

Producing Sensual History:

Tourism, Sound, and Performing the “Wild” American West in South Dakota’s Black Hills

(My) Sensual Scholarship To claim that history is sensual is to recognize both the embodied nature of knowledge and the need for its continuous renewal. It is to recognize that knowledge, historical or otherwise, is bound to imagination, memory, emotion, and sensation. It is bound to experience in its myriad forms. My work, too, is caught in the web of “experience” – a term too complicated to unpack here, but one that evokes tropes of presence, familiarity, care, and the like.¹ Mine is a sensual production of sorts, and it began nearly a century ago when my great-grandparents took their first vacation in South Dakota’s Black Hills. My own sojourns to The Hills began in the late 70s. These early visits included the obligatory mailing of postcards and posing of photographs, but they also generated my impulse to document and to share my sensual encounters with others.² Later, this impulse would become my sensual scholarship, a scholarship heavily reliant upon various media to translate, transmit, and transform my bodily experiences into knowledge.³ I suppose I always was what David Howes’ calls a “sensualist.”⁴

I begin with this somewhat personal digression as a way to highlight the complicated familial, cultural, and mediated histories embedded within all scholarship. Thus, to Howes’ claim that “sensual relations are social relations,” I add the material and immaterial conditions of our social and sensual lives, the lengthy paths that lead each of us to our passionate quests.⁵ To claim that history is sensual is ultimately to recognize the contingent, produced, and performed aspects of knowledge and its circulation.

Soundscapes of the Black Hills The Black Hills, nestled along the western border of South Dakota, is a mythic place. Home to the Badlands, Wall Drug Store, Wounded Knee, Deadwood, Sturgis, and Mount Rushmore and Crazy Horse Memorials,

the Black Hills draw over two and a half million visitors each year.⁶ The Hills are also a location of political struggle, the long-time battleground between the native Lakota and the United States government.⁷ The 1874 discovery of gold by General Custer and his Seventh Cavalry Regiment sparked a flurry of interest in the region.⁸ First gold miners, then settlers, and finally tourists transformed the area into a “natural playground and sanitarium.”⁹ As early as 1892, six to seven trains a day brought tourists from eastern cities to bathe in the curative hot springs of the southern Black Hills.¹⁰ But just as visitors flocked to the Hills, the Hills seemed to seep its borders, to flood the world with tales of its wildness.¹¹ Today, this 50 by 70 mile swathe of land is a key backdrop for popular imagination of the Wild West and of American history, culture, and identity.

Critical to my work is the significance of Black Hills’ tourism. As a tourist mecca for all things Wild West, the region is a crucial space for the performance of American-ness.¹² It is a place where an ideal “America” is concretized, made present if you will, through activities like campfire sing-along’s, historic pony rides, gunfight reenactments, and, yes, even motorcycle rallies. But, to claim that the Hills are merely a heritage destination is to misunderstand the complicated nexus of culture and consumption, history and sensation, memory and experience they offer visitors. Divisions between heritage, leisure, and entertainment by scholars of tourism are not so clear-cut.¹³ The Hills provide a sensual tourist experience, one that indistinguishably blends education and entertainment, popular culture and imagination. Residents, visitors, museum operators, Hollywood films, historical events, roadside sweet clover... all coalesce to generate the region as a sensual production with pedagogical and political consequences.

The task of unpacking the Black Hills as a production of sensual history, sensual is

not easy. The taste of a whiskey at Deadwood's No. 10 Saloon, the loss of breathe during a drive along Needles Highway – aspects of the sensual tourist experience are seemingly endless. I focus on sound. Using the Black Hills as a primary case study, my work engages sound as a key component of the sensual history and culture made available to tourists, engaging also the predicament of the sonic mediation of cultural memory, national identity, and history more generally. My initial fieldwork, completed in 2009, included the documentation of more than 50 tourist sites in the Hills. At each site, I recorded soundscapes, took photographs, sketched sound maps, and collected sound-related artifacts.¹⁴ Thus far, I have isolated four recurrent themes relevant to both the region's history and to its significance as a tourist destination: Cowboys & Indians, Wilderness, Technologies of Tourism, and Tourist Performance.¹⁵ I have also prepared a preliminary website, offering 25 tracks (complete with descriptions, images, and thematic coding) as a sort of sonic tour of the American West.¹⁶

Three claims are foundational to my sound ethnography of the Black Hills. First, the Hills stand as a microcosm of the American West and its role in producing sensual history. Second, tourism is a key site of pedagogy and performance. And, third, sound is a pivotal aspect of this pedagogical performance, creating a sensual tourist experience.

