

“Playing Indian” in the American Southwest:
the Development of the Pueblo Revival Style, 1890 – 1930

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Abstract

This dissertation focuses on the development of the Pueblo Revival Style in the American Southwest at the turn of the twentieth century. It was one of several regional styles that emerged at this time. Buildings executed in the Pueblo Revival Style were based upon the buildings long constructed in the Southwest by the Pueblo Indians. However, at the turn of the twentieth century, this revival of building forms was not one in which Pueblo Indian people, themselves, engaged. Instead, the Pueblo Revival Style refers to the constructions of white Americans who began to design and commission buildings in the style of pueblos for their own use. Therefore, the development of what is today called the Pueblo Revival Style more aptly would be termed an “appropriation,” rather than a “revival,” for it represents not the resurgence of building practices by Pueblo Indians, but the adoption—and adaptation—of building practices by an entirely new group of people.

Central to this dissertation is the idea of “Playing Indian,” a concept previously articulated by the scholar Philip Deloria in his 1998 book of that title. Deloria argues that white Americans’ definitions of identity were tied inextricably to those of Native Americans ever since the pre-Revolutionary era. In essence, in order for white Americans to define their own identities, a sense of self required them to define what they were not—an “other.” Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, white Americans began to play Indian architecturally as they built structures that were based on Indian models, such as wigwams and teepees.

This kind of play by white Americans also appears to have intensified in the latter half of the nineteenth century. As archaeological and anthropological activity of the late nineteenth century increasingly came to center on the ancient and modern pueblos of the American Southwest, white Americans increasingly began to turn towards them as a model for their own building endeavors. This dissertation works to explore what particular meanings the pueblos carried for the white Americans who began to appropriate them with an increasing frequency at the turn of the twentieth century.

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Chapter Four—

The Quest for a National American Architecture:

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Figure 4.25: Mary Irvin Wright Gill’s painting entitled *Ghost Dance - Inspiration* (circa 1892), from James Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890; Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1892-93 by J.W. Powell, Director; Part II* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), 929.

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Figure 4.28: A photograph of the “ghost shirts” of the Sioux Indians from the Battle of Wounded Knee, from James Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890; Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1892-93* by J.W. Powell, Director; Part II (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), 789.

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Figure 4.31: The Indian equestrian statue by sculptor Alexander Phimister Proctor featured to the front of the Transportation Building at the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition, from Joseph M. Di Cola and David Stone, *Chicago’s 1893 World’ Fair* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2012), 34.

Figure 4.32: The Indian equestrian statue by sculptor Alexander Phimister Proctor as viewed from one side and with the Mining Building in the background, from Joseph M. Di Cola and David Stone, *Chicago’s 1893 World’ Fair* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2012), 105.

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of New Mexico Press, 1989), 10.

Figure 5.3: A photograph of the University of New Mexico campus prior to Dr. Tight's building campaign that began in 1905, from William E. Davis, *Miracle on the Mesa: A History of the University of New Mexico, 1889-2003* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico for the Office of the President, 2006), 68.

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Figure 5.6: A photograph of Kwataka Men's Dormitory at the University of New Mexico, from William E. Davis, *Miracle on the Mesa: A History of the University of New Mexico, 1889-2003* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico for the Office of the President, 2006), 67.

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Figure 5.11: A photograph showing the Hokona and Kwataka dormitories in relation to one another with a caption that states that "they will eventually be united into one large pueblo." The round structure in the center of the photograph is a sundial monument given to the University of New Mexico by the class of 1907, from Ramon Jurado, "Prehistoric Home for New University," *The Technical World Magazine* 11, no. 1, March 1909, 373.

Figure 5.12: A photograph (circa 1909) of the steps leading up to the second level of

the Kwataka men's dormitory at the University of New Mexico, from Ramon Jurado, "Prehistoric Home for New University," *The Technical World Magazine* 11, no. 1, March 1909, 369.

Figure 5.13: A photograph (circa 1909) of the university president's house at the University of New Mexico, from "A Revival of Old Pueblo Architecture," *Architects' and Builders' Magazine: Devoted to the Interests of Architecture, Building and Engineering* 10, October 1908 – September 1909, 284.

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Figure 5.18: By 1903, The Yum-Yum Society had become the Alpha Alpha Alpha Fraternity, from Dorothy Hughes, *Pueblo on the Mesa: The First Fifty Years at the University of New Mexico* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 61.

Figure 5.19: A photograph of one of Dr. Tight's pine tree planting efforts. This one, planted in 1908, was used to memorialize him, as it was named "Tight's Grove," from Dorothy Hughes, *Pueblo on the Mesa: The First Fifty Years at the University of New Mexico* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 31.

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Figure 5.21: A photograph of the costumes of one late-nineteenth century fraternal order in which Playing Indian was requisite, The Improved Order of the Red Men. Note the American flag motif on the back of the collar, as well as the visual similarity to the "Ghost Shirts" of the Ghost Dancers. It is unknown whether the costumes of the Tri-Alphas at the University of New Mexico were

similar to these, but it is quite likely that they played Indian in many more ways than to simply build their *estufa* fraternity, from Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 67.

Chapter Six—

Playing Indian Among the Ruins: Indians' Secrets of Health and the Southwest as the Locus for the Reconstruction of the American Body

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Figure 6.3: An illustration of the pueblos of the Hopi Indians from George Wharton James 1908 book *The Indians' Secrets of Health or What the White Race May Learn from The Indian*. James extolled pueblo architecture as illustrating an architecture of the out-of-doors as it possessed exterior terraces that he believed were healthful environments in which to sleep, from George Wharton James, *The Indians' Secrets of Health or What the White Race May Learn from The Indian* (New York: J.F. Tapley Co, 1908), 70.

Figure 6.4: A illustration of a Navajo Blanket Weaver's Open-Air Workroom from George Wharton James' 1908 book *The Indians' Secrets of Health or What the White Race May Learn from The Indian*. To George Wharton James, the interiors of houses were full of unhealthy air. However, for him, the architecture of the Indians of the Southwest illustrated how the interior of the domestic environment could be more healthful by opening it up to the out-of-doors, from George Wharton James, *The Indians' Secrets of Health or What the White Race May Learn from The Indian* (New York: J.F. Tapley Co, 1908), 48.

Figure 6.5: A turn-of-the-century advertisement for an herbal remedy illustrates what many Americans believed would happen to a woman who subjected her nerves to too much stimuli, such as “brain work.” She would fray her nerves until her body fell ill with a nervous breakdown, from Wanda Corn, et al., *Women on the Verge: The Culture of Neurasthenia in Nineteenth-Century America* (Stanford: Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University, 2004), 6.

Figure 6.6: A painting by Walter Launt Palmer entitled *De Forest Interior* (1878) depicts the restorative potential that was thought to accrue to the darkened room as located within the home. Here, the dark tones of the furnishings and a harmoniously decorated interior were thought to foster repose in order to release stress and avoid nervousness, from Wanda Corn, et al., *Women on the Verge: The Culture of Neurasthenia in Nineteenth-Century America* (Stanford: Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University, 2004), 28.

Figure 6.7: A 1903 brochure entitled *Health is the Star of Promise* summoned the “star of civilization” in its text and in its advertisement for Dr. Bartlett’s “Vital Force,” an herbal remedy, for “the sensitively stringed instrument,” the neurasthenic man or woman “prone to ‘Worry,’ the most dangerous of all nervous affectations,” from the author’s personal collection.

Figure 6.8: A photograph of the Arrowhead Sanatorium as set against the arrowhead-shaped geologic formation on the side of the San Bernardino Mountains (ca. 1905), from the University of Southern California Special Collections Library, Los Angeles, California.

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Figure 6.10: A photograph of the second manifestation of The Arrowhead Sanatorium, from Rhea Francis Tetley, *Images of America: Lake Arrowhead* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing Company, 2005), 14.

Figure 6.11: A picture postcard of the Chalfonte Hotel built in Cape May, New Jersey in 1876. Unlike the second iteration of the Arrowhead Sanatorium, it was only two stories, and it featured a hipped roof broken by several gables. However, in its block-like massing and arcaded balconies with gingerbread decorative trim, the two buildings built on opposite sides of the American continent during the same decade look quite similar to one another, from Don and Pat Pocher, *Cape May in Vintage Postcards* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 1998), 14.

Figure 6.12: A postcard for The Arrowhead Sanatorium that merges together in a single image the 1905 sanatorium building and the healing properties that were believed to accrue to the landscape as signified by the arrowhead, the Indian, and the natural hot springs (exact date of image unknown), from Roger G. Hatheway and Russell L. Keller, *Lake Arrowhead* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2007) 39.

Figure 6.13: The Pueblo Revival Style Sunmount Sanitarium circa 1920. The upper level above the entrance is a sleeping porch, reflecting George Wharton’s James idea that the upper-level terraces of pueblos could serve as an architectural model for the out-of-door life, from Chris Wilson, *Facing Southwest:*

The Life and Houses of John Gaw Meem (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2001), 10.

Figure 6.14: A view of several of the buildings that formed the eighteen building complex of the Pueblo Revival Style Desert Sanatorium constructed in Tucson, Arizona in 1926, from *The Desert Sanatorium and Institute of Research, Tucson, Arizona* (Tucson: The Desert Sanatorium and Institute of Research, 1927), 10.

Figure 6.15: A postcard of St. Mary's Hospital and Sanatorium in Tucson, Arizona. Like the second iteration of the Arrowhead Sanatorium constructed in 1886 in San Bernardino, California, the architecture of late nineteenth-century sanatoriums in the Southwest, such as St. Mary's, were typically modeled upon Eastern building prototypes from standard pattern-books such as that of Andrew Jackson Downing, from personal postcard collection of the author.

Figure 6.16: A view of several of the buildings that formed the eighteen building complex of the Pueblo Revival Style Desert Sanatorium constructed in Tucson, Arizona in 1926, from the Frasher Foto Postcard Collection, Pomona Public Library, Pomona, California.

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Figure 6.18: A photograph of the swimming pool that was a prominent feature at the Desert Sanatorium. The pool provided a way for patients to exert their “nerve force” through out-of-door activity. In addition, the health benefits of water, or hydrotherapy, was widely touted by the medical profession as one vital to the restoration of neurasthenic and tubercular patients, in particular, as the water was thought to work to soothe their frayed nerves, from the Frasher Foto Postcard Collection, Pomona Public Library, Pomona, California.

Figure 6.19: A photograph of the putting green located outside the Recreational Building at the Desert Sanatorium, from *The Desert Sanatorium and Institute of Research, Tucson, Arizona* (Tucson: The Desert Sanatorium and Institute of Research, 1927), 16.

Figure 6.20: A photograph of some of patients recuperating at the Sunmount Sanatorium in Santa Fe, New Mexico while playing billiards. It is not insignificant that all of the patients in this room were male. Rest to the interior of buildings was thought more suited to women than men, who were supposed to be more active in their embrace of the out-of-door life. Therefore, to the interior of the Sunmount Sanatorium, male sporting culture as

represented by the game of billiards worked to support the Cult of Masculinity as typically evidenced in more urban settings. In cities, men often congregated in billiard parlors, theaters, brothels, and saloons in order to engage in activities believed vital to the maintenance of masculinity such as telling stories, drinking, bragging, smoking cigars, and gambling. At the Sunmount Sanatorium, the dark wood paneling helped to establish the tone of the room as a masculine one, like that of a private den, or public men's club, while the Indian rugs and basketry helped to establish the interior as a recuperative one, from the New Mexico State Records Center and Archive, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Figure 6.21: A photograph of a patient room at the Desert Sanatorium as furnished with a rug of Indian design, from *The Desert Sanatorium and Institute of Research, Tucson, Arizona* (Tucson: The Desert Sanatorium and Institute of Research, 1927), 17.

Figure 6.22: A photograph that shows some of the many Indian-style wall and ceiling murals featured throughout the Desert Sanatorium, from *The Desert Sanatorium and Institute of Research, Tucson, Arizona* (Tucson: The Desert Sanatorium and Institute of Research, 1927), 18.

Figure 6.23: A photograph of patients resting their bodies in the out-of-doors as they “chased the cure” on a porch at the Pueblo Revival Style Sunmount Sanatorium in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Patients could engage in the outdoor life by inhaling “pure air” and rest their bodies from the stresses of modern life as they withdrew from the industrialized cities that taxed their “reserve force.” Although both men and women patients are pictured here, it is important to note that rest and withdrawal was believed particularly important for women, who were thought to possess a much more limited supply of reserve force than men. Note, too, the piece of Pueblo Indian pottery in the middle-ground; Indian decorations were widely touted by writers such as George Wharton James as possessing a restorative quality for the white Americans who interacted with them, from the New Mexico State Records Center and Archive, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Figure 6.24: A photograph of the terraces atop the residential buildings of the Desert Sanatorium where patients could recline to receive the benefits of heliotherapy thought beneficial to them, from *The Desert Sanatorium and Institute of Research, Tucson, Arizona* (Tucson: The Desert Sanatorium and Institute of Research, 1927), 22.

Figure 6.25: A diagram showing the gradual progression of time to which patient's bodies were exposed to the sun in the therapy known as “heliotherapy,” from *Minnesota Medicine: Journal of the Minnesota State Medical Association* 5, no. 1 (January 1922), 304.

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Figure 6.28: A 1929 advertisement for a Luxor Model Sun Lamp, which was supposed to bring the benefits of the Thezac lens indoors in American homes that weren't as "well-suited climatically" as those in the year-round climate of the Southwest, from *The Journal of the Outdoor Life: A Monthly Magazine of the National Tuberculosis Association*, May 1929, back cover of magazine.

Figure 6.29: A photograph of the crumbling adobe ruins of Ft. Lowell that lay just north of the Desert Sanatorium were featured prominently in its promotional literature with a caption that read "Crumbling Adobe Ruins of Fort Lowell, immediately north of Desert Sanatorium Grounds." Although the ruins were not those of an Indian tribe, but rather those of the American government which constructed them (likely with the help of Indian labor, as was the case with the construction of many forts across the Southwest), the promotional literature of the sanatorium told readers exactly how they should associate them with a particular Indian tribe, the Apache, from *The Desert Sanatorium and Institute of Research, Tucson Arizona* (Tucson: The Desert Sanatorium and Institute of Research, 1927), 8.

Introduction

The Pueblo Revival Style Defined

The subject of this dissertation is the development of Pueblo Revival Style architecture in the American Southwest during a period spanning from 1890-1930. The Pueblo Revival Style is a style of building that emerged in the American Southwest at the turn of the twentieth century. Buildings executed in the Pueblo Revival Style were based upon the buildings long constructed in the Southwest by the Pueblo Indians. However, at the turn of the twentieth century, this revival of building forms was not one in which Pueblo Indian people, themselves, engaged. They had a long and continuous tradition of erecting pueblos. Instead, the Pueblo Revival Style refers to the constructions of white Americans, who began to design and commission buildings in the style of pueblos for their own use (although the labor and knowledge of Pueblo Indians was often used to construct them). Therefore, the development of what is today called the Pueblo Revival Style more aptly would be termed an “appropriation,” rather than a “revival,” for it represents not the resurgence of building practices by Pueblo Indians, but the adoption—and adaptation—of their building practices by an entirely new group of people. Nonetheless, Pueblo Revival Style is the accepted terminology in architectural parlance for this style of building, and it is the one that will be used here.

The beginnings of Pueblo Revival Style architecture can be traced back to 1893, when several replicas of ancient pueblos were exhibited at the Chicago World’s Fair in an exhibit called the Cliff Dwellers exhibit. The architectural historian David Gebhard once asserted that the first actual Pueblo Revival Style building, rather than a temporary fair exhibit, was constructed in 1894 in the San Francisco area as designed by the architect A.C.

Schweinfurth.¹ There is much to lend credence to this idea, as will be discussed in the dissertation. However, the Pueblo Revival Style appears to have emerged as a distinct style of which many Americans became cognizant sometime around 1905.

The Definition of a Pueblo

The word “pueblo” summons the moment of first contact between Europeans and the Pueblo Indian tribes of the Southwest, for it derives from the Spanish word for “city.” The Spanish conquistadors of the sixteenth century, as well as the missionaries who followed them in the Spanish conquest of the Southwest, used the word to describe the village constructions of some of the Native American peoples that they encountered. In the Southwest, pueblos were (and are) constructed by a group of individually distinct but related tribes. These tribes include the Hopi, Zuñi, Tewa, Keres, and Jemez. These Indian tribes each constructed the buildings that comprised their villages in a manner that shared many characteristics to one another. In the mid-nineteenth century, American anthropologists and archaeologists again used the Spanish term, pueblo, to refer to the both the individual buildings that comprised these villages and the villages, themselves. However, anthropologists also referred to the particular Indian tribes who possessed the architectural tradition of building pueblos as “pueblo-building Indians,” or, for short, either the “Pueblo Indians” or the “Pueblos.” Therefore, when the word “pueblo” is used today, it can refer one of three things: an individual pueblo dwelling (a single building); multiple pueblo

¹See David Gebhard, “The Myth and Power of Place: Hispanic Revivalism in the American Southwest,” in *Architectural Regionalism: Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity*, ed. David Canizaro (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007) 198.

buildings on one site (a village); or, a member of one of the many different Indian tribes that build pueblos (a Pueblo Indian).

To complicate matters even further, at the end of the nineteenth century, anthropologists and archeologists also discovered ancient pueblo ruins. Unlike the inhabited pueblo villages, which were often built on the top of flat mountaintops, or *mesas*, these were often built into the sides of cliff faces in caves. Anthropologists and archaeologists believed that these ruins belonged to a long vanished race that they called the “Cliff Dwellers.” The name soon became well known to the American public. However, as some anthropologists began to discern by the 1890s, the Cliff Dwellers didn’t really disappear. They simply migrated farther up the cliffs. We know today that the ancient Cliff Dwellers are the ancestors of the Pueblo Indians.

Later, for much of the twentieth century, and even still today, the Cliff Dwellers would be better known to white Americans as the Anasazi Indians. However, this was a name that was originally bestowed upon the Cliff Dwellers by the Navajo Indians. This tribe historically lived in close proximity to the Pueblo Indians and their pueblos. The Navajo, like many people throughout the world, often bestowed derogatory names upon their neighbors with whom they sometimes came into conflict for access to resources. The name “Anasazi” is one such derogatory name, and it literally means “ancient enemies.”² Therefore, today, the preferred name for the Cliff Dwellers is “ancestral Puebloans” in recognition of the fact that the Cliff Dwellers are the direct ancestors of contemporary Pueblo Indian tribes. However, because people at the turn of the twentieth century typically knew the ancient

² See James W. Loewen, *Lies Across America: What Historic Sites Get Wrong* (New York: New Press, 1999), 86.

pueblo Indians as the “Cliff Dwellers,” that is the name that will also be used throughout the dissertation.

As constructed by the Pueblo Indians, both ancient and modern, pueblo buildings are multi-unit buildings that are comprised typically of modular squares or rectangles. Interior rooms of a pueblo are typically little more than 10’ long and 8’ high. Wall and roof surfaces are usually flat planes. The walls of pueblos are typically constructed in one of three ways: of sun-dried earth baked into adobe bricks; of flat stone stacked and dry laid; or, in the case of the ancient Cliff Dwellers, of rounded boulders gathered from stream-beds. Adobe and stone walls are often covered in plaster. The roofs of pueblos are typically constructed with large beams or logs that are then covered with a layer of brush and earth. These modules are often stacked upon each other in two to three levels to form living units for several families. Each level is also typically smaller in its building footprint than the one below it and set back from the front façade a significant distance. This works to create flat roof terraces between the levels that are used as outdoor living space and for circulation.

Multiple pueblo dwellings are often placed in rows or in courtyard configurations to form a pueblo village. Pueblo villages, however, do not possess only square and geometrical forms. Many of them also have sacred ceremonial spaces that are round. At the turn of the century, white Americans anthropologists and archaeologists called these spaces by one of two names, either an *estufa* or a *kiva*. Today the more commonly accepted name is kiva. Kivas can be constructed underground, partially submerged, or above the ground. Their construction varies from tribe to tribe. However, they function to house religious organizations, or what are known as priest clans. There are usually different priest clans within a village, and each priest clan has their own kiva. The priest clans are generally

comprised only of men, although historically a few women past the age of reproduction were also initiated into these organizations.³

Pueblo building by the Pueblo Indians is hardly a static building practice, however. Pueblo building has continued to develop and change through increasing cultural contact with other peoples for hundred of years. For instance, at the turn of the century, many Pueblo Indian tribes rapidly were coming into increased contact with both white Americans and the railroad, and they responded to this increased contact in their building practices. New building techniques and materials, such as the incorporation of glazed wood windows that the railroad made readily available, were often incorporated into pueblo buildings. Nor was this the first time that the building traditions of the Pueblo Indians were subject to fairly rapid change. For example, in the late 1700s, when the Spanish Franciscans established missions across the Southwest, some Pueblo Indian tribes also incorporated Spanish techniques into their own building practices, such as whitewashing their buildings.

The General Characteristics of a Building in the Pueblo Revival Style

The idea of what constitutes a building executed in the Pueblo Revival Style is, itself, a complicated question, for a problem often arises as far as the style's historiography. Architectural historians disagree on what, exactly, constitutes a building executed in the Pueblo Revival Style. For instance, Virginia and Lee McAlester's *A Field Guide to American Houses*, a well-regarded architectural style guide, states that one of the identifying features of a Pueblo Revival Building is a stucco wall surface. A book entitled *Ageless Adobe: History and*

³ See T.J. Ferguson, *Historic Zuñi Architecture and Society: An Archaeological Application of Space Syntax: Anthropological Papers of the University of Arizona*, no. 60 (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1996), 39.

Preservation in Southwestern Architecture reiterates this idea as it states that “stone is not customarily used in Pueblo Revival.”⁴

Nonetheless, many historians also recognize that one of the earliest extant examples of the Pueblo Revival style is Hopi House, constructed in 1904 by the Fred Harvey Company at the Grand Canyon. The building’s exterior wall surfaces are exposed stacked stone; they are not plastered adobe. However, it is also well known that the building was modeled on a typical house in the Hopi pueblo of Oraibi, so the fact that it is Pueblo Revival Style is somewhat hard to dispute. Because the definition of the Pueblo Revival Style is open to debate, scholars sometimes do feel the necessity to take a position on what exactly they consider to constitute the style. For example, the scholar Baker Morrow does this in his book entitled *Anasazi Architecture and American Architecture* where he states that Hopi House is “a purely Pueblo Revival Style building.”⁵

Taxonomies are certainly useful tools, but a taxonomical approach to architecture can also work to erect rigid boundaries that obscure rather than illuminate. Probably the most significant problem of the characteristics assigned to the Pueblo Revival Style is the manner in which early twentieth-century buildings constructed in stone are either conceived of as anomalies in the development of the style, or they are not considered representative of it at all. For instance, based on the taxonomy that a Pueblo Revival Style building is typically one that is plastered adobe, many might be tempted to view the stacked stone construction of Hopi House as simply an anomaly. However, if one were to do so, then he or she might

⁴ See Jerome Iowa, *Ageless Adobe: History and Preservation in Southwestern Architecture* (Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 2005), 56.

⁵ Baker H. Morrow and Vincent Barrett Price, eds., *Anasazi Architecture and American Design* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 199.

also miss that an even earlier building—still extant today—was understood by the person constructing it as built in a Pueblo Indian mode. This is the house of the writer and amateur archeologist, Charles Lummis, which he began to construct over a fifteen-year period in Los Angeles beginning in 1897. One might also think to discount as a Pueblo Revival Style building a residence constructed out of stacked stone in 1911 by the artist Kate Cory in Prescott, Arizona. Like Hopi House, Cory's residence was modeled on a house in the Hopi village of Oraibi.

In fact, for the first decade of the twentieth century, and for part of the second, most white American people who were constructing buildings as modeled on the pueblos conceived of themselves as building specifically in a "Hopi Style" of architecture as based on the pueblos of that particular tribe, and not that of another, like the Zuñi. For example, in 1909, at the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition held in Seattle, the state of Utah constructed its state building as modeled upon the pueblos. It featured the stucco-plastered walls more typically associated with the pueblos of the Zuñi of Northern New Mexico. However, those who built it conceived of it as "a reproduction of a section of the Hopi Pueblo."⁶ The Bailey Cottage, which was perched on a cliff overlooking the Pacific Ocean in La Jolla, California, was designed by the architectural firm of Mead and Requa in 1913. Designed for a collector of Indian artifacts, William J. Bailey, it was referred to often as an example of "Hopi Indian architecture."⁷ In 1926, a building complex named the Desert Sanatorium and Institute of Research would be erected in the Pueblo Revival Style in Tucson, Arizona. Although each of

⁶ This description is from an official postcard of the exposition. It reads as follows: 'The Utah Building is a reproduction of a section of the Hopi Pueblo, and adobe community dwelling built originally by the Bear and Snake families of the Hopi Indians. Mining, irrigation, and the State's specialties are well represented.' Postcard from the personal collection of the author.

