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“Let ‘er Buck!”: Race, Gender, and Performance at the Pendleton Round-Up, 1910-2000.

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By

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Master's Thesis

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A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of
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Abstract

In Pendleton, Oregon in 1910, at a local Fourth of July celebration, cowboy Lee Caldwell's brave bronc ride earned him a saddle and some local celebrity. Pendleton boosters, such as Roy Raley, saw an opportunity to host a frontier exhibition and the following year, Raley started the Pendleton Round-Up. The Round-Up grew to encompass three key events: the rodeo, the wild west show, and the parade. Each of these events offers a lens through which to examine shifting racial and gendered hierarchies of the 20th century. Rodeo at the Pendleton Round-up was a temporarily permeable space within which men and women of different races performed scripted and unscripted feat to assert themselves competitors, either in sport or in performance. The history of Happy Canyon Pageant and Wild West Show's vaudeville-style production demonstrates how a combination of Indigenous agency and script revision combine to produce a refined, entertaining, and educational regional story. The parade's ban on motorized vehicles serves as the thematic agent for Pendletonians' assertion of identity through processional performance: as descendants of the Oregon Trail. The multitude of exclusively Indigenous spaces at the Round-Up reflects the long-standing relationship participating tribes have facilitated with non-native Pendleton. The Pendleton Round-Up offered limited but real opportunity to Indigenous men and women, Black men, and white women to exercise their agency and assert themselves as part of the region's history.

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Introduction

The Pendleton Round-Up started as an idea born out of a horse bucking exhibition at the 1909 Pendleton Fourth of July celebration, when well-liked Pendleton local Lee Caldwell's impressive winning bronc ride earned him a saddle. According to Charles Wellington Furlong's first history of the Round-Up, written just twelve years later, "the enthusiasm over th[is] phase of the celebration left no doubt as to the eternal human interest in riding and horsemanship, and in the fight for supremacy between horse and rider."[1] Inspired by the success of the Fourth of July celebration, local boosters such as Roy Raley promoted plans for an exciting rough-riding frontier exhibition for the following year. Raley had also noted the economic success of popular wild west shows, like Buffalo Bill Cody's, and wanted to put on a show that specifically told the story of the settlement of Oregon and celebrated Indigenous communities of the area. The Westward Ho! Parade was included in the plans too, with one rule: no motorized vehicles. The Pendleton Round-Up quickly grew to encompass three key events: the rodeo, the stage show and tipi encampment, and the annual parade and effectively fashioned a niche for itself in the tourism industry of the early 20th century that popularized the idea of the Wild West. The Pendleton Round-Up enterprise ultimately became popular as a tourism destination for end-of-summer family fun and one venue among a handful in the early professional rodeo circuits.

Today, Pendleton, Oregon exists on the traditional homeland of the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla people, which stretches from southeastern Washington and northeastern Oregon to the lowlands of the Columbia River and to the highlands of the Blue Mountains in eastern Oregon. Their lifestyles revolved around the access to the river and equestrianism brought west from the

[1]Charles Wellington Furlong, *Let 'Er Buck, a Story of the Passing of the Old West* (Albany, NY: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1921), 16.

Plains culture.[2] However, in the aftermath of the Civil War, many American settler populations sought economic opportunity associated with the natural resources and "unsettled" lands that lie West. Indigenous peoples of the region saw the effects of substantial non-Native colonization of their lands and resources such as the fur trade, missionary work, disease, and violent conflict.[3] For example, the same year that Oregon became an official territory, the bloody Cayuse War of 1848 commenced as a direct response to the influx of settlers into the region, the taking of more land for Dr. Marcus Whitman's mission, and the devastation of a measles epidemic brought to them by westward moving parties.[4] In 1855, what began as peace treaties quickly turned into land acquisition contracts for the incoming hordes of white settlers. The Treaty of 1855 was signed by the United States and members of the Walla Walla, Cayuse, and Umatilla tribes on June 9 of the same year.[5] Many Reservations were created in the Northwest region during these negotiations, including the Nez Perce Reservation, Yakima Reservation, and Umatilla Reservation, located just outside Pendleton Oregon. The Cayuse, Walla Walla, and Umatilla ceded a total of 6.4 million acres to the United States and reserved rights for fishing, hunting, gathering foods and medicines, and pasturing livestock.[6]

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[2] William C. Sturtevant, Deward E. Walker, and Theodore Stern, "Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla," in *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1998), 403.

[3] Donald William Meinig, *The Great Columbia Plain* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1968), 168; Sturtevant, Walker, and Stern, "Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla," 412-414.

[4] Jennifer Karson, *Wiyaxayxt / Wiyaakaa'awn / As Days Go By: Our History, Our Land, Our People—The Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006), 63; Sturtevant, Walker, and Stern, "Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla," 412-414.

[5] United States Government, *Treaty Between the Cayuse, Umatilla and Walla Walla Tribes, In Confederation and the United States, June 9, 1855.* https://www.ctuir.org/media/b4tfz2qs/treatyof1855.pdf

[6] Jennifer Karson, Daniel H. Hester, and Ronald J. Pond, "Through Change and Transition: Treaty Commitments Made and Broken," in *Wiyáx̱ayx̱t/Wiyaakaa'awn/As Days Go By: Our History, Our Land, Our People: The Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2006), 96; Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation CTUIR, "Brief History of Ctuir," CTUIR, https://www.ctuir.org/about/brief-history-of-ctuir/.

The substantial western movement in the post-Civil War era helped the nation to expand and create its own borders. The process of having the borders defined was received in different ways at the end of the nineteenth century. In 1893 at the World Columbian Exposition, Frederick Jackson Turner (1861-1932) delivered an essay reacting to news that from the US Census Bureau that the American frontier was officially "closed" as of 1890.[7] In it, he argued that the availability of free land that characterized the American frontier promoted democracy and progress.[8] Turner was concerned that the "closure of the frontier" threatened to hamper progress and he sought "equivalents to the frontier that would act as engines to create democracy and individualism."[9] He warned that with the closure of the frontier, the American character would diminish.[10] His perspective launched a century-long academic debate about the power that the frontier had as an organizing force. The great irony is that at the very same World's Exposition in 1893, just down the street preparing for their nighttime show was Buffalo Bill Cody and his Wild West Show.

Buffalo Bill Cody believed that the West could be recreated, and better yet, sold for a profit. his traveling rough riding showcase helped fuel an ongoing interest in the American West. Cody's wild west show was a dramatization of his own life on the Plains, which gave him ample material to craft a semi-fictional but engaging story. His narrative style often opted for historical drama over historical accuracy; his use of epoch narrative structure, or story-telling structure narrative organized into sequential stages, or "epochs," gave his narrative shape and allowed his dramatic scenes to pop.[11] Epoch structure is enabled the delivery of information for large swaths of time but

[7] Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" in *The Frontier in American History* (1920; 2010 reprint; pp.1-38), 2.

[8] Richard White, "Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill," in *The Frontier in American Culture: An Exhibition at the Newberry Library, August 26, 1994-January 7, 1995: Essays* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 7-65, 21a.

[9] White, "Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill," 21a,

[10] Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," 2.

[11] Louis S. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America: William Cody and the Wild West Show* (New York: Vintage Books, 2006), 51. Also see, MacKaye, Percy. *Epoch: The Life of Steele MacKaye.* New York, NY: Boni & Liveright, 1927.

have also been reductive of complex issues as a result of the terseness of delivery.[12] For example, his show often performed violent encounters between Indigenous communities and westward moving settler parties for the crowd, complete with stagecoach action, weapons, horses, and gunfire. Buffalo Bill Cody believed, at least to some extent, that the West could be recreated through dramatic performance. Cody's contributions helped to construct the myth of the Old West as a real but bygone piece of American history. The mythological "Wild West" as we know it today is, in part, a result of Cody's business strategy.

Both Cody and Turner sought to explain the origin of civilizing efforts in North America and the effects of those efforts. As Louis Warren writes, "Turner and Cody were on opposite sides of the same historical coin."[13] Where Turner saw the conquest of nature as central and the conquest of savages as incidental, Cody thought the reverse was true. His spectacles presented an account of Indian perpetrators and white defense. [14] These contradictory perspectives became embedded in developing American society through different media and has contributed to the construction of the mythological American West. What is a wild west show, if not some kind of vestige of the romanticized frontier that Turner was so sure was closing? How do other kinds of performance recreate and romanticize the Wild West? What is revealed about a place like Pendleton and its people by examining different historical narratives that are crafted through performance spaces it fosters?

Existing scholarship on rodeo, Wild West shows, and parades reveals important discussions regarding identity and community formation through performance. The rodeo events are distinct from the other two events because it is performance space and an athletic competition

[12] Louis S. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America: William Cody and the Wild West Show* (New York: Vintage Books, 2006), 51.

[13] Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 432.

[14] White, "Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill," 11-12.

space. More recent scholarship has focused on rodeo as an organizing space for community and has shifted to explore how specifically marginalized communities have used rodeo to assert their identity within the often discriminatory, white rodeo scene. Rebecca Scofield's book *Outriders* and Elyssa Ford's *Rodeo as Refuge, Rodeo as Rebellion* are excellent examples of recent work that focus on the marginalized communities' use and navigation of the rodeo world.[15] These works work to widen the definition of what a cowboy or cowgirl was. Each work reveals examples of when members of marginalized communities were able to exercise their own agency through opportunities in rodeo.

Wild West Shows were among the very first kind of productions to sell the idea of the West by calling upon nostalgia for a seemingly simpler time. Louis Warren's *Buffalo Bill's America* is essential to understanding how historical realities and historical exaggerations can coexist within the same performance setting.[16] Keith Cartwright's very recent chapter on the 101 Ranch Wild West Show and Bill Pickett helps to position African American agency within the context of both performance and rodeo by highlighting Bill Pickett's famous bulldogging performance, now a common rodeo event.[17] Wild West show literature also provides a basis for examining the epoch narrative structure and its limits in the case of Pendleton.

Parades have also long been examples of community formation and identity assertion, often for political and/or religious reasons. Robert Orsi's book *The Madonna of 115th Street* examines the meaning of Catholic and Italian procession during the *festa* of the Madonna of Mount Carmel. He argues that the performance of the *festa* was the site of interaction between religion and

[15] Rebecca Scofield, *Outriders: Rodeo at the Fringes of the American West*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2019; Elyssa Ford, *Rodeo as Refuge, Rodeo as Rebellion: Gender, Race, and Identity in the American Rodeo*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2021.

[16] Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*.

[17] Keith Ryan Cartwright, "Bill Pickett and the 101 Ranch," in *Black Cowboys of Rodeo: Unsung Heroes from Harlem to Hollywood and the American West* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2021), pp. 5-12.

community, as an overlap of lived religious and ritual experience. In Elyssa Ford's article, "Pa'u Riding in Hawai'i," she demonstrates how Indigenous Hawaiian performance of pa'u riding, a riding style of upper-class white women in which they dress in traditional Hawaiian hula skirts, simultaneously serves as a protest of colonialism and a reclamation of Indigenous Hawaiian culture. This intersection enables me to place real and marginalized people within each of the three niche performance spaces and provides the scaffolding for understanding under what circumstances their interactions with other people were taking place.

Ritual performance, such as annual or anniversary performance, plays a key role in identity creation. Performance scholar Diana Taylor argued about the power of performative strategy. She argued that reperformance, that is performance that has happened again, is an exchange in the present between some sort of "original" that is in fact never the same a second time; even though we know it could never be the same a second time, attempting it again helps us identify with it and never forget it. According to historian David Glassberg in his book *American Historical Pageantry*, the idea of civic pageantry among the middle class is a product of Progressivism and the balance of play and leisure. In essence, civic pageantry serves the function of entertainment for the industrious middle class and enables them to not only relate but connect to each other in their down time. These insights reveal that ritual performance, be they athletic, play, or parade in nature, has merit as an opportunity for identity creation.

Yet, Pendleton Round-Up is a business enterprise with an express goal of commodifying nostalgia. Nineteenth-century Americans envisioned life in the West as a primitive but simple; it was also seen as a place of masculinity in contrast to the feminine city setting.[18] A sense of longing for this way of life developed consequently to the impositions of modernity. For example, Dean

[18] Richard White, *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A New History of the American West* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma, 1991), 621.

MacCannell writes, "modernity is transforming labor into cultural productions attended by tourists and sightseers who are moved by the universality of work relations."[19] Hal Rothman argued that the tourism industry was born because technological innovation of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries helped foster a nostalgia-infused wanderlust.[20] Diane Barthel's examines how staged symbolic communities (SSGs) work by depicting a utopic community fixed "somewhere in the past."[21] SSGs serve as a lens through which to examine the nuances between performances that offer new experiences to tourists and still shares a sense of permanence with a familiar past. In Katrina Phillips' very recent book, *Staging Indigeneity,* she developed the term "salvage tourism," as opposed to salvage ethnography, to examine the use of Indigenousness and Indigeneity to "salvage" the "vanishing" white past. A performance not informed by Indigenous voices and marketed to non-Native tourists are guilty of "fauxstalgia."[22] My examination of Happy Canyon Pageant and Wild West Show seeks to examine repeated instances of script revision initiated by Indigenous Happy Canyon participants as, in fact, exercises of agency over the show's narration and the history being told. This intersection demonstrates contemporary scholarly discourse on twentieth century tourism and explains better the tourist's role in the performance process.

Overview

The first chapter will examine the rodeo industry at Pendleton to understand how small-town relationships interacted with performance at the cusp of when technological developments and boosterism helped fuel Pendleton into modernity. White, Indigenous, and African American

[19] Dean MacCannell, *Tourist. A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976), 36.

[20] Hal Rothman, *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1998), 43, 45.

[21] Diane L. Barthel, *Historic Preservation: Collective Memory and Historical Identity* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996), 37.

[22] Katrina M. Phillips, *Staging Indigeneity: Salvage Tourism and the Performance of Native American History* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2021), 23.

men and women make up the participants in the Round-Up, but each of them navigated their opportunities within the events in differing ways. White women participated in both royalty traditions and rough riding events until their athletic opportunities were eliminated. Indigenous rodeo events including their temporary representation in the Rodeo Queen tradition asserted them as capable competitors within a predominantly white scene. Additionally, two African American cowboys made a lasting impression on Pendleton's memory through their athletic ability and used the rodeo setting to resist racial discrimination of the twentieth century. This chapter will situate the rodeo industry in Pendleton within the context of external socio-political and military events of the 20th century, such as women's suffrage and World War I. The purpose of this chapter is to ascertain how marginalized community members at the Pendleton Round-Up navigated prevailing racial and gendered hierarchies through the performance space offered by the rodeo events.

The second chapter will analyze the nexus of performance in the Happy Canyon Pageant and Wild West Show setting that is specifically representative of Indigenous agency over script revision. Moreover, women's participation in Pendleton royalty courts arguably arguably as abruptly as their participation in rodeo. In 1955, Caroline Motanic was named the first Happy Canyon Princess, thereby igniting a new tradition that largely replaced Indigenous representation in the Round-Up Court.[23] Performance of the Happy Canyon script and Princess tradition demonstrates Indigenous participants as part of the region's past, present, and future. Indian Village and Tipi Camp also operates as Pendleton places controlled and utilized by participating Indigenous tribes. In this way, it becomes interesting to consider Happy Canyon Pageant and Wild West Show as the official stage and Tipi Village as the unofficial stage. These works will effectively contextualize Happy Canyon Pageant and Wild West Show as a performance that

[23] Michael Bales and Ann Terry Hill, *Pendleton Round-up at 100: Oregon's Legendary Rodeo*, ed. Karen Kirtley (Salem, OR: East Oregonian Pub. Co., 2010), 242.

retains its own unique qualities embodied in Raley's decision to include Indigenous narratives early on. The purpose of this chapter is to use the Happy Canyon Pageant and Wild West Show as a lens to examine instances of script revision by participating tribal members as a way to reveal the space that the Pendleton enterprise created for local Indigenous agency and authority on historical narratives that involve them.

The third chapter will focus on the Westward Ho! Parade as a site that is representative of a very different kind of performance. The one rule of the Parade, no motorized vehicles, is meant to be evocative of the westward movement that enabled the non-native settling of Oregon and celebrates the animals and technology it took to get there. This chapter will combine the issues of nostalgia or antimodernism in the production of moving history in a parade format. Thus, it will be important to assess how parades influence American national and patriot identity in ways that pageantry and stage shows perhaps does not. The purpose of this chapter is to examine how parades as a modern invention, specifically historical parades, must balance the influences of both modernity and antimodernism in the production. More specifically, this chapter will examine Westward Ho! Parade as a symbolic cultural performance of the settling of the Oregon Trail that helps to create and assert local identity as descendants of the Oregon Trail.

Due to the breadth of this line of questioning, it becomes important to note the methodologies that will underpin this project. First, this project is a local history of Pendleton, Oregon because it encourages the discursive practice of valuing community cooperation and collective memory. Local history positions rodeo and performance at the forefront of small-town identity creation for white, Indigenous and African American people. Additionally, I want to represent Indigenous methods, ethics, and epistemologies in a genuine way. Thus, for example, I have chosen to employ the term and capitalization Indigenous/Indigenous Peoples after consulting

with Gregory Younging's writing guide *Elements of Indigenous Style.*[24] Younging's justification for this decision is something I would like to echo in my own approach to Indigenous epistemologies: "It is a deliberate decision that redresses mainstream society's history of regarding Indigenous Peoples as having no legitimate national identities: governmental, social, spiritual, or religious institutions, or collective rights."[25] Ultimately, the purpose of this paper is to try to elucidate complex questions of race, gender, and performance while working hard to represent different kinds of peoples in a respectful manner. As an extension of the local history methodology, this project looks at ample resources from Pendleton locals at different points in time, including but not limited to, the works of "Arizona John" Burke, Charles Wellington Furlong, E N. "Pink" Boylen, Virgil Rupp, Vera McGinnis, Montie Montana, Michael Bales and Ann Terry Hill, Chris Friday's work on Don Smith, and Rebeca Fletcher Waggoner. These titles, depending on the context, can constitute either primary or secondary source material. This project also looks at oral history interviews from the Oregon Historical Society, Indian Census Rolls, US Census Records, and military service records. Finally, this project functions as a newspaper synthesis, including a multitude of local, regional, and national newspaper articles and obituaries. The Pendleton-based *East Oregonian* is a common source.

As William Cronon states, "Oregon is central to some of the deepest and most fiercely held narratives of American frontier history."[26] It is precisely these narratives that take center stage during Pendleton Round-Up week. The goal of this thesis is to examine these Oregon narratives and performance of them to reveal how members of regional marginalized communities navigated

[24] Gregory Younging, *Elements of Indigenous Style: A Guide for Writing by and about Indigenous Peoples* (Edmonton, Alberta: Brush Education, 2018).

[25] Younging, *Elements of Indigenous Style*, 77.

[26] William G. Robbins and William Cronon, *Landscapes of Promise the Oregon Story, 1800-1940* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2009), 3.

the limited but real opportunities for identity creation and assertion at the Pendleton Round-Up.