An Acoustemology of the American West Anthropologist Steven Feld calls the relationship between sound and knowledge *acoustemology*. Like Feld, I investigate “the primacy of sound as a modality of knowing and being in the world.”¹⁷ But, to this, I add the work of scholars like Peter Hoffer, Alain Corbin, and Mark Smith, scholars concerned both with the historical conditions and constructions of the senses and with uncovering the past through sensation.¹⁸ Hoffer, for example, claims that historians must undergo an

“education of the senses” in order to hear, see, etc. in ways akin to the people, places, and epochs they study.¹⁹ Curiously, he notes historical re-enactments and living museums as places where historians might “re-educate” their senses.²⁰ My claim is that sound performances in such places serve to educate visitors, shaping their desire, imagination, and experience into knowledge. In the case of the Black Hills, stereotypical sounds – gunshots, cowboy yodels, buffalo growls, etc. – both generate and reinforce historical and cultural narratives, creating what I call an *Acoustemology of the American West*.

Wild Bill Shootout is a brief soundbyte from a thirty-minute show performed four times each summer day in Deadwood’s No. 10 Saloon.²¹ The show re-enacts the final card game and shooting of Wild Bill Hickok by Jack McCall on August 2, 1876.²² It uses actors for key parts (Hickok, McCall, Bullock) with tourists playing the roles of saloon girls, poker players, and general audience members. Four registers of sound performance can be heard in the byte: pre-recorded; scripted; audience; and ambient.²³ *Wild Bill Shootout* takes place in the back of the No. 10 Saloon, a large bar, restaurant, and casino located on Deadwood’s busy Main Street.²⁴ Slot machines, clanking glasses, screeching doors, street traffic, and yodeling from a nearby bar are among the ambient sounds heard throughout the show. Audience sounds include clapping, cheering, coughing, talking, and snapping cameras. Scripted sounds encompass performances by both professional actors and audience volunteers (volunteers are prepped before the show starts). And, finally, a pre-recorded soundtrack, blending “voice-of-god” narration and mood music, frames the show through a mixture of historical fact, cultural memory, and emotion.²⁵

Wild Bill Shootout hints at the many layers of imagination, desire, and memory shaping the tourist experience. These layers include popular narratives of the Wild West,

desires for cultural and national belonging, and memory of past experiences that include both sound meanings and behavior clues.²⁶ I'll give just a few relevant examples. The cowboy is a key figure in Wild West mythology. He drinks. He gambles. He's funny, flirtatious, and stubborn. And, he is, when he needs to be, very very loud. *Wild Bill Shootout* reveals the sonic contours of this legendary figure. Banjo music, clanking glasses, jangling coins, cooing saloon girls, a gun shot, and the smooth, strong voice of Wild Bill – all these act as sound signs generated from popular fiction, film, television, and music.²⁷ The banjo – itself a sign of both rural and folk – reminds the audience they have left the city for a wilderness constituted also by the motorcycles, rattlesnakes, and so on that lie on the other side of No. 10's door.²⁸ Vocal registers are also crucial here.²⁹ The matter-of-fact tone of the pre-recorded narration combines with the playful irony of Wild Bill and his collaborators, and the spirited reactions of audience members to highlight both the believability of the tale and its continued significance. Audience members are encouraged to shout out loud, to snap pictures, to clank their glasses with glee. They, too, are cowboys, and this is the Wild West.