⁷ See Gebhard, "The Myth and Power of Place," 152.

the buildings in the complex would possess the smooth plaster walls most strongly associated with the Zuñi tribe of Northern New Mexico, those who designed it conceived of it as representing the “Hopi style of architecture.”⁸

The development of the Pueblo Revival Style drew heavily upon knowledge about the pueblos being generated at the turn of the century by the scientific disciplines of archaeology and anthropology and, at that time, the white Americans who sought to replicate pueblos for their own use often recognized that there were differences in the building practices of the various Pueblo Indian tribes. For example, George Dorsey of the Chicago Field Museum was an influential figure in the ethnological study of the Pueblo Indians at the turn of the century, and he understood well that there were significant variations in the ways that different Pueblo Indian tribes typically built their pueblos. Sometime around 1903, Dorsey was approached by organizers of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904 to construct some replicas of the pueblos of the Southwest for the exposition. These were never built, as apparently the time that they would have taken to construct was considered too long for the purposes of the fair’s organizers. Nonetheless, the significant point here is that Dorsey envisioned building not one pueblo, but two. He wanted to construct one pueblo as modeled upon the pueblos of the Zuñi tribe of Northern New Mexico and the other in the style of the Hopi tribe of Northern Arizona.⁹ This he wanted to do for comparative purposes in order to demonstrate to the American public the precise

⁸ See Bernard Langson Wyatt, *The Desert Sanatorium and Institute of Research, Tucson Arizona* (Tucson: The Desert Sanatorium and Institute of Research, 1927), n.p.

⁹ See Nancy J. Parezo and Don D. Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 91.

scientific knowledge recently generated in the fields of archaeology and anthropology in regard to the building practices of different Pueblo Indian tribes.

The scientific community recognized noticeable differences in the pueblo building practices of different tribes as early as 1886. It was at this time that the architect, Victor Mindeleff, and his brother, Cosmos, embarked upon one of the earliest projects to systematically study and document the architectural expression of pueblos for the Smithsonian. This they did in what was then called the Province of Tusayan in the Arizona Territory, which encompassed the inhabited villages of the Hopi. The Mindeleff brothers spent a year's time in the in the Tusayan Province producing floor plans, drawings of building details such as fireplaces, chimneys, and doors, and written descriptions. They then released the findings of their study, which they entitled *A Study of Pueblo Architecture: Tusayan and Cibola*.¹⁰ In a chapter of their study entitled "Architecture of Tusayan and Cibola Compared by Constructional Details," the two brothers clearly laid out the manner in which they believed that the pueblo villages of the Hopi Indian tribe differed from that of the Zuñi Indian tribe located in the Province of Cibola in the New Mexico Territory.

The Hopi Indians of Arizona and the Zuñi Indians of New Mexico are both considered Pueblo Indian tribes with strong similarities in many of their cultural traditions. However, each tribe also possesses its own distinct cultural practices, including the manner in which it builds pueblos. For example, the Hopi typically build their pueblos with walls of thinly coursed sandstone walls, while the Zuñi possess a tradition of constructing pueblo buildings of adobe bricks. The difference in construction techniques between the two tribes

¹⁰ See Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture: Tusayan and Cibola." In *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology 1886-'87*, ed. J.W. Powell (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891), 143-144.

gives a different appearance to their pueblos. Stacked stone is a fairly stable material and, thus, it can be left exposed to the elements. It often is in the pueblos of the Hopi. Adobe bricks, however, if left exposed, will quickly disintegrate. Therefore, the pueblo villages of the Zuñi Indians typically have plastered walls that give a much smoother appearance to their pueblos than that of the Hopi.

Although George Dorsey did not realize his vision of building two different pueblos at the fair, he and an ethnologist with whom he often collaborated, Heinrich Voth, would get the opportunity to demonstrate to the public the construction of a Hopi pueblo with archaeological precision a year later. At this time, both men would work as consultants to the Fred Harvey Company in the design of Hopi House at the rim of the Grand Canyon.

The manner in which this architectural taxonomy of what is and isn't typical of the Pueblo Revival Style is likely a product of two different factors. The first, and probably the most significant one, is that most of the Pueblo Revival Style buildings built at the turn of the century are no longer extant. There are many surviving examples of the Pueblo Revival Style that date from the 1920s across the Southwest, but most of the examples from the first several decades of the style's development are simply gone. They evidence themselves only in printed ephemera such as picture postcards and as obscure footnotes in texts. Often, it is difficult to find evidence of them even in architectural journals. The other significant factor in shaping this taxonomy is the way in which the style came to be widely popularized. The "Pueblo Revival Style," or "the Santa Fe Style", as the style is known today, became widely popularized in the 1920s after its exhibition in 1915 at the Panama-California Exhibition in San Diego. The Santa Fe Railway commissioned the exhibit, and this would be the same entity responsible for constructing the Hopi House at the Grand Canyon in 1904. However,

it is this exposition that is generally credited by architectural historians as codifying the Pueblo Revival Style as a definitive style, subject to its own rules about what constituted a building rendered in the style.¹¹ After the exhibit, the Pueblo Revival Style became increasingly popular in artist's colonies, such as Santa Fe. This prompted many people to associate the Pueblo Revival Style most directly with that particular locale. However, what is most accurate in considering the development of the Pueblo Revival style, or the Santa Fe Style is to associate it not with the city of Santa Fe, but with the Santa Fe Railway (which, significantly, never went through Santa Fe).

The Pueblo Revival Style is one of several regional styles developed by white Americans in the Southwest at the turn of the century, such as the Mission Revival Style beginning in the late 1880s and the Spanish Colonial Revival Style by the 1910s. These regional styles developed parallel to the rise of travel to the Southwest region, and they may be understood as an outgrowth of booster's attempts to market the region as possessing a unique identity distinctive of places elsewhere. Beyond the obvious commercial aspects in the development of the style, however, there are also other questions to be asked of its development as a distinctive style of architecture appropriated by white Americans beginning at the turn of the twentieth century.

At first glance, the scientific interest that attended the ruins of the Cliff Dwellers and the living villages of the Pueblo Indians at the turn of the twentieth century makes it easy to understand why white Americans felt so compelled to replicate pueblo buildings for their own use. However, the intensity with which the pueblos were studied and imitated—a period of time that began at the turn of the century but was sustained in the American

¹¹ See Gebhard, "The Myth and Power of Place," 199.

Southwest well into the 1930s—also strongly suggests that more is at work here. Therefore, more interesting than the question of when Pueblo Revival Style buildings first emerged is the question of why white Americans felt so compelled to build them. What significance did pueblo buildings carry for them? This question is central to the project of the dissertation.

The Geographical Area Considered and the Importance Accorded to Landscape in the Dissertation

The dissertation focuses on the area popularly conceived by the American public at the beginning of the twentieth century as comprising “The Great Southwest”. This includes the present-day states of Arizona and New Mexico, as well as the southernmost portions of Utah and Colorado. Together, these four states comprise an area that is known today as “the Four Corners area.” It also might come as a surprise to many readers that the area considered to comprise The Great Southwest also includes Southern California, for today this area is typically conceived as quite distinct from the interior Southwest. In fact, the very idea of the Southwest as a distinct region is often credited as the invention in the early 1890s of the editor of a Los Angeles-based magazine, *Land of Sunshine*, named Charles Lummis.¹² His role in the invention of the region will be described in greater detail within the dissertation, but suffice it to say for now that the Great Southwest also included Southern California within its bounds.

¹² That Lummis claimed to coin the term “The Southwest” was asserted by Lawrence Clark Powell, the University Librarian at the University of California Los Angeles, in his forward to a reprinting of Lummis’ 1891 work, *Some Strange Corners of Our Country*. Lummis, however, was a shameless self-promoter who claimed to be the inventor of many things, including, among them, such famous phrases as “See America First.” Therefore, whether Lummis actually invented the term “The Southwest” remains to be seen. Nonetheless, what is certain is that he used the term to describe the region as early as 1891. See Charles Lummis, *Some Strange Corners of Our Country* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), xiv, 186.

Timeframe

The timeframe of this study covers a forty-year period from 1890 to 1930. It begins at the time when Pueblo Revival Style buildings first appeared upon the landscape and when the use of the style was quite limited. It ends at the time by which the Pueblo Revival Style had gained widespread popularity across the Southwest. This study is not meant to be comprehensive in its scope but, instead, it is intended to trace some of the dominant meanings in the use of the style over time.

The State of Research on the Pueblo Revival Style

In 1985, the historian Robert W. Rydell wrote an article for the *Pacific Historical Review* entitled “Architectural Frontiers: An Introduction.” In it, he summed up the role that the architecture of the American frontier typically plays in the history of the West. He wrote as follows:

To date, no college-level text in the area of western history devotes more than passing reference to the structures that have defined much of the daily experience of westerners. For the most part, architecture is simply ignored. Perhaps the reason for this neglect is that the Turnerian legacy, with its fondness for open spaces, is stronger than western historians care to admit, and the thought of examining buildings renders them positively claustrophobic. Or, more reasonably, they may be concerned that they lack sufficient technical and artistic training to understand architectural forms. But Richard Etulain [an important historian of the West] comes closest to the mark when he suggests that this undervaluation of architecture is part of a broader pattern of neglect of western American culture by scholars trained in western history.¹³

As Rydell also notes, much of the work in the history of the West has centered on “builders of the West,” such as “philanthropists, robber barons, saloon owners and their patrons,

¹³ See Robert W. Rydell, “Architectural Frontiers: An Introduction,” *Pacific Historical Review* 54, no. 4 (1985): 397-403.

politicians and prostitutes,” rather than individual architects. He goes on to note that while Western historians have been slow to recognize the importance of the built environment in the development of the American West, that architectural historians, cultural geographers, and preservationists have pushed forward. These include scholars such as Richard Longstreth, Thomas V. Hine, Christopher Wilson, and David Gebhard, all of who have focused considerable attention on the built environment of the West.

Nearly three decades have passed since Rydell wrote his article entitled ‘Architectural Frontiers.’ Since then, the scholarly literature dealing with the architectural history of the West has grown. A survey of this literature is beyond the scope of this introduction, but it is probably safe to say that much of this literature is in the form of the architectural monograph. Most of this work is also centered on California, rather than the interior Southwest. Nonetheless, even today, one of the main points that Rydell made in his article still remains true. In relation to the architectural history of the Eastern United States, the architectural history of the West still remains somewhat of a frontier, and particularly in regard to areas that are less developed than California, such as New Mexico and Arizona.

Given this context, it is understandable that the literature on the development of the Pueblo Revival Style within the field of architectural history today remains relatively sparse. No comprehensive account has yet been written about the development of the Pueblo Revival as an architectural style. Much of the available literature on the Pueblo Revival Style is comprised of monographs, such as Christopher Wilson’s work on architect John Gaw Meem entitled *Facing Southwest: the Life and Houses of John Gaw Meem*. Among the monographs particularly important to this dissertation are Arnold Berke’s *Mary Colter, Architect of the Southwest* and Virginia Grattan’s *Mary Colter: Builder Upon the Red Earth*.

A collection of essays put forth in the 1990s, entitled *Pueblo Style and Regional Architecture*, offers one of the first forays into an examination of the style from scholars in fields from architectural history to anthropology. Essays addressing architecture within this collection explore the development of the Pueblo Revival Style in terms of creating a singular regional identity, and do so by examining architectural manifestations of the style in relation to prominent figures in architecture and planning.¹⁴ Most of the essays examine well-known examples of the Pueblo Revival Style for which architects were commissioned. The relationship between white American culture and that of Pueblo Indians in the Southwest is left largely unexplored in this collection, as it is in most of the scholarship on the development of the style.

When the Pueblo Revival Style first emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century, government assimilation policies—such as the enforced separation of Native American children from their parents for mandatory attendance at government schools—required Native Americans to shed their own culture by adopting white American modes of dress, behavior and speech. Therefore, it seems significant to a more complete understanding of the development of Pueblo Revival Style architecture to examine the reasons why white Americans appropriated the architecture of another culture at the very moment that they strove to assimilate it.

There does exist some scholarship that begins to address not only the way in which

¹⁴ See, for instance, Nicholas C. Markovich's essay "Santa Fe Renaissance: City Planning and Stylistic Preservation, 1912," in *Pueblo Style and Regional Architecture*, ed. by Nicholas C. Markovich, Wolfgang F.E. Preiser and Fred G. Sturm (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1990), 197-212. Because none of the essays in this book directly engage the issue of race, the supposition of racial harmony in the Southwest at the beginning of the twentieth century is often present, such as in the introduction to Markovich's essay in which it is stated that "New settlers in the area found value in the ancient regional architecture and joined hands with natives to promote regional traditions."

the Pueblo Revival Style is encompassed within a broader movement of architectural regionalism evidenced at the turn of the twentieth century, but the way in which race was an important component of its architectural manifestation. Christopher Wilson's study *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition* is the first book on the Pueblo Revival Style to encompass a broader social context by addressing questions of race and regional identity.

Theoretical Grounding

The term "invention" in relation to the American West is an important idea, and it is one that scholars have explored with an increasing frequency in the past three decades. It is one of the many theoretical tools produced by post-modern literary theory that helps to structure an entire body of scholarship commonly referred to either as the "New Western History" or "Borderlands studies."¹⁵ This scholarship encompasses the work of many well-known scholars, including such luminaries as Richard White, Patricia Limerick, and William Cronon. The intent of the New Western History is to radically redefine the dominant narratives of the "Old West" as propounded in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century by figures such as historian Frederick Jackson Turner.

Turner was an extremely influential figure in American cultural life as both a writer and as an educator at the University of Wisconsin and Harvard University. He is widely considered the founder of Western historical studies. Born in 1861, Turner is most well known for advancing his "frontier thesis" which he first introduced to the American public

¹⁵ See Alan Brinkley, "The Western Historians: Don't Fence Them In," *The New York Times Book Review*, 20 September 1992, 1, 22-26.

at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. His frontier thesis encompassed several premises that have had a long-lasting effect on how Americans think of the West.

One of these premises was that the land of the American West was a frontier comprised of free land only awaiting white American settlement by citizens who could summon for themselves their “restless nervous energy.”¹⁶ This premise was based upon older ideas from the mid-nineteenth century, such as those propounded by the editor, Horace Greeley, who counseled young men to “go West” in order to stake their fortunes. Frederick Jackson Turner also viewed the American frontier as a place where young men could prove themselves—in the words of his friend, Theodore Roosevelt—“True Americans”—as made manifest in their “dominant individualism.”¹⁷ The self-reliant settler of the Western frontier, as espoused both by Turner and Roosevelt, epitomized the Progressive ideal of the “man of force” and a “figure of heroic proportions” who would manifest God’s will.¹⁸ This the True American would do, both men believed, by working to realize civilization and to spread democracy to the landscape of the American frontier. Two decades later, in the 1910s, this ideal of American manhood in the Old West would be codified further as the cowboy hero of the Western film genre.

In contrast to Frederick Jackson Turner, scholars who practice the New Western History are not interested in one grand narrative. Instead, these scholars often emphasize that the “frontier thesis” articulated by Turner and others—most notably Theodore

¹⁶ See Frederick Jackson Turner and John Mack Faragher, *Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner: The Significance of the Frontier, and Other Essays* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 59.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ See Sacvan Bercovitch, *The Cambridge History of American Literature, Volume 3, Prose* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 390. See also Gary Okihiro, *Common Ground: Reimagining American History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 6.

Roosevelt—was a myth. Like all myths, it was invented to serve a purpose, and the intent of this particular one was to impel Americans both to move westward and to assert their dominance and control over a landscape already peopled by multiple cultures for hundreds of years.

Some practitioners of the New Western History also challenge the masculine bias of traditional Western history. At the turn of the century, figures such as Turner and Roosevelt linked the American frontier with citizenship, and they also equated the frontier with manhood. However, as scholars such as Virginia Scharff argue, the unsettled spaces of the West were appealing not only to American men as a space of increased opportunity, but also to American women. As she and other scholars argue, American women often perceived that in the West there existed more freedom to exert their influence outside the home and break with the strict gender conventions that ruled their lives in the established in the cities of the Eastern seaboard.¹⁹

Many of the practitioners of the New Western History are influenced especially by ideas first put forth in the post-modern literary theory of the 1980s. In particular, they find useful the work of literary scholars Eric Hobsbaum and Terence Ranger, who in 1983 published a collection of essays entitled *The Invention of Tradition*. In that work, they presented convincing evidence that many of the things that people today consider ancient traditions are, instead, relatively recent developments. These traditions people actively invent through a process of story telling, or myth making. As stories, they are ideological in their intent; they put some evidence forward as fact while suppressing other evidence not supportive of the

¹⁹ See Virginia Scharff, “Marking Wyoming: Grace Raymond Hebard and the West as Woman’s Place,” *Twenty Thousand Roads: Women, Movement, and the West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 94-114.

storyline that its tellers wish to present. Hobsbaum and Ranger's work helped to advance the idea that history, itself, is an invented tradition, or "a myth to live by."²⁰

The idea of invented tradition also became a powerful tool with which scholars could critique established histories as representing an objective reality. The historian Alan Brinkley summarizes well the goals of the New Western History as follows:

To the new scholars, Western individualism is a self-serving myth. They argue that the region was always inextricably tied to a national and international capitalist economy; indeed, the only thing that sustained Anglo-American settlement of the West was the demand in other places for its natural resources. Western 'pioneers' were never self-sufficient. They depended on Government-subsidized railroads for access to markets, federal troops for protection from Indians, and (later) Government funded dams and canals for irrigating their fields and sustaining their towns.²¹

New Western History certainly is not without its detractors (nor is the post-modern theory that informs it). For example, in 1991, the historian William J. Treuttner organized an exhibition at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington D.C. entitled *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820-1920*. The purpose of the exhibit was to present to the museum's audience art of the American West and to interpret it using some of the assumptions developed in the New Western history. The main thrust of the interpretation was to demonstrate how the artistic production of the works exhibited corresponded with a nationalist ideology that favored Western expansionism. However, the exhibit proved highly controversial among the public and critics alike. As the historian Alan Brinkley describes, "the critical reaction was remarkably harsh," and he attributed this largely to the way that the exhibit called "attention to the propagandistic quality of the art." In so doing, he said, the

²⁰ See Richard Jenkins, *Rethinking Ethnicity: Arguments and Explorations* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1997), 150.

²¹ See Alan Brinkley, "The Western Historians: Don't Fence Them In," *The New York Times Book Review*, 20 September 1992, 1, 22-26.

exhibit “debunked some of America’s most cherished myths.”²² The reaction to the *West as America* exhibit serves well to demonstrate that the dominant cultural narratives of the Old West still hold much power in American cultural life.

The New Western History is invaluable, however, to understanding not only the art of the American West, but also the development of regional styles of architecture, such as the Mission Revival and the Pueblo Revival. Also tremendously important to understanding the development of the architecture of the American West is its relationship to print culture. For example, as examined by the scholar Benedict Anderson in his book entitled *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, the rise of print culture in the last decades of the nineteenth century greatly facilitated the holding of shared narratives amongst readers who were spread across vast geographical areas. Despite perhaps never meeting face-to-face, readers inhabited a common space in their imaginations as united by the reading of the exact same words upon the printed pages of popular books, magazines, and newspapers. Through the activity of reading, many Americans came to possess shared understandings of people and places that they might never otherwise encounter, including the landscape of the Southwest.²³

It is possible, of course, for some individuals within an imagined community of readers to have different responses to the same text, or for an individual reader to read across the grain, so to speak. However, as Anderson demonstrates, the rise of print culture at the end of the nineteenth century was an extremely effective means of creating and disseminating cultural discourses in which alternative or negotiated meanings were not as

²² Ibid.

²³ See Audrey Goodman, *Translating Southwestern Landscapes: The Making of an Anglo Literary Region* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002), 5.

frequent as the dominant readings. As will be explored throughout the dissertation, print culture was absolutely instrumental in helping to disseminate the invention of the Southwest, for the new myths could not be communicated through visual culture alone. People also needed to understand the new stories that accompanied the production of new images.

Many of the practitioners of the New Western History also find the work of literary theorist Edward Said to be useful to understanding white Americans' relationship to the Southwest region, and in particular, the idea of "othering" as a process by which one social group dominates another by construing it as fundamentally different from itself. This includes the scholar Barbara A. Babcock, the author of books such as *Daughters of the Desert: Women Anthropologists and the Native American Southwest, 1880-1980* and Leah Dilworth, author of *Imagining Indians: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past*.²⁴

Since Said's work was published, it has provided the basis for understanding the domination and conquest of others at a variety of scales, from the landscape to the individual human body. In his seminal work, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1975), the philosopher Michel Foucault anticipated Said's work. In contrast to Said, who saw relationships of conquest and domination evidenced most strongly in the relationship between the West and the East, Foucault saw relationships of conquest and domination within any given society as expressed in relationships of relative power.

Foucault argued that power insinuates itself most effectively not through its imposition onto an individual from a power located outside of the body, but through its

²⁴ See Barbara A. Babcock, "By Way of Introduction - Inventing the Southwest: Region as Commodity," *Journal of the Southwest* 32, no. 4 (1990), 383 – 399, and Leah Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996), 5-6, 58-60.

internalization. Foucault's work is particularly interesting to studies of space because he examined his ideas not only in broad abstract terms, but in spatial ones, as well. He deconstructed the spatial relationship of the prisoner to the captor as evidenced in the late eighteenth century prison, or panopticon, of English philosopher and social theorist, Jeremy Bentham. This he did in order to describe the mechanics of this internalization process, or what others call the incorporation of "the Western gaze."

The idea of "the Western gaze," or what has also been called "the male gaze," derives from the work of the art critic, John Berger who wrote an influential book in 1972 entitled *Ways of Seeing*. In it, he first described the male gaze as he argued that within patriarchal societies it is only men who possess active agency. Men possess the power to look, and women internalize that they are passive objects at which to be looked.²⁵ In the decades that have followed, the power relations inherent in "looking" or "gazing" at others has been the subject of much scholarship in many disciplines in order to describe different relationships of power.

The idea of the gaze is an important one in a lot of interdisciplinary scholarship, such as the work of those who work to combine visual culture with gender studies and psychoanalytic theory. For instance, in 1975, the film critic Laura Mulvey wrote an important essay entitled "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." In this essay, Mulvey worked to further describe the "male gaze" as linked to sexual difference and to the pleasure aroused in the act of looking, or scopophilia.

Mulvey, too, defined the act of looking as one that was inherently male, but she also combined Berger's ideas with the psychoanalytic ideas of Jacques Lacan, the French

²⁵ See John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (New York: Penguin Books, 1972), 42.

psychoanalyst. Jacques Lacan's work helped to bypass some of the problems posed by earlier understandings of human psychology, most notably, those of Sigmund Freud. Freud's work was predicated upon the idea that there exists innate biological difference between the sexes. Lacan, on the other hand, viewed human sexuality as much more fluid and existing on a continuum—a kind of sliding scale. He saw social ideals of “masculinity” and “femininity” as marking the two ends of this continuum, and he argued that to completely internalize either end of the spectrum was to do psychological damage to oneself. Instead, for Lacan, the ideal was to occupy the middle; there, he envisioned a healthy individual who was psychologically integrated.

Many scholars in other disciplines, such as anthropology and philosophy, also find the idea of the “Western gaze” to be useful, most notably the scholars James Clifford and Herbert Marcuse.²⁶ For instance, in his 1998 book entitled *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature and Art*, Clifford illustrates how ethnography (a branch of anthropology that deals with the scientific description of individual cultures), has reflected relationships of power and dominance from its very inception as a scientific discipline in the nineteenth century. At that time, ethnography was conducted typically by men—but, on occasion, women, too—of white European descent. The ethnographer framed himself or herself as occupying a privileged position whereby he or she was scientifically “objective.” This assertion was believed to entitle the ethnographer to turn his or her gaze upon other peoples as objects of study.

²⁶ See, for instance, James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature and Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988) and Herbert Marcuse, “The Affirmative Character of Culture,” in *Negations: Essays in Critical Theory* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), 98.

Ethnographers took as their subject of study those peoples located around the world whom they considered socially inferior to them as non-white peoples. As Clifford argues, their fascination in the subjects of their study arose from their perception of racial difference. They conceived of themselves as modern, civilized people and all non-white peoples as exotic and primitive. On the basis of this belief, they made exotic others subject to their Western gaze. However, as the scholar Michaela di Leonardo discusses in her book *Exotics at Home: Anthropologies, Others, American Modernity*, American ethnographers also turned this Western gaze inward into the American nation, not just outward into the larger world. As the discipline of ethnography was forming in the United States in the latter half of the nineteenth century, many ethnographers focused their gaze upon the American Southwest, where they perceived there also existed great racial and exotic difference.

Quite arguably, at the turn of the century, when the Southwest was invented, the American Southwest was *the* focus of American ethnographers. It is no sheer coincidence that ethnology plays a key role in the development of the Pueblo Revival Style. At the turn of the twentieth century, much of the land that comprised the American Southwest only had status as territories to the United States and it was relatively undeveloped in contrast to the cities of the Eastern seaboard. Moreover, much of this land had been acquired only recently by the United States. For 225 years, it had been part of New Spain, and then for thirty years, Mexico. Culturally, the region bore more resemblance to Spain or to Mexico than it did to the rest of the nation. Thus, like many other places that were considered colonial outposts of Western civilization, such as the Philippines, the American Southwest was conceived of as a region still in need of conquest and domination.

The time period that is the focus of this dissertation also coincides with the development of Regionalism, which served to frame centers of burgeoning development—such as Los Angeles and San Francisco—as loosely tied to established centers of development elsewhere, such as Boston, New York, Washington D.C. and Chicago. Americans conceived of the rest of the Western landscape as vastly different than these centers—as rural, physically isolated from cities, and populated by inhabitants that were provincial in their habits and ideas. These ideas are ones that still possess strong currency in American culture today.