Chapter 1: Pendleton Round-Up Rodeo Events

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the multitude of competitive spaces associated with the Pendleton Rodeo events and how they each interact with race, gender, and performance. Rodeo is an industry born of work culture that makes a public spectacle out of the physical skill and strength associated with ranch work. White male cowboys in Pendleton unionized and professionalized the sport of bronc riding in the 1930s and bull riding followed later in 1992.[27] White women participated both as cowgirls and in the Rodeo Queen tradition. Indigenous women also competed with white women for the Rodeo Queen title but were able to hold onto their physically demanding rodeo events in ways that white women could not. African American cowboys, few that there were, demonstrated their athletic ability and used it to protest regional discrimination. Round-Up rodeo event offered white women, Indigenous men and women, and Black men limited but real opportunities to gain local, regional, or sometimes national celebrity status, and to appear in public as essential members of the local and regional community. The Tradeoffs for these opportunities were real, however, and included having their gender and racial identities written into simplistic versions of "western history" by boosters and Round-Up organizers.

Primary sources will include works from Pendleton locals such as Charles Wellington Furlong and E.N. Boylen, autobiographies from Pendleton performers such as Vera McGinnis and Yakima Canutt, U.S. WWI Draft Registration Cards, Oregon Census records, oral history recordings of cowgirl Ollie Osborn, and newspapers including but not limited to *East Oregonian* and *Morning Oregonian*. Additionally, the works of Pendleton locals Michael Bales and Anne

[27] "About PBR," Professional Bull Riders, n.d., https://pbr.com/about/

Terry Hill, rodeo scholars Renee Laegreid, Mary Lou LeCompte, and Joyce Gibson Roach, Black history scholars such as Kenneth Wiggins Porter, and more will be referenced. The rodeo industry at Pendleton offers a view into how small-town relationships interacted with performance at the cusp of when technological developments and boosterism helped fuel Pendleton into modernity.

Rodeo

Rodeo developed from informal competition among cattle ranchers into an organized community event. This competition began informally, and it was based on the necessary experience of breaking horses.[28] Eventually these low-level competitions turned into entry-based contests that continued to grow. By the late 1880s to 1890s, rodeo became a business that made a spectacle out of these contests for onlookers or tourists. Cheyenne Frontier Days in Wyoming, Deer Tail Rodeo in Colorado, and the Raymond Stampede in Alberta, Canada are among the oldest rodeos in North America, all that predate Pendleton's Round-Up in 1910.

As rodeos became more popular by the 1910s and 1920s, performers and spectators knew what to expect. All rodeos are competitions involving mostly men try to best the animals they ride and beat out the other contestants in the process. In big rodeos, timed events like relay races, steer wrestling, and barrel racing alternate would with judged events like bronc riding, bareback bronc riding, and bull riding. Special performances sprinkled in between rodeo events could vary from venue-to-venue. The less standardized nature of special performances was emblematic of the regional and cultural differences that underpin each rodeo setting.

[28] The difference between broken and unbroken horses is an important distinction here. Horses that are broke, refers to being broke to ride: they have been trained to carry the weight of a rider and are priced higher as such. Unbroke horses have not received this training and can be more dangerous as a result. responsible for the act of breaking a horse, wherein horses often let off a series of powerful bucks that the cowboy must be able to sit. Cowboys benefit more from selling a broke horse at a marketplace because not every horseback rider is capable of or desires to put in the physical work needed to familiarize an unbroke horse with a rider's weight. Bronc competition developed by making a competition out of the act of breaking a horse.

With the popularization of rodeo and the standardization of its events in the 1910s and 1920s, it also professionalized through efforts of rider associations and civic booster organizations. Booster organizations specifically enhanced both community involvement and funneled money into the rodeo setting by forming advantageous relationships with brands and investors. Historian Carl Abbott described boosterism as "the entire process by which business and civic leaders assess the situation they faced, tried to define a coherent economic program to be carried out by the public and private actions, and publicized that assessment and program to local and national audiences."[29] In this way, community leaders and city officials contributed to the success of local rodeo efforts without directly participating as competitora. The development of rodeo was so successful because it made a show of, and then capitalized on, the competitive development of work culture.

Rodeo, in addition to other events included in this project, can in some sense be considered a team performance made up by the dual participating parties of a horse and rider. Scholar Susan Nance has been a champion of incorporating the animal perspective in history. The myth of the American West was built up on the non-consenting backs of horses, cows, and other animals essential to ranch work and the performance of it. Importantly, animal intelligence does not equal consent to the job. While humans routinely make the educated decision to participate in the rodeo scene, animals are rarely, if ever, treated as though they have a say in their participation. This sentiment is representative of how humans see themselves as distinct from nature and from the animal kingdom, as if animal resistance can be somehow "bested." Contrary to marketing tactics often employed in rodeo scenes, horses do not necessarily "love to buck"; it is instead a symbol of evasion and resistance to the task at hand. Nance specifically argues that rodeo animals "became

[29] Carl Abbott, *Boosters and Businessmen: Popular Economic Thought and Urban Growth in the Antebellum Middle West* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981), 4.

surrogates for the trials of rural life in the West and the violence in its history."[30] Rodeo is thus a performance of conflict in which livestock stands in for untamed animals. It is this conflict that helps people assert their identity as westerners. However, it is also on the backs of nonconsenting animals that some of the "traditional" values regarding gender and "western" grit were negotiated. This project does not seek to take the animal perspective as much as it seeks to at least acknowledge the reality of *all* rodeo participants and the complicated nuances of consent and agency.

Cowboys

The term "cowboy" possibly originated as a demeaning term for Black men's ranch work but shifted to a term which described a white man's occupation. When this shift occurred, it also distinguished another racial boundary that reaffirmed that the white man's use of land was somehow superior to that of Indigenous use of land. During and after the Civil War, the word "boy" was often used to debase black men.[31] In 1865, white men who worked in the cattle industry referred to themselves as "drovers, traders, or stock raisers and keepers."[32] Thus, "cow" and "boy," as two separate words, may have been the first iteration of the term, which would have specifically delineated the race of the individual hired to care for cattle. The images of "cowboys and Indians" conveyed the seeming evolution of the term cowboy from a black to a white cowhand, to the exclusion of Indigenous cattlemen who are only referred to as Indians. After the Civil War, many non-Indians migrated to the West. The conflicts over land helped shape how white settlers defined themselves as completely distinct from Indians and believed that they would put the land to better, more productive use.[33] The rewritten definition of the term cowboy effectively contributed to two

[30] Susan Nance, *Rodeo: An Animal History* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2020), 6.

[31] Kenneth Wiggins Porter, *The Negro on the American Frontier* (New York, NY: Arno Press, 1996), 369-70.

[32] Delphine Dawson Wilson, *John Barkley Dawson: Pioneer, Cattleman, Rancher* (San Diego, CA: Delphine Dawson Wilson Trust, 1997), 9-10.

[33] Peter Iverson, "When Indians Became Cowboys," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 45, no. 1 (1995): 18.

historical outcomes: the erasure of African American cowboys' history in the US West and the unproductive "cowboy and Indian" binary that conveys a seemingly uncompromising racial category. There is a complex history, including both racial erasure and the maintenance of racial hierarchies conveyed in the word "cowboy." Nevertheless, the term will be employed throughout this project to explore the economic occupation of ranch work evolving into professional sport at the Pendleton Round-Up.

With the popularization of rodeo in the 1910s and 1920s, rodeo was also professionalized through efforts of rider associations that represented the interests and needs of the professional cowboy. At the Pendleton Round-Up, the Cowboy Turtle Association and the Professional Bull Riding Association helped to change two specific events, the bronc events, and the bull events respectively, from unstandardized competition to a professional sporting event within the regional and ultimately national rodeo circuits. In 1936, sixty-one cowboys went on strike at the Boston Garden Rodeo, stating that the prize money was too low to break even on their expenses. At the conclusion of the strike, the cowboys formed a permanent organization, the Cowboys Turtle Association, to represent their interests.[34] In 1937 and 1938, the cowboys competing at the Pendleton Round-Up unionized under the Turtle Association. They advocated for a closed rodeo, wherein only Turtle members were eligible to compete and were judged by Turtle judges.[35] The Pendleton Round-Up Association sharply opposed, wanting to retain the authority to pick their

[34] Mary Lou LeCompte, *Cowgirls of the Rodeo: Pioneer Professional Athletes* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 114. For more on the Boston Garden Rodeo Strike and the national Cowboy Turtle Association see, Gail Hughbanks Woerner, *The Cowboys' Turtle Association: The Birth of Professional Rodeo* (Walnut Springs, TX: Wild Horse Press, 2011); The Turtle Association were named as such because "they were slow to organize, but eventually 'stuck their neck out.'" ("Rodeo Organizations," ProRodeo Hall of Fame and Museum of the American Cowboy).

[35] E. N. Boylen, *Episode of the West: The Pendleton Round-up, 1910-1951: Facts and Figures* (Pendleton, OR: Boylen, 1975), 54-55; Virgil Rupp, *Let 'Er Buck!: A History of the Pendleton Round-Up* (Pendleton, OR: Pendleton Round-Up Association, 1985), 55.

own officials, and Turtles were barred from competing in 1937 and 1938 with a "No Turtles Need Apply" sign hung on the office door.[36] The 1937 and 1938 Round-Ups were successful nonetheless because the country was filled with nonturtle members who could take advantage of the open rodeo setting and the purses available to be won.[37] In January 1939, Pendleton representatives Boylen and R. W. Ritner met with the Rodeo Association of America in Livingston, Montana to come to an agreement on issues such as "the matter of judges, payoff schedule or prize monies and entry fees, the policy of livestock for major events, [and] entry of nonturtles." [38] By September, Turtles were back at the Round-Up.[39] The Turtle Association eventually changed their name to Rodeo Cowboys Association (RCA) in 1945.[40] Pendletonian E.N. "Pink" Boylen's involvement in establishing official standards helped professionalize Pendleton's competitive bronc rodeo.

In 1944, rodeo's most dangerous event, bull riding, was added to the competition roster, which created the need for another organization.[41] This addition to the roster came immediately after the two years that the Pendleton Round-Up was not held, in 1942 and 1943, due to wartime constraints and concerns. Bull riders originally organized under the PCA but separated from them in 1992 to form the Professional Bull Riders Association (PBR). The PBR made standardized distinctions in sport between bull and bronc riding, including points systems, time frames, and safety concerns. The PBR utilized its booster roots to actively market bull riding based on the bulls' tremendous size and power to illicit larger spectator masses each year.[42]

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[36] Virgil Rupp, *Let 'Er Buck!*, 55.

[37] Boylen, Episode of the West, 54.

[38] Boylen, *Episode of the West*, 54-55.

[39] Boylen, *Episode of the West*, 54-55.

[40] "Rodeo Organizations," ProRodeo Hall of Fame and Museum of the American Cowboy, https://www.prorodeohalloffame.com/rodeo-organizations/.

[41] Bales and Hill, *Pendleton Round-Up at 100*, 141.

[42] "About PBR," Professional Bull Riders, n.d., https://pbr.com/about/; When people today are asked to picture rodeo now, they most likely picture bull riding.

Bull riding has largely replaced bronc riding as the signature event of all rodeos. These two rider associations enabled the labor and reward aspects of the rodeo industry to become standardized, while ushering the Pendleton Round-Up into a new era of professionalization, and ultimately, booster influence.

Boosters and Businesses of Pendleton

The Pendleton Round-Up utilized its booster spirit to foster relationships with local and regional businesses that helped to create and further Pendleton's professional rodeo scene. In 1909, the Bishop family began producing quality wool blankets, or trade blankets, at the Pendleton Woolen Mills. Trade blankets were, quality, sometimes wearable, blankets made of a variety of Indigenous designs. They were named from similar blankets used during the nineteenth century fur trade.[43] According to historian Chelsea Vaughn, "Pendleton Woolen Mills became the premier provider of cloths during the early twentieth century through a policy of appealing to Native American tastes and preferences, beginning with members of the CTUIR."[44] Roy Bishop used his position as a local businessman to facilitate a relationship with the CTUIR on behalf of the Pendleton enterprise by "extend[ing] the first invitation to the Indians to participate...Bishop gave the tribes the unconditional guarantee that the Round-Up would provide exactly what he said they would."[45] The Woolen Mills and the Bishop family went on to sponsor and judge other events surrounding the Pendleton Round-Up, ultimately contributing to the success of the enterprise overall.

[43] W. R. Swagerty, "Indian Trade Blankets in Pacific Northwest History: History and Symbolism of a Unique North American Tradition," *Columbia, The Magazine of Northwest History* 12, no. 2 (2002): pp. 1-7; Richard H. Engeman, "Pendleton Woolen Mills," in *The Oregon Companion: An Historical Gazetteer of the Useful, the Curious, and the Arcane* (Portland, OR: Timber Press, 2009), pp. 297-298, 297.

[44] Chelsea K. Vaughn, "'The Road That Won an Empire': Commemoration, Commercialization, and the Promise of Auto Tourism at the 'Top o' Blue Mountains,'" *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 115, no. 1 (2014), 30.

[45] Bales and Hill, *Pendleton Round-up at 100*, 251, 253.

Hamley & Company contributed very directly to the standardization of the bucking bronc events at Pendleton. The Hamley family opened their saddlery in Pendleton in 1905. In the first decade of the Round-Up, first place winners of the World Champion bucking bronc competition were awarded with "$200.00 and [a] world champion 'Famous Never-break Hamley" saddle, made and presented by Hamley & Co., Pendleton, Oregon. Value, $350.00."[46] Then, in 1919, Hamley & Company designed a standardized bronc saddle to replace the multitude of saddles being used in competition.[47] The standardization of the bucking contest saddle leveled the playing field upon which the professionalization of the sport took place. Hamley & Co.'s participation in the Round-Up as a booster business fueled professionalization efforts, specifically with horse tack.

The Pendleton Whisky brand is another business strongly associated with the Pendleton Round-Up.[48] Unlike the previous two examples, Pendleton Whisky does not have roots as far back as the Round-Up's beginning. According to their website, Pendleton Whisky, based near Hood River, OR was "specifically created to celebrate the bold spirit of independence and hard-work ethic of the American cowboy and cowgirl."[49] The brand uses the classic Round-Up iconography, a bronc and rider, making it an easily identifiable label. Pendleton Whisky is now a regular sponsor of the PBR circuits and their logo is almost always visible by the bull chutes. Pendleton Whisky serves as a premier example of how the name of Pendleton has transcended the locality and turned into a common name among the professional bull riding scene. The Pendleton Round-Up enterprise crafted a reciprocal, symbiotic relationship with different local businesses, effectively investing in both the future of this popular enterprise and the professionalization of rodeo.

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[46] Boylen, *Episode of the West*, 13.

[47] Boylen, *Episode of the West*, 29

[48] "Whisky" is spelled as such because it is the Canadian way of spelling it and it is consistent with the brand's name.

[49] "Shop Premium Canadian Whiskey Selection," Pendleton Whisky, September 15, 2021, https://pendletonwhisky.com/whiskies/#product-original.

The Round-Up began to "salvage" a way of life that was becoming increasingly uncommon in Umatilla County as modern advances in technology such as railroads and irrigation systems began to increase the products available for market and made market transport that much easier.[50] In a 1914 *East Oregonian* article, businessmen of the Pendleton Commercial Association began suggesting that "right now is the time for Pendleton to emphasize her advantages because this city is recognized as being the best little city in the northwest."[51] As a result, pamphlets with the slogan "Pendleton, the hub city for commercial travelers" would be printed that mapped out Pendleton in relation to the nearby railroad and pointed out other advantages of the region.[52] Early Pendleton booster Roy Raley was head of the Northwestern Frontier Exhibition Association, which sought to promote Pendleton as a tourism destination.[53] Lee Drake, owner of the *East Oregonian*, arranged publicity for the Round-Up; and local Harry Gray arranged special trains at reduced fares to bring audiences to Pendleton.[54] The Round-Up's history, like other rodeos, is laden with boosterism influence and is closely tied to the legacy of the Pendleton's original families. Thus, participation in the booster spaces to the Pendleton Round-Up's cause was a way to claim a legacy within the region and assert local identity.

Cowgirls and Rodeo Royalty

Women have used their equestrian skillset to navigate two different performance spaces at the Pendleton Round-Up and thus, assert themselves as members of the West. Women have long

[50] Katrina M. Phillips, "Discovering and Defining Salvage Tourism," in *Staging Indigeneity: Salvage Tourism and the Performance of Native American History,* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2021), 7; Meinig, *The Great Columbia Plain*, 457.

[51] "Pendleton as Hub for Commercial Men, New Slogan," *East Oregonian,* October 7, 1914.

[52] "Pendleton as Hub," *East Oregonian,* Oct. 7, 1914.

[53] Another name for the Association at this time that can be found in the literature is the "Northwestern Frontier Celebration Association." Both names were retired rather quickly in Pendleton's history. For consistency's sake, the Round-Up officials called it the Pendleton Round-Up Association.

[54] Bales and Hill, *Pendleton Round-Up at 100,* 17.

found freedom and individual agency on the back of a horse. Scholar Joyce Gibson Roach states that, "the emancipation of women may have begun not with the vote, nor in the cities where women marched and carried signs and protested, but rather when they mounted a good cowhorse and realized how different and fine the view… From the back of a horse, the world looked wider."[55] When the Pendleton Round-Up began in 1910, the rodeo scene offered women participants a way to expand their economic and social autonomy. Former professional rodeo cowgirl Ollie Osborn noted that women did not pay entry fees for rodeo events, but they did not win purses as big as men's events.[56] Soon after, in 1912, women got the right to vote in Oregon, which pushed the female population into statewide political spaces.[57] In the Pendleton Round-Up enterprise, the expectations of women participants evolved to include demonstrations of horse(wo)manship in both the cowgirl events and the Rodeo Queen tradition, which bucked the gendered expectations of women in the early 1900s. In effect, Rodeo Queen and Cowgirl competitions demonstrated that (white) women had a place in the West.

Cowgirls were most often actresses in western-themed performances, such as Annie Oakley in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, but there were also opportunities for a short while in which they competed as athletes. The term "cowgirl" was not a common term until the end of the nineteenth century, but the exact origin of the term is unknown. According to historian Rebecca Scofield, cowgirl performers sold audiences on the notion of females in rodeo by conveying themselves as "daughters of true pioneer mothers with ranching in their blood."[58] This was

[55]Joyce Gibson Roach, *The Cowgirls* (Denton, TX: University of North Texas Press, 1990), *xxi*.

[56] "Oral history interview with Ollie Osborn, by Harriet Baskas [Sound Recording 01]," September 1981, Oregon Historical Society Research Library.

[57] Kimberly Jensen, "'Neither Head nor Tail to the Campaign': Esther Pohl Lovejoy and the Oregon Woman Suffrage Victory of 1912," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 108, no. 3 (2007), 350.

[58] Scofield, *Outriders: Rodeo at the Fringes*, 29.

appealing to city-folk who sought to experience what they could of the mythological Old West through western style performances. The novel visual of rough women alongside rough men was, however, not far from what other historians have theorized as the origins of the term cowgirls. "Cowgirls" could simply be considered as an extension of the gender binary, to label these women riders by what they were not: cow*boys.*[59] For a limited time, the Pendleton Round-Up offered cowgirls the opportunity to compete in athletic events and in a civic-oriented royalty tradition.

