

Anthropology of Nostalgia:

Primitivism and the Antimodern

Vision in the American

Southwest, 1880-1930

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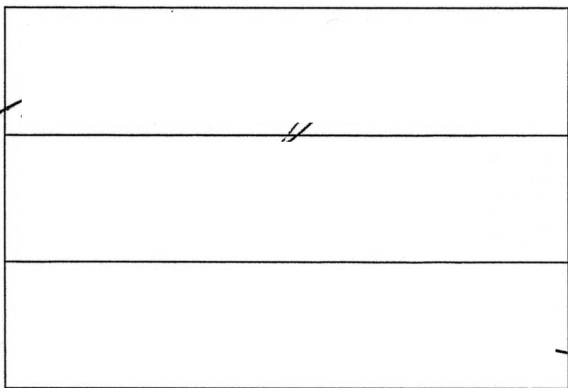


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Introduction



SUN, SILENCE, AND ADOBE.

Frontispiece to Charles F. Lummis,
The Land of Poco Tiempo [first
published 1893].

Sun, silence, and adobe—that is New Mexico in three words.

—Charles F. Lummis, 1893¹

It is the Anglo convert to adobe who has made of adobe-living a philosophy and a song.

—Dorothy Pillsbury, 1948²

Zoo, garden, arcade—three places emblematic of European society’s pleasure in and subjugation of animal and plant nature, of the texture of civilized life in a world created by Industry and Progress. This triad, it seems, would stand in opposition to Lummis’ oft-repeated formula of “sun, silence, and adobe,” and the vision of stillness in the Southwestern hinterland that it evokes. Indeed, few other regions of the United States have so consistently nurtured the cult of the primitive and the peasant that inheres in Lummis’ simple paean to adobe. Indian and Hispano both build from adobe; and it, being earth, absorbs these populations back into the land, wedding artisanal, agrarian, and pastoral lives into an integrated vision of ethnicity and region, a spirit of the desert and of the sky. Here only, the modernist regional esthete would argue, could the authentic American pastoral be found: “there is that genuineness of unfettered simplicity; the closeness to elemental realities in peasant life, which only in New Mexico, of all states, is indigenous.”³ Hence the modernist Southwest was manifestly not a place of Victorian zoos, picturesque gardens, or Parisian shopping arcades. And yet, I would like to argue, the evanescent afterimages of these places—the ways of being and relating that they nurtured and expressed—appear before and behind the crystalline pictures of snow-blanketed desert and azure sky, the lines of Pueblo dancers, the Hispano santero with his wood and his knife, distorting and fragmenting any purely localist vision of Southwestern regionalism. The scent of piñon smoke mingled in the nose of the newly-arrived traveler with smog from factories in New York, Chicago, or Boston, and smelled all the more pungent because of this mixture.

Dream-images of antiquity and visions of travel prevail in the regional literature. Much as young Marcel, drifting by degrees into sleep over the first seventy pages of Proust’s famous

novel, inaugurates a series of shifting visions that displace his Paris bedroom into rural Combray with the rumble and whistle of trains, travelers to the Southwest inaugurated their hinterland experience aboard Pullmans, richly-furnished Victorian salons on wheels that brought the urban interior to the rural desert along the railway's "metropolitan corridor."⁴ Descriptions of the land they arrived in partake of Marcel's sleeping transfusion of time and space, where visions of the rural and of an antique past furnish the walls of the travelling urbanite's imagination. Having christened New Mexico the land of "sun, silence, and adobe," Lummis notes that the Spanish Conquest "wrested this bare, brown land to the world; and having wrested it, went to sleep," leaving it in a perennial dream of conquistadors on chargers confronting defiant Indians. Or, as memories of an aunt's magic lantern move Marcel's bedroom to an antique land of Merovingian knights and maidens, the Southwestern traveler's imagination may translate the adobe streets of Santa Fe across an ocean to continental Spain:

Softly the convent-bells are ringing a gracious welcome to the worn-out traveler. The narrow streets are scarcely wide enough for two wagons to pass. The mud walls are high and dark. We reach the open Plaza. Long one-story adobe houses front it on every side. And this is the historic city! Older than our government, older than the Spanish Conquest, it looks older than the hills surrounding it, and worn-out besides. "*El [sic] Fonda!*" shouts the driver, as we stop before the hotel. A voice, foreign yet familiar, gayly answers: "*Ah! Senora, a los pìeds[sic] de usted.*" At last, at last, I am not of this time nor of this continent; but away, away across the sea, in the land of dreams and visions, "renowned, romantic Spain."⁵

Here, as elsewhere, soon after an account of the weary traveler's approach comes a moment of epiphany and the distance, antiquity, and vitality of the Southwest becomes feelingly present. Dream becomes reality, or reality becomes the dream. At such a moment Marcel, finally at the threshold of sleep, remembers the epiphany of Combray—and the idealized rural past it represents for him—springing into being at the taste of a madeleine dipped in tea. In the Southwest the epiphany might be, as above, the words of a Hispano footman, the smell of sage or piñon smoke, a vision of the land itself:

I looked up at the hills that rose on either side of me. They were dotted with dark, deep, green cedars and the pinkish earth showed between. Along the canyon the branches of cottonwood trees were a film of gray lace, tinged with lavender: the most wintry trees I had ever seen.... “Holy! Holy! Holy!” I exclaimed to myself. “Lord God Almighty!” I felt a sudden recognition of the reality of natural life that was so strong and so unfamiliar that it made me feel unreal. The river moved slowly here, profound and silent.... Surely no one had ever been able to dominate and overcome this country where life flowed unhampered in wave upon wave of happiness and delight in being.⁶

In the epiphany’s dream-world become reality, a rural region’s uncivilized vitality becomes ineffably present, offering access to a forgotten past—whether personal, in the form of childhood memories—or collective, in medieval visions, the ruins of lost civilizations, the lifeways of indigenous populations. To Marcel, rural Combray appears as in a “primitive painting,” its church like a shepherdess gathering “the woolly gray backs of its huddled houses” within the medieval wall.⁷ Similarly, in Southwestern literature after Lummis, Taos Pueblo recurrently appears in the guise of an Egyptian pyramid, Anasazi ruins in the verbal garb of Greek and Roman monuments.

Inevitably, the primal past disclosed by a traveler’s epiphany in rural lands invites comparison with their urban and modern opposite, usually to the latter’s detriment. Hearing a Pueblo Indian chant whose “precision and perfection meant centuries of continuity” impels one traveler to exclaim:

Oh, fellow mortals out there in the world! Until you learn how to join together once more, to fuse your sorrowful and lonely hearts in some new communion, you can never make true music. The sounds you produce will continue to be but the agonized expression, called “modern,” of separate and unshared life, the wistful, sorrowing complaint of individualism...⁸

Or, rather than denigrating modernity and progress and celebrating the felt continuity of the primitive, the regional epiphany may contrast rural and urban landscapes:

And New York! Why, when I remembered that clamor and movement out here beside this river, listening to the inner sound of these mountains and this flow, the rumble of New York came back to me like the impotent and despairing protest of a race that has gone wrong and is caught in a trap.⁹

These Southwestern regional dreams, like Marcel’s sleeping revelation of Combray, focus less on the individuating specifics of geography, history, or culture than on the felt sensation of travelling through it. In both cases, a sense of place is born by moving through the space that divides rural from urban, past from modern, and primitive from civilized, drawing

illusory lines across categories inherited from European locales far distant from the American Southwest. The result was a regional identity centered around “primitive” Indian and Hispano populations absorbed into a “rural” desert landscape, both of which appeared premodern or “undeveloped.” There is no historical, cultural, geological, or ecological Southwest of any unity; but there is an imaginary Southwest that exhibits a considerable unity: the one created by modernist travelers and expatriates in the years between roughly 1880 and 1930.¹⁰ It is a land made of visions minted elsewhere and projected—as Marcel’s dream projects Combray onto the walls of his bedroom—onto its desert and sky.

The ethnic, political, and economic investments of the *émigrés* and travelers who furnished the room of the Southwest with a regional mythology are the primary interest of this work. Following modernist realism’s time-honored tradition of eliding the observer, their own involvement in creating the object of their attentions is often omitted from the literature, usually unintentionally. The railway and tourist industries that bore *émigrés* and travelers to and from the region, usually treated as parasitic attachments to the more-vital body of Southwestern culture, here prove of central importance. The picture that emerges is strongly tinted by the industrial involvement and anti-industrial disgust of the age’s middle class workers: managers, typists, retail clerks, and their like. Modernism and antimodernism paradoxically but tellingly often refer to the same phenomenon: economically, increasing involvement in the economy of white-collar industrialism and Gilded Age abundance; and esthetically, an investment in the anti-industrial as exemplified by primitivism, the gothic and neoclassical, and artisanal or agrarian modes of production.¹¹ Southwestern regionalism, like Marcel’s dream-world at Combray, incorporated this modernist ambivalence by rejecting the industrial esthetically while acknowledging that only involvement in industrial economies produced the leisure resources necessary to dream of their opposite. Manipulating imaginary geographies (i.e. producing regionalism) provided a way to ease the dissonance involved in such a predicament: portraying urban areas as industrial and rural

ones as preindustrial provided separate arenas for the economic and the esthetic investments of modernism. One had only to develop a tourist infrastructure to convey consumers from the economic urban sphere to the esthetic rural sphere and provide for their comfort in the hinterland. It was hard, however, to efface the uncanny surfeit of industrialism visible in the apparatus of this Southwestern culture industry as it went about the business of producing primitiveness for urban markets, spread as it was through the very region it presented as undeveloped.

Lummis' "sun, silence, and adobe" became a catchphrase identifying the Southwest as a picturesque desert hinterland inhabited by Indians and Hispanos living, as they had for centuries, in rough adobe houses and following traditional folkways. It was rural, primitive, and natural: a vision from the past. The technologies that emerged to produce and manage the distinctions between rural and urban, primitive and modern, and natural and cultural in the Southwest provide this essay's point of entry into the region's history. Examining these technologies through the metaphorical lenses of the zoo (prototype of the living exhibit), the garden (of nature's articulation with the urban) and the arcade (of dream-formation through consumption) will bring to the fore the flexible connections that tie local to global but often remain invisible in regional literature. In the picture that emerges, indigenous populations and rural areas become as central to the activities and investments of modernism as urban Western ones, forcing us to reevaluate the received opinion that modernization spreads out from metropolitan and industrial areas like ripples in a pond rather than appearing dispersedly, in a multitude of guises.

While this approach should not replace existing narratives of the Southwest focused on Erna Fergusson's "pageant of three peoples" (Indian, Hispanic, Anglo) it hopes to supplement and reorient the literature by exposing the modernist biases that made Southwestern regionalism a necessary outgrowth of indigenous traditions and local history, instead emphasizing cross-cultural representation and appropriation and dispersed networks of influence and power. What emerges, however, is not a modernist manifestation of globalization, but rather a global modernism: a

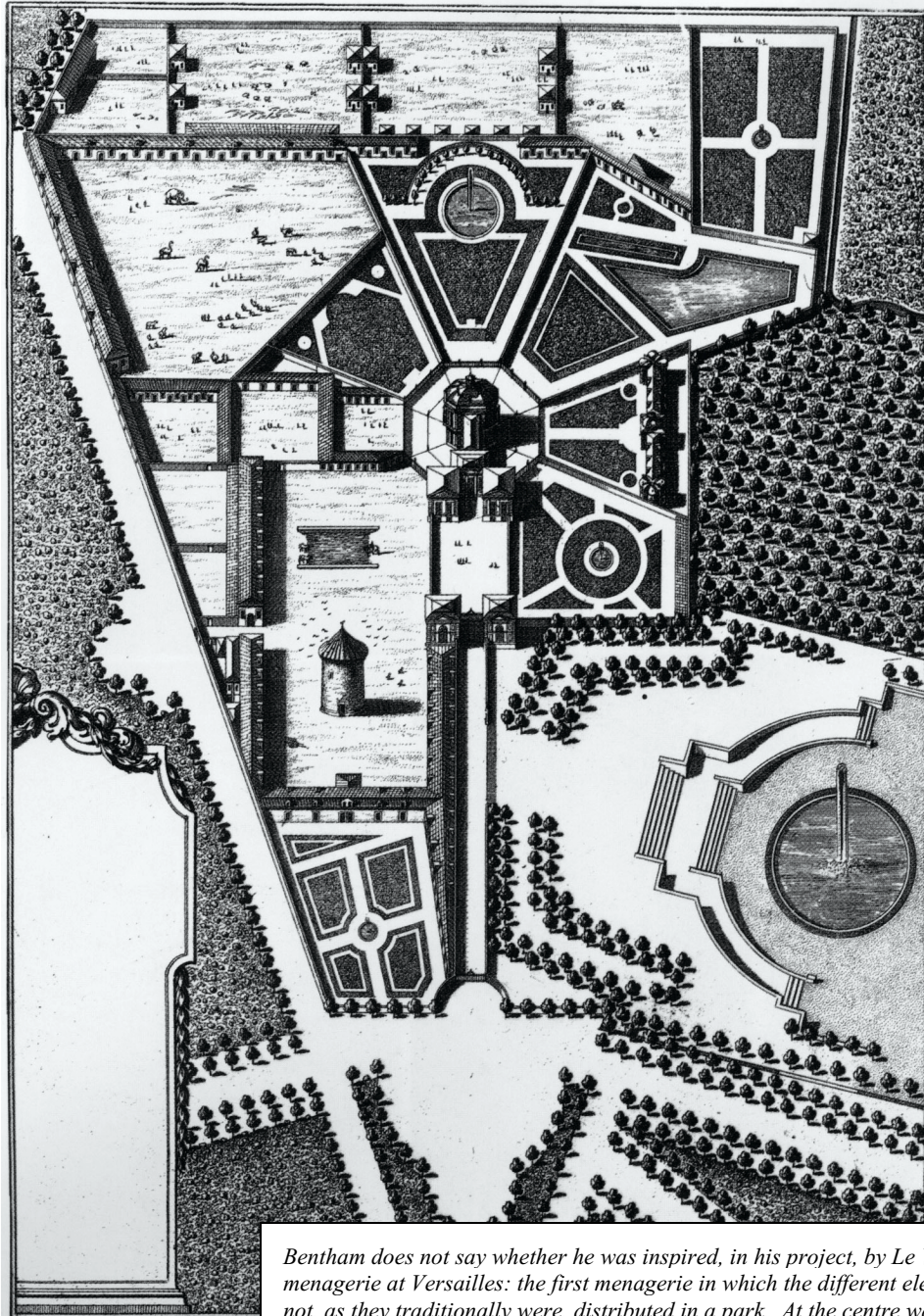
world in which Marcel Proust and a Southwestern writer may create resonant regional dreams not because of direct contact between France and New Mexico but because both authors were influenced by the British anti-industrial philosophy of John Ruskin, or come from the bourgeois middle-class that Walter Benjamin associated so closely with phantasmic dreams of antiquity.

“After the fashion of the master-builders and glass-painters of Gothic days,” Marcel recalls, his magic lantern “substituted for the opaqueness of my walls an impalpable iridescence, supernatural phenomena of many colours, in which legends were depicted as on a shifting and transitory window.”¹² In this same window, he later dreams he sees the reflection of a Combray sunset: dreams of the rural furnish the walls of the urban. Like Benjamin’s archetypal private individual, “in the interior, he brings together remote locales and memories of the past. His living room is a box in the theater of the world.”¹³ Marcel’s dreamlike telescoping of space is typical of the shifts in geography that cut across my metaphorical examination of the Southwest as a zoo, a garden, and an arcade. A stack of postcards condenses, in seriatim fashion, picturesque views from an imaginary Grand Tour through the Southwest; collections of Indian artifacts lead into a phantasmic dream-world apart from the exigencies of industrial life; consumer arcades unfold themselves along the railways’ iron tracks, circulating consumers among a geography of commodities; the boundaries and cells of a living ethnographic exhibit dissolve and reconstitute themselves as a typology of anthropological knowledge. Indeed, the Southwest appears at first so distinctly unlike a zoo, garden, or arcade in part because it so consistently reorganizes the geographies of these institutions while retaining the ethnic, political, and esthetic values that typify each. Hence, the management and reconfiguration of space is a major theme in each of this essay’s sections.

It will already be evident that the analytic method of this essay is unusual, based on juxtaposition and contrast sensitively explored rather than the deceptive logic of a geometrical proof, which inevitably fails faced with the complexity of the real world and real events. Where a

more traditional approach might attempt, armed with a universe of historical minutiae, to chart the movement of the European zoo, garden, and arcade across the Atlantic and their subsequent influence on the American Southwest (in itself a laughable proposition), I have chosen a more open and flexible—one might say, literary—structure. Throughout I have conceived of my task as that of a sailor who, by carefully monitoring the winds of history and adjusting the tension on his three metaphorical sails, seeks to move forward through deceptive waters. I can only hope that, if I have done my task well and positioned my craft properly against the wind, its sails will fill with a multitude of unspoken facts and resonances.

Zoo



Bentham does not say whether he was inspired, in his project, by Le Vaux's menagerie at Versailles: the first menagerie in which the different elements are not, as they traditionally were, distributed in a park. At the centre was an octagonal pavilion which, on the first floor, consisted of only a single room, the king's salon; on every side large windows looked out onto seven cages (the eighth side was reserved for the entrance), containing different species of animals.

—Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*¹⁴

Prominent among the spectacles that regaled the some 27,000,000 visitors to the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago were a number of "ethnic villages" housing over 3,000 "primitives" from 48 nations or colonies worldwide.¹⁶ The atmosphere of the Midway Pleasance was a mixture of carnival chaos and ethnological order. On the one hand, one might visit a Dahomey village replete with "Cannibal men and their Amazon wives,"¹⁷ or the famous "Streets of Cairo" where Fahreda Mahzar performed *danses du ventre*, described by Frank Hamilton Cushing as "strange coarsely sensuous contortionate dances with head carried level, [and] belly and hips extraordinarily jerked about."¹⁸ On the other hand, at the Bureau of Indian

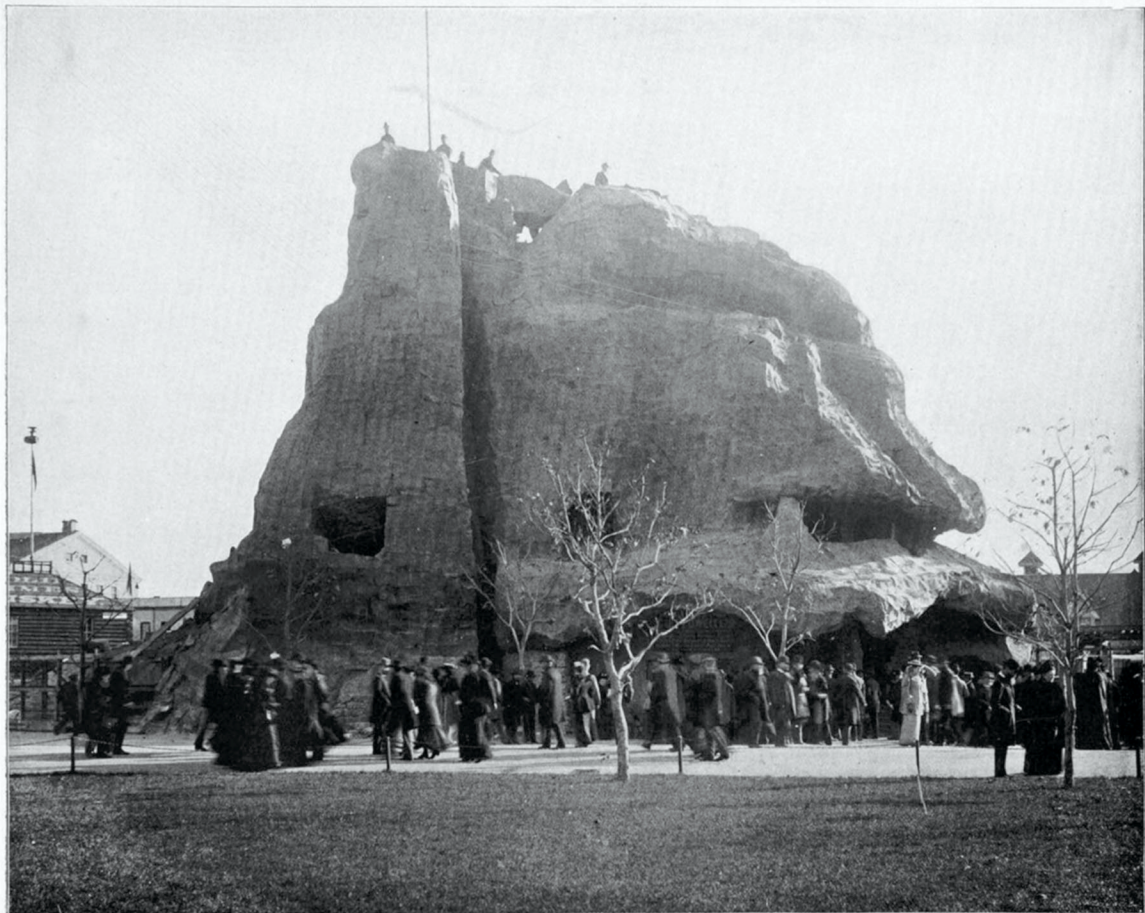


Figure 1. Cliff Dweller Exhibit at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition.¹⁵

Affairs' ethnographic display one could ogle Here, Cree, Haida, Kwakiutl, Iroquois, Sioux, Apaches, Navajos, Coahuillas, Papagos, and Yaquis living in "traditional" houses and engaged in various "traditional" crafts.¹⁹ Cushing's own Cliff Dweller exhibit (Figure 1), a seventy-foot-tall cement replica of Battle Rock Mountain in Colorado populated by Laguna Pueblo Indians, capitalized on rising national interest in Southwestern anthropology to net \$83,766 total in concessionary fees—more than any other ethnographic exhibit at the exposition.²⁰

One justly influential strand of postmodern scholarship on issues of culture and ethnicity would see in these living displays—particularly the "Streets of Cairo," its popularity attested by \$790,000 in profits—a continuation of that strand of Western exhibitionary art that orientalizes, sexualizes or emasculates, and ultimately silences members of foreign cultures.²¹ The same principle of emasculation or sexualization held for inhabitants of the ethnographic villages, who demonstrated passive and quotidian tasks such as weaving, pottery-making, and silversmithing; interaction between the Exposition's visitors and the Indians was discouraged except as necessary to transact the sale of "curios." The image that obtained was of a domesticated, weak (because "vanishing"), and silent or unknowable Indian. This orientalizing mode contrasted visibly to the more strident imperialism of Buffalo Bill's Wild West and the Congress of Rough Riders of the World, a group of some five hundred "Blackfeet," "Comanches," and "Pawnees" (really Oglala Sioux), and some assorted cowboys and United States soldiers who staged a ritual *mêlée* outside the fairgrounds twice daily. The Plains Indians, predictably, always lost.²²

A reading that satisfies itself with noting images of oriental distance or savage insurrection, while it may correctly identify the imperial attitudes of the exhibition's organizers, suffers from some shortcomings, however. In assuming that images of American Indians promulgated by the World's Columbian Exposition are bearers of determinate meaning, it ignores the possibility that visitors to the Exposition could read the exhibits in a radically different and even subversive fashion. Moreover, it inscribes an insuperable racialist divide between the

Exhibition's producers and visitors on the one hand and the inhabitants of the ethnic villages on the other. If one subscribes to the received Western notion of ethnicity as a combination of genetic inheritance and cultural upbringing, Indians and white visitors arrived at the World's Columbian Exposition fixed and incommensurable, entities whose only point of cultural contact was contestation over the details of representation—a conflict in which the Indian was always forced to default. A countervailing critical approach, discarding the notion of genetic and behavioral inheritance as the markers of ethnic authenticity, might instead identify the 1893 Exposition as a site for the mutual appropriation of cultural signs and the creation of hybrid forms, though in a charged climate of political and economic inequality and coercion. Indeed, the World's Columbian Exposition had a strong acculturating effect on the Indians who lived in the “ethnographic villages,” and marked the diffusion of a form of capitalism that trades in the consumption of ethnicity into several Indian groups, thus paving the way for cultural tourism in the modernist era.²³ Interestingly, however, there is little evidence of cultural diffusion in the opposite direction, outward from the living exhibit into the everyday lives of Exposition visitors, a fact that should caution us against adopting an interpretive framework that invests solely in either orientalism or in cultural hybridity. On examination, one finds that the Exposition's rhetoric of progress and national chauvinism required it to manage Indianness as an intellectual category to establish regional or national prerogatives while remaining aloof in the presence of Indian cultures themselves. Like other institutions that formed during the late nineteenth-century such as the museum and research university, it managed a desire to acquire and appropriate with one to distance and order—in an ethnic realm, controlling hybridity through orientalism.

Don Fowler has compared the Exposition's displays of “primitive” humanity to another 19th-century institution, dubbing them “ethnographic zoos.”²⁴ He quickly abandons the metaphor, but it is worth developing here since the two share more than a formal similarity, and the intellectual contrasts offered by the zoo speak pointedly to concerns of how visitors to

ethnographic villages conceived of Indianness. Zoos operate on a principle of ordered heterogeneity and controlled contrast. Marshalling an array of animals that would never normally live together, they order and divide a habitable space according to notions of evolutionary similarity—reptiles here, birds there, mammals elsewhere—or geographical proximity—European forest, African savanna, tropical jungle, arctic tundra. Coordinating pathways designed to grant visitors visual access to each animal place opposites in contact: animal and human, nature and culture, primitive and advanced. In the next section, I will examine the implications of replacing animal primitives with human ones, and the way in which World's Expositions attempted to manage ethnicity in these "ethnographic zoos."

Through the course of this chapter, I will follow the "ethnographic zoo" through two permutations, examining in turn its relationship to American industrialism and trade and then to social critiques of the modern era and the formation of regional identities and hybrid culture in the American Southwest. Stepping into a zoological garden is, in common parlance, entering a more "natural" and "primitive" space, though one whose contrasts are created and managed in opposition to urban, industrial society. As I will discuss, just as there is a clear line of development from the enclosed and regulated botanical garden to the Southwest's "unchanged," "primitive," and "natural" national parks and wilderness areas, there is a clear line of development from the enclosed and regulated ethnographic zoo of the World's Columbian Exposition to the Southwest of the early twentieth century, whose native inhabitants were seen as authentic, primitive, and natural in comparison with the dissipated society of the urban East Coast.

Such developments were by no means necessary, however; and in fact, the history of Southwestern identity is unique in its attempt to inscribe such categories universally—to make primitiveness an inherent quality of its landscape, to celebrate its native population as authentic and unchanged and so introduce Indianness as a commodity on the marketplace of identities for

immigrants to the Southwest to peruse. As I will discuss, rather than perpetuating the primitivist trope that imagines opening the zoo's gates to free nature from the strictures of civilization, the modernist Southwest attempted to inhabit its own version of the ethnographic zoo, to construct the categories that define a primitive Eden and then appropriate them either through purchase or emulation, to "go native."

Several steps lie between the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893 and the seeming ethnic fluidity of the modernist Southwest; therefore I will begin by first examining the management of ethnicity at the great Chicago Fair.

Disciplinary Ethnicity at the World's Columbian Exposition

The four-hundredth anniversary of Columbus's historic journey had sparked considerable excitement in both Spain and the United States, particularly in the rough-and-tumble streets of Chicago, a city quite conscious of its place as the pinnacle of American industrialism and trade and anxious to publish its accomplishments globally.²⁵ Hosting a World's Exposition was both an occasion to declare that the United States, as inheritor of Columbus's legacy, stood shoulder-to-shoulder with the European colonial powers and an opportunity to legitimize and celebrate those characteristics of Chicago that many felt rendered it inferior on a national scale to New York. Chicago was "loud, lawless, unlovely, ill-smelling, new; an overgrown gawk of a village,"²⁶ but as the primary conduit for goods between Eastern and Western United States, it was the embodiment of 19th-century innovations in manufacturing and transportation—"progress" in popular parlance. Ideologically, Chicago mediated between a number of contemporary categories: the natural resources and wonders of the West and the cultural establishment of the East; the primitive Indian and the civilized White man; self-created identity (the Chicago fire was then only twenty years gone) and the heritable identity of the Colonies. Hence, the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 found Chicago simultaneously celebrating the "primitive,"

“natural,” and “indigenous,” while also subordinating these to European concepts of “civilization,” all though the emancipatory theme of “progress.”

