. They are dressed in Grecian costumes, some wearing blue, and others pink, white, lavender, or green with scarves. The Mist Maidens dance to “Pizzicato” from Sylvia. They circle with their partners and dance with heads back. They then dance to center and back bending forward and then backward. There is more circle dancing with partners which ends in curtsies and three stomps. They then run off the field, as do all other groups but the Trees.

The commonality of all these dances is that they seem to reflect European American dance sensibilities and music. All of the dances are done to waltz music or marches, and the dance movements include the march, partnered dance moves, and curtseys.

The Spirit of Wilderness introduces the Pioneer Man and Pioneer Woman:

The years wait not, they travel on;

The forests change their ways

And man becomes a factor in

The new regime that follows

The pioneers, staunch friends they are,

Must overcome the forests wild,

And pledge themselves to build anew

In freedom and in strength. (Lamkin, 12)

The Pioneer Man then cuts down all of the Trees – in the stage directions this is referred to as “conquer” rather than “cut down.” The clearing of the forest is achieved by the Pioneer Man placing one hand on the chest and one hand on the back of the head of each tree and forcing it to the ground. After all trees have been conquered, the Pioneer Man holds one hand high and makes a sweeping motion with his other hand to banish the trees and the Spirit. With this unfolding of events, the Indian days are separated from the Pioneer days by this episode of nature and wilderness. This structure seems to suggest that the only thing

conquered and displaced by the pioneers was the wilderness, the guard of trees. The episode ends with a scene of pioneer children entering, playing games, and then exiting. The only group that remains at the end of this scene is the adult Pioneers.

There is a certain irony in the production of this pageant: while the children are portraying the greatness of democracy, they are partaking in a process that is not in the least bit democratic. Instead of engaging in group discussion and voicing opinions to arrive at a consensus, the participants are asked to embody ideals which are already formed and presented to them. Thus the participants occupy a physical space while being displaced from the intellectual space which determines their bodies. Stuart Aitken stresses the connection between childhood and the body:

At one level, children's existence is conflated with images of beauty, purity, wildness and innocence and, at another level, a natural progression of development is assumed to accompany children's growth. With each scenario, it may be argued that the child's body is the primary site of childhood. (62)

Articulation of the body is often sought as a tool of pedagogy. A proven technique in education is to learn and retain concepts by first stating the concept and then creating an accompanying kinesthetic action. The body and mind work together in a way that the mental concept and kinesthetic response actually compliment and reinforce one another. Through the physical embodiment and repetition of different roles, the children participants performed values and

cultural assumptions. The importance is that this embodiment of values was expected to be retained and performed long after the performance was over – it was a form of training through pleasure.

The body can also be used for semantic purposes; images of childhood were used to induce certain signification for audience members. In our specific case, embodiment is an important factor in the community's reception of the spectacle. Community members' values are reinforced through their children embodying these same values. In the pageant, young girls embodied the Spirits. These spirits, such as the Spirit of Patriotism, were then imbued with the qualities of beauty and purity that were culturally signified by the body of a young female. Through the bodies of both genders of children, innocence had been signified and equated with Ideal America. Thus the bodies of children had been effectively appropriated.

Treatment of Gender

The idea of gender is also of significance in this pageant. Stage directions indicate that Daisies and Wild Roses must be female (*America* 31). The directions also indicate that Grasshoppers and Trees must be male and all Spirits must all be female (*America* 32). This could simply be a reflection of common perceptions of what was masculine and what was feminine, but something more is signified. Since women, and especially young girls, are generally perceived as the embodiment of purity, this performance reifies those established gender constructions. What is embodied in performance then is not just the idea that women are pure and beautiful, but the idea that girls and women should actively

pursue beauty and purity through their actions. Through this performance gender roles are asserted and then performed as they must be carried out through the everyday performance of the participants.

In Episode II, children are presented as natural and innocent beings through their costuming and movement. Each group of flowers (Roses, Daisies and Poppies) is to be played by girls wearing white dresses and flowers in their hair. This white costuming reflects perceptions of purity in young girls, and the flowers, perhaps a blossoming of fertility. The dances consist of flowing movement with arms always overhead or outstretched to the sides. The illustrations show that these poses seem to always display the body in an open position. The effect of the costuming combined with the open movement of the dances seems to suggest a blossoming body that is still innocent and pure. If this reflects common perceptions of what young girls are, it also reflects perceptions of what they should be. Through their performance, a normalization of behavior is also taking place as the young girls learn to act pure and innocent.