The rodeo circuit was strengthened as a whole by the kinship network ties that came along with marriage. Marriage to a cowboy is another avenue through which the term "cowgirl" was possibly created. Young, single women may not have always welcomed into the rodeo family and most cowgirls married rodeo cowboys within a year or two of joining the circuit.[60] This was advantageous for avoiding the rampant sexual harassment that came with the rodeo industry.[61] Drunken antics from the cowboys and the crowd were commonplace; marriage would have offered women protection against the dangers of circuit traveling. Moreover, crowds were enthralled with the sensationalized spectacle of horseback romance, something that, according to Scofield, reassured audiences that, "like any respectable woman, cowgirls [too] desired marriage."[62] Vera McGinnis wrote in her 1974 memoir that "even though [my husband] had not been on the road with me all the time, I had still been a married woman - married to a cowboy in the profession." After divorcing her husband, she reminisced "To rodeo alone was a challenge I had to prime myself to meet."[63] By and large, marriages to cowboys not only helped protect women against unwanted

[59] Scofield, *Outriders*, 28; also see, Joyce Gibson Roach, "'Introduction: Cowgirls and Cattle Queens,'" in *The Cowgirls* (Denton, TX: University of North Texas Press, 1990), xxii.

[60] Scofield, *Outriders, 42.*

[61] Scofield, *Outriders, 43.*

[62] Scofield, *Outriders,* 34.

[63] Vera McGinnis, *Rodeo Road; My Life as a Pioneer Cowgirl* (New York, NY: Hastings House, 1974), 154.

advances and unruly crowds, but it also helped construct the public image of them as virtuous, white, Western women.

The national call for professional women in rodeo forever changed in 1929 when the Pendleton Round-Up audiences witnessed Bonnie McCarroll fall from her horse and get trampled. Ollie Osborn, who was in attendance that day, said she heard the sound of McCarroll's head hitting the ground from the bleachers.[64] She died several days later from her injuries, which were so severe because her feet had been hobbled beneath the horse, so she was unable to dislodge her foot from her stirrup when she fell.[65] The hobbling option was exclusively offered to cowgirls, and women "riding slick," or without hobbles, was rather rare at this time.[66] McCarroll's death became the impetus for the gradual elimination of female rough riding events across the country and, coupled with financial constraints of the Great Depression, caused most of the prize money to go to cowboy rough riding events.[67] The era of the professional cowgirl was a short one. Pendleton was one of the rodeos that valued the professional cowgirl events, but it was also at Pendleton that a drastic change to eliminate them began and rippled across the country.

In 2000, barrel racing was introduced at the Pendleton Round-Up as the first sanctioned women's event in the over seventy years since McCarroll's death. This enabled women to reenter the athletic event side of the rodeo industry. Women in Pendleton made their voices heard about wanting to get this event established. According to Ann Terry Hill, "[the Professional Rodeo Cowboys Association] and the barrel racers were putting pressure on the Round-Up board to find

[64] "Oral history interview with Ollie Osborn, by Harriet Baskas [Sound Recording 02]," September 1981, Oregon Historical Society Research Library.

[65] Hobbling stirrups underneath the animal's stomach would theoretically keep one's legs from flailing during the bucking ride.

[66] "Oral history interview with Ollie Osborn, by Harriet Baskas [Sound Recording 01]," September 1981, Oregon Historical Society Research Library.

[67] Hill, "Old-Time Cowgirls" in *Pendleton at 100*, 98.

some way for them to compete in Pendleton and share in the large purses the men were winning."[68] Barrel racing is a timed event in which women ride tightly around three barrels as quickly as they can without knocking any barrels over. However, barrel racing at Pendleton is entirely unique compared to every other rodeo on the circuit. Pendleton's stadium is complete with a dirt track that encloses a large swatch of grass with a whopping 288 feet long pattern with a 28 second time allotment. Not only do the two different terrains force horses to adapt mid-run, but the entire barrel pattern is also over twice as long and is allotted twice as much time to compete compared to every other rodeo. Figure 1 demonstrates the point of view of the Pendleton Round-Up stadium and shows the different terrain. PCRA vet Doug Corey was instrumental in the successful negotiations between the Pendleton Round-Up Board and the PCRA. He also educated barrel racing participants on proper horse conditioning for safe racing on differing terrain.[69]

Annie Hisler from Morrow County, a descendant of the Lazinka family, grew up in an active rodeo family where women participated in Rodeo Queen tradition and barrel raced professionally at Pendleton and the greater region. In 2000, Hisler served as a princess on the 2000 Queen's court and also competed in Pendleton's brand-new barrel racing event.[70] In this way, Pendleton offered Hisler the opportunity to engage in both aspects of female representation at the Pendleton Round-Up and maintain her family's legacy as a prominent rodeo family in the region, which provided a combination of civic representation, familial duty, and personal achievement. Because of changes made only within the last twenty-two years, horsewomen in and around Pendleton have been able to reassert themselves as legitimate athletes in the rodeo industry.

[68] Bales and Hill, "Barrel Racing," in *Pendleton Round-up at 100,* 166.
[69] Hill, "Barrel Racing" in *Pendleton at 100*, 166.
[70] "Home town girl shines as Round-Up Princess," *Heppner Gazette-Times,* September 13, 2000.

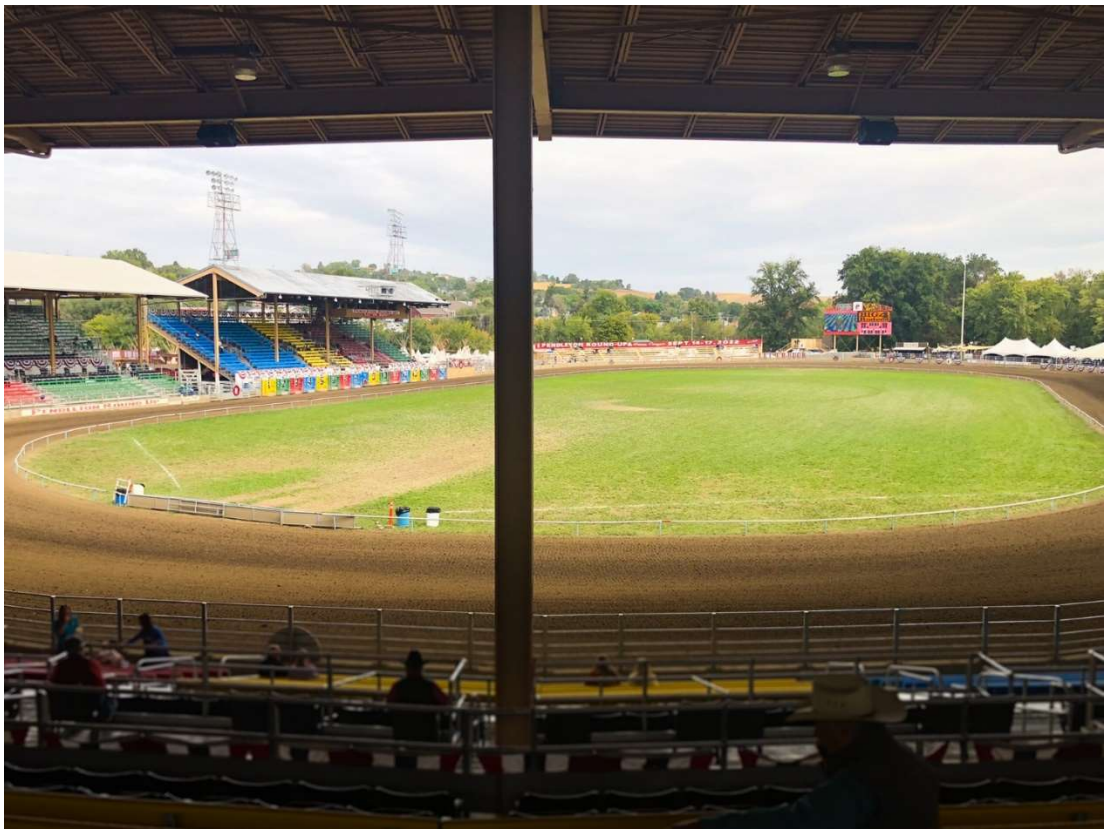

Figure 1: Pendleton Round-Up Stadium, 2021 (photo by author).

The Rodeo Queen tradition is an example of another performative arena within which women competed at the Pendleton Round-Up and and serves to illustrate the boosterism influence. The Pendleton Round-Up is credited with starting the Rodeo Queen tradition in 1910 which is now a national tradition.[71] The original role of the Round-Up Queen was to recognize daughters of local ranchers, prominent boosters, or business families.[72] Bertha Anger became Oregon's first community-sponsored rodeo queen at the first Pendleton Round-Up in 1910 and her responsibilities were simple: look as regal as possible. Three years after Anger's community debut, Gladys McDonald became the first rodeo queen to ride a horse, which began the trend that rodeo

[71] Renee M. Laegreid, *Riding Pretty Rodeo Royalty in the American West* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 2-3.

[72] Bales and Hill, *Pendleton Round-Up at 100,* 239.

queens also demonstrate horse(wo)manship skills. This set the Pendleton Round-Up Queen tradition apart from other kinds of royalty contests in the region, such as the Portland Rose Festival, the Columbia Highway Festival, and the renowned Astoria Regatta, which operated more exclusively as beauty contests.[73] In 1934, Queen Shirley Thompson became the first to entertain the rodeo audiences by running full gallop across the stadium's field, jumping a wooden fence that separated the infield from the outside track, and coming to a full stop in front of the audience in the south end.[74] Shirley Thompson is an example of a Queen who represented a prominent Pendleton family: her mother, Laura McKee, was the 1912 Round-Up Queen and her father, Herb Thompson, served as the Round-Up's stock contractor and cared for bucking horses on his property for many years.[75] In this way, Shirley's reign as Queen represented the small-town values of boosterism from local families. By evolving the expectations to include demonstrations of horse(wo)manship, the Pendleton Rodeo Queen tradition bucked the gendered expectations of women and other kinds of royalty contests in the early 1900s.

Cowgirls participated in a similar manner to cowboys regarding the physical demand that can come along with rodeo events, while Rodeo Queens displayed western femininity and civic pride for rodeo-goers. The Pendleton Round-Up fostered flexible spaces for women that enabled them to pursue the competitive ethos of the American rodeo in ways that both rivaled men and expanded the boundaries of traditional feminine behavior. As one keen observer writes "the women who ride… are skilled in the lore of the race and the horses no less than the men of the range. They not only put their horses to the utmost, but ride with consummate knowledge displayed in every form"[76]

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[73] "Queen Muriel to Receive a Crown," *East Oregonian*, daily evening edition, September 20, 1916.
[74] Bales and Hill, *Pendleton Round-up at 100*, 241; Rupp, *Let 'er Buck*, 52.
[75] "Pendleton Queen Attendants Set," *Heppner gazette-times,* August 13, 1934.
[76] Furlong, *Let 'Er Buck,* 178.

Indigenous Round-Up

There was significant representation of Indigenous men in the Pendleton Round-Up rodeo over the years, both locally and regionally. Many went on to craft impressive rodeo reputations among the constraints of the Round-Up and the racial hierarchies of early 20th century. In 1910 rodeo events were split between three classes: "competitive, non-competitive, and Indian."[77] These categories effectively kept the "competitive" division white and prevented the professionalization of Indigenous rodeo riding.[78] Yet, this decision may have been reversed as early as the next year, when in 1911 three finalists, one white man named John Spain, one Nez Perce man, Jackson Sundown, and one black man, George Fletcher, rode against each other for a Bronc Championship title.[79] Jackson Sundown went on to win the Saddle Bronc Championships and All Around Championships in 1916. [80] Colville's Alex Dick won the Bull Riding Championship and the Northwest Bucking Contest Championship in 1946.[81] Shoat Webster, of the Shawnee, won the Steer Roping Contest in 1949 and 1951, and the Bulldogging Contest in 1949. Also, Indigenous family Gottfriedson, Shuswap-Okanogan, have deep rodeo blood, including saddle bronc, Canadian Wild Horse Race, bull riding champions. They have reputations as horse trainers and reliable stock contractors for rodeos like Pendleton across Canada and the US.[82] Bob "Tonto" Gottfriedson won Pendleton's Saddle Bronc championship in 1977, which was said to be one of

[77] Furlong, *Let 'Er Buck,* 18.

[78] For Indians and Rodeo, see Allison Fuss Mellis, *Riding Buffaloes and Broncos: Rodeo and Native Traditions in the Northern Great Plains*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2020, 81-156; Peter Iverson, "When Indians Became Cowboys," Montana: The Magazine of Western History 45, no. 1 (1995), 16-31; Jan Penrose, "When All the Cowboys Are Indians: The Nature of Race in All-Indian Rodeo," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 93, no. 3 (2003), 687–705.

[79] Bales and Hill, "The Great Bucking Contests" in *Pendleton Round-Up at 100*, 73-75; Boylen, *Episode of the West*, 17; Rick Steber, *Red White Black: A True Story of Race and Rodeo* (Prineville, OR: Rick Steber, 2013).

[80] Boylen, *Episode of the West*, 13, 27.

[81] Boylen, *Episode of the West*, 75, 77.

[82] Bales and Hill, *Pendleton Round-Up at 100*, 49, 165.

his proudest achievements.[83] This list is of Championship winners and is by no means exhaustive. Other Indigenous competitors in the Pendleton rodeo events came from the Shoshone, Bannock, Warm Springs, Fort Hall, Yakama, and more.[84] The Indigenous athletic pool constituted a substantial intersection to the competition and titles awarded in the predominantly white rodeo setting of the Pendleton Round-Up.

Additionally, there were Indigenous exclusive events such that transported spectators back in time beyond the era of cowboys and cattle to a time when Indigenous land was that: completely Indigenous. More specifically, the Indian Relay Races had both a male and a female event. The event consists of a single bareback rider, three mounts, and a catcher, who grabs the horse as the rider attempts to switch horses mid-race, and the first person to complete a lap around the arena with each horse is the winner. This daring mid-race switch created substantial excitement for audiences. Still, rule changes had to be implemented in order to enforce "more sportsmanship, outlaw intentionally bumping other riders or whipping them" or excessive drinking prior to their event.[85] Nevertheless, bareback racing is not without its dangers.[86] Two sons of Round-Up Chief Poker Jim, Richard and Robert Burke, won the Indian Relay champion in 1913 and 1916 respectively, with what were at the time the two best Indian relay records.[87] The renowned Gottfriedson family have also had many successful Relay Races at the Pendleton Round-Up.[88] It

[83] "Gottfriedson" Obituary, *Calgary Herald,* Calgary, Alberta, Canada, November 5, 1991. Accessed through newspapers.com

[84] Bales and Hill, "Round-Up Reminiscences: 'You Can't Eat Lound-Up,'" in *Pendleton Round-Up at 100*, 49.

[85] Bales and Hill, *Pendleton Round-Up at 100*, 164.

[86] When I attended the Pendleton Round-Up 2021, I witnessed a young Indigenous woman lose control of her horse during her Relay Race and fall from her horse, slamming into the metal fence that protects the audience from the arena events. She had to be taken out of the arena on a stretcher on the back of a retrofitted golf cart to the ambulance waiting outside of the arena. I do not recall her name, nor could I find any newspaper articles written about the incident; these kinds of incidents and injuries are rather common in rodeo.

[87] "25,000 People Thrilled by Last Day of 1913 Round-Up Early Days of Frontier Shown in Westward Ho Parade," *East Oregonian*, September 13, 1913; Furlong, *Let 'er Buck*, 82.

[88] Bales and Hill, "Round-Up Events,'" in *Pendleton Round-Up at 100*, 164.

is unclear when the female event was developed but according to Bales, "the men and women's Indian relay races are the last remnants of a bygone Round-Up era that printed with races of every ilk, some segregated by gender and culture and some not: pony express, cowpony, wild horse, … Over the years, all but the relay races have been phased out."[89] The reduction of Indigenous events was most likely to make more room for professionalized events, such as barrel racing in the 2000s. In examining the remaining Indigenous exclusive events of the Pendleton Round-Up, it is evident that even as Pendleton entered the modern era, Indigenous people were able to hold onto an event wherein their own horsemanship could be on display to audiences.

The Pendleton Rodeo Queen tradition was another avenue through which Indigenous participation brushed up alongside the competitive nature of the rodeo events and the latent boosterism influence of Pendleton. Indigenous rodeo queens at the Pendleton Round-Up also notably came from rodeo families, and some even competed in athletic events.

The first Indigenous rodeo queen at the Pendleton Round-Up was Esther Motanic of the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla tribe, crowned in 1926.[90] Minnie Patawa and Louise Martin accompanied her. The second Round-Up Indigenous queen, Melissa Parr in 1932, was the first queen to have a fully Indigenous court. Then came Virginia Wilkinson in 1948. In 1950, the Round-Up saw a serious decline in spectators, which was a sincere concern for directors. Leah Conner in 1952 and Diana McKay in 1953 "were selected as part of Round-Up booster strategy to encourage interest in the show. All-Indian courts were unique, and they brought attention to one

[89] Bales and Hill, "Indian Relay Racing" in *Pendleton Round-Up at 100*, 164; For a full roster of the original events, see "Summary of Events" *East Oregonian.* September 25, 1920; E. N. Boylen, *Episode of the West,* 82.

[90] I used Indian Census Rolls to confirm the tribal affiliation of Motanic. Indian Census Roll, June 30, 1915. roll: M595_618; Page: 63; Line: 12. Access provided by ancestry.com.

of the most distinctive features of the Round-Up: the participation of the Confederate Umatilla Tribes, as well as visiting tribal members from throughout the Northwest."[91]

There was a total of five Indigenous women chosen as Round-Up queen before Pendleton's nighttime show, Happy Canyon Wild West Show, added a Princess Pageant component in 1955. Caroline Motanic, Esther's daughter, became the first and second crowned princess of the Happy Canyon Princess Pageant.[92] As a result, Indigenous women became less visible in the rodeo events after the Happy Canyon Princess tradition began. Indigenous Pendleton Rodeo Queens for a short while were able to demonstrate a novel allure that helped the underlying boosterism influence of Pendleton entice rodeo audiences to attend the Round-Up.

The Pendleton Hall of Fame started in 1969 "to promote and protect the history and heritage of the Pendleton Round-Up and Happy Canyon."[93] Inductees could be awarded the title regardless of age, gender, or race. Still, Hall of Fame is categorized into the Contestant, Volunteer, and Native American categories.[94] The very first inductees in 1969 were five different horses, and the first human inductee was Cayuse-Walla Walla Round-Up Chief Clarence Burke, who served as Round-Up chief for more than five decades.[95] Jackson Sundown was inducted into the Hall of Fame in 1972 under the Contestant category due to his athletic ability in the arena and his 1911 title of "the people's champion."[96] In another example, Shoat Webster, the Steer Roping Contest

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[91] Laegreid, *Riding Pretty*, 157, 159.

[92] Fletcher Waggoner, *Happy Canyon: A History of the World's Most Unique Indian Pageant & Wild West Show* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2016), 375.

[93] "About," Pendleton Round-Up & Happy Canyon Hall of Fame, July 25, 2022, https://rounduphalloffame.org/about/.