Previous World’s Fairs and Expositions had, of course, also employed a rhetoric of technological advance and innovation—so much so that it was rarely possible to describe a fair except in terms of its improvements in size, magnificence, and scope of influence upon previous fairs.²⁷ However, two aspects of the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago were novel: the extent to which it made exhibition a matter of establishing regional (rather than national) identities and prerogatives, and the extent to which it involved academics and the study of anthropology in its rhetoric of progress. Notions about nature, savagery, and regional identity developed at the World’s Columbian Exposition had a direct effect on the development of American anthropology and on images of that region of the United States to which anthropology devoted its most concerted efforts in the study of native culture, the Southwest. Chicago itself elaborated the Exposition’s theme of the vanishing savage—the American Indian as perpetually on the brink of extinction²⁸—to its logical conclusion, effacing any trace of the Potawatomis who previously inhabited Lake Michigan’s shoreline from its civic identity. The Southwest, however, instead elaborated the theme of the noble savage, cultivating and then appropriating aspects of American Indian culture publicly exhibited at the World’s Columbian Exposition. Both were, in the end, racist and imperialist enterprises, though with radically different outcomes.

Academic anthropology became involved in the World’s Columbian Exposition under the auspices of Frederic Ward Putnam, whose position as curator of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard only provided a partial salary—potentially an extra incentive to participate in popular enterprises such as a world’s fair.²⁹ He hired Franz Boas, then at Clark University, as his assistant and commenced work on the 161,000-square-foot anthropology building at the Exposition. Costs for the building and collections totaled almost \$220,000; the exhibits thus represented a vote of considerable confidence in the populace’s

interest in ethnographic images on behalf of the Exposition funders (primarily governmental.) Ethnographic exhibits were scattered around the periphery of the exhibition space; five general areas are of concern here. First, the anthropology building contained an evolutionary hodgepodge of material culture from around the world, curated by Boas. Outside the anthropology building but still under Putnam's aegis was the Indian Village, where Cree, Haida, Kwakiutl, Iroquois, Sioux, Apaches, Navajos, Coahuillas, Papagos, and Yaquis lived in their "traditional" shelters and exhibited native crafts and lifestyles thought to correspond to an ethnographic present previous to European contact. Further inward stood the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Indian School, which exhibited natives being "civilized," or normalized to American cultural ideals; further outward stood Cushing's Cliff Dweller mountain. These four exhibits fell under Putnam's aegis, though he was hard put to control the carnival atmosphere of the Midway. Elsewhere, the Smithsonian Institution's exhibit arranged artifacts according to culture-areas indicated on a linguistic map by John Wesley Powell;³⁰ finally, Buffalo Bill's Wild West and the Congress of Rough Riders of the World performed the daily Indian rout in a nearby arena.³¹

The location and organization of these exhibits is worth examining more closely. I have noted the Exhibition's desire to appropriate Indianness in the interests of national chauvinism and to purchase historical authenticity, and Chicago's desire as a borderland to both celebrate and contain the uncouth, the primitive and natural. The Exhibition's arrangement provides a clue to how it coordinated this celebratory appropriation of Indianness to the overriding rhetoric of progress. As Dan Fogelson notes:

Ideas of civilizational progress are implicit in the spatial arrangements of world's fairs. The central core of most fairs was heavy industry, marvels of modern science, commercial products, fine art, and the arts of refinement. Generally outside the central core were ethnic displays and performances of popular arts by colorfully dressed peasants and national minorities. At the extreme periphery were the exotic primitives and their supposed affines, the freaks and atavistic throwbacks, who constituted not the main show but the sideshow.³²

The exhibits listed above generally conform to such a hierarchy. The violent savagery of the Plains Indian was located outside the fairgrounds; the Cliff Dweller exhibit, ethnological

village, and anthropology building, slightly farther in; the Indian School—containing half-enculturated Indians—still farther in. None were located in the aptly-named “White City,” the exemplar of civilization and technological progress found at the center of the Exhibition. The journey inwards took one from the primitive past along a path of discontinuous but inevitable progress to the civilized present. The fair, the United States, and Chicago were thus able to embrace an Indian past and Indian identity without adopting any specifics of Indian culture.

More than a hierarchical ordering of center and periphery, present and past, was present in the fair’s arrangement, however. Despite the rhetoric of “progress” and “vanishing savages,” visitors were nevertheless confronted with the spectacle of living, breathing Indians whose ethnicity needed management so as not to encroach on the prerogatives of expansionist American society. One tactic noted previously was to exhibit the Indian in a narrative frame that made defeat inevitable, as in the case the Buffalo Bill’s Wild West shows. Another tactic employed in the “ethnographic zoo” area of the Exposition marshaled what might be called “disciplinary ethnicity” to maintain and control the Indians’ primitiveness and authenticity.

The zoo shares with other public institutions of its era such as the hospital and the school a precise management of space. Its surrounding walls enclose, explicitly separating the inhabitants from the world outside; its interior is partitioned into a number of regions or cells to allow easy control of the animals; each cell is adapted to specific functional requirements determined by the ecology it attempts to model; moreover, the cells often fall into a hierarchical arrangement that organizes the creatures within according to progress along an evolutionary line whose apex is occupied by the primates.³³ Most importantly, all of a zoo’s cells are arranged such that the visitor has visual access to the inhabitants on as close to a continual basis as possible. Such is the organization of space, however, that although zoos bring into contact a number of radical opposites—human and animal, civilized and primitive, cultural and natural—any mixing of categories is rendered impossible. “Jumping the fence,” so to speak,

whether from one animal's cage to another's or from the visitors' pathways to the cages or vice versa, is the zoo's ultimate taboo and is rightly regarded as an invitation to chaos.

Here, however, the analogy between the zoo and other nineteenth-century disciplinary institutions ends, for animals do not reform their behavior as humans do when subjected to hierarchical observation and normalizing judgment. Instead they must be retained in their cells physically by walls or fences. Thus, the disciplinary function performed by the prison warden, the hospital nurse, or the schoolteacher as he or she surveys the space does not apply; though it was designed specifically for her or him, the visitor to a zoo is only a spectator, not a participant. In an "ethnographic zoo" such as the Indian Village in the World's Columbian Exposition, however, these caveats do not hold. As in a regular zoo the space of the Indian Village is bounded, partitioned into spaces for each ethnic group, and identified with their geographic point of origin or tribal affiliation. In this case, the label is more important to Exposition visitors than the ethnic reality, as in the case of the Laguna Gloria Indians made to stand in for Anasazi cliff-dwellers in Cushing's exhibit. Where they are correctly identified, the trope of the vanishing savage reinforces the functional individuation of that exhibit's cell, for what otherwise would be a man or woman capable of bestowing his or her cultural upbringing on any number of children instead appears garbed in the aura of uniqueness associated with the last members of a dying race.

The hierarchical arrangement of cells in the Exposition's "ethnographic zoo" expanded considerably on that of a normal zoo. Within the bounds of the anthropology exhibits, two organizational paradigms vied for primacy. As mentioned above, the anthropology building arranged items of material culture in a presumed evolutionary sequence while the Smithsonian Institution's exhibits attempted to organize by culture-area. Where live Indians were exhibited, the group's degree of progress along an imaginary line from utter savagery to European civilization determined their cell's position in the hierarchy of the exhibits:

These 'living exhibits' were carefully interpreted to show the Indians 'in transition'—from the 'wild' savages of the very recent past (the incident at Wounded Knee had occurred only three years earlier) through the 'semicivilized' groups and on to those who, when fully assimilated, would take their 'proper place' in American society—as trained lower-class workers.³⁴

The range of activities the natives were encouraged to pursue in the ethnological village—constrained, craft-oriented activities such as silversmithing, pottery, weaving, leatherworking—also played into the disciplinary nature of the “ethnographic zoo.” Such activities, together with signs of material culture such as dress, bodily ornament, and an exhibit’s furnishings, were the only ways in which visitors were able, through simple visual examination, to ascertain whether not a given individual fit required norms of exoticism and primitiveness.



Figure 2. Navajo weavers in a living exhibit administered by Fred Harvey, ca. 1900.³⁵

Such norms would have been defined only by visitors' notions of how a primitive or native person "should" behave and what they "should" be doing; and so exhibits would have been monitored and appreciated only insofar as simple visual examination could ascertain that they were ethnically coherent—that members of a group behaved similarly and that their behavior was consonant with the label for their cell in the space of the "ethnographic zoo." Less structured activities such as socializing, which cannot be regulated by visual examination of the body, did not play a part in the Exposition's published repertoire, regardless of the cultural material they might exhibit for the public. Thus, the "ethnographic zoo" shared with other disciplinary institutions an attention to control through examination of body and gesture. Exhibiting the process of making arts and crafts was a way for Expositions and institutions like them to create—and so to manage and regulate—the natives' ethnicity and thereby assure their authenticity and purity (Figure 2). Activities that Indians might have pursued when "off set" that were indicative of actual cultural hybridity—such as chewing gum, eating popcorn or peanuts, or sporting the glass canes or coconut hats available at the fair³⁶—would have been noticed. Thus, the ethnographic village became a site for what one might call "disciplinary ethnicity," which maintained the semblance of purity and authenticity artificially in those exhibits emphasizing "traditional" life and culture. Elsewhere, in the Indian School exhibit, disciplinary ethnicity legislated the culture of "reforming savagery." Here, the appearance of Indian blankets and baskets identified the natives with norms of primitiveness, while bodily actions such as writing, reading, and recitation provided visual evidence of their successful reform.³⁷

The reader may protest that the Exhibition's "ethnographic zoo" lacked several characteristics typical of other disciplinary institutions. Because the only requirement of exhibition was a visual display appropriate to one's published ethnicity, the individuals in the ethnographic village did not ascend a hierarchy of ranked levels of accomplishment, as one might in a school. Though there was a "better ethnicity"—whiteness—the only way to pursue it was by

being one of the individuals chosen for the Indian School exhibit. Similarly, the members of the ethnographic village were not organized organically, such that they worked together in a clock-like fashion to create a composite product.³⁸ However, given that the ethnographic village's avowed purpose was the act of examination itself rather than the production of a product, there was no reason to arrange the exhibits in an organic fashion.

For all of its investment in legislating ethnicity, both in the service of cultural progress as an ideal and to maintain the pretense of exhibiting “authentic” and “pure” exotics, the Exhibition was at heart a disorderly, heterogeneous affair that brought together populations from across the world in an atmosphere that constantly threatened to dissolve into chaos. Only rarely does an event combine so intimately the sobriety of a museum with the unruliness of a carnival. Exhibits stressing improvement and popular edification vied with others devoted to personal license and often lost, as indicated by the staggering \$800,000 profit made by the “Streets of Cairo” concession and its *danses du ventre*.³⁹ Indeed, even in those areas administered by fair authorities, a carnivalesque interest in the gargantuan or grotesque reigned; witness, for example, the 22,000-pound Canadian cheese, the 33,000-pound “temple of chocolate,” and the sixteen foot tall knight and charger made of prunes exhibited in the agricultural building.⁴⁰ The attitude on the Midway was considerably less elevated, continuing a tradition begun in the 1876 Philadelphia Exhibition's “Shantytown” or concessionary, where visitors were invited to gawk at a “learned pig, a two-legged horse, a five legged cow, [and a] gigantic fat woman.”⁴¹ Philadelphia's Shantytown unexpectedly burned down during the course of the fair, prompting later exhibition directors to bring the concessionaries under the fair's management, though not always successfully. At the World's Columbian Exposition, Fredric Ward Putnam held a loose rein not only over the official anthropology exhibits but also over the concessions in the vicinity. Neither proved an economic success, prompting his successor Sol Bloom to comment that

...to have made this unhappy gentleman responsible for the establishment of a successful venture in the field of entertainment was about as intelligent a decision as it would be today to make Albert Einstein manager of the Ringling Brothers and Barnum and Bailey Circus.⁴²

The excesses of the Midway concessionaries continued, in a form adapted to late nineteenth-century consumer capitalism and national boosterism, longstanding European practices at fairs and markets reaching back to medieval pre-Lenten revelry. The sanctioned license of Medieval carnival had involved a heterogeneous mix of persons of high and low standing and a temporary loosening of behavioral taboos that normally distinguished between the two; excess in the consumption of food and drink and a fascination with bodily grotesquerie, especially in regard the gigantic or freakish; an unrefined and populist sense of laughter and amusement. The central element of carnival was the inversion of social categories: often a peasant presided over festivities as honorary “Bean King,” while the members of the nobility and mercantile class abandoned their wonted reserve and masqueraded in disguise—or barred their doors and waited for the furor to subside.⁴³ As an analytic category, therefore, carnival is opposed to disciplinary ethnicity: while the latter seeks to fix and regulate the boundaries between ethnicities, to assure authenticity and purity, the former delights in shifting boundaries, in hybridity and appropriated identities.

If the Exposition could not rightly be labeled a panopticon, its structure did serve to discipline ethnicity; similarly, it would be inappropriate to call the fair a carnival, but it did exhibit a number of carnivalesque characteristics. Like a carnival, it brought together a geographically diverse population and engaged in a masquerade of identity, be it national, regional, or ethnic. Machines and “savages” were exhibited next door to high art and visitors moved easily between the three; the aesthetic of the grotesque prevailed, be it in a 22,000-pound Canadian cheese or “a two-foot-tall Cuban midget woman who spoke seven languages.”⁴⁴ Though high-minded talk of “progress” was ubiquitous, the actual business of the day was laughter, amusement, and a bourgeois indulgence in uninhibited consumption, be it of anthropological curiosities or concessionary fast food.

Though the Exposition manifested many carnivalesque characteristics, it never went so far as to encourage the free play of identity between visitors and the inhabitants in the ethnographic village, though there was doubtless a good deal of “aping” the native—in all of the disturbing senses of the phrase. The cultural division between visitor and savage, necessitated by the Exposition’s interest in “progress” and implemented through the practice of disciplinary ethnicity, forbade such hybridity or border-crossing. Nevertheless, disciplinary ethnicity, while strict in legislating primitiveness and the difference between ethnic groups, permitted all sorts of ethnic slippage among categories assumed to be equivalent. As noted before, only consistent visual evidence was necessary for the operation of the Exposition’s “ethnographic zoo.” Within these bounds, Caribbean blacks of all varieties worked in the “Darkest Africa” exhibit under the pretense that they were bona fide African savages; Oglala Sioux stood in for Blackfeet, Comanches, and Pawnees in Buffalo Bill’s Wild West and the Congress of Rough Riders of the World; and Laguna Gloria Indians played their supposed Anasazi ancestors in Cushing’s Cliff Dwellers exhibit, under the assumption that their culture had not undergone change or hybridization in the intervening centuries.

Furthermore, while disciplinary ethnicity could effectively manage behavior in the ethnographic villages while there were visitors in the Exhibition, it had no effect when the natives were not “on set.” María Martínez, a Pueblo Indian exhibited in the 1904 St. Louis Exposition in a follow-up to the Cliff Dwellers exhibit, said her group pretended not to know English “and then they had something to laugh about when the white people had gone home and the Indians were alone on the fair grounds.”⁴⁵

A more telling example of the inevitable cultural hybridity produced by the Exposition involves members of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West show. Chiefs Rain-in-the-face, Red Cloud, Kicking Bear, Two Strike, Young Bull, Young Man Afraid-of-Horses, Rocky Bear, and No Neck—like Geronimo, who was also present—often perused the Exposition themselves and rode

boats out on Lake Michigan. As Nellie Yost recounts, they were also fond of the merry-go-round:

Fifteen painted, blanketed chiefs marched up, bought tickets and solemnly mounted the painted ponies. When the machine started and the big calliope began to play 'Maggie Murphy's Home,' Chief No Neck held on to the bridle with both hands as his blanket floated out behind him. Then as the horses whirled more swiftly, he let go a full-throated war cry, 'Yip, yip, yi, yi, yip!' The others at once took it up and the tent walls billowed to the breeze.⁴⁶

This somewhat bittersweet tale speaks, certainly, of a carnivalesque transgression of the gaze that disciplined Indians into categories of primitiveness and authenticity, and of the humor with which some appropriated aspects of both popular American culture and that of their past. At the same time, however, it serves to underline how effectively the Exposition was able to control the inhabitants of its "ethnographic zoo," limiting transgressions to the trivial and—in this case—to those that played on existing tropes, such as that of the savage as a child.

Expanding Southwest: the Ethnographic Safari

Several factors condemned the ethnographic villages' attempts to monitor and legislate culture to only limited success. One was the restive hybridity that inevitably developed in imported natives and expressed itself in moments when the mechanism of disciplinary ethnicity did not apply because they were "off set"; the incident involving the Buffalo Bill Indians and the merry-go-round is an example. Another factor was the obvious artifice involved in the practice of live exhibition. Institutions such as hospitals and schools operate with the explicit charter of transforming their population and so feel no shame about self-consciously publishing their interventionist tactics to the world, so long as they appear benign. The ethnographic zoo operated with the opposite goal: to construct and maintain the semblance of timelessness and purity among its population. In the best case, doing so would have involved effacing consciousness of the machinery of disciplinary ethnicity from the mind of the visitor. In an environment where the Eskimos had to be supplied seal oil and whale blubber and occasionally died under the Chicago summer sun,⁴⁷ in which the ethnographic villages were so obviously a zoological jumble ordered

by the division of space, this was a difficult pretense for even the most ingenuous visitor to maintain.

One solution was to dispense with the Exposition as a framing device for ethnic display. The search for natural and cultural authenticity that began at the end of the nineteenth-century and continued through the modern era expressed itself notably in a rejection of the enclosed, partitioned spaces prevalent in the disciplinary institutions of the age. Factories, prisons, schools, and hospitals became emblematic, in the eyes of modern-era anti-Industrialists, of the dissipation of Western urban civilization.⁴⁸ The despairing tone of a 1904 article for *Craftsman* magazine is typical: “As cities grow bigger, asylums, hospitals, sanitariums... grow still more rapidly.”⁴⁹

One can see the rise of anti-urban ideas of natural authenticity in the movement from the legislated order of the French golden-age garden (such as Louis XIV’s at Versailles), to the planned unruliness of early nineteenth-century picturesque-movement gardens (such as St. James’s Park in London); and finally to the enclosed but unpartitioned Yellowstone National Park, established in 1872. The rhetoric of preservation surrounding the Western national parks and wildernesses stressed their authenticity in terms of a natural present; they were “untouched by civilization” and “unchanging.” Similarly, a more authentic contact with animal nature than in the ordered, cellular space of the urban zoo could be found in the unbounded vistas of the African safari. To follow out the metaphor between the zoological garden and the ethnographic zoo, locating cultural authenticity as a turn-of-the-century tourist meant dissolving the spatial arrangement that maintained disciplinary ethnicity at events such as the Exposition and instead going on “ethnographic safari”: seeking out areas where the natives lived in “organic” and “natural” social formations rather than the artificial cells of the ethnographic village.

The American West proved a convenient arena for exploring ideas about both natural and cultural authenticity. In particular the Territory of New Mexico, because it had little mineral wealth and few agricultural prospects, had been largely ignored by the United States except

insofar as it served as a conduit for trade with Mexico and sat inconveniently in between more important places, such as St. Louis and San Diego. Consequently, it contained large areas of undeveloped desert (now called “wilderness”) and American Indians free from the political stigmas that plagued more restive tribes to the east. The advent of easy access via the Santa Fe Railroad in 1880 made the area’s natural and cultural “resources” considerably easier to vend on the world market as scenic attractions, something the railroad and Fred Harvey, the enterprising founder of America’s first chain of restaurants and hotels, soon discovered.⁵⁰ Rather than bringing natives from around the world for display in a single location, as at the World’s Columbian Exposition (the “ethnographic zoo” model for cultural exhibition), tourism in the Southwest instead brought visitors themselves to a variety of locales (the “ethnographic safari” model.) One sees a similar desire for the seeming naturalness of free space in the development of free-range urban zoos some years later—most notably the London Zoological Society’s Whipsnade Park, founded in 1932.

Ethnographic exhibits at the World’s Columbian Exposition and in the American Southwest were closely tied though different in intent. Fred Harvey—whose activities I will return to in the chapter on the “Arcade”—funded a collection of baskets, pottery, and ceremonial objects from Navajo and other tribes in Putnam’s anthropology building at the World’s Columbian Exhibition. Later the Santa Fe Railway was to spend considerable funds on the Painted Desert Exhibit in San Diego, freighting in sand and building materials in a play for authenticity.⁵¹ For those too pressed for time or not adventurous enough to stray away from the purview of the train, Harvey constructed an “Indian Building” in Albuquerque between his Alvarado Hotel and the depot:

In the Indian Building are displayed some of the most interesting collections in this country. Indian villages, remote cliff dwellings and isolated hogans throughout the Southwest have been searched by experts for the rarest exponents of Indian life, and the collections are the result of years of effort. Patient Navajo squaws may be seen weaving blankets while their men are making crude articles of silver jewelry. Many Indians in picturesque costumes are found lounging about the building.⁵²

The Indian Building's living exhibit was, to a great extent, merely a single room from the Exposition's ethnographic village transported back to the desert. As in Chicago, American Indians were hired to stage their own culture, and the emphasis on easily-examined signs of primitiveness such as weaving and silversmithing allowed their otherness to be verified and maintained visually, as did the emphasis on costume and the "rareness" of the specimens. The Hopi House, near the El Tovar hotel at the Grand Canyon, operated in a similar fashion, though here in a building built by the Hopi themselves to resemble a pueblo; as in the ethnographic villages at the Exposition, the Hopis who performed here lived on the premises.⁵³ Thus, as the living exhibit tradition expanded into the Southwest, it brought along with it exemplars of its previous incarnation in the world's fairs. Presenting only one cell from an ethnographic zoo, however, obviated any reference to the principle of "progress" that positioned most anthropological exhibits in the Exposition on a scale from most "savage" to most "civilized." Significantly, in Fred Harvey's single-room exhibits, Indians were only required to display evidence of their relative primitiveness in comparison to visitors; the wording of the Harvey Company's brochures echoes this change in emphasis. The Exposition had celebrated Indianness to justify national or regional chauvinism while simultaneously invoking a rhetoric of progress to relegate Indians to a prior and vanishing cultural category. The advertising copy for the Hopi House, on the other hand, emphasized their *un-Americanness* and the legitimizing antiquity of their still-living practices:

The Hopis are making "piki," twining the raven black hair of the "Manas" in the big side whorls, smoking corn-cob pipes, building sacred altars, mending moccasins—doing a hundred un-American things. They are the most primitive Indians in America, with ceremonies several centuries old.⁵⁴

In the mid-twenties Harvey's "Indian Detours" further dissolved the management of space typical of earlier ethnographic exhibits, seating visitors in touring cars equipped with swiveling chairs and picture windows and so dubbed "road Pullmans."⁵⁶ These "Harveycars," as they came to be called, made of each nearby Indian Pueblo an ethnographic exhibit on the grand scale. There was, however, some ambiguity about the extent to which the excursions should be spectatorial rather than participatory. The first brochure proclaimed that "it is the purpose of the Indian Detour to take you through the very heart of all this, to make you feel the lure of the Southwest that lies beyond the pinched horizons of your train window";⁵⁷ and yet to a certain extent the "road Pullmans'" picture windows merely adapted to automotive form the passive observation and interest in the "picturesque" that characterizes train tourism. Significantly, the cover of this first brochure shows three items (Figure 3): in the foreground, an Indian with signs marking native authenticity, the

ubiquitous Pueblo pot and the kiva; in the background a pueblo, site of a visitor's engagement with the native; and in the center, two Indians clustered around a Harveycar vending curios through the windows. The combination emphasizes the spectacular locale, supposed authenticity, and foreground activity of the Indian Detours, buying curios—characteristics shared with Harvey's Indian Building and the

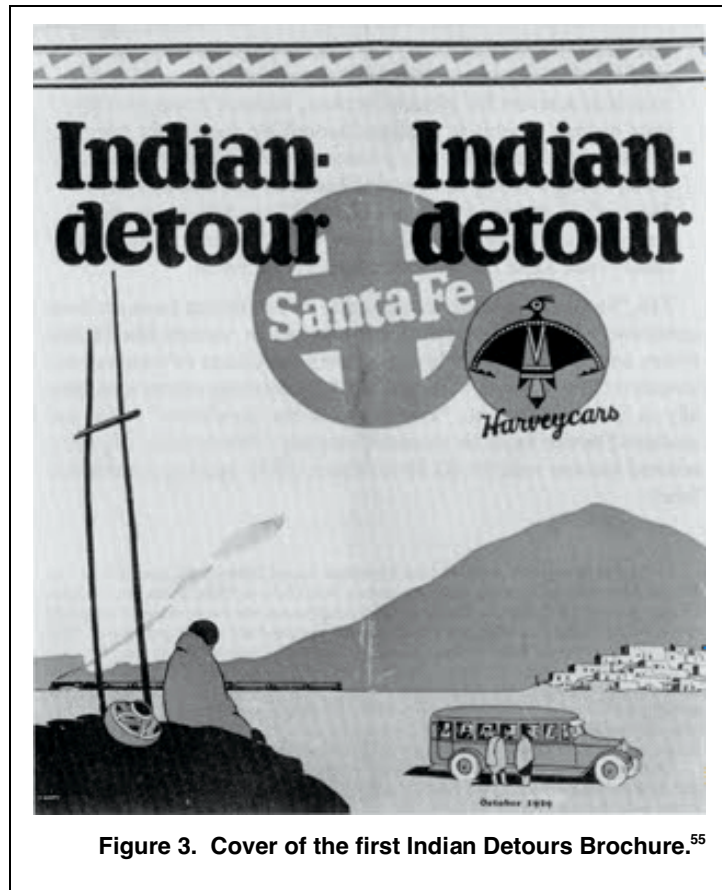


Figure 3. Cover of the first Indian Detours Brochure.⁵⁵

Exposition's ethnographic villages. In locals' minds the Harveycar as a mechanism for observation stood in metonymically for the visitor themselves, as in the early parody by John Sloan that shows a group of Harveycars circled around a small group of Santo Domingo Indians doing the Corn Dance (Figure 4). When the



Figure 4. John Sloan, Etching of the Corn Dance at Santo Domingo Pueblo, 1927.⁵⁹

visitor did emerge from behind the mediating window of the Harveycar, the Indians upon whom he or she focussed were often seen through the lens of a camera, which had recently become light, affordable, and easy to use and so were part of many tourists' luggage. Photographs and curios thus entered a circular economy of cultural artifacts, whereby tourists and ethnographers emerged from the East and returned with tangible proof of an encounter with ethnographic primitives.⁵⁸

This is not to claim that all visitors shunned face-to-face contact with Indians, but to emphasize that while the Indian Detours dissolved the spatial organization that constructed and maintained the semblance of authenticity in the Exposition's "ethnographic zoo," they left the activity of mediated examination firmly in place. In the unordered space of the wilderness and reservation, the authenticity of the natives on exhibit was assured not by their visual congruence with ideals determined by their spatial position in an Exhibition's range from "savage" to "civilized" and legislated by the gaze of visitors. Rather, authenticity was attested to by the examination of codes of appearance and behavior that associated natives with the authentic norm

for their culture-area: the Pueblo kiva and pottery designs, or olla maiden with water-jug balanced on her head; the Navajo velvet blouse and squash-blossom necklace; the Hispano santo.⁶⁰ The new system of ethnic display rewarded natives insofar as they exhibited the appropriate codes signifying cultural authenticity and purity appropriate to their genetic and ethnic inheritance as members of this or that Indian tribe or this or that Hispano village, and ignored them as half-breeds otherwise. While at an Exposition-style “ethnographic zoo” it was sufficient that the group of Dahomey villagers satisfy the visual expectations indicated by the label, “Cannibal men and their Amazon wives,” in the realm of the “ethnographic safari” the visitor faced additional challenges. The problem now lay in learning the codes that characterized canonical authenticity and distinguishing them from the surrounding semiotic noise. Such a task required expert advice, either in the form of written ethnographies or guides conversant with ethnographic material.