They are also ideas increasingly subject to challenge and scholarly critique in studies focused on Regionalism. As the cultural geographer Edward Soja explores in depth, Regionalism encompasses the idea of center and periphery, and this is a process important to the attraction of capital. The manufacture of centers of development—or cities—works to create hinterlands from which wealth can be extracted.²⁷ For example, at the turn of the twentieth century, Arizona and New Mexico both served as important hinterlands to centers such as Los Angeles. The idea that centers are of vital importance to generating important ideas and the relegation of the periphery as of little consequence is still pervasive in cultural discourses today. However, in reality, the city and the supposed outposts of civilization, the hinterlands, were never strongly separated. Beginning in the last decades of the nineteenth century, activities such as tourism strongly united them.

The theoretical work that is most useful to this dissertation, however, is that of the scholar Philip Deloria. In his 1998 book *Playing Indian*, he explores at length a phenomenon

²⁷ See Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Spaces* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1996).

that many scholars call “playing Indian.”²⁸ The activity encompasses a wide variety of role-playing enterprises in which white Americans appropriate Indian identities as a kind of cultural cross-dressing that includes dressing up as Indians, talking “Injun,” and telling stories in a manner designed to convey to others that they are not constructions of their white narrators but, in fact, Indian legends. In sum, I will argue that the interest by white Americans in replicating Pueblo Indian buildings for their own use is inextricably bound up this activity.

In literary form, the most well known example of playing Indian is perhaps the epic poem of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. In 1855, he wrote “The Song of Hiawatha.” The poem was immensely popular upon its publication, and it was committed to memory by many of its readers. Longfellow, a white American author, presented to an American audience a poem involving Indian characters that he claimed was based upon Indian legend. In reality, the poem was largely a work of fiction from the writer’s own imagination. Longfellow infused it with anthropological details about the Ojibwe Indians as published in the voluminous narratives of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, an Indian agent in the Michigan Territory who married into the Ojibwe community and collected oral history from the Indians passing in and out of his trading post.²⁹ Nonetheless, as readers were imaginatively transported into the space of the poem’s main protagonist, Hiawatha, and that of his love interest, Minnehaha, many of them undoubtedly believed themselves authentically

²⁸ See Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Leah Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996), 7-8, and Rayna Green, “The Tribe Called Wannabee: Playing Indian in America and Europe,” *Folklore* 99 (1988), 30 -55. See also Molly H. Mullin, *Culture in the Marketplace: Gender, Art and Value in the American Southwest* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 72.

²⁹ See James M. Skibo, Michael W. Graves, and Miriam T. Stark, eds., *Archaeological Anthropology: Perspectives on Theory and Method* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007), 75. See also Michael D. McNally, *Honoring Elders: Aging, Authority and Ojibwe Religion* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 206.

transported to the world created by Longfellow's pen. The act of reading poems and novels featuring Indian characters in the last half of the nineteenth century was a powerful force in the imaginative construction of "Indians" by white Americans.³⁰

Longfellow's poem also represents an important marker for the first known examples of white Americans playing Indian spatially, for the poem did not stay confined to the imaginations of its readers. As the historian Alan Trachtenberg notes in his book, *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880 – 1930*, there exist accounts of white American women improvising the construction of shelters roughly modeled on those described to them in their reading as Indian soon after the poem's publication.³¹ Their contemporaries described these women as "adventurous ladies", and they often constructed these shelters in forest environs where they could dress up as Indians and recite Longfellow's poem for their own amusement. In these physical settings, set against the backdrop of the natural landscape, white American women imaginatively transported themselves into the identities—and into the very spaces—of the fictional characters about whom they read. Moreover, if any doubt existed in their minds as to how closely their structures actually resembled the building traditions of any one of the Indian tribes existing on the American continent, it was easily erased as the appellation "wigwam" or "wickiup" was bestowed upon them.

³⁰ Scholars such as Benedict Anderson and John Bender discuss the manner in which the emergence of a mass-disseminated print culture represented a powerful force in the shaping of cohesive ideas in society, such as nationalism. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1991) and John Bender *Imagining the Penitentiary: Fiction and the Architecture of the Mind in England, 1719-1779* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 226.

³¹ See Alan Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880 – 1930* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), 55.

These constructions were useful not only to white American readers of stories about Indians, but also to the writers of them. For instance, sometime around 1905, the author Mary Austin constructed a wickiup in the backyard of her Carmel, California home. She was recently relocated from the Arroyo Seco colony in Los Angeles, a bohemian writer and artist's colony centered on the eclectic Indian-themed house of her mentor, the influential editor and writer Charles Lummis. He was responsible for introducing her in Carmel to a similar colony of artists and writers as the one centered on his own house, and this colony included Ambrose Bierce, George Stirling, Jack London, James Hopper, Upton Sinclair, Lincoln Steffens and Robinson Jeffers. Like that of her mentor, the Indians of the Southwest also inspired Austin's literary work. Her first book, *The Land of Little Rain* (1903), was supposedly a collection of Paiute Indian children's stories she merely gathered and retold, although evidence suggests that much of Austin's Indian-themed work was, in fact, equivalent to Longfellow's literary attempts to play Indian.

Austin also found it useful not only to play Indian on the space of a written page, but also to do so spatially. For a while, a corner to the interior of her house sufficed. This corner she named her "wickiup" and it was here that she wrote her Indian-themed stories.³² However, in Carmel, she built a structure more akin to the wickiups of the adventurous ladies who recited Hiawatha in the forest. Austin's wickiup was essentially little more than a platform located high up in a tree to which the author would ascend by ladder. Its perimeter was defined with handrails arranged in a bold geometric configuration that suggested a pattern on a vessel or rug of Indian design. Austin placed her writing desk in her tree house

³² See Mary Hunter Austin, *Beyond Borders: The Selected Essays of Mary Austin* (Carbondale: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 10.

wickiup.³³ As a construction that clearly blurred the boundaries of built environment and the out-of-doors, Austin's wickiup likely offered her a place in which she felt it possible to more easily transport herself imaginatively into some of the Indian characters that populated the pages of her books and plays than the Indian corner located to the interior of her house. Austin's Indian-themed structure also served as a place where she often gathered with the other writers and artists in her circle, and it is likely it was intended to solidify with them her authority on her Indian-themed subject matter.

Contrary to what the account of adventurous ladies building wigwams in the forest might suggest, playing Indian was not an activity restricted to only one gender. Beginning at least in the mid-nineteenth century, white American men were just as apt to play Indian as white American women, if not more so. For instance, as explored by both Philip Deloria and Mark Christopher Carnes, playing Indian increasingly began to manifest itself in the initiation rites and ceremonies of several white American fraternal societies—such as the Improved Order of the Red Men—in the second half of the nineteenth century.³⁴ This play was informed highly by information gleaned from the emerging field of anthropology.

It was at this time that anthropologists first identified the existence among many Native American tribes of secret religious brotherhoods that they called fraternities. These secret brotherhoods were presided over by clans of priest-shamans, or medicine men, that were powerful entities in the life of their communities. It was believed that they could access the spirit world and that they possessed special powers, such as the gift of prophecy and the

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ See Philip J. Deloria, "Fraternal Indians and Republican Identities," chapt. in *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 38-70, and Mark C. Carnes, "Middle-Class Men and Fraternal Ritual," in *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America*, ed. by Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 37-52.

ability to heal people. To many white American men, it seemed as if perhaps medicine men were in possession of magic.³⁵

Unlike the scattered accounts of white women playing Indian, the number of white men playing Indian in white American fraternal orders begins to provide some indication of the sheer magnitude of this activity by the turn of the twentieth century. American fraternal organizations were first organized in the mid-nineteenth century, but they grew in importance in American life throughout the latter half. By 1890, over forty percent of white American men were active in some kind of fraternal organization. All of these white American fraternal organizations shared important parallels to the secret brotherhoods of Native American fraternities.

In particular, the white American fraternal organization of The Improved Order of the Red Men was explicitly modeled upon the social organization of Indian tribes. Playing Indian by its members was a major component of belonging to the organization. For instance, the fraternal society was conceived by its membership as comprised of different “tribes” located in chapters dispersed across the country. Each tribe was conceived of as a governmental body comprised of a “council” and presided over by “chiefs.” Initiation into the fraternity involved elaborate rituals by which the initiates “became” Indian, as signified by the assignment of Indian names to them upon the initiation’s conclusion. After the acceptance of initiates into the fraternity, playing Indian would continue as individual members of the fraternity referred to each other as “warriors” and gathered around a

³⁵ See John Gregory Bourke, “The Medicine-Men of the Apache,” chapt. in J.W. Powell: *Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1887-88* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892), 451-596.

“council fire” to talk of their deeds upon the “warpath.”³⁶ Not all fraternal organizations in the latter half of the nineteenth century were quite as explicit in its members playing Indian as the Improved Order of the Red Men, but the secrecy and ritual they all shared suggests American masculinity, as represented in fraternal organizations, was tightly bound with the power ascribed to Native American priest clans.³⁷

By the turn of the twentieth century, white American adults were not the only ones playing Indian in physical settings. So, too, were white American children, particularly boys. In 1902, Ernest Thompson Seton founded an organization for boys in Connecticut called the Woodcraft Indians. He also wrote a book entitled *The Red Book, or How to Play Indian: Directions for Organizing a Tribe of Boy Indians, Making Their Teepees, Etc. in True Indian Style*. As the title of the book suggests, it was intended to help boys to construct physical settings—Indian teepees—in an authentic style. Not incidentally, Seton would go on to become one of the founders of the Boy Scouts of America, an organization in which boys playing Indian would continue to play a significant role. By the 1910s, white American girls, too, often engaged in playing Indian in organizations that paralleled those of boys, such as Camp Fire Girls.³⁸ However, rather than erecting structures in space, such as teepees, Anglo-American girls typically would engage in playing Indian in domestic activities such as making Indian baskets.³⁹

This division between the activities that were considered appropriate for boys and for girls strongly suggests that white American girls—and women—who constructed

³⁶ See Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 80-81.

³⁷ See Daniel Noah Moses, *The Promise of Progress: The Life of Lewis Henry Morgan* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2009), 75.

³⁸ See Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 95-127.

³⁹ Ibid.

structures for themselves in which to play Indian were engaged in a kind of double cross-dressing. Many white American women at the turn of the century created “Indian cozy corners” for themselves within the parlors of their homes. These cozy corners were often defined from the rest of the room with heavy drapery and they were typically furnished with a lounge and pillows. They were also typically decorated with at least a few decorative objects that marked them “Indian.” A particular favorite was basketry. However, it also appears that white American women who built more permanent structures in which to play Indian, such as the writer Mary Austin or the painter Kate Cory, were often women whom their contemporaries perceived as pushing gender boundaries.⁴⁰ Both Austin and Cory grew up as self-described “tomboys,” and their activities as grown women in building a “wigwam” or a “Hopi House” was likely thought more appropriate to a man as Indian play. This also helps to explain why the women who built wigwams in the forest were described by their contemporaries as “adventurous,” a term often reserved for behavior coded as masculine, for their behavior transgressed gender roles.

Regardless of the identities of the white Americans engaged in playing Indian, the activity required a physical setting to make the experience more authentic to its participants, as is exhibited in the teepees of Seton’s boy Indians, the Indian cozy corners of women’s parlors, and the wigwams of the adventurous ladies in the forest. Moreover, as is already suggested here, playing Indian was an activity that was often segregated by gender and age. Scholars from different fields of inquiry, such as those focusing on the history of the

⁴⁰ For Mary Austin as defying gender boundaries, see Melody Graulich and Elizabeth Klimasmith, eds., *Exploring Lost Borders: Critical Essays on Mary Austin*, 107. For Kate Cory as a self-described tomboy, see “Confessions of A Tomboy,” typed manuscript in the Kate Cory Collection in the Sharlot Hall Museum in Prescott, Arizona.

Southwest and gender studies, are still working to untangle the multiple meanings ascribed to such gendered and age differentiated play. There appear to be many historically contingent reasons that white Americans chose to play Indian. However, as Philip Deloria asserts in the introduction to his book, *Playing Indian*, there does appear hold one constant over time in the activity of white Americans playing Indian. All of this activity seems enmeshed in white Americans attempts to affirm better for themselves their own identity.

For Deloria, the writer D. H. Lawrence was among the first both to identify and to seek to explain the phenomenon of white Americans playing Indian. This he did in his writings in the 1920s. At the time, Lawrence was living among a group of avant-garde writers and artists relocated from the East Coast to Taos, New Mexico. There, much of their activity centered on the intellectual salon of the wealthy heiress, Mabel Dodge Luhan. She had recently relocated there from New York and married Antonio Luhan, a Taos Pueblo Indian. As described by the scholar Lois Palken Rudnick, Mabel Dodge Luhan often engaged in playing Indian.⁴¹ So, too, did others in her immediate circle, and it is quite likely that these people provoked for Lawrence the question of why white Americans felt compelled to play Indian.

Philip Deloria suggests that Lawrence essentially had put his finger upon the reason that his contemporaries might be playing Indian. This is despite the fact that Lawrence never elaborated upon his ideas as a fully developed theory. For Deloria, the evidence that Lawrence was cognizant of both the phenomenon of playing Indian among his contemporaries, as well as the reasons underlying this play, was his identification of the

⁴¹ See Lois Palkin Rudnick, *Mabel Dodge Luhan: New Woman, New Worlds* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press), 152.

American consciousness as essentially unfinished and incomplete. Deloria believes that this indicates that the writer was well aware that white Americans were embroiled in the midst of what he calls a “national identity crisis.”⁴²

It is only in recent decades that historians have begun to argue that the turn of the twentieth century in the United States should be understood in relation to a crisis of American identity. Among them are scholars such as Gail Bederman and Michael S. Kimmel who in the 1990s and 1980s, respectively, each began their own studies of the construction of national and gendered identities at the turn of the century. Each of these two scholars, as did many others, came to recognize that the idea of the occurrence of a national identity crisis was fundamentally important to understanding the turn of the twentieth century in American culture.

Placed in the context of recent scholarship, then, the writer D.H. Lawrence appears almost prescient for his ability to identify so early in the 1920s this crisis of identity that scholars of late are now beginning to examine. However, writers and artists often have been credited with the ability to see phenomena far in advance of other people, for they make their livings and their reputations on their ability to be keen observers of their place and time. Philip Deloria contends that D.H. Lawrence’s awareness of this national identity crisis demonstrates that the writer understood that white Americans were unconsciously seeking to resolve it for themselves. He maintains that “playing Indian” represented the first step in

⁴² See Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 3. His contention that the United States was experiencing a “national identity crisis” is one supported by multiple scholars of American history at the turn of the century. See, for instance, Gail Bederman, “Theodore Roosevelt: Manhood, Nation, and ‘Civilization,’” chapt. in *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 170-215, and Michael S. Kimmel, “The Cult of Masculinity: American Social Character and the Legacy of the Cowboy,” in *Beyond Patriarchy: Essays by Men on Pleasure, Power and Change* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1987), 235-249.

white Americans' self-definition as they sought to define their identities "by what they were not."⁴³ This dissertation takes Deloria's contention as its premise and focuses, then, on exactly what was the nature of the identity crisis at the turn of the century and how white Americans attempted to resolve it for themselves in their own Indian play.

⁴³ See Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 3.

Chapter One—

The Beginnings of the Pueblo Revival Style: The Cliff Dwellers Exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition and the National Craze for Indian Rooms

The American Public's Introduction to the Pueblos of the Southwest

The Pueblo Revival Style, as an architectural style in which white Americans built in the mode of the Pueblo Indians, appears not to have its origins somewhere in the American Southwest, as one might think. Instead, it appears that the impetus of the development of the style was likely the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. That this is where the Pueblo Revival Style originated is perhaps not so very odd when one considers the fact that the exhibits featured at the World's Columbian Exposition are well known to have influenced the development of other architectural styles.

For example, several architectural historians have discussed how an exhibit of a traditional Japanese building at the fair, called the Ho-o-den, exerted influence well beyond the grounds of the exposition. The architectural historian Ada Louise Huxtable once wrote that the Ho-o-den had a significant impact on the Arts and Crafts Style residential designs of architect Frank Lloyd Wright in Oak Park, Illinois.¹ Other scholars have noted that architectural references to the Ho-o-den traveled as far West as Southern California in the decade following the fair. For instance, the Ho-o-den is thought to have been very influential in the Arts and Crafts Style work of Henry and Charles Greene, such as their 1907 design for the Gamble House in Pasadena.²

¹ For a reference to the influence of the Japanese Ho-o-den on the work of Frank Lloyd Wright, see Ada Louise Huxtable, *Frank Lloyd Wright: A Life*, (New York: Penguin Books, 2004), 31.

² The Gamble House was constructed more than a decade after the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, a testament to the sheer force of the fair's imagery on American architecture. For a reference to the Ho-o-den as influential to the work of the Greene brothers in Southern California, and particularly the Gamble

Nor was the Ho-o-den particularly remarkable at the fair for helping to establish a building style. In a book entitled *California's Mission Revival*, the architectural historian Karen Weitze traces the widespread development of the Mission Revival Style in California to another exhibit featured at the World's Columbian Exposition, the California State Building.³ Before the fair, the Mission Revival Style had just begun to emerge as an American style of building, most notably in the 1886 design for Stanford University in Palo Alto, California by the Boston-based architectural firm of Shepley, Rutan and Coolidge. However, as Weitze argues, it was really the California State Building featured at the World's Columbian Exposition that worked to widely popularize the style. In the years immediately following the fair, the two largest railroad companies in the West, the Southern Pacific Railway and the Santa Fe Railway, almost immediately began to use the architectural imagery promoted at the fair for the construction of their train depots throughout California.

The idea that the architectural development of the Pueblo Revival Style in the Southwest was inspired by an exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition also works to support the architectural historian David Gebhard's contention that the first Pueblo Revival Style building was designed in 1894, the year following the fair. This was supposedly a Pueblo Revival Style hotel building constructed in the San Francisco area as designed by the architect Albert C. Schweinfurth.⁴ Perhaps not at all incidentally, Schweinfurth was also one of the designers of the Mission Revival California State Building at the World's Columbian

House, see Joan M. Marter, *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 388.

³ See Karen Weitze, *California's Mission Revival* (Santa Monica: Hennessey and Ingalls, 1984), 48-50.

⁴ See David Gebhard, "The Myth and Power of Place: Hispanic Revivalism in the American Southwest" in *Architectural Regionalism: Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity*, ed. David Canizaro (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007), 198.

Exposition.⁵ Today, this early Pueblo Revival Style hotel building is no longer extant, and there is little evidence of it in the historic record. However, regardless of whether Schweinfurth's design really does represent the very first Pueblo Revival Style building, it is certainly true that it was only by the early 1890s that it would have even been possible for white Americans to replicate a pueblo with any degree of precision.

In 1886, the Smithsonian Institution in Washington D.C. embarked upon the first project to systematically study and document the architecture of the pueblos of the American Southwest. Before this point, precise architectural knowledge of the pueblos by white Americans was, at best, only impressionistic. For this project, the architect Victor Mindeleff and his brother, Cosmos, spent an entire year developing an authoritative and extensive archaeological survey of pueblo architecture among the Hopi tribe in the northern Arizona Territory. The Mindeleffs conducted their study in anticipation of the construction of a large-scale model to be exhibited at the U.S. National Museum in the nation's capitol. Within the pages of their study, the Mindeleffs presented floor plans, detail drawings and written descriptions of the buildings. They also carefully sketched building details such as fireplaces, chimneys, and doors. The Mindeleffs' study for the Smithsonian also allowed other museums, such as the Museum of Science in Boston, to make their own architectural models of the pueblos for display to visitors in the years immediately following publication of their work (**Fig. 1.1**).

⁵ In 1900, upon Schweinfurth's death, an obituary featured in *The American Architect and Building News* would describe his work on the California State Building and him as a "master of this refined and yet barbarously elegant style." See "Obituary [for Albert C. Schweinfurth]," *The American Architect and Building News* 70 (October 1900), 22.

It was at the World's Columbian Exposition, however, that many white Americans were first introduced to the pueblos of the Southwest in three-dimensional space that began to more closely approximate the buildings as experienced at human scale. This was in a popular exhibit called "The Cliff Dwellers." Like all of the other exhibits at the fair, the Cliff Dwellers exhibit was only meant to be a temporary construction, and it was built out of readily available industrial materials such as staff (a compound of cement, plaster and jute), sheet iron, and wooden timbers. However, unlike many of the other constructions at the fair that were intended to look as solid and permanent as any building located within a city, the exterior of The Cliff Dwellers exhibit was intended to represent a environment much closer to the natural world than a building. It was constructed to resemble a flat-topped mountain, or *mesa*, as located in the Southwest, and the staff that covered its surface was painted red so that it would resemble sandstone **(Fig. 1.2)**.⁶

The Cliff Dwellers exhibit wasn't intended to represent just any mesa in the Southwest, however. Instead, it was intended to represent a particular mesa called Battle Rock Mountain that the concessionaire of the exhibit characterized as a "weird and solitary landmark in the desert of Southwestern Colorado" **(Fig. 1.3)**.⁷ This rock formation had become a landmark among Americans only after 1859, when the geologist John S. Newberry first explored the larger area in which it was encompassed as a member of the San Juan Exploring Expedition. This area was a large flat terrain broken by a network of deep canyons

⁶ See Mrs. Mark Stevens, *Six Months at the World's Fair: A Little Here and A Little There of the Great White City—The World's Fair* (Chicago: The Detroit Free Press Printing Company, 1895), 24.

⁷ See The H. Jay Smith Exploring Company, *The Cliff Dwellers* (Chicago: H. Jay Smith Exploring Company, 1893), 15.

and precipitously steep cliffs that was given the name Mesa Verde, a Spanish phrase meaning “green table” (**Fig. 1.4**).

The designers of The Cliff Dwellers exhibit hardly intended that it would represent only the natural world of the Southwest landscape. Instead, the exhibit derived its name from an ancient pueblo Indian people who were known to have inhabited the Southwest landscape of the mesas in prehistoric times, a people known as the Cliff Dwellers. The Cliff Dwellers left behind them uninhabited fortress-like ruins that they had built into the cliff faces of mesas, and large-scale replicas of these would be featured to the interior of The Cliff Dwellers exhibit.⁸

Most Americans who knew of the existence of the Cliff Dwellers in the early 1890s considered them a mysterious people who had vanished suddenly one day long ago from the landscape. This was described to them in a wide variety of articles published in media such as popular magazines and books, as well as scientific journals. Many Americans first became acquainted with the Cliff Dwellers as early as 1876, through the medium of photography when William Henry Jackson displayed his photographs of some of the ancient pueblo dwellings at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia.⁹ Two years earlier, in 1874, Jackson was directed to some of the ruins of the Mesa Verde by a miner named John Moss who had discovered them with his members of his crew in the course of his work. Jackson’s photographs as exhibited at the Centennial Exhibition served to draw widespread attention

⁸ For much of the twentieth century, the American public Cliff Dwellers would better know the Cliff Dwellers as the Anasazi Indians. Today the preferred term for this ancient people is “ancestral Puebloans.” However, since most Americans at the turn of the twentieth century knew the ancient pueblo Indians as “Cliff Dwellers,” that is the name that will be used throughout the dissertation for the sake of clarity.

⁹ See Andrew Gulliford, ed., *Preserving Western History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 131.

to the area of the Mesa Verde. Subsequently, in 1878, an even wider American audience became familiar with the ruins of the Cliff Dwellers when a writer named Emma Hardacre wrote an illustrated article on them for *Scribner's Magazine* (**Fig. 1.5**).¹⁰

However, for two decades, the ruins remained confined largely to the representations on the two-dimensional space of a sheet of paper for most Americans. Until 1881, there was only one transcontinental rail line to the West. This went from Chicago to San Francisco, completely bypassing the American Southwest. Therefore, travel there was prohibitively expensive to all but the wealthiest of Americans. For all of the 1870s and a good part of the 1880s, the ruins of the Cliff Dwellers were largely accessible only to anthropologists and archaeologists on scientific expeditions, as funded by large institutions such as the Smithsonian and wealthy patrons such as Boston Brahmin Mary Hemenway. Therefore, it was not until the 1893 Chicago World's Fair that most Americans could experience the ruins of the Cliff Dwellers in three-dimensional space, albeit as a simulacrum.

The Cliff Dwellers exhibit featured at the World's Columbian Exposition was constructed as a concession, rather than by the larger organizers of the fair, and the exhibit was constructed to appear as authentic as possible to the many fair visitors who would come to see it. For this, the concessionaire, the H. Jay Smith Exploring Company, commissioned an entire team of artists to construct it.¹¹ A cavernous exhibition space was located to the interior of the mesa as entered through a small portal on the front façade. At this entrance was located a reconstruction of one of the ancient pueblo cliff dwellings. This was executed

¹⁰ See Emma Hardacre, "The Cliff Dwellers," *Scribner's Monthly* 17, no. 2 (Dec. 1878), 266.