[94] Horses who have garnered an unshakable reputation are awarded spots in the Hall of Fame Animals category; there is also one elk, named Beauregard, inducted into the Hall of Fame Animals category in 2000. See, https://rounduphalloffame.org/inductees/.

[95] Bales and Hill, *Pendleton Round-Up at 100,* 57; Indian Census Roll, April 1, 1934. Roll: M595_622; Page: 47; Line: 3. Access provided by ancestry.com.

[96] A full, downloadable pdf of all the Pendleton Round-Up Hall of Fame inductees since 1969 can be found at: https://rounduphalloffame.org/inductees/

and the Bulldogging Contest champ was inducted in 1975 as a Contestant.[97] Other "Indian" inductees include Phillip Bill in 1971, Melissa Parr in 1973, Eliza Bill in 1977, Art Motanic in 1985, William Minthorn in 1992, Esther Motanic in 2001, and more. Arguably, maintaining this segregation between Native participants and white cowboys reinforces the unproductive "cowboys and Indians" binary that plagues regional histories. The two exceptions, Sundown and Webster, suggest that demonstrated athletic ability was the only way for an Indigenous person to escape the "Indian" title in the Hall of Fame.

Pendleton Round-Up's rodeo events provided Indigenous participants with a variety of ways to assert themselves as capable competitors within the burgeoning, largely white rodeo industry. For example, the daring horse change in the Indian Relay Race demonstrates an athleticism not rivaled by other demographics due to its nature as an event closed to non-Indigenous participants. And its female version is arguably the most dangerous female event to remain after Bonnie McCarroll's death changed the face of female participation. The Rodeo Queen tradition at Pendleton helped maintain spaces for competition among women distinct from the combative nature of rodeo events. Specifically, Indigenous Rodeo Queens helped celebrate and commemorate prominent early Indigenous families involved with the Round-Up enterprise. The Hall of Fame quite literally records and remembers notable nonhuman and human athletes and participants. Although Indigenous participation at the Round-Up began through the networking done by local boosters' relationships with the tribes, their participation persisted overtime through their ability to successfully compete both alongside and separately from white participants, effectively carving out unique corners of the Round-Up rodeo scene for themselves.

The Hollywood Connection

[97] Also see Round-Up Hall of Fame Inductees Since 1969, https://rounduphalloffame.org/inductees/; Bales and Hill, *Pendleton at 100*, 49.

Hollywood was attractive to both male and female Indigenous and white actors because they sought the opportunities to make money off performing their skill, as opposed to showcasing it.[98] Phillip Deloria states that "a surprising number of Indian people carved out lives around the practice of representation, making the shift from Wild West to film, from nineteenth century to twentieth."[99] The promotion of Hollywood in the 1920s conveniently paired with the efforts of the Pendleton's boosterism influence and grew Pendleton's allure from a regional to a national attraction. The success of Pendleton as a film location relied on the home-grown skills of local horsemen and women. Pendleton actors performed for the camera the skills they had learned the hard way. In this way, Pendleton's influence achieved some measure of permanency through its involvement in the new medium.

A quick location search for "Pendleton, Oregon, USA" on the Internet Movies Database (IMDb) website lists a total of twenty-six titles of movies or TV shows, production years ranging from 1913 to 2019.[100] Among the cast of highly skilled individuals featured in the earliest Round-Up movies were a list of local cowboys and cowgirls. The athleticism, cowboy skills, and bravery that Enos Edward "Yakima" Canutt was able to hone during his time as a Pendleton champion was a huge advantage in his career as a Hollywood stuntman.[101] Edmund "Hoot" Gibson had experience as a cowboy and as a performer: in 1907, Gibson joined a Dick Stanley's show called Congress of Rough Riders before making his way to Pendleton in 1912 and winning the all-around

[98] For a film about Indigenous and First Nation peoples in film, consider watching *Reel Injun* (Rezolution Pictures, National Film Board of Canada, 2009). This film tracks the evolution of representation of Indigenous and First Nation peoples through the 1930s to the 2000s in film and analyzes the impact of different social and political movements had on the developing film industry.

[99] Philip Joseph Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence, KS: Univ. Press of Kansas, 2004), 55.

[100] "Filming Location Matching 'Pendleton, Oregon, USA,'" IMDb, https://www.imdb.com/search/title/?locations=Pendleton%2C+Oregon%2C+USA.

[101] Boylen, *Episode of the West*, 27, 47; Yakima Canutt, Charlton Heston, John Wayne, and Oliver Drake. *Stunt Man: The Autobiography of Yakima Canutt*. New York, NY: Walker & Co., 1979.

championship at the age of twenty.[102] Owen Harlen Mickel, better known as Montie Montana, was an actor in twenty-four total movies and TV shows, and is listed as a stuntman in sixteen titles between 1932-1971.[103] Cowgirls of Pendleton also became actresses in early westerns. Vera McGinnis appeared in two movies before an injury forced her to retire from performing and Mabel Strickland also had a successful but minor career as a stunt double in films.[104] Lorena Trickey also worked as a stuntwoman and actress in *Through the Backdoor* (1921) and *Queen of Sheba* (1921).[105] Ultimately, a handful of Pendleton's athletes followed the economic opportunities to the Hollywood stage, which allowed them to perform their homegrown skills in a strictly performance space.

In the 1920s, as the film industry distinguished itself from the performance of Wild West Shows, there was increasingly less need to demonstrate violence: "Film, which interposed celluloid, projected light, time, and physical distance between history, reenactment, and audience, did not need the possibility of Indian violence."[106] Nevertheless, Indigenous hires were forced to reckon with Hollywood's early characteristic tendencies towards racist representation and inauthenticity that carried on through the 1950s. For example, the movie *Bronco Buster* (1952), which utilized Pendleton's "Indian Village" as a set, misidentified the Indigenous participants as being members of the Lakota Nation. Similarly, a movie made in Pendleton the following year called *The Great Sioux Uprising* (1953) utilized Umatilla tribal members Leah Conner and Chief

[102] "Lyric Theater," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, Marysville, CA. Volume CXXV, Number 48, August 26, 1922; Bales and Hill, *Pendleton Round-Up at 100,* 108.

[103]"Montie Montana (1910-1998)," IMDb (IMDb.com), https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0598936/?ref_=fn_al_nm_1.

[104] Vera McGinnis (1892–1990), IMDb, https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0569381; Michael Allen. "The Rise and Decline of the Early Rodeo Cowgirl: The Career of Mabel Strickland, 1916-1941." The Pacific Northwest Quarterly 83, no. 4 (1992): 122–27, 126.

[105] Bales and Hill, *Pendleton Round-Up at 100*, 96.

[106] Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, 106.

Clarence Burke while simultaneously implying they were of the Sioux nation.[107] Burke's name appears on this cast list for his "minor role", but Conner's does not. [108] Liza Black states that "the vanishing Indian trope comes into play when we ignore the fact that Native extras worked in movies in the 1940s and 1950s."[109] In the case of Conner, perhaps it was a combination of her gender and the trend of film during the 1940s and 1950s that contributed to her remaining uncredited. Nevertheless, by not being dissuaded from film roles due to misidentification, Indigenous film actors successfully began putting Indigenous faces to Indigenous roles. As Robert Pond and Daniel Hester of the CTUIR state: "The sting of having to dress up as Indians in braided wigs and dark makeup was relieved in part by the pride shown in the vast herds and horsemanship that tribal members displayed in the films."[110]

Beginning in the 1920s through the 1950s, the new medium of entertainment, film, provided a new economic opportunity for both male and female, Indigenous and white actors. The Pendleton Round-Up provided movie producers with a ready-made western set, complete with unscripted action, plenty of animals, and a considerable cast of highly skilled individuals who would truly make the western movies come alive. In return, the movies provided the Round-Up with a powerful tool for promoting its enterprise to a wider national audience. This is another example of the significant symbiotic relationship that the Pendleton Round-Up was able to secure with other business ventures.

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[107] Bales and Hill, *Pendleton Round-Up at 100*, 107.

[108] "The Great Sioux Uprising," IMDb, https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0045841/fullcredits?ref_=tt_ov_st_sm.

[109] Liza Black, *Picturing Indians: Native Americans in Film, 1941 -1960* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2020), 6.

[110] Karson, Hester, and Pond, "Through Change and Transition: Treaty Commitments Made and Broken," in *As Days Go By*, 134.

African American Round-Up

African American cowboys George Fletcher and Jesse Stahl were able to use the performance spaces of the Pendleton Round-Up to resist the racial discrimination of Pendleton and Oregon in general. Oregon Territory was founded on Black exclusion, and the state remained committed to unequal citizenship through the early 20th century and beyond. The infamous "Lash Law" in 1844 was the beginning of Oregon's attempts to exert their supposed state's rights to control who its citizens should be, effectively bar African Americans from residence through legislation.[111] By 1900, Oregon voters repealed the 1857 exclusion clause in the state's constitution.[112] When the Oregon voters repealed the exclusion clause in 1900, Umatilla county had 39 black residents, only 17 of which were men of voting age.[113] By 1910, Umatilla county had 47 "negro and other nonwhite" farmers.[114] And, in 1910, 43 of those "negro and nonwhite farmers" owned their land.[115] Even after 1900, there remained prevailing levels of racial segregation and bigotry within Pendleton and Oregon at large: Jim Crow remained in full swing into the 1950s and beyond.

One Black cowboy, Bill Pickett of Oklahoma, stands apart as an example of a famous cowboy who largely did not face the prevailing discrimination within the rodeo arena due to his celebrity status. He had garnered a reputation as a cowboy with undeniable and reliable skills before he started performing his "bulldogging" trick.[116] He became a renowned celebrity and

[111] Kenneth R. Coleman, *Dangerous Subjects: James D. Saules and the Rise of Black Exclusion in Oregon* (Corvallis, OR: Oregon State University Press, 2017), 7.

[112] Elizabeth MacLagan, *A Peculiar Paradise: A History of Blacks in Oregon, 1788-1940* (Athens, GA: The Georgian Press, 1980), 161.

[113] U.S. Census Bureau, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken In Year 1910. Statistics for Oregon*, 600-601.

[114] U.S. Census Bureau, *Thirteenth Census, Statistics for Oregon*, 625-626.

[115] U.S. Census Bureau, *Thirteenth Census, Statistics for Oregon,* 630-631.

[116] Cartwright, *Black Cowboys of Rodeo*, 8.

international sensation when he performed it on tour with the 101 Ranch Wild West Show, which is now a very common rodeo event known as steer wrestling. Keith Cartwright wrote that "race was less of an issue in the Midwest, throughout the Rust Belt, Northeast, and out West… If promoters had any misgivings about having a Black man perform in their arenas, they never spoke of it."[117] It is possibly that Pickett's international stardom helped him avoid discrimination that underlies the rodeo industry. As Danny Glover points out, "for African Americans, who themselves were likened to animals… to achieve notoriety by dominating formidable animal opponents was a direct confrontation of the primal core of American racism."[118] Bill Pickett might have been a temporary exception to this, but if so, it was based on his contribution to the rodeo events and status as a celebrity. By and large, racial discrimination permeated the rodeo industry, even in the West.

For example, Pendleton African American bronc rider George Fletcher's demonstrated athletic ability in the rodeo arena did not preclude him from facing racial discrimination characteristic of the 20th century United States. Riding against white rider John Spain and Nez Perce rider Jackson Sundown, the win was given to Spain based on the judges' discretion but seemingly the crowd disagreed with the ruling, crowning Fletcher "the people's champion!"[119] He said of his ride: "Because I am a negro, the bucking contest judges jobbed me."[120] Yet, the next sentence of the newspaper article stated that this declaration was made by "Nigger George" Fletcher, the runner-up. The newspaper goes on to report that the deliberation between the two rides came down to judges' preference, wherein Spain's more traditional riding style was preferred

[117] Cartwright, *Black Cowboys of Rodeo,* 9.

[118] Danny L. Glover, and Keith Ryan Cartwright, "Foreword," In *Black Cowboys of Rodeo*, xii.

[119] Boylen, *Episode of the West,* 17; Bales and Hill, *Pendleton Round-Up at 100,* 73-75; Also see, Steber, *Red White Black.*

[120] "Color Robs Negro of Victory, Is Cry," *Morning Oregonian*, September 18, 1911.

over Fletcher's less conventional riding style. A different newspaper's article makes more of a sweeping racialized summary of the events, concluding with "...John Spain, George Fletcher, and Jackson Sundown had qualified for the finals and thus the final struggle resolves itself with a member of the white, black and red races to fight for supremacy."[121] Notwithstanding the argument of racialized versus preferential judging, Fletcher was still socially identified by the thing that set him apart from other Round-Up contestants: his skin color. While it is certainly harder to prove racially based judging of an event when performance is a subjective feat, Fletcher's racially charged nickname is evident of the prevailing bigotry that existed in Pendleton and Oregon at this time. The Pendleton Round-Up rodeo events offered a space of limited freedom for participants and serves as a reminder of the strength of racial hierarchies.

In another example, African American cowboy Jesse Stahl also had a tremendous and crowd pleasing "trick" that he performed while riding the rodeo circuit that did not preclude him from facing discrimination in the rodeo industry in the West. Stahl garnered his fame at the Salinas, California rodeo for his trick where he famously rode a bronc horse backward. According to Tricia Martineau Wagner, this trick originated as a sign of protest, when at a John Day, Oregon rodeo where he should have been awarded first place, he was given third place.[122] Wagner states that Stahl did not complain, he simply got up, "got on a second wild bronc...and rode it backwards with a suitcase in one hand as if to say 'I'm going home,' demonstrating to the judges that he knew they had cheated him out of a win."[123] Stahl's reputation as a highly skilled and highly competitive black cowboy sometimes hindered his career, as when white cowboys simply refused to compete

[121] "Winners at the Round-Up," *East Oregonian*, evening edition, September 18, 1911.

[122] "Jesse Stahl," National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum, December 9, 2020, https://nationalcowboymuseum.org/rodeo-hall-of-fame/5103/.

[123] Tricia Martineau Wagner, *Black Cowboys of the Old West: True, Sensational, and Little-Known Stories from History* (Guilford, CT: TwoDot, 2011), 12.

against him. In fact, occasionally "the [rodeo] promoters sometimes asked Jesse not to compete, but to instead give expositions demonstrating his prowess and skills. Stahl...was compensated for his performances and was paid handsomely as a contract performer, instead of a contest participant."[124] In effect, discrimination enabled him to craft a unique economic niche. Stahl eventually brought the stunt to Pendleton where he and Fletcher together completely amazed Round-Up crowds in 1914 when they both famously rode a bucking bronc at the same time, facing different directions.[125] Both Fletcher's 1911 story and Stahl's own experience in the rodeos of greater Oregon are suggestive of the way in which the subjective aspect of bronc judging and the competitive ethos of the rodeo industry were used as tools by white rodeo officials to further racial discrimination in Oregon at the time.

Besides George Fletcher and Jesse Stahl, few other African Americans can be found among the records of early Pendleton. There are no records of Jesse Stahl's participation in World War II but George Fletcher did complete his military service abroad and an injury he sustained in combat ended his rodeo career upon returning home.[126] Analyzing the lives and impact of the two notable African American cowboys in Pendleton's history offers unique insights into the regional development of rodeo, which is complicated by the intersections of both labor settings and social pressures.[127] Both Fletcher and Stahl's unwillingness to simply accept their loss fueled outcomes that have managed to keep their memory alive despite the discrimination and accompanying tendency towards erasure that was characteristic of the 20th century.

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[124] Martineau Wagner, *Black Cowboys of the Old West*, 12.

[125] Bales and Hill, *Pendleton Round-Up at 100*, 77.

[126] *U.S World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918*. "George Fletcher," Registration State: Oregon; Registration County: Umatilla County. Provided in association with National Archives and Records Administration. On file with ancestry.com.

[127] There is no indication in the sources that African American females participated in the Pendleton Round-Up at all, as cowhands, cowgirls, or performers.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to examine the intersection of race, gender, and performance specifically within the arenas of the rodeo events and accompanying events. Rodeo was born of work culture and repurposed the physical skills and strength needed to break horses on the range to establish a competitive industry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The presence of different, sometimes even marginalized, communities at the rodeo provided a sense of novelty to Pendleton as a tourist destination. The marginalization of certain communities that happened at Pendleton is reflective of concerns of larger society. Yet, for the times that Pendleton enacted exclusionary tactics against individual competitors, such as the banning of women from rodeo sport after the death of Bonnie McCarroll, Pendleton simultaneously aided in the creation of new arenas within the rodeo events that enabled participation, such as the development of the Rodeo Queen tradition that offered banned female contestants a place to compete. Indigenous and African American communities alike were forced to contend with the fierce competitive ethos that underpinned the white rodeo scene in addition to the socially acceptable racist tendencies of the time; there were times when Pendleton either aided or helped combat racial marginalization. Still, rodeo events at the Pendleton Round-Up were a temporarily permeable space within which men and women of different races were able to perform a number of both scripted and unscripted feats, some more physical and some more performative in nature. Rodeo developed as a tool for white, Indigenous, and African American individuals to navigate the increasing economic demand of living in the bordered West while simultaneously participating in small town values born of the rural West. While many other rodeos across the country have echoed this sentiment, Pendleton Round-Up offers a glimpse into the past through a history that refuses to forget one's origins and the key actors who played a role in establishing it.

Chapter 2: Happy Canyon Pageant and Wild West Show

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the performance spaces created by the Happy Canyon Pageant and Wild West Show, Tipi Camp, and Indian Village, to understand how complex racial and gendered aspects to script revision helped assert agency and tribal identity. The Happy Canyon showcase utilizes vaudeville-style production to tell a refined, regional history of the settling of Oregon. However, Chinese presence in Pendleton is mirrored in Wild West Show caricature-like yellowface impersonations. But, the Indigenous Princess tradition, a seeming exclusion of Indigenous women from white beauty contest spaces of the Queen tradition, produces more solely Indigenous performance spaces where Indigenous culture can take center stage. The nearby Tipi Camp's consistent visual of a sea of white tipis in proximity to encourage tourists feel as though they have been transported to the Old West and at Indian Village, pieces of Indigenous culture, art, clothing, other merchandise, and food, are able to be purchased by visiting tourists. The chapter uses newspaper articles from East Oregonian, Lewiston Tribune, Oregonian and works from Pendleton locals such as Charles Wellington Furlong. Some works consulted for this chapter are of both primary and secondary nature, including the works of Rebeca Fletcher Waggoner, Roberta Conner, and Chris Friday. Secondary literature includes Katrina Phillips, Louis Warren, Richard White, Michael Bales and Ann Terry Hill, Jill Lane, Jennifer Fang, Mae Ngai, Yuko Matsukawa, and others. The Happy Canyon Pageant and Wild West Show offers participating Indigenous groups the opportunity to assert their agency through script revision and adherence to accurate regional history.