To fill this educational role, every Harveycar included a ‘courier,’ a woman conversant with the region who could direct visitors’ attention and, in effect, gloss the living exhibit that the Indian Detours supplied. Erna Fergusson, who was in charge of the couriers, noted:

They are expected to be intelligent enough to learn many facts about this country and to impart them in a way to interest intelligent travelers. They are selected also with an eye to their knowledge of this country, their knowledge of Spanish, and any special knowledge or ability that will assist them in presenting this country properly.⁶¹

An Albuquerque Journal editorial from 1926 makes clear that one of the couriers’ primary tasks was to serve as an intellectual touchstone for cultural authenticity, defined as persistence of an ethnographic present (presumably beginning previous to Anglo contact):

He [Fred Harvey] insisted on authenticity. He discouraged the fairy stories that too often passed current to astonish the gullible tourist.... If one of his agents related an historical incident or an Indian legend, its veracity could be relied on. Because of the insistence on authenticity which Mr. Harvey drilled in his organization, we may be sure the planned tours will not be vulgarized. The tourists will not be regaled with fanciful stories and amused with “fake” objects of interest. *They will have presented to them the life of New Mexico both as it has been as it still is* [emphasis mine]⁶²

Primitivism and Progress, Ethnicity and Control

Concomitant with this realignment of how to evaluate cultural authenticity in the Southwest, one sees a regional shift in attitudes about progress and hybridity, away from national norms as seen at the World's Columbian Exposition. Effacing the spatial machinery that legislated ethnicity at the Exposition removed the possibility of arranging a series of live ethnographic exhibits in a range from "primitive" to "civilized." However, as I will discuss, the Southwest defined itself largely in opposition to the urban, technological rhetoric of progress that prevailed at the Chicago fair, and so had little use for such devices. As noted above, the World's Columbian Exposition appropriated Indianness to justify both regional and national chauvinism, while simultaneously using the pretense of primitiveness to relegate Indians—because inferior to their white successors—to a disappearing era. What hybridity developed in the course of the Exposition expressed itself surreptitiously, while the natives were not on display, and there is little evidence of visitors acculturating to Indian norms rather than vice versa. Furthermore, while Chicago used its status as a borderlands between the natural, primitive, and rural West and the cultural, civilized, and urban East to justify celebration of its mechanical and economic progress, Anglo immigrants to the Southwest developed a regional imagery that identified almost completely with wilderness and the primitive, though significantly almost all of them had well-educated or privileged backgrounds in the urban East. One celebrated bourgeois initiative, the Industrial Revolution, and the emancipatory prospects of the machine; the other, feudal stasis, the natural, and appropriation of the noble savage's lifestyle.⁶³ Progress and primitivism as regional ideals embraced opposite poles on a spectrum of attitudes, but the latter was largely a social critique of the former rather than a coherent philosophy.

Primitivists assumed that prior societies were "closer to nature" and "more humane" than their contemporary descendants. The New Mexico Territory, with a rich profusion of ancient archaeological remains and a population of Pueblo Indians widely believed to be at an earlier

stage of cultural development than white Americans, was thus an ideal locale for discontented Anglos to stage a primitivist critique of the dissipation they claimed plagued urban America. In 1884, Charles Fletcher Lummis, the Harvard dropout, racketeer, prophet, and shameless self-promoter whose writing I examine in the next chapter, walked from Cincinnati to Los Angeles and published a series of vignettes of life in the New Mexican Territory as observed during his travels. His epic journey was half revolt against childhood sickness and debility and half celebration of the rugged primitivism that many associated with Indian and frontier life in opposition to the emasculating effects of urban existence. In the words of Ernest Thomas Seton, “Indian teachings in the fields of art, handicraft, woodcraft, agriculture, social life, health and joy... need no argument beyond presentation.... The Red Man is the apostle of outdoor life, his example and precept are what young America needs today above any other ethical teaching of which I have knowledge.”⁶⁴ Indianness was thus associated with nature, vibrant health, and social reform; appropriating Indian qualities became a primary means for fashioning both personal and regional identities that corrected the weakness of modern urban life. Lummis himself contrived a costume that was half-frontiersman and half-Indian and compared himself to the Indian wild man of the plains, Pa-puk-ke-wis:

In representing himself as ‘Pa-puk-ke-wis,’ he made himself more ‘wild’ than the Indians. His cultivation of a rough-edged ‘Southwesterner’ guise manifested a deep desire to go beyond the East in order to revitalize his mind and body out West. Read as the sign of cultural liberation, Lummis’s role-playing in the Southwest found him wearing the clothes of the other, as measured in class, racial, and ethnic terms.⁶⁵

Southwestern primitivism inverted the attitudes towards carnivalesque play in identity and cultural hybridity that the World’s Columbian Exposition, because of its investment in progress, permitted only among “less-developed” races. The primitivist celebrated the diffusion of cultural signs from Indian to non-Indian as a return to a simpler, more natural past. Lummis, in his own program of eclectic ethnic appropriation, extolled the virtues of Southwestern Hispano culture nearly as loudly as he did those of Indian culture, and was active in a movement to preserve the California Spanish mission churches. Doing so complemented the primitivist trope

of the American Indian as the noble savage with another, of the Hispano as the gracious and hospitable Old World aristocrat of feudal times.⁶⁶ In Martin Padgett's formulation,

By extolling the gentility of the old Californios and the romance of the Spanish missions, Lummis endeavored to provide the key to a hybridized future, where incoming whites could take the 'best' of the culture that had preceded them while forging a strengthened mind and body through the vigorous, year-round outdoor life that California's climate allowed them.⁶⁷

Lummis was only one of many Southwestern immigrants who appropriated aspects of native cultures to form a new hybrid identity. Frank Hamilton Cushing, the anthropologist who arranged the Cliff Dwellers' exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition, adopted an Indianized costume that led his friends among the Zuni to call him "Many Buttons," was a member of the secret Zuni society the Priesthood of the Bow, and made his apartment in New York City an exact replica of a Zuni kiva.⁶⁸ The permissiveness that primitivism exhibited toward white acculturation to other norms was balanced by an increased intolerance of Indian hybridity, however. Whereas in the context of the Chicago fair the Americanized Indian was presented as a positive intermediary between absolute primitiveness on the one hand and white civilization on the other, in the eyes of primitivism attempts at integration were responsible for many Indians' current pitiable state of affairs. As Philip Deloria notes,

The absorbed Indians wearing white man's clothes represented the ambivalent success of American imperialism. Becoming one with the empire, they justified the noble rhetoric of the white man's burden, which bespoke concern for converted savages. At the same time, however, some twentieth-century critics used the same figures to illustrate the new savagery of the modern. Coded as drinking, tramping, and laziness, Americanized Indians were powerful examples of the corrosive evil of modern society.⁶⁹

To some extent the Southwest primitivist movement merely inverted the categories and attitudes that prevailed elsewhere in the United States to achieve its antimodern cultural critique. Hybridity with the cultures it extolled as more noble and closer to nature was only acceptable so long as the original stock remained pure and authentic. The failures of the Indian integration movement were treated with an old-fashioned disgust at miscegenation—though now the terms were reversed and the white corrupted the red. A new mechanism for constructing and maintaining ethnic authenticity had to be located; Indians had, in Deloria's terminology, to be kept "exterior" to modern American culture:

In fact, when one did transgress [geographical] boundaries, the very presence of a modern person contaminated the authenticity of the primitive. The dilemma of modernity, then... centered on finding ways to preserve the integrity of the boundaries that marked exterior and authentic Indians, while gaining access to organic Indian purity in order to make it one's own.⁷⁰

Thus, though the methods of disciplinary ethnicity that characterized living exhibits in the Chicago fair did not apply in the space of Southwestern primitivism and cultural tourism, Anglo antimodernists still had an investment in maintaining Indian cultural purity. Earlier I noted that, as one moved from the closed space of the “ethnographic zoo” to the open one of the “ethnographic safari,” the previous interest in evolutionary position turned into one in ethnographic codes denoting authenticity. These would have served to some extent as normative ideals; for example, the code that identified the authentic Navajo woman with a velvet chemise, squash blossom necklace, concho belt, and moccasins would legislate the appearance of these items of clothing in areas where visitors expected “authenticity.” As at the Exposition, hybridity among nonwhites, while of course the natural result of increased contact among cultures due to improved transportation and large shifts of population, was controlled by the process of examination, and backed with an economic incentive to conform—for the sale of Indian pottery, blankets, and other crafts had become a mainstay of survival and the appearance of authentic Indianness was necessary in dealings with the government. For example, Santiago Naranjo, several time governor of Santa Clara Pueblo, lobbied successfully with outside authorities against the assimilationist project of the Indian Bureau. According to contemporary accounts, his *modus operandi* involved ethnic coding:

He dressed like other villagers while at Santa Clara but cultivated a more picturesque image for the outside. When Naranjo put in his heavy silver earrings and began to tie up his braids with long fancy strips of rawhide, his neighbors knew he was going off to Santa Fe.⁷¹

This use of ethnic codes seems to prefigure elements of what Gilles Deleuze called the “society of control” which, rather than disciplining the body through the management of space and time in the bounded environment of an institution, instead controls it by examining which codes a given individual possesses:

The disciplinary societies have two poles: the signature that designates the *individual*, and the number or administrative numeration that indicates his or her position within a *mass*... In the societies of control, on the other hand, what is important is no longer a signature or a number, but a code: the code is a *password*....⁷²

In this case, the code that identifies a certain ethnic background is a password to what primitivists identified as cultural “authenticity.” Unlike the disciplinary space of the ethnographic village, which placed each individual somewhere in a scale (potentially numerable, in Deleuze’s scheme) between savagery and civilization, the space that controls ethnicity merely insists on purity within each group—on the purity of the primitive.

Significantly, it was in this period that Indian Pueblos in the region began to station “white skin” lookouts to determine when one of the Indian Detour cars was approaching. The figure in the foreground of the first Indian Detours brochure (Figure 3) was not, as one might assume, an indifferent observer. Rather, as the sentinel who signaled to the figures below that visitors were approaching, he or she managed the transition between the Pueblo as living space and the Pueblo as an ethnographic exhibit that exchanged the display of coded ethnic authenticity and handicrafts for visitors’ money. Significantly, in this drawing he or she also managed the space of the ethnographic exhibit by guarding the entrance to the kiva from intrusion by curious tourists.⁷³

Inhabiting the Ethnographic Zoo

Throughout the course of this discussion, I have attempted to show how both the World’s Columbian Exposition and the Southwestern Indian Detours legislated the display of certain kinds of ethnicity while still emphasizing those areas in which the hybridity that is an inevitable concomitant of cultural contact was allowed and even encouraged to express itself. No social arrangement is either completely repressive or completely permissive in respect to the permeability of group boundaries. The contrasts between the two examined here emphasize how unusual the antimodernist revolt of the American Southwest was in the course of Euroamerican history insofar as it encouraged white acculturation to foreign norms rather than the converse. To

return to the coordinating metaphor with the zoo: the World’s Columbian Exposition created an “ethnographic zoo” in order to contain, exhibit, and transcend the primitive “animals” in its cells; the Southwestern “ethnographic safari,” on the other hand, existed to celebrate and appropriate their primitive qualities, to help visitors become “natural.”

Certain aspects of the world’s fair tradition survived, however, in the modernist Southwest—particularly in its cultural capital, Santa Fe. The primitivist movement, in its enthusiasm for things ancient and un-American, early began to harp on the city’s antiquity and its similarities to Spanish *encomiendas* farther south, and to speculate about the age of nearby Pueblos. Charles Fletcher Lummis claimed New Mexico was “a century older in European civilization than the rest [of the States], and several centuries older still in a happier semi-civilization of its own.”⁷⁴ The creative arithmetic that permitted him to calculate the time between San Gabriel/Santa Fe’s founding in 1598 and Jamestown’s in 1607 as greater than a century is indicative of how strongly antimodernists yearned for an alternative myth of origins. Throughout the modern era, Santa Fe’s public face and its civic life underwent a continual process of reform in an effort to ornament the city with the trappings of antiquity.

The process resembled the construction of an ethnographic exhibit at one of the worlds’ fairs—and sometimes borrowed directly from the fairs themselves. As at the World’s Columbian Exposition, professional anthropologists played a central part in designing and constructing “exhibits,” and the Museum of New Mexico supervised most of the



Figure 5. Albert Einstein in Plains Indian headdress, with members of Fred Harvey’s Grand Canyon Hopi House.⁷⁵

city's endeavors. In 1912, archaeologist Sylvanus Morley "restored" the Palace of the Governors, the seat of local government since 1772, under the auspices of the newly-formed Museum of New Mexico. What had previously been a small adobe sloppily Americanized with a Victorian porch thus became an imposing faux-Mexican building with a long *portale*.⁷⁶ In 1915, the Santa Fe Railway shipped building materials, plants, and finally San Ildefonso Indians out to its Painted Desert Exhibit in San Diego, where sometime-anthropologist Jesse Nusbaum supervised the construction of "hogans, cliff ruins, kivas, and two pseudopueblos."⁷⁷ The "New Mexico Building," consciously modeled after the mission at Acoma Pueblo and built at the San Diego fair, was recreated back in Santa Fe as the Museum's Fine Arts building and became the standard for regional architectural authenticity thereafter.⁷⁸ Finally, La Fonda, the hotel that served as a center for Fred Harvey's Indian, was rebuilt according to a design that combined elements of an Indian Pueblo and the Laguna Mission.⁷⁹ Here, amid La Fonda's profusion of Indian blankets and pottery, the visitor could engage in a delicate symbolic inversion, "playing Indian" by sleeping in an Indian Pueblo that nevertheless offered all of the modern amenities of civilization. During the day, he or she might take one of Harvey's Indian Detours or be inducted into temporary Indian chiefdom (Figure 5). Such play was too ephemeral to be called "cultural appropriation"; nevertheless, it was a marked departure from the world's fair tradition of the exotic as pure spectacle. In the antimodernist Southwest, the visitor was intended to enter and become a temporary participant in the primitive world of the display.

Thus Santa Fe was rebuilt in the self-conscious fashion of an ethnographic exhibit at a world's fair, and beckoned the visitor to step into its frame of reference. Unlike in the world's fair tradition, a number of primitivist "expatriates"—former visitors who had "gone native" so to speak—inhabited the citywide ethnographic exhibit. Their participation in and reworking of civic festivals shows the degree to which Southwestern identity was, for many, an appropriation of native "primitiveness" in revolt against modern urban culture. For example, in 1924 poet Witter

Bynner and his friend Dolly Sloan established a populist festival they called “Pasatiempo,” a carnivalesque mishmash of town characters costumed as comic figures such as “Mexican hillbillies.” By 1926, the burning of Zozobra, a gigantic paper-mâché effigy representing, à la Frazier’s *Golden Bough*, the sorrows and collective malfeasance of the past year, had become an integral part of the festival, and self-consciously linked the town’s Anglo immigrants to “primitive” fertility rites worldwide.⁸⁰ Similarly, immigrants played a central part in moving the 1712 La Conquistadora pageant—a symbolic enactment of De Vargas’s reconquest of the region in 1692 after a Pueblo Indian revolt and ten years of indigenous rule—from September to June. What previously had been a communal Catholic ritual was now reappropriated as a celebration of regional and anti-American identity and the roles of Don Diego de Vargas and associated Indians were played by Anglos. As the years passed, the Museum of New Mexico took charge of the festival; characters such as La Reina de La Fiesta were added, and control of it passed back into the Hispano community.⁸¹ Thus, immigrants were vital in the development of the town’s cultural life, and saw participation in it as an affirmation of their identity as Southwesterners—together with all of the trappings of primitivism that the term implied. To “go native” was to locate and celebrate a regional “authenticity” defined in terms of Indian and Hispano culture; it was both an affirmation of personal values and a cultural critique of industrialism.

Appropriating Eden

Through the course of this chapter, I have examined and contrasted two modes of ethnographic exhibition and considered their relationship to the formation of regional American identities. Live displays in both the World’s Columbian Exposition and in the American Southwest depended on the management of close contact between native and European-derived populations, and consequently management of terms such as “primitive” versus “civilized,” “natural” versus “cultural,” and “authentic” versus “inauthentic.” Each of these categories was subject to slippage as the persons they labeled hybridized culturally with visitors and with persons

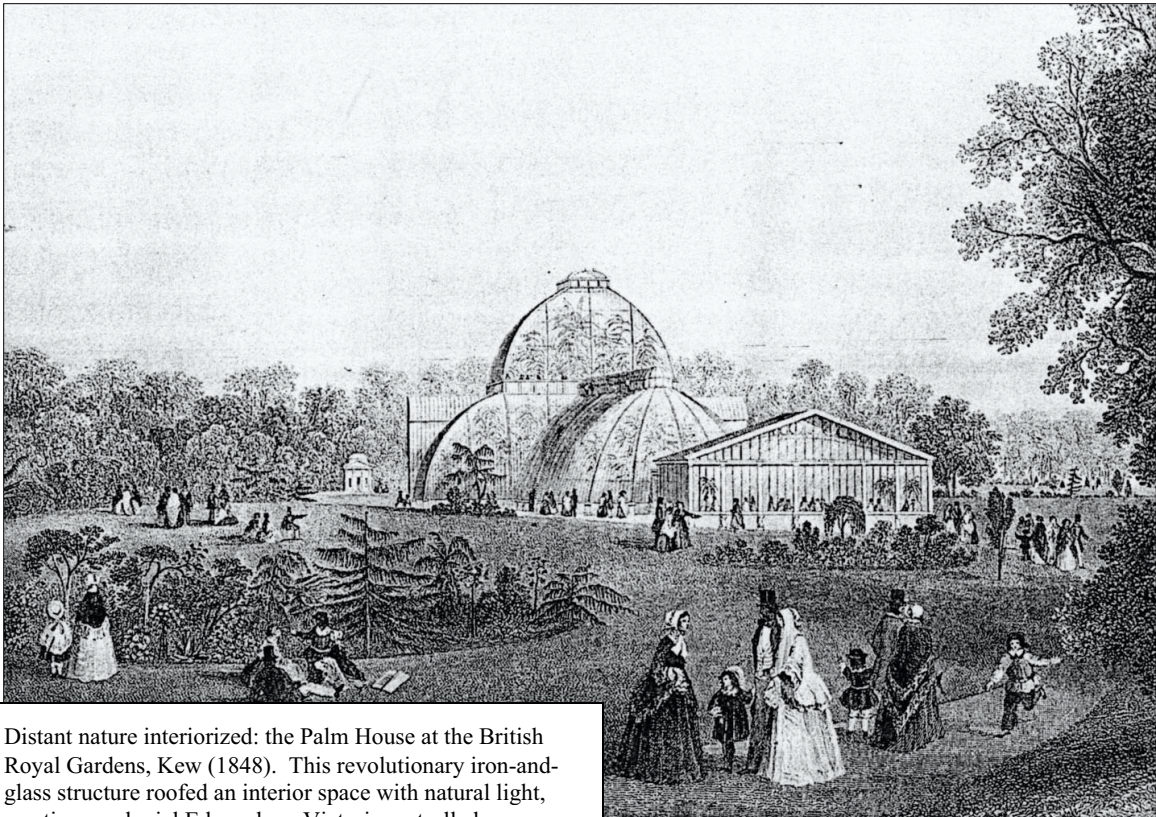
in other exhibits. Consequently, ethnological exhibits were concerned not only with the collection and display of ethnic types, but also with the maintenance of purity and relative difference in an arena where hybridity was inevitable. Through the coordinating metaphor of the “ethnographic zoo”—the zoo being an institution that places “primitive” and “natural” animals in close contact with “civilized” and “cultural” humans while still maintaining distinctions between each—I have attempted to show how each style of ethnographic exhibition managed cultural hybridity, or failed to. The World’s Columbian Exposition, it seems, adopted an indexical strategy that relied on visual examination for characteristics identifiable somewhere on a scale of primitiveness, in an exhibition area where ethnicity was created and managed by the enclosure and partition of space. Because of its similarity to other nineteenth-century disciplinary institutions such as hospitals, schools, and prisons, I have labeled this technique “disciplinary ethnicity.” Tourism and ethnography in the Southwest, by contrast, seemed to contemporaries a commerce in natives of greater cultural authenticity than those found at the Chicago fair, because the spatial machinery of disciplinary ethnicity was nowhere in view. Just as one could more easily indulge the fantasy that a National Park was unchanging and undefiled by humankind than that a botanical garden was these things, Southwestern “ethnographic safaris” seemed to offer a new, more authentic contact with the native than the “ethnographic zoos” of world’s fairs. In the Southwest, however, descriptive codes from ethnography that identified supposed authenticity easily became prescriptive codes when backed by the economic incentive of tourism; hence, if disciplinary ethnicity characterized the “ethnographic zoo,” code-controlled ethnicity characterized the “ethnographic safari.” It is important to emphasize, however, that while political and economic inequality rendered both practices imperialist, neither was completely repressive. Rather, each constituted a joint negotiation of ethnicity conducted through the examination of visual evidence; consequently a carnivalesque hybridity could masquerade under

the solemn face of ethnic purity, casting Caribbean blacks as cannibals and American whites as Indian chiefs.

Beyond these comments on ethnicity and hybridity, I have attempted to discover the underlying narrative that motivated ethnographic exhibitions in each region. To display and to view another human being are politically-charged acts that invariably speak as strongly about the felt identity of the exhibitor and viewer as they do about the person on display. In the case of the World's Columbian Exposition, I traced this to a narrative of national and regional legitimacy, an interest in progress and a celebration of industrialism; in the case of the Indian Detours, to a regional narrative of primitivism and a cultural critique of industrialism. One thus finds that human exhibition has served diametrically opposed ends over the course of the past century, both denigrating the felt primitiveness of American Indians and exulting in it.

This latter play on the trope of the 'noble savage' in particular has concerned this chapter, as it represents an unusual moment in the history of Western attitudes towards race and miscegenation, an inversion of categories: the white now sullies and the black (or red) is pure. This formulation brings out an unusual aspect of primitivism as a "philosophy": its concern is not so much the native him- or herself or even Nature itself, but rather differential hybridity with nativeness, subsumption into the Natural. Its concern is controlling and acquisitive, desiring not self-government for Indians but instead the preservation and appropriation of primitive "Indianness." Such an attitude keeps the "savage" on exhibit, insisting on purity; and then thinks to step into the cage itself, appropriating and celebrating savagery. The American Southwest constructed its own cathedral to Nature and to the Native and locked itself in with them; it dreamed of building a regional garden or ethnographic zoo, and then appropriating the Eden thus enclosed.

Garden



Distant nature interiorized: the Palm House at the British Royal Gardens, Kew (1848). This revolutionary iron-and-glass structure roofed an interior space with natural light, creating a colonial Eden where Victorians strolled among palms from Britain's tropical subject states. Originally intended (like Louis XIV's menagerie at Versailles) for scientific research, the Palm House's contents were arranged taxonomically until 1868-75, when the curator gradually adopted a geographical arrangement. Paxton based the Crystal Palace, which housed London's Great Exhibition of 1851 and enclosed a row of 500-year-old elms, on Kew's Palm House. The Crystal Palace's garden exhibited statuary and bronzes amid native elms and exotic palms; the exhibition site was later remodeled in a Picturesque style which simulated hinterland wilderness rather than formal arrangement. Landscape commentary from the American Southwest builds on the Picturesque esthetic of mixture and heterogeneity and rather than taxonomy and order—though this garden was reached on rails rather than enclosed by them: distant nature exteriorized.⁸²

Charles F. Lummis' Tramp Across the Continent

On September 12, 1884 Charles Fletcher Lummis, having just conquered what he termed “old Fever-'n'-Agre,”⁸³ set out to walk from the “malarial” town of Chillicothe, Ohio across the country to Los Angeles. Over the following 143 days he covered some 3,507 miles (6,513,541 steps according to his pedometer), fought a wildcat in an abandoned Rocky Mountain cabin, walked fifty miles with a broken arm he set himself, survived one attack by convicts toting stone hammers and another by his own dog, which had acquired rabies along the road.⁸⁴ The voice in which these events—themselves neither quotidian nor extraordinary by frontier standards—rise to the truly heroic is Lummis’ own. In weekly dispatches to the Los Angeles *Times* he mythologized both himself and the New Mexican Territory, providing the United States with the first popular account of the area’s history and of its native peoples. The newspaper articles were soon collected into his first nonfiction book, *A Tramp Across the Continent*; this and the ten succeeding books on the Southwest live in the liminal space between the well-informed and the fantastic, the academic and the sensational. Because of his activities as editor of the Los Angeles magazine *Land of Sunshine* and its later incarnation, *Out West*, and his involvement in a movement to preserve and restore the Spanish missions, Lummis was widely regarded as an authority—if not *the* authority—on the region.⁸⁵ Lummis might be said to have invented the Southwest, for it was he who drew a border around the land now occupied by New Mexico, southern Colorado, and Arizona and labeled it the “Southwest,” though the region has no cultural, historical, geological or ecological unity.⁸⁶ At the time of his tramp, the region’s only unifying characteristic was the disregard with which the popular United States treated it. Over the next twenty years, however, the images and catch-phrases Lummis minted to describe the landscape through which he traveled became ubiquitous, their use nearly involuntary. Such success can be attributed at least in part—as this chapter will explore—to the ease with which attitudes towards landscape and ethnicity inherited from the Romantic tradition in nature tourism could be adapted

to the New Mexican Territory. Much as the Romantic movement used picturesque landscapes to evoke a pastoral past that was fast disappearing in the wake of England's agricultural revolution, Southwestern regionalism after Lummis used it to sustain a vision of preindustrial life radically different from that of the urbanizing East Coast.

Lummis' books typify literary history at its imaginative extreme insofar as they invented the object of their attentions in attempting to describe it. As is often the case with such writing, when they entered the economy of vernacular knowledge, the authority of ink on paper combined with widespread interest among Lummis' readership to establish them as the sterling standard against which all other information on the subject was judged. Among the waves of Anglo immigrants that followed Lummis' lead in celebrating the newly-minted Southwestern regionalism, observation and experience served less to expose inaccuracy or romanticism in his work than to identify "inauthentic" or "atypical" elements in the Anglos' adoptive home—a process whereby facts are judged according to their congruence with accepted history rather than vice versa. Lummis himself engages continually in this process of retrospective evaluation. For example, he refuses to identify the Anglo as a true ethnic "type" in the New Mexico Territory, for the Spanish Conquest in 1598 rather than the American annexation in 1848 is his defining moment for the area:

There are three typical races in New Mexico now—for it would be wrong to include the ten per cent. "American" interpolation as a type. With them I have here nothing to do.... Besides them and around them are the real autochthones, a quaint ethnologic trio.⁸⁷

The phrase "quaint ethnologic trio" indicates the extent to which Lummis' creative historiography is more than a reflection of the attitudes toward Mexico that prevailed in his native New England, however. The anti-Hispanic sentiment that prompted the *New York Times* to comment in 1875 that the region's people were "ignorant and utterly destitute of enterprise and public spirit"⁸⁸ and which played a large part in delaying statehood until 1912 appeared in Lummis' earliest letters as a commentary on the "Greaser" but soon disappeared. Rather than

denigrate Hispanos as unindustrious, he celebrated them as unhurried and gracious survivals of Old World gentility. Similarly, passages on Pueblo Indians in his work portray them as peaceful agriculturists rather than restive marauders or helpless wards of the state. Lummis' early comments on the Navajo and Apache Indians focused on banditry and horse-thievery; but he later adopted the government's assimilationist rhetoric, insisting that the nomadic Indian "is now a peaceful farmer, learning the lessons of civilization as fast as aboriginal man can learn them."⁸⁹ He thus anticipated the popular America's shift from racist to racialist attitudes, encouraging the replacement of ethnic disgust with exotic desire.⁹⁰

Much of the ethnic and historical mythos Lummis invented for the Southwest stemmed from an implicit cultural critique of the workaday world of the Gilded Age East Coast, which was rapidly changing from an agricultural society whose economy centered around small proprietorships to an urban one dominated by corporations. Lummis' response was a half-baked philosophy whose outward manifestation fluctuated between civil disobedience and utter irresponsibility. Against the neurasthenia of urban life he proclaimed the virtues of vigorous physical activity; against the grind of workaday existence in incorporated America, footloose indigence and mendicancy. As early as 1879 he and friend Boies Penrose rehearsed this doctrine by walking some 127 miles from Boston to Manchester, New Hampshire over a Thanksgiving weekend, dressed as tramps and begging for food along the way. Settled life and the Gilded Age's all-pervasive rhetoric of "family values" did not appeal to Lummis. He abandoned a child conceived out of wedlock while working during summers at Profile House, a resort in New Hampshire, and later left his wife Dorothea and a job with his father-in-law as farm manager in Ohio. Like many antimodernists, his cultural critique had a strong esthetic component that valued artisanal products and a diffuse, Emersonian celebration of Nature. For example, he financed an abortive Harvard education by selling copies of his poems cleverly printed on birch-bark and sewn together by hand. The book, *Birch Bark Poems*, sold some 3,500 copies—largely, Lummis

himself admitted, because of novelty in packaging rather than artistic merit. *Life* magazine echoed his sentiment, as did Longfellow in a glancingly insulting letter: “[your book] is very quaint and pretty in design; and I have read with pleasure the poems it contains.”⁹¹ *Birch Bark Poems* taught Lummis early the advantages of commodifying antimodern nostalgia, of whatever quality. His later Southwestern writings and photography capitalized, literally, on the phenomenon. The eye that imagined in marginal populations such as tramps a vigorous alternative to the lifestyle of white-collar urban labor likewise found a new home in Lummis’ conception of Hispano and Pueblo populations. If the Eastern corporate man upheld a work-ethic that saw, in Weber’s words, “the fulfillment of duty in worldly affairs as the highest form which the moral activity of the individual could assume,”⁹² the Catholic Hispano population of the New Mexico Territory seemed to hold attitudes towards more akin to Lummis’ own:

Why hurry with the hurrying world? The “Pretty Soon” of New Spain is better than the “Now! Now!” of the haggard States.... Let us not hasten—*manana* will do. Better still, *pasado manana*.⁹³

The association of ease and grace with Spanishness, as evinced in Lummis’ appropriation of “New Spain” and cobbled-together Spanish both here and in the title of the book (*The Land of Poco Tiempo*) reflects the extent to which his celebration of Hispano culture was tied to a critique of white America’s work-ethic and the pace of urban life. Through a curious metaphorical interpretation of the Conquest, however, Lummis was able to marry this vision of the easy life to images of noble and heroic labor in a God-given cause:

The most superhuman marches, the most awful privations, the most devoted heroism, the most unsleeping vigilance wrested this bare, brown land to the world; and having wrested it, went to sleep. The winning was the wakefullest in history—the after-nap eternal. It never has wakened—one does not know that it ever can. Nature herself does little but sleep, here.⁹⁴

Formulating a “sleeping Conquest” as the originary image of New Mexico allowed Lummis to include both the ease and grace of the “land of poco tiempo” and the “devoted heroism” and “unsleeping vigilance” of the Conquistadors in his conception of Southwestern Hispano identity. This formulation notably excludes Protestant America’s notion of labor in a calling as the highest expression of moral virtue; there is no mention of quotidian or business

endeavors. Importantly, even when he focuses on images of ethnicity, as here, Lummis makes the Southwestern landscape the center of attention; witness, for example, the floating subject of the previous passage. “Marches,” “privations” and “heroism” wrest the land; “winning” is wakeful; “it” (presumably the “brown land”) will never wake; finally, “it” is identified with “nature,” who only sleeps. The Spanish Conquistadors take back stage to their own actions, which are eventually subsumed into the landscape itself as an embodiment of ethnic essentials.