¹¹ With the exception of an artist named Alexis J. Fournier, the names of the individual artists who comprised this team is not known. In the exhibit literature, the H. Jay Smith Company simply referred to them as "a skilled company of artists." See the H. Jay Smith Exploring Company, *The Cliff Dwellers*, 15.

at full architectural scale as based upon photographs, site diagrams and measurements of the ancient pueblo ruins in the Mesa Verde area.¹² Here, potential visitors to the exhibit were each enticed to part with twenty-five cents to enter into the exhibit and another ten cents if they desired an exhibit catalogue.¹³

Once visitors entered through the portal, they found themselves in a cavernous and dimly lit space seventy feet high. This space was intended to simulate the appearance of a canyon in the Mesa Verde area particularly well known for containing many ancient cliff dwellings, Mancos Canyon. Immediately to visitors' left was located a reproduction of the ruin best known to the American public, the monumental three story pueblo known as Cliff Palace (**Fig. 1.6**). This was executed in precise detail and at exactly one-tenth scale.

Next on visitors' journey through the space of the exhibit were several side rooms opening from the cavernous central space in which the architectural model of Cliff Palace was displayed. These side rooms were designed to be reminiscent of caverns and niches carved into crumbling sandstone. Here, in crevasses and hollows were featured reproductions of other smaller pueblo cliff dwellings, also executed at one-tenth scale. These were touted to fair visitors as representing "the most picturesque ruins bearing the greatest archaeological interest."¹⁴ In one side room was a reproduction of the ruin known as Square Tower House. Yet another room featured a reproduction of a pueblo ruin known as Balcony House. Here, visitors were supposed to take especial note of "one of the fast disappearing

¹² Ibid.

¹³ See Rand, McNally and Company, *A Week at the Fair: Illustrating the Exhibits and Wonders of the World's Columbian Exposition with Special Descriptive Articles* (Chicago: Rand, McNally and Company, 1893), 102.

¹⁴ Ibid. For other primary sources on the Cliff Dwellers exhibit at the Chicago World's Fair, see "The Colorado Cliff Dweller's Exhibit," *World's Columbian Exposition Illustrated*, 2 (Dec. 1892), 230-231; Teresa Dean, "Remarkable Exhibit of the Ancient Cliff Dwellers," *Daily Inter Ocean* 22 (June 1893), 7; H. C. Hovey, "Homes and Remains of the Cliff Dwellers," *Scientific American* 69 (October 1893), 275-279; and "Relics of the Cliff Dwellers at the Exposition," *Sunday Inter Ocean* 21 (Jan. 1893), 5.

examples of cedar balconies to be found in the [Southwest] region” as reproduced on the scale model.¹⁵ Even further into the main exhibit space was another side room featuring a scale model reproduction of another ruin known as High House.

The manner in which the reproductions of ruins were placed in side rooms within the cavernous space was intended to help visitors transport themselves in their imaginations to the Mesa Verde, for encountering a ruin tucked into a side cavern was designed to elicit within them the feeling that they were among the first explorers to discover it. In fact, although each of these ancient pueblo ruins is very well known to many Americans today as individual components of Mesa Verde National Park, the Cliff Palace ruin featured in the main chamber of the exhibit had only been very recently discovered by the time of the World’s Columbian Exposition. It subsequently became the most famous of all of the ancient pueblo ruins of the Mesa Verde.

Just five years prior to the fair, in 1888, a rancher named Richard Wetherill had stumbled across the Cliff Palace while out looking for some stray cattle. As attested to by William Henry Jackson’s photographs of cliff dwellings in the 1870s, Wetherills’ discovery did not mark the first time that white Americans had encountered cliff dwellings. In fact, as early as the 1840s, white Americans began to encounter cliff dwellings as they explored the landscape of the Southwest.¹⁶ This was particularly true whenever they were in close proximity to the Santa Fe Trail, which was a wagon trail first established in the 1820s. It spanned five states between western Missouri and Santa Fe, New Mexico, and it terminated in the area long occupied by both modern and ancestral Pueblo Indians. However, when

¹⁵ See The H. Jay Smith Exploring Company, *The Cliff Dwellers*, 17.

¹⁶ See Gulliford, *Preserving Western History*, 129.

Richard Wetherill encountered Cliff Palace, he immediately knew that it was not like anything white Americans had seen ever before.

As the name bestowed upon this ruin suggests, the Cliff Palace complex was monumental in its scale. At the time of its discovery, the Cliff Palace exhibited communal living on a scale larger than that of any modern collective dwelling on American soil. Anthropologists speculated that it once housed as many as twelve hundred inhabitants.¹⁷ Quite astonishingly, too, the Cliff Palace ruin was located high above the valley floor located at the foot of the mesa. Therefore, its construction represented a significant feat of engineering. Much of the stacked stone that comprised the exterior walls of Cliff Palace, which were often as high as 100 feet, was likely gathered from elsewhere and hauled up the cliff face.

The Cliff Palace possessed two hundred and seventeen rooms that were rectangular in their shape (**Fig. 1.7**). They were arranged in multi-story levels that appeared intended for use as living spaces. The complex also had several large rectangular shaped rooms that appeared to serve a storage function, and twenty-three rooms with a circular configuration were built underground (**Fig. 1.8**). By the archaeologists and anthropologists who soon came to study Cliff Palace, these rooms were given the name “estufas” (today better known as “kivas”). At the end of the nineteenth century, many American anthropologists believed that the Cliff Dwellers were the ancient ancestors of the modern Pueblo Indians. Therefore, based upon their work in the pueblos, they knew the estufas to have once served important religious ceremonial functions.

¹⁷ See The H. Jay Smith Exploring Company *The Cliff Dwellers*, 15.

At the Cliff Dwellers exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition, the scale models of the ancient pueblos represented one important architectural component of the exhibit. However, there were also others. The cavernous interior space also featured several other side rooms that branched off of it, and within these were panoramic paintings of many of the other ruins of the Mesa Verde, including some that weren't included as models elsewhere in the exhibit. A Minneapolis-based artist named Alexis J. Fournier executed the paintings. Several years after the fair, Fournier would become an important member of the Arts and Crafts Roycroft Colony as established in East Aurora, New York.¹⁸ However, prior to the World's Columbian Exposition, Fournier had spent a year in the Mesa Verde area painting the ruins in anticipation of the concessioner's exhibit.

One painting in the exhibit was of a ruin called Ruin Castle, but there were also paintings of the ruins called Spruce Tree House, Long House, She House and Cliff Palace. The paintings were theatrically lighted with "specially contrived means of lighting" intended to "add much to the reality of the scenes depicted."¹⁹ The theatrical lighting, the panoramic vistas depicted in the paintings, and the canyon-like exhibit space were all intended to heighten further the sensation for visitors that, if they had not, in fact, physically traveled across the country to experience the Cliff Dwellings of Mesa Verde, they were transported there through the power of their imaginations.

Once a visitor left the exhibit space of the cave featuring the models of the ruins and Fournier's panoramic paintings, the journey through the Mesa Verde was hardly over. If a visitor were to be adventurous enough to climb through a narrow gallery, he or she could

¹⁸ See Marie Via and Marjorie Searl, eds., *Head, Heart and Hand: Elbert Hubbard and the Roycrofters* (Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press in association with Memorial Art Gallery, 1994), 135.

¹⁹ See The H. Jay Smith Exploring Company, *The Cliff Dwellers*, 17.

look down also into a recreation of one of the rooms typical of the ruins, a kiva reproduced at full human scale. This space was rendered as a large circular depression in the floor plane of the exhibit, and it was approximately eight feet deep and uniform in its circular shape. The walls of the circular depression were plastered smooth with clay, and a low stone seat ran about the circumference of the space. In the center of the kiva was located a fire pit, and some pots located on top of the fire pit were charred upon their sides. These worked to suggest to fair visitors that once, very long ago, both a fire and the activity of the Cliff Dwellers activated the space upon which they now gazed.²⁰

In promotional literature that the H. Jay Smith Exploring Company produced to accompany the exhibit, it told visitors that they should conceive of the kiva as a space analogous to a living room in a typical American dwelling.²¹ The concessionaire related to visitors that, like a living room, it was the space where the Cliff Dwellers would gather for warmth and companionship around the fire in the center of the room. Visitors to the exhibit were also informed that the material and construction of the kiva was fairly typical of other spaces located in the Cliff Dwellings such as dwelling spaces, assembly rooms, kitchens, graves and granaries.²² Therefore, upon viewing the reconstruction of the kiva and reading the accompanying exhibit literature, visitors to the exhibit could readily imagine that they understood pretty well all of the spaces of the Cliff Dwellings. If a kiva was like a living room in their own house, then the other spaces in the Cliff Dwellings also could be

²⁰ See Henry Davenport Northrop, *The World's Fair as Seen in One Hundred Days: Containing A Complete History, of the World's Columbian Exposition, Capturing Descriptions of the Many Magnificent Buildings and Marvelous Exhibits Such as Works of Art, Textiles, Fabrics, Machinery, Natural Products, the Latest Inventions, Discoveries, Etc. Etc. Including a Full Description of Chicago, Its Wonderful Buildings, Parks, Etc.* (Philadelphia: National Publishing Company, 1893), 473-76.

²¹ See The H. Jay Smith Exploring Company *The Cliff Dwellers*, 3.

²² *Ibid*, 17.

understood as analogous to the spaces of an American house, only differing somewhat in their materials and construction.

The exhibit literature also explained how the buildings of the Cliff Dwellers were particularly advanced for “such primitive people,” with “balconies and towers, windows and doors showing evidence of an architectural instinct far better developed than in many subsequent races.”²³ It also described to visitors how the Cliff Dwellers were a peaceful agricultural people, but that all evidence—especially in their architecture—indicated that they had enemies and that they were in almost constant danger from their depredations. In anticipation of invasion, the exhibit literature said, the Cliff Dwellers built their villages into the cliffs as solid fortifications. The walls of their pueblo dwellings were constructed of heavy stone strongly cemented together, and the tall buildings were intended to be impregnable barriers against their foes.

The exhibit literature also described to visitors other defensive aspects of the architecture of the cliff dwellings. It described how, in some cases, the cliff dwellings featured balconies made of logs that projected out over the cliffs as lookout posts. The literature also described how the Cliff Dwellers built no stairs and cut no steps by which their enemies could ascend either the cliffs or their buildings. Instead, it said, the Cliff Dwellers simply hollowed out slight hand and foot holds in the cliff faces that they learned to navigate with ease. Once ascended to their dwellings in the cliff, the Cliff Dwellers would use ladders to get to entrances located on the upper stories. If their enemies were to attack suddenly, they could draw these ladders up into their houses. The exhibit literature also described how the Cliff Dwellers carried everything up the cliff face that they needed for

²³ Ibid, 3.

their survival in special panniers. It described how the doors of the Cliff Dwellers' pueblo buildings typically featured odd "T" shaped openings, and it said that these were specially designed to accommodate both the Cliff Dwellers and their panniers full of provisions.

In the Cliff Dwellers Exhibit, the reproductions of ruins, the panoramic paintings, and the replication of a kiva all worked to communicate to fair visitors the architectural space of the cliff dwellings of the Mesa Verde. However, the concessioner also anticipated that visitors would be especially intrigued with all of the ancient artifacts that the company had extricated from the site, and that they might want to know some more details about the ancient people who constructed the cliff dwellings. For this, the company dedicated the space of a large room to the interior of the exhibit called the "Relic Room." This space was essentially like a room that visitors might find in any museum. It was square in shape, well lighted, and to its sides it had many large glass display cases containing an extensive collections of artifacts extracted from the ruins of the Cliff Dwellers.

The importance of the Relic Room within the exhibit also derived from the fact that, by 1893, there existed a very lucrative market for relics, or artifacts, from the Southwest. This market had developed with the establishment of major museum institutions in the East in the latter half of the nineteenth century. As museums vied against each other to establish the preeminence of their collections, both scientific and commercial archaeological expeditions often were dispatched to the ruins of the Southwest. Often, such expeditions were little more than looting, and the activity was spurred on by the ever-escalating commercial value placed upon Indian artifacts. Eventually, this would lead the United States

Congress to pass the American Antiquities Act of 1906 as an attempt to regulate archeological excavations in the ruins and to protect them from degradation.²⁴

However, the Cliff Dwellers exhibit featured at the World's Columbian Exposition was planned over a decade prior to the passage of this act, and it was sponsored by exactly the kind of commercial enterprise that the later legislation would be designed to regulate. The H. Jay Smith Exploring Company, the concessioner of the Cliff Dwellers exhibit, was one of the most prominent relic hunting outfits in the Southwest.²⁵ In the year immediately preceding the Chicago World's Fair, its representatives had embarked upon an exploratory expedition in Mesa Verde with members of the Wetherill family serving as guides to them. Following Richard Wetherill's discovery of Cliff Palace in 1888, he and other members of his family had worked to locate all of the major cliff dwellings of the Mesa Verde.²⁶ This was a major undertaking for the area encompassed more than two hundred and fifty miles of steep canyon land. However, doing so helped the Wetherills position themselves to fully exploit the commercial value of the cliff dwellings as expeditions to it began to arrive to the Southwest.

On the H. Jay Smith Exploring Company's expedition to the ruins, the company photographically documented many of them in anticipation of the construction of the fair exhibit. A company representative named Charles D. Hazzard also purchased a large

²⁴ The Anglo-American craze for Native American-made items first developed in the late 1880s, but it fully bloomed by the early 1900s. See Jonathan Batkin, "Tourism is Overrated: Pueblo Pottery and the Early Curio Trade, 1880-1910," chapt. in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Post-Colonial Worlds*, ed. Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 282-297. See also Elizabeth West Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism, and Transculturation in American Art, 1890 – 1915* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009).

²⁵ See Philip Burnham, *Indian Country, God's Country: Native Americans and the National Parks* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2000), 51.

²⁶ See Frank McNitt, *Richard Wetherill, Anasazi: Pioneer Explorer of Southwestern Ruins* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1966), 32-33.

collection of artifacts that the Wetherills had excavated from the cliff dwellings.²⁷ This collection contained nearly two thousand examples of the handiwork, or the material culture, of the Cliff Dwellers. Among the many items were weaponry, pottery, cloth, agricultural implements, and cooking utensils. Several years later, in 1896, the collection would eventually become the property of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst would bestow it upon the museum as a gift after purchasing the collection from the H. Jay Smith Exploring Company. Hearst was the heiress of a mining and real estate empire, and like some other elite women in the late nineteenth century—most notably, the wealthy Boston Brahmin, Mary Hemenway—her interests often turned towards archaeology. However, at the time of the World's Columbian Exposition, the relics excavated by the Wetherills from the cliff dwellings were still in the possession of the H. Jay Smith Exploring Company, and the Relic Room was specifically designed to display them.

The primary attraction of the Relic Room was not the display cases to its periphery that contained the material culture of the Cliff Dwellers. Instead, it was what was featured to the room's center. It was here that was located what the H. Jay Smith Exploring Company considered the most interesting and valuable relics of all. The center of the room was cordoned off to fairgoers, and this enclosed space was designed to simulate the excavations of the cliff dwellings. The display was essentially a mass grave in which the H. Jay Exploring Company displayed the mummified remains of the Cliff Dwellers and the objects that would often be found buried with them (**Fig. 1.9**).²⁸

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ See Northrop, *The World's Fair as Seen in One Hundred Days*, 473-476.

For many fairgoers, the mummies featured in the Relic Room were a particularly fascinating aspect of the exhibit, for their presence at the fair was somewhat controversial. Unlike today, in which the legality and ethics of disturbing the graves of others would be the issue, the source of controversy at the fair was quite different. What was at stake at the fair was not a dilemma regarding the ethics of unearthing bodies, their commodification, or their display. Rather, the controversy was what exactly the mummified bodies revealed about the identities of those who built the ancient cliff dwellings of the Southwest.

By the time of the World's Columbian Exposition, a good deal of scientific evidence strongly suggested to many archeological and anthropologists working in the American Southwest that the Cliff Dwellers were a very ancient pre-historic people. This was a fact upon which the H. Jay Smith Exploring Company also agreed. In the promotional literature for the Cliff Dwellers exhibit, the company described to fairgoers that the Cliff Dwellers “represent, no doubt, the earliest civilization of the American continent.”²⁹

Many anthropologists and archeologists working in the Southwest also believed with a high degree of certainty that the Cliff Dwellers were the ancient ancestors of the living Pueblo Indian tribes, as is established as scientific fact today.³⁰ For instance, since the early 1880s, some of the most influential American archaeologists and anthropologists working in the Southwest, such as Frank Hamilton Cushing and Adolph Bandelier, were quick to recognize that a relationship existed between the ancient Cliff Dwellers and the modern

²⁹ See The H. Jay Smith Exploring Company, *The Cliff Dwellers*, 15.

³⁰ In the 1850s, many Americans believed that the ancient pueblo ruins of the southwest were closely connected to the Aztecs of Mexico. However, by 1875, people such as the photographer William Henry Jackson, who was working for the Hayden Survey to the Southwest, began to think that it was much more likely that the ancient people who built the ruins were related to the living Pueblo Indian tribes. This was due to the visual similarity of their building traditions. See Richard Ellis “The Changing Image of the Anasazi World in the American Imagination,” chapt. in *Anasazi Architecture and American Design*, ed. Baker H. Morrow and Vincent Barrett Price (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 18.

Pueblo Indians.³¹ This they did based upon their observance of multiple similarities between the culture of the ancient Cliff Dwellers and the modern Pueblo Indians, including the fact the ruins of the Cliff Dwellers bore a striking resemblance to modern pueblo villages.

Also among those who believed that the Cliff Dwellers were related to the Pueblo Indians was a Swedish aristocrat and amateur anthropologist named Gustav Nordenskiöld, the son of the polar explorer Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld. In the summer of 1891, he traveled to the American Southwest with the primary intent to recover from tuberculosis in the dry desert climate, which had begun to lure health-seekers in large numbers beginning in the 1880s. However, it appears that Nordenskiöld was not one to simply rest, and he soon found exploration of the Cliff Palace ruins to be an alluring prospect.

Like the H. Jay Smith Exploring Company, Nordenskiöld also hired the Wetherills to guide him through the ruins and to assemble for him a collection of relics. He intended to ship this collection back to Sweden, a plan that he executed successfully, but only after his arrest and the temporary confiscation of the artifacts in New York.³² By the 1890s, many Americans were beginning to view ancient artifacts found on American soil as their own cultural patrimony. Therefore, Colorado residents living in a town within close proximity to Cliff Palace considered Nordenskiöld's removal of his collection to Europe to constitute a theft. Nordenskiöld was subsequently exonerated of the charges, and he returned to Sweden with his collection.

³¹ See Gustav Nordenskiöld, *The Cliff Dwellers of the Mesa Verde* (Stockholm: Royal Printing Office, 1893), 169.

³² See John Swift and Joseph R. Urgo, eds., *Willa Cather and the American Southwest* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 38.

In 1893, Nordenskiöld wrote the first important book on Mesa Verde, which was entitled *The Cliff Dwellers of the Mesa Verde*.³³ It was published in both Stockholm and the United States. In it, Nordenskiöld asserted to his readers that the modern Pueblo Indians were clearly descendants of the Cliff Dwellers. This, he thought, was an absolutely indisputable fact as based on observation of the similarities in their architecture. Of the modern pueblo villages located on top of the mesas, he wrote: “A pueblo on the mesa is thus nothing but a cliff dwelling built in the open instead of the cave.”³⁴

However, Nordenskiöld and many of his American contemporaries in the discipline of anthropology were also influenced by the late-nineteenth century idea of scientific evolution and the belief that civilizations—like the bodies of the animal world—often spawned progeny that were less “fit” than were they. According to the tenets of evolutionary theory, these lesser manifestations of civilizations were particularly subject to forces of decay and, therefore, destined for eventual extinction. Therefore, while Nordenskiöld acknowledged that a definite relationship existed between the modern Pueblo Indians and the ancient Cliff Dwellers, upon whose built works he marveled, he also considered the modern Pueblo Indians to be a race far less advanced than their ancient forbears on the landscape.

For instance, in regard to the modern Pueblo Indians’ relationship to the ancient Cliff Dwellers, Nordenskiöld would write as follows: “The Pueblo Indians of modern times have degenerated in more than one respect. Architecture and the ceramic industry...have fallen into complete decay. The ornament of the pottery has deviated from the ancient types

³³ For a reference to Nordenskiöld’s book as the first important one on Mesa Verde, see Philip L. Gerber, *Willa Cather* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1975), 120.

³⁴ See Nordenskiöld, *The Cliff Dwellers of the Mesa Verde*, 169.

and betrays a foreign influence.”³⁵ Nordenskiöld wasn’t certain exactly what constituted this foreign influence, but he was certain that he could detect it in both the architecture and the pottery of the modern Pueblo Indians. He believed both to be considerably inferior to that of the ancient Cliff Dwellers.

Too, Nordenskiöld correlated this aesthetic decay in both architecture and pottery to the decline of Pueblo Indian culture, in general. He would describe to his readers that from the sixteenth century onward, numerous historical accounts provided evidence that the numbers of Pueblo Indians were continuously shrinking.³⁶ For Nordenskiöld, this population reduction offered further evidence that Pueblo Indian culture had long been engaged in a trajectory of decline, and that eventually the culture of the Pueblo Indians would just disintegrate into nothing. He would write as follows:

There is little doubt that at no very distant date from the present this last remnant of the agricultural Indians of the South-western States will disappear, or be absorbed in the stream of white settlers which is spreading more and more over the country formerly tilled by the Pueblo tribes, again transforming the parched and barren valleys and plateau to fertile cornland.³⁷

For Nordenskiöld, the civilization of the ancient Cliff Dwellers represented a high point in the development of the Southwest, a time in which the now parched and barren lands of the Colorado plateau were a “fertile cornland.” However, to him, this civilization had withered over the centuries, and the landscape that the ancient Pueblo Indians had once tilled had become “parched and barren valleys.” For Nordenskiöld, then, the dry desert landscape that the Southwest had supposedly become in the centuries since the Cliff Dwellers had once farmed it offered an important parallel for what he thought he could detect in the pottery

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid, 171.

³⁷ Ibid.

and architecture now made by the modern Pueblo Indians. He thought that in them the ancient arts of the Cliff Dwellers were also withering.

He hypothesized that Pueblo Indian culture would eventually disappear as more white settlers arrived to the American Southwest, and he also forecast that with the arrival of white American settlers, the Southwest landscape would be again be transformed into a fertile cornland, or a kind of Edenic garden. For Nordenskiöld, the Cliff Dwellers represented a kind of pure ancient Indian culture, uncontaminated by foreign influence. In contrast, he believed that the material culture of the modern Pueblo Indians betrayed cultural corruption in objects of every scale, from the architecture of pueblo villages down to individual pieces of pottery.

Nordenskiöld was hardly alone in this interpretation that the ancient Cliff Dwellers represented a pure ancient Indian culture and that the cultural hybridity evidenced by the modern Pueblo Indians was a sign of decadence. This was a cultural construction, or myth, of course. Human cultures are not like organic matter that just decays or withers when moisture is introduced, and especially not when introduced to a new cultural element. Instead, cultures are resilient and adaptable. They change over time as they synthesize that which is new with that which is older. Nonetheless, the idea that human cultures were subject to natural processes like decay was a belief shared at the turn of the century by many anthropologists, such as Jesse Walter Fewkes. For example, in 1895, Fewkes began to excavate the ancient Pueblo Indian ruins of Sikyatki in the northern Arizona territory. When he did, he encouraged a Pueblo Indian potter named Nampeyo to make new pottery designs based upon the ancient shards that he excavated from the site. Fewkes, like Nordenskiöld, also thought that modern Pueblo Indian pottery had degraded substantially in its quality

since the time of that the ancient Cliff Dwellers once lived. This belief that cultures were subject to decay also reflected a larger and increasingly popular idea that both civilizations and individual human bodies were subject to similar natural processes, a topic that will be explored more fully later.³⁸

However, what is particularly important for the moment is that one of the fundamental premises of the belief system held by Nordenskiöld and Fewkes in regard to the Cliff Dwellers and the modern Pueblo Indians was, in fact, true. This was the idea that the Cliff Dwellers were the ancestors of the modern Pueblo Indians. At the end of the nineteenth century, anthropology was still in its infancy as a scientific discipline and, as many scholars have shown, it was a discipline that was often prone to constructing its own mythologies. For instance, the scholar Julia E. Liss writes that “Anthropology embodies a central paradox. Ostensibly, a discipline that critically analyzes the myths and narratives of alien cultures, it creates its own myths in the process.”³⁹ Some of the ideas that the new science put forth did, in fact, prove to be correct. However, these ideas were often quite open to challenge, particularly when they worked to disrupt the narratives of much older stories.

As the scholar Andrew Gulliford argues in his book *Preserving Western History*, ever since white Americans first began to discover monumental ancient ruins on American soil, many disputed that Indians could possibly be responsible for constructing them. This many

³⁸ This initiated what since has been termed the “Sityatki Revival” in Pueblo Indian Pottery. See Margaret D. Jacobs, “Shaping a New Way: White Women and the Movement to Promote Indian Arts and Crafts, 1900 – 1935,” chapt. in *Women Artists of the American West*, ed. Susan B. Ressler (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2003), 84.

³⁹ See Julia E. Liss, “Patterns of Strangeness: Franz Boas, Modernism, and the Origins of Anthropology,” in *Prehistories of the Future: The Primitivist Project and the Culture of Modernism*, eds. Elazar Barkan and Ronald Bush (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1995), 114.