Story and Stage

The Happy Canyon Pageant and Wild West Show remains the oldest running Wild West

Show in the United States, using vivid story-telling narration, simulated gun-violence, and visual action with horses and oxen-drawn covered wagons to immerse audience members into a familiar western-style story of the Oregon Trail in the settling of East Oregon. The Happy Canyon Wild West Show originally began in 1914 to entertain Round-Up audiences at night between the two biggest days of the Round-Up, Friday and Saturday. One notable similarity between Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show and the Happy Canyon Wild West Show was that the story-telling structure is organized into sequential stages, or "epochs." Playwright Steele Mackaye, hired by Buffalo Bill and his team, realized that by separating out big historical narratives and adding sequence, the "formless extravaganza" of Wild West Shows would gain significant narrative structure.[128] Epochs enable the delivery of information for large swaths of time and thus offers less history-oriented audiences a palatable and streamlined narrative of the major events that have taken place. However, the conceptualization of time as compartmentalized stages presaged grand theories of progress which trespass into American exceptionalism.[129] In the case of the Happy Canyon Wild West Show, the major plot points of the epoch structured storyline include westward movement, specifically the settling of the Oregon Trail specifically, and the sometimes-contentious relationships between regional Indigenous and incoming settler populations. These moments of

[128] Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 51. Also see, MacKaye, Percy. *Epoch: The Life of Steele MacKaye*. New York, NY: Boni & Liveright, 1927.

[129] Warren correctly correlates the development of the sequential stages or epochs with the American exceptionalism approach to history brought forth by Frederick Jackson Turner. In Turner's essay "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," he discusses how Americans progressed through sequential stages "from hunter, to herder, to farmer, and then to urban industry and commerce" (Warren 51). Turner argues that environmental pressure that existed that forced Americans through this social evolution was something unique to the American frontier. Turner's approach was the "axe and plow" notion of environmental intervention, while Cody's was the "rifle and bullet" notion of frontier domination. Nevertheless, they each landed on a similar conclusion, that the frontier era was over. In essence, MacKaye's "epoch" structure to playwrighting *performs* the stages of social evolution championed by Turner, because it utilizes the stages approach to deliver an overly succinct storyline about large and complex historical eras. See, Louis S. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 51; also see, Richard White et al., "Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill," in *The Frontier in American Culture: An Exhibition at the Newberry Library, August 26, 1994-January 7, 1995: Essays* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), xvi.

contention, highlighted in epoch structure, run the risk of overgeneralizing the relationships between local Indigenous and settler populations as overwhelmingly combative. Thus, the direct participation of Indigenous actors in the telling of this story reinserts Indigenous presence and agency in a history that has, in the other instances, completely written them out.

Involvement of the local tribes in the production of Happy Canyon not only began with the Show's inception, but interracial regional relationships have been produced because of, and contributed to, the Show's success and long history of production. An example of these regional relationships was the collaborative friendship of Roy Raley and Anna Minthorn Wannassay. Anna Minthorn Wannassay was a Carlisle Institute-educated Cayuse woman, whose education and natural leadership skills granted her coveted advisory roles for the tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation.[130] Minthorn Wannassay aided Raley with revisions for the 1917 script, which added depictions of traditional ways of life and continued to work with Raley to develop the show through 1923. As a result of this working relationship, a lifelong friendship ensued.[131] Raley's personal investment in authenticity through Indigenous involvement and storytelling expanded early on to take center stage at the Happy Canyon Pageant and Wild West Show. Anna Minthorn Wannassay's involvement since the Show's inception suggests the extent to which the generational Indigenous influence underpins the Show. According to the current Executive Director of the Tamástlikt Cultural Institute Roberta Conner, "The Happy Canyon Pageant [and Wild West Show] could not exist without the full involvement of Umatilla tribal members, who pass roles down through generations."[132]

The Happy Canyon Show takes place in an outdoor venue adjacent to the famous Round-

[130] Bales and Hill, *Pendleton Round-Up at 100,* 47.

[131] Fletcher Waggoner, *Happy Canyon*, 43.

[132] Roberta Conner, "From Generation to Generation: Tribal Participation," in *Pendleton Round-Up at 100*, 263.

Up arena. The venue contains a stage and a set of wooden risers/bleachers meant to hold hundreds of audience members. The stage itself contains a wide lower level, with sand and open spaces for demonstrations with animals and choreographed fights. The lower level also has a backdrop that depicts a makeshift frontier town, complete with saloons that make for entertaining comedy skits and one taller "building" for a damsel-in-distress scene wherein the building "catches fire." There is also an upper level, with a large ramp on the audience's left side of the stage. The upper level depicts a mountain range where Indigenous actors of the play could watch the happenings below on the sand and creates more stage space for epic follow-around fight scenes. Figure 2 shows what the stage looks like as a spectator walks in to find their seats and shows a set of tipis both on the lover and upper levels. There are also a multitude of non-human actors involved in the Show. Longhorn oxen pulling covered wagons is perhaps some of the strongest visuals depicting westward movement. There are also old-timey Sheriff wagons, outhouses, teepees, flags, spears, lassos, and an orchestra pit that sits below the stadium seating to provide excellent musical overlay.[133]

The presence of an upper and lower level of the stage presents an interesting consideration to the reality of dichotomy, the use of space, and narrative performance. There is an intrinsic binary presentation to the stage set-up: the upper level's forest theme represents the place where Indigenous communities are, which sharply contrasts the makeshift frontier town on the lower level that represents white settler presence. In the show, there are times when the frontier town backdrop is not present, indicating a lack of white settler populations, and there are times when the actors directly interact with the frontier town backdrop, indicating their presence "in town."

[133] As has been alluded to thus far, there are some strong parallels between the Westward Ho! Parade and the Happy Canyon Wild West Show in terms of equipment and staff; however, the purpose behind each kind of performance and the way in which the audience participates is quite different. This will be explored in the following chapter.

Because most of the action, both comedic and dramatic, takes place on the sandy center stage, which sometimes represents the interaction zone. This presents a challenge to the dichotomous stage presentation that the audience sees as they funnel into the venue to find their seats with the nature of this interaction zone becoming more apparent to the audience as the show continues.[134] Center stage activity is not unique to Happy Canyon because it is an indivisible characteristic of plays and their stages. However, what is unique about the Show is the ways in which Indigenous participants interacted with the seemingly dichotomous space of the stage to demonstrate a refined regional history. By extension, the creation of the multiple "locales" within the stage enables the multifaceted memory of different regional peoples, Indigenous, white, and as we will see Asian, alike.

There are both consistent acts of the Happy Canyon show, and acts that have been added or altered over the years. A combination of both comedic and dramatic acts help to make a palatable, accessible, entertaining regional history narrative take shape. Indigenous scholars and advocates Robert Pond and Daniel Hester state that "the pageant in its original form still held deat to many, giving all who participate a change to laugh at themselves once a year." [135] A handful of consistent acts in the show include: the Quadrille, Sheriff, Doctor-Shorty Act, Fire Act, and, of course, the Finale.[136] However, Indigenous Happy Canyon participants have also retained the creative agency to add or subtract acts. In 1923, tribal member Art Motanic added the "Indian Love Call" and the following year the Lewis, Clark, and Sacagawea sequence was also added and

[134] It is important to note, when narratives of any kind are being delivered in play format, a certain amount of adherence to the easily palatable dichotomies is expected and/or accepted: plays conducted *on* a stage are limited *by* the stage space and it is far harder to tell two-sided narratives without utilizing binary representations on stage.

[135] Karson, Hester, and Pond, "Through Change and Transition: Treaty Commitments Made and Broken," in *As Days Go By*, 133.

[136] Fletcher Waggoner, *Happy Canyon*, 148-159.

remains an important epoch scene in the showcase.[137] One addition to the Happy Canyon script, the Indian wedding scene, enables a two-fold approach to tribal memory. In it, a traditional wedding ceremony is performed between two Indigenous participants of Happy Canyon, wherein after a trade of goods back and forth between the bride and groom's family, the couple is gifted a robe to signify the completion of the marriage ceremony. Performance of this marriage ceremony helps preserve the traditional cultural components of the ceremony.[138] Additionally, the wedding song performed during the ceremony was passed down from Indigenous brothers Alex and Bill Johnson, who had been well-known throughout the Northwest for their traditional songs and superb singing.[139] Happy Canyon has helped preserve this two-fold memory, simultaneously remembering the ceremony itself and the traditional music by its addition to the script, while the Indigenous-centered revisions to the script help construct an entertaining and educational regional story for both locals and tourists.

Some revisions or yearly additions to the Happy Canyon script are of a more serious nature, either due to content of the revision itself or due to the context of the historical moments. In 1919, "Indian interpreter" Leo Sampson approached Roy Raley on behalf of local chief Jim Bad Rhoads to ask him if the tribes could add a Victory Dance to that year's Show, as a way of honoring the Indigenous warriors who had gone abroad to fight in the war and honor those who had died. In the 1919 addition to the script, the tribes brought out prized scalps on cou sticks as a symbol of conquest over the enemy.[140] This story is an example of a revision to the script of Happy Canyon in which a serious topic was broached by Roy Raley through the respectful deference to Indigenous leaders. Additionally, small intersections to the Show have been added over the years in memoriam

[137] Fletcher Waggoner, *Happy Canyon*, 57-8.
[138] Fletcher Waggoner, *Happy Canyon*, 103, 109.
[139] "Alex A. Johnson, 93, Nez Perce elder," *Lewiston Morning Tribune*, July 18, 1997.
[140] Furlong, *Let 'Er Buck,* 108-109.

of local participants, volunteers, and boosters of the Happy Canyon effort, white and Indigenous alike. Often, in a moment of stage-wide silence, a riderless horse is paraded across the stage as a physical representation of absence with a seat in the show left unclaimed. After a moment of collective mourning, when the announcer lifts the silence, the loud cheers from locals in the audience who had known the deceased can be heard and felt across the stadium by those who had not had the pleasure. The presence of both consistent and inconsistent acts in the telling of Happy Canyon suggests a commitment to audience entertainment as well as the extent of narrative flexibility and agency built into the Indigenous involvement in Happy Canyon.

Figure 2: Happy Canyon Pageant and Wild West Show stage, 2021 (photo by author).

Roy Raley most obviously asserted his ownership of Happy Canyon in 1928 when a "controversy" arose that he claimed ownership of the show and leased the idea of it to Happy

Canyon Company for $100 per year.[141] Even in his claim to ownership of the idea, most likely for financial advantages, Raley was well aware the show would not have gained the popularity it did without substantial and increasing involvement of participating tribes over time. For example, in the 1930s, Chief Raymond "Popcorn" Burke began translating the Happy Canyon shows so that the tribal leader who did not know English could understand and fully participate in the showcase and by extension, the regional production of memory.[142] Raley's "ownership" of the Show, in an official sense or not, lessened over time with the incorporation of wider circles of knowledge. Tribal leaders, such as Anna Minthorn, most assuredly contributed to the "original" narrative of Happy Canyon, yet as accessibility to the narrative increased overtime, other tribal leaders could further refine the story. Despite the official narration of Happy Canyon's refined story not being incorporated until 2002, bridging early language barriers between participating peoples undoubtedly contributed to the generational influence present in Happy Canyon and enabled the increasing involvement of tribal peoples.

The Princess Tradition

In 1955, Happy Canyon Princess tradition began with the first Indigenous Princess, Caroline Motanic. The Happy Canyon Princess tradition is a beauty contest with an ambassadorship component, wherein the Princesses represent Happy Canyon, the Confederated Tribes, and Pendleton as a whole, in local, regional, and sometimes international, official appearances.[143] Typically one or two princesses are chosen per year, as opposed to a Queen's court of five. Beginning in May, Happy Canyon Princesses promote Happy Canyon through official appearances in other large events and rodeos, including Portland's Rose Festival, Cheyenne

[141] Fletcher Waggoner, *Happy Canyon*, 37.

[142] Fletcher Waggoner, *Happy Canyon*, 60.

[143] In the past, princesses have traveled abroad to Japan and Hong Kong. See, Ann Terry Hill. "Happy Canyon – Going Strong Since 1913.' Essay. *Pendleton at 100,* 230.

Frontier Days, and even the Calgary Stampede.[144] During Round-Up week, they are expected to participate in all the parades, and their revelation to the audience at the Happy Canyon Pageant and Wild West Show is a favorite every year. In addition to their public obligations, Princesses are expected to be adorned in traditional Indigenous clothing. The Happy Canyon Pageant tradition, as an additional component to the showcase, adds to the multifaceted appreciation for the Indigenous communities that remains an ongoing component of the Pendleton experience. By stepping into the public eye as embodiments of their culture, the princesses are able to assert themselves as part of the greater regional history being celebrated at Pendleton.

The regalia worn by the Happy Canyon Princesses is an example of the how the participating tribes assert themselves as part of the region's history. By extension, the Indigenous regalia also enables an appreciation for the generational component of Happy Canyon. Of particular importance is the recognition that Indigenous regalia is not a costume or a uniform, but a cultural and formal adornment. For Happy Canyon Princess, one of the most important pieces of regalia worn is the buckskin or doeskin dress. Deerskin dresses "were constructed from 2 uncut deer hides joined at the sides and across the top, with the undressed deer tails folded down to form the neck and yoke."[145] The dress is often beaded, and either is a new dress, which can take a minimum of a year to properly construct, or a family heirloom. In Caroline Motanic's first year as Happy Canyon Princess, she wore a doeskin dress made from does that were shot by her father, Art Motanic, and family friends assumed responsibility of treating the hides, creating the dress, and matching moccasins that featured Caroline's grandmother's pink beads.[146] Caroline's dress was not a family heirloom when she wore it, but it was crafted using the traditional methods of her

[144] Fletcher Waggoner, *Happy Canyon*, 294.
[145] Sturtevant, Walker, and Stern, "Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla," in *Handbook*, 399.
[146] Fletcher Waggoner, 283.

people. The dress has become more of an heirloom since, as four of her granddaughters have gone on to wear her dress when they too became Happy Canyon Princesses.[147] However, it is also the case that Princesses can wear items of regalia preserved through their family. In 2010, Happy Canyon Princess Alex Nilo "demonstrated this sense of history, wearing a dress of ram hide estimated to be over two hundred years old. It was in good condition, as it had been carefully stored and seldom worn."[148] In 2014, Princess Marissa Baumgartner wore a dress that dated back to Pendleton's first Round-Up in 1910 and the fourth-place contestant, Virginia Conner, wore a dress that belonged to her grandmother, estimated at about two hundred years old.[149] The Happy Canyon Princess tradition is likely not the reason that traditional buckskin dress making skills are preserved, but the Princess tradition nonetheless provides a stage upon which the skills can be appreciated and celebrated to wide audiences. Happy Canyon princesses themselves adorned in beautifully crafted garments helps to celebrate local families and place their heritage within the context of the region's history.[150]

From 1965 through the 1990s, the selection process grew from a simple selection and board approval process to a more ceremonious selection process that took place before the Happy Canyon Board of Directors in the Longhouse at the local Indian Root Festival. This more traditional approach ultimately gave way at the end of the 1990s and was replaced with an interview process by the Board, in which the girls are selected based on "poise, regalia, personality,

[147] Fletcher Waggoner, 283, 285.

[148] Fletcher Waggoner, 294.

[149] Ian Shadle, "Pageantry and the Past," *East Oregonian*, September 2015.

[150] For chronologically organized pictures of the Princesses in black and white and color, see Bales and Hill, *Pendleton Round-Up at 100*, 285-7; for chronologically organized pictures of the Princesses in black and white pictures only, see Fletcher Waggoner, *Happy Canyon,* 374-7. It is curious; Fletcher Waggoner seems to have commissioned a specific photographer to take such vibrant colored pictures of the contemporary Happy Canyon show and yet, she chose to incorporate only black and white pictures of the Princesses.

and beauty."[151] Similarly, the revisions to the expectation of Happy Canyon Princesses likely involved increased publicity obligations overtime, which would have not only contributed to the regional legacy and allure of the Show for tourists, but also would have helped to educate larger swaths of potential audiences about local Indigenous culture. Changes to the Happy Canyon Pageant suggest repeated attempts to customize or refine the Princesses' responsibility in publicly communicating regional Indigenous history.

The development of the Happy Canyon Princess tradition shifted the already limited Indigenous participation away from the Pendleton Rodeo Court. Prior to Happy Canyon's creation, there were 5 total Indigenous Rodeo Queens; after Happy Canyon's creation, none of the royal participants of the Pendleton Queen tradition have been of Indigenous descent. This suggests that with the creation of the Happy Canyon Pageant came a spatial division between the female participants in the Pendleton Round-Up enterprise. This could even be supported by simply recognizing the linguistic connotations between the Pendleton "Queen" and Happy Canyon "Princess," which may imply a junior or inferior status. One cannot deny that the specific choice in 1955 to begin a royal tradition that stood apart from the one that already existed contributed to at least the perception to Pendleton tourists of these spaces as exclusively "white" or "Indigenous" spaces, not both. However, to view the creation of Happy Canyon as a measure to exclude Indigenous female competitors from white female competitive spaces suggests that the process of departure was unproductive. It is the contrary. Historian David Glassberg argues that historical pageants, characteristically loaded with dense historical imagery, helps shape American perceptions of history by supplying "categories for understanding experience, delineating what we call traditional and what we call modern, what we think is timeless and what we think can be

[151] Fletcher Waggoner, *Happy Canyon*, 287.

changed, what we consider inevitable and what we term accidental, what we dismiss as strange and what we know is mere common sense."[152] Glassberg's framework regarding historical pageants as producing history through imagery charges us to consider how the Happy Canyon Princess Pageant remembers regional history in ways that are distinct from other royalty traditions of Pendleton. The importance of tribal involvement in Happy Canyon as well as Pendleton became clear when after 1953 with tribal member Diana McKay crowned Queen of the Pendleton tradition, "the Round-Up board suggested that Happy Canyon's Board of Directors use an Indian princess to represent the importance of the tribes."[153]

The Rodeo Queen and her court remain innately more tied to the rodeo arena and the Happy Canyon Princesses remains innately more tied to the production of the Happy Canyon Pageant and Wild West Show. Distinct from Pendleton's Rodeo Queen tradition, the Happy Canyon Pageant is a closed competition, available exclusively to Indigenous women. The Happy Canyon Princess tradition functions as a stage upon which Indigenous females can demonstrate their culture and facilitate their own regional memory. With the division of female competitive spaces at Pendleton came the multiplication Indigenous exclusive spaces and by virtue of that, enabled Indigenous women to serve as ambassadors of their culture. In this, Happy Canyon Princess participants can use public historical imagery and performance to reassert themselves as part of the region's past, present, and future.

Chinese Impersonation

How the memory of Chinese people in Pendleton has been expressed in the Happy Canyon Pageant and Wild West Show is reflective of Oregon's historic exclusionary measures towards

[152] David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 1.

[153] Fletcher Waggoner, *Happy Canyon*, 28.