Naturalizing ethnicity in this fashion allowed Lummis to present the New Mexican Territory as a land not only with a unique history, but with a unique *kind* of history characterized by interpenetration of the past into the present. The sleeping landscape is a preservative for the past; history does not progress, and antiquities remain like insects caught in amber—the most significant being Pueblo Indians and Hispanos. In such a realm, ethnographic and historical enquiry are at heart the same enterprise, for inhabitants of the sleeping past appear on every street and can be interrogated. Because the Conquest “wrested this bare, brown land to the world”—the world being “Europe”—it is knowable; however, the “wakefullest winning” and “unsleeping vigilance” are the last moment of historical presence before the empty “after nap eternal.” Hence the preternatural stillness of Lummis’ formulation: “sun, silence, and adobe—that is New Mexico in three words.”⁹⁵ Beyond mere estheticism, these three words establish a regional view of historical progression and naturalized ethnicity that stands in opposition to the “hurrying world” of the Eastern states.

‘Sun, Silence, and Adobe’: Landscape and Ethnicity

The extent to which landscape is the unifying matrix that preserves these characteristics and inculcates them into the region’s inhabitants while forestalling any real ethnic strife becomes clear in a later passage:

The brown or gray adobe hamlets of the descendants of those fiery souls who wreaked here a commonwealth before the Saxon fairly knew there was a New World; the strange terraced towns of the aboriginal pioneers who out-Spaniarded the Spaniards by unknown centuries; the scant leaven of incongruous American brick—all are under the spell [of sleep]. And the abrupt mountains, the echoing, rock-walled canons, the sunburnt mesas, the streams bankrupt by their own shylock sands, the gaunt, brown, treeless plains, the ardent sky, all harmonize with unearthly unanimity.⁹⁶

The stress here is on ethnic heterogeneity harmonized by the “unearthly unanimity” of the architecture and landscape. Though Hispanos, Indians, and Anglos are each treated in turn, Lummis mixes them through cross-cultural metaphors, comparing “fiery” Spanish souls with Saxons and Pueblo Indians first to American frontiersmen (themselves “aboriginal pioneers”), then to Spanish conquistadors (they “out-Spaniarded the Spaniards.”) The rhetoric here leaves Anglos (typified by “American brick”) unabsorbed in the landscape because they are “incongruous,” but dismisses them out of hand as too rare to alter the overall mix: their “American brick” is “scant leaven” to the native adobe. The passage moves the harmony that Lummis perceived in the Southwestern landscape backwards through a melange of sleeping architectural forms into their actual inhabitants; the moral being that, though New Mexican natives live largely as they did in the time of the Conquest, the landscape’s preternatural sleep produces an ethnic mixing and harmony exclusive only of Anglos. Indeed, Lummis considers the landscape a living organism that becomes diseased when settled by Anglos:

A few semi-bustling towns wart the Territorial map. It is pockmarked with cattle-ranches and mines, where Experience has wielded his costly birch over millionaire pupils from the East and from abroad. But the virus never reaches the blood—the pits are only skin-deep. The Saxon excrescences are already asleep too.⁹⁷

The organic metaphor assumes three different guises here: American settlements are “excrescences”—signs of pollution that need to be wiped away from the body of the land; they may be an invading “virus” attempting to infect New Mexico’s inherent vitality; or, most interestingly, the land’s beauty may be disfigured by American settlements much as “warts,” “pits,” and “pockmarks” compromise facial beauty in a portrait. Indeed, Lummis repeatedly invokes the ideal of the photogenic or picturesque when describing New Mexico, whether explicitly—“New Mexico, like the dearest women, cannot be adequately photographed”⁹⁸—or implicitly, as in his refusal to include the “American” as a true New Mexican racial type: “they

are potential, but not picturesque.”⁹⁹ The landscape itself has picturesque “universality,” rather than merely the scattered “concentration of natural picturesqueness to be found elsewhere.”¹⁰⁰ Moreover, Pueblo Indians are “picturesque—anywhere and always”¹⁰¹; the “flat Mexican towns themselves are picturesque,”¹⁰² though Hispanos themselves are “fast losing their pictorial possibilities.”¹⁰³ Lummis’ hyperbole rises to its greatest pitch considering the landscape and adobe buildings together: “‘Picturesque’ is a tame word for it. It is a picture, a romance, a dream, all in one.”¹⁰⁴

Lummis repeatedly mobilized the “picturesque” as a criterion for distributing esthetic value across the New Mexican landscape: only those views that contain themes identifying them with the received tradition in European and American painting receive the label “picturesque.” For the British Grand Tourists who coined the term in the 18th-century during tramps through the Italian countryside, the term similarly referred to “picture-like” landscapes resembling the pastoral idylls of Claude Lorraine and Salvator Rosa. These artists’ canvases or copies of them served the Grand Tourists to evoke memories of the journey, as visible proof to others that they had undertaken the trip and acquired the social status thus implied, and as markers of aristocratic taste congruent with Continental models—criteria with primitivist analogues in the modernist art market created by the Taos Artists’ Colony in Lummis’ wake. The British tradition that developed out of the Grand Tourists’ Italian models distinguished landscape into three formal categories after Edmund Burke’s *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, as reworked by Richard Payne Knight and Uvedale Price. Of these, the “sublime” landscape treated vast prospects, was “rugged and negligent,” “dark and gloomy,” “solid and massive”—characteristics typical of views in the Alps. “Beautiful” landscape, by contrast, treated pastoral views of small dimensions, was “smooth and polished,” “not obscure,” and “light and delicate.” The “picturesque” landscape then came to refer to compositions that

mixed formal aspects of the beautiful and the sublime and was identified with the rugged landscape of the Scottish Highlands, Wales, and the Lake District.¹⁰⁵

William Gilpin's tourist memoirs from trips to these regions codified the formal characteristics of the English Picturesque landscape: a dark foreground of rough foliage and twisted roots, with framing trees to either side; in the middle-ground, a rustic pastoral or agricultural view, often with a river that leads the eye into the distance; and a well-lit background, often containing a sublime mountain prospect or a crumbling ruin. An ethnic "type" suggestive of distance, rural life, or primitive freedom often completes the composition: a gypsy, Druid, bandit, or vagrant, whose presence gives the landscape a specifically rural flavor and who is unindividuated, merely an outgrowth of the wilderness behind. Hence, the picturesque landscape embodies "mixture," not only of sublime and beautiful subject matter, but also of human artifice and nature. Ruins—civilization subject to nature's law—head Uvedale Price's list of items that mix art and nature, followed by hovels, the insides of old barns, old mills, rough-hewn park fences, shattered oaks, worn-out carthorses, shaggy goats, angry lions, gypsies, and beggars. A later comment reflects the extent to which the picturesque allied marginal groups with ruins and other objects that mixed art and nature: gypsies and beggars "bear a close analogy to the wild forester and the worn out cart-horse, and again to old mills, hovels and other inanimate objects of the same kind."¹⁰⁶ Much as Lummis' Southwestern picturesque absorbs Pueblo and Hispano populations into the adobe landscape, the British Picturesque melded marginal social groups into its own regional landscapes.

Lummis' vision of native ethnicity married to landscape became fundamental to Southwestern regionalism; for example, some forty years after his original "tramp," Mabel Dodge Luhan commented:

Wherever Mexicans lived in houses, they seemed to fit into the land better than the Americans. We occasionally saw them outside their homes, and both the people and their little houses looked homogeneous and connected; and their faces, although they were often haggard and worn and twisted, fitted into the landscape. It was as if they had been marked by struggles that were more fitting than the Anglo-Saxon fight for life out here. They had had to fight the elements to secure a living from them, and their constant touch was with fire, water, and the earth. Something of this contact was graven on their gnarled and twisted features and in their spare, distorted frames.¹⁰⁷

Luhan's imagery is a picturesque mixture of sublime ruggedness and beautiful harmony. Hispanos' features are "haggard," "twisted," "gnarled," their bodies "distorted." Yet they blend with the adobe architecture, looking "homogeneous and connected" with their houses and each other; both architecture and native populations "fit into the land" like anonymous marginal figures in a British picturesque landscape. Thus, Hispano ethnicity, adobe architecture, and the desert landscape blend before the eye of the cultured Eastern traveler—recalling Lummis' scene of Pueblo Indians and Hispanos, adobe "hamlets" and "terraced towns", and mountains, canyons, mesas, and streams, all of which "harmonize with unearthly unanimity." Moreover, as in Lummis' *The Land of Poco Tiempo*, the Hispano populations in Luhan's description engage in a noble conquest, "fighting the elements to secure a living from them," whereas Anglos have a leaden appearance that disagrees with these "elements":

They [the "Mexicans"] were worn down by struggle, but they were not hard-boiled nor deprived of their essence, as seemed the few lower-class Americans I had seen. The faces of *these* were often depraved and dead: it did not seem to agree with them to live in this wide state.¹⁰⁸

Luhan's inability to admit "depraved and dead" white populations into the landscape echoes Lummis' vision of "Saxon excrescences" as "skin-deep" "pits" in the metaphorical portrait of the New Mexican map. However, while the excluded whites in her description are subsistence farmers, Lummis had been most concerned with capitalist developers ("millionaire pupils from the East and abroad") and their large-scale endeavors ("cattle-ranches and mines").

That Lummis singles out private land development for censure is particularly important. Much as he excludes sites of bourgeois endeavor from the Southwestern picturesque, English Romantics elided signs of privatizing 18th-century Britain from their landscapes. For example, viewing a Lake District scene near Grasmere with approbation, Thomas Gray noted:

not a single red tile, no flaring Gentleman's house, or garden-walls, break in upon the repose of this little unsuspected paradise, but all is peace, rusticity, & happy poverty in its neatest most becoming attire.¹⁰⁹

Gray's landscape includes both the natural profusion of a "little unsuspected paradise" and the quaint "happy poverty" of the "rustic" cultural other. Opposed to these picturesque elements are signs of modernization and bourgeois sectioning of land: the unsightly "red tile" and "Gentleman's house" Gray despises are the direct results of "garden-walls" from the enclosure movement dividing the common English landscape for private gain, as "cattle-ranches and mines" were beginning to do in Lummis' Southwest. As Malcolm Andrews notes, at a time when the agricultural revolution was dividing huge areas of common pasturage into privately-owned agricultural land, the Picturesque esthetic bespoke a more "natural" past, conveniently mapped onto nearby Wales, the Scottish Highlands, and the Lake District. Similarly, for Lummis tracks laid by the Santa Fe Railway in 1880 provided access to a New Mexican landscape that seemed to preserve communal Pueblo and Hispano land-use patterns and ways of life rather than fostering private endeavors such as cattle-ranches and mines. Hence, in both Britain and the American Southwest, an esthetic concern with the picturesque concealed political investments in an undivided geography and pastoral or agrarian modes of production that read in opposition to industrialization and privatization. This, then, was a radically conservative esthetic: landscape as a vessel exhibiting signs of a prior way of life for consumption by the travelling urbanite; "rustic" populations whose ethnicity is coextensive with the landscape, both maintaining and maintained by the land's association with a vanishing past.

Lummis thus inaugurated a picturesque attitude towards Southwestern landscape and ethnicity whose political values mirrored the convictions of antimodernists from the East Coast and tapped into the century-old anti-industrial current of British landscape painting. The environmental forces that made adobe the most viable building material in the Southwest—it was, unlike wood, readily available, an excellent insulator from summer sun and winter frost and, with regular maintenance, capable of lasting indefinitely—provided regional esthetes with picturesque

material *par excellence*. Adobe resembled the soil from which it was made, confounding the traditional division between architecture and land. Lummis envisioned it merely as the earth's crust laid on edge: "the adobe is the easiest made and most habitable of dwellings.... As for its making, one merely flays one's lawn, stands the epidermis on edge, and roofs it."¹⁰ Because it absorbed compressive forces well but shattered under tensile ones, adobe encouraged large, rounded, and heavily-buttressed edifices suggestive of mountains; beginning in the 19th century, repeated raids by Apaches, Navajos, Utes, and Comanches made multi-level defensive constructions a necessity. Lummis observed this building style among the pueblos, commenting that "adobe mounts up by easy degrees to any elegance. Its possibilities are endless. Charming residences, creditable four-story blocks, are equally facile to the adaptive 'mud brick.'"¹¹ Moreover, adobe was more tolerant of buildings constructed off the square than materials such as wood or stone; and, though durable when maintained, when neglected it quickly degraded into picturesque ruin.¹² Hence, adobe allowed the picturesque-influenced sensibility ample room to blend native populations into architecture and both of these into the land (Color Plate 1, Color Plate 2), inextricably wedding ethnicity and region through the medium of landscape. Moreover, adobe's tolerance for uneven or organic designs could yield results that gratified regionalists' artisanal tastes by avoiding industrial regularity:

The older adobe houses, made without benefit of plumb-line, have an irregularity that sweetens their rectangles and gives them a hand-made look. The windows are set in a trifle crookedly, and doors lean a little so that nothing is exact; and the askew and unmechanical result is attractive and naive.¹³

The formal esthetic of the slightly-ajar line in such descriptions fits well in the picturesque space between Burkes' "beautiful"—which "should shun the right line, yet deviate from it insensibly"—and the "sublime"—which "loves the right line, and when it deviates... often makes a strong deviation."¹⁴ To argue that the Southwestern picturesque always retained its British parent's formal characteristics would be wrong, however; the artists that followed in Lummis' footsteps to found the Taos and Santa Fe art colonies were educated in New York, Paris, and elsewhere, often in the high modernist style. However unusual and varied their formal

technique was, however, in their work one can often discern a picturesque interest in mixture of grand and the calm, in ethnic types as elements of the landscape, in undivided or pastoral geography, and in ruins. Ernest Blumenschein, who arrived in Taos in 1898 with Burt Phillips as the first of the permanent art-colony émigrés in the Southwest, wrote a telling account of their background and arrival:

We were ennuied with the hackneyed subject matter of thousands of painters; windmills in a Dutch landscape; Brittany peasants with sabots, French roads lined with Normandy poplars; lady in negligee reclining on a sumptuous divan; lady gazing in mirror; lady powdering her nose; etc., etc. We felt the need of a stimulating subject....

Never shall I forget the first powerful impressions; my own impressions direct from a new land through my own eyes. Not another man's picture this, not another's adventure. The great naked anatomy of a majestic landscape once tortured, now calm; the fitness of adobe houses to their tawny surroundings; the vastness and overwhelming beauty of the skies; terrible drama of storms; peace of night—all in beauty of color, vigorous form, everchanging light.¹¹⁵

The hackneyed subject matter that “ennuied” Blumenschein and Phillips so falls into two rough categories: landscapes of picturesque rural regions, and boudoir portraiture. Taos Pueblo provided a plethora of “stimulating” Indian subjects and the surrounding desert an unusual new landscape; yet among the Taos Society of Artists these often remained within the two genres Blumenschein lists, as the Pueblo Indian elevated to portrait-status or the desert landscape with anonymous Indian “types.” The terms Blumenschein uses to describe the New Mexican landscape are still more conservative, a picturesque mixture of sublime grandeur and beautiful calm. The landscape is “great,” “majestic,” “tortured,” the sky a “vast” stage for “terrible drama”; with these sublime characteristics Blumenschein mixes beautiful ones, of “calm” landscapes, skies of “overwhelming beauty,” and the “peace of night.” Finally, he adds rustic architecture absorbed into the landscape: “adobe houses” that “fit” their “tawny surroundings.” It is a formula for the picturesque, couched in the terms of Southwestern regionalism. However, Blumenschein seems unaware of how deeply conservative both his vision of the landscape and the language he describes it in truly are. Rather, he mobilizes a Romantic rhetoric of individual inspiration, of a numinous spirit of the land that, conducted through the artistic eye, determines form: “my own impressions direct from a new land through my own eyes.” Indeed, he explicitly

denies the possibility of culturally-conditioned esthetics or the influence of tradition: “not another man’s picture this.” The net effect is to posit a regional essence that is the source of artistic inspiration, thus bolstering the mystique of the Southwest as a land apart and ignoring the artist’s own esthetic education and—through it—ties to the rest of the world.

Blumenschein’s account of his first encounter with the New Mexican landscape is not only pictorially conservative, it is also verbally so. Lummis’ mythogenic phrases echo behind Blumenschein’s “personal” description. The “majestic landscape once tortured, now calm” resonates with Lummis’ “superhuman marches,” “awful privations,” and “devoted heroism” that “wrested the land” in a tortured conquest, then fell into an “after-nap eternal.”¹¹⁶ The “fitness of adobe houses to their tawny surroundings” echoes Lummis’ vision of a landscape where Hispanos, Indians, adobe and desert “all harmonize with unearthly unanimity.”¹¹⁷ Even Blumenschein’s ending comment that “after a hundred miles in New Mexico we reached the sordid mud village of Taos, curious to see the pyramidal pueblo”¹¹⁸ reworks Lummis’ vision of Taos Pueblo as “two great pyramid-tenements of six stories.”¹¹⁹ (Not surprisingly, elsewhere Lummis describes the land itself as “Egypt, with every rock a sphinx, every peak a pyramid.”¹²⁰)

Blumenschein’s description of the approach to the “mud village” paints another landscape in the picturesque style:

Stretching away from the foot of this range [the Sangre de Cristos] was a vast plateau, cut by the Rio Grande and by lesser gorges in which were located small villages of flat roofed adobe houses built around a church and plaza, all fitting into the color scheme of the tawny surroundings. The sky above was clear clean blue with sharp moving clouds. The color, the reflective character of the landscape, the drama of the vast spaces, the superb beauty and severity of the hills, stirred me deeply. I realized I was getting my own impressions from nature, seeing it for the first time probably with my own eye, uninfluenced by the art of any man.

The Sangre de Cristos mountains form a sublime background, the vast plateau a middle ground through which the Rio Grande cuts, much as rivers will lead the eye to the sublime background in a British picturesque painting; the small villages with their churches and plazas furnish the scene with rustic adobe architecture that emerges from and disappears into the “tawny” surrounding landscape. Once again, Blumenschein’s abstract description of the scene

creates a picturesque mixture of sublime and beautiful elements: the “drama of vast spaces” balances a beautiful “reflective character”; the hills are both “severe” and of “superb beauty.” And once again his vision of a landscape painting “uninfluenced by the art of any man,” generated solely through the action of a spirit of region on a fertile eye, invited the idea that the Southwest was a place apart, while eradicating the possibility that Blumenschein’s was a largely conventional vision.

To summarize, when viewed in retrospect, Lummis’ 1884 “tramp across the continent” and the rhetoric of the picturesque that he mobilized to describe the area appear as a pervasive influence on the regionalists who followed in his footsteps. Lummis’ descriptions of the New Mexico Territory built upon the Romantic precedents for nature tourism as a nostalgic activity, elaborating the earlier British tradition to include Pueblo Indians and Hispanos in a desert landscape rather than—for example—gypsies in a Welsh or Scottish one. Though the subject matter and the formal expression of the picturesque attitude may have changed, however, its political import remained largely constant. The Romantic picturesque presented images from a past prior to the agricultural and industrial revolutions, coded in undivided landscapes and marginal peoples representative of them; its Southwestern cousin presented images from a past prior to the second industrial revolution and widespread urbanization, again using landscapes freed from signs of bourgeois influence and populated with marginal ethnic types indicative of preindustrial lifeways. Here the political underpinnings of Southwestern regionalism’s investment in absorbing Indians and Hispanos into their adobe architecture and both of these into the landscape beyond become clearer. Making populations with agrarian and artisanal economies coextensive with the landscape projects these modes of production onto the regional geography itself, opposing the Southwest to other American regions that were incorporating, industrializing, and urbanizing rapidly in the Gilded Age. Mobilizing the picturesque exposed Pueblo Indians

and Hispanos, adobe architecture, and the desert landscape to the machinery of antimodern desire and its coded cultural critique of the East Coast.

Thus far I have examined the picturesque as an esthetic principle for organizing paintings and landscape scenes. However, it was also centrally involved in the development of nature tourism and garden architecture. The remaining two sections will explore the techniques the picturesque used to convey a sensation of primitiveness and lack of development to travelers, the relationship of the spectator to the picturesque landscape, and how these expressed themselves in a Southwestern setting.

Technologies of the Picturesque

Lummis often associates the picturesque with a specific ethnicity, whether that of Pueblo Indians—“the Pueblos—they are picturesque anywhere and always, but particularly in their dances, races, and other ceremonials,”¹²³—or Hispanos—“the flat Mexican towns themselves are picturesque—for the ardent sun of the Southwest makes even an adobe beautiful when it can pick it out in violent antitheses of light and shade.”¹²⁴ If, however, the picturesque landscape is an ethnic landscape, it is an exclusive one: nowhere does Lummis label an Anglo community “picturesque.” Given the antimodern political investments that made Lummis’ picturesque a coded critique of bourgeois endeavor, it is not surprising that he described New Mexico in primarily visual terms, and expended considerable energy carrying an early camera

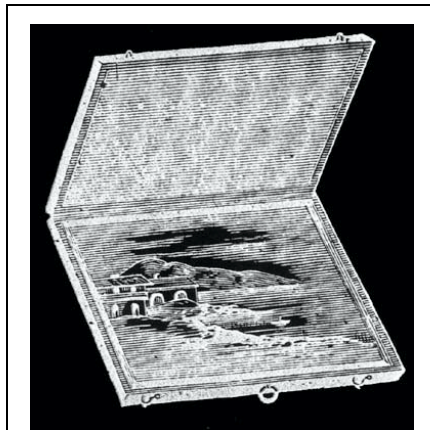


Figure 6. Claude mirror.¹²¹

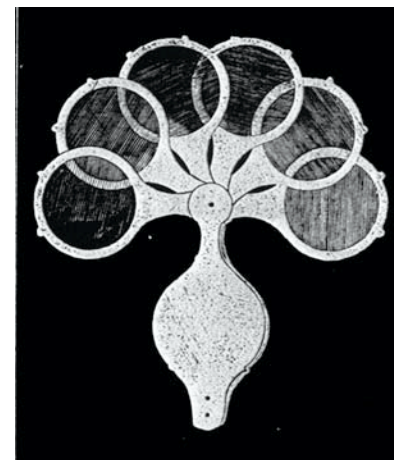


Figure 7. Claude glass.¹²²

about the countryside on his numerous excursions back to the region. In a jocular mood, Lummis calls the camera his “impedimenta,” simultaneously giving his tramps a martial and a touristic feel: the camera is both a tool for exploration and conquest and the commonplace traveler’s baggage. The latter tenor, with its emphasis on commercial tourism and photography as a means for gathering knowledge, predominates. Like Lummis’ writing, his photographs were sold to Eastern mass audiences to introduce them to the Southwest, and so entered the very circulation of commodities they attempted to subvert by celebrating New Mexican rusticity. This was by no means an uncommon phenomenon in the history of picturesque artwork. The use of Claude mirrors—small convex pocket-mirrors that arranged landscapes into an organic whole such as Claude Lorrain might have painted (Figure 6)—and Claude glasses—tinted glass that softened and blended the hues of the landscape (Figure 7)—was common among Romantics on picturesque tours and with early travelers to the American West. Thomas Gray, describing the parsonage at Derwentwater in a letter, yearned for a permanent extension of the Claude glass such as the camera later provided, noting the economic cachet such pictures would have:

I got to the Parsonage a little before Sunset & saw in my glass a picture, that if I could transmitt to you, & fix in all the softness of its living colours, would fairly sell for a thousand pounds.¹²⁵

Gray’s comment foreshadows the circular economy of evidence that, as I noted earlier, typified later tourism and anthropology: tourists and academics emerge from the centers of modernity, travel to the hinterland, and return with material evidence of foreign beauty and difference in the form of curios and



Figure 8. Postcard, Isleta Pueblo.¹²⁶

ethnic or landscape photographs.¹²⁷ Once a well-developed tourist infrastructure and a populace with leisure opportunities had arisen, curios and photographs could serve not only to verify a region's difference, but also to advertise the region itself to potential travelers. Here, Gray's offhand remark also anticipates the commodification of place and the need to authenticate travel. Developments in mass-produced photography allowed one to purchase postcards of stock views on location, authenticate them with a short message and a signature, and return them home as evidence of one's location and the difference in ethnicity and landscape there (Figure 8).

The Claude mirror and glass also promoted an attitude that saw in distant lands a sequence of picturesque views or points of interest such as later became part and parcel of modernist tourism, with its monuments, scenic viewpoints, and postcards. That Lummis' books read as an ambiguous combination of ethnography, history, and "list of sights" is not, therefore, unusual. Publishing manuals that listed where the best picturesque landscapes might be seen through one's Claude mirror and glass became common practice after Gilpin's *Observations on the River Wye* (1782), which carefully enumerated those prospects along the Wye with the most picturesque views. Lummis' repeated invocation of the "picturesque" thus built on a long-standing tradition in the 'museum landscape': the tourist's experience as a series of views or paintings that one walks between on an amble through the country. Indeed, where the word "picturesque" occurs in his writing, it signals not merely a generalized esthetic sentiment but also a specific subject matter and a composition worthy of painting or photography—an injunction to open and close the shutter *here*.