Americans did on the grounds that North American Indians were simply too savage and unsophisticated to make such constructions.⁴⁰ For instance, when the ancient mounds of the Hopewell culture were first discovered in Ohio in 1848, many white Americans argued that Indians of North America could not possibly have constructed them. Rather, they theorized, an ancient Aryan race, the Mesoamerican Toltecs, built them as they migrated across the landscape on their way to Mexico.⁴¹

Similarly, when white Americans first began to encounter pueblo ruins in the 1840s with their exploration of the Southwest landscape, they often attributed their construction to ancient cultures located elsewhere. For instance, in 1849, a Lieutenant James H. Simpson was the first white American to issue an official report on the cliff dwellings located in Chaco Canyon in Northern New Mexico. To some mid-nineteenth century explorers of the Southwest, such as John Wesley Powell, it was perfectly obvious that the modern Pueblo Indians were “of the same race as the former inhabitants of these ruins.”⁴² However, to Simpson, this was simply unfathomable. He derided the idea that there could possibly exist a direct relationship between the Cliff Dwellers and the modern Pueblo Indians. Instead, he believed that the ruins of the Cliff Dwellers displayed “a condition of architectural excellence beyond the power of the Indians or New Mexicans of the present day to exhibit.”⁴³ Like

⁴⁰ See Gulliford, *Preserving Western History*, 129.

⁴¹ For the fact that many Americans in the mid-nineteenth century thought that the Toltecs were an ancient Aryan race, see R. Tripp Evans, *Romancing the Maya: Mexican Antiquity in the American Imagination, 1820-1915* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004).

⁴² See Gulliford, *Preserving Western History*, 130.

⁴³ See James Hervey Simpson, *Journal of Military Reconnaissance, from Santa Fé, New Mexico to the Navajo Country: Made with the Troops Under Command of Brevet Lieutenant Colonel John M Washington, Chief to Ninth Military Department and Governor of New Mexico, in 1849* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Co, 1852), 45. See also Gulliford, *Preserving Western History*, 129.

many other Americans, he thought it much more probable that the pueblos were constructed by the ancient Aztecs of Mexico.

As Gulliford also notes, ascribing the construction of pueblo ruins to ancient cultures located far away and no longer in existence worked to achieve several different objectives for the white Americans who encountered them. On the one hand, since the ruins were ancient and located on North American soil it worked to give the United States a cultural patrimony equal to that of Europe. In the mid-nineteenth century, ruins were of especial importance to many Americans. The westward movement of Americans across the continent in the mid-nineteenth century also coincided with the suffusion in American culture with a variant of Romanticism as derived from the European artistic movement.⁴⁴

This American variant was particularly centered on the East in places such as the Hudson River Valley in New York. There, the landscape designer Andrew Jackson Downing was at the forefront of a group of writers and artists enamored with antiquity and past cultures, and particularly ruins. However, as Americans from the East moved westward, they also carried Romantic ideas with them. Downing promoted a distinction between what he called the “beautiful” and the “picturesque.” Downing conceived of the beautiful as marked by qualities such as symmetry and wholeness. He placed the classical architecture of Greece and Rome, with its proportional system and its rigid order, into this category. Emblematic for him of the picturesque was the ruin, incomplete and imperfect, as it was worn by the forces of time and nature. Like many of his contemporaries in Europe, who placed follies resembling ruins in the gardens upon their estates, Downing believed in the romantic power

⁴⁴ See Gulliford, *Preserving Western History*, 129.

of the ruin to induce melancholy in a viewer, which was to him a desirable and quasi-mystical meditational state.

As scholars such as Toni Morrison argue, Downing and many of the writers and artists associated with the American Romantic Movement suffered from a deep cultural insecurity. They were repelled by what they perceived as moral and social disorder in modern Europe, but they also felt threatened by the uncertainty of their own present. They worried that they might not ever realize on American soil any sort of greatness equal to that of the past civilizations of Europe.⁴⁵ For Downing and his ilk, the ruins of Europe were a particularly potent symbol of the achievements of European civilization. It was a history of achievement that they perceived the new American nation to be lacking. For example, in 1819, the American writer, Irving Washington bemoaned the lack of ruins on American soil. He wrote as follows:

My native country was full of youthful promise: Europe was rich in the accumulated treasures of age. Her very ruins told the history of times gone by, and every mouldering stone was a chronicle. I longed to wander over the scenes of reknowned achievement—to tread, as it were, in the footsteps of antiquity—to loiter about the ruined castle—to meditate on the falling tower—to escape, in short, from the commonplace realities of the present, and lose myself among the shadowy grandeurs of the past.⁴⁶

For Washington, as for many other artists and writers associated with the American Romantic Movement, the grandeur associated with a knowable and storied Anglo-Saxon European past—as embodied either in the beautiful cities of ancient Greece or Rome, or in

⁴⁵ See Toni Morrison, “Romancing the Shadow,” in *The New Romanticism: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. Eberhard Alsen (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 2000), 54.

⁴⁶ See Thomas E. Ranaldi, *Hudson River Ruins: Forgotten Landmarks of An American Landscape* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2006), 9.

the picturesque medieval ruins of Europe's castles—was much more appealing than the uncertainty of their own country's unrealized future.

Many scholars today also recognize that Romanticism became a deep-seated emotional response in the psyche of many nineteenth-century Americans. For example, the writer Toni Morrison writes eloquently about one of the major components of the movement, romance. She writes as follows:

Romance, an exploration of anxiety imported from the shadows of European culture, made possible the sometimes safe and other times risky embrace of quite specific, understandably human, fears: Americans' fear of being outcast, of failing, of powerlessness; their fear of boundarilessness, of Nature, unbridled and crouched for attack; their fear of absence of so-called civilization; their fear of loneliness, of aggression both external and internal. In short, the terror of human freedom—the thing that they coveted most of all.⁴⁷

As Morrison argues, romance actually represented terror of the unknown, and it was pervasive in American culture in the decades that followed the American Revolution as Americans finally had within their grasp the very thing for which they once had fought. Given that Romanticism was a pervasive force in American culture, it only makes sense that the ancient ruins of the American Southwest were often interpreted through this lens as Americans began to move westward with an increasing frequency in the mid-nineteenth century. In the undeveloped and relatively uninhabited desert of the American Southwest, they came face-to-face with many, if not all, of the fears of which Morrison writes. They experienced boundarylessness, loneliness, Nature (i.e. wilderness), the absence of so-called civilization, and what they perceived to be aggression by the indigenous people who already lived there.

⁴⁷ See Morrison, *The New Romanticism*, 54.

As Andrew Gulliford also points out, white Americans own writings from the mid-nineteenth century provide crucial evidence to support the idea that white Americans often perceived the ancient pueblo ruins through the lens of Romanticism. As an example, he cites the case of Susan Shelby Magoffin. Some scholars speculate that Magoffin was perhaps the first white woman to make the journey along the Santa Fe Trail in 1846-47.⁴⁸ She was born to a wealthy and prominent family near Danville, Kentucky in 1827. However, her husband was a trader, and Magoffin accompanied him to the Southwest. When Magoffin encountered ancient pueblo ruins at Pecos in Northern New Mexico, she recorded the experience of them in her diary. She was well-read, and she expressed some uncertainty as to who exactly was responsible for their construction. She had obviously read several different accounts in which some historians postulated that the ancient Aztecs of Mexico built them and others offered opinions to the contrary. Nonetheless, Magoffin still entertained the idea that the ruins were built by the ancient Aztecs. In her diary she wrote the following entry:

I have visited this morning the ruins of an ancient pueblo, or village, now desolate and a home for the wild beast and bird of the forest. It created sad thoughts when I found myself riding almost heedlessly over the work of these once mighty people. There perhaps was pride, power and wealth, carried to its utter most limit, for here tis said the great Montezuma once lived, though tis probably a false tradition as the most learned and ancient American historians report that great monarch to have resided much farther south than any portion of New Mexico.⁴⁹

Even though Magoffin knew that the association of the crumbling adobe pueblo with the Aztec emperor, Montezuma, was likely just a myth, the story surrounding the ruins helped to create a series of powerful contrasts in her mind. One image was of the decay and desolation

⁴⁸ See Diane Dufva Quantic and P. Jane Hafen, eds., *A Great Plains Reader* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 243.

⁴⁹ See Marta Weigle and Peter White, *The Lore of New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 99.

that she now encountered in the pueblo ruins. The other was of the power and wealth attendant to an ancient Aztec civilization. The contrasts worked to heighten her response to the ruins over which she otherwise almost heedlessly rode. In her mind, they became transformed into the remains of a vast empire, perhaps even one of the seven fabled cities of Cíbola of which Montezuma told the Spanish conquistadors long ago. No longer was the landscape just an uncivilized one succumbed to natural forces, as symbolized in the wild beast and bird of the forest. Instead, in imagining that a mighty people once inhabited the ruins, Magoffin helped to alleviate her feelings of loneliness and fear in encountering a strange and unfamiliar landscape.

Gulliford also describes that as white Americans ascribed the construction of pueblo ruins to ancient cultures no longer in existence, it also worked to other ends than only to assuage their own deep-seated fears. It also worked to sever from the modern Pueblo Indians the ruins as their own cultural patrimony. This made the ancient pueblo ruins available to white Americans for appropriation as their own. For instance, another idea that was extremely popular in the latter half of the nineteenth century was that neither an ancient race such as the Aztecs or the Toltecs was responsible for the construction of ruins on the North American continent. Nor were Indians. Instead, many white Americans subscribed to the belief that, prior to the arrival of Columbus, there existed a “forgotten race” or “vanished civilization” of white people on North American soil. This myth was particularly useful in the settlement of the western frontier. It helped Americans to justify their appropriation of Indian lands as they expanded westward across the continent. According to

the premise of this myth, white Americans were only taking back what originally belonged to their own ancient ancestors.⁵⁰

For many white Americans who subscribed to this myth, the architectural sophistication of Cliff Palace, in particular, was a salient piece of evidence of a forgotten Anglo-Saxon race. In its construction, they saw evidence of great city building on American soil that was equal to the great ancient cities of Europe. For example, one such person who subscribed to this belief was a Professor George N. Richardson of San Francisco. In 1893, as the World's Columbian Exposition was underway, he wrote an article on the Cliff Dwellers exhibit entitled "The Early Americans" published in *The Californian Illustrated Magazine*. In it, he offered to readers his assertion that the Cliff Dwellers were an ancient forgotten Anglo-Saxon race.⁵¹

As part of his evidence, he described to his readers how he had chanced to encounter in San Francisco a member of the H. Jay Smith Exploring Company as he was readying a consignment of Cliff Dwellers relics for shipment to the fair. At this time, Professor Richardson said, he had taken the opportunity to view them. The most interesting relics, according to him, were the mummies. He remarked that "a noticeable particularity of the mummies is the hair, which is fine and soft, varying in color from blond to brown, a convincing proof that the cliff-dwellers were not of the Indian race."⁵² Professor Richardson was far from alone in his assertion, for there were also other members of the academic and

⁵⁰ See Gulliford, *Preserving Western History*, 129.

⁵¹ See George S. Richardson, "The Early Americans," *Californian Illustrated Magazine* 4 (June 1893–November 1893), 774–783.

⁵² Ibid.

scientific communities who subscribed to this belief.⁵³ For example, in 1892, an American scientist named Dr. J.F. Snyder reiterated this idea within the pages of the journal *The American Archaeologist*. He also maintained that the Cliff Palace ruin offered indisputable evidence that an ancient white race once lived on American soil. Like Richardson, his proof was the fact that the mummies excavated from the Cliff Palace site had light hair.⁵⁴

At the Cliff Dwellers exhibit in Chicago, the H. Jay Smith Exploring Company somewhat hedged its bets as to whether the Cliff Dwellers represented either a forgotten Anglo-Saxon race or the ancestors of the modern Pueblo Indians. For example, in the twenty-two page brochure that the company prepared as interpretative material to accompany the exhibit, they simply introduced visitors to the Cliff Dwellers as “the most highly civilized representatives of the ‘Stone Age,’ antedating both the Aztecs and the Toltecs, and exhibiting almost as high a degree of civilization.”⁵⁵ In the vague description of the Cliff Dwellers, fairgoers were free to project upon them whatever meaning they wished.

However, the exhibit literature did provide them with some strong clues as to how they might conceive of the Cliff Dwellers. For example, it stated that the Cliff Dwellers were the contemporaries of the Cave Dwellers of Europe and the Lake Dwellers of Switzerland.⁵⁶ Through American periodical journals dedicated to science and literature, such as *The Living Age*, many Americans were familiar with the Cave Dwellers and the Lake Dwellers as Anglo-

⁵³ See, for example, Clement L. Webster “Preliminary Notes on the Archaeology of Southwestern New Mexico, *The American Naturalist* 25, no. 2 (August 1891), 768-770.

⁵⁴ See Dr. J.F. Snyder, ed., *The American Archaeologist: For Scientist and Student: A Monthly Journal Devoted to Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. 2 (Columbus, Ohio: The Landon Printing and Publishing Company, 1892), 252.

⁵⁵ See The H. Jay Smith Exploring Company, *The Cliff Dwellers*, 1.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

Saxon races dating back to the Stone Age and the Bronze Age.⁵⁷ Therefore, the fact that the Cliff Dwellers were now offered as their contemporaries also worked to suggest to visitors that they could easily be construed as representing an Anglo-Saxon race. To reinforce this idea, the exhibit literature further described that the Cliff Dwellers were representatives of “a mythical race” possessing “rare powers and refined tastes at variance with the common idea of aborigines.”⁵⁸ In this description, the exhibit literature asserted the Cliff Dwellers should somehow be construed as different, or exceptional, from other Indians.

Nonetheless, the exhibit literature remained highly ambiguous in its representations of the Cliff Dwellers to fairgoers. For example, when visitors reached the Relic Room, where reconstructions of the graves of the Cliff Dwellers were featured to the room’s center, they had the following description provided to them in regard to the human remains that they observed there:

From bones and mummies found in the ruins it is proved that they were a large, well-developed race, fully equal in size to the men of today. The heads were well formed, and denote a more than ordinary degree of intelligence, with rather refined faces, fair skin, and fine hair, often light and totally different from most of the modern Indian races now known, excepting, perhaps, the Zuni Pueblo Indians—the most remarkable living representatives of the native tribes of America whom they are claimed to be, and that, with great possibility, the direct ancestors.⁵⁹

The exhibit literature didn’t completely eschew the idea that modern aborigines—Pueblo Indians—might be related to the Cliff Dwellers. However, the physical characteristics of height, above ordinary intelligence, fair skin, and fair hair were ones that were described as

⁵⁷ See, for example, the description of the Lake Dwellers as a “Keltic” tribe of the Aryan race in *Littell’s The Living Age: The Eleventh Quarterly Volume of the Fourth Series, Volume Ninety-Nine* (Boston: Little and Gay, 1868), 525.

⁵⁸ See The H. Jay Smith Exploring Company, *The Cliff Dwellers*, 1.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

uncharacteristic of most modern Indians, and fair visitors were also aware that these physical traits were frequently ascribed to the Anglo-Saxon race.

Essentially, the exhibit literature worked to negotiate a middle ground between the two different discourses presented in the scientific journals of the day—by anthropologists such as Jesse Walter Fewkes who argued that the Cliff Dwellers were the ancient ancestors of the Pueblo Indians and by others, such as Professor Richardson and Dr. J.F. Snyder, who argued that the Cliff Dwellers were the first Anglo-Saxon Americans. Although unstated explicitly, there was really only one way that both assertions could be true simultaneously. This was if fairgoers were to conceive of the modern Pueblo Indians as a kind of cultural hybrid, the mixed-race progeny of both an ancient Anglo-Saxon race and Indians.

Throughout the Relic Room, the handiwork of the Cliff Dwellers was displayed as evidence of the high degree of civilization attained by them. Visitors could view examples of textiles encased in glass display boxes, and these were described as being of great fineness and delicacy. The exhibit literature related to visitors that a display of pottery and baskets showed the great dexterity of the Cliff Dwellers, while a glass case full of shoes was supposed to illustrate the diversity of manufacture practiced by them. A display of clothing was said to demonstrate the Cliff Dwellers' fondness for ease and comfort. Virtually all of the material culture of the Cliff Dwellers was presented to visitors as being of the utmost sophistication and bespeaking lives once lived in a "very civilized fashion."⁶⁰

There were displays that exhibited needles made of bone as well as threads extracted from the interior of the yucca plant, and the exhibit literature described how the Cliff Dwellers used these two items to darn their clothes and to mend their sandals. Another

⁶⁰ Ibid, 19.

display showcased different lamps, each one made out of pottery, and it was explained to visitors that the Cliff Dwellers used these to light the interiors of their cliff dwellings. All of these objects were quite familiar to visitors as ones that they used in their own houses, and even if working to extract a thread from a yucca plant seemed much more arduous than purchasing a spool from a store, the task of mending clothing was certainly one to which many visitors could personally relate. For many visitors, then, these displays worked to suggest that the ancient Cliff Dwellers were just like them.

Other evidence of the Cliff Dweller's high degree of civilization was offered in a display representing their agricultural pursuits. This showed numerous packages of seeds—such as beans, pumpkins and squash, and corn—as well the agricultural implements that the Cliff Dwellers fashioned for themselves to plant their crops, such as planting sticks (**Fig. 1.10**).⁶¹ At the end of the nineteenth century, an increasing nostalgia for the agrarian way of life began to manifest itself in American society. For instance, as the scholar Janet Galigani describes in her 2009 book entitled *A New Heartland: Women, Modernity and the Agrarian Ideal in America*, many Americans believed that the agrarian mode of life represented the ideal American society.⁶² However, the increasing pace of industrialization in the late nineteenth century also made the agrarian life a choice unavailable to many, particularly in rapidly developing cities such as Chicago where visitors to the fair now gathered. Nonetheless, the equation of the agrarian life as representative of the ideal American civilization remained a powerful idea. Therefore, this display illustrating how the Cliff Dwellers were highly skilled farmers offered conclusive proof to many fairgoers that they had achieved a high degree of

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² See Janet Galigani, *A New Heartland: Women, Modernity and the Agrarian Ideal in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 14.

civilization. Moreover, for those visitors who were already inclined to think that the Cliff Dwellers were an ancient Anglo-Saxon race, this display probably helped to reinforce the idea that they were, indeed, the early Americans.

Also displayed in the Relic Room was weaponry, including items such as stone axes, bows and arrows, and sling shots (**Fig. 1.11**). However, the exhibit literature was quick to point out to visitors that the presence of weaponry in the Relic Room was relatively minor when compared to the number of other objects displayed. In fact, it stated, finding weapons in the cliff dwellings was a rarity. This was because, the literature asserted, the Cliff Dwellers possessed “naturally quiet and peaceable natures, which only rose up to defend themselves against the attacks of their foes.”⁶³ This was cited as additional proof that the Cliff Dwellers had achieved a high degree of civilization as “a once great nation” that pursued only the peaceful pursuits in life.⁶⁴

This description of the Cliff Dwellers as a peaceable people who defended their rights only when pressed to do so summoned the revolutionary founding of the American nation, and it likely resonated with many visitors as one befitting a people postulated to be the early Americans. However, the exhibit literature also offered to visitors a cautionary proviso of the threat posed to any civilization that focused too much on the peaceful arts. It put forth the idea that this “once great nation” was probably annihilated by “warlike tribes” that surrounded it. Although unstated explicitly, the implication in the choice of the phrase “warlike tribes” was that the ancient civilization of the Cliff Dwellers finally succumbed to the barbaric assaults of Indians.

⁶³ See The H. Jay Smith Exploring Company, *The Cliff Dwellers*, 19.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

The highlight of the Relic Room, however, was the display of mummies to the center of the room. This display was designed to appear as if the mummies were located *in situ* in their graves among the ruins. Here visitors could view the mummified remains of over 100 of the ancient Cliff Dwellers including men, women and children, alike.⁶⁵ Like the artifacts in displayed in the Relic Room, Charles D. Hazzard had purchased the mummies on behalf of the H. Jay Smith Exploring Company from the Wetherills and a man named C.M. Viets.⁶⁶

Many of the mummified bodies were in a well-preserved state, for they had been buried with great care long ago. The locations of the gravesites from which the bodies of the Cliff Dwellers had been extracted spoke of much deliberation in their selection. Each gravesite was placed in a location where the body it contained would be protected from moisture and heat for the centuries to follow.⁶⁷ Once a site was selected, hands now unseen had worked to carefully arrange each body for its state of eternal rest. The bodies of the Cliff Dwellers were typically arranged so that their heads were cradled within their hands, their arms wrapped across their chests, and their knees drawn up to the elbows, a pose suggestive of a state of deep slumber. Upon burial, each body was typically wrapped in a layer of cotton. Then it was covered in a robe of feather cloth. In order to produce the feather cloth, someone long ago had laboriously sewed feather after feather on to a piece of fiber backing. Therefore, the feather cloth represented hours of time and effort that was expended to properly prepare the bodies of the dead for their eternal slumber (**Fig. 1.12**). After the

⁶⁵ See Northrop, *The World's Fair as Seen in One Hundred Days*, 474.

⁶⁶ See Don D. Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology: Science and Romanticism in the American Southwest, 1846-1930* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 210.

⁶⁷ See "Notes from the World's Columbian Exposition," *Scientific American* 69, no. 18 (October 1893), 279.

bodies of the Cliff Dwellers were covered in feather cloth, they were then overlaid with a matting of grass, reeds or willow twigs, like a blanket.

At the Cliff Dwellers exhibit, the H. Jay Smith Exploring Company espoused one mummy as particularly worthy of visitors' interest. In the exhibit literature, the mummy was described as one of the best-preserved bodies extracted from the graves of the cliff dwellings. This was the body of a woman, and the exhibit literature informed visitors that her mummified remains had been bestowed with the name of "She" (**Fig. 1.13**).⁶⁸ Like most of the other mummies displayed, She had once been carefully positioned within her grave in a position that suggested sleep. Given the state of preservation in which her body was found, it is quite likely that when She was removed from her grave she was still covered with remnants of her cotton wrapping, a feather cloth robe, and a blanket of twigs. However, in the exhibit, all of this was removed so that visitors could gaze at her naked and mummified body.

According to an article that ran in the *Deseret Weekly* during the course of the fair, there were many different mummies displayed in exhibits throughout the fair, not just those of the Cliff Dwellers. For example, at the Anthropology Building, which was located adjacent to the Cliff Dwellers exhibit, there was what was described as a "bone orchard." It represented an entire graveyard as transported to the fairgrounds from Peru.⁶⁹ According to the article, visitors displayed a morbid curiosity in all of the mummies, and this was equaled only by their zeal to see freaks and other curiosities displayed in dime museums on the fair's

⁶⁸ See The H. Jay Smith Exploring Company, *The Cliff Dwellers*, 13.

⁶⁹ See Robert J. Jessup, "Mummy Study at the Fair," *Deseret Weekly: Pioneer Publication of the Rocky Mountain Region: The Official Organ of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints* 47 (June-Dec. 1893), 500.

Midway Plaisance. The article further described the displays of mummies and the interest that they generated as follows:

These mummies, studies apparently in brown putty and withered leaves, have a marvelous power in attracting people, especially women. And the uglier, more repulsive these post-mortem souvenirs are, the larger more continuous the crowd of women clustering around those cases, as though they could never get enough. It is as though the uncanny looking things were a beauty and a joy forever.⁷⁰

As described here, the article's author firmly believed that female visitors to the fair took an especial interest in the displayed mummies. However, other reports suggest that the mummies were compelling to male visitors, too. The bodies succumbed to death and shrunken by time certainly must have held a fascination for male and female visitors, alike. In gazing upon the "studies of brown putty and withered leaves," visitors could observe how similar, but different, the shriveled bodies of the mummies were from their own. For women visitors to the fair, however, the naked bodies of mummies such as the one named She must have possessed an even more powerful hold on them. Positioned in her eternal slumber, her body resembled their own, and it is quite likely that her naked vulnerability as exposed to the eyes of viewers worked to produce exactly the effect described by the writer of the *Deseret Weekly*. It is quite likely that for many women visitors to the fair, part of the magnetic draw of the mummies revolved around what was almost an incomprehensible idea, that other humans found it permissible to violate a body even centuries later in death.⁷¹

⁷⁰ See Jessup, "Mummy Study at the Fair," 500.

⁷¹ This interpretation is based upon the work of the literary scholar Glen A. Love who writes briefly about a depiction of cliff dweller mummies in two stories written in the early twentieth century by the well-known author of the American Southwest, Willa Cather. He writes that in Cather's stories, "the mummies scream is the embodiment of the potentiality for destructiveness or sexual aggression." See Glen A. Love, "Nature and Human Nature: Interdisciplinary Convergences on Cather's Blue Mesa," in *Willa Cather's Ecological Imagination*, ed. Susan J. Rosowski (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 21.

More than any object displayed in the Relic Room, the mummies possessed the power to summon a particularly emotional response from many visitors, for the mummies had bodies just like their own. For many visitors, then, the mummies displayed in the Cliff Dwellers exhibit presented the most clear and convincing evidence that this ancient people were their own ancestors. For instance, a Mrs. Mark Stevens, who spent six months at the Chicago World's Fair and published her impressions of it as a guide for other fair visitors, left the Cliff Dweller's exhibit commenting upon the fact that she and the people with whom she was with undertook their own personal examination of the mummies and found upon some of them very light hair. Therefore, she said, she and the members of her party concluded that the Cliff Dwellers were blonde.⁷² Similarly, other visitors leaving the exhibit also commented upon the fact that not a single coarse black hair could be found on the mummies there, but only blond and light brown ones instead.