Modes of audition, sound meanings, and audience reactions (the sounds audiences make) are all *imagineered* long before the show begins.³⁰ Tourist experiences, such as the one documented in *Wild Bill Shootout*, let visitors play with history, but this does not mean that anything is possible.³¹ Tourist play is, in fact, a heavily scripted activity. My argument is that sound is a crucial aspect of the tourist script. Yet, sounds are neither natural nor benign.³² In the Black Hills, for example, visitors are consistently positioned as cowboys, noisy and present.³³ This construction reinforces national narratives that include rugged individualism, manifest destiny, technological progress, and social

evolution. Such narratives can have political consequences for how citizenship, cultural diversity, domestic and economic policies, and so on are imagined and enacted.³⁴

(Co)Producing Sensual History I want to come full circle now and return to my opening remarks on sensual scholarship and knowledge. My objective is not to replace other forms of knowledge with experiential ones, but is, instead, to unpack the rich layers attached to terms like experience, presence, and so on.³⁵ I want to understand the force of knowledge produced in the contexts I have just described as well as to think about how these claims circulate and function in other contexts. I think of these contexts as sensual (co)productions. My endeavor has several ramifications. I will unpack just a few by way of a final example: a family photograph taken last July (2010) at Woody's Wild West Old Time Photos in downtown Deadwood.³⁶ The image documents tourist performance, ethnographic observation, familial and cultural pilgrimage, and mediated knowledge. It breaks down disciplinary distinctions between anthropologists and scholars of media, culture, and tourism. And, following Peter Hoffer, it offers historians a sensual framing of the past, an example of sensory re-education.³⁷ It also illustrates history as a sensual production, a production involving cultural, technological, and sensorial mediations. Sounds are among the many sensual layers at work here.³⁸ The clank of metal boot spurs, the creak of wooden floorboards, the crackle of the phonograph, the potential cry of my infant son, and the ever-present possible gunshot – all these suggest the sonic contours shaping the tourist experience.

Notes

¹ I refer here to just a few of the phenomenological theories of knowledge and perception that shape my work, specifically Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996); Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception* (London: Routledge, 2002); and Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *The Production of Presence: What Meaning Cannot Convey* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004). I also refer to common uses of the term by both actual tourists and scholars of tourism. I deliberately leave out discussions of authenticity, which, although still present in tourist discourse, is somewhat out of fashion or, at the very least, overused. Experience, in tourism and its scholarship, acts as a general stand-in for sensation, sensorial encounters, sensual knowledge, and so on. My interest is in unpacking experience, while still allowing it a foundational role in knowledge production and circulation.

² As a young girl, I often traveled to the Black Hills with my grandfather. During these early visits, I wrote down what we did and saw and sometimes created sketches of our campsites. And, though I also posed for photographs at the usual tourist sites, my notes often contained quite ordinary information. I offer a few examples: notes from a trip I took to the Black Hills in 1982; a sketch of our campsite, also from 1982; photographs of me at Wall Drug Store as a child. My later fieldwork in the Black Hills produced similar artifacts: notes, photographs, and sketches. I offer these examples to illustrate a link between scholarship and tourism and to outline my own history in the region. Two scholars have been influential in my thinking about the relationship between travel and knowledge: James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), and Caren Kaplan, *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Discourses of Displacement* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996).

³ My first scholarly work on the Black Hills was a paper titled “The Day the Hills Cried” written for an undergraduate English course in 1996. The paper outlined the long history of Lakota protest against the carving of Mount Rushmore and included telephone interviews with Charlotte Black Elk (a descendent of Lakota spiritual leader Black Elk) and Milo Yellow Hair (then vice president of the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council on South Dakota’s Pine Ridge Indian Reservation). My recent work in the Hills includes an experimental documentary film titled *Sweet Clover, a homecoming*. *Sweet Clover* narrates my 2009 trip to the Black Hills through my relationship with my grandfather and our grieving the recent death of my grandmother. The film incorporates many of the sound recordings that make up the present study. To view the film, please visit <http://www.smallgauge.org/sweetclover/sweetclover.html>.

⁴ David Howes, in his *Sensual Relations: Engaging the Senses in Social and Cultural Theory* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), criticizes anthropologists for their emphasis on the “model of the text,” claiming that anthropologists’ focus on their “text-organ” has replaced their use of other sense organs for understanding other cultures. He traces a history of anthropology that illustrates a transformation in sensuousness, or sensual encounters, moving from measuring sense to denying it entirely. He then divides anthropology into textualists and sensualists and claims that scholars like Steven Feld, Paul Stoller, Constance Classon, and Nadia Seremetakis indicate a renewed “sensual turn” in recent anthropology. The use of “sensual” – rather than “sensuous” – I take from Howes. Paul Stoller, *Sensuous Scholarship* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), in contrast, uses “sensuous” to describe the experiential, sensorial nature of scholarship. There is some debate on correct usage of the two concepts, especially their interchangeability, but I found Howes’ work particularly compelling.