In fact, since Gilpin's book the picturesque esthetic had been a prescriptive code for attributing value to landscape according to its formula as much as a descriptive one that revealed a landscape's inherent value. As Gilpin states in his introduction:

The following little work proposes a new object of pursuit; that of not barely examining the face of a country; but of examining it by the rules of picturesque beauty: that of not merely describing; but of adapting the description of natural scenery to the principles of artificial landscape...¹²⁸

This, then, is the polar opposite of Blumenschein's theory that landscape can communicate its virtues directly to the observer, "uninfluenced by the art of any man." Rather, for Gilpin views of a landscape achieved meaning *only* through the comparison of "natural scenery" to the artistic tradition of "artificial landscape," and his phrasing even suggests that appreciating natural scenery involved overlooking or "adapting" those aspects of a natural landscape that did not fit the prescriptive ideal. Here it becomes clear to what extent the picturesque sensibilities of the Lake District tourist and the garden-ambler were extensions of those cultivated by the connoisseur of landscape painting, rather than the converse. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the British formal garden began to take on a touristic aspect in the 18th century. In William Shenstone's words, "the landskip painter is the gardiner's best designer";¹²⁹ one wandered through the picturesque garden appreciating views designed to appeal to esthetic tastes cultured in drawing-rooms and museums, and yet in a natural setting reminiscent of the 'untouched' Lake District, Wales, or the Scottish Highlands. The picturesque garden thus mediated between cultural influence and natural surroundings, purveying a constructed sensation of distance and wilderness; one wandered through it appreciating the vigor and profusion of natural forms, much as Lummis and Blumenschein wandered through the Southwest admiring its desert splendor. For decades thereafter, antimodern tourists and émigrés rambled through the Southwestern picturesque garden, appreciating scenes whose arrangement of landscape and rustic peoples spoke of pre-industrial lifeways and patterns of land use. That the "subject matter"—to use Blumenschein's term—was radically different, offering desert and American Indians rather than pasturage and gypsies, bandits, or Druids as in the British Picturesque, lent credence to the notion of a unique Southwestern regionalism. However, Lummis still provided an apology for the Southwest picturesque, claiming for the region a "universal" picturesque beauty where "every landscape is characteristic," rather than the unevenly "concentrated" beauty of locales such as the Hudson River Valley, long a favorite of American picturesque painters:

If New Mexico lacks the concentration of natural picturesqueness to be found elsewhere, it makes up in universality. There are almost no waterfalls, and not a river worthy of the name.... The mountains are largely skyward miles of savage rock; and forests are far between. But every landscape is characteristic, and even beautiful—with a weird, unearthly beauty, treacherous as the flowers of its cacti. Most of New Mexico, most of the year, is an indescribable harmony in browns and grays, over which the enchanted light of its blue skies casts an eternal spell.¹³⁰

That every landscape in the Territory of New Mexico is characteristic of a picturesque mixture of the sublime (“treacherous as the flowers of its cacti”) and the beautiful (“indescribable harmony in browns and grays”) emphasizes the importance of the tourist’s travelling eye. As in a picturesque garden, there was more than one prospect to view. In this regard, the Southwestern wilderness-as-garden is strikingly British rather than French or Dutch. The British picturesque garden celebrated an organic disorder that cradled ruins or cottages within it, rather than an architecture of plants subordinated to central buildings and organized geometrically, as one might find at Versailles. Thus, picturesque gardens and landscapes published their “naturalness” and sought to efface evidence of industrialism or bourgeois sectioning of land; for the antimodernists like Lummis who worked to create the Southwest as a region, such felt naturalness was of primary concern. The location of the spectator was particularly important: a traditional French garden radiated out in an axial fashion from the central building, often so that its windows provided a synoptic view of the garden without. Such an esthetic blessed the royal observer who stood at the garden’s center, where plants spread out in geometrical arrangements that appeared jumbled or only partially comprehensible from other vantage points (c.f. the frontispiece to chapter on the “Zoo”). The picturesque, on the other hand, was a tourist esthetic based on a series of views seen from observation points within the garden space. Though landscape pictures might be composed for specific windows in an estate house, the picturesque garden’s emphasis on curving paths and novel prospects made it at heart a pedestrian, wandering experience. Because the picturesque valorized “natural” arrangements and common experience rather than courtliness and power, a certain amount of British braggadocio surrounded it. “What are the effects of *Louis’s* magnificence to the sportive play of nature in the vale of *Keswick!*” Arthur Young once boasted, opposing the built and privileged to the natural and popular.¹³¹ A similar rhetoric

denigrating the supposedly civilized and instead celebrating marginal populations appeared in the Southwest, as did a touristic or travelling appreciation for naturally occurring landscape rather than a stationary appreciation of consciously built landscape.

The Victorian notion of picturesque gardens and parks as refuges from the trials of urban life doubtless also contributed to the creation of a Southwestern picturesque rhetoric. Only shortly before the Southwestern regional identity coalesced and its landscape and native populations became the objects of esthetic attention, Frederick Law Olmsted had inaugurated an urban landscaping tradition that drew significantly on the Victorian picturesque in Britain. In the early 19th-century, John Nash had reworked St. James Park and Regents Park in London as picturesque refuges from the surrounding urban development. Olmsted's Central Park (1857-73) and the Emerald Necklace in Boston (1881-92) translated this style to the United States. (Notably, he also designed the "Wooded Island" park at the 1893 Chicago World's Exposition.) In a period when urban refuges in the picturesque style had already become common, it is not surprising that antimodern travelers and immigrants to the Southwest would read the land and populations around them with the its esthetic in mind.

Further, the picturesque style read in opposition to the taxonomic style of botanical gardens, emphasizing "natural" arrangements rather than logical ones. Olmsted, when asked to create a park for Harvard University that combined the botanical style with his own picturesque one, commented that "a park and an arboretum seemed to me to be so far unlike in purpose that I do not feel sure that I could combine them."¹³² Hence, the picturesque tradition was self-conscious about celebrating "natural" esthetic arrangements, invoked a long history of anti-industrialism and anti-urbanism, and proved readily adaptable to primitivist ethnic attitudes—all of which made it an attractive esthetic lens through which Southwestern regionalists could read the landscape and populations around them.

Having laid out some historical context for the picturesque garden, it will now make sense to return and enumerate the “technologies” of vision and space it used to synthesize a sensation of heightened naturalness and regional difference. Initially, however, it is worth stressing that appreciating a picturesque landscape was a highly mediated activity from the beginning. Glasses and mirrors reformulated a prospect into one more typical of Claude Lorrain’s painting, presenting “the *general effect*, the *forms of the objects*, and the *beauty of tints*, in one complex view.”¹³³ Later on, the camera could not ameliorate the “beauty of tints” as did a Claude glass, but it did offer the photographer an opportunity to arrange landscape into one “complex view,” an organic composition that placed a local landscape in the wider progression of Western painting and its associated esthetics and politics. Organic compositions, when they included rustic ethnic types, suggested that landscape and ethnicity were coextensive and activated, as discussed previously, an antimodern politics of nostalgia.

First, Southwestern regionalism developed the potential for commodifying landscape that Gray sensed when he noted that a view at Derwentwater would “fairly sell for a thousand pounds” if he could only “fix” and “transmit” it home, and which Gilpin developed by publishing tour-guides listing picturesque views along the Wye. Soon after the turn of the century, the Taos Society of Artists mounted regular exhibitions of their Southwestern paintings in New York and elsewhere, exploiting paint’s ability to “fix” and “transmit” views from the hinterland. The Fred Harvey Company and the Detroit Photographic Company, mass producer of postcards and stock views, soon capitalized on the photographic tradition inaugurated by Lummis; and the Santa Fe Railway mobilized color reproduction to sell the Southwest on yearly calendars featuring E. A. Couse’s picturesque portraits of Indians. As I already noted, Lummis himself followed Gilpin’s lead, publishing books that served many as tour-guides to the Southwest, with picturesque scenes of Indian life and the Southwestern landscape carefully labeled as such.

Second, the British Picturesque expressed itself in both painting and landscape architecture, thus establishing a precedent for gardens, actual refuges from the predations of industrial and urban existence that followed the same esthetic criteria as landscape paintings did. Early Southwestern regionalists therefore inherited from their Eastern and European forebears a criterion for distributing esthetic value across geography according to how well particular landscapes fit received esthetic canons—and so automatically aligning their antimodern politics with particular regions and marking them garden refuges from urban development elsewhere. The politics of painted landscape were thus mapped onto actual geographies, making the picturesque Southwest and the urban East Coast imaginary antipodes.

Third, the picturesque garden's spatial arrangement encouraged tourist activities that became still more important in the modernist Southwest. In both the spectator wandered through the landscape rather than viewing it from a single fixed location, and both encouraged the collection and publication of "sites of interest." Moreover, each supported a commonalist ethic that assumed the sweetness and light of landscape should be accessible to all (provided they could afford the excursion), rather than the aristocratic ethic of axial gardens, which revealed themselves fully only to the courtly eye positioned at their center. Southwestern tourism retained some of the Grand Tour's emphasis on collection of cultural capital—it was an opportunity to engage in leisure activity and collect items that attested to one's having traveled—but it offered these advantages in Arnoldian fashion to the common man and woman, not just to the privileged few. The picturesque's emphasis on peripatetic appreciation thus folded easily into the tourist industry of the modernist Southwest.

Finally, arrangements that simulated the "natural" predominated in picturesque gardens, since few were organized according to scientific taxonomies such as those of botanical gardens or arboretums. Rather than stressing the subordination of nature to the hand of humankind, a picturesque landscape's mixture of elements underlined humankind's place in the organic whole:

art subject to nature. This attitude was complicated somewhat by the extent to which viewing picturesque landscapes was mediated: one adjusted one's position to make a given landscape more picturesque, viewed it through a mirror or glasses, or carefully composed plants in a garden to appear "wild." Nevertheless, insofar as the picturesque simulated the appearance of regions untouched by the agricultural or industrial revolutions, it was considered a "natural" esthetic. Its deployment in the Southwest therefore lent the region an attractive rural and primitive quality, serving to obscure the presence of the modernist spectator. Thus, rather than landscape subordinated to scientific enquiry and industry, the picturesque offered at least a simulation of the rustic and primitive.

Because these "technologies" present regional scenes for a foreign spectator, they point to fundamental tensions between local or specific and global or centralized forms of knowledge about landscape. Much of the political pleasure of the picturesque landscape lay in what James Scott might term its "illegibility." Unlike landscapes whose ecology and geography had been rationalized and coordinated to a widely accepted set of measurements, the picturesque scene purported to exhibit a profusion of natural forms free from signs of foreign systemization. Variety and a heterogeneous mixture of plant life characterized even agrarian scenes of the picturesque, rather than the regularization and simplification of—to take the opposite extreme—monoculture cultivation. In this latter arrangement, a standard set of measurements would have been applied to ensure that the land produced at its capacity vis-à-vis equivalent plots elsewhere. The ecology of a picturesque scene, on the other hand, was "illegible" to the foreign eye: if the land was productive, to what extent could only be evaluated by local standards known to those familiar with the region's complexities. How much each individual inhabitant produced was also illegible to those who were not versed in communal land-use in the region, for there were no visible property-lines or boundaries.¹³⁴ Hence, by exhibiting landscapes whose productivity was only legible to local forms of measurement, the picturesque presented an

esthetic argument for a vital regionalism. Centralized markets and legal networks would find landscapes characterized by mixture and seeming disorder illegible, unlike those that had been sectioned by enclosure—whether for agricultural development, as in Romantic Britain, or for ranches and mines, as in Lummis’ New Mexican Territory.

As I noted before, picturesque landscapes and gardens exhibited neither the axial layout and geometrical arrangement of plants typical of Continental gardens, nor the taxonomic ordering of plants that one found in botanical gardens or arboretums. Hence, the techniques of simplification and measurement that made Versailles’ gardens legible to the royal eye positioned at their center or botanical gardens legible to those familiar with Mendelian genetics did not apply to picturesque landscapes or gardens. However, while picturesque landscapes seemed accessible only to local forms of knowledge about productivity, they were always evaluated by reference to the canon of landscape painting—indeed, by definition there could be no “picturesque” view that did not resemble some prior “picture.” While there was no standard of measurement for picturesqueness, informal and ad-hoc ones existed that allowed spectators to state with reasonable confidence that a given landscape was “more” or “less” picturesque than another. If there were no fixed esthetic units there was, nevertheless, an ordering. Gilpin and Lummis both knew this and could compile guide-book lists of the most picturesque sights for *Observations on the River Wye* and *Land of Poco Tiempo* with reasonable confidence that others would find the same views esthetically pleasing. Doing so rendered the landscape legible by esthetic measures even while it insisted on illegibility in terms of agricultural productivity and land-ownership. Products other than guide-books, when marketed nationally, also rendered the esthetic landscape legible. As noted above, picturesque images were readily commodifiable; in the realm of picturesque genre art the amount for which a single-print photograph—for example—might sell could serve as a rough gauge in standard units of its picturesqueness, though subject always to the vagaries of individual buyers’ tastes. Gray’s comment that the scene of Derwentwater’s parsonage he

particularly valued “would fairly sell for a thousand pounds” is perhaps a more telling measurement of how picturesque he felt the view was than one might first be inclined to believe.

It might be more accurate, therefore, to call the political pleasure of picturesque landscape one of “synthetic illegibility.” The picturesque presented scenes whose land-use and –ownership patterns were illegible and so seemingly uninfluenced by the standardization and economic centralization that accompanied the industrial and agricultural revolutions. Through guide-books, paintings, ethnographies, memoirs, and other regional products that treated individual views, however, the landscape was rendered legible esthetically. Such developments invited rationalization in the production of picturesque regionalism. As Scott notes, previous standardization of measurements for production of crops, lumber, mineral wealth and so on led to simplification of the landscape to maximize production: monoculture farming and strip mining are examples. Similarly, where cultural products made regions such as the Southwest or the Lake District legible according to a picturesque esthetic, rationalization and simplification acted to make merely typical regional images into normative ones. Hence, for example, the modernist architectural movement in Santa Fe that, under the banner of “historic preservation,” allowed many of the city’s oldest non-adobe buildings to be demolished and replaced with adobe ones, and remodeled others to restore an “authentic” adobe appearance—not merely maintaining but *standardizing* the city’s picturesque image.¹³⁵

The Aristocratic Ideal and Picturesque Property

Seen at close hand, “all the formalities of hedge-row trees, and square divisions of property, are disgusting in a high degree,” Gilpin asserted.¹³⁶ After the agricultural revolution, however, in arable regions of Britain the only way to maintain a landscape without the “hedge-row trees” or “square divisions” that bespoke private acquisition of the land was to purchase it oneself. Picturesque estate gardens were often quite large, in part to completely enclose the

landscape and so efface any sign of private ownership. Because much of the land thus encircled had previously been held in common, the picturesque garden was thus only possible politically as a result of the very agricultural developments it rebelled against esthetically.¹³⁷ One can interpret the phenomenon as a last attempt by the squirearchy to legitimate and entrench their position in the face of rapid social change; however, picturesque tourism was also popular with barristers, journalists, clergymen, shopkeepers, and clerks. Among this population, embracing the picturesque served a dual purpose: it enacted in esthetic form a revolt against the agricultural and industrial revolutions; but it also represented an opportunity to participate in an artistic life that, in its beginnings as the Grand Tour, had been the sole purview of the aristocracy. Thus, not only were picturesque politics and subject matter conservative in spirit; picturesque spectatorship was also, for it involved either the exercise of traditional aristocratic prerogatives of land-ownership, their appropriation by a rising class of industrialists, or the aping of aristocratic taste by literate persons who were, nevertheless, of limited means.¹³⁸ The picturesque's dissociation of "moral" and "esthetic" spheres of existence was itself often elitist, implying a spectatorial position somewhere between that of an industrialist appraising his workers' efficiency and a landed aristocrat observing peasants in the fields. Consider, for example, Gilpin's notorious comment that, "in a moral view, the industrious mechanic is a more pleasant object, than the loitering peasant. But in a picturesque light, it is otherwise. The arts of industry are rejected."¹³⁹ The picturesque movement thus firmly separated the spectator's potential involvement in the industrial or political concerns of the day from his or her esthetic investment in scenes of a rustic past, viewed from an aristocratic vantage-point. In some senses, it was industrializing society's celebration of feudalism, using the medium of landscape and rustic marginal populations.

Antimodernists in the Southwest did not acquire plots of land to build large picturesque gardens as their English predecessors had. Anglo chicanery had already wrested a sizeable portion of the area from the Hispano population after annexation in 1848, rendering it unavailable

to antimodern émigrés—who often, like Lummis, had only meager financial resources. This did not prevent them from implementing a vicarious feudal dream, however. At a time when popular American stereotypes of Mexicans derived in part from age-old Anglo-Spanish hostilities inherited from the British, in part from stock images of the cruelty depicted in Bartolomé de las Casas's *Historia de las Indias*, and from widespread anti-Catholic religious animosities, Southwestern regionalists embraced a Romantic Spanish manorial ideal.¹⁴⁰ As noted earlier, one can see Lummis vacillating between images of the Mexican “Greaser” and one of Old World nobility, heroism, hospitality, and ease early in *The Land of Poco Tiempo*:

Last of all, the Mexicans; in-bred and isolation-shrunken descendants of the Castilian world-finders; living almost as much against the house as in it; ignorant as slaves, and more courteous than kings; poor as Lazarus, and more hospitable than Croesus; Catholics from A to Izzard, except when they take occasion to be Penitentes—and even then fighting to bring their matted scourges and bloody crosses into the church...¹⁴¹

Here, New Mexican Hispanos are either “in-bred and isolation-shrunken,” indolent, “ignorant as slaves,” “poor,” and given to religious practices even the Catholic Church considers barbarous; or heroic “Castilian world-finders,” courteous “kings,” mythically “hospitable,” and pious. If one accepts the latter, Romantic and feudal, trope it becomes necessary to mediate between a vision of picturesque Hispano rusticity and one of Old World elegance, however. Lummis does so by invoking a Rousseauian image of primitive nobility, lauding Hispanos as “ragged courtiers” and “unlettered diplomats.”¹⁴² So-called American “civilization” appears clenched-fisted in comparison with the rustic but noble Hispano *hospitalias*:

Hospitality is as Latin in fact as in name. It is in the blood; and outside that blood it is not. In the old days, one might zigzag the whole incomparable area of Spanish America, without money or letters, with no introduction beyond his patent of humanity, and be assured everywhere of a “welcome to your own house, Señor.” It is very much so to-day, and the traveler in outer darkness will meet a hospitality as utter as he shall find the lack of it in the few ‘civilized’ communities along his way.¹⁴³

The progenitor of the hospitable and aristocratic “hacienda image” was doubtless Helen Hunt Jackson, like Lummis a native of Massachusetts notable for creating Southwestern mythology that reads as a cultural critique of the Gilded Age East Coast. Her novel *Ramona*, published the year of Lummis’ “tramp across the continent” (1884), was a melodramatic romance between the title’s namesake, a dusky-eyed Indian maiden, and a Hispanic aristocrat. *Ramona*

simultaneously critiqued the United States' deceitful treatment of the American Indian and, like Lummis' work, celebrated Hispanics as the heroic and noble descendants of the Spanish Conquistadors.

The Southwestern feudal picturesque, like its British precursor, was in part the product of an entrenched elite that realized it either already had been or soon would be forgotten. As James Byrkit has noted, many of the early Southwestern regionalists came from old-line East Coast families whose influence had been circumvented by the Gilded Age's "robber barons"—the Vanderbilts, Rockefellers, Carnegies, and Morgans. Disaffected with the professions' displacement by incorporation, the growth of cities and industrial areas, and a political shift that ignored their traditional status as the patrician elite in favor of appointees endorsed by nouveau-riche industrialists, members of this well-educated class of cultural Brahmins sought new venues for their version of American idealism and aristocratic privilege. Some left the Republican party, instead supporting Democrat Grover Cleveland and political reform during the 1884 presidential nominations. Others turned outward, to a romantic regionalism such as John Pendleton Kennedy portrayed in his novel of the feudal antebellum South, *Swallow Barn*. In the Southwest, still others implemented a regional myth that drew on Thoreau and Rousseau's celebration of nature and landscape, Cooper and Longfellow's primitivist vision of American Indians, and a romantic vision of feudal Spanish society.¹⁴⁴ A Southwestern picturesque could integrate all of these characteristics. The desert landscape presented a natural environment illegible to East Coast industrialism, where Pueblo Indians and Hispanos *paisanos* worked the land as subsistence-agriculturists rather than as part of the proletariat or the incorporated white-collar class. Moreover, among landed Hispano groups expatriate regionalists saw facets of their own ideals of hospitality, grace, cultivation, and noblesse oblige. The picturesque whole separated the "moral" from the "esthetic," as its Romantic progenitor had. Rather than engaging in the political, social, or economic life of the region one viewed it from an aristocratic remove, as a vision of past ways

of life inextricably wedded to the land or to a feudal social hierarchy. Both the Romantic and the Southwestern picturesque proffered images of the land prior to industrial or urban development to a spectator who stood at a remove, observing the composition as though inspecting a painting. Actual participation in pastoral or agrarian life played no part, and one's identity as a member of an embattled elite or an industrial white-collar economy was not in question. Thus, in the Southwest the spectator was placed firmly outside the picturesque frame, in the position of an aristocratic Grand Tourist observing a scene on the road or a member of the landed gentry walking through his garden. Many émigrés from the East Coast Brahmin class found in the Southwest a vision of life prior to Gilded Age industrialism and urbanism, a position outside the vision that affirmed their notions of aristocratic privilege, and a local Hispano population malleable to their ideals of Old World grace and charm.

In the following decades the Santa Fe Railway and the Fred Harvey Company marketed Lummis and his followers' Southwestern picturesque more widely, to a popular audience composed primarily of the expanding urban bourgeoisie. The moral and esthetic spheres of the tourist experience remained firmly separated, however. The funds and leisure time required to tour this preindustrial region were acquired in white-collar jobs in urban or industrialized areas—much as the earlier picturesque gardens were made possible only by participation in the very agricultural and industrial revolutions they rebelled against. However, like the barristers, journalists, clergymen, shopkeepers, and clerks who went on picturesque tours in Wales and the Scottish Highlands, for the American bourgeoisie a railway tour provided an opportunity to indulge in newfound leisure activities and garner cultural capital by engaging in a picturesque Grand Tour of their own.

Among this population, actual efforts occupy the picturesque landscape rather than merely observing it while passing through often degenerated into bourgeois attempts to purchase authenticity, a simpler if less rewarding enterprise than replacing the industrial lifeways that made

picturesque landscapes and peoples attractive with the artisanal or agrarian alternatives. The moral and the esthetic were not so easily merged; like Britain's picturesque gardeners, many attempted to purchase the landscape and ethnicity they associated with the past using present capital. For example, New York expatriate Mabel Dodge, having moved to Taos and fallen in love with Tony Luhan, a Pueblo Indian, writes that a true sensation of belonging only manifested itself with the purchase of land and adobe:

Of course acquiring a piece of land here was a symbolic move, a picture of what was happening inside me. I had to have a place of my own to live on where I could take root and make a life in a home. This earth and Tony were identical in my imagination and his, and I wanted to become a part of them, and the day the place became mine, it was as though I had been accepted by the universe. In that day I became centered and ceased the lonesome pilgrimage forever.¹⁴⁵

The comment that "this earth and Tony were identical" echoes Lummis' vision of the desert landscape as a preservative matrix for ethnicity. The only way Dodge sees to "become a part" of that life, however, is a bourgeois one: the purchase of "a place of my own to live on." If the picturesque's mediated vision read the Southwest as a garden landscape that immersed the travelling urbanite in an environment of exaggerated naturalness and rustic ethnicity evocative of pastoral or agrarian ways of life, the common bourgeois response was an attempt to purchase belonging in it. To the great many for whom "going native" completely was unacceptable, Southwest instead offered the opportunity, it seemed, to buy an entry to Eden—to acquire preindustrial life with industrial capital. Thus the picturesque set the stage for a Southwestern tourist industry whose primary activity was producing and consuming the primitive.

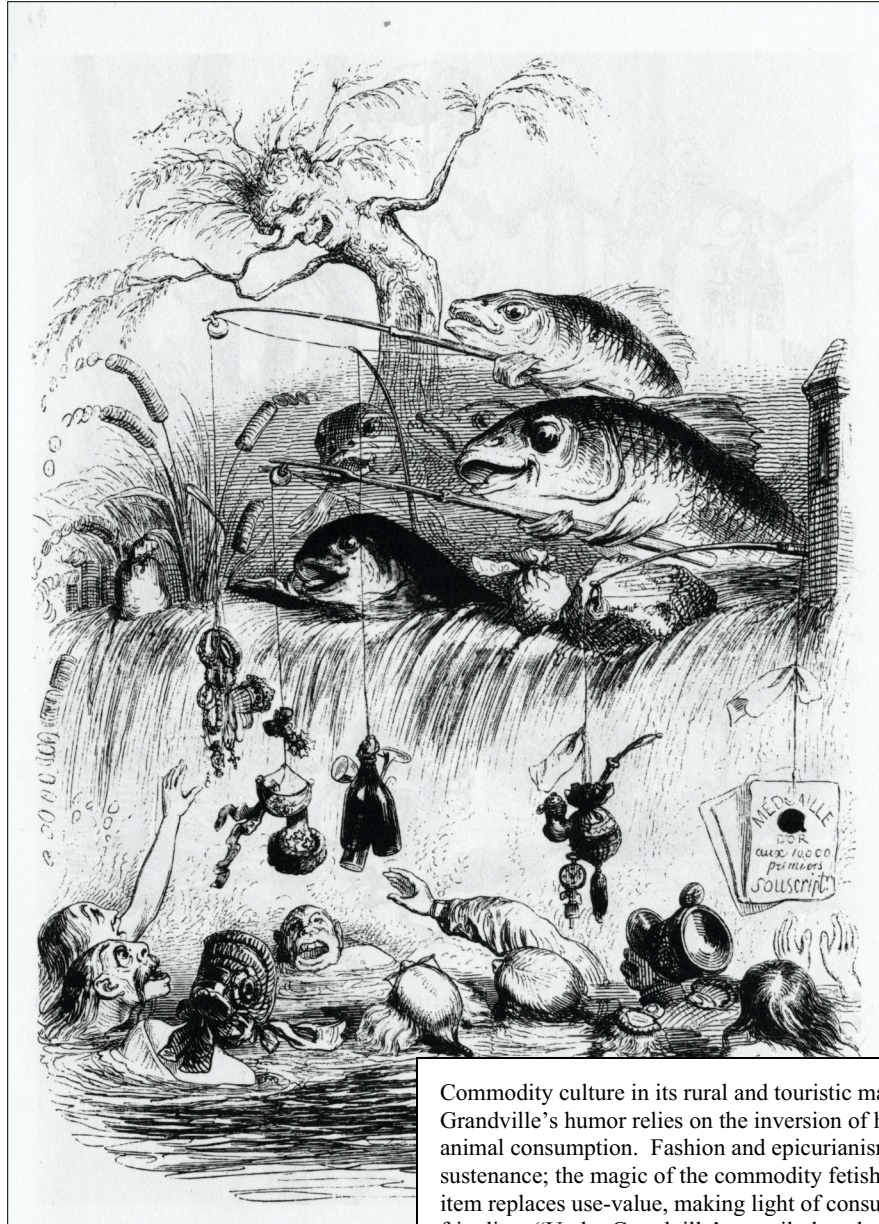


Color Plate 1. Victor Higgins, *Pueblo of Taos*. Rounded shapes unite Pueblo Indians standing in the foreground and on the pueblo to the right with adobe architectural elements and mountains in the background.¹⁴⁶



Color Plate 2. Joseph Henry Sharp. *Sunset Dance—Ceremony to the Evening Sun*. Lines of Taos pueblo echo the mountains behind; Indians on the building's roof disappear into the adobe architecture.¹⁴⁷

Arcade



Commodity culture in its rural and touristic manifestation. Grandville's humor relies on the inversion of human and animal consumption. Fashion and epicurianism supplant sustenance; the magic of the commodity fetish or specialty item replaces use-value, making light of consumer culture's frivolity. "Under Grandville's pencil, the whole of nature is transformed into specialties," Walter Benjamin notes; "the enthronement of the commodity, with its luster of distraction, is the secret theme of [his] art." American Indian specialties from rural tourist markets held a similar luster and distraction for urban travelers, though with an ethnic valence as well. Here, connoisseur-value replaces use-value; objects emblematic of preconsumerist society evoke an artisanal and indigenous dream world for the collector.¹⁴⁸

Industrial Economies: Turner and the Changing Space of the American West

On July 12, 1893, Frederick J. Turner read a paper entitled “The Significance of the Frontier in American History” at the World’s Columbian Exposition lecture series, held daily as an intellectual enticement to the fairgoer tired of the more spectacular entertainment provided elsewhere. Turner’s essay, which quickly became a staple in the American intellectual diet, imagined the Exposition’s dual rhetoric of nativist identity and industrial progress writ large across a space defined by the American frontier. Rather than a pale copy of the European original, he maintained, the Gilded Age American derived from contact with primitive wilderness and Indians along the moving frontier line. There “the wilderness masters the colonist...[i]t takes him from the railroad car and puts him in the birch canoe.”¹⁴⁹ The concerned audience-member need not panic, however, for social and industrial progress had sublimated his or her savage national inheritance into a civilized but unique American vigor. In the frontier’s wake, Turner traced a series of developmental stages, from Indian hunting to opportunistic farming, intensive agriculture, and finally factory manufacturing and urbanism.¹⁵⁰ In the pages of the “palimpsest”¹⁵¹ left behind the frontier, however, one could still discern the faint original lines of the Indian and the frontiersman, vanishing, a phantom of progress.