A suggestion of gender seems to occur for the boys in this episode as well. The trees are all young boys who march in and perform marching movements across the stage which seem very similar to a military drill. The boys also carry sticks which are symbolic of weapons. This scene carries a message that young boys are to prepare for military service and accept it bravely. As the trees are conquered by the Pioneers, the choice of gender again seems significant. These trees are soldiers dying in battle, and since all of the fallen soldiers are boys, it

seems to reflect audience sensibilities of distaste for seeing women die in battle, but favor for seeing the glory and duty of men dying in battle.

The Spirits were to be portrayed by girls and women and acted as representatives of different groups of people. Glassberg notes that Parker's historical pageant of Sherbourne also included a female character as representative of the town (44-45). The use of female portrayal of Spirit is from older traditions of pageantry in England. Due to these cultural assumptions which equate the feminine to beauty and purity, the feminine becomes an important signifier in the pageant. As representative of the Spirit of Patriotism and the Town Spirit, the community and country are represented as imbued with purity and beauty. As a symbol on stage, this helps support nationalistic assertions that our country is correct in all its actions and therefore superior.

Episode III. The Spirit of Patriotism

The Spirit of Patriotism leads the transition into Episode III by joining the Pioneers, leading them forward, and commending their actions:

In strength, in power, with loyalty

Our country was upbuilt.

To these our sturdy pioneers

Be praise and tribute always. (Lamkin 12)

The Spirit of Patriotism wears a dress made from a white cheesecloth slip covered with red, white, and blue bunting which is decorated with red, white, and blue stars. This bunting is used for the shoulder straps, the girdle, and the skirt of

the dress. The Spirit wears a red, white, and blue headband and is pictured with a large flag draped across her back and held with both hands. The Spirit of Patriotism is to be played by either a woman or a girl, although the illustration shows her as played by a woman. Due to the treatment of age in this third episode as the contrast of young and inexperienced versus older and more mature, it seems like it would be more fitting to have The Spirit of Patriotism played by a woman.

After she has spoken, The Spirit of Patriotism steps to back center and holds her arms in an outstretched pose as a march is played and the Pioneers exit. The music then changes to a martial air (March from *Tannhauser*) as The Spirit of State (name of specific state inserted) and Little Town Spirit enter from opposite sides. The Little Town Spirit is attended by Rural, Town, School, and Church Interests.

The Spirit of State and Little Town Spirit are dressed in white Grecian costumes. The Spirit of State has a white drape, gilt crown and a shield. Little Town Spirit has a wreath in her hair and carries wild flowers. The wreath and flowers seem to be recurring symbols in this pageant as they were used extensively in the second episode. The Spirit of State is to be played by either a girl or woman, Little Town Spirit is to be played by a girl, and the Little Town Interests are to be played by boys and girls. The Little Town Interests are divided into Rural, Town, Church, and School. There is one boy and one girl in each group and they serve as very specific symbols of what was acceptable in terms of dress, conduct, and social roles for each gender. The Rural Interests are a plough boy in farm clothes and a milk maid in cap, apron, and dress. The Town Interests

are a boy and girl dressed as general store workers in dark clothes carrying store goods. The Church Interests are a girl wearing a dress and carrying a Bible, and a boy dressed as a minister. The Little School Interests are a boy and a girl dressed as school children carrying bundles of books. These are images of children learning, working, and aspiring towards their adult roles.

The Spirit of Patriotism then speaks about how the town – actual name inserted for performance – has grown from a child into a strong and wise woman. The Grown Town Spirit then enters and stands at back as a martial march is heard again and a processional of Grown Town Interests begins in this order: Christianity (carrying a cross), Education (carrying a book), Community Spirit (carrying a scroll), Music (carrying a lyre), Art (carrying a vase), Drama (outstretched arms), Welfare (leading a child), Play (with a scarf), and Forest Preservation (carrying a branch). These Interests also carry two U.S. flags each in their upstage hands. These grown Interests are dressed in light or white dresses and are played by boys, girls, men, and women.