Asian people. In the Happy Canyon Pageant and Wild West Show, there is a Chinese laundry along the backdrop of the makeshift frontier-town and "chinamen" throughout the show. These "chinamen" consisted of white volunteers dressing in costumes to look like coolies. The term "coolies" is a reference to a system of labor associated with Chinese and South Asian laborers who worked plantations in the Caribbean and Latin America "in a system grafted directly upon Afro-Caribbean slavery."[154] The costumes include traditional-looking outfits, fake adhesive facial hair, and caps with long braided hair to form a yellowface caricature-like representation of Chinese men in Pendleton. It is unclear if the Chinamen remain a part of the Happy Canyon Show today although Fletcher Waggoner's 2016 Happy Canyon book states that "the Chinamen… quickly worked into various acts remaining today."[155] This provides an important consideration for the difference in which race interacted with performative memory in Pendleton, Oregon: on-stage impersonation but not representation. Chinese impersonation in the Happy Canyon Pageant and Wild West Show connects Oregon's history to broader histories of the West and of the United States. [156]

Beginning in 1857, when delegates met to draft the Oregon Constitution, they debated the Chinese question in addition to the question of African Americans. The original concerns included eligibility for citizenship and the accompanying privileges of it. [157] Soon, the discourse developed into concerns over the cheapness of Chinese labor because many Chinese immigrants arrived in the United States indebted to (Chinese) labor contractors, family associations, labor groups, and

[154] Jennifer Fang, "Erasure and Reclamation: Centering Diasporic Chinese Populations in Oregon History." *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 122, no. 4 (2021): 324–341, 331.

[155] Fletcher Waggoner, *Happy Canyon*, 139; I attended the Happy Canyon Show in 2021 and I do not recall seeing Chinamen nor the Chinese laundry on the stage's backdrop.

[156] Rebeca Fletcher Waggoner's book on the history of Happy Canyon briefly references the actors but does not attempt to engage with the legacy of them, unsurprising for a guide-book style history; Bales and Hill 's centennial book does not mention Chinamen; Katrina Phillips' new book chapters focus more on the history of Pendleton's anti-Asian sentiment. The lack of secondary source discussion about this specific aspect of Happy Canyon show may be a product of the modern push in history for more Indigenous-focused projects.

[157] Jennifer Fang, "Erasure and Reclamation," 331.

more.[158] In Oregon specifically, Chinese miners that came to the Columbia River from the California Gold Rush in the 1860s were confined to segregated camps.[159] In 1870, Oregon Governor LaFayette Grover was critical of Chinese workers and openly vocal about wanting to stop them from settling in Oregon.[160] Grover's successor, Governor Sylvester Pennoyer argued that "Oregon must be kept as a home for the pioneers, a place where free white men had a chance to make a good living without having to live near or work with unwelcome Chinese immigrants."[161] In 1902, an *East Oregonian* article supported further racial exclusionary measures in Pendleton, so as to curb possible further racial strife in the area regarding labor.[162] As Mae Ngai states, the term "coolies" was "a racial trope that compared Chinese to black slaves, the antithesis of free labor, and thereby cast them as a threat to white… independence."[163] Concern over the "swarm of coolie" labor in Pendleton was exacerbated by the decision to use cheap Japanese and Chinese labor to build the Panama canal.[164] Oregon's bias against Chinese people began as exclusionary measures with regards to citizenship, then evolved into concerns over labor, which developed into persistent anti-Asian racism throughout Oregon at large, of which Pendleton did not escape.

The Chinese laundry in the Wild West Show is reflective of the Chinese laundries in-town

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[158] See Mae Ngai, *Chinese Question: The Gold Rushes, Chinese Migration, and Global Politics*. W. W. Norton, 2021.

[159] Katherine G. Morrissey, *Mental Territories: Mapping the Inland Empire* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), 27.

[160] Tom Marsh, *To the Promised Land: A History of Government and Politics in Oregon* (Corvallis, OR: Oregon State University Press, 2012), 61.

[161] Marsh, *To the Promised Land*, 82-3; See Yuko Matsukawa, "Representing the Oriental in 19th-Century Trade Cards," in *Re/Collecting Early Asian America: Essays in Cultural History*, ed. Josephine D. Lee, Imogene L. Lim, and Yuko Matsukawa (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2002), pp. 200-216; Robert G. Lee, "The Coolie and the Making of the White Working Class," in *Orientals: Asian Americans in Popular Culture* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple Univ. Press, 1999), pp. 51-82.

[162] "No Chinese Wanted," *East Oregonian,* February 22, 1902.

[163] Ngai, *The Chinese Question*, 87.

[164] "Coolies May Come," *East Oregonian,* June 17, 1905; for more on Chinese labor and the Panama Canal, see Mae Ngai. *The Chinese Question: The Gold Rushes and Global Politics*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 2021.

in Pendleton during the turn of the century. An *East Oregonian* article reveals demographic realities to the presence of the specifically Chinese population in Pendleton, stating that there were about ninety "celestial" men in Pendleton, working mostly in restaurants, janitorial positions, and laundries.[165]At the very start of the Round-Up era in 1910, one particular Chinese laundry business in Pendleton, Slom Kee, took out a series of ads in the *East Oregonian*'s Classified section for a few years and specifically advertised "family washing" as a specialty of their business.[166] Scholar Joan Wang argues that Chinese males were regarded as substitutes for American women doing domestic work, which threatened the American gendered division of labor in the domestic space while also, in fact, maintaining the Chinese gendered division of labor by participating in patriarchal economic systems that allowed them to send remittances home.[167] Nevertheless, as Yuko Matsukawa states "the ideological message of Chinese otherness and exclusion is naturalized through everyday acts such as ironing, washing, and shopping."[168]

In Pendleton, the memory of African American people is preserved through their demonstrated competitive and athletic ability in the rodeo events, and the memory of Chinese people is conveyed through portrayal of them in the Wild West Show. Jill Lane's characterization of Blackness within the logic of slavery as an "empty vessel available for white occupation" is useful.[169] Due to the waning participation of African Americans after the World War I, there was fewer actual African American rodeo participants than instances of white portrayal of Chinese men

[165] "Pendleton's Chinese," *East Oregonian*, December 22, 1903; In *A field Guide to Historic Pendleton* by Keith F. May, he states that official census records list 500 Chinese living in Pendleton in the year the Round-Up began, but he argues that this number is likely exaggerated.

[166] "Chinese Laundry," *East Oregonian,* July 16, 1910; "Chinese Laundry," *East Oregonian,* January 4, 1911; "Chinese Laundry," *East Oregonian,* July 30, 1913.

[167] Joan S. Wang, "Race, Gender, and Laundry Work: The Roles of Chinese Laundrymen and American Women in the United States, 1850-1950." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 24, no. 1 (2004): 58–99, 86.

[168] Yuko Matsukawa, "Representing the Oriental in 19th-Century Trade Cards," in *Re/Collecting Early Asian America,* 214.

[169] Jill Lane, "ImpersoNation: Toward a Theory of Black-, Red-, and Yellowface in the Americas," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 123, no. 5 (2008): pp. 1728-1731, 1730.

over the years. In this way, repeated "counterfeit representations," or impersonations, of Chinese men via the white Pendletonian creation and "occupation" of the Wild West Show role perpetuates the memory of the Chinese in the region as distinctly different from white populations. [170] This suggests that by identifying with Pendleton's legacy, Happy Canyon participants and audience must recognize the juxtaposition that a white individual "playing" a Chinese man is actually a process of otherization and from one perspective of erasure.

If Indigenous authority over the Happy Canyon script is as prevalent as I have argued, then Chinese impersonation in the Happy Canyon Wild West Show storyline at all was the product of intentional incorporation on the part of the Indigenous community. Extending this discussion into historic performance, at what point do the overtly racist moments of regional history need to be remembered too in representing an accurate regional history? The short answer is: it is up to the tribes. Indigenous insistence on narrative based on historical accuracy suggests that racial friction within the regional history needs to be remembered as much as the harmonious parts. The Happy Canyon Indigenous community seems to value that historically racialized depictions of people are a sharp education tool for understanding the past and they have successfully applied it to audiences hungry to engage with that legacy. In reality, a certain amount of intentionality of memory is present with the Chinese impersonation. The same cannot be said about other racial minorities in Pendleton. African American depictions or impersonations in the Happy Canyon Show are very few, and memory of them in Pendleton at all rests on Fletcher and Stahl's competitive achievements.[171] It is likely that the fact that memory of historically accurate remnants of

[170] Jill Lane, "ImpersoNation," 1730.

[171] The only indication of African Americans in the Happy Canyon Wild West Show at all comes from Rebeca Fletcher Waggoner's book. In it, she states that in 1929, the show included a "Spanish Dance," with a special saxophone trio dressed as Chinamen, and the show added "a barrel with an African American inside." The difference in language between "dressed as" versus "with an" indicates again the distinction between impersonation versus representation. It also offers a consideration towards Chinese impersonation in both

Pendleton's anti-Asian racism preserved in the narrative story of Happy Canyon is a product of Indigenous authority over the script. Regardless of the intentionality of memory behind the incorporation of coolie impersonations, the creation and white occupation of the "chinamen" Wild West Show role should be scrutinized for the way in which it constructs, and maintains over time, a distinct racial "other."

Tipi Camp and Indian Village

Wherein Happy Canyon Pageant and Wild West Show was an official Pendleton stage, Tipi Camp and Indian Village is an unofficial stage of performance, memory creation, and Indigenous agency.[172] Today, a wide swath of land is allotted for Tipi Camp at the Pendleton Round-Up each year. Scott Thompson provides a short but useful description of "Tipi Village":

> "The camp is set up as might be expected, with most of the tipi doors opening to the east, away from wind and weather. Not unlike days of old, with a camp area packed so tightly as this, a family's privacy could certainly be compromised. Members of large camps recognized and followed rules of good manners when deciding what noises and property to pay attention to, and what to ignore. Liners-additional fabric tied to the inside-lower portion of the poles providing warmth and a light barrier, were not a usual accessory of tipis from the Columbia River Plateau."[173]

There, Indigenous peoples, mainly the Confederate Tribes of the Umatilla but also members of other Northwest tribes such as Yakima, Palouse, and Nez Perce, camp together throughout Round-Up week.[174] This became the center of Indigenous activity throughout Round-Up week as they organized a variety of dance performances sprinkled throughout the Pendleton experience, including the Happy Canyon performance. Like Happy Canyon play roles, specific tipis and camp

comedic and dramatic Happy Canyon scenes, while in contrast, the single reference to African Americans in Happy Canyon suggests only comedic scenes. See Fletcher Waggoner, *Happy Canyon*, 58.

[172] Aside from the spelling "tipi," the two other spellings "tepee" and "teepee" are also rather common in the sources. According to the Pendleton Round-Up website, the specific space is referred to as "Tipi Camp" and "Tipi Village." For the purposes of this project, anything quoted will retain the original spelling utilized by the author it was cited from. For the sake of consistency, I will use the "tipi" spelling.

[173] Scott Thompson, "Tipi Camp 1936 Pendleton Round-Up," *Whispering Wind* 45, no. 4 (2017), 34.

[174] Bales and Hill, *Pendleton Round-Up at 100*, 219.

sites are reserved for specific families. Indian Village is in modern-day Roy Raley Park, just beside the Pendleton Stadium entrance. Within the park, Indigenous vendors, some local and some not, bring art, merchandise, and traditional foods to sell. Katrina Phillip's term "salvage tourism" is useful here to describe how the marketability of Indigenous culture and history helps to promote regional economies.[175] In essence, Indian Village helps assert local Indigenous agency by offering a modern marketplace within which "only authentic Native American items are allowed."[176]

Historian Chris Friday's book *Lelooska: The Life of a Northwest Coast Artist* offers specific insight into Tipi Camp and Indian Village's production of Indigenous agency and community through art. This book details the life of Don Smith and his family, of mixed blood Cherokee heritage, who were family friends of Friday's. Friday wrote, "The people who participated in the Indian encampment at the Pendleton Round-Up found in that setting not only a place where they were the object of what some might characterize as the 'colonizer's gaze' but also a site at which they could articulate what it meant to be Indian. It was a vital connection to the past, the present, and each other."[177] Don and his family had received regular invitations to stay in the Indian Encampment at the Round-Up each year, where he was able to learn a considerable amount about Plateau culture. Specifically, Don observed "Oh it was a great place to learn. It was a real-live seminar because the Cayuse, Umatilla, Walla Walla, the Nez Perce, Flathead, Assiniboin, Blackfeet, Crow – a lot of people came. They would all get together and they would drink coffee, eat jerky, and play Indian all evening until the wee small hours of the early morning."[178] Through Smith's concurrent identities as an Indigenous man and an outsider to the

[175] Phillips, "Discovering and Defining Salvage Tourism," in *Staging Indigeneity,* 7.

[176] Bales and Hill, *Pendleton Round-Up at 100,* 222.

[177] Chris Friday, *Lelooska: The Life of a Northwest Coast Artist* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2003), 233.

[178] Friday, *Lelooska*, 100.

realm of the Columbia Plateau, he was able to reflect on how Tipi Camp specifically brought regional Indigenous communities together. After the Round-Up Association commissioned him to create a Chief Joseph doll, his superb artistic vision and skills were widely recognized among people in Pendleton and beyond.[179] By the time he was fifteen in 1949, he already had a piece of his art hanging in the Carnegie Museum of Art in Pittsburg.[180] Then, he was given the name "Lelooska" from the Nez Perce elders, which came from the Flathead word Lelooskin meaning "whittling" or "shaving off a stick of wood with a knife."[181] Lelooska's new name suggests his acceptance within the regional Indigenous community. Through his artistic expression Lelooska was able to help assert tribal identity and sustain the culture of the communities who accepted him, enabled by the meeting-place offered by Tipi Camp.

Tipi Camp and Indian Village have also altered their use of space as a product of increasing modernity and tourism. For example, "stick games" or "bone games" were a popular game that was played notably hundreds of years before Lewis and Clark's arrival. In it, teams of up to ten players gamble on where the white bone is hidden within the hands of the opposing teams.[182] Although still played on occasion, the stick games are not as common anymore with less available space for it. In the early years, tribe members would bring animals, mostly horses, into Tipi Camp to be tied to the tipis.[183] With the professionalization brought to the rodeo events, the physical expansion of the stadium after the 1940 fire, and the growing crowds after the World Wars, there was less available space for non-performing animals. It is likely that today most, if not all, of the animals seen around Pendleton during Round-Up week are performance or competition animals.

[179] Friday, *Lelooska,* 104.
[180] "Don Smith Likes to Whittle, and He's Carving Out a Career," *Capitol Journal*, August 27, 1949.
[181] Friday, *Lelooska*, 104.
[182] Fletcher Waggoner, *Happy Canyon,* 89.
[183] Bales and Hill, *Pendleton Round-Up at 100*, 220.

Fletcher Waggoner notes that a fence now circles Tipi Camp, leading to some to feel "caged in"; however Indigenous campers have acknowledged the safety issues over the years, "such as when the Brahma bull got loose and ran through the village and when a tractor accidentally ran into several teepees."[184] Also, accommodations such as a grass lawn in the park, restrooms, and showers for Tipi campers have been introduced. The influence of the modern era is perhaps best punctuated by an observation from historian Katrina Phillips during her Round- Up visit: "Some tipi poles are topped with U.S. flags, while Seattle Seahawks flags flutter atop others."[185] When visiting the Pendleton Round-Up today, tourists will find small instances where the advantages of modernity has instituted changes in Tipi Camp and Indian Village while still retaining the visual representation of the Wild West associated with tipis.

The multitude of exclusively Indigenous spaces is reflective of the long-standing relationship participating tribes have facilitated with non-native Pendleton. The marketplace of Indian Village allows tourists to do more than simply observe a performance, but instead, to appreciate and purchase products of Indigenous culture including art, clothing, other goods, and delicious food. Tipi Camp is not *for* tourists in the same way that Indian Village is. However, because tourists do not ride the broncs, play the Wild West Show roles, nor as we will see, do they walk in the parade, the consistent visual of a collection of tipis all congregated together helps tourists feel as though they have been transported to the Wild West. The Tipi Camp and Indian Village stand as a physical representation of the homage and history surrounding these early Indigenous and settler relationships and remain an active meeting place for the participating tribes of the Pendleton enterprise. Nonetheless, the visual of tipis in proximity to the marketplace and

[184] Fletcher Waggoner, *Happy Canyon*, 89.
[185] Phillips, "It's a Part of Us: The Continued Allure of Pendleton," in *Staging Indigeneity*, 60.

the rodeo events, helps reinforce tourist's perceptions of their presence in the mythological Wild West while also celebrating very real historical relationships that took place within them.

Conclusion

Happy Canyon Pageant and Wild West Show is a vaudeville-style production wherein a combination of Indigenous agency and script revision help produce a refined, entertaining, and educational regional story. For example, the division of women's royalty tradition effectively multiplied the Indigenous performance spaces, thereby expanding the spaces within which Indigenous agency functioned. However, Happy Canyon also provides performance spaces that facilitates negative portrayals of other peoples of the West: western anti-Asian bigotry in Pendleton and Oregon is reflected in Happy Canyon's Wild West Show through yellowface impersonations. In essence, Chinese peoples in Pendleton are simultaneously remembered and erased by white occupation of the Wild West Show roles. When asked about the threadbare stereotypes embedded in the Happy Canyon Pageant and Wild West Show, Thomas Morning Owl stated that "tribal life is not [politically correct]. This ain't California; we are the West. We have our differences, and we take pride in them, at times. You can leave your [political correctness] at home."[186] Morning Owl, speaking on behalf of his people, indicates that an Indigenous participants of Happy Canyon insist on narrative sequence that reflects accurate regional history: Indigenous agency is asserted through script revision. Nevertheless, historical fascination with the ideal, romanticized Indian is something that the Indigenous participants of Happy Canyon attempt to repair by their demonstrations of traditional tribal life. There is clearly nothing "vanishing" about Indigenous groups involved in the Happy Canyon Pageant and Wild West Show and by actively participating in remembering their presence in the region, they are able to reassert themselves as also part of the

[186] Richard Cockle, "Stereotypes, Cliches Populate Happy Canyon: The Pendleton Round-Up pageant makes no apologies about its traditional production," *The Oregonian*, September 16, 2000.

regional present and future. As Roberta Conner states, "Our people have always been here. We intend to be here – in the place the Creator gave us to live – forever."[187]

[187] Roberta Conner, "Our People Have Always Been Here," in *Lewis and Clark through Indian Eyes*, ed. Alvin M. Josephy and Marc Jaffe (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007), 121.

Chapter 3: Westward Ho! Parade

Introduction

This chapter analyzes an additional Pendleton event, the Westward Ho! Parade, in which a specific episode of the American West is performed through collaborative community efforts that assert local identity. Specifically, the Parade makes a show of the process of movement, or procession, which characterizes the settling of the Oregon Trail, and thus fixes local memory and identity on the establishment of Pendleton, OR. There is only one rule at the Westward Ho! Parade: no motorized vehicles, which invokes the human and animal power that enabled the resettling of the American West. As a tourist attraction, the mythological Old West developed in the 20th-century to sell the spectacle of a bygone, idealized era. The Westward Ho! Parade defines itself in opposition to modernity but more precisely, it functions as a "civil historical procession" which balance the progressivist construction or invention of tradition with "'antimodernism - the desire to reject the present in favor of an idealized past."[188] It is, in fact, the duality of both ideas at the corner of play and ritual that contributes to the tourist allure of the Westward Ho! Parade.[189] The purpose of this chapter is to explore how parade performances operate at the intersection of outward social expressions, such as nostalgia for the West, and patriotism. This chapter seeks to explore how the issues of nostalgia and modernity combine in the procession of the Parade to both assert local identity and attract tourist attention. Because parades leave behind far fewer historical sources than the previous two Round-Up arenas, it is important to consult with the extensive body

[188] Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry,* 4, 16.