Turner’s lecture thus elaborated in an academic venue the nationalist ideology that pervaded all of the World’s Columbian Exposition: an American prerogative derived from Indian inheritance but wedded to the wonders of industrialization, manufacture, and trade. To these he added an unusual mapping of time onto the American landscape—rather than venturing West to seek one’s fortune, one could now travel West into the primal past—and an ambivalent attitude towards progress. For, he began his essay by noting, the frontier had ceased to exist as recently as 1890.¹⁵² If America’s true source of identity lay in vigorous frontier life, then the Exposition’s utopian vision of progress concealed the serpent of an American nostalgia obsessively focussed on the West as the frontier’s final resting place and the site of a maddeningly close disconnect

with authentic experience. American development could also be seen as dissipation—an attitude that, as I will discuss, encouraged surrender to specifically-Western forms of the longing for the wellsprings of identity.

The fairgoer who emerged from Turner's historic lecture wandered among Indian, agricultural, and industrial displays delicately inflected in terms of the American frontier and subsequent development. Not only were the exhibits indicative of the progress of Mankind in general; many also spoke privately, of a unique American history in the wake of the frontier, each coordinating a point in time and a geography in relationship to the frontier's grand sweep to the West. To wander through the Exposition's Indian, agricultural, and industrial displays was thus, in a loose sense, to wander West, to rehearse America, to engage in the pleasure of viewing past history while remaining secure in one's own status as a member of the industrial age. To its largest audience, a managerial middle class newly-endowed with leisure time and disposable income, participation in the fair oscillated between two poles established in the 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition and developed in the Paris Arcades of the late 19th-century.¹⁵³ Museums and educational exhibits followed the spectatorial tradition of "look, but don't touch," while the Midway and the ethnographic villages invited comparison with the marketplace and encouraged the purchase of items. The Western tourist trade, just blossoming at the time of the 1893 Exposition, would soon capitalize on this new consumerist mode of understanding, advertising excursions that mixed leisurely spectatorship and soft ethnography with direct participation in the economy of native material culture—a combination one might term "railway flânerie." Linked to the nostalgic search for premodern forms of experience associated with the frontier, railway flânerie provided an ideal venue for articulating an increasingly consumerist national economy with what Walter Benjamin called longing for classless "primal history" (*Urgeshichte*).¹⁵⁴ In the West, one could now consume preconsumerism, and bring it home in the form of Indian pots, baskets, and silverwork. Further, the very flawed nature of the experience—exchanging money

for items symbolic of artisanal modes of production—could encourage further and more wide-ranging travelling. The closer the tourist feels to lost sources of authenticity, the stronger his or her sense of loss and the greater the desire to attempt its consummation. One might argue that post-industrial tourism often markets not foreign lands and peoples so much as the self-replenishing sensation of loss itself.

Finally, one should note that the appearance of “The Significance of the Frontier in American History” marked a turning point in the kinds of narratives one could tell about the space of the West. The vision of the West that divided the continent into land already incorporated into the United States and uncivilized or Indian wilderness (“free land” in Turner’s telling wording) was increasingly less tenable. Instead of a space characterized by opportunistic trading and exploration across a frontier that defined a known interior and a vast and wild exterior the census suggested a West, gigantic but integral, “broken into by isolated bodies of development.”¹⁵⁵ Through this web of settlement, incorporation, subdivision, and management of space—and through it, “nature” and “Indians”—replaced the conquest metaphor of Manifest Destiny and its polar opposites of “settled land” and “free land.” As the frontier period waned, what had been a vast wilderness was reconceived as a space that instead contained and segregated vast wildernesses of both the natural and the cultural variety. Yellowstone National Park (1872) at 2.2 million acres and the Navajo Indian Reservation (1868), at 3 million acres, are two prominent examples.

Turner insisted on reading development in the wake of the frontier as a slow progression from opportunistic agriculture without crop rotation to subsistence farming, small-scale trade, and so on. However, the history of the very city in which he read his lecture belied such a simple evolutionary paradigm. Mass transportation of lumber, grain, and livestock through rapidly urbanizing hubs such as Chicago and St. Louis made the West a stronghold of dispersed industrialism and connected Eastern and Western markets into a single economy whose very

pervasiveness made it invisible to the untrained eye, used as it was to seeing incommensurate differences between urban and rural landscapes.¹⁵⁶ The changes in the production and consumption of livestock are most the most telling example of this articulation between the management of space and local integration into a national economy. Prior to the 1860's, Plains Indians hunted the migratory bison herds opportunistically, occasionally selling hides at white settlements in exchange for firearms, liquor, and other small trade goods. After cattle replaced bison throughout the West in the 1860's and 70's, cowboys drove the fatted herds slowly north and east to markets at railway hubs, grazing them along the way to minimize the animals' weight loss. Competition for range and James Glidden's invention of barbed wire in 1873 encouraged fencing of large ranches in Wyoming and Texas; while simultaneously market pressures drove farmers in Illinois and Iowa to subdivide their pasture, fattening cattle in small feedlots with corn grown in other fields nearby. Also, the cost of energy—in the form of wood and coal—required to ship cattle to and from feedlots via rail soon undercut the cost of energy—in the form of steers' lost muscle and fat—spent during a long cattle drive. The net result was that by the 1890's a pound of beef on a counter in New York was the product of an industrial production process that veiled its similarity with a traditional factory by dispersing its operations across the immense geography of the West. Stages in manufacturing the product were organized into sequence and distributed across controlled spaces throughout the West; a steer might spend its first year on a ranch in Wyoming, grow fat on corn in an Iowa feedlot the next, die in a slaughterhouse in Chicago, and then make its way in dispersed fashion to tables on the Eastern seaboard soon thereafter.¹⁵⁷ In each region, integration into the national economy was marked by the extent to which geography had been sectioned and joined to the arterial railways that conveyed goods to the East.¹⁵⁸ While Turner was correct that the image of the frontier could no longer feasibly be applied to the West, the speed at which the new “web” of Western settlement had become part of a dispersed machine for the production of lumber, grain, and livestock was hard to grasp. The

successive stages of social organization that Turner imagined rising in the wake of the frontier offered the hope of proximity (if not actual contact) with frontier life, if one only traveled West. To acknowledge, however, that the West was the stronghold of new forms of industrial production would be to admit not only that the gates of Eden were irrevocably closed but also that there were few places one could go to gaze longingly through them at the past.¹⁵⁹

One could handle this disconnect between wish image and material conditions by assuming that the economic and the cultural were mutually exclusive, non-interacting spheres of existence.¹⁶⁰ This disposition expressed itself most clearly in American attitudes towards Indian material culture—perhaps logically, since physical items are the elements of culture most obviously connected to economic concerns. For example, beginning in 1885 New Mexican Pueblo Indians shifted from using locally-produced pots to the inexpensive and durable metal and glazed china imports brought by the railway. They purchased these industrially-produced goods with cash earned by selling pueblo pottery, which had only recently served the same purpose, to travelers and ethnographers.¹⁶¹ Significantly, Indians were thus still producing the pots they used, though at a degree's remove mediated by the cash economy of the railroad. Metal and china were as much a part of Pueblo Indians' everyday culture as pottery. To white collectors, however, pueblo pottery was authentic only insofar as it was clay, shaped and decorated in a style representative of received Indian tradition and hand-made in small quantities—the litmus test of authenticity being whether an item was indistinguishable from specimens made prior to widespread contact with whites. Indian and white were thus already involved in a system of exchange that might be identified today as indicative of hybridization; at the time, however, the pueblo pot was undeniably “Indian,” the metal bowl “American,” and the economic system that made their exchange possible culturally agnostic, merely a means for transferring property. That by 1900 virtually all Indian pottery produced in the New Mexico Territory was sold to whites for cash speaks tellingly of how quickly native populations became a part of the integrated national

economy made possible by the railroad. It makes little sense, therefore, to speak of Indian material culture of the period without comparison to other products that circulated along rail lines, such as meat, grain, and lumber. Only a viewpoint that elided economic considerations could locate Indian-produced pottery, blankets, baskets, and silverwork solely within the cultural provenance of native America.

There are telling differences between the economy of native material culture and that of raw products such as meat, lumber, and grain, however, so it will be worthwhile to recap briefly how the institutions that circulated Indian artifacts came into being and how they operated.

Cultural Economies: The Santa Fe Railroad and the Fred Harvey Company

The primary conduit between the East and the Southwest, the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad, broke ground in Topeka, Kansas, on October 30, 1868. The line's original charter had been penned nine years previously, and the name "Santa Fe" added by stockholders in 1863, presumably as part of the competitive enthusiasm for a transcontinental rail line, a goal the Union Pacific and Central Pacific lines achieved in 1869. The Santa Fe Railroad began a close association with Frederick Harvey in 1876, when he acquired the lunch counter on the second floor of its Topeka depot.¹⁶² From this modest beginning, Fred Harvey would later build the nation's first large chain restaurant business and develop a series of exotic hotels that codified the Southwestern experience for visitors. The "Harvey Houses," as they came to be called, represent one of the first migrations of industrial techniques of mass production into the manufacture of consumer experiences. The Fred Harvey Company established strict standards of quality, cleanliness, and behavior, and ensured through a system of inspections that each Harvey House provided an equivalent experience for the visitor. Every Harvey House was staffed with single white women called "Harvey Girls," whose starched and aproned presence provided a reassuring image of Victorian domesticity for the white traveler in an era when the rhetoric of family values

was all-pervasive.¹⁶³ At a time when the transportation of persons in the West consisted primarily in moving poor European immigrants to California as cheaply as possible on food the average American considered inedible, the Harvey Company's innovations in room and board developed a new clientele: the growing middle-class of American managers, office workers, retail clerks, and the like.¹⁶⁴ Harvey further capitalized on George Pullman's invention of the luxury railway car in 1865, creating for the traveler the unusual but pleasing juxtaposition of Victorian interior, standardized food and service, and an alternately picturesque and sublime Southwestern landscape. When Fred Harvey died in 1901, the company owned 47 restaurants, 15 hotels, and 30 dining cars spread across some twelve states or territories.¹⁶⁵

Thus, the railroad brought with it not only increasing integration into the national economy through wide circulation of goods and cash; it also brought the mechanisms of mass production and industrialization, which colonized both "economic" and "cultural" spheres of life. Technological standardization in the form of uniform rail gauges, regular routing procedures, and the establishment of Standard Railway Time led the way for the standardization of leisure experiences in Harvey's restaurants and hotels.¹⁶⁶ Similarly, the division of labor one could observe in Cincinnati and Chicago slaughterhouses' "disassembly lines"—rows of workers capable of dismantling a pig into its smallest component parts in 35 seconds some 60 years before Henry Ford's "assembly line"—eventually appeared in the Southwestern manufacture of Indian artifacts, as white traders began mass producing Hopi katsinas on wood lathes and jobbing the painting out to Indians for "authenticity."¹⁶⁷

After the economic crash of 1893 the railroad was renamed the Santa Fe Railway and Edward Payson Ripley, one of the primary developers of the World's Columbian Exposition, became president. Under Ripley, the Santa Fe Railway and the Fred Harvey Company supervised a period of intense development in the American Indian culture industry, hiring a stable of artists to produce romantic and elegiac images of the Southwest and native populations, engaging in a

vigorous advertising program, and funding the collection and sale of Indian material culture to both individuals and museums. The same year Fred Harvey died (1901) his family expanded the business, establishing the “Fred Harvey Indian Department.” The Indian Department—as its governmental name suggests—clothed the Fred Harvey Company’s development of white markets for Indian goods (and Indian producers for them) under the guise of a beneficent cultural institution. Museums with ethnographic emphases were developing rapidly—the Field Columbian Musuem in Chicago, started from anthropological remains of the World’s Columbian Exposition, the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, and the American Museum of Natural History in New York, to name several—and demand for collections of American Indian artifacts was high. The Fred Harvey Indian Department, with a network of ties to traders throughout the Southwest and contact with the region’s ethnographers and archaeologists, was well situated to develop the museum market. Often the Company made a large profit on such sales: for example, in 1904 it offered a collection of 211 Hupa baskets to the University Museum of Pennsylvania for \$1,200, though each basket had cost only \$1.50. Pennsylvania did not purchase the collection; however, one year later the Field Columbian Museum purchased a collection of Pomo and Arapaho items for \$1,816—a 300-percent profit margin for the Fred Harvey Indian Department.¹⁶⁸

The Indian Department divided its collecting attentions between these commercial customers, individuals who purchased at Harvey Houses throughout the Southwest, and its own repository of artifacts. The Alvarado, the flagship hotel the Fred Harvey Company opened in Albuquerque in 1902, serves as an example of the Indian Department’s ambivalent status as a cultural institution. The building was in the Spanish Mission Revival style, reflecting the nostalgic view of Hispanic colonial culture popularized by Charles F. Lummis during his 1890’s campaign to preserve the mission churches of southern California.¹⁶⁹ In order to reach the hotel from the train platform, it was necessary to pass through the Indian Building, an exhibition space

brochures described as containing an extensive collection of Navajo blankets dating beginning in the 1850's; a "half dozen rooms" containing Indian and Hispanic "paintings, engravings, jewelry, weapons, and woodwork" together with items from the "South Seas"; and finally a hogan with live Navajo, Acoma, Laguna, and other "Pueblos" demonstrating native Arts and Crafts.¹⁷⁰ Many of the rooms were conceived of as a museum of native American culture, the artifacts therein being drawn from the Fred Harvey Company's private "vaults" and unavailable for purchase except to customers such as Willam Randolph Hearst whom the Indian Department could not afford to offend.¹⁷¹

The Department, like its anthropological precursors in the world's fair tradition, had a considerable investment in appearing to present evidence gathered from scientific enquiry into the lives of native American Indians for a popular American audience. The Albuquerque Journal-Democrat, in a fit of regional patriotism, called the Alvarado's Indian Building "the most extensive ethnological museum in the country," "the largest and most complete of its kind in the world."¹⁷² Local interests doubtless played a part in the paper's hyperbole; however, it contained a grain of truth insofar as few institutions could muster a collection of Indian artifacts as extensive or as selectively-chosen as could the Indian Department. At the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904, its exhibit of textiles, a 755-piece collection of Hopi artifacts, and assorted baskets won the Grand Prize for "best ethnological exhibit," two gold medals, and grand prize for the Navajo blanket display.¹⁷³ Beforehand, the Albuquerque Morning Journal claimed that "the ethnological exhibit to be installed... will be the most extensive ever made at this or any other fair." Afterward, it crowed that "the winning of the two grand prizes is worthy of note, for in both the ethnological and blanket exhibits the Harvey collections were pitted against those of the Smithsonian Institute, heretofore believed to be the finest in existence."¹⁷⁴

The Indian Department acquired much of its stock from regional traders ranging from J. L. Hubbell, a Ganado merchant who dealt largely in Navajo textiles, to Jesus Sito Candelario,

whose Original Old Curiosity Shop in Santa Fe focused on miniature pottery and knick-knacks. However, in an effort to bolster its intellectual profile it also labored to acquire “field collections” from independent anthropologists.¹⁷⁵ At various times, the Indian Department employed Hopi ethnographer H. R. Voth; Charles Owen of the Field Columbian Museum; John Hudson, a doctor and anthropologist specializing in basketry; and Charles F. Newcombe in the American Northwest.¹⁷⁶ Its primary academic contact, however, was George Dorsey, recipient of the first Ph.D. in Anthropology awarded in the United States (from Harvard), and anthropology curator for the Field Columbian Museum in Chicago. Dorsey advised the Indian Department during a leave of absence from the Field Museum between January 1903 to April 1904, during which time he resided in the Alvarado Hotel. Also during this year, the Santa Fe Railway published his book *Indians of the Southwest*, an anthropological overview interspersed with delicate injunctions on how best to acquire Indian material culture. Dorsey’s influence is implied in an Alvarado brochure boasting that “in the Collection Building, the articles and collections are arranged by a celebrated ethnologist, according to archaeological and anthropological bearing.”¹⁷⁷ After this period of direct employment, Dorsey continued a sometimes-questionable partnership with the Indian Department, sitting on the panel that awarded its two grand prizes at the St. Louis World’s Fair and repeatedly submitting requests for large purchases from the Fred Harvey Company while he worked at the Field Museum.

Salvage anthropology, always a mainstay of the Fred Harvey’s collecting policy, became increasingly important as time passed and older items degraded or were purchased by other buyers. The combination of a new market economy in Indian material culture and pressures that adapted the production of Indian items to the needs of individual and institutional consumers and away from traditional forms valorized Indian artifacts created prior to widespread contact with white America as the most “authentic.” By the 1920’s, such products were increasingly hard to find; in a region where constant demand encouraged movement towards mass production of

Indian material culture, the unique and artisanal item acquired greater and greater marks of distinction in the eye of the connoisseur. As a consequence, the exchange value for such pieces rose higher and higher, in inverse relation to their availability. Hence, for example, the Indian Department's willingness to pay \$12,500 in cash for 550 Pinamint baskets from the estate of Helen J. Stewart of Las Vegas, Nevada, only an hour after the collection was first examined.¹⁷⁸

A similar principle operated at the level of the newly-produced artifact also, however. As Garcia Canclini notes, "in the realm of taste... artisanal and industrial, 'traditions' and 'modernity,' mutually entail each other." On the coast, the demand for items that were distinct from the standard industrially produced goods common throughout middle America gave artisanal and unique items an extra cachet.¹⁷⁹ There were, therefore, powerful economic forces encouraging the production of folkloric Indian material culture across the complete spectrum of authenticity. Even the mass-produced souvenir bears marks of regional distinction that merit its consumption as a marker of the owner's ability to travel; beyond this, the consumption of any given ethnic artifact correlates connoisseurship to authenticity, denoting increasingly rare levels of cultural distinction. Hence, integration into the national economy, through the medium of the Santa Fe Railway and the Fred Harvey Company, did not so much destroy traditional modes of Indian production as it diversified them, creating markets for Indian material culture at a variety of levels of "authenticity."

The Fred Harvey Company's position in this economy of cultural capital was to authenticate Indian items and experiences, as well as distribute them. The Indian Department consistently garnered praise for its high standards in these endeavors. "Fred Harvey had in fact the true spirit of the collector and antiquarian," the Albuquerque Morning Journal noted in 1925, continuing:

He insisted on authenticity. He discouraged the fairy stories that too often passed current to astonish the gullible tourist. If Fred Harvey showed an old Spanish bell there was no doubt of its age. If one of his agents related an historical incident or an Indian legend, its veracity could be relied on.¹⁸⁰

Traditional forms of cultural capital such as familiarity with European high culture traditions in painting, music, and literature were significantly easier to authenticate, since Eastern academic institutions had an established an accepted system for training and accrediting connoisseurs in the “Liberal Arts.” In the field of folkloric artifacts and experiences, on the other hand, experts were in relatively short supply. There was a demand, therefore, for a reputable institution capable of authenticating indigenous material culture and distinguishing it from inauthentic or touristic copies; when one’s cultural capital is in a foreign currency, so to speak, assuring that the notes in one’s hand are backed by a gold standard becomes a central concern. The official-sounding “Indian Department” filled exactly this need, its affiliation with ethnographers and museums providing the intellectual cachet necessary to pose as an authenticator of Indian material culture. Hence, the small stickers the Fred Harvey Company occasionally affixed on artifacts served not only as advertisement for the Indian Department, the Santa Fe Railway, and the activity of tourism in general; they also served as assurance of a certain level of “authenticity.” More effective were tourists’ memories of purchasing items within Harvey institutions such as the Alvarado or its sister hotel on the Grand Canyon, the El Tovar, and still more desirable was the experience of watching an Indian demonstrator at one of these sites “perform” her or his authenticity before buying her or his wares.

The picture of modernity in the Southwest that I have sketched here differs considerably from the received notion that imagines industrialism proceeding at a slower pace in rural areas and native populations there integrating into a national economy relatively late. Rather, I have portrayed modernization as a system of opposing tensions, in which the railroads brought early market integration and encouraged native assimilation to American norms while simultaneously the development of a culture industry specializing in the consumption of Indianness acted as a conservative force to maintain at least a semblance of folkloric and artisanal ways of life.

Returning to the visions of space with which I began, it becomes clear that neither Turner's image of progressive development in the wake of the frontier nor the more common image of an urban and industrialized center in the East and a rural and culturally-autonomous periphery elsewhere accurately describes the reconfiguration of American geography at the turn of the 19th-century. Each reads the West in terms of an ambivalent differential progress, denigrating the hinterland as less developed than urban areas and providing for the nostalgic view that saw in Western primitiveness the antidote to Eastern industrial problems. Significantly, modernist images of the American West's mythic figures—the cowboy, the Indian, the frontiersman—all bear traces of longing for a precapitalist geography. To exist there, either as an Indian or frontiersman on the savage side of the Turner's frontier line or as a cowboy on the long drive before barbed wire and cattle-cars made him obsolete, was to live in a vast "free space." That the language had no adequate metaphors to express the longing evoked by images of this prelapsarian era before industrialism and class division that were not themselves monetary only heightens the sentiment's poignancy: wilderness is "*free space*," Indian artifacts "*priceless treasures*." As the Indian Department noted of its exhibit at the Alvarado, "money could not buy this magnificent display."¹⁸¹ In the next room it could, however, buy an Indian curio that served—among other things—as a reminder of the potential of that artisanal transcendence of capital. The Fred Harvey Company thus cleverly combined primitivism with its polar opposite, the heightened industrialism and mass production typical of a culture industry. It is no accident that the world's largest trader in native American material culture also developed the its first large-scale chain restaurant.

One could only operate a primitivist culture industry such as this for audiences that believed the geographical narratives of "center and periphery" or "go West into the past" just dismissed. In this sense, the railroad's cultural industrialism and its agricultural industrialism had to operate at cross-purposes. That the steak appearing on one's plate in New York had traveled

from Texas might be a matter for admiration, but at bottom the question was whether its price and quality were competitive. In William Cronon's words, the livestock industry thus served to "annihilate space," bringing a cheaper product of equivalent quality to urban markets.¹⁸² The distance that an Indian curio had traveled before reaching its final resting place on a New York shelf was of vital importance, however; it had meaning and value primarily because it came from an exotic and far-away land where life was thought to be significantly different. For the railway to admit that it had annihilated the space between the curio's producers and its consumers' homes would be to undermine the entire project of travel and collecting. Hence, it had an interest in "producing space"—in magnifying the felt scale of the geography separating East and Southwest—while simultaneously streamlining the machine that sent cattle inwards and tourists outward in increasingly large numbers.

The tensions in this simultaneous production and annihilation of geography point to telling changes in the physical arrangement of the marketplace brought about by the railway. Prior to the advent of widespread tourist travel, one might argue that railways merely reproduced the space of the traditional market on a larger scale, bringing raw materials from the country in to the marketplace and returning a trickle of commodities unavailable in rural areas. Hence grain, lumber, and livestock flow inward to Chicago and St. Louis, and a smaller quantity of manufactured goods flows outward. The rise of consumer capitalism brought with it, however, a more finely-articulated set of relations. One is never sure whether consumer capitalism's primary activity is in the sale of products to consumers via the marketplace or the sale of consumers to the marketplace via the production of advertising. Such an economy excels in finding previously unexploited consumer demographics and developing them through targeted advertising. The Gilded Era's rising urban middle-class, with a modicum of education, an intellectual interest in native culture, and vague feelings of ambivalence about industrialism and urban life, represented exactly such a demographic. The desert regions of the New Mexico Territory, on the other hand,

with few natural resources, now suddenly had marketable products: the sublime grandeur of the Grand Canyon and other, more picturesque, Levantine landscapes; and a “wealth” of Indian culture, present precisely because there had been no reason to decimate or relocate native populations to exploit natural resources nearby. Delivering these products to the new consumer demographic meant a radical rethinking of the marketplace, however. One could circulate photographs of the Grand Canyon and quantities of Indian pottery; or one could (seemingly) do away with mediation and transport consumers directly to sites of interest. These were, then, the beginnings of a marketplace that circulated consumers rather than goods. In a stunning reversal of traditional practice, the goods now remained at their site of production—indeed, their intimacy with the geography of origin was of central importance—and consumers traveled through the countryside in order to purchase them. Doing so, however, still bore considerable similarities to wandering from vendor to vendor at a town market or from exhibit to exhibit at a world’s fair. Each point of sale brought people and goods of regions distant from the buyer’s home to his or her fingertips, broadening the horizon of economic influence and diversifying the array of available goods. It was as though the space of the town marketplace—or, perhaps more accurately for the Victorian era, the iron-and-glass consumer arcade—had been mapped onto the immense geography of the Southwest.

Iron and Glass: The Railway Flaneur

As a material potentially useful in constructing marketplaces, iron presented the prospect of growth in two directions, upward and outward. As Walter Benjamin notes in *Passagen-Werk*, on one hand one could magnify the vertical thrust of the Gothic nave, enclosing still-greater areas of space and light, summoning sensations of the sublime. Conversely, freed from the upward yearning of the stone arch, one could extend the ceiling outward after the fashion

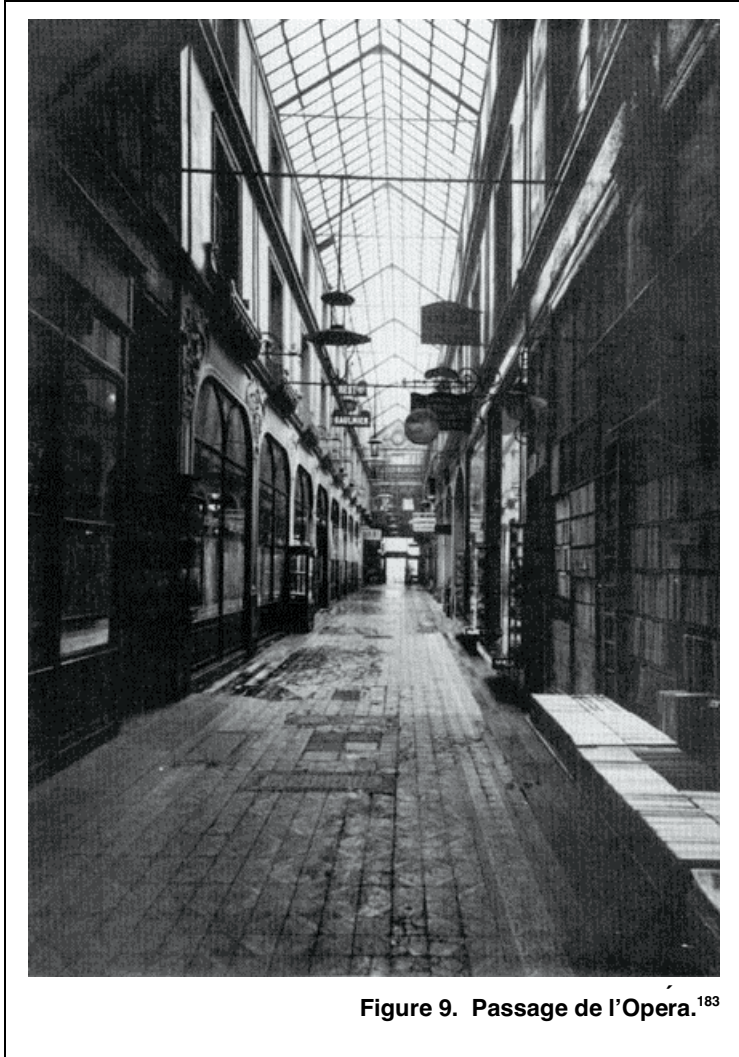


Figure 9. Passage de l'Opéra.¹⁸³

of a factory or warehouse, thus bringing to the marketplace the sober and utilitarian capitalism distinctive to those structures. The Parisian arcades of the early 19th-century, “glass-roofed, marble-paneled corridors extending through whole blocks of buildings”¹⁸⁴ were in fact, Benjamin observed, transitional iron structures. The arcades extended outward at some length, permitting shoppers to loiter and take in the spectacle of luxury commodities displayed in stores on both sides, while simultaneously bathing them in the light and soaring space of traditional cathedral or hall architecture (Figure 9).¹⁸⁵ Arcades were thus sites for a new form of estheticized consumer consciousness in which the commodity, freed from the cage of mere use-value, took on magical or religious overtones and consumption itself became a pageant of identity. Benjamin calls

arcades the “temples of commodity capital,” citing a saying attributed to Louis Philippe: “God be praised, and my shops too.”¹⁸⁶

The clear glass above arcades deflected rain while letting in sunlight to corridors that still read like streets, creating an ambiguity of scale. “Lining both sides of these corridors, which get their light from above, are elegant shops, so that the *passage* is a city, a world in miniature,” the *Illustrated Guide to Paris* noted.¹⁸⁸ Miniaturizing the world and installing it in a Paris *passage* allowed one to envision existence through the eyes of pervasive commodity capitalism—an urban landscape in which everything is for sale and where the leisurely spectacle of consumption becomes the civic activity *par excellence*. Benjamin also noted the converse vision, of *passages* expanding outward to vast scales, in Grandville’s humorous illustrations: here a pedestrian loiters on an iron bridge across the rings of Saturn (Figure 10).¹⁸⁹ This was the world-as-marketplace rather than the marketplace-as-world; but in both mappings one imagined the pedestrian dawdling along, absorbing the urban scenery. To make the consumerist stroll in the grand scale more than an idle daydream, however, required a different configuration of iron and glass: iron rails

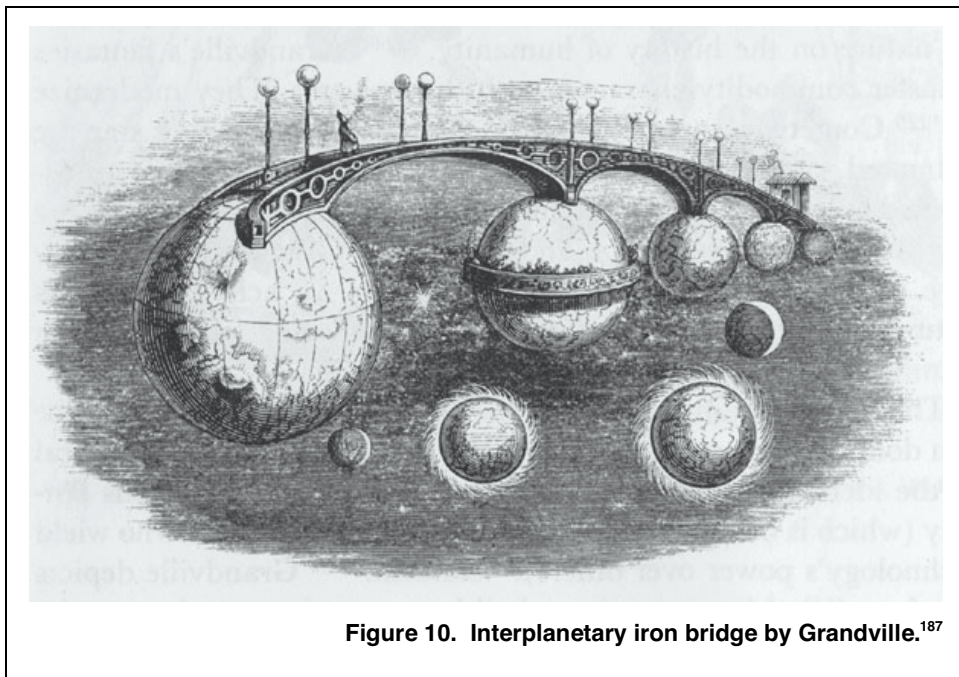


Figure 10. Interplanetary iron bridge by Grandville.¹⁸⁷



Figure 11. Santa Fe Railway train stopped at Isleta Pueblo.¹⁹⁰

stretching across vast territories, Pullman coaches through whose windows the traveler casually perused the landscape or leaned to purchase curios at stops; the assurance of a comfortable bed and excellent food at the next Harvey House on the line (Figure 11).