As all the Interests, The Spirit of Patriotism, The Spirit of the State, and Grown Town Spirit come together onstage, there is an exchange of symbols. Christianity gives the cross to Patriotism, who holds it up. Education gives the book to State, Community Spirit gives the scroll to Town Spirit, Music and Art kneel at the feet of Town Spirit, Welfare leads a little child who also kneels at the feet of the group, Play dances and touches the head of the little child, and Forest Preservation gives the branch to State. On stage, this image seems to reinforce the hierarchy of values with its exchanges and levels. For instance, the giving of,

and holding high of the cross seems to suggest that Christianity has endowed America with a gift and America holds that gift in the highest place. At the lower end of the vertical stage spectrum are Music, Art, and a small child, kneeling.

The Interests then perform a flag drill to the music of “Marching Through Georgia.” This flag drill consists of the Interests breaking into five ranks and extending their flags, left, right, and crossed overhead. In the final movement, the first four ranks kneel down with their flags extended and crossed overhead. The rear rank remains standing while extending and crossing flags overhead.

The music then changes to the “Star-Spangled Banner” during which the Interests wave their flags and move to the back of the stage; everyone sings. The Spirits also move to the back of the stage and The Spirit of Patriotism remains opposite. The Spirit of Yesterday group – composed of the G.A.R. – enters with a flag, salutes, and then moves to its place in front of the Interests. G.A.R. stands for the Grand Army of the Republic, an organization of Union veterans of the American Civil War which saw its peak in activity around 1890 (“Grand Army”). The Spirit of Today group – represented by Soldiers and Boy Scouts – enters, salutes the G.A.R., and remains on field. The directions note that if outdoors, the soldiers may also give a ten minute drill here. No costume or casting directions are given for these groups, so they were most likely played by the actual members of these organizations in the community. Both the Spirit of Yesterday and the Spirit of Today are represented by military-related groups and this juxtaposition onstage seems to suggest that America’s past, present, and future were made possible and sustained by military efforts.

When the “Star-Spangled Banner” has finished, the Spirit of Patriotism speaks again stressing the importance of the soldiers:

Through the strength of these our brothers

Soldiers of Yesterday and Today,

Is Patriotism born anew

To burn with ever stronger hue

As each new cross is ours to bear. (Lamkin 15)

The Spirit of Patriotism begins to suggest America is protector of all the world, calling America “our universal love,” and “America, all else above” (Lamkin 15). There is also a religious allusion in this speech as she says “each new cross is ours to bear” (Lamkin 15). This religious reference, given the context of American exceptionalism in this speech, seems to again suggest a divine endowment of powers to the United States.

The Spirit of the New America then enters to more flag waving and the uplifted hands of The Spirit of Patriotism. The Spirit of the New America is played by either a boy or a girl in white Grecian costume with a scarf of red, white, and blue. The Spirit of Patriotism speaks again, saying that America is open and welcoming to any immigrants who are in search of “freedom, peace, and rest” (Lamkin, 15). Groups of French, English, Dutch, Swedish, Scottish, and Russian immigrants enter each carrying their country’s flag and doing a traditional folkdance from their country. These immigrant groups then kneel before Patriotism and place their flags at her feet. New America and The Spirit of

Patriotism unfurl an American flag as these immigrant groups pledge their lives and allegiance to America. The Interests once again wave their American flags as everyone joins in singing “America.” One visually noticeable aspect of this scene is that all immigrant groups chosen to represent the entire world of immigration in this pageant are Anglo-European groups. The exclusion of all other ethnicities seems to suggest that the only people who choose to immigrate to America – or perhaps, the only people welcome – are groups of white immigrants.

Everyone onstage slowly groups around *The Spirit of Patriotism* and *The Spirit of the New America* to begin the processional. “America” is sung as the groups pass off of the field or down the aisle in the order of their entrance beginning with the Indians. An alternative ending is included in which the recessional excludes the Spirits of the early days (Indians and Pioneers) and is led by the Soldiers of Yesterday and Today. “The Call of America” is sung during the alternate recessional. The exclusion of the Spirits of the early days seems to have the effect of visually distancing, or even forgetting, the past in order to place focus on the present and future of America. The song choice suggests a call to action of American citizens to the war effort, and a reassertion of American greatness. The lyrics of the refrain are:

We are coming,
We are coming,
We hear the loud cry,
We'll rescue your country,
We'll save her or die. (Lamkin, 36)

Patriotism

Social construction seems to be most evident in Episode III. This pageant, as a whole, contains many opinions and perceptions as assumptions. These opinions and perceptions are historically contingent since they only represent one specific viewpoint on topics that have many different viewpoints. Since the pageant presents each of these opinions or viewpoints as unchallenged and accepted by all, they seem naturally-occurring rather than a complex product of discourse.