Other visitors to the exhibit, such as a Mr. Henry Davenport Northrop, cited other aspects of the Cliff Dwellers' bodies as compelling evidence that they were white Americans' own ancestors. In an article that he wrote upon the exhibit, he noted that about half a dozen skeletons of the Cliff Dwellers were on display in addition to the mummies. He remarked upon the similarity in the skeletons' height to that of modern Americans, and he also took notice of the shape of their skulls and observed that their foreheads were high. This, he thought, offered compelling evidence that the Cliff Dwellers "must have been a people of a comparatively high state of civilization [to white Americans]".⁷³

⁷² For instance, see Stevens, *Six Months at the World's Fair*, 24.

⁷³ See Northrop, *The World's Fair as Seen in One Hundred Days*, 473-476.

Many of the individual descriptions that accompanied the objects displayed in the Relic Room were prepared by the well-known anthropologist Frank Hamilton Cushing. In the previous decade, Cushing was perhaps the very first white American to ever live for an extended period of time among the Pueblo Indians. This he did in the village of Zuñi in New Mexico beginning sometime around 1879. Three years after the conclusion of the World's Columbian Exposition, in 1896, Cushing would write in a scientific report that he had long been aware that the Pueblo Indians were the descendants of the Cliff Dwellers, in large part due to the similarity in their architectural expressions. There he would write as follows:

It was my good fortune, years ago, to first definitively relate the Zuñi Pueblo Indians, linguistically and traditionally, with these ancient denizens of the cliffs, and to ascertain positively, and announce in various publications (especially of the Bureau of Ethnology) that the architecture of these and other Pueblo Indians was almost wholly, as they were themselves in part, derived from that of older cliff dwellers.⁷⁴

That Cushing had made such assertions was indeed true, for in 1893 Nordenskiöld cited the anthropologist's work when he described the ancient Cliff Dwellers as related to the Pueblo Indians.⁷⁵ However, even as Cushing acknowledged that the Zuñi Pueblo Indians were the descendants of the Cliff Dwellers, as evidenced wholly in their architecture, he also left open the question as to whether the Pueblo Indians and the Cliff Dwellers were essentially one and the same Indian people, for he asserted that the Zuñi Indians were only Cliff Dwellers in part.

⁷⁴ See Frank Hamilton Cushing, *Pepper-Hearst Expedition: A Preliminary Report on the Exploration of Ancient Key-Dweller Remains on the Gulf of Coast of Florida* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1896), 79.

⁷⁵ See Nordenskiöld, *The Cliff Dwellers of the Mesa Verde*, 173.

Whether Cushing, like the concessioner of the Cliff Dwellers exhibit for whom he worked, ever considered that the Cliff Dwellers might represent an ancient Anglo-Saxon race, remains uncertain. However, even had Cushing disagreed with the interpretation offered to the American public in the Cliff Dwellers exhibit, to which he lent his efforts, he might have not been willing to challenge it. Cushing had recently suffered a devastating personal setback in his professional career. In 1890, he was unceremoniously relieved of his responsibilities as the director of the Hemenway Expedition to the American Southwest.

It was Cushing who had convinced the wealthy Boston Brahmin, Mary Hemenway, to fund the scientific expedition to the pueblo of Zuni in the first place. He had already lived and worked in Zuni for some time by 1886, when the Hemenway Expedition commenced. For Cushing, the expedition represented a pathway to his further professional development, for Hemenway and Cushing had discussed together that after the expedition, Hemenway would establish a Pueblo museum in Salem, Massachusetts. It would serve as a permanent locus of study for the American Southwest and Cushing would serve as its director.⁷⁶

However, on the Hemenway Expedition, Cushing had fallen quite ill. He kept poor field notes and he published very little. He also had great difficulty working with the advisory board in Boston. Therefore, only four years after the expedition began, Hemenway's son, Augustus, notified Cushing that he would no longer be needed. He was reassigning direction of the expedition to one of his former classmates at Harvard, the anthropologist Jesse Walter Fewkes.⁷⁷ By all accounts, this was highly embarrassing to Cushing. It compromised both his professional reputation and his ability to do further work in the Southwest, and in both

⁷⁶ See George W. Stocking, Jr., *Observers Observed: Essays on Ethnographic Field Work* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 61.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

of these he was highly invested. Therefore, as the historian Don Fowler writes, Cushing spent a great deal of time at the World's Columbian Exposition working to convince the concessioners of the Cliff Dwellers exhibit to sponsor him on a new scientific expedition to the Southwest.⁷⁸

The narrative that the Cliff Dwellers likely represented an ancient Anglo-Saxon race was not only conveyed to fairgoers through the exhibit and its interpretive materials, however. It was also communicated to visitors through the exhibit's silences. Nowhere in the space of the exhibit were visitors presented with any evidence that reinforced the idea that the Pueblo Indians should be considered the descendants of the Cliff Dwellers. In fact, the only display that worked to link the Cliff Dwellers with modern Indian people at all was a room tucked by a stairwell that was called the "Indian Curiosities Room."⁷⁹

This room, however, was not devoted to any interpretation of the relationship of the modern Pueblo Indians to the ancient Cliff Dwellers that many anthropologists believed to exist. Instead, the room was devoted to a display of the handicrafts of the Navajo Indians. The absence of Pueblo Indians and the presence of Navajo Indians seems significant, for it appears that some white Americans were already beginning to speculate that perhaps the Navajo Indians were the "warlike tribes" who had long ago annihilated the Cliff Dwellers. For example, six years after the fair, in 1899, the writer Stephen Denison Peet wrote a book entitled *The Cliff Dwellers and the Pueblos* in which he would articulate exactly this idea to his readers. He would write as follows:

⁷⁸ See Don Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology: Science and Romanticism in the American Southwest, 1846-1930* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 210.

⁷⁹ See Northrop, *The World's Fair as Seen in One Hundred Days*, 473.

When they [the Cliff Dwellers] were invaded by the Navajos, these ancient people left their homes in the valleys and constructed temporary homes in the cañon walls, as cliff ruins are abundant throughout the region. Ultimately the ancient Cliff-dwellers succumbed to the Navajo and were driven out.⁸⁰

At the time of the World's Columbian Exposition, as it is still today, the Navajo Indians often lived on land adjacent to the modern Pueblo Indians. As do many people, they often had a somewhat contentious relationship with their neighbors. By the turn of the century, anthropologists began to hypothesize that perhaps this conflict was longstanding. They reasoned that if the modern Pueblo Indians were the descendants of the Cliff Dwellers, then perhaps the modern Navajo Indians were the descendents of the people who annihilated them.

At the Cliff Dwellers exhibit, the H. Jay Exploring Company simply asserted to fair visitors that an unknown enemy annihilated the Cliff Dwellers.⁸¹ However, the Indian Curiosities Room subtly worked to suggest to visitors who this unknown enemy might be. The walls of the Indian Curiosities Room were festooned with elaborate displays of Navajo weaponry and shields.⁸² The mounted head of large buck, a symbol of the hunt and chase, adorned a prominent location on one wall. In combination with the abundant displays of weaponry, this worked to suggest that Navajo Indians were quite familiar and skilled with their armaments while, in the Relic Room, the exhibit materials had downplayed the Cliff Dwellers' use of weapons. Supplementing this display were exhibits of Navajo jewelry,

⁸⁰ See Stephen Denison Peet, *The Cliff Dwellers and the Pueblos* (Chicago: Office of the American Antiquarian, 1899), 150.

⁸¹ See The H. Jay Smith Exploring Company, *The Cliff Dwellers*, 3.

⁸² See Stevens, *Six Months at the World's Fair*, 24, and Northrop, *The World's Fair as Seen in One Hundred Days*, 476.

beaded work, and basketry, and these would have suggested to fair visitors that the Navajo Indians were also concerned with making other things besides war, at least nominally.

However, the Indian Curiosities Room also worked to suggest that this warfare was a thing of the past, not of the living present. The way in which objects were displayed—as mounted upon walls and encased within glass boxes—suggested that the activities for which they were used were removed from the moment in time occupied by fair visitors, similar to the way that the ancient Cliff Dwellers were presented to them. For instance, the juxtaposition of the weaponry and the head of the large buck mounted upon the wall spoke of violent action—the moment of the killing. However, the Indian arrow that ostensibly once felled the large animal was removed enough in time that a skilled taxidermist had opportunity to mount its head and the H. Jay Smith Exploring Company to acquire it for display within the space of the room. Visitors didn't necessarily register this sequence of events consciously, but the meaning was there all the same. It was a similar mental process to the one that they experienced when they looked at the feather cloth of the Cliff Dwellers. They might not have thought about all of the individual steps that were involved in making the cloth, but it is likely that they instinctively intuited that it represented a great deal of time.

Despite the emphasis on Navajo Indian warfare as a thing of the past, there was also a display within the Indian Curiosities Room that suggested to visitors that Navajo Indians still remained in the present. Two Navajo Indian women sat upon the floor as positioned in front of large looms, and they worked at these to make the blankets for which they were becoming increasingly known to the American public. Fair visitors who had already visited the Anthropology Building located next door to the Cliff Dwellers' exhibit had likely seen the life size plaster casts of Navajo women displayed there. Frank Hamilton Cushing had

also consulted on the design of that exhibit. The plaster figures, which were encased in a large glass box, were arranged so that they illustrated the activity of Navajo weaving to visitors. In the Indian Curiosities Room, however, living Navajo Indian women displayed the craft of weaving blankets in real time, not as a moment forever frozen in lifeless plaster.

The presence of the Navajo Indian women within the room worked to domesticate what was otherwise a space that largely spoke of war, violence, and death. A soft, rhythmic whisper probably issued forth from the women's looms as they passed their shuttles across the cords that hung suspended from its frame. This would have been in stark contrast to the war whoops that many visitors likely imagined accompanying the weaponry displayed within the room. This worked to suggest to visitors that the living Navajo Indians of the present should now be considered a subdued people, rather than fierce warriors of the past.

Also located in the Indian Curiosities room were glass display boxes that highlighted the landscape of Colorado in which the pueblo ruins of the Mesa Verde were located. For example, one large display case held thousands of specimens of the native wildflowers. Another display case contained samples of gold and silver ores, as well as coal and petroleum products. On a nearby wall were photographs of the mines and mining operations from which such samples were ostensibly taken.⁸³ The contents of these boxes worked to suggest a wild natural landscape rich in natural resources, but one that could also be somewhat tamed through Americans' own activity. Wild flowers could be picked and natural minerals could be mined, and both could be displayed within the controlled space of a glass display box.

⁸³ See Stevens, *Six Months at the World's Fair*, 24, and Northrop, *The World's Fair as Seen in One Hundred Days*, 476.

In fact, the entire contents of the Indian Curiosities Room were designed to communicate to visitors that the Colorado landscape, which held the mysterious cliff dwellings to which the rest of the exhibit was dedicated, was a landscape that was wild but gently domesticated. As presented to visitors, it was a landscape that held a warlike Indian culture that was now considered an interesting “curiosity” rather than a threat, natural beauty, plentiful game, and abundant mineral resources. Moreover, it was a landscape that fairgoers might very well want to avail themselves of the opportunity to actually see, if they were not enticed to actually move there.

That visitors might want to consider making such a journey to Colorado was driven home for them once they exited the cavernous interior of the Cliff Dwellers exhibit. A circuitous path wound up the exhibit to its exterior (**Fig. 1.14**). Visitors could either walk along it or they could purchase from the concessioner a ride upon a burro, the small donkeys that were the typical mode of transportation for scientific and commercial expeditions to the cliff dwellings. The hike up the mound was a veritable lesson in the flora and the fauna of the Southwest landscape. It was planted with cacti, yucca, piñon, and cedar trees, and there were forty live animals that visitors could see along the path, including big-horn sheep, black-tailed deer, goats and moose.⁸⁴

The apex of the mound was visitors’ final destination, and this was dubbed ‘Lookout Point.’ If visitors had happened to look at the back cover of the exhibit literature for which they had paid, they also would have seen on it a small drawing. It showed a member of the H. Jay Smith Exploring Company engaged in the arduous process of scaling a cliff face by the hand and foot holds once carved into it by the ancient Cliff Dwellers (**Fig. 1.15**). In

⁸⁴ See Stevens, *Six Months at the World's Fair*, 24.

visitors' own ascent to the mesa's summit, they could imagine themselves like the explorer who climbed the mesa's face, and they could understand that the strange and unfamiliar landscape of the Southwest could be subjugated to their will to master it. This they could simply do through their own leisure and recreational activities, like ascending the exterior of the exhibit. This was a point reinforced by an American flag planted firmly at the mesa's summit, as if an explorer had staked out and claimed the territory only recently.

Once visitors arrived to Lookout Point, they could also imagine themselves arrived to the top of a Colorado mesa looking out across a vast desert terrain as they gazed down upon the space of the fairgrounds. Like Susan Shelby Magoffin, who had once carefully recorded in her diary her encounter with pueblo ruins, an encounter in which she transformed a barren and desolate landscape into a once mighty civilization, fair visitors now possessed at their disposal all of the pieces to craft a similar narrative. At the top of the mesa's summit, they could imagine themselves the members of a scientific expedition to the Southwest who not so very long ago had explored Cliff Palace. Or, if they so desired, they could even imagine themselves the descendants of the Cliff Dwellers, the early Americans. Either way, the strange and unfamiliar landscape underneath their feet was now made theirs.

The Continuing Legacy of the Fair: The Cliff Dwellers and the Indian Room in American Culture

The Cliff Dwellers exhibit was an extremely popular exhibit with visitors to the World's Columbian Exposition, as is evidenced by the fact that it grossed \$87,366 dollars, a significant sum representing close to half a million in today's dollars.⁸⁵ Moreover, the exhibit

⁸⁵ See Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology*, 210.

was also influential in American culture far beyond the fairgrounds in Chicago. For instance, this is perhaps best demonstrated by the publication in 1893 of Henry Blake Fuller's novel called *The Cliff Dwellers*. In Fuller's introduction, he cited the exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition as the inspiration for the novel as well a show of Southwest art that he saw displayed at the Chicago Art Institute in 1891.⁸⁶

As the scholar Kathleen Grace Washburn explains in her dissertation on American literature entitled *Indigenous Modernity and the Making of Americans, 1890 – 1935*, Fuller's novel was an exploration of urban life in Chicago, and it was intended as a critique of the modern world of business and the social climbing that typically accompanied it.⁸⁷ In his novel, Fuller drew on the associations that many Americans now possessed of their own identity as intertwined with the cliff dwellings of the American Southwest. The novel centered on the inhabitants of an eighteen-story apartment building in Chicago, a skyscraper called the Clifton Building. Through metaphor, Fuller compared upper class Chicagoans living in their apartments to the Cliff Dwellers of the Southwest.⁸⁸ Washburn describes how this metaphor worked as she describes the introduction to Fuller's novel. She writes as follows:

Fuller draws upon such associations of ancient and modern, Indian ancestor and urban apartment dweller in the novel's introduction. *The Cliff Dwellers* begins by describing the new urban subject in terms of indigenous forms, focusing on the "warriors and chiefs" engaged in the brutal world of business, a thriving marketplace built on the remnants of Fort Dearborn as military outpost in Indian country. Aside from this historical note on Chicago as contested territory, the remainder of the introduction draws upon the images of the Southwest cliff dwellers as precedent and parallel to this urban milieu. The architectural angles of the city take the place of

⁸⁶ See Kathleen Grace Washburn, *Indigenous Modernity and the Making of Americans, 1890 – 1935* (Ph.D. diss.: University of California, Los Angeles, 2008), 66.

⁸⁷ Ibid, 65.

⁸⁸ See James E. Snead, *Ruins and Rivals: The Making of Southwest Archaeology* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press: Published in cooperation with the William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University, 2001), 23.

stone archways, even as elevators recall wooden ladders connecting a complex of rooms and stations of community life.⁸⁹

As Washburn argues, the metaphor of the urban apartment as analogous to that of the ancient cliff dwelling allowed Fuller to make sense of a newly urbanized city landscape for his readers. It also allowed him to explore and explain its complex social structure in terms of a building type with which many Americans now considered themselves familiar, the ancient cliff dwelling. The well-known author and literary critic William Dean Howells would subsequently praise the “novel for its vibrant realism and faithful representation of the modern character of the great American city.”⁹⁰

Of course, the success of this as a metaphor was possible only because of the American public’s new familiarity with the cliff dwellings of the Southwest, and it was also somewhat dependent on Americans possessing the idea that perhaps the ancient Cliff Dwellers represented their own ancient ancestors. They didn’t need to necessarily subscribe fully to the idea, but in order for the metaphor to work, they did need to possess an awareness of it. For instance, when Susan Shelby Magoffin once let her imagination wander in entertaining the idea that the pueblos might represent the ruins of a mighty Aztec empire, she knew full well that some historians asserted that such an idea was just a myth. However, this didn’t prevent at all her mind from playing with the idea, nonetheless.

Too, Fuller’s novel would represent only one of the ways in which the Cliff Dweller’s exhibit would continue to reverberate in American culture following the conclusion of the Chicago fair. For instance, in 1907, the novelist Hamlin Garland would found an exclusive men’s literary club in Chicago. Two years later, in 1909, he would bestow

⁸⁹ See Washburn, *Indigenous Modernity and the Making of Americans, 1890 – 1935*, 67.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 65.

it with the name the Cliff Dwellers Club. He would do so to commemorate his friend Fuller's novel as the "first fictional study of Chicago life" and for the way its title made "literary use, for the first time of the phrase."⁹¹ Indirectly, then, the name for the club also reflected the exhibit featured at the World's Columbian Exposition that had inspired Fuller's novel.

As the art historian Judith Barter describes in her book *Window on the West: Chicago and the Art of the New Frontier, 1890 – 1940*, the club was conceived as a "communal and inspirational environment in which Chicago's architects, artists, musicians, and writers could encounter the businessmen and philanthropists who patronized the city's cultural scene."⁹² The architects Daniel H. Burnham, Howard Van Doren Shaw and Irving S. Pond would be among the founding members of the club. The architect Louis Sullivan would have a lifetime membership in the Cliff Dwellers Club, and he would do most of his writing there.⁹³ Other members would include Charles F. Hutchinson, a banker and president of the Chicago Art Institute; Edward Everett Ayer, a railroad supplier and a prominent collector of Native American artifacts; Martin A. Ryerson, a trustee of the Chicago Art Institute; Herbert S. Stone, the *Chap-Book* publisher; Arthur Jerome Eddy, the lawyer and collector; and Carter H. Harrison, Jr., a politician. Several instructors at the Chicago Art Institute would also be founding members such as Charles F. Francis Browne, Ralph Clarkson, John Warner Norton, and Lorado Taft.⁹⁴ As Judith Barter also relates, the club was intended to serve another function than just providing a place where the city's monied and political elite could

⁹¹ Ibid, 67.

⁹² Judith A. Barter, *Window on the West: Chicago and the Art of the New Frontier, 1890 – 1940* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2003), 150.

⁹³ See Louis H. Sullivan, *Kindergarten Chats and Other Writings* (New York: Dover Publications, 1979), 7.

⁹⁴ See Barter, *Window on the West*, 48.

minge with artists and writers. It was also intended promote Chicago as a cultural hub, or as Barter writes, to “establish Chicago as a hospitable city for local and visiting artists and writers.”⁹⁵

The club would be housed in the penthouse above Orchestra Hall on Michigan Avenue, and the Club facilities would be called “the khiva,” after the round ceremonial room of which many Americans first learned as displayed in the Cliff Dwellers exhibit. The architect Howard Van Doren Shaw would design the interior of the club.⁹⁶ It would be predominantly Arts and Crafts Style, but it would also take its cue from the Indians of the Southwest, both the ancient Pueblo Indians and the Navajos. For instance, the pattern for the club china would incorporate elements of Navajo design and, in 1910, the artist John Warner Norton would paint a mural for the staircase leading to the club rooms that depicted a Navajo family.⁹⁷

That same year, the silversmith and club member Robert Riddle Jarvie would design a silver punch bowl for the Cliff Dwellers Club as commissioned by club member, Charles Hutchinson. This vessel would be based on the pottery designs of the ancient Cliff Dwellers, photographs of which Jarvis could have found in books or at the Chicago Field Museum. As Judith Barter describes, Hamlin Garland would compose a poem especially for the occasion of the formal presentation to the club of Jarvie’s punch bowl. The poem worked to link the members of the Cliff Dwellers Club with ancient Indians and to give the punch bowl an instant pedigree as an sacred object surrounded by legend. The poem was as follows:

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 150.

⁹⁷ See Washburn, *Indigenous Modernity and the Making of Americans, 1890 – 1935*, 65, and Barter, *Window on the West*, 48.

And so it was—thus runs the ancient story—
 The dark Comanche, and the vengeful Ute
 Crept to these waters, gashed and gory,
 And humbly drank and waited, awed and mute,
 Till they were healed; then, strange to see,
 These blood-stained chieftains of desert sands,
 Reclining in peace, gaunt knee to knee,
 Extolled the sacred well with open grateful hands.

Warriors are we, but in another fashion;
 Rivals for wealth and happiness and fame.
 Down in the city's deeps we meet in savage fashion,
 And play as best we may the selfish, sordid game.
 But here, at peace, before these glowing embers,
 Meeting this ample bowl's hospitable design,
 Man greets his fellow-man, and only then remembers,
 Art's magic bond of light, and beauty's bloodless Shrine.⁹⁸

In the first stanza of the poem, Garland described Indian chiefs bloodied by war as the beneficiaries of a sacred well that possessed magical healing waters. This was a fairly standard trope of the late nineteenth century. What was far more interesting was Garland's second stanza, in which he drew a parallel between the members of the Cliff Dwellers Club and the blood-stained chieftains of the first stanza. Like Henry Blake Fuller, who in his novel had described the businessmen of Chicago as warriors and chiefs analogous to ancient Cliff Dwellers, Garland also envisioned the members of the club as warriors engaged in the brutal world of business. As described by him, they all competed with one another in savage fashion in the city's deeps, as if they were warring tribes and the streets of Chicago were some kind of canyon.

However, as also framed by Garland, the space of the men's penthouse club, lifted high above the city's streets in one of its vertical cliffs, a skyscraper, represented a refuge

⁹⁸ See Barter, *Window on the West*, 49-50.

from this bloody warfare. Here, in the communal space of their so-called “khiva,” the members of the club could put momentarily put aside their savage rivalries. They could gather together around the glowing embers of a sacred fire to experience its warmth and the hospitality of one another’s companionship. In the space of the kiva, they could come together in fraternal brotherhood. According to Garland, what united them together in this peaceful fraternity was a magical and spiritual bond, art, and they would worship it together. The silver vessel that Jarvie made would solidify these bonds as they each drank from it in communion. Implied, too, was that the vessel would hold a liquid with powerful healing properties similar to the one that restored the wounded warriors of the first stanza. As this one brief episode in the history of the Cliff Dwellers Club illustrates, by 1910, the white American men who comprised its membership quite definitely had come to see the ancient past of the Cliff Dwellers as their very own heritage and one that embodied sacred and mystical traditions.

However, it was not only the white American men who comprised the membership of the Cliff Dwellers Club in Chicago who would claim the Indian past as their own. A national craze for rooms furnished with Indian-made items would develop across the entire nation, and this fad would draw on multiple Indian cultures, not just that of the ancient Cliff Dwellers. According to the scholar Jonathan Batkin, whose work focuses on the development of the American Indian curio trade at the turn of the century, this fad in home decoration began in the 1890s, and it peaked in popularity around 1905.⁹⁹ In American homes, entire rooms would often be devoted to such a decorating schemes and they were called “Indian Rooms.”

⁹⁹ See Batkin, “Pueblo Pottery and the Early Curio Trade,” 282.

As is investigated by the art historian Elizabeth Hutchinson in her book entitled *The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism, and Transculturation in American Art, 1890 – 1915*, as early as 1889, a small minority of Americans began to furnish rooms in this manner, both men and women.¹⁰⁰ However, at first, such decorating schemes were often reserved for the “Odd Room” in the house.¹⁰¹ However, by 1898, an Indian-themed room was quickly becoming fashionable for what was ostensibly the most masculine room in the American house, the den. Quite soon, within several years, Indian-themed rooms would be widely found in other spaces strongly associated with masculinity, such as rustic hunting lodges, elite vacation getaways, and the rooms of urban men’s clubs.

A particularly good example of a turn-of-the-century Indian-themed den is the “downstairs Indian Room” of one of men who would become a founding member of the Cliff Dwellers Club, Edward Everett Ayer. In 1897, Ayer’s nephew, the artist Elbridge Ayer Burbank, would paint his uncle at his home in Chicago (**Fig. 1.16**).¹⁰² It is unknown when exactly Ayer first began to furnish his Indian Room, but it is quite possible that his was among the very earliest in the nation. He was already collecting Indian antiquities by the early 1890s as is evidenced by the fact that his collection of rare Indian antiquities would be displayed at the World’s Columbian Exposition in 1893. The following year, some of his

¹⁰⁰ The art historian Elizabeth Hutchinson is perhaps the first scholar to explore the increasing appetite by Americans to possess Indian objects with which to furnish their homes in some detail. Scholarship on Indian-themed interior design in American culture is still relatively nascent, as is indicated by the recent date of Hutchinson’s book (2009). See Elizabeth West Hutchinson *The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism, and Transculturation in American Art, 1890 – 1915* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009). See also Teresa Wilkins, *Patterns of Exchange: Navajo Weavers and Traders* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 73-79.