⁵ David Howes, *Sensual Relations*, xi.

⁶ National Park Service, U.S. Department of Interior, “Park Statistics,” *Mount Rushmore National Memorial*, <http://www.nps.gov/moru/parkmgmt/statistics.htm>.

⁷ For examples of this conflict: *Sacred Land Film Project* at <http://www.sacredland.org/index.php/black-hills/>; Ward Churchill’s *Struggle for the Land: Native North American Resistance to Genocide, Ecocide and Colonization* (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2002); or Peter Matthiessen’s *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse* (New York: Penguin Books, 1992).

⁸ Ward Churchill, *Struggle for the Land*, 115.

⁹ John McClintock, *Pioneer Days in the Black Hills: Accurate History and Facts Related by One of the Early Day Pioneers* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), 7.

¹⁰ Michael Schumacher, “Seeking the Hills: A New Exhibit Explores Mountain Travel,” *South Dakota Magazine* 23:2 (July/August 2007), 70.

¹¹ Buffalo Bill Cody formed his Wild West show in 1882, taking it to Europe in 1886, with *Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World*, an imperial pageant of Wild West characters, debuting at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair. See Robert W. Rydell and Rob Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World, 1869 – 1922* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 30 – 32.

¹² Touring the Wild West, similar to Grand Touring Europe, is a way to trace, define, and preserve American heritage. The Wild West offers Americans an origin myth that can be easily re-enacted or re-created. This, of course, stems from the continued force of the Frontier Thesis, most notably articulated by Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (New York: Penguin, 2008). Scholars John O'Conner and Peter Rollins, eds., *Hollywood's West: The American Frontier in Film, Television, and History* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2005), state the link between American identity and the Wild West succinctly: "Whether it was the forest primeval, the danger of starvation or thirst in the American desert, or the threat of wild animals or still wilder Indians, the West was a training ground for national character" (5).

¹³ Western tourist scholar Hal Rothman outlines a typology of tourism that includes heritage or cultural tourism, recreational tourism, and entertainment tourism. He argues that these three types began to overlap in the post World War II era. As a response to the ever-increasing specializations of postindustrial capitalism, sites had to market themselves to niche tourists, resulting in a melding of typologies. See *Devil's Bargain: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1998), 23 – 25. Jennifer Craik, in her essay "The Culture of Tourism," similarly argues that tourism today converges with other forms of leisure and cultural consumption. See "The Culture of Tourism," in Chris Rojek and John Urry, eds., *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 121. While I agree that tourist sites today offer activities for a myriad of tourist desires, I offer two criticisms. First, despite the general consensus that tourism today is a melding of types, typologies like those just outlined persist. My goal is to counter these with a discussion, instead, of the many layers of tourist experience, experiences often motivated simultaneously by divergent needs and desires. Second, I question the evolution of tourism presented here. Early (modern?) tourists, like their postmodern counterparts, sought destinations that mixed culture, leisure, entertainment, and so on.

¹⁴ My fieldwork took place over two weeks in June 2009 and included visits to major tourist attractions. Some of the more significant destinations of my tour were: Mount Rushmore National Memorial, Crazy Horse Memorial, Wounded Knee, Wind Cave National Park, Deadwood, and Wall Drug Store. At each site, I recorded various tourist soundscapes, from gift shops to guided tours, and collected images of each location recorded. I also sketched maps of each soundscape and noted any sound-related artifacts or signage, e.g. an audio tour of Mount Rushmore (CD) or a book about Native American music. My fieldwork yielded: 105 audio recordings; 836 photographs; and 20 soundmap sketches. I also collected 6 books, 9 audio CD's, and a box of maps and brochures. Recordings were made with the Sony PCM-D50, using both the built-in microphone and, occasionally, external binaural ones. For sound map examples, see: R. Murray Schafer, ed., "Five Village Soundscapes," *World Soundscape Project*, <http://www.sfu.ca/~truax/FVS/fvs.html>. To download my final fieldwork report, visit: <http://www.smallgauge.org/soundscapesoftheblackhills.html>.