Episode III serves as the vision of “present”: what America was at the time, or should be. With the many symbols present, it seems to be a great big collage on stage that strived to construct “America.” Patriotism was a loyalty and selflessness to one’s country. Patriotism was community, civic pride and obligation. Patriotism was assimilation, social stratification, and Christianity.

Military pride is evident through the martial airs that underscore much of the early action of this episode. The Spirit of Patriotism praises the military forces of past and present as being solely responsible for the formation and

endurance of America. This reinforces manifest destiny as the “Soldiers of Yesterday” are the Pioneers who conquered others to settle the land.

There are three main images of Christianity in this episode and they are all inseparable from the idea of the nation. The first is the image of the Little Town Church Interests. This is the image of a young boy and a young girl as an aspiring minister and an aspiring student carrying a Bible, respectively. The second image is the corresponding Grown Town Interest who enters carrying a wooden cross. The progression of these images shows the religious growth of the town. The third of these images is the giving of the cross to The Spirit of Patriotism and her holding high that cross. What is implied here is that all small towns are built on religious principle and that constitutes the country as a whole. The stage image of the Spirit of Patriotism, essentially a walking American flag, holding a large wooden cross reinforces the conflation of religion with the idea of a unified, monolithic nation. It is also significant that it is not just religion in general, but Christianity in specific that is reinforced as the national religion.

In Episode III, groups of French, English, Dutch, Swedish, Scottish, and Russian immigrants enter performing traditional dances from their culture. When they reach the Spirit of Patriotism, she welcomes them to a New America. The folk groups then cease their dancing, surrender their respective country flags at the feet of New America, and join in the singing of “America” (*America* 15). Two clear messages emerge from this strong symbolic scene. First, all immigrants are welcome to seek out a new life in the United States – provided they fully assimilate. Secondly, according to the previously mentioned shift away

from emphasis on ethnic identity and towards racial identity, it is clear that that all immigrants are welcome given that they are also white. The overall signification of the pageant's images strongly supports this idea as the entire country is seemingly white.

The procession of the Grown Town Interests, which follows the Little Town Interests is in the order: Christianity, Education, Community Spirit, Music, Art, Drama, Welfare, Play, and Forest Preservation. Since they are to process in this order, it seems that some sort of hierarchy of values is being presented. It doesn't seem likely that these values and this order could be common among all of the communities that were visited by the Chautauqua or that chose to perform this pageant. Perhaps this does not reflect a reality, but rather the image of America that this pageant is working to create. This is the second time Christianity appears in this pageant, and it appears first and foremost, embedded in images of both national patriotism and town interests. By showing this image of grown and matured interests after the image of the young aspiring interests seems to suggest that these interests have grown and reached a state of perfection.

As all the Interests, The Spirit of Patriotism, The Spirit of the State, and Grown Town Spirit come together onstage, there is an exchange of symbols and the formation of a tableau. On stage, this image seems to present a hierarchy of values with its exchanges and levels. For instance, the giving of, and holding high of the cross seems to suggest that Christianity has endowed America with a gift and America holds that gift in the highest place. At the lower end of the vertical stage spectrum are Music, Art, and a small child, kneeling.

Is this the place of children in this construction of America? It seems so as throughout the play children are portrayed always as *becomings* rather than *beings*. Perhaps it is the teaching-through-performance-and-repetition approach of this pageant, but it seems that childhood itself was not highly valued in its own right. Childhood, in the realization of this pageant, was more or less perceived as a training ground for future adult citizenship and all that accompanies that social construction.

The children's bodies were used to make natural the content of the pageant. In the United States, at that point in history, children's bodies signified innocence. The shape and composition of these innocent bodies then, allowed them to carry meaning that was perceived as free from conflict.

These embodiments served to construct a childhood that was to be, overall, the construction of the ideal childhood as citizen-patriot. In the first two episodes, the children performed an interpretation of the past which gave way to the un-conflicted emergence of the pioneer settlers. The third episode then was the performance of the present – or what the present should be – and was the most elaborate of the episodes in terms of spectacle. A very specific America was constructed as the performance space was drowned with symbols of what America should be. The performers had created “Ideal America” and internalized it through performance.