¹⁰¹ See, for example, Laura B. Starr, “An Indian Room,” *The Decorator and Furnisher* 38 (May 1889), 38.

¹⁰² See Carolyn Kastner, “Collecting Mr. Ayer’s Narrative,” chapt. in *Acts of Possession*, ed. Leah Dilworth, *Acts of Possession: Collecting in America* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 139.

collections would form the basis for the establishment of the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago.

Ayer was a lumber supplier by profession, and he made a sizeable fortune in the expansion of the railroad across the West. It was he who supplied the railroad ties for the Santa Fe Railway as the company constructed the second transcontinental line across the Southwest in 1881.¹⁰³ Like some other very affluent people at the turn of the century—such as the Boston Brahmin Mary Hemenway, Phoebe Apperson Hearst, and her son, William Randolph Hearst—Ayer was also a prominent collector of American Indian antiquities. His nephew, Elbridge Ayer Burbank, also possessed a strong interest in the space of the American frontier and the Indians who inhabited it. Three years subsequent to completing his painting of his uncle, Burbank would gain widespread notoriety as a painter of “Indians of the West.” Among the people who would promote his paintings of Indians would be Charles Lummis, the well-known editor of *Land of Sunshine*—the nationally distributed magazine promoting travel to the Southwest.¹⁰⁴ Perhaps quite unbeknownst to Burbank, as he picked up his paintbrush to render a likeness of his uncle seated in his Indian Room, was that two thousand miles away in California, Charles Lummis was just about to embark upon his own creation. He was busy considering how he might construct for himself not just an Indian Room, but a house that would draw on the ruins of the ancient Cliff Dwellers.

It is quite likely that Ayer’s “downstairs Indian Room,” as painted by Burbank, also served as a prototype to which others aspired in the furnishing of their own Indian Rooms,

¹⁰³ See J. William Rudd, *Edward E. Ayer House: Photographs, Written Historical and Descriptive Data*, HABS No. ILL-1035 (Washington, D.C.: Historic American Buildings Survey, 1964), 3.

¹⁰⁴ See Charles Lummis, “Painting the First American: Burbank’s Indian Portraits,” *Land of Sunshine* 12, no. 6 (May 1900), 340, and George Wharton James, “A Noted Painter of Indian Types,” *The Craftsman* 7 (October 1904 – March 1905), 280.

for Ayer possessed significant social influence. Immediately following the World's Columbian Exposition, he was named president of the board of trustees of the Columbian Museum in Chicago, which would eventually the Field Museum of Natural History.¹⁰⁵ As Judith Barter describes in her book *Window on the West*, it was Ayer who would initially whet an appetite for the West in two founding members of the future Cliff Dwellers Club. In 1899, Ayer would take Charles H. Hutchinson, Art Institute president and Martin A. Ryerson, Art Institute trustee, on a two-month trip throughout the West and Mexico aboard the Santa Fe Railway.¹⁰⁶

In Ayers' Indian Room, as painted by Burbank, the circular space of his den recalls that of a kiva. In all likelihood, the room was not specifically designed to evoke a kiva, for in 1885, Ayer had the architects Daniel H. Burnham and John Root build him a Romanesque-inspired residence at the corner of State and Banks Street (**Fig. 1.17**). Typical of a house in that style, it had a large tower at the corner facing the intersection of these two streets. It was in the basement level of this tower where Ayer's Indian Room was located. However, if the shape of the room was not directly inspired by an Indian kiva, it was certainly influenced by the American Southwest in its interior design.

Ayer had first begun his career in 1861, when he traveled from the Midwest to enlist in the army in northern California. He was subsequently engaged in military campaigns in the American Southwest where he was promoted to second lieutenant of the First New Mexico Volunteer Infantry. In 1864, Ayer resigned his commission and returned to Harvard, Illinois to become a partner in his father's store. Ayer soon expanded his business activities into

¹⁰⁵ See David L. Browman and Stephen Williams, *Anthropology at Harvard, 1790 – 1940* (Cambridge: Peabody Museum Press, 2013), 237.

¹⁰⁶ See Barter, *Window on the West*, 48.

contracting, particularly supplying ties and other timbers to the railroads.¹⁰⁷ In the design of his Indian Room, Ayer worked to commemorate his time in the American Southwest. He had all of the woodwork for the Indian room executed in redwood lumber brought from California. The mantelpiece was built of slabs of red petrified wood that Ayer purchased in Arizona in a location not far from the rail lines for which he supplied timbers to the Santa Fe Railway.¹⁰⁸ Ayer considered his Indian Room to be his special library, and it was reputedly one of his favorite rooms in the house. In the winter, he would spend his evenings in the small room pouring over catalogues from foreign booksellers. As a fire roared in the fireplace, it illuminated the red sandstone mantle that served as a reminder of both his exploits in his Southwest military campaign in the 1860s and his later business in building the railroad across the desert.¹⁰⁹

Built-in cabinets helped to emphasize the circular shape of the room, and these contained Ayer's extensive collection of books on the North American Indians.¹¹⁰ By 1912, this collection would number over thirty-three thousand titles and Ayer would bestow his collection upon the Newberry Library in Chicago.¹¹¹ Upon the top of these bookshelves was an assortment of pottery and baskets produced by different Indian tribes, and basketry was also mounted upon the walls of the room in an evenly spaced pattern. Paintings of Indians also adorned the walls. To the center of the portrait, Ayer's sat in an oak rocking chair upholstered with a Navajo blanket, and his feet sat squarely planted upon a textile of Indian

¹⁰⁷ See Rudd, *Edward E. Ayer House*, 5.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹¹¹ See Albert Clayton Beckwith, "Edward Everett Ayer," in *History of Walworth County, Wisconsin: Volume Two* (Indianapolis: B.F. Bowen and Company, 1912), 1487.

design, which was probably also Navajo. However, the room was somewhat eclectic in its furnishings for, supposedly, other textiles placed on the floor were in Ayer's Indian Room were "rugs from the tents of Arab sheiks."¹¹²

In the portrait that Elbridge Ayer Burbank painted of his uncle, two assemblages of objects were given almost equal weight to the figure of Ayer, himself. One was a large Indian pottery vessel located to the right of him containing within it a cache of arrows. To the upper left hand side of the image, an Indian garment fashioned out of a hide-skin hung upon the wall. Both were likely intended to summon for the viewer the activity of the hunt and chase as conducted in the out-of-doors, and their placement to either side of Ayer in the image worked to associate him directly with these objects.

The informality with which basketry and pottery was assembled upon the top of Ayer's bookshelves and placed upon the floor of his Indian room suggests a deliberate casualness by him in their display. In fact, in all likelihood, Ayer probably considered them among the choicest antiquities that he owned as selected for inclusion in the space of his Indian Room for, at a later point in time, they would all be donated to the Chicago Field Museum.¹¹³ Too, it is quite likely that in any museum collection they would have been consigned to the safety of a glass display box and that Ayer expended considerable effort and expense in their acquisition. However, their casual display in Ayer's Indian Room worked to suggest that they were not items associated with wealth and luxury. Instead, as displayed by him, they were simply tokens of the simple life. However, any fellow collector of Indian antiquities also would have recognized them immediately as possessing great

¹¹² See Rudd, *Edward E. Ayer House*, 3.

¹¹³ Ibid.

monetary value, and Ayer's careful disavowal of luxury only worked to heighten his power in his possession of such items.

Within the Indian Room, the heavily padded rocking chair upon which Ayer sat was the only visible concession towards ease and luxury. However, the very stance of Ayer's own body within the portrait also worked to communicate to the viewer that he was not one long accustomed to indulging in either luxury or ease. His gaze from the center of the portrait appeared commanding, and the placement of his feet firmly upon the ground indicated to the viewer that, at any moment, he might get up and leave the room. As depicted in his portrait as seated within his Indian Room, Ayer's life was one of strenuous action.¹¹⁴

In 1996, the scholar Elizabeth Cromley wrote an article entitled "Masculine/Indian" that was featured in the *Winterthur Portfolio*. In it, she was perhaps the first historian to postulate that playing Indian in American domestic interiors appeared intimately linked to American gender identity. She examined how Indian-themed decorating schemes became particularly popular for men's dens and for the bedrooms of young boys at the turn of the century. Cromley explained that the gendered associations of such decorating schemes were not entirely stable, and that "they subtly changed with occasion and time."¹¹⁵ Nonetheless, as the title of her article suggests and as she argues, the dominant meaning that these interior spaces conveyed to viewers of them was that their occupant's identity was a masculine one.

Cromley drew heavily upon the work of historians in other fields, such as gender studies, in order to argue convincingly that the manifestation of Indian-themed domestic interiors in American houses at the turn of the century reflected a shift in notions of

¹¹⁴ See Cromley, "Masculine/Indian," *Winterthur Portfolio* 31, no. 4 (1996), 265-280.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 270.

American masculinity. For instance, among the historians upon whose work Cromley drew was E. Anthony Rotondo, a scholar who studies American masculinity as a social construction. In his 1993 book entitled *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era*, Rotondo traces how ideas about American masculinity, or manhood, underwent significant changes throughout the late eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In his work, Rotondo also suggests that at the turn of the twentieth century, there was a growing emphasis placed on integrating symbols of aggression and conquest into daily life in male American culture. At this time, symbols such as Indians, war, and the hunt and the chase all became increasingly important to the construction of American masculinity.¹¹⁶

For evidence of this shift in American culture as evidenced in the Indian Room, one must go no further than a book entitled *Successful Houses* published in New York in 1898. It was written with the intent that it would reach a national American audience. An interior decorating guide, it was likely aimed primarily at a female audience with a modicum of means at their disposable and aspirations of an upper-class lifestyle. At the turn of the century, the private sphere—as represented by the domestic interior—was still, by and large, considered the natural realm of women. This sphere was also one that they possessed primary responsibility for furnishing and maintaining. This they did in their role as consumers, as well as through their own housework or the supervision of others performing these duties.

Although most white Americans considered the actual task of furnishing the domestic sphere to be the special domain of women, an elite group of American men, often

¹¹⁶ See E. Anthony Rotondo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993) 36-53, 228.

trained as art critics, comprised the dominant and authoritative voice on all matters of taste in home decoration at the turn of the century.¹¹⁷ In *Successful Houses*, the book's author, Oliver Coleman, set out to instruct his readers on the most current and fashionable decorating schemes for various rooms within their houses. His advice ranged across the entire gamut of rooms typically encompassed within the middle to upper-class American house, from those that the majority of his readership in all likelihood considered distinctly feminine, such as the parlor, to rooms that they considered more masculine, such as a boy's bedroom.

Coleman's advice to his readers likely carried a special authority, however, in regard to what was considered to be the most masculine of spaces within the American house—the smoking room, or what was often also known as the den. For several decades, at least, the den had held a particularly important place within the American house as a place of male retreat. The den was also a space in which American men could assert that they were the patriarchs of their families and the providers for their households. This was despite the fact that the decorating tastes of their wives might appear to reign supreme throughout the rest of the house. The activities typically performed by American men in the space of the den worked to reinforce to others their role as the economic providers for the household. This they did by means of contrast with the work-a-day world of the American workplace. For instance, the den was a space of leisure to which American men typically retreated after participating in a daily evening meal prepared for and served to them by others—either by their servants or by their wives, as their means allowed—in the space of the dining room.

¹¹⁷ See Mary Warner Blanchard, *Oscar Wilde's America: Counterculture in the Gilded Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 81.

Here, they were typically seated at the head of the table, and the prominent space that they occupied during the meal emphasized their role as breadwinner in the household as well as the way it was served to them by others. However, an even more powerful assertion of their importance within the household was their immediate withdrawal to the space of the smoking room at the conclusion of the evening meal.

In the space of the den, American men further highlighted their power and identities as the economic providers for their households by engaging in “manly” activities, such as the reading of a newspaper and the smoking of a pipe. In particular, the reading of a newspaper in the space of the den worked to link American men’s activities in the public sphere with their repose in the domestic one in the imaginations of the house’s occupants and, therefore, to reinforce their role as the head of the household. Moreover, smoking was often not permitted elsewhere within the American home, and so the activity worked to mark the space of the den as both one removed from the rest of the domestic interior and one reserved for use by the member accorded the most importance for his economically productive capabilities.

The den as the seat of masculine power within the American house was not only conveyed to others through the activity conducted within it, however. Equally important to the messaging that the space was intended to convey was the furnishing of the room. For instance, for much of the 1870s and 1880s, many Americans often chose to denote the den as the seat of masculine power through interior decorating schemes that summoned the Orient. This reflected a taste for the exotic often evidenced elsewhere in their homes in rugs, paintings, lamps, knick-knacks and tapestries. However, as is indicated by popular stylebooks, such as Oliver Coleman’s *Successful Houses*, home decorators were often cautioned

to take special care in choosing furnishings for the den that would properly convey the special status within the household of their occupants.

For instance, in *Successful Houses* Coleman counseled his readers that a den appropriately furnished in the manner of the Orient might feature items such as “Baghdad curtains, hanging divans and the ornate armor of the Oriental warrior” as hung upon the wall or standing in a corner. For Coleman, as for his readers, using furnishings for a den that might be used elsewhere in the house did not pose a problem at all to denoting masculinity. What mattered most was not each individual furnishing. Rather, it was achieving the right combination of accouterments to convey properly the gendered identities of a room’s occupant and to achieve an overall effect. Nowhere is this more apparent, perhaps, than in Oliver Coleman’s description to his readers of the Oriental-themed den, or smoking room. He framed the smoking room in the American home as a environment conducive to leisure and male fantasy, as he wrote:

Where attempts are made to decorate the smoking room [or den] there is, by common consent, a turning toward the Orient. The Turks are famous for smokers, it is true, and their tobacco ranks with many above the product of our Cuban neighbors. Still more influential, perhaps, is that numerous artists have painted pictures of a swarthy Mohammedan, seated upon luxurious cushions, while trembling slaves stand ever by to fill his narghile and to obey his slightest nod. Such pictures, it would seem, appeal to the imagination of our western world. If in some sort they are carried out in the den of a third story flat, the work-worn clerk can for the time create for himself an atmosphere of luxury. Through the illusive influence of the smoke and nicotine, in fancy he may be himself the master of a thousand slaves.¹¹⁸

As is suggested in this passage, the den in the American house— or even the bachelor apartment of the work-worn clerk—was intended to offer escape from daily

¹¹⁸ See Oliver Coleman, *Successful Houses* (New York: Herbert S. Stone and Co, 1898), 78.

routine. At the same time, it worked to affirm the masculine identity of its occupant. However, while American men were the intended occupants of masculine dens, it is highly likely—probable, in fact—that women within the American household often played a significant role in furnishing them. This is due to the primary role that American women typically played as consumers within their households at the turn of the century. Therefore, given this role, many American women actively participated in the construction of the gendered meanings of these “masculine” spaces.

To achieve this state of imaginative transport achieve was thought to involve the acquisition and display of at least a few items in the style of the Orient. If properly furnished, the occupant could imagine himself not worn by his efforts to produce work in an industrial world marked by feelings of anxiety and anonymity but, rather, a victorious conqueror. Imagining himself “a swarthy Mohammedan, seated upon luxurious cushions,” the occupant of an Oriental-themed den could enter the fantasy of a life of indolent leisure in which he was “the master of a thousand slaves.” The fantasy to which the space of the Oriental-themed den offered the American man access was one in which he imagined the centrality of his economic power within the household properly acknowledged, even if he was just a clerk. As reclined upon a divan, his “slightest nod” would indicate to those under his command the desire that they “fill his narghile” and otherwise attend to his every need almost instantaneously.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ The conquest and the sexual innuendo involved in the fantasy surrounding the Oriental-themed American den of the 1870s and 1880s strongly suggest that Orientalism—as defined by Edward Said—was pervasive in American visual culture in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and not confined only to the late nineteenth-century British and French colonial powers upon which Said focused his work, as some scholars insist. For instance, the scholar Jerold S. Auerbach has argued that Said’s ideas on Orientalism are inapplicable to a historical understanding of the United States, and particularly the nineteenth-century Southwest upon which he focuses his own work. He argues that to use Said’s ideas in this way represents an

However, while Oliver Coleman instructed his readers on how to decorate their dens in the style of the Orient in *Successful Houses*, as had been the fashion for two decades, he also noted to his readers that a new fad in interior furnishing was only just beginning to emerge. This fashion, too, was one that his readers might want to seriously consider—the smoking room as furnished in an American Indian theme. Although Coleman would not yet counsel his readers to entirely abandon furnishings associated with the Orient, he also heartily lent his endorsement to the new style as he wrote the following:

It would be more appropriate, it seems to me, for an American house, to fit up the smoking room in our own aboriginal style; not only because the geographical and ethnological proprieties are not so severely strained by such a course, but because the Indians of America were the inventors of smoking, and deserve to hold the place in the disciple's heart no longer occupied by the usurping Turk.¹²⁰

In this passage, Coleman framed the reclining Mohammedan of the Oriental-themed smoking room as usurping the rightful place of Native Americans. He articulated the idea to his readers that it was highly preferable to look for the sources of new styles on American soil than to go too far abroad. In so doing, he said, the activity of smoking could be restored to its proper place in American life.

Coleman also provided readers with some indication as to how they could achieve this newly emerging style. He advised them that they should furnish the Indian-themed

imaginary construct devised by postmodern critics, an “anachronism embedded in ahistorical analysis.” As further evidence of his position, Auerbach states that Said, himself, did not see any evidence of any deeply invested tradition of Orientalism in the U.S. until after World War II. See Jerold S. Auerbach, *Explorers in Eden: Pueblo Indians and the Promised Land* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), 153. However, many other scholars find Said’s ideas very useful to understanding nineteenth-century American culture. See, for example, see Holly Edwards, Brian T. Allen, Steven C. Caton, Zeynep Celik, and Oleg Grabar, *Noble Dreams, Wicked Pleasures: Orientalism in America, 1870 – 1930* (Princeton: Princeton University Press in association with the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2000); Mari Yoshihara, *Embracing the East: White Women and American Orientalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); Jane Iwamura, *Virtual Orientalism: Asian Religions and American Popular Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); and David Brody, *Visualizing American Empire: Orientalism and Imperialism in the Philippines* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010).

¹²⁰ See Coleman, *Successful Houses*, 78.

smoking room with the “implements of war and chase,” such as Indian bows, arrows, and tomahawks. He described to his readers that the couch could be covered with Navajo rugs, as well as the floors. He instructed them that Navajo textiles were not only suitable for furnishing the smoking room, but they could also be used to furnish a young boy’s bedroom. He described that the “bead, basket, and feather work of the more southern tribes” and the “very decorative pottery of the Mexican Indian”—such as a couple of well-selected Mexican bowls, cups and vases— also would be nice decorative flourishes for the Indian Room. While Coleman advocated an Indian-theme for a smoking room, or den, as particularly appropriate due to Indians’ relation to tobacco, he also knew that many Americans associated Indians with the vigorous and “manly” sport of hunting. Therefore, he also recommended that his readers mount animal head trophies upon the wall as interspersed with Indian-made items. This would work to further demarcate the smoking room as a space of war and chase.¹²¹

In describing the Oriental-themed smoking room to his readers, Coleman had advocated that the walls and ceiling should be painted shades of strong, rich color such as red, green, or yellow in dark shades that would work to hide the effects of smoke, particularly if stippled to give them a rough surface. However, for the “Indian Room” he thought that readers that only one color would suffice—red. Although he didn’t spell out for his readers why red was an especially appropriate color for the room, the color likely carried several associations for Coleman and readers, alike. The first association was with Indians as members of the “Red Race” as they were frequently described in writings of the time. The second association was with red as the color of war and chase, or blood.

¹²¹ Ibid, 76-79.

Coleman also emphasized the importance of art for the Indian-themed smoking room. He suggested to readers that they hang the walls with some framed original paintings of Indians by Frederick Remington, if it was at all within their means to do so. If not, works of similar Indian subjects could also suffice. For the space of the mantle and at the top of bookshelves, Coleman recommended that plaster reproductions of sculptor Edward Kemeys' work would serve well. Five years prior to the publication of Coleman's interior decorating guide, Kemeys had come to the attention of the American public as one of the preeminent sculptors of "native American animals," after his work was showcased alongside that of Alexander Phimister Proctor at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition.¹²²

Both men had been recommended to fair organizers by Theodore Roosevelt, who was eager to promote his own passion for big game hunting there. The two artist's sculptures of bison, panthers, grizzly bears, elk, and moose were featured on bridges that led to the exposition's Wooded Island, a man-made island set within a lagoon where the Japanese Ho-o-den was located.¹²³ Subsequently, in 1894, Kemeys would also gain further recognition for his sculptures of wild animals when he designed the guardian lions flanking the entrance to the Chicago Art Institute as based upon those that roamed the African savannah, the ultimate trophy for any sportsman. In 1903, the Chicago Art Institute

¹²² For the fact that these sculptures were conceived as representing "native American animals" at the turn of the century, see Lorado Taft's, *A History of American Sculpture* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1903), 477. For the animal sculptures as executed by Proctor and Kemeys, see "Chicago and the West," *Forest and Stream: A Weekly Journal of the Rod and Gun: Angling, Shooting, the Kennel, Practical Natural History, Fishculture, Yachting and Canoeing and the Inculcation in Men and Women of a Healthy Interest in Outdoor Recreation and Study* (July 1895), 8; Douglas Brinkley, *The Wilderness Warrior: Theodore Roosevelt and the Crusade for America* (New York: Harper, 2009), 257; and James B. Trefethen, *An American Crusade for Wildlife* (New York: Winchester Press, 1975), 22.

¹²³ For Roosevelt's efforts to promote big-game hunting at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, as well as his promotion of Alexander Phimister Proctor and Edward Kemeys, see Thomas S. Hines, *Burnham of Chicago: Architect and Planner* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 108-109 and Brinkley, *The Wilderness Warrior*, 257.

instructor and future founding member of the Cliff Dwellers Club, Lorado Taft, would also highlight Kemeys' work to the American public in his book entitled *A History of American Sculpture*.

Although Coleman was in favor of a turn away from the Oriental-themed smoking room and towards an Indian one, the furnishings of the two rooms were, in many respects, quite similar to one another. Like the ornate armor of the Oriental warrior displayed in the Oriental-themed smoking room, the display of Indian weapons and animal trophies within the smoking room, or den, was intended to evoke associations with war and violence.¹²⁴ Likewise, in either the display of the armor of the Oriental warrior or the various accouterments of an Indian Room, such furnishings were intended to denote power. Those who hung either instruments of war or trophies of the hunt and chase upon their walls worked to claim themselves the victors of the conflicts that surrounded these objects symbolically.

For example, the Navajo textiles that Coleman advocated for use as draped over couches or as rugs upon the floor in the masculine space of the smoking room or in a boy's bedroom were a highly resonant symbol of conquest. Many white Americans considered the Navajos to be an especially fierce and war-like people. For example, this had been illustrated to white Americans in the large display of Navajo weaponry featured in the Indian Curiosities Room at the Cliff Dwellers exhibit in Chicago. The idea that the Navajos were an

¹²⁴ For instance, in a book chapter entitled "Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908-36," the scholar Donna Haraway examines the rise in the display of animal trophies in New York City at the turn of the century as an assertion of white American masculinity and dominance over wilderness, and particularly over the space of the Western frontier. See Donna Haraway, "Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908-36," chapt. in *Primitive Visions: Gender, Race and Nature in the World of Modern Science* (New York: Routledge, 1984), 26-58.

especially war-like tribe was in strong contrast to another tribe in the American Southwest, the modern Pueblo Indians. Like the ancient Cliff Dwellers who preceded them on the landscape, they were considered quite peaceful. At the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, many visitors had also had the opportunity to watch Navajo Indian women demonstrating the activity of weaving blankets as seated before their looms. However, when white Americans acquired a Navajo blanket, they demonstrated their economic power to acquire and possess these objects, much like Edward Ayer in his downstairs Indian Room. Moreover, on a subconscious level, it is quite possible that as they leaned against a Navajo blanket laid upon a couch or walked upon one placed upon a floor in a den or boy's bedroom, they experienced feelings of dominance as they physically pressed their bodies against a proxy of a Navajo Indian.

Despite some of the similarities between the Oriental-themed smoking room of the 1870s and 1880s and the Indian-themed ones that would begin to replace them at the turn of the century, there were also important differences between the ideas that underlay the two decorating schemes. The Oriental-themed smoking room featured soft surfaces—such as drapes, pillows, and divans—and the occupant of such a room often enjoyed his indolent leisure in a reclining position. The imagined Mohammedan sheikh who occupied the Oriental-themed room occupied a space that was most definitely an interior one, like a luxurious tent. However, these soft surfaces were almost entirely expunged from the Indian Room.

Instead, the Indian Room was typically all hard edges, and it featured chairs that forced the occupant to sit upright rather than to recline. The furnishings of the Indian Room also invited their occupants to fantasize about a new space, the out-of-doors as located away

from the city. Wall surfaces often featured wood wainscoting of fumed oak, which was simply varnished rather than painted. In combination with the animal trophies that decorated the walls, the rich sheen of the wood summoned a dark primeval forest, or a wilderness. The occupant of the Indian Room was active, rather than leisurely, and rather than being surrounded by a thousand slaves, most likely women, the companions that occupied his out-of-door fantasy were more likely to be men who fought alongside him in battle or the members of a hunting party.