¹⁵ Here, I offer a sort of thematic coding of audio tracks based on four themes important to either tourism in general or Wild West tourism in particular. My coding is based upon participant observation, discourse and historical analysis, and a content analysis of the tracks themselves. It is a very rough typology. My objective is to link sounds and sound performances to larger historical and cultural narratives, particularly to those at work in tourists' imagination of themselves, the region, and the nation as whole. Cowboys & Indians code any tracks with a dominant narrative of either cowboy or Indian or both. Wilderness includes recordings that hint at the natural world or surrounding wilderness. Technologies of Tourism incorporates tracks where technologies are particularly apparent, e.g. the electric buzz of museum lights. Recordings that document tourists being tourists, e.g. parents scolding children, or offer more general walking tours of sites are categorized as Tourist Performance.

¹⁶ Visit <http://www.smallgauge.org/soundscapesoftheblackhills.html> to read more about the project, to download related papers, and to listen to any of the 25 tracks that make up my preliminary tour.

¹⁷ Steven Feld, "A Rainforest Acoustemology," in *The Auditory Culture Reader*, eds. Michael Bull and Les Back (New York: Berg, 2003), 226.

¹⁸ For more, see Peter Hoffer, *Sensory Worlds in Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005); Alain Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound & Meaning in the 19th-Century French Countryside* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); and Mark Smith, ed., *Hearing History: A Reader* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2004).

¹⁹ Peter Hoffer, *Sensory Worlds in Early America*, 7.

²⁰ Peter Hoffer, *Sensory Worlds in Early America*, 8.

²¹ Visit <http://www.smallgauge.org/blackhills/html/wildbillshootout.html> to listen to a 3-minute segment from the performance. For more information about Deadwood and its many Wild Bill Hickok related attractions, visit <http://www.deadwood.org/>.

²² “History of 1876 Deadwood,” *Deadwood, South Dakota: Black Hills Territory National Historic Landmark*, accessed November 13, 2010, <http://www.deadwood.org/AboutDeadwood/History/>.

²³ Using sound performance to discuss the track offers a way to address links between context, listening, and engagement. Ola Stockfelt offers an illustrative example in his “Adequate Modes of Listening,” in Christoph Cox and Daniel Warner, eds., *Audio Culture: Readings in Modern Music* (New York: Continuum, 2004). “Adequate listening,” he claims, “occurs when one listens to music according to the exigencies of a given social situation and according to the predominant sociocultural convention of the subculture to which the music belongs” (91). Stockfelt claims that “genre-normative” and “situation-associated” modes are both crucial to the development of “adequate listening.” I want to think of his work in relation to tourist performance and to uncover how genre and context work in tourist soundscapes.

²⁴ Deadwood is a popular tourist destination and crucial to tourists’ understanding of the Wild West. It has figured prominently in popular culture since *Buffalo Bill’s Wild West* and received a recent boon by HBO’s *Deadwood* series (2004 – 2006). The entire town of Deadwood was declared a National Historic Landmark in 1961, and in 1989, gambling was legalized as a way to bring in tourist revenue. See Geoffrey Perret, “The Town that Took a Chance,” *American Heritage* 56:2 (April/May 2005), 54 – 61.

²⁵ While I have selected to code the track thematically as Cowboys & Indians, specific sounds, in conjunction with the performance registers outlined, hint at the limitations of such a coding. Slot machines are clear examples of Technologies of Tourism, while audience cheering falls under Tourist Performance. Wilderness is just beyond the No. 10’s door. Furthermore, myriad other ways to assess the track are possible: semiotic or structural; psychological or affective; and so on. R. Murray Schafer’s work offers other examples, such as the notation of archetypal and keynote sounds, signals, and soundmarks. See *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World* (Rochester, NY: Destiny Books, 1994).