Something is being achieved ideologically through the children's participation. The author's approach reflects Lockean theory in which childhood is not a process, but a stage that must be overcome to attain a conforming adult as

product. To overcome this stage, knowledge and ideals are rigorously imparted. Likewise in her script, Lamkin utilizes a technique which does not permit deviation. Ideals are constructed in this pageant and then rehearsed and performed by the children of the community. This creates a normalizing effect, the sum of which is a group of children ready to conform to these ideals.

There are certain factors that create pressure on the individual and thus reinforce the power of normalization. Judith Butler posits that when one does not conform to one's role by performing accepted acts, that individual is regularly punished (Butler 522). In the case of this pageant, the punishment would most likely be not allowing a child to participate, although this seems highly unlikely as there is not any real motivation for a child to be uncooperative to such an extent. Butler argues that repeating acts differently creates a "subversive repetition of that style" thus creating transformation (520). In the context of the pageant, there seems to be little room for such "subversive repetition," but again there seems to be little reason for a child wanting to not cooperate.

Judith Butler also notes that there are reassurances and rewards in the reproduction of acts. It seems more constructive to analyze adherence to directions in terms of rewards as there are several apparent rewards as opposed to speculative punishments in this case. The main reward is the chance for children to take part in a performance thereby learning theatrical and dance techniques and expressing themselves through dramatic form. There is great reward in the form of socialization as the pageant work is the gathering of hundreds of people working and playing together with the common goal of a successful performance.

In revisiting lyrics from the Junior Town song, “I am proud of my town, is my town proud of me? What she needs are citizens. . . . Good citizens we will be” (Schultz 134), it is apparent that being a “good citizen” is rewarded by the approval of your parents and community members.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY

The improvement of children's education was the main concern in the founding of the Chautauqua Assembly. Although religious pedagogy was the main topic, it was quickly realized that the Assembly provided an excellent opportunity for more general adult education as well. The Assembly began including a wide variety of religious and secular lecturers for the adults. This idea of adult education gained popularity in rural areas of the United States where residents were somewhat isolated from the rest of the country, and most adults did not have the luxury of a college education. Many independent Chautauqua organizations emerged from this idea, and they championed the values of "uplift" and "culture" for the adults while the children were often allotted only a very small portion of the programming time.

The circuit Chautauqua then developed as employees of the management bureaus realized that a profit could be made by touring a pre-packaged program to small towns. These circuit Chautauquas also advertised "uplift" and "culture" that was aimed exclusively at adults. Organized play was arranged as a means of keeping the children occupied so the adults could enjoy the lectures undistracted. The circuit managers saw opportunity in the popularity of this preoccupation of children and looked for ways to use this for extra profit. Children's programming then expanded as it benefited ticket sales and advertising.

The pageant was a fitting tool for this goal as it included hundreds of children, and many parents and community members attended just to see their

children participate in this grand spectacle. The pageant promoted civic pride, unity, and patriotism, but had many latent meanings that suggested ideological goals as well. Through performance, children participants embodied ideals of race, gender, religion, and nationalism, which were assumed to be natural truths. The children's bodies were then used as the site of education and role-training for the children as well as the site of signification of values to the audience members.

While the pageant was said to be done mainly for the benefit of the children of the community it seems that the product of a conforming adult who reproduces the constructions of "citizen" and "America" was of great concern as well. That is not to say that there was no value for the children participants; they were able to partake in outdoor exercise, dancing, vocal and physical performance, and the joy and self-confidence that result from being part of a production. While financial return was a primary concern in the design of the circuit Chautauqua platform, this design provided for a wealth of experts able to employ themselves and gain valuable experience while providing the highest possible quality of instructors for the children.