[189] See, Phillips, *Staging Indigeneity: Salvage Tourism and the Performance of Native American History* (Chapel Hill , NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2021); Rothman, *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1998); Hal Rothman, "Shedding Skin and Shifting Shape: Tourism in the Modern West," in *Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West*, ed. David M. Wrobel and Patrick T. Long (Lawrence, KS: Center of the American West, University of Colorado at Boulder by the University Press of Kansas, 2001), pp. 100-120.

of literature that addresses performance spaces such as theater and pageantry, ritual, and tourism. Primary sources will include newspaper articles, such as those from the *East Oregonian*, State of Oregon Death Records, Indian Census Records, and the works of Pendleton locals such as Charles Wellington Furlong and E.N. "Pink" Boylen. The level of romanticized nostalgia is perhaps best summarized by a 1915 edition of the East Oregonian, "all that made the old west wild, all that made it romantic, all that made it beautiful and picturesque, all that made it so distinctively different from any place on the globe was presented to thousands of admiring people this morning in the Westward Ho parade…Not an important phase of the early life on the mountains, plains, and rangeland was missed in the long line of march."[190]

On Format: Plays versus Pendleton's Two Parades

To better understand the Westward Ho! Parade's distinct contribution to Pendleton's tourist allure, it is important to distinguish both the Westward Ho! Parade from another Pendleton parade, the Dress-Up parade, and to distinguish the differences between the parade and play format, as seen with the Happy Canyon show. The Dress-Up Parade is sponsored by the Pendleton's Main Street Cowboys, "a group of civic-minded Pendletonians" who act as Goodwill Ambassadors to promote and publicize the City of Pendleton and surrounding area."[191] The Main Street Cowboys are identifiable with their signature chartreuse and purple shirts and cowboy hats.[192] In the Dress-up Parade, community booster associations, city officials, high school marching bands, wacky floats, refurbished old cars, and scout troops, among others, march or roll through the streets of Pendleton in fun costumes on the Saturday before Round-Up week to kicks off the festivities. The Dress-Up Parade began as a simple community parade in 1927 but grew into a full expectation of

[190] "Annual Pageant Brings to Mind the Olden Days," *East Oregonian*, September 25, 1915.

[191] "About Us," Main Street Cowboys, http://mainstreetcowboys.org/about-main-street-cowboys/.

[192] Ian Shadle, "Dress-Up Parade: The Main Street Cowboys want you to dress up before the Round-Up," *East Oregonian*, September 2015.

the Round-Up experience with creation of the Main Street Cowboys and their community booster efforts in 1950.[193] On the other hand, the Westward Ho! Parade, which has roots as deep as the Round-Up itself, is held on the Friday morning of Round-Up week and only allows horses, mules, carriages, oxen-drawn covered wagons, Mormon carts, buggies, surreys, and walking as acceptable modes of transportation.[194] The Westward Ho! Parade can be thought of as a type of "staged symbolic communities" (SSCs) described as "representations of past communities, whether reconstructed on an original site… or imaginative creations of generic communities."[195] Figure 3 shows a picture of men dressed in tanned leather and cowboy hats, guiding a team of longhorn oxen hauling a covered wagon in the 2022 Westward Ho! Parade. SSCs are important because of how they present images of past communities to more modern ones. As such, it implies that SSCs have secure boundaries between modernity and tradition which intentionally filter out the impact of the greater society rather than being overcome by it.[196] Further, "If such nostalgic representations are fun for the whole family, they are also meant to be educational. Both adults and children dutifully set about learning lessons about the past, as long as they're not too difficult or demanding."[197] In this way, the Westward Ho! Parade operates as more of an educational experience for tourists while simultaneously helping participants of the Parade assert a historical local identity tied to the Oregon Trail. The Westward Ho! Parade is a better example of an intentional balancing act between acceptable and unacceptable intersections with modernity.

[193] Rupp, *Let 'er Buck*, 29; "About Us," Main Street Cowboys, http://mainstreetcowboys.org/about-main-street-cowboys/.

[194] "Westward Ho! Parade 2022," https://www.pendletonroundup.com/p/round-up/westward-ho-parade.

[195] Barthel, *Historic* Preservation, 36.

[196] Barthel, *Historic Preservation*, 49.

[197] Barthel, *Historic Preservation*, 43.

Figure 3: longhorn oxen at the Westward Ho! Parade, 2022 (photo by Samantha Swindler, The Oregonian/OregonLive, 2022).

In the Pendleton Round-Up enterprise, the Happy Canyon Wild West Show, and the Westward Ho! Parade both function to educate audiences and to actively remember those involved in the settling of the Oregon. However, in Happy Canyon, the settling of Oregon is one episode or epoch among a few episodes strung together to tell a larger, collaborative regional story. In contrast, the entire Westward Ho! Parade depicts a single episode of Oregon history, the westward movement associated with the Oregon Trail. The performance of the Parade is also strictly thematic: there are costumes, horses, and movement but there are no acts, narration of a historical story, or specific storyline roles. Because there are no sequential acts, there are also fewer instances of revision that produce a refined storyline. Typical of most parades, the Westward Ho! Parade takes place in a public setting, is free for anyone to attend, and participants are organized into coordinated groups. With the one rule of the Parade, no motorized vehicles, and a vague order to participating groups, the historical performance is achieved through procession of participants and

attendance of tourists. Importantly, the presence of Indigenous participants in the Parade does not reflect on the ebbs and flows of the local Indigenous and settler relationships in the way that Happy Canyon does. Still, their presence in the Parade *in addition to* the Happy Canyon showcase serves to assert themselves as indisputable, essential historical actors in the region's history. The Westward Ho! Parade cultural performances and celebrations provide a "timeout" for tourists from the daily grind and social obligations imposed by modern society while simultaneously providing an entertaining medium for consuming proclamations of identity.

Tourism: Modernity and Performing the Small-Town Myth

The Westward Ho! Parade is a product of Pendleton's continuing small-town myth attached to the Oregon Trail, which manifests in local Pendleton as allegiance to a specific identity: descendants of Oregon Trailers. The annual demonstration of this identity functions as instances of remembrance because "performance means: never for the first time. It means: for the second to the *n*th time. Performance is 'twice-behaved behavior.'"[198] As such, the Westward Ho! Parade created space for the replication of behavior that contains social value for Pendletonians. Anthropologist Frank Manning argued that dramatic small-town cultural performances such as parades, talent shows, costume judging and more, present and re-present official town myths and ideology to tourists.[199] Through the cultural performances of the small-town myth, both "insiders" who are putting on said performance and "outsiders," or tourists, engage with the performance with proclamations of social and community identity. In this context, myth is not a negative but instead a depiction of the interplay between ritual and play that helps to assert community identity utilizing performance spaces. The construction of the small-town myth is key to understanding the

[198] Richard Schechner, *Between Theater & Anthropology* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 36.

[199] Frank E. Manning, *The Celebration of Society: Perspectives on Contemporary Cultural Performance* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1983), 36.

memory power and tourism allure that the Westward Ho! Parade brings to the Pendleton Round-Up enterprise.

Commitment to historic representations of the past over exists temporarily and in compartmentalized spaces at the Westward Ho! Parade. These momentary rejections of modernity in pursuit of a historical performance do not constitute a continuity throughout the Round-Up enterprise in the way that historical reenactment towns like Colonial Williamsburg do. Historian Katrina Phillips employs term "salvage tourism" to describe Pendleton's attempts to reclaim the ever-escaping past. The performance of this reclamation fuels the tourism allure of Pendleton. As Dean MacCannell argues what tourists actually experience is what he referred to as "work displays."[200] This is a useful way to consider the Westward Ho! Parade specifically because it is during the parade when tourists can consume historical content simply through their attendance. Phillips observed that less than an hour after Indigenous participation in performances around Pendleton "teenage boys wander… with their skateboards and girls with hair straighteners look for a power source."[201] This suggests that commitment to historic performance exists only during the actual procession. The format of performance, the parade, is a modern invention but the behavior being replicated in the performance, historic movement associated with the Oregon Trail, adheres to stricter guidelines in pursuit of a history education about the reality of the work it took to get there. Thus, these strict guidelines exist in temporary and compartmentalized ways in pursuit of a salvaged past that fuels the tourist allure of the Westward Ho! Parade.

Revisions for Women

Three examples of short-lived changes to the procession of the Westward Ho! Parade is important for understanding the way in which white femininity was displayed through flexible

[200] MacCannell, *Tourist. A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, 36.

[201] Phillips, "It's Part of Us: The Continued Allure of Pendleton," in *Staging Indigeneity,* 60.

presentation during Round-Up week. Additionally, these three examples demonstrate the balance between modernity and boosterism with antimodern or traditional representations of the past. All these examples are also contingent on the historical moment and reflect changing values specifically toward gender in the early years of the Parade.

The very first Westward Ho! Parade demonstrates the grassroots community efforts surrounding the Parade and the extent to which the traditional attire has always been an expectation for Parade participants. An *East Oregonian* article in 1910 reported that "fifty girls in costume on horseback will be one of the big features of the Westward Ho! Pageant at the Round-up."[202] Additionally, the article states that there is no single uniform for their procession, but more so a dress code: "characteristic cowboy garbs of different kinds will be in vogue. Slouch hats, 'hickory' shirts and kahki skirts are expected to form the most important features of the costume."[203] Also of note in this short newspaper article is a list of thirty-two names at its conclusion, only representing a fraction of those expected to participate. Interestingly, Bertha Anger, the first Round-Up Rodeo Queen was the only identifiable name on the list. Her participation as one of the fifty female riders in the first Parade runs contrary to Anger's overall reputation: as Renee Laegreid has stated "it is unlikely that she could ride a horse" and Ann Terry Hill who said "[Anger] dressed more like a bride than a cowgirl… she would have been amazed at the athletic horsewomen who succeeded her in rodeo royalty."[204] It might be more prudent to reflect on what a list of unfamiliar names does convey: it conveys a certain level of excitement surrounding the Pendleton Round-Up enterprise and the Westward Ho! Parade in its infancy and it also demonstrates that there were many individual people who have participated in Round-Up activities from the very beginning.

[202] "Pendleton Girls Will Ride In Westward Ho!" *East Oregonian*, evening edition, September 16, 1910.
[203] "Pendleton Girls Will Ride In Westward Ho!" *East Oregonian*, September 16, 1910.
[204] Laegreid, *Riding Pretty*, 8; Bales and Hill, "Round-Up Royalty," in *Pendleton at 100*, 239.

The Westward Ho! Parade, void of scenes and scripts, athletes and broncs, was a blank slate upon which the Round-Up officials could assert their values to an interested audience.

In 1914, the "Mother's Day feature" of the Westward Ho! Parade was added, which served as an example of the gendered performance of patriotism that was expected in the wake of World War I. When World War I threatened to alter gender roles at home while men were fighting abroad, home front volunteerism that supported the war became a common avenue sustaining these roles: "Clubwomen helped with draft registration, identified deserters, and sold war bonds…knitted millions of garments and hospital items…signed pledges to ration meat and wheat… the state urged women on with the same coercive energy driving other wartime demands. Those who shirked new burdens might earn the epithet 'women slackers,' violators of both patriotic and gendered standards."[205] In Pendleton specifically, on March 23, 1918, the *East Oregonian* "announced the formation of a local Patriotic Service League, charged with coordinating the town's response to the Liberty Loan drives and to donation requests from the Red Cross."[206] These national war relief fundraising efforts were opportunities for individuals on the home front to contribute to the war abroad and, the Liberty Loans "were pressed with evangelical fervor."[207] As a sign of civic responsibility and community, Pendleton locals were expected to purchase as many bonds as was within their means. In fact, those who did not meet their assigned quota on bonds were called before the Central Loyalty Committee of the Umatilla County Patriotic Service League to explain themselves. If their answers were unsatisfactory, then the offender was cited by name

[205] Andrew J. Huebner, *Love and Death in the Great War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 135.

[206] Brigit Farley, "Master of His Medium: E.B. Aldrich, the East Oregonian, and the First Global Conflict in Pendleton," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 119, no. 3 (2018): pp. 326-354, 338. https://doi.org/10.1353/ohq.2018.0014.

[207] Gordon G. MacNab, *A Century of News and People in the East Oregonian, 1875-1975* (Pendleton, OR: East Oregonian Pub. Co., 1975), 176.

in local newspapers as a method of both shaming the offender and deterring others offending.[208] The Mother's Day feature called upon the novel "love and reverence" sentiment in order to get mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters of men in the service demonstrate their civic pride in the Westward Ho parade.[209] The Mother's Day feature of the Westward Ho! Parade was a product of women's division of the Patriotic Service League and serves as an example of how the government made the war "personal" for Pendletonian women.

Muriel Saling was awarded the title of Queen of the Pendleton Round-Up at a time when the Round-Up boosters were trying to set themselves apart from other profitable civic festivals that existed within Oregon by holding frontier-themes celebrations.[210] Thus, in her own way, Saling was an excellent example of the intersection of the balance between nostalgia and modernity taking stage at the Westward Ho! Parade. Muriel Saling reigned as Queen at the Portland Rose Festival, the Columbia Highway Festival, and the renowned Astoria Regatta before[211] Pendleton boosters believed that as a local herself, it was only fitting that Saling also reign over the festivities and she was crowned Pendleton Rodeo Queen in 1916.[212] In fact, as Renee Laegreid points out, Pendleton boosters kept close tabs on the prestigious Portland title to make sure a Pendletonian woman won, thereby raising Pendleton's profile ahead of the Round-Up.[213] The *East Oregonian* reported that because of Saling's regional celebrity status, a special coronation event would be added to the Westward Ho! Parade that year.[214] While functioning as an agent of modernity amidst the active

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[208] MacNab, *A Century of News*, 176.

[209] "Visiting Relatives of Sailors and Soldiers Invited to Take Part in Westward Ho Parade," *East Oregonian,* daily evening edition, September 18, 1918; Huebner, *Love and Death in the Great War*, 142.

[210] Laegreid, "Rodeo Queens at the Pendleton Round-Up," in *Riding Pretty,* 10.

[211] "Queen Muriel to Receive a Crown," *East Oregonian,* daily evening edition, September 20, 1916.

[212] Laegreid, "Rodeo Queens at the Pendleton Round-Up: The First Go-Around, 1910-1917," in *Riding Pretty*, 18.

[213] Laegreid, "Rodeo Queens at the Pendleton Round-Up," in *Riding Pretty*, 19.

[214] Laegreid, "Rodeo Queens at the Pendleton Round-Up," in *Riding Pretty*, 18.

boosterism influence of Pendleton, Saling was also expected to embody the same frontier spirit that the parade and rodeo events evoked. Another *East Oregonian* article said that Saling's job as Queen was not arduous, she simply had to "typify the spirit of the old west. No silks and satins and royal purple… the sombrero, the high boots, shirt skirts and gay hankerchief [were] her garb."[215] The Westward Ho! Parade temporarily revised the traditional civic historical procession to feature the royalty component of the performance even further, which supported boosterism. The result is a clear demonstration of the flexible relationship that the Westward Ho! Parade has with modernity. While Saling's feminine, western spirit helped perpetuate Pendleton's small-town myth and her expected attire constituted repeated behavior associated with performance, she also functioned as an early instrument of the modern influences of boosterism influence.

Grand Marshals

The Grand Marshals are a rare example of visible spaces in the Round-Up in which older people participation in, and thus show how people of Pendleton, white and Indigenous alike, have understood the Parade's role in defining community identity. The Grand Marshals tradition began in 1957 and was one of few lasting revisions made to the Westward Ho! Parade.[216] Grand Marshals are individuals deemed to have "[lived] enough Round-Up history to be worthy of the title," which suggests experience- and age-related consideration to Grand Marshals.[217] This stands in contrast to the rodeo events, whose stage is more or less a "young man's game."[218] In essence, the Parade

[215] "Queens Who Have Reigned Over the Round-Up," *East Oregonian,* Round-Up Souvenir Edition, September 22, 1916.

[216] Rupp, *Let 'Er Buck!*, 77.

[217] Bales and Hill, *Pendleton Round-up at 100*, 212.

[218] There are undoubtedly older generations of people whose influence helped craft the rodeo setting, including but not limited to those involved in the Turtle Association, Professional Bull Riding (PBR), fundraising campaigns and booster organizations, loudspeaker announcers, and stock contractors. Nevertheless, those who step into the rodeo arena to perform in front of the audience are overwhelmingly of the younger generation. Similarly in the Happy Canyon showcase, while there are undoubtedly older generations who contribute to the showcase in a variety of forms, there are far fewer distinct roles for older folks to play in the Wild West Show, and the Indigenous Pageant is also performed by young Indigenous women.

offers notable contributors of the Round-Up enterprise the opportunity to both continue to participate in the enterprise, even in old age, and to be celebrated for their contributions to it.

Grand Marshals at the Westward Ho! Parade function as embodiments of Pendleton Round-Up's history amidst the Oregon Trail procession, while also creating space for older generations of folks to continue participating. Henry Collins, who served twelve years as the Round-Up president from 1920-1932, was honored as Grand Marshal of the Westward Ho! Parade in 1964, at age eighty. [219] E.N. "Pink" Boylen described Collins having "a natural administrative ability and … a superb showman, organizer and director."[220] Boylen is another example of a Pendleton participant who was honored as Grand Marshal. During Collins' presidency, Boylen described himself as Collins' "flunky errand boy."[221] His Round-Up career went on to span over forty years of service, including director of competitive events, arena director, ticket booth director, pennant bearer, and Hall of Fame founder.[222] When he was celebrated as Grand Marshal in 1976, he was seventy-six years old.[223] Owen Harlan Mickle, better known by his stage name Montie Montana, was an accomplished trick rider, western film star and beloved Pendleton celebrity and served as Grand Marshal in 1975 at the age of sixty-five.[224] Perhaps the most cited author in this project, Charles Wellington Furlong, is another familiar name on the roster of Grand Marshals. Furlong's visited Pendleton through his extensive travels as a worldwide explorer,

[219] Bales and Hill, *Pendleton Round-up at 100,* 71; Interestingly, Virgin Rupp's book *Let 'er Buck! A history of the Pendleton Round-up,* cites Henry Collins as Grand Marshal for 1962 and 1964, whereas Bales' book only lists 1964. Rupp's reporting is most likely untrue, but if he were honored as Grand Marshal twice, he would be the only one, according to my cross-referencing attempts of the literature.

[220] Boylen, *Episode of the West*, 33.

[221] Boylen, *Episode of the West*, 33.

[222] Bales and Hill, "Families Are the Backbone," in *Pendleton Round-up at 100,* 257-8.

[223] The only indication of Pink's age comes from the back of his book *Episodes of the West: The Pendleton Round-Up 1910-1950*. In his short "about the Author" section, it references his age as eleven during the first Round-up in 1911. Working backwards, he would have been born in 1900, making him seventy-six turning his Grand Marshal year in 1976.