²⁶ Narratives mapping the Black Hills are numerous and diverse. Examples include: HBO’s *Deadwood* (2004 – 2006); Kevin Costner’s *Dances With Wolves* (1990); Alfred Hitchcock’s *North by Northwest* (1959); and The Beatles’ *Rocky Raccoon* (1968). Of course, historical events such as the Wounded Knee Massacre and the Black Hills Gold Rush also narrate the region. But, general mythologies of the Wild West play a particularly important role. Rebecca Solnit, *River of Shadows: Edward Muybridge and the Technological Wild West* (New York: Penguin, 2003), claims early settlers viewed the American West as a place “unburdened by the past” (33). The Wild West also came to symbolize America. Marguerite Shaffer, “Seeing America First: The Search for Identity in the Tourist Landscape,” in David Wrobel and Patrick Long, eds., *Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2001), 165 – 193, writes: The West became the antithesis of the northeastern industrial core. Tourists associated it with democracy, freedom, friendliness, and community. They saw only a land of farmers, ranchers, cowboys, and friendly Indians – people who lived close to the land. Over and over again touring narratives idealized the West as the “true” America in opposition to the overly civilized, urban East (175). For more examples, download “Narrating the Hills: Linking History, Memory, and Imagination in Black Hills Tourism” here: <http://www.smallgauge.org/soundscapesoftheblackhills.html#>.

²⁷ The cowboy is, thus, imagined in part through sound. These include the general soundscapes of places where cowboys are encountered (saloons, rodeos, deserts) as well as specific sounds either made by cowboys (spurs, gunshots, Clint Eastwood-like speech) or found in their proximity (horses, cowbells, Indian chants). Music plays its part as well. Acoustic guitars, banjos, harmonicas – all signal the cowboy. For more on the mythical cowboy, see Paul Carlson, *The Cowboy Way: An Exploration of History And Culture* (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 2006). Or, watch any Sergei Leone film.

²⁸ For examples of the banjo's many connotations, see Dennis Hall and Susan Hall, *American Icons: An Encyclopedia of the People, Places, and Things that Have Shaped Our Culture, Volume 1* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing, 2006).

²⁹ For an elaboration of the varied meanings and uses of the voice, see Michel Chion, *The Voice in Cinema* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999) or Roland Barthes, *The Grain of the Voice: Interviews 1962 – 1980* (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 2009).

³⁰ I borrow *imagineering* from The Walt Disney Company. The Disney Company has a branch dedicated to “experiential storytelling” through “creativity and innovative technological advancements.” Walt Disney Imagineering is responsible for the creation of Disney resorts, theme parks, cruise ships, and even new media projects. Their website (http://corporate.disney.go.com/careers/who_imagineering.html) explains: “Walt Disney Imagineering is the master planning, creative development, design, engineering, production, project management, and research and development arm of The Walt Disney Company and its affiliates.” Because the term blends imagination and engineering, it seems particularly suited to describing the complexity of popular imagination at work in tourism.

³¹ Nelson Graburn defines tourism as “a special form of play involving travel” and as a “nonordinary state wherein marvelous things can happen” (in Marguerite Shafer, *Seeing American First*, 177). Also important is the playfulness inherent to the vacation. Shafer writes: “By going on vacation, ‘vacating’ the workaday routines, tourists move beyond both the physical and imaginary boundaries of home and work that shaped and defined their identities” (177). The playfulness of vacating routine has important consequences for listening, hearing (all sensing really), and performance in tourist contexts

³² Alain Corbin's *Village Bells* offers an excellent illustration of the political meanings of sounds. Because the village bell was an important marker of time and space, its use was often hotly debated. He writes: “In the nineteenth century, at least in the countryside, bell ringing defined a space within which only fragmented, discontinuous noises were heard, none of which could really vie with the bell tower” (119). Corbin's work reveals that the ringing of bells often signified deeper power relations and conflicts between the religious and secular life of a community. Another example comes from Jacques Attali's “Noise and Politics,” in *Audio Culture*, eds. Christoph Cox and Daniel Warner (New York: Continuum, 2004). Attali claims that noise is “a source of purpose and power” and as such is able to reveal “relations among men” (7). He writes: “All music, any organization of sounds is then a tool for the creation or consolidation of a community, of a totality. It is what links a power center to its subjects, and thus, more generally, it is an attribute of power in all its forms” (7).