Works Cited

- Aitken, Stuart C. *Geographies of Young People: The Morally Contested Spaces of Identity*. London and NY: Routledge, 2001. Print.
- Ariès, Philippe. *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*. Trans. Robert Baldick. New York: Vintage Books, 1962. Print.
- Aron, Cindy S. *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States*. New York: Oxford U P, 1999. Print.
- Berger, Peter L. and Thomas Luckmann. *The Social Construction of Reality*. 1966. *Contemporary Sociological Theory, 2nd ed.*, Ed. Craig Calhoun, Joseph Gerteis, James Moody, Steven Pfaff, and Indermohan Virk. Malden: Blackwell, 2007. 43-51. Print.
- Butler, Judith. "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory." *Theatre Journal* 40.4 (1988): 519-31. Print.
- Canning, Charlotte M. *The Most American Thing in America: Circuit Chautauqua as Performance*. Iowa City: U of Iowa P, 2007. ebrary. Web. 8 November 2011.
- . "The Most American Thing in America:" *Producing National Identities in Chautauqua* Mason, Jeffrey D. and J. Ellen Gainor. *Performing America: Cultural Nationalism in American Theatre*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P. 1999. Web. 8 November 2011.
- . "What Was Chautauqua?" *Traveling Culture: Circuit Chautauqua in the Twentieth Century*. University of Iowa Libraries. Dec 2000. Web. 26 February 2012.
- Case, Victoria and Robert Ormond. *We Called it Culture: The Story of Chautauqua*. Garden City: Doubleday, 1948. Print.

- Chalfa Ruyter, Nancy Lee. "The Delsarte Heritage." *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research* 14.1 (1996): 62-74. JSTOR. Web. 20 April 2012.
- "Children's Lyceum Movements." *The Friend of Progress Monthly*. New York: C.M. Plumb, November 1864. Web. 9 March 2012.
- Coit-Alber Management. *Organized Play and Pageantry. Traveling Culture: Circuit Chautauqua in the Twentieth Century*. University of Iowa Libraries. 1912Web. 11 March 2012.
- Cunningham, Hugh. *Children and Childhood in Western Society Since 1500*. 2nd ed. Harlow, England: Pearson, 2005. Print.
- Esslin, Martin. *Modern Theatre: 1890-1920. The Oxford Illustrated History of the Theatre*. Ed. John Russell Brown. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1995. 341-379. Print.
- Glassberg, David. *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1990. Print.
- Gould, Joseph E. *The Chautauqua Movement: An Episode in the Continuing American Revolution*. New York: State U of New York, 1961. Print.
- "Grand Army of the Republic (GAR)." *Encyclopedia Britannica. Encyclopedia Britannica Online Academic Edition*. Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc., 2012. Web. 26 Mar. 2012.
- Harrison, Harry P., and Karl Detzer. *Culture Under Canvas: The Story of Tent Chautauqua*. New York: Hastings, 1958. Print.
- Horner, Charles F. *Strike the Tents: The Story of the Chautauqua*. Philadelphia: Dorrance, 1954. Web. 14 November 2011.
- Hurlbut, Jesse Lyman. *The Story of Chautauqua*. NY and London: Knickerbocker, 1921. ebrary. Web. 18 November 2011.

- Indian Life and Customs: A Series of Lectures. Traveling Culture: Circuit Chautauqua in the Twentieth Century.* The University of Iowa Libraries. n.d. Web. 21 April 2012.
- Irwin, Alfreda L. *Three Taps of the Gavel: The Chautauqua Story.* Chautauqua: Chautauqua Inst., 1977. Print.
- James, Allison and Adrian L. James. *Constructing Childhood: Theory, Policy, and Social Practice.* New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004. Print.
- Jay, Gregory S. "White Man's Book No Good': D.W. Griffith and the American Indian." *Cinema Journal* 39.4. (2000): 3-26. Web. 20 April 2012.
- Johnson, Charles A. *The Frontier Camp Meeting: Religion's Harvest Time.* Dallas: Southern Methodist U P, 1955. Print.
- Johnson, M. Edwin. "Our Kiddies." *Chautauqua Echoes* [New Piasa] May 1921: 2. *Internet Archive Search.* Web. 13 November 2011.
- Johnson, Myke. *Wanting to Be Indian: When Spiritual Searching Turns into Cultural Theft.* *Anti-politics.net.* Web. 23 April 2012.
- "Junior Chautauqua for Boys and Girls: Children Will Be Organized into Junior Town Organization Like Regular City." *Warren Sheaf.* 22 June 1921: 6. *Library of Congress: Chronicling America.* Web. 2 Mar 2012.
- "Junior Chautauqua Play Leaders." *Adair County News* [Columbia] 6 June 1917: 3. *Library of Congress: Chronicling America.* Web. 26 Feb 2012.
- Kathleen Scott, Catherine Denny: 'Characters from Story Books.'* *Traveling Culture: Circuit Chautauqua in the Twentieth Century.* The University of Iowa Libraries. n.d. Web. 27 February 2012.
- Kehily, Mary Jane, ed. *An Introduction to Childhood Studies.* 2nd ed. Berkshire, England: McGraw Hill, 2009. ebrary. Web. 5 November 2011.