This was the iron architecture and leisurely commodity spectacle of the arcades at their horizontal extreme: railway tourism. Benjamin had noted the peripatetic impulse expressed on rails already in Victor Hugo's Parisian pastimes: "He adored the upper levels of omnibuses--those 'travelling balconies,' as he called them--from which he could study at his leisure the various aspects of the gigantic city."¹⁹¹ For such flâneurs—whether dawdling on foot or seated on

rails—observing the urban landscape was an exercise in popular ethnography, an intellectual inquiry into everyday life in consumerist Paris: “in the person of the flâneur, the intelligentsia becomes acquainted with the marketplace.”¹⁹² The flâneur no more entered the arcades with the intention of purchasing than a tourist to the Southwest planned his trip solely with the thought of buying Indian souvenirs and curios. Rather, the spectacle of commodities provided a backdrop for a pageant of human types, the production and consumption of material culture an opportunity for popular ethnography. In this view, the modern-era tourist of the Southwest is something more than prey for conniving capitalists; rather, the spectacle of the commodity provided, in the mode of urban flânerie, an opportunity for anthropological inquiry. Hence, for example, the dovetailing of intellectualism and consumerism in George Wharton James 1910 description of Hopi House, the Grand Canyon’s equivalent of the Alvarado museum and curio shop. To James’ imagined traveler, Hopi House is

[a] liberal education in the customs, arts, history, mythology, religious ceremonials, and industries of not only one, but many tribes of Indians. It is not only a good business investment, but a place of benefit to a keen appreciation of the incomparable ethnological advantages this building afford him, and he will not grudge any purchases, however large, the attractiveness of the display has led him to indulge in.¹⁹³

Hopi House was first and foremost a place for the “liberal education” in the “ethnological advantages” of Indian culture; the purchase of curios a side effect brought about by the seductive powers of the commodity. Hence, through empathy with the commodity, the traveler connects with hitherto-unknown realms of existence and types of humanity. A contemporary might argue instead that the presence of museum areas whose items are not for sale ennobled Hopi House and the Indian Building, transactions of Indian curios merely providing economic support for what was at heart an intellectual activity. However, as I noted previously, the displays served to inscribe everything—museum, salesroom, Indian demonstrators—with the spirit of the commodity. For both travelers and locals, presenting the sacralized and the for-sale together could serve the same purpose as free tickets to world’s fairs did in Benjamin’s appraisal: it made the museum “a school in which the masses, forcibly excluded from consumption, are imbued with

the exchange value of commodities to the point of identifying with it [i.e. consumption]: ‘Do not touch the items on display.’”¹⁹⁴ Participating in the exhibit could similarly encourage one to identify with the touristic activities of spectatorship and display. For example, Pomo Indians Thomas and Clara Mitchell and Jeff and Joseppa Dick returned to California after demonstrating basket weaving at the Alvarado in 1903 wearing stylish clothes and Navajo jewelry. Jeff Dick’s response to inquiries about their plan for the future was: “Travel.”¹⁹⁵

The soft ethnography George Dorsey published through the Santa Fe Railway, *Indians of the Southwest*, provides another example of intellectual enquiry through empathy with the



Figure 12. Harvey salesroom, ca. 1930.¹⁹⁶

commodity. Dorsey begins his discussion of the Southwest proper with a short verbal amble around the Santa Fe Plaza, then directs his reader to “Santa Fe’s best known institution—the Old Curiosity Shop of a leading merchant.” Behind the obvious ploy to aid Jesus Sito Candelario’s business is an intellectual and ethnographic enterprise whose research technique is empathy with the commodity. An idle once-over of the Indian material culture Candelario has for sale yields initial impressions somewhat kin to scanning the spines in a shelf of books:

Our first impression on looking around the closely packed walls of this elongated establishment is that we are in the land of potters; for probably half the objects within the shop are earthenware vessels; the other half comprises objects of stone, blankets, baskets and beadwork on buckskin. In this very miscellaneous collection we shall find something from nearly every tribe in the Southwest.¹⁹⁷

Examining this jumble of curios, Dorsey then telescopes the traveler into a popular ethnography that covers, in two hundred pages, vast sweeps of the Southwest:

To continue our observations of these objects with greater intelligence it will be best perhaps to take a comprehensive survey of the character of the aboriginal life which spreads out from this point, north to the southern borders of Colorado, Utah and Nevada, south to the Republic of Mexico, and west to the Pacific Ocean.¹⁹⁸

The remainder of *Indians of the Southwest*, prefaced with a short discussion on “Three Southwestern Industries” (basketry, pottery, weaving) functions as an exegesis of the clutter on the shelves of Candelario’s curio shop, an attempt to “continue our observations of these objects with greater intelligence.”¹⁹⁹ As in the museum/salesroom of the Indian Building and the Hopi House, the Indian commodity here is more than a pot on a shelf; rather, it motions outward in a telescoping change of scale to the dream world beyond, an ethnic landscape created by the phantasmagoria of the marketplace (Figure 12). The material products of tourism themselves, however—the pottery, postcards, rugs, travel journals, baskets, photographs, and so on—each serve as a record of the travelers’ perambulations through the marketplace of the Southwest as much as they speak of an original Indian dream world. This is particularly true after they have been transported back to urban areas and integrated into the domestic interior. Each advertises the relationship between its collector and the exotic realm she or he traveled to, speaking eloquently of magical distance produced by the railway. As Susan Stewart notes, these souvenirs

simultaneously “authenticate a past or otherwise remote experience and, at the same time... discredit the present.”²⁰⁰ In this capacity, souvenirs serve to sell the activity of travel, no matter how well informed their collector or how adeptly she or he accomplished the flâneur’s ethnographic descent into the marketplace. Benjamin’s final pronouncement on empathy with the commodity underlines just this:

the flâneur is the virtuoso of this empathy. He takes the concept of marketability itself for a stroll. Just as his final ambit is the department store, his last incarnation is the sandwich-man.²⁰¹

Benjamin’s flâneur eventually capitalizes on intellectual inquiry into the marketplace spectacle, writing and selling reportage or fiction based on his or her observations. Hence the products of flânerie eventually become an advertisement for the marketplace, the urban flâneur a sandwich-man hawking commodity culture. Similarly, the railway flâneur begins her voyage as an armchair ethnographer, but often ends it advertising tourism and longing for the distant and exotic.

Conversely, to the collector himself, once curios have been gathered and arranged in the domestic interior, they transform it into a dream world that reads in opposition to the capitalistic world of industrial society outside his door; if the tourist traveled to the Southwest to enact a ritual of anti-modernism and anti-industrialism, the fetishes with which he returns to decorate his home imagine a distant classless world. Benjamin associated this emphasis on interior decorating with capital’s bad conscience:

The private individual, who in the office has to deal with realities, needs the domestic interior to sustain him in his illusions. This necessity is all the more pressing since he has no intention of grafting onto his business interests a clear perception of his social function. In the arrangement of his private surroundings, he suppresses both of these concerns. From this derive the phantasmagorias of the interior—which, for the private individual, represents the universe. In the interior, he brings together remote locales and memories of the past. His living room is a box in the theater of the world.²⁰²

Thus the tourist, who financed his journey by participating in the office activities of the industrial middle-class, purchases items of Indian material culture that speak of a remote Southwestern locale and the perceived past of an artisanal Indian society, to decorate the urban domestic interior. Doing so, he can participate in the dream of a classless primal history

symbolically and is absolved from direct engagement with the class exploitation that makes life as a member of the rising leisured class possible. In the terms of my previous comments, positing a rift between ‘culture’—conceived as the symbolic and social integument of social groups, especially Indian—and ‘economy’—conceived as a means producing and organizing capital, the tourist’s work—allows the phantasms of primal history to escape and inhabit the collector’s interior. The activity of collecting, which develops the intellectual framework to situate a single curio in an array of potential others, aids this process by dressing consumerism once more in the trappings of knowledge. Hence the popular rise of baroque systems for the interpretation of material culture; understanding iconography or a single item, locating it within stylistic or historical trends, or possessing all of a limited array of artifacts all act to obscure the commodity character of the curio behind a veil of information. Witness, for example, the intense consumer demand for katsina dolls sparked by Jesse Walter Fewkes’ 1894 *Dolls of the Tusayan Indians*, and the obsession of both collectors and publications with presenting a “complete set” of all katsina spirits and with interpreting the minutiae of katsina iconography.²⁰³ The end result is not, however, to endow the collection of artifacts with what the traveler might call their “Indian” function or use-value, but rather to organize them in the fashion of the Western museum exhibit, a display about the production of private, bourgeois forms of knowledge through travel and collecting. Further, to Benjamin the activity of collecting is not only a means of reappropriating objects from the realm of commodities; it also projects them into a Golden Age prior even to use-value:

The collector proves to be the true resident of the interior. He makes his concern the idealization of objects. To him falls the Sisyphean task of divesting things of their commodity character by taking possession of them. But he can bestow on them only connoisseur value, rather than use value. The collector delights in evoking a world that is not just distant and long gone but also better—a world in which, to be sure, human beings are no better provided with what they need than in the real world, but in which things are freed from the drudgery of being useful.²⁰⁴

One need not posit reference to an Edenic realm anterior to human labor, however, to note that items from a collection of Indian material culture could serve a fetishistic role for the

modern-era tourist. Marx's original use of the term "fetish" to refer to commodities whose mode of production is invisible and so have only abstract and magical relations to each other suggests something of the absent labor (both proletariat and bourgeois) lurking about the items in the collector's interior in Benjamin's formulation.²⁰⁵ In the shelves of those who collected Indian artifacts, however, the logic of the fetish found more direct forms of expression. Insofar as the collector at least imagined these objects the product of artisanal and folkloric societies, they bore traces of a Gilded Age sensation of distance from the rewarding activity of craftsmanship of the Medieval guild's variety, and so spoke of a prelapsarian era before industrialism divided the populace into labor and capital. In this regard, Southwestern tourist's interest in artisanal material culture was closely tied to the Arts and Crafts movement imported to America by Charles Eliot Norton, the first Professor of Fine Arts at Harvard. Building on William Morris and John Ruskin's reform movements in England, Eliot's Boston Society of Arts and Crafts and others like it elsewhere attempted to revive an artisanal "simple life" by promoting amateur craftsmanship. The furniture and architecture that resulted bore the artisan's attentiveness in every detail, so all of the Arts and Crafts movement's could serve as fetishistic replacements for the artisan's absence in industrial products, which dominated everyday life in most spheres. (In an ironic reversal, factories soon started producing Arts and Crafts-style furniture; one could thus also see purchasing industrially-produced Arts and Crafts furniture as a fetishistic denial the arts and craft movement's failure.)²⁰⁶ The same dynamic held in the field of Indian material culture, where signs of industrialization and mass production were telltale markers of inauthenticity. The Indian pottery, blankets, and baskets that the Fred Harvey Company so vigorously collected and sold could serve buyers (some themselves involved in the Arts and Crafts movement) as fetishes replacing artisanal modes of production that had been lost throughout the industrialized world. Significantly, the Fred Harvey Company used an exotified Arts and Crafts esthetic throughout its

buildings and its primary architect and interior designer, Mary Colter, was active in the movement in San Francisco and Minneapolis before her work in the Southwest.²⁰⁷

The acquisition of Indian curios had overtones of religious as well as political fetishism. Gilded Age America was secularizing for a multitude of reasons—the rise of scientific world-views associated with industrial advance, a feeling that evangelical Protestantism was too absolute in its attitudes, and the mystical attractions of commodity culture being a few.²⁰⁸ Americans searching for ways to reanimate popular religious life became increasingly interested in an estheticized Catholicism, seeing in it a primitive Medieval vigor that encouraged its adoption into the canon of artistic taste in an almost orientalist fashion. A mystical esthetic interweaving Catholic and explicitly Oriental (usually Japanese) elements with a vague primitivism (usually Egyptian) became legitimate in both formal art and in the domestic interior.²⁰⁹ The Indian material culture that entered this esthetic system often bore an aura of vague spiritualism, often of the Egyptian variety. The Fred Harvey Company's first documented purchase is for fourteen Hopi katsina dolls, each depicting an otherworldly spirit in the Hopi katsina pantheon. Some years later, Mary Colter arranged for Navajo sandpaintings—normally effaced immediately after their ceremonial use—to be installed in the Fred Harvey El Navajo Hotel. The Santa Fe Magazine noted: “they rank with the best decorative art of any people, and are reminiscent of Assyria and Egypt, Greece and Japan. Every line is a religious symbol, having deep significance.”²¹⁰ The presence of native religious symbols here and elsewhere indicates the fetishistic interest with which whites adopted material from Indian religion. If one felt one lived in a secularizing age in which the only viable option was an overly-exacting Protestantism, possessing religious materials from other cultures provided a sense of religious presence to distract from the death of polytheistic vigor in one's own cultural inheritance.



Figure 13. Apache basketweavers at the Indian Building.²¹¹

'The Colportage Phenomenon of Space': Marketplace, Landscape, Interior

The majority of the Indian artifacts that the Fred Harvey Company sold to railway travelers were of the more mundane variety: pottery, rugs, baskets, silverwork. Comments by employees indicate that the company's primary focus was on domestic goods to furnish the cluttered Victorian interiors of the time. "The major part of the Indian Building here was arranged in the form of exhibits, cozy corners, etc. to illustrate to people how these things can be



Figure 14. J. F. Huckel and Herman Schweizer in a Harvey salesroom.²¹⁴

utilized to best advantage,” the Indian Department’s coordinator Herman Schweizer later explained.²¹² A pamphlet the Santa Fe Railway published about Alvarado indicated an exotic excess lacking in Schweizer’s description (Figure 13), while also emphasizing the importance of interior decorating:

No one can afford to pass by the superbly woven, gossamer shawls, the exquisitely drawn work, the old paintings, engravings, jewelry, weapons, and woodwork of the Spanish and Mexican Room. The Navajo Room, with its blanketed walls and decorations of pottery and basketry, furnishes an admirable idea for a luxurious home “den.”²¹³

Period photos of the Indian Building exhibits underline the extent to which the rooms presented a surfeit of commodities in a jumbled fashion that disavowed ties with specific regions

or tribes of origin (Figure 14). Pomo baskets from California, New Mexican Pueblo pottery, carving from Northwest Coast tribes, Navajo rugs, and Northern Mexican basketry appear as a gestalt, the individual labor that produced each effaced and the possibility of a mystical relationship between them seemingly immanent. For Marx, this was the moment that transformed an object into a commodity fetish by relating it not to its physical mode of production but instead, via the comparison of exchange-values, to its companions on display. As I have discussed, Benjamin expanded upon this, noting the phantasms of history and distance that emerged as such commodities were relocated into the Victorian interior. However, the domestic interior and the city marketplace also interpenetrate or exhibit a ghostly superposition, he claimed. More than a mere place for the exchange of commodity fetishes, the marketplace was also the collective populace's interior:

For this collective, glossy enameled shop signs are a wall decoration as good as, if not better than, an oil painting in the drawing room of a bourgeois; walls with their "Post No Bills" are its writing desk, newspaper stands its libraries, mailboxes its bronze busts, benches its bedroom furniture, and the cafe terrace is the balcony from which it looks down on its household.... More than anywhere else, the street reveals itself in the arcade as the furnished and familiar interior of the masses.²¹⁵

As such, the marketplace, arcade, and curio store become spaces for a socialized subjectivity, a habitus. The phantasms of distance and primal history that haunt the interior express themselves in more ghostly and evanescent fashion among commodities still bearing their price tags, whose production—though still invisible—is an evident fact. Insofar, then, as the marketplace can deal in the collector's connoisseur-values and repress the trader's exchange-values, it becomes a theater for wish images similar to those noted earlier in the collector's private interior—a yearning for preindustrial life, classless society, distant lands, exotic peoples—but read on a collective rather than private scale. Hence the Indian Building's mixture of museum and sale-room, its explicit reference to the buyer's "private den." By insisting on its artifacts' "Indianness" and absenting itself as a dealer in commodities marked by exchange-value, the Fred Harvey Company conducted preindustrial spirits into the museum and salesroom, not as it thought from vanishing native America but instead from the ritual world of the bourgeois

interior to which its pots, rugs, and baskets eventually found their way. It was a dangerous but necessary maneuver. Without the authenticating stamp of ethnographers' names and its own reputation as an institution that "insisted on authenticity," the Indian material culture the Fred Harvey Company exhibited could fall prey to the sensations of uncanny inauthenticity that lurked about cheaper curio shops. Market pressures continually encouraged Indian producers to miniaturize and exotify their wares, economizing on labor and materials and yielding goods that travelers found easier to transport back East. To the connoisseur, however, such items were an uncanny disturbance in the phantasmic space of the interior; they bore both the marks of authentic manufacture by American Indians but also a disturbing and excessive modernist presence precisely where there should have been none. These curios advertised their hybridity with modernity rather than modernity absence, as was proper to the dream world of the bourgeois interior.²¹⁶ By prohibiting such "inauthentic" curios from its exhibits, the Fred Harvey Company could efface its own market-economy presence and instead suggest in its showrooms and museums the phantasmic world of the domestic interior.

In fact such telescoping of space, whereby the dream world of the collector's home maps onto the collective phantasms of a marketplace (as in the Indian Building's "private den"), or sights in the marketplace are indices into a larger landscape (as when the curios in Candelario's shop open out onto a landscape of Southwestern Indians), was central to Benjamin's concept of *flânerie*.

[Paris is] the promised land of the *flâneur*—the "landscape built of sheer life" as Hofmannsthal once put it. Landscape—that, in fact, is what Paris becomes for the *flâneur*. Or, more precisely: the city splits for him into its dialectical poles. It opens up to him as a landscape, even as it closes around him as a room.²¹⁷

One absorbs a gestalt impression of the marketplace much as one might on a stroll through the French countryside: rustic peoples in an enclosing landscape, a complete world to be explored with the ethnographic glance. Conversely, the marketplace's surreal juxtaposition of commodities for sale, all ties to their history of production severed, suggests visions of their

arrangement in a domestic room and the preindustrial phantasms released thereby. Benjamin called this “the colportage phenomenon of space,” claiming that it is “the flâneur’s basic experience.”²¹⁸ This enigmatic pronouncement is worth exploring further, as it encapsulates the relationship between geography and the flâneur—a question which speaks to the ways in which Southwestern space reconfigured itself as railway tourism integrated the region into the national economy.

First, the “colportage phenomenon of space” refers to a telescopic overlap of several sensations that are absorbed simultaneously, often accompanied by a shift in geographic scale. One absorbs the titles on the jumbled spines of books in a colporteur’s tray all at once, and together they create a series of overlapping dream worlds, a melange of times and places. “In the course of flânerie, far-off times and places interpenetrate the landscape and the present moment” Benjamin writes, noting the sensation’s similarity to a 19th-century mechanical picture “which depicts in the foreground a shepherd playing on a pipe... further back a pair of hunters in pursuit of a lion, and very much in the background a train crossing over a trestle bridge.”²¹⁹ In a similar fashion, the surfeit of Indian artifacts in Fred Harvey’s showrooms could project out onto an imagined Indian past that read in opposition to the industrializing East coast from which the showroom’s visitor had just come; or a collection of Indian curios on the same travelers’ shelves years later could open out onto a mythical West prior to the frontier’s erasures. Thus the phantasms of the tourist’s interior, consumerist displays of Indian material culture, and the sublime or picturesque landscape of the Southwest became coextensive, linked as much by shifts in scale from micro to macro and vice versa as by simple geographic reconfiguration of center and periphery or cross-frontier and nation. Hence the formulation implied by our examination of consumerist practice: the Southwest as gigantic consumer arcade, with telescoping indices into the bourgeois interior.

Second the flâneur, like a colporteur, engages in a form of mendicant intellectualism that reads geography in terms of peripatetic impressions rather than fixed units of distance. This allows her to take her bookishness for a walk rather than cloistering it in a library, and so integrate the experience of the popular, the savage or primitive, and consumer capitalism into her private ethnography. And yet, like the wares of later colporteurs who dealt in pulp fiction rather than religious material, the flâneur's observations—now published as poetry, travel commentary, or soft ethnography—were part and parcel of the market, tourist or otherwise, that she entered in order to study from a critical distance. Postcards, those bills of sale that authenticate one's experiences in a distant land for those at home; pictures of oneself in Indian costume, of Indians demonstrating crafts; pots, rugs, and baskets purchased on the road; and travel journals and memoirs all marked one's involvement in the tourist economy and one's support (through participation) in the modernizing and industrialization that it entailed. By advertising the attractions of the distant and unusual, they made the tourist a sandwich man for tourism itself.²²⁰

The Santa Fe Railway and Fred Harvey Company's Pullman coaches offer a unifying image for this colportage phenomenon of space and ambivalent commodity capitalism. The companies furnished their Pullman cars lavishly according to Mary Colter's instructions, with Navajo rugs and Arts and Crafts silverware bearing Southwestern designs; these formed, one might argue, a travelling correlate to the richly-appointed Eastern domestic interiors that the Fred Harvey Company envisioned for the Indian material culture that it sold. Travelling in one of the Santa Fe's Pullmans offered the simultaneous juxtaposition of a distant and exotic landscape, a sumptuous bourgeois interior that evoked through its collection of Indian and Indian-inspired crafts a dream world of distant primal history; and the possibility of marketplace ethnography at stops where travelers could observe Indians making crafts. Reading one of the Santa Fe Railway's numerous publications on the Southwest—possibly Dorsey's substantial *Indians of the Southwest*—made the journey an intellectual enterprise in armchair anthropology. Below, the

thrumming of wheels passing over thousands of miles of iron spoke of the railway's annihilation of space in the West and the delicate fibers of industrialism that integrated regions and peoples into a unified economic system. Simultaneously, however, the world of total style created by the Santa Fe, the exotic excess of Indian material culture at stops in pueblos and in Fred Harvey's hotels, evoked phantasmic visions of premodernity—thus producing space between East and Southwest even as one flew across it. Only the anxious sensitivity of modernity, with its simultaneous celebration and disavowal of industrialism and commodity capitalism, could sustain the delicate dreams thus produced.

Conclusion



Figure 15. W. H. Jackson's photographic railway car on the California Limited.²²¹

In 1902 the Detroit Photographic Company, having acquired the services of William Henry Jackson as well as his entire archive of Western landscape photography, furnished a sumptuous car (Figure 15) on the Santa Fe Railway to serve as a showroom on wheels and to transport the photographers who kept its ever-expanding archive of images up-to-date with rapidly-changing sites throughout the West. The Fred Harvey Company had established an intimate relationship with the Detroit Photographic Company early on, and the latter worked assiduously to produce images of both sublime and picturesque landscapes, Indian society, and hotels and restaurants that embodied Harvey's version of the germinal Southwestern mythology. The Detroit Company's showroom car is emblematic of how railway flânerie not only informed travelers' attitudes toward Indian material culture, but also how it altered their perception of landscape. In fact, the investments and concerns of railway flânerie—with its associated

colportage of space and commodification of human relationships—cut across all of the metaphorical categories into which this essay has divided its inquiry into Southwestern regionalism.

If in his meanderings the flâneur mapped the Grand Tour's appreciation for landscape onto the urban physiognomy of Paris, railway flânerie reversed this process, transporting the marketplace's commodity esthetic and conflation of landscape, street, and interior back out to the hinterland along the railway's metropolitan corridor. One might say that railway flânerie took the marketplace on a Grand Tour. Hence it is not surprising that in the Detroit Photographic Co.'s exhibition car most of the shutters are closed, and only the mass-produced photos on its walls truly open outward to an exterior landscape. "That which is true has no windows," Benjamin notes of the panoramas, which simulated ever-changing land- and cityscapes within enclosed, windowless rooms in the heart of Paris; one might say, likewise, that the photos on the walls of the Detroit Company's car provided a more "authentic" view of the Western landscape-as-imaginary than the windows beside them could have. As I noted earlier, landscape esthetics reads nature through the lens of art, selecting and pruning geographies for general consumption according to the received tradition of what constitutes a sublime, picturesque, or beautiful view. Hence, through the Detroit car's photographic windows one might see landscape; through its glass ones, merely land.

As a museum of landscapes on wheels, the Detroit car takes the very idea of nature as art for a tourist excursion. Like other railway cars of the period, its furnishings mimic the luxury of an urban interior, but in the rural hinterland and amid the exotic peoples depicted on its walls. By travelling through the landscapes that furnish it, the car attempts to enact a dream voyage into the phantasmic West suggested by the juxtaposition of photographs on its walls. However, their ties with a geography of origin separated, they collude to evoke a mythic American West that exists only through their conjunction; through colportage of space the photographs point outward to any

number of precise locations but as a gestalt, to a dream West that exists nowhere. Hence, the car is an emblem of the mediated experience that was travel in the Southwest, Jules Verne's hermetic voyage in the guise of ethnic and nature tourism.