³³ The quiet Indian is, of course, the noisy cowboy's counterpart and sidekick. Like Tonto and the Lone Ranger, the two are inseparable. There are, of course, noisy Indians, but these are the “savages” relegated to a distant, uncivilized past. The cowboy has quieted the Indian, thus making the Wild West a little less wild. As the Lone Ranger says: “Tonto, from this day on I am going to devote my life to establishing law and order, to make the West a decent place to live” (81). See Lawrence, “The Lone Ranger: Adult Legacies of Juvenile Fiction,” in John O'Conner and Peter Rollins, eds., *Hollywood's West: The American Frontier in Film, Television, and History*, 81 – 96. The tourist soundscapes I documented consistently construct the Indian as the cowboy's quiet counterpart. For an excellent example, listen to *Tatanka* here:

<http://www.smallgauge.org/blackhills/html/tatanka.html>. The track was recorded at Kevin Costner's museum *Tatanka: Story of the Bison* and clearly illustrates two key concepts at work in tourist representations of Native Americans: the construction of the Indian as unchanging and eternally past (a form of the “ethnographic present” discussed by anthropologists) and the positioning of the cowboy-tourist as nostalgically longing for this lost past (what Renato Rosaldo calls “imperialist nostalgia.” See Renato Rosaldo, “Imperialist Nostalgia,” *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989), 107 – 122, and Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

³⁴ Wild West tourism, like the pilgrimage to Washington, D.C., discussed by Lauren Berlant in her essay “Theory of Infantile Citizenship,” in *The Queen of American Goes to Washington City: Essays on Sex and Citizenship* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), offers “a place of national mediation” (25). For Berlant, the Washington tour is both pedagogy and patriotic performance; it teaches American-ness through play. She writes: “To live fully both the ordinariness and sublimity of national identity, one must be capable not just of imagining, but of managing being American” (25). An important aspect of this management includes the division of citizens into infant and adult (Berlant calls this “the theory of infantile citizenship”), those who know how to “read the codes” and those who don't (28). The infantile citizen, the

one not yet versed in American code, is innocent, ideal, and patriotic. The adult citizen is, conversely, skeptical while still able to admire the infant's innocence. This citizenship lesson is further complicated in Wild West tourism, where the visitor is constructed as the "adult" cowboy caring for the "infantile" Indian. Such a construction has very real consequences for how Native Americans living in nearby reservations are understood, engaged, and so on.

³⁵ James Clifford writes in *Routes*: "Travel,' as I use it, is an inclusive term embracing a range of more or less voluntarist practices of leaving 'home' to go to some 'other' place. The displacement takes place for the purpose of gain – material, spiritual, scientific. It involves obtaining knowledge and/or having an 'experience' (exciting, edifying, pleasurable, estranging, broadening)" (66). It is such uses of experience that I wish to more fully unpack, while also countering scholarly emphasis on the tourist gaze. See Ellen Strain, *Public Places, Private Journeys: Ethnography, Entertainment, and the Tourist Gaze* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003) and John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2002).

³⁶ For more about Woody's Wild West Old Time Photos, visit: <http://www.woodyswildwest.com/>. Woody's Wild West is located just a few doors down from Deadwood's No. 10 Saloon. The studio includes a gallery of old time photos, three full floors of possible scenes (all scenes include actual props, like pianos, a Ford Model-T, shotguns, etc.), and two dressing rooms complete with costume assistants. Curiously, during our visit, a young girl from Jamaica on a summer internship at the studio dressed us.

³⁷ Peter Hoffer, *Sensory Worlds in Early America*, 7 – 8.

³⁸ Elizabeth Edwards offers an important argument about the sensorial and sonic aspects of photographs in her article "Photographs and the Sound of History," *Visual Anthropology Review* 21:1/2 (Spring/Fall 2005), 27 – 46. She writes: They (photographs) are socially salient objects and tactile, sensorially engaged objects that exist in time and space and thus in social and cultural experience. As such, they operate not only at a visual level but become absorbed into other ways of telling history. Photographs become not simply visual history but crucially, oral history, linked to sound, gesture and relationships (27). I want, however, to be careful not to replace the eye with the ear. Following Veit Erlmann, "But What of the Ethnographic Ear?" in *Hearing Cultures: Essays on Sound, Listening and Modernity* (New York: Berg, 2004), 1 – 20, I offer, instead, a commingling of the senses and emphasize sound only because of its absence in current scholarly work on tourism.