[224] Bales and Hill, "The Glory Years," in *Pendleton Round-up at 100*, 200.

writer, artist, photographer, scientist, diplomat, and ethnographer. He rode bulls three times in the Round-Up events, twice atop a particularly fearsome bull named Henry Vogt in 1913.[225] He was the impressive age of ninety-one when he served as Grand Marshal in 1966 and passed away the following year.[226] Due to their longtime servitude of the Round-Up, Grand Marshals function as embodiments of Round-Up history, which specifically places Pendleton's small-town legacy within the context the Oregon Trail procession.

Although the Grand Marshal roster was mostly white men, it is not exclusively so. White cowgirls and Indigenous men have also served as Grand Marshals and thus, conveys the Pendleton enterprises' legacy with female and Native representation. Bertha Blancett served as Grand Marshal in 1961. Of the short-lived female competitive events in the rodeo, Blancett was the 1913 Champion Cowgirl Relay Race Rider and the 1914 Champion Cowgirl Rider.[227] She was seventy-eight years old when she served as Grand Marshal. One of Blancett's competitive rivals in the cowgirl events of the Pendleton Round-Up also ended up being honored as Grand Marshal two years after she did. Ella Lazinka, daughter of well-known rancher Henry Lazinka, was a fierce competitor in the Pendleton cowgirl scene. Ella Lazinka beat out Bertha Blancett for the title of Champion of the Cowgirl Relay Race event in 1912. Ella Lazinka's exact age upon being honored as Grand Marshal in 1963 is unknown; she is referred to as a "high school student," during the competition with Blancett and retired only a few years after the Blancett competition due to a severe injury.[228] This means she could have been in her mid– to late- forties as Grand Marshal. According to Furlong, Blancett said "that Ella Lazinka was the only rider, horses being equal, she

[225] Bales and Hill, "The Glory Years," 117.

[226] Bales and Hill, "The Glory Years," 119.

[227] Boylen, *Episode of the West*, 33

[228] Bales and Hill, "Old-Time Cowgirls," in *Pendleton Round-up at 100,* 99; Interestingly, Virgil Rupp's Grand Marshal roster in his book *Let 'er Buck! A history of the Pendleton Round-up* does not list Ella Lazinka as 1963 Grand Marshal, when Bales and Hill does.

ever feared."[229] In another example, CTUIR Chief Clarence Burke, eldest son of Poker Jim, served as Grand Marshal in 1979 when he was ninety years old.[230] His celebration came after five decades of serving as Round-Up Chief and was well known for his efforts to maintain tribal traditions and customs.[231] In a final example, the 1981 Grand Marshal was Art Motanic of the CTUIR.[232] The State of Oregon Death Index lists him as eighty-one when he passed on March 20, 1986, meaning he would have been about seventy-six when he served as Grand Marshal.[233] Art Motanic considered his singing voice to be one of his greatest gifts and began singing the "Indian Love Call" feature of the Happy Canyon show in 1923.[234] Female and Native exceptions were, and are, crucial in demonstrating Pendleton's past and present as distinctively western. By including a few white women and a few Indigenous men of the CTUIR in the Grand Marshal tradition over the years, the Westward Ho! parade supported the idea of Pendleton's mythic past as mostly, but not entirely, white and male.[235]

Indigenous participants

The Westward Ho! Parade celebrates the colonial movement that characterizes the American West, but by insisting on and reproducing the presence of Indigenous groups in the parade procession, there are also attempts to combat the erasure reputation of the Oregon Trail. It is important to recognize the simple presence or attendance of these performances plays a key role in the power of production and reproduction of memory. Renzo Aroni Sulca discusses how the

[229] Furlong, *Let 'er Buck*, 175.

[230] I used the Indian Census Records to confirm Chief Burke's tribal affiliation. See, Indian Census Roll, April 1, 1934. Roll: M595_622; Page: 47; Line: 3. Access provided by ancestry.com.

[231] "Chief Burke dies at 97," *Albany Democrat-Herald,* July 4, 1987.

[232] I used the Indian Census Records to confirm Arthur Motanic's tribal affiliation. See, Indian Census Roll, April 1, 1934. Roll: M595_622; Page: 72; Line: 2. Access provided by ancestry.com.

[233] State of Oregon Death Index, 1981-90, "Arthur Motanic," Provided by ancestry.com.

[234] Fletcher Waggoner, *Happy Canyon*, 98.

[235] Despite the undeniable contributions of Indigenous women such as Anna Minthorn Wannassay, they did not serve as Grand Marshals.

performance of the Accomarca Massacre in the Ayacucho Carnival in Peru is preserved through "corporal memory" which "circulates through performances, gestures, oral narration, movement, dance, song; in addition, it requires presence. People participate in the production and reproduction of knowledge by 'being there' and being part of its diffusion."[236] The act of showcasing the massacre in the Ayacucho Carnival comes from music and dance performance, which utilize the body itself as the raw material of corporal and social memory.[237] By extension, the annual reproduction of the visual procession of the Westward Ho! Parade reinforces the memory of the Oregon Trail to onlookers, locals and tourists alike. More specifically, the parade performs the colonial movement associated with the Oregon Trail and the settling of the West: the movement funneled substantial migration to the region and cost Indigenous groups of the Northwest millions of acres of traditional homelands. Scholar Elyssa Ford is among those who have specifically developed this discourse of identity formation and assertion through parade performance. In her article "Pa'u Riding in Hawai'i: Memory, Race, and Community on Parade," she explores how a traditional style of Hawaiian horse riding known as pa'u riding is preserved through its use in parade performance while "paradoxically also showcase[ing] fractious divisions in Hawaiian society."[238] She argued that women navigated the complex racial and colonial history of Hawaii by using parades and pa'u riding to promote a specific version of Hawaiian history. Like the concepts put forth by Renzo Aroni Sulca, it is the preservation of pa'u riding and the presence of both the riders who know the tradition and the audience members that keeps pa'u riding from becoming a colonial erasure. In the Westward Ho! Parade, there is an interplay between the modern

[236] Diana Taylor, "Introducción: Performance, Teoría y Práctica," in *Estudios Avanzados Del Performance*, ed. Marcela Fuentes (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, n.d.), 7-30.

[237] Renzo Aroni Sulca, "Choreography of a Massacre: Memory and Performance in the Ayacucho Carnival." *Latin American Perspectives* 43, no. 6 (November 2016), 52.

[238] Elyssa Ford, "Pa'i Riding in Hawai'i Memory: Race, and Community on Parade," *Pacific Historical Review* 84, no. 3 (August 2015), 277.

and antimodern, but there also exists a powerful and important duality between performers and attendees: it is ultimately through tourist consumption of the performance that the performance itself maintains important historical, regional memory.

The antimodern ethos of the Parade setting is fueled by participation awards. One award involved in the procession of the Westward Ho! Parade is the Outstanding Indian Award, a best dressed award that recognizes the colorful attire of Indigenous participants of the Parade. Of those recognized with the award, there are also familiar names. Perhaps unsurprisingly based on the recognition of Chief Clarence Burke's efforts towards the Round-Up enterprise, Burke was honored as Outstanding Indian in 1962. An article in the *Nyssa Gate City Journal* named Burke as Outstanding Indian winner in 1962 alongside a handful of other notable Indigenous participants featured at the 1971 Round-Up. The article does not comment on Burke's winning wardrobe choice but does mention that "treasured tribal regalia [was] handed down to them from their forebearers [sic]. And help make the Round-up the show that it is."[239] The article goes on to establish an explicit correlation between Indigenous presence at Pendleton and the enterprise's overall success. The generational component of regalia is better elucidated by another Outstanding Indian winner. Anna Minthorn Wannasay was eighty years old when she was recognized as an Outstanding Indian in 1966. According to an article in the *Heppner Gazette-Times,* "Mrs. Wannasay was wearing the buckskin dress of her grandmother when she won the award."[240] Rebeca Fletcher Waggoner affectionately said, "the word 'outstanding' barely begins to describe this unique woman."[241] Carolina Motanic Davis was a three time winner of the best dressed Indian honor at the Westward Ho! Parade. She wore the same beaded doeskin dress made from the hides

[239] "Indians Featured At Pendleton Round-Up," *Nyssa Gate City Journal*, September 2, 1971.
[240] "Dress-Up Parade To Open Round-Up Season Saturday," *Heppner Gazette-Times,* September 7, 1967.
[241] Fletcher Waggoner, *Happy Canyon*, 44.

of three deer shot by her father, Arthur Motanic, decorated with the same dusty pink beads belonging to her grandmother in addition to "rows upon rows of blue, yellow, green, white, black and red glass beads."[242] Both articles list a fifty dollars cash prize awarded in a Hamley leather poke donated by the Bishop family. The Bishops, known for the famous Pendleton Woolen Mills, had developed important local relationships with regional Indigenous communities that helped secure their aid and participation with the Pendleton Round-Up from the beginning.[243] In sponsoring the prize, the Bishops helped contribute to an ongoing representation of Indigenous color and pattern in and around Pendleton. This is not dissimilar to the attention to local indigeneity given by Roy Raley in his pursuits. Recall Raley's distinct desire for Indigenous participants and his realization that their presence to the performance spaces contributed to the antimodern ethos.

The Happy Canyon Princesses also process in the Westward Ho! Parade as part of their princess requirements, and by doing so, participated in the educational diffusion of the story of the Oregon Trail to tourist onlookers. As with the Happy Canyon Pageant and Wild West Show, the requirement of Indigenous regalia contributes directly to education through historical imagery and performance. The Parade is the only performance arena of the Pendleton Round-Up enterprise in which both sets of royalty, the Queen and her court and the Princesses, make an appearance. Indigenous participants in the Parade do not perform the historic regional Indigenous and settler relationships the way that Happy Canyon does, instead Indigenous presence in the Parade represents and reflects their presence in the region during the Oregon Trail episode. By being a part of the educational diffusion in the Westward Ho! Parade and the Happy Canyon Pageant and Wild West Show, Indigenous peoples can assert themselves as indisputable and essential historical

[242] "Happy Canyon's first princess has gone on to new adventure," Obituary, *East Oregonian*, November 18, 2021.

[243] Bales and Hill, *Pendleton Round-up at 100*, 251, 253.

actors in the region's history.[244] Similarly, the presence of more than one performance at Pendleton that highlights settlement history suggests the extent to which the story of the Oregon Trail has contributed to local identity.

Other Revisions

In August 1940 a massive fire broke out in the grandstands of Pendleton Stadium during a baseball game that completely engulfed the Stadium. It was a particularly damaging blow with the annual Pendleton Round-Up only a month or so away. In particular, the storage underneath the Stadium was said to be housing "Westward Ho parade equipment...the original Wells Fargo stagecoaches, pioneer prairie schooners, the early day buddies, surreys, pack outfits, harnesses" and many more staples of the Westward Ho! Parade and the Happy Canyon show that were destroyed in the fire.[245] In a true testament to the allure of Pendleton, community-wide efforts began swiftly, and contributions came from all parts of the Northwest: there was a community mobilization towards recreating the material culture of the Parade so that the show could go on.[246] A *Heppner gazette-times* article from 1940 states that "generous neighboring friends" not only helped supply the cash flow to get the grandstands rebuilt before the 1940 Round-Up, they also loaned "stage coaches, buckboards, wagons, phaetons and countless other old-time paraphernalia for the Westward Ho! Parade, to substitute for the equipment lost in the recent blaze."[247] With the stadium and grandstands rebuilt and loaned equipment secured, the 1940 show went off without a hitch. Still, there would need to be replacements for the lost equipment. As mentioned previously,

[244] Aroni Sulca, "Choreography of a Massacre," 52.

[245] Boylen, *Episode of the West*, 67; One article in the *The Oregon statesman* claimed that the fire in the Pendleton grandstands could have been the work of a serial arsonist, noting a pattern of fires being started in Astoria, Hillsboro, Ashland, and Vancouver, Washington. See, *The Oregon statesman*, "Grandstand Fires," August 30, 1940. https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn85042470/1940-08-30/ed-1/seq-6/

[246] MacNab, *A Century of News*, 230; Rupp, *Let 'Er Buck!*, 58.

[247] "Grandstand Race Prefaces Round-Up," *Heppner gazette-times,* September 5, 1940.

due to the proximity of the Pendleton stadium to the Pendleton Air Base, the Pendleton Round-Up was not held in 1942 or 1943.[248] Nevertheless, in 1942 despite not having the annual income from a successful Show, the board had high hopes for the Round-Up's future and invested $600 on parade equipment from the Whiskey Gulch Gang Celebration in Canyon City.[249] The Whiskey Gulch Gang was a group of boosters in Canyon City, located south of Pendleton, that put on their own small-town, western themed celebration every year.[250] The board also decided to purchase a stagecoach from the John Day western show. It was originally used to deliver mail in the early 1900s and "from all accounts, this is the current stage[coach] used today."[251] Only a handful of years later, in 1953, the board voted and approved the stagecoach as the Westward Ho! Parade's official mode of transportation.[252] Even if it was not the original, the stagecoach came to signify the Old West, more specifically of the Old West on the move. The Parade, and Pendleton in general, as an SSG functions as a utopic destination and the fire was a sharp clap back to reality of the fragility of that utopia.[253] As a result, though, boosterism influence enabled the deliberate re-creation of the material culture associated with the parade after the fire, thus establishing Pendleton as a local creation, but also as a regional one that benefited from larger networks of production and consumption.

Conclusion

The Westward Ho! Parade utilized a simple rule, no motorized vehicle, to entrench both locals and tourists in the civic procession that is meant to evoke the movement of settlers along

[248] The Round-Up was canceled three times: in 1942 and 1943, due to World War II, and then not again until 2020, because of the COVID-19 outbreak.

[249] Rupp, *Let 'er Buck*, 60.

[250] "'Whiskey Gulch Gang' Origin Told As Canyon City Prepares Celebration," *Heppner Gazette Times,* June 1, 1939.

[251] Fletcher Waggoner, *Happy Canyon*, 254.

[252] Fletcher Waggoner, *Happy Canyon*, 315.

[253] Barthel, *Historic Preservation*, 37.

the Oregon Trail. Parade participants are able to assert local identity through performative movement and tourists are able to consume the product of local history for the purposes of entertainment and education. There have been only a few revisions to the procession over the years, including performance opportunities for women, Indigenous participants, and older folks of the Round-Up enterprise. Grand Marshals help situate Pendleton's legacy amidst the moving performance on the Oregon Trail, revisions for women were historically situated wartime efforts and around royalty presentation and demonstrates the flexible female presentation. Indigenous contributions help to remedy the underlying erasure that permeates the romanticized narrative of the Oregon Trail. Additionally, the Parade offers a lens into Pendleton's balance of acceptable and unacceptable proximities to modernity. The Happy Canyon Pageant and Wild West Show and the Westward Ho! Parade operates as "staged symbolic communities" that temporarily commit to the traditional ways of life for the purposes of entertainment and education. A sense of community – around local pride, western identities, and shared history – is crucial to understanding the importance of parade spaces amidst the Pendleton Round-Up festivities. As Furlong said, "just as in the Round-Up arena the events portray more especially the work of the range, and in Happy Canyon, the night show is shown the life of the frontier town, so [too] the Westward Ho Parade, as it wends its way along the pavements of little Pendleton on the Saturday or last morning of each annual Round-Up, presents a panorama which epitomizes the Old West – the Old West on the move."[254]

[254] Furlong, *Let 'Er Buck,* 37.

Conclusion

The Pendleton Round-Up began in 1910 as a community-based rodeo that quickly grew to encompass a Wild West Show, a Parade, and other accompanying events. At the Round-Up, white men and women, Indigenous men and women, and Black men were able to navigate the burgeoning tourist industry and take advantage of the economic opportunities that the Pendleton boosters saw within the region. In addition, the Round-up keeps the mythological West alive within the actual West, by presenting the cowboy and Indian dichotomy in more than one place while remembering the historical heroes who braved the Oregon Trail in search of "unsettled" lands.

The first chapter on the rodeo events demonstrated the different ways within which white women, Indigenous men and women, and African American men utilized the rodeo performance spaces to push back on gendered and racial discrimination tactics being thrown at them from within Pendleton and within the context of Oregon. Booster influence that underpinned the rodeo setting contributed in part to the rodeo's success, coupled with the novelty of spectators getting to see cowgirls, Indigenous, and Black cowboys in the same spaces. For white women, when their space as professional cowgirls was eliminated, they responded by making the demonstrations of horse(wo)manship in the Rodeo Queen tradition more of an expectation. Amidst the increasing professionalization of the rodeo arena after the 1930s, and the fewer available slots on the rodeo event roster for Indigenous-exclusive events, Indigenous rodeo participants at Pendleton were able to hold onto the Indian Relay Race for both men and women. Two specific African American cowboys at the Pendleton Round-Up serve as case studies for the discrimination that was present within the rodeo industry. Finally, Pendleton's connection with the film industry proved advantageous for white and Indigenous men and women, who extended their homegrown skillset

to a new medium for financial gain, thereby reflexively affording Pendleton some early permanence in the national eye.

The second chapter on the Happy Canyon Pageant and Wild West Show focused on Indigenous agency within the context of a historical production, to produce a refined, educational, and regional storyline. By retaining authority over the storyline, Indigenous participants are able to assert themselves as present and significant peoples in the area; there is nothing 'vanishing' about them if they are the ones crafting this storyline. As a result, the storyline became infused with Indigenous cultural memory. This chapter also explored the difference between representation and impersonation as it pertained to the Chinese population in Pendleton and in the Wild West Show. White occupation of the Chinese roles through yellowface in the Wild West Show is an example of erasure that is still in place in Pendleton. Indian Village and Tipi Camp serve as unofficial stages of performance alongside the official Happy Canyon Stage. Here, Indigenous peoples camp together throughout Round-Up week and the visual representation of tipis alongside the Indian Village marketplace serves to reinforce tourists' presence in the Old West. At Indian Village, Indigenous peoples, some local and some not, are able to sell goods and food to tourist populations.

The third chapter examined the Westward Ho! Parade as a civic historical procession that asserts local identity through performative movement. In it, Indigenous men and women and white women support the notion that Pendleton's mythic past was not entirely white and male. The Grand Marshals serve as representatives of Pendleton's history amidst the procession movement of the Oregon Trail. Minor revisions for white women have proved to be related to national conceptions of gender. The Parade remains more consistent in nature than the Wild West show, which adds piquancy to the community assertions of identity. Annual performance of this episode of American

History functions to align local identity with it and demonstrates Pendleton's deep and fiercely held association with American frontier history.

In a final romantic quote from Charles Wellington Furlong, "it is a spectacle that makes you go away with a bigger, finer feeling toward life, and a genuine respect and appreciation for the quiet, modest manhood and womanhood who have 'taken chances,' have risked limb and even life at times in their sports of daring and skill, ... In order to attain the Winning of the West."[255] The Pendleton Round-Up was a modern invention, born of modern values and economic opportunity, that in more than one way, made a show of embodying and showcasing the mythological Old West to tourists. Booster influences both instigated and helped people navigate the historical constraints and complications that would arise during the twentieth century. Romanticized western grit, gumption, and persistence are demonstrated by all Round-Up peoples and are visible in all performance spaces at the Pendleton Round-up.

[255] Furlong, *Let 'er Buck*, 226.

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