“Keynote to Junior Chautauquas is Patriotism.” *The Beaver Herald* 14 June 1917:
12. *Library of Congress: Chronicling America*. Web. 26 Feb 2012.

Lake Madison Chautauqua Association. *Lake Madison Chautauqua Assembly and
Summer School: First Annual Meeting*. Chicago: Corbitt-Skidmore, 1891.
Web. 30 January 2012.

Lamkin, Nina B. *America, Yesterday and Today*. Chicago: T.S. Denison, 1917.
Print.

Lewis, Sinclair. *Main Street*. USA: Harcourt, Brace, 1920. Web. 30 January 2012.

MacLaren, Gay. *Morally We Roll Along*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1938. Print.

McManus, Melanie Radzicki. “Secrets of the Florida Chautauqua.” *SweetTea
Journal* Fall/Winter (2006): 41-44. Web. 29 January 2012.

“Mother Goose on the Way: She is Coming to Chautauqua to See the Kiddies.”
The Leavenworth Echo 26 July 1918: 4. *Library of Congress: Chronicling
America*. Web. 27 Feb 2012.

New Piasa Chautauqua. *New Piasa Chautauqua 1912 Yearbook*. 1912. *Internet
Archive Search*. Web. 23 April 2012.

New Piasa Chautauqua Assembly Program. St. Louis: McAdoo, 1909. 17-21.
Web. 18 November 2011.

Posey, W. B., and Andrew C. Rieser. "Camp Meetings." *Dictionary of American
History*. Ed. Stanley I. Kutler. 3rd ed. Vol. 2. New York: Charles
Scribner's Sons, 2003. 21-22. *Gale Virtual Reference Library*. Web. 8
Mar. 2012.

Redpath-Slayton Lyceum Bureau. *Tahan. Traveling Culture: Circuit Chautauqua
in the Twentieth Century*. The University of Iowa Libraries. n.d. Web. 21
April 2012.

- Rieser, Andrew C. *The Chautauqua Moment: Protestants, Progressives, and the Culture of Modern Liberalism*. New York: Columbia UP, 2003. Web. 8 November 2011.
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Rousseau's Émile or Treatise on Education*. Abr., Trans., Annot. William H. Payne. New York: D. Appleton, 1918. Web. 5 March 2012.
- Schultz, James R. *The Romance of Small-Town Chautauquas*. Columbia: U of Missouri P, 2002. Print.
- Seton, Ernest Thompson. *The Book of Woodcraft*. Garden City: Doubleday, Page. 1913. *Internet Archive Search*. Web. 20 April 2012.
- Straus, Rachel. "Isadora Duncan: Mother of Modern Dance." *Dance Teacher* 34.1 (2012): 44-46. Web. 20 April 2012.
- Tapia, John E. *Circuit Chautauqua: From Rural Education to Popular Entertainment in Early Twentieth Century America*. Jefferson: McFarland, 1997. Print.
- The Lyceum Entertainment Committee. *The Raweis*. 1913. *Traveling Culture: Circuit Chautauqua in the Twentieth Century*. The University of Iowa Libraries. Web. 14 March 2012.
- Vincent, John Heyl. *The Chautauqua Movement*. Boston: Chautauqua P, 1886. *ebrary*. Web. 19 November 2011.
- . *Sunday School Institutes and Normal Classes*. New York: Nelson and Phillips, 1872. *ebrary*. Web. 25 January 2012.
- War Time Chautauquas. Advertisement. *Adair County News* [Columbia] 24 July 1918: 2. *Library of Congress: Chronicling America*. Web. 26 Feb 2012.
- Wilson, Adrian. *The Infancy of the History of Childhood: An Appraisal of Philippe Aries*. *History and Theory*. Vol. 19 No. 2 Feb 1980, 132-153. Blackwell JSTOR Web. 4 April 2012.

Wilson, Edwin and Alvin Goldfarb. *Living Theatre: A History*. 4th ed. Boston: McGraw Hill, 2004. Print.

Wood, W. de B. *The Playground Movement in America and Its Relation to Public Education*. London: H.M.S.O., 1913. *Internet Archive Search*. Web. March 2012.