The Detroit Company car afforded William Henry Jackson the opportunity both to sell the company's mass-produced but hand-tinted or -framed wares to a growing audience of middle-class Americans throughout the Southwest; and to find new contract photographers, gather new material, and update postcard views of locales that altered quickly. As a railway flâneur himself, William Henry Jackson wandered through the Southwest gathering visual material on landscape and Indians and selling the results of his observations to the mass market in the form of postcards and inexpensive prints. The photographs that resulted fall into two general categories: a newer genre that documented urbanizing and industrializing scenes throughout the country, encompassing large spans of geography as it were by simultaneous snapshots into the archive; and an older strand including scenes of the Southwest, which continued in the Fred Harvey style of commercialized antiquity and ethnicity.

While the photographs in the Detroit Company car create a colportage of space that motions outward from an interior to vast expanses of geography beyond, examples of the opposite phenomenon—landscapes behind which urban or interior spaces are visible—were also common. Consider, for example, Sylvanus Baxter's 1882 description of the trail to Zuni:

The most wonderful and majestically beautiful of architectural forms are here, carven in the rich sandstone which ranges through all the warm hues from brown to red and yellow, with gray and black for sober relief. Castles, halls, temples, with grand gables, terraces, gateways, and porches, turrets, and pinnacles, lofty towers and graceful spires, form vast titanic cities.²²²

Baxter's landscape is monumental and public, full of architectural references, and totalizing: it encompasses "vast titanic cities" within a single composition. In his vision, the neoclassical or Beaux Arts architecture typical of worlds' expositions finds geologic expression: the urban mapped onto the natural. Benjamin noted how urban, rural, and interior spaces are superimposed for a flâneur on the street: "[Paris] opens up to him as a landscape, even as it

closes around him as a room.”²²³ Similarly, in the course of railway flânerie the Southwestern landscape opened up as a city (as in Baxter’s vision) or marketplace (as in the Detroit Photographic Company’s mass-produced views), while closing around the flâneur in the interior space of a railway car furnished in the Santa Fe Railway’s Southwestern “style.”

Benjamin’s concept of flânerie revolved around two basic elements, the colportage of space and the commodification of relationships. I have examined how the colportage of space cut across the Southwestern traveler’s experience of ethnic markets and landscape in the previous chapter and, briefly, here. His comments on the commodification of human relationships, on the other hand, bear on the living exhibit tradition discussed in the first chapter, on the Southwest as “Zoo.”

Curtis Hinsley has noted the colonial commodifying of relationships inherent in flânerie at ethnographic villages in the World’s Columbian Exposition: “in this specular commerce the crowd simultaneously consumes through its gaze and is consumed by itself as the living flowing proof of [its own] historical success.”²²⁴ I commented earlier that translating the ethnographic zoo tradition of worlds’ fairs to the Southwest changed the technology of the gaze from one of disciplinary ethnicity based on surveillance of the body, to control of ethnicity based on the interpretation of cultural codes. Curtis’ remark emphasizes the extent to which this ethnicizing gaze—in both its guises—was also a self-conscious delight in commodity spectacle. Certainly, this was not merely an exercise in colonial domination: for Antonio Apache, Geronimo, Nampeyo, Elle of Ganado, Maria Martinez, and many others the performance of ethnicity provided economic independence and the opportunity to retain some semblance of Indian identity in the face of powerful acculturating forces. However, performing one’s ethnicity for compensation brings another, capitalist, set of influences into play. When the living exhibit tradition moved out of worlds’ fairs and into Indian Detours-style trips to Southwestern Pueblos, Indian performers were no longer in the employ of fair officials and instead under personal or

tribal jurisdiction. Visitors paid money for pots, silverwork, artifacts, and so on, but many were also drawn by the desire to see Indians in their home environment, and money exchanged hands in part as compensation for their attendance at an exhibition of ethnicity in an “authentic” architectural setting.

A wage-laborer in the true Marxist sense, the participant in a living exhibit sold not the products of his or her labor so much as him- or herself. He or she was “seller and sold in one,” as Benjamin noted of human commodification in Parisian prostitution. Benjamin ignored the extent to which economic and gender-biased inequalities forced women into the trade, making “selling” a highly charged act: “seller and sold” both are and are not “one.” However, he correctly noted how market forces affect the sale of humans as commodities: the market in sex produces women “not only as a commodity but, in the precise sense, as [a] mass-produced article. This is indicated by the masking of individual expression in favor of a professional appearance, such as makeup provides.”²²⁵ Such codification through fashion and adornment mirrors the codification of ethnographic details and the control of ethnicity associated, as I have discussed, with ethnic tourism. It suggests the possibility that ethnicity and ethnic performance were (or soon would be) mass produced, subject to the same pressures and diversity in production and consumption that characterize other “culture industries.”

The codification of Indian culture through ethnography that the chapter on ethnographic zoos identified with antimodern desires to fix “primitive” culture in place in order to celebrate it and appropriate from it may have led to the movement’s own demise. Reifying ethnicity drew it into the realm of pure performance, leaving ample room in its wake for acculturation to mainstream American norms. Southwestern primitivism, born of a desire to rectify the felt ills of urbanism and industrialism and from a liberal politics that valued Indian and Hispano populations and sought to acculturate to them, remained unaware of the pervasive influence of commodity capitalism and identified the primitive, rural, and natural by esthetic (and particularly, visual)

categories rather than by economic, social, political, or other ones. As a consequence, the world Southwestern antimodernist émigrés created lay far closer to the mainstream of modernist culture—to the world of zoos, gardens, and arcades—than they would ever admit.

* * *

The story of primitivism in the modernist Southwest has the furtive pleasure and the melancholy of a child who has captured a lightning bug and keeps it in a jar beneath her bed, knowing full well that its light will dim in only a day. History offered any number of ways to capture the exotic or the natural and domesticate it for consumption, none of them unproblematic. One might adapt the tradition of living exhibition from the world's fairs and centuries of zoos and menageries elsewhere to the Southwest, and so enter the cult of the indigenous. One might embrace Romantic notions of ruin, nature, and marginalized ethnicity as embodied in picturesque landscapes and gardens, and so celebrate rusticity and commonalism. Or one could acquire collections of native artifacts, and so construct bourgeois dream worlds suggestive of a preindustrial past. In each of these, a concern with the management of space associated vastness and a lack of boundaries with the natural and authentic. The cells of ethnographic villages dissolve and reform as a typology of anthropological knowledge, leaving the land untouched; a picturesque esthetic resists bourgeois subdivision of geography, blending ethnicity, architecture, and landscape into one another; and items in a collection of Indian curios motion outward to vast geographies in an dream world of indigenous life. All of these turn a blind eye to the web of railway tracks that sectioned and integrated the Southwest into the industrial economy of modern-era America, conveying travelers, emigrants, and commodities to and fro as it mined the “cultural” and “historical” resources of a dream.

If this essay has attempted to sketch the outlines for an anthropology of modernist nostalgia as it manifested itself in the American Southwest, it does so less with the intent to demythologize the region and dismiss its primitivist dream than to enter it, animating the dream-

world once more and rechanneling its dusty energies into new courses. For Proust's young Marcel, the sleeping memory of a madeleine dipped in tea revived dream-images of a past in rural Combray to furnish the interior of his Paris bedroom. The scene bespeaks a modernist nostalgia that sought to fix and acquire the rural and the primitive to furnish urban dreams, much as adobe architecture and pre-industrial ways of life were of central interest to the disaffected urbanites who first trumpeted a Southwestern regionalism. However, it describes not only the mythical past whose essence is revealed by a regional epiphany—via the smell of pieon smoke, the sound of church bells, a footman's Spanish greeting, a tumbled landscape on the road to Taos—but also redemptive access to dream images of the past:

The past is hidden somewhere outside the realm, beyond the reach of intellect, in some material object (in the sensation which that material object will give us) of which we have no inkling. And it depends on chance whether or not we come upon this object before we ourselves must die.²²⁶

From the reconfigured energies of young Marcel's bourgeois dream of Combray, the wakened and adult Proust built a cutting critique of the bourgeois dreams and pretensions to rural aristocracy—while keeping the power of Marcel's childhood vision of a rural Eden intact. The residues of everyday life—madeleines and tea, walks in the garden, thank-you's for a case of wine—motivate a wakened consciousness. Similarly, for Benjamin, insight into the dream-residue of consumerist modernity inaugurates a new historical consciousness:

arcades and *intérieurs*, the exhibition halls and panoramas . . . are residues of a dream world. The realization of dream elements, in the course of waking up, is the paradigm of dialectical thinking. Thus, dialectical thinking is the organ of historical awakening.²²⁷

If Benjamin is correct the residues of Southwestern modernism—the tourist kitsch, the staged festivals and dances, the sentimental landscapes, dingy hotels, and the aging purple prose of regionalists—hold locked within them utopian forces that gave birth to modernity's primitivist dream. Awakening from this century-long regionalist sleep of “sun, silence, and adobe” will release the spirit of industrial and urban critique from musty dreams of undefiled indigenous lifeways and untouched desert landscapes. From the consumerist artisanal fetish—the hand-carved santo, the unique Navajo silverwork—springs a reinvigorated spirit of outrage at the

alienation from labor that created a market for such items; from the performative ethnicity of living exhibits and invented civic traditions, a heightened sense of the disruptive individualism into which industrial production and consumption and institutional society have fashioned life. Freed from the ethnic ties of colonial primitivism, this spirit fashions itself in new utopian forms: ecovillages, new urbanism, hybrid spiritualisms, sustainable development. Such efforts forge the tools to build new utopias from the cold metal of old dreams.

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Notes

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- ¹ Lummis 1893 (1).
- ² Pillsbury 1948 (121).
- ³ DeHuff 1948 (251).
- ⁴ See Stilgoe 1985 for a book-length development of the railway as a metropolitan corridor. For Marcel's dream, see Proust 1992 (1-64).
- ⁵ Wallace 1888 (14).
- ⁶ Luhan 1937 (33).
- ⁷ Proust 1992 (65).
- ⁸ Luhan 1937 (64).
- ⁹ Luhan 1937 (32-33).
- ¹⁰ See Byrkit 1992 and Padget 1995 for more on the Southwest as an imaginary and literary production.
- ¹¹ See Lears 1981 for modernism and antimodernism (esp. Preface, xvii).
- ¹² Proust 1992 (10).
- ¹³ Benjamin 1999 (19).
- ¹⁴ Foucault 1995 (203). View of Versailles' menagerie from Pincas 1996 (162) after an original in the Bibliotheque National, Paris.
- ¹⁵ Reproduced from *The Dream City: A Portfolio of Photographic Views of the World's Columbian Exposition*. St. Louis: N. D. Thompson Co., 1893-1894. N.p. See also Wilson 1995 (89).
- ¹⁶ Fowler & Fowler 1991 (54).
- ¹⁷ John Flinn, *The Best Things to Be Seen at the World's Fair* [1893] (quoted in Fowler & Fowler 1991, 54).
- ¹⁸ Cushing's private diary (quoted in Fowler 2000, 212).
- ¹⁹ Fowler & Fowler 1991 (55).
- ²⁰ Fowler 2000 (210), Wilson 1997 (87-8).
- ²¹ C.f. postcolonial criticism based on Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1973). For the "Streets of Egypt" concession, see Fowler & Fowler 1991 (53).
- ²² Fogelson 1991 (77).
- ²³ C.f. e.g. Ira Jacknis, "Northwest Coast Indian Culture and the World's Columbian Exposition." *Columbian Consequences, vol. 3: The Spanish Borderlands in Pan-American Perspective*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991: 91-118.
- ²⁴ Fowler 2000 (205).
- ²⁵ For more on Chicago at the turn of the century, see Cronon 1991. The following discussion of progress and World's Expositions is drawn from Fogelson 1991, Fowler 2000, and Fowler and Fowler 1991.
- ²⁶ Journalist Lincoln Steffens, quoted in Fowler 2000 (207).
- ²⁷ Fogelson 1991 (74).
- ²⁸ C.f. Fowler & Fowler 1991 (44), in which the authors oppose French images of the "noble savage" to British images of the "vanishing savage."
- ²⁹ Fowler 2000 (222).
- ³⁰ Fowler 2000 (208-9).
- ³¹ Fogelson 1991 (77).
- ³² Fogelson 1991 (75).
- ³³ Cellular and organic categories are from Foucault 1995 (141-56).
- ³⁴ Fowler & Fowler 1991 (55).
- ³⁵ Reproduced from Howard 1996 (56) after an original at the Heard Museum, Phoenix.
- ³⁶ Fogelson 1991 (79).
- ³⁷ Fowler 2000 (209).
- ³⁸ Genetic and combinatory categories are from Foucault 1995 (156-67).
- ³⁹ Fowler 2000 (208).
- ⁴⁰ Ibid.
- ⁴¹ Fowler 2000 (204).
- ⁴² Quoted in Fogelson 1991 (76).

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- ⁴³ For a lucid introduction to the carnivalesque, see Stallybrass and White 1986 (1-26). The original, more troublesome, formulation is in Bakhtin 1968.
- ⁴⁴ Fowler 2000 (214).
- ⁴⁵ Quoted in Fowler 2000 (217).
- ⁴⁶ From Yost, Nellie, *Buffalo Bill: His Family, Friends, Fame, Failures, and Fortunes*. Chicago: Swallow Press, 1979. Quoted in Fogelson 1991 (78).
- ⁴⁷ Fogelson 1991 (79).
- ⁴⁸ C.f. e.g. Deloria 1998 (95-127) on identities of modernity, and Lears 1981. Neither author discusses changing notions of spatial arrangement in relation to natural authenticity, however. For more on the development of “wilderness” as a cultural category, see Nash, Roderick. *Wilderness and the American Mind*. New Haven: Yale University Press (1967).
- ⁴⁹ Quoted in Lears 1981 (69).
- ⁵⁰ Weigle 1989 (115).
- ⁵¹ Fowler 2000 (217-8); Fowler & Fowler 1991 (218); Wilson 1997 (129).
- ⁵² *The Great Southwest along the Santa Fe*. Kansas City, Mo: Fred Harvey Company, 1914: n. p. Quoted in Weigle 1989 (125).
- ⁵³ Weigle 1989 (125-6).
- ⁵⁴ *Hotel El Tovar: On the Rim of the Grand Canyon, Management of Fred Harvey*, 1909: n. p. Quoted in Weigle 1989 (126).
- ⁵⁵ Reproduced from Thomas 1978 (64).
- ⁵⁶ Thomas 1978 (61-2).
- ⁵⁷ Indian Detours Brochure, quoted in Weigle 1989 (126), Thomas 1978 (65).
- ⁵⁸ Deloria 1998 (116).
- ⁵⁹ Reproduced from McLuhan 1985 (44) after original owned by Kraushaar Galleries, New York City.
- ⁶⁰ C.f. Babcock, Barbara. “A New Mexican Rebecca’: Imaging Pueblo Women.” *Journal of the Southwest* 32:4 (1990) for more on codes of Pueblo authenticity.
- ⁶¹ Thomas 1978 (77).
- ⁶² Weigle 1989 (129), Thomas 1978 (46-7).
- ⁶³ For American conceptions of wilderness and industrialism, see Marx, Leo. *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America*. New York: Oxford University Press (1964).
- ⁶⁴ Deloria 1998 (96).
- ⁶⁵ Padget 1995 (430).
- ⁶⁶ For Southwestern “types,” see Byrkit 1992.
- ⁶⁷ Padget 1995 (447).
- ⁶⁸ Fowler 2000 (119, 21), Deloria 1998 (119).
- ⁶⁹ Deloria 1998 (104).
- ⁷⁰ Deloria 1998 (115).
- ⁷¹ Wilson 1997 (195).
- ⁷² Deleuze 1992 (3).
- ⁷³ Thomas 1978 (196-7).
- ⁷⁴ Lummis 1952 (1).
- ⁷⁵ Reproduced from McLuhan 1985 (39).
- ⁷⁶ Wilson 1995 (125-7).
- ⁷⁷ Wilson 1995 (128-9).
- ⁷⁸ Wilson 1995 (129-35).
- ⁷⁹ Wilson 1995 (139-40).
- ⁸⁰ Wilson 1995 (211-13). For more on public festival in Santa Fe, c.f. Grimes, Ronald. *Symbol and Conquest: Public Ritual and Drama in Santa Fe, New Mexico*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press (1976).
- ⁸¹ Wilson 1995 (181-91).
- ⁸² See Minter 1990 (1-17) for the Palm House at Kew; Benjamin 1999 [G6, G6a1] for connections between it and the Crystal Palace. Engraving of Palm House from Minter 1990 (3) after an original in the Kew archives.
- ^{83*} Quoted in Fiske 1975 (156).
- ⁸³ Quoted in Fiske 1975 (16).

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- ⁸⁴ Fowler 2000 (248), Bingham 1955 (8).
- ⁸⁵ Fowler 2000 (248, 250-1).
- ⁸⁶ For a summary of the debate about what constitutes “the Southwest,” c.f. Byrkit 1992.
- ⁸⁷ Lummis 1893 (5).
- ⁸⁸ Quoted in Wilson 1997 (81).
- ⁸⁹ Lummis 1893 (139).
- ⁹⁰ Fowler 2000 (250-3).
- ⁹¹ Thompson 2001 (5).
- ⁹² Weber 1992 (80).
- ⁹³ Lummis 1893 (1).
- ⁹⁴ Lummis 1893 (1-2).
- ⁹⁵ Lummis 1893 (1).
- ⁹⁶ Lummis 1893 (2).
- ⁹⁷ Lummis 1893 (2).
- ⁹⁸ Lummis 1893 (6).
- ⁹⁹ Lummis 1893 (3).
- ¹⁰⁰ Lummis 1893 (6).
- ¹⁰¹ Lummis 1893 (7).
- ¹⁰² Lummis 1893 (8).
- ¹⁰³ Lummis 1893 (9).
- ¹⁰⁴ Lummis 1893 (4-5).
- ¹⁰⁵ Andrews 1994 (9-10, 12-3).
- ¹⁰⁶ Previous discussion from Andrews 1993. Quote from Uvedale Price, Andrews 1994 (23).
- ¹⁰⁷ Luhan 1937 (34).
- ¹⁰⁸ Luhan 1937 (34).
- ¹⁰⁹ Andrews 1994 (13).
- ¹¹⁰ Lummis 1893 (11).
- ¹¹¹ Lummis 1893 (12).
- ¹¹² For a close analysis of pueblo building styles in adobe and commentary on how adobe degrades, see Bunting 1976 (7, 17-51).
- ¹¹³ Luhan (79).
- ¹¹⁴ Andrews 1994 (10).
- ¹¹⁵ Broder 1980 (70).
- ¹¹⁶ Lummis 1893 (1-2).
- ¹¹⁷ Lummis 1893 (2).
- ¹¹⁸ Broder 1980 (70).
- ¹¹⁹ Lummis 1893 (7).
- ¹²⁰ Lummis 1893 (9).
- ¹²¹ Reproduced from Warner 1974 (158).
- ¹²² Reproduced from Warner 1975 (159).
- ¹²³ Lummis 1893 (5).
- ¹²⁴ Lummis 1893 (5).
- ¹²⁵ Andrews 1994 (14).
- ¹²⁶ Reproduced from Howard & Pardue 1996 (89) after image in *American Indian Art Magazine*.
- ¹²⁷ Deloria 1998 (16).
- ¹²⁸ Andrews 1994 (15).
- ¹²⁹ Andrews 1994 (10).
- ¹³⁰ Lummis 1893 (6).
- ¹³¹ Andrews 1994 (12).
- ¹³² Beverige 1995 (87).
- ¹³³ Andrews 1994 (14).
- ¹³⁴ For legibility and simplification in relation to centralization, see Scott 1998 (11-52).
- ¹³⁵ For Santa Fe’s architectural “rustification,” see Wilson 1997.
- ¹³⁶ Quoted in Andrews 1994 (19).

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- ¹³⁷ Crandell 1993 (122, 129).
- ¹³⁸ Andrews 1994 (22).
- ¹³⁹ Quoted in Andrews 1994 (23).
- ¹⁴⁰ For 19th-century America's popular attitudes towards Mexicans, see Paredes 1977 and 1998.
- ¹⁴¹ Lummis 1893 (6).
- ¹⁴² Lummis 1893 (9).
- ¹⁴³ Lummis 1893 (17-8).
- ¹⁴⁴ Byrkit 1992. Byrkit's comments on members of this class (whom he labels 'Mugwumps') anticipates this essay's examination of the Southwest as a zoo, garden, and arcade: "Today's Mugwumps have a hard time deciding whether the Southwest is a botanical garden, a zoo, an amusement park, or a scenic backdrop for a TV automobile commercial."
- ¹⁴⁵ Luhan 1937 (232).
- ¹⁴⁶ Reproduced from Broder 1980 (color plate 2).
- ¹⁴⁷ Reproduced from Broder 1980 (color plate 5).
- ¹⁴⁸ Quotes from Benjamin (7-8). "Fish fishing for people, using various desirable items as bait" from Buck-Morss 1989 (155) after Grandville, *Un Autre Monde*.
- ¹⁴⁹ Turner 1920 (4).
- ¹⁵⁰ Turner 1920 (11).
- ¹⁵¹ Turner 1920 (11).
- ¹⁵² Turner 1920 (1).
- ¹⁵³ For more on flânerie at the World's Columbian Exposition see Hinsley 1991, 1996.
- ¹⁵⁴ Benjamin 2000 (4).
- ¹⁵⁵ Turner 1920 (1).
- ¹⁵⁶ Cronon 1991 (46-54).
- ¹⁵⁷ Cronon 1991 (218-224).
- ¹⁵⁸ This notion of space is a combination of Scott 1998, which addresses the integration of regions already cultivated under local management, and Stilgoe 1983, which treats integration as differential urbanization along railway tracks.
- ¹⁵⁹ For a non-American example of the hinterland as a wellspring for cultural identity, see Marilyn Ivy's comments on *furusato* (homeland) and the Japanese town of Tono in "Narrative Returns, Uncanny Topographies," Ivy 1995, Ch. 4.
- ¹⁶⁰ See Ivy 1995 (1) for a similar division in 20th-century Japanese attitudes. The anxious separation of the "cultural" and the "economic" may be a hallmark of the modernist era.
- ¹⁶¹ Brody 1976 (74); Naranjo 1996 (192).
- ¹⁶² Weigle & Babcock 1996 (1).
- ¹⁶³ For further information on the Harvey Houses, see Lesley Poling-Kempes. *The Harvey Girls: Women Who Opened the West*. New York: Paragon House, 1989. For the Victorian domestic ideal, see Lears 1981 (15-16). For another example of the feminine as tourist suture between known and exotic see Ivy, "Itineraries of Knowledge: Trans-figuring Japan," Ivy 1995, Ch. 2. The Fred Harvey Company later recycled the practice in the form of Indian Detour "couriers."
- ¹⁶⁴ Howard & Pardue 1996 (XI).
- ¹⁶⁵ Weigle & Babcock 1996 (1).
- ¹⁶⁶ Howard & Pardue 1996 (X).
- ¹⁶⁷ Cronon 1991 (229); Dockstader 1985 (105).
- ¹⁶⁸ Pardue 1996 (106).
- ¹⁶⁹ For more on Lummis' crusade on behalf of the Spanish Missions, see Fowler 1999 (250-252).
- ¹⁷⁰ Quoted in Howard & Pardue 1996 (18).
- ¹⁷¹ Howard & Pardue 1996 (21).
- ¹⁷² Quoted in Howard & Pardue (23).
- ¹⁷³ Harvey 1996 (94).
- ¹⁷⁴ Quoted in Howard & Pardue (63).
- ¹⁷⁵ Harvey 1996 (96-7); Howard & Pardue (46-7).
- ¹⁷⁶ Howard & Pardue 1996 (27-36).
- ¹⁷⁷ Quoted in Howard & Pardue 1996 (21).

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- ¹⁷⁸ Howard & Pardue 1996 (53).
- ¹⁷⁹ Canclini 1993 (41).
- ¹⁸⁰ *Albuquerque Morning Journal* editorial, August 21, 1925 (quoted in Weigle 1996, 47).
- ¹⁸¹ Quoted in Howard & Pardue 1996 (21).
- ¹⁸² Cronon 1991, ch 5. "Annihilating Space: Meat" (207-259).
- ¹⁸³ Reproduced from Benjamin 1999 (49) from an original at the Musée Carnavalet, Paris.
- ¹⁸⁴ *Illustrated Guide to Paris*, quoted in "Paris, the Capital of the Nineteenth Century (Exposé of 1935)," Benjamin 1999 (3).
- ¹⁸⁵ Benjamin 1999 convolut F ("Iron"), esp. [F 4, 5] and [F 4a, 1].
- ¹⁸⁶ Benjamin 1999 [A 2,2].
- ¹⁸⁷ Reproduced from Buck-Morss 1989 (153) from Grandville, *Un Autre Monde*.
- ¹⁸⁸ In Benjamin 1999 (3).
- ¹⁸⁹ Benjamin, "The Rings of Saturn," in Benjamin 1999 (885-887).
- ¹⁹⁰ Magic lantern slide reproduced from Howard & Pardue 1996 (ix) after at original at the Heard Museum, Phoenix.
- ¹⁹¹ Edouard Drumont, *Figures de bronze ou statues de neige*. Benjamin 1999 [M 8a,3].
- ¹⁹² Benjamin 1999 (21).
- ¹⁹³ In McQuaid 1996 (26).
- ¹⁹⁴ Benjamin 1999 (18).
- ¹⁹⁵ Smith-Ferri 1996 (130).
- ¹⁹⁶ Reproduced from Howard & Pardue 1996 (119) after at original at the Heard Museum, Phoenix.
- ¹⁹⁷ Dorsey 1903 (22).
- ¹⁹⁸ Dorsey 1903 (22).
- ¹⁹⁹ One might argue that the jumble of ethnic curio shops continues in commodified form Renaissance collectors' "curiosity cabinet"—a hodge-podge of fetishes collected from around the globe. For more on the curiosity cabinet, see Mullaney, Steven. "Strange Things, Gross Terms, Curious Customs: The Rehearsal of Cultures in the Late Renaissance." *Representations* 3 (Summer 1983): 40-67.
- ²⁰⁰ Stewart 1993 (159).
- ²⁰¹ Benjamin 1999 [M17a,2].
- ²⁰² Benjamin 1999 (19).
- ²⁰³ See Fewkes, Jesse Walter. "Dolls of the Tusayan Indians." *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* 7. 45-74. Dockstader 1985 represents a welcome departure from this "pantheon of Hopi spirits" tradition. That social and economic concerns are less prevalent in the literature is due in part to the necessary secrecy of Hopi religious activity in the face of Anglo assimilationist policies of the early 20th-century. However, this still does not account for the voluminous iconographic literature and intense Anglo interest in katsina dolls.
- ²⁰⁴ Benjamin 1999 (19).
- ²⁰⁵ Marx 1990 [1867] (165).
- ²⁰⁶ My discussion of the folkloric fetish is based on Ivy 1995 (10); for antimodernism and the arts-and-crafts movements, see Lears 1981 (59-91).
- ²⁰⁷ McQuaid 1996 (24).
- ²⁰⁸ Lears 1981 (40-47).
- ²⁰⁹ Lears 1981, ch. 5 "The Religion of Beauty: Catholic Forms and American Consciousness" (184-215).
- ²¹⁰ Quoted in McQuaid 1996 (30).
- ²¹¹ Reproduced from Howard & Pardue 1996 (58) after at original at the Heard Museum, Phoenix.
- ²¹² Quoted in Howard & Pardue 1996 (15).
- ²¹³ Quoted in Howard & Pardue 1996 (18).
- ²¹⁴ Reproduced from Howard & Pardue 1996 (8) after at original at the Heard Museum, Phoenix.
- ²¹⁵ Benjamin 1999 [M 3a,4].
- ²¹⁶ On the uncanny in folklore, see Ivy 1995 (84-85).
- ²¹⁷ Benjamin 1999 [M 1, 4].
- ²¹⁸ Benjamin 1999 [M 1a, 3].
- ²¹⁹ Benjamin 1999 [M 2, 4].

²²⁰ This reading is strongly influenced by Susan Buck-Morss, “The Flâneur, the Sandwichman and the Whore: The Politics of Loitering,” *New German Critique* 39 (Fall 1986): 99-140.

²²¹ Reproduced from McLuhan 1985 (35), after negative (J-30, 037) in the archives of the Colorado Historical Society, Denver, Colorado.

²²² Sylvanus Baxter, quoted in Hinsley 1992 (417).

²²³ Benjamin 1999 [M1,4].

²²⁴ Hinsley 1990 (139).

²²⁵ Benjamin 1999 [J66, 8].

²²⁶ Proust 1992 (59-60).

²²⁷ Benjamin 1999 (13).