One example of a turn-of-the-century house with an Indian Room that was clearly intended to summon the out-of-door life as located away from the city was that ensconced within the 43,560 square foot West Virginia mansion of Joseph B. Vandergrift (**Fig. 1.18**). This room, as well as some of the other main rooms in the house, was described to readers in an article on the house featured in the March 1904 issue of *Country Life*.¹²⁵ The article described how Vandergrift was a regular resident of Pittsburg and that he had spent nearly two years looking for the perfect site on which to build a country retreat for himself and his wife.

Unlike Edward E. Ayer, there is relatively little information readily available about Vandergrift to provide additional insight into the construction of his Indian Room. What is known about him is briefly outlined here. In 1899, Vandergrift and each of his four siblings had each inherited a portion of a large trust after the death of their father, J.J. Vandergrift, also a resident of Pittsburgh.¹²⁶ Soon after his father's death, the junior Vandergrift decided

¹²⁵ See "Vancroft"—A Great Country Estate on the Banks of the Ohio Among the Hills and Valleys of West Virginia—A True Country Home with All of the Conveniences of a City Dwelling Place," in *Country Life in America* 5, no. 1 (March 1904), 419-420.

¹²⁶ See "Vandergrift's Estate," *The Pittsburgh Legal Journal* 64 (December 1916), 802.

to build a country house. He finally settled on a site located on the banks of the Ohio River, just fifty miles outside of Pittsburgh. It had rolling meadows and forested hills that he thought very much resembled the landscape of Asheville, North Carolina. Besides this, not much else is known about Vendergrift other than that he bred dogs for a hobby, for in 1902, he was briefly profiled in *Successful American* after he made a good record at the New York dog show. Apparently, he was fairly skilled at it, for his bull terriers were awarded first, second, and third prize at the show.¹²⁷

Vandergrift's estate, which was bestowed with the name "Vancroft," was constructed of local sandstone that was a light gray in color. The mansion's shingled roof was leaf-green. Ostensibly, as described to the readers of *Country Life*, the soft hues for the primary building materials were selected to help the sprawling estate harmonize and blend with the landscape. However, several high projecting towers worked to visually announce the house, as did its placement at the very top of a wide grassy knoll. A very large pergola of white classical columns arranged in a semi-circular configuration featured to the front of the house sharply contrasted to the soft hues of the main house.

According to the article featured in *Country Life*, the house was arranged in the configuration of a hollow square "after the manner of a Mexican house."¹²⁸ However, the house's interior courtyard appears to have been the only reference to architecture of Mexico. The overall design of the house appears to have taken the medieval past—as well as the out-of-door hunting life—as its main cue, particularly to its interior. The primary social space was a large double-height living room with an enormous sandstone fireplace placed against

¹²⁷ See *Successful American* 5 (January 1902), 120.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

one wall and a vaulted ceiling supported with heavy wood scissor trusses. The room was detailed with dark wood and white plaster that was intended to give “the effect of birch bark.” The entire effect summoned a medieval hall, and the article described that it resembled “the interior of a chapel modernized for present-day needs.” It also described that a unified scheme of Arts and Crafts style furniture was specially designed for the room at the cost of \$19,000. The medieval religious theme was also extended to the dining room, which possessed a heavy wood ceiling in a triangular configuration that made it resemble a very small family chapel as located within a castle.

The out-of-door hunting life was also a prominent motif, as best signified by a pair of elaborately riveted curtains of soft elephant skin that divided the space of a Billiard Room from the Living Room. However, like the Living Room and Dining Room, the space of the Billiard Room was also vaguely reminiscent of a romanticized medieval past. It had walls finished in Flemish oak and a ceiling finished in studded brass nails. It also had elaborate stained glass windows, like a church. However, rather than featuring religious scenes, these windows featured a playing card motif. In this room, as well as in the other rooms previously described, the owner’s “rare collection of American big-game,” was displayed as mounted on the walls. This included various species of bear, moose and deer. It is also quite likely that Vandergrift considered a large stag to be among his most valuable specimens of big-game animals, for it was mounted in a highly visible location over the large fireplace in the double-height space of the Living Room.

Vandergrift’s Indian Room, however, completely eschewed the medieval past that was evoked in the adjacent rooms, and it appears to be a room in which he took especial

pride. In this room he claimed to possess one of the “finest collections of Indian work in existence,” and it was described to readers as follows:

The Indian room, or den, opens into the billiard room. It contains one of the most valuable collections of Indian work and trophies in this country, and is presided over by the head of the largest buffalo ever killed. A number of the Indian trophies were secured by the owner from Sitting Bull. Even the furniture of this apartment is of Indian workmanship, this upholstery being made of Navajo blankets and the shelves formed of horns decorated with arrowheads. In spite of the barbaric elements used, the whole apartment is the essence of civilized comfort, the natural-stone fireplace giving the final accessory ‘homey’ touch.¹²⁹

As described in the pages of *Country Life*, Vandergrift’s Indian Room was filled with trophies representative of both the hunt and chase and the out-of-door life of the Indian, from the head of the largest buffalo ever killed to the items secured from Sitting Bull, the great Sioux Indian warrior who had died violently over a decade earlier. Nonetheless, as related to readers of the magazine, the overall effect of the room was not one of “barbaric” warfare or violence. Instead, the room was thought to evoke a feeling of homey comfort for its occupant, as best signified by the fireplace, and to be quite civilized in its expression. As mounted upon the walls of the room, the various trophies in the room worked to convey to viewers that both the wilderness and the Indian were tamed.

However, the Indian Rooms featured to the interior of white American homes at the turn of the century didn’t need to be necessarily as elaborate or as expensive to furnish as those of either Edward Everett Ayer or Joseph R. Vandergrift. An Indian Room could have many items to convey that it was Indian, or just a few. Many American men of much more modest means also possessed an Indian Room. For instance, the writer George Wharton James, who in 1904 became the associate editor of Gustav Stickley’s magazine *The Craftsman*,

¹²⁹ See “Vancroft,” *Country Life in America*, 420.

had an Indian Room to the interior of his small bungalow in Pasadena, California (**Fig. 1.19**).¹³⁰ James' den followed many of the same display conventions of Indian Rooms located elsewhere, such as West Virginia, New York or Chicago. The walls of the interior were dark wood, and James furnished it in one corner with an Arts and Crafts style table. He laid Navajo rugs upon the floor, mounted baskets upon the wall, and he had a shelf laden with both pottery and basketry. To further separate the space of his Indian Room from other rooms in the house, he hung up finely woven Mexican blankets, or *serapes*, to serve as curtains. Moreover, the difference between white Americans choosing to "Play Indian" to the interior or the exterior of their house also appears to be one of magnitude, but to derive from essentially the same set of cultural ideas.

The Indian Room, Primitive Masculinity, and the Spatial Reassertion of American Manhood in the American Home

The work of the scholars E. Anthony Rotondo and Michael Kimmel sheds some light on the manifestation of Indian Rooms across the American nation at the turn of the century. Both scholars focus their work on social constructions of masculinity—or "manhood"—in American culture. Both scholars, as well as many others, describe that many American men at the turn of the century experienced a sort of identity crisis at the turn of the century, or what Kimmel describes in his book entitled *The History of Men: Essays on the History of American and British and American Masculinities* as a "crisis of masculinity."¹³¹ They

¹³⁰ For George Wharton as the associate editor of the Craftsman by 1904, see Lawrence Culver, *The Frontier of Leisure: Southern California and the Shaping of Modern America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 151.

¹³¹ See Michael Kimmel, *The History of Men: Essays on the History of American and British Masculinities* (New York: State University of New York, 2005), 64. Many other scholars also examine the turn of the

describe this crisis as emerging directly from deep structural and social changes in American culture at the end of the nineteenth century. Kimmel describes this crisis as follows:

It was essentially a crisis of middle-class white masculinity, a crisis in the dominant paradigm of masculinity that was perceived as threatened by the simultaneous erosion of traditional structural foundations (e.g. economic autonomy and the frontier), new gains for women, and the tremendous infusion of nonwhite immigrants into the major industrial capitals. It was a crisis of economic control, a struggle against larger units of capital that eroded workplace autonomy and new workers (immigrants and women), who were seen as displacing traditional American men. And it was also a political crisis, pitting the traditional small town and rural white middle-class masculinity against new contenders for political incorporation. It was a crisis, in this sense, of gender hegemony, of whether the traditional white middle-class version of masculinity would continue to prevail over both women and nonwhite men.¹³²

As described here, many social, political, and economic changes at the turn of the century threatened to usurp traditional American masculinity, including men's ability to conceive of themselves as providing adequately for their families economically, the changing roles of women in American society, and the growing diversity of the nation's citizenry.

In Kimmel's work, he is also careful to distinguish that the crisis of masculinity was not a "generic crisis," in the sense that not all men experienced it or responded to it in exactly the same way.¹³³ Nonetheless, Kimmel—as well as many other scholars such as E. Anthony Rotondo and Kim Townsend—also believes that a crisis of masculinity represented the dominant paradigm in American culture at the turn of the twentieth century.¹³⁴

twentieth century as one in which a "crisis of masculinity" occurred. See, for instance, Amy Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 8, and Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine American Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 12.

¹³² Ibid, 64-65.

¹³³ Ibid, 64.

¹³⁴ See E. Anthony Rotondo, "Passionate Manhood: A Changing Standard of Masculinity," chapt. in *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era*, 222-246, and Kim Townsend, *Manhood at Harvard: William James and Others* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996), 25.

Although he didn't label it a crisis of masculinity, the historian Richard Hofstadter also once observed a similar phenomenon in his 1955 Pulitzer-prize winning book entitled *The Age of Reform*, which many historians consider to be one of the seminal works on American politics at the turn of the century.¹³⁵ There Hofstadter described how the increasing rate of industrialization in the cities of the East worked to produce a changing economic and power structure that was particularly threatening to white American middle-class men, and he said that it gave birth to a new social entity that he termed the "Mugwump."

As described by Hofstadter, the Mugwumps constituted a group of men of moderate means who began to feel disenfranchised from society. This occurred as their own expectations about the sphere of their influence was unseated, a process which commenced around 1880. At this time, economic conditions in the United States shifted dramatically with increasing industrialization. For example, there were a series of severe economic depressions in the last half of the nineteenth century including one in 1873 and another one in 1893.¹³⁶ As has been well documented of the so-called "Gilded Age" in America, the effects of these depressions worked to concentrate wealth in the hands of an elite few, and these few certainly were not the Mugwumps.

The Mugwumps were college-educated men—typically Protestant—and the positions of authority that the patriarchs of their families had occupied within their

¹³⁵ See Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Vintage Books, 1955). For the opinion of some historians that Hofstadter's Pulitzer-prize winning work is seminal see, for example, Arthur Lipow, *Authoritarian Socialism in America: Edward Bellamy and the Nationalist Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 99, and Robert Lloyd Kelley, *The Transatlantic Persuasion: The Liberal-Democratic Mind in the Age of Gladstone* (New York: Knopf, 1969), xi.

¹³⁶ See Dolores Hayden, *Seven American Utopias: The Architecture of Communitarian Socialism, 1790-1975* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1976), 14.

communities were ones to which their sons believed themselves heir. The Mugwumps were a particularly conspicuous presence in Boston, where much of wealth generated from this economic activity was centered.¹³⁷ In response to the changed circumstances of their lives, the Mugwumps desperately looked for others to assign blame. For instance, they began to conceive of increased immigration to the United States as a threatening force that usurped the power of their own “old family.” They also directed much of their anger against industry, which they believed generated a new class of men of inferior “breeding” as embodied in the figure of the wealthy industrialist, or what the Mugwumps called “new money.”¹³⁸ The shifting economic conditions of the last two decades worked to leave the Mugwumps frustrated in their expectations for their own lives. As Hofstadter once wrote, the Mugwumps were “less important, and they knew it.”¹³⁹

However, there were also sources of the crisis of masculinity than just sheer economics. The last two decades of the nineteenth century were fraught with political strife that was also very unsettling to many Americans. For example, acute labor disputes such as

¹³⁷ See James Byrkit, ed., *Charles Lummis: Letters from the Southwest* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), xix.

¹³⁸ Although industrialists had amassed great wealth, many of their upper- and middle-class contemporaries viewed them as socially inferior to themselves. While the industrialist had been made wealthy, he typically possessed what was conceived of as “new money,” as opposed to “old money” or “old family.” His contemporaries also often cited his lack of “breeding” in order to justify why the attainment of wealth did not necessarily correspond to an elevated social status. As the literary scholar Irene C. Goldman-Price examines in Edith Wharton’s novel *The House of Mirth*, “breeding” was a code word for ethnicity and religious background. In a time of great economic and social flux, Anglo-Saxon Protestants, in particular, worked to retain their social status. This they did by applying a model of Social Darwinism to others. This model helped them to establish relative degrees of whiteness by which they could understand European immigrants of different ethnicities, like the Irish, and different religious backgrounds, like Catholics and Jews, as “inferior stock.” In so doing, Anglo-Saxon Americans worked to retain their position in society against those whose economic power exceeded their own—such as industrialists—by asserting that their success violated a natural order. See Irene C. Goldman-Price, “Jewishness and Point of View,” in Carol J. Singley, *Edith Wharton’s The House of Mirth: A Casebook* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 175. See also Matthew Pratt Guterl, *The Color of Race in America, 1900-1940* (Cambridge, Mass.: University of Harvard Press, 2001), 34.

¹³⁹ See James Byrkit, ed., *Charles Lummis: Letters from the Southwest* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), xix.

the Great Railroad Strike of 1877 set the tenor for much of American life. The strike initially began in West Virginia when the wages of railroad firemen were cut. Already suffering greatly from the effects of the depression of 1873, the firemen decided to walk out in protest, and they also seized the railroad engines to prevent their use. Within weeks, the strike spread outward to cities across the nation. Newspapers soon began to frame the strikes in terms of warfare waged on the American nation, using epithets to describe them such as “civil war” and “a reign of terror.”¹⁴⁰ In many cities, militias were sent in to quell the strikes. In response to the show of force, the demonstrations often became quite violent. Subsequently, riots would erupt in which hundreds of human lives would be lost. There were other costs, too, for many cities would have great physical damage to them valued at millions of dollars.¹⁴¹

As the historian Troy Rondinoni writes, for many Americans the Great Railroad Strike was viewed “as a spectacular opening clash in a new era of class warfare, ‘as sudden as a thunder-burst from a clear sky.’”¹⁴² He also writes that for Americans the scale of the strike represented an entirely new social phenomenon. Strikes within the nation had occurred before, but the Great Railroad Strike of 1877 was far more violent, involved many more workers, and existed over a huge geographical space.¹⁴³ Many Americans perceived the strikes as representing absolute chaos or an Armageddon. Particularly disconcerting to them, Rondinoni writes, was the way in which traditional social boundaries between many different groups of peoples seemed to disintegrate with the strikes. They were comprised of a riotous

¹⁴⁰ See Rondinini, *The Great Industrial War*, 48.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, 46.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid, 50.

mixture of middle-class whites, youngsters, immigrant laborers, African American workers, and women. The joining together of political interests across boundaries such as sex, class, and race also served to further exacerbate the apprehension of many Americans about the maintenance of their own power and social position. It induced what some scholars call “the age of anxiety.”¹⁴⁴ Americans, such as the Mugwumps, perceived complete social disorder, and they “feared their older, simpler world was crashing down around them.”¹⁴⁵

As Michael Kimmel explains, there were also major social changes in the last two decades of the nineteenth century that greatly contributed to the crisis of masculinity in American culture, such as new political gains for women. His assertion that the crisis basically revolved around some men’s fear that they were losing their power and position within American society due to these gains suggests that role of gender is also quite important to consider when thinking about the symbolic meaning of Indian Rooms in American homes across the nation at the turn of the century. However, first, it is also important to delve into what exactly were the different responses to this crisis and why one of them, in particular, relates to the construction of the Indian Room.

As Michael Kimmel argues, there were essentially three primary responses to this perceived crisis of masculinity. One response, he says, was for American men to join together in giving vent to an angry backlash against the social forces that they perceived as threatening. A second response was for some American men to work to redefine traditional notions of masculinity for themselves and for others. The American men who responded in

¹⁴⁴ See Philip Cushman, *Constructing the Self, Constructing America: A Cultural History of Psychotherapy* (Boston: Addison-Wesley Publishers, 1995), 66, and Jeffrey C. Alexander, *Fin de Siècle Social Theory: Relativism, Reduction, and the Problem of Reason* (New York: Verso, 1995), 23.

¹⁴⁵ Rondonini, *The Great Industrial War*, 52.

this way did not generally perceive a crisis as occurring, for they did not perceive social change as posing any danger to them or to society at all. Instead, if anything, they viewed social change as working to liberate others, as well as themselves to some extent. The third response, Kimmel writes, was not to react with an angry backlash or to provide redefinition, but to try to “revitalize masculinity, to return the vitality and strength that had slowly been draining from American men.”¹⁴⁶

The idea of American masculinity as in need of revitalization has to do with the idea of the body as a closed system that only had so much vital energy available to it without giving it adequate time to recover, to restore itself. However, at the turn of the century, this idea of the individual body as a closed system also corresponded with many Americans conception of the larger social body, the American nation’s citizenry. They began to conceive of American civilization, and the cities that were emblematic of it, as a draining and effeminizing force to American men. For instance, in 1895, the American historian Brooks Adams wrote a highly influential book entitled *The Law of Civilization and Decay*. There, he argued that all civilizations represented manifestations of energy. However, he also thought American society had become too materialistic in achieving the stage of civilization. It had become over-civilized. He said that the excessive desire for possessions by the nation’s citizens engendered a state of ease and luxury and this caused the nation’s energy to dissipate. Moreover, he asserted that civilizations rose and fell in predictable cycles, and that

¹⁴⁶ See Kimmel, *The History of Men*, 65.

American society was now entering into a period of decline, or decay, that would lead eventually to a new barbarism.¹⁴⁷

Adams was hardly alone in his thinking. By the turn of the century, many white Americans worried that American civilization was in a state of decline. Cities, in particular, were conceived as corrupting influences to the American nation. Moreover, the state of decay described by Adams was widely believed to evidence itself not only at the level of the collective social body, but also at the level of the individual body. At this time, many infectious diseases such as tuberculosis and malaria ravaged the industrialized cities of the East Coast. However, the reasons for contagion were not yet well understood. In 1880, Louis Pasteur had first articulated the germ theory of disease, which encompassed the idea that sickness was caused by the introduction of tiny microorganisms into an individual's body, but this theory was still yet to be widely accepted.¹⁴⁸ Instead, the most common perception of disease—by medical professionals and the American public alike—was that it was self-inflicted. Those who were afflicted by disease allegedly betrayed a lack of their own moral character.¹⁴⁹ In lacking character, they induced their own decay.

¹⁴⁷ For more on Adams thinking as encompassed in *Law of Civilization and Decay*, see T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Anti-Modernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 133-134; Ernst Breisach, *American Progressive History: An Experiment in Modernization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 9; Joshua David Hawley, *Theodore Roosevelt: Preacher of Righteousness* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 131; and Gerald Franklin Robert, *The Strenuous Life: the Cult of Manliness in the Era of Theodore Roosevelt* (Ph.D. diss: Michigan State University, 1970), 6.

¹⁴⁸ See John Galbraith Simmons, *Doctors and Discoveries: Lives That Created Today's Medicine: From Hippocrates to the Present* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002), 18.

¹⁴⁹ There are numerous scholars who discuss how many Americans at the turn of the century conceived of their contemporaries—both women and men—as “afflicted” with moral and physical decay. The pervasiveness of this idea in American culture is demonstrated by numerous allusions to “social decay,” “decadence,” “moral decay,” and “social disease” in turn of the century literature. Americans believed that this decay was a result of the corrupting force of civilization, or “over-civilization.” See, for example, Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 30; Sarah Benton, “Founding Fathers and Earth Mothers: Women's Place at the ‘Birth’ of Nations,” in *Gender, Ethnicity and Political Ideologies*, ed. Nicki Charles and Helen Hintjens (New York: Routledge, 1998), 34; and Judith W. Leavitt, *Women and Health in America: Historical Readings* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1999),

Despite the widespread belief in American culture that the American nation was entering into a state of decline, there were also many who believed that civilization could be rescued and restored. This, however, they thought could only occur by countering social decay. As conceived by these individuals, of which there were also many, this would require the exertion of strenuous energy by its individual citizens. One particularly influential advocate of this idea was Theodore Roosevelt, who both read Adam's book, *The Law of Civilization and Decay*, and reviewed it for *The Forum* in January 1897.¹⁵⁰ As is evidenced in that review, the ideas presented by Adams aroused feelings of strong indignation from Roosevelt. What especially provoked his emotional response was Adam's idea that decay was inevitable and merely part of a predictable cycle. For Roosevelt, this was far too passive a stance. Instead, Roosevelt believed that a strenuous assertion of will, or force, by the nation's citizens could work to overcome the decay of American civilization.

This belief corresponds to a political philosophy that historians today call "The Strenuous Life."¹⁵¹ As a political philosophy, it encompasses both the ideas articulated by Roosevelt in his 1905 book entitled *The Strenuous Life: Essays and Addresses* as well as those of many others, most notably his friend the historian Frederick Jackson Turner. However, by the turn of the century, the belief in the strenuous life was quite widespread, and there is

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¹⁵⁰ See Theodore Roosevelt, "The Law of Civilization and Decay," *Forum* 22 (January 1897): 579.

¹⁵¹ For more on the Strenuous Life, see Gail Bederman, "Theodore Roosevelt: Manhood, Nation, and Civilization," chapt. in *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 170-215; Roberts, *The Strenuous Life*; Donna Haraway, "Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908-36," chapt. in *Primate Visions: Gender, Race and Nature in the World of Modern Science* (New York: Routledge, 1984), 26-58; Elaine C. Prange Turney, *From Reformations to Progressive Reforms: Paradigmatic Influences on Wildlife Policy in Yellowstone National Park* (Ph.D. diss.: Texas Christian University, 2007), 123; Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, eds., *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 31; and Michael Antony, *The Masculine Century, Part 2: From Darwinism to Feminism: The Rise of Ideologies of Aggression* (Bloomington: iUniverse, 2009), 47.

perhaps no American figure more associated with this idea than Roosevelt himself.¹⁵²

Theodore Roosevelt became governor of New York in 1898 and then, in 1904, the President of the United States, a position he occupied for two terms. Therefore, he was a particularly influential and powerful figure in his ability to propound the virtues of the strenuous life.

For example, in a speech that Roosevelt delivered in Chicago on April 10, 1899, entitled “In Praise of the Strenuous Life,” he outlined his idea of what was encompassed in the strenuous life and what citizens’ individual roles in enacting it should be. There, he stated the following:

I wish to preach not the doctrine of ignoble ease but the doctrine of the strenuous life; the life of toil and effort; of labor and strife; to preach that highest form of success which comes not to the man who desires mere easy peace but to the man who does not shrink from danger, from hardship, or from bitter toil, and who out of these wins the splendid ultimate triumph...as it is with the individual so it is with the nation.¹⁵³

In this speech, Roosevelt explicitly linked the individual body of the citizen, which he twice described as male, with that of the larger collective body, the nation. He also asked his audience to forget the effects of the economic and political turmoil that they felt playing out in their own lives. Citizens should eschew the “doctrine of ignoble ease” associated with increased material comfort.¹⁵⁴ Instead, they should conceive of the struggle and the toil expended in their daily working lives—and in the Spanish-American War from which the

¹⁵² See David Henry Burton, *Theodore Roosevelt, American Politician: An Assessment* (Madison, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1997), 60.

¹⁵³ See Donald Fixico, *Daily Life of Native Americans in the Twentieth Century* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006), 15.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

United States had just emerged victorious—as “the splendid ultimate triumph” of civilization.¹⁵⁵

As described here, Theodore Roosevelt and the historian, Brooks Adams, held widely divergent views on whether or not the restoration of American civilization was possible. However, both men agreed upon one important point. Both believed that the decline of American civilization was due to the moral and social decadence of its citizens, an over-dependence on the “easy peace” engendered by luxury and material comfort. As framed by both of them, modern urban life was an energetic force that possessed the potential to sap the vital energies of the nation’s citizens, and they should work strenuously to counter it.

The Strenuous Life that Roosevelt advocated represents the third response to the “crisis of masculinity” described by Michael Kimmel, the attempt at the turn of the century to revitalize American masculinity. It is the one that is of the most interest here, for it contains important clues as to the particular allure of the Indian Room for American men. In a chapter entitled “Passionate Manhood: A Changing Standard of Masculinity,” the scholar E. Anthony Rotondo describes a similar concept to the Strenuous Life that he calls “Passionate Manhood.” In describing exactly what Passionate Manhood entailed, Rotondo explains that for much of the nineteenth-century, “passion” was believed to be an attribute naturally inherent to the male sex. It was thought to encompass qualities such as lust, greed, selfishness, ambition and physical assertiveness. However, passion was also something that

¹⁵⁵ The “Strenuous Life” that Roosevelt advocated served as his personal corollary to “the survival of the fittest” as articulated in the theory of Social Darwinism. According to Roosevelt, citizens should be willing to sacrifice their lives, both economically and physically, in the name of the industrial progress and the cultural imperialism of the nation. See Daniel G. Payne, *Voices in the Wilderness: American Nature Writing and Environmental Politics* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England), 107.

American men were supposed to repress, to control, for it was viewed as dangerous. If given vent, it was thought, it could corrupt the individual soul and threaten the larger society to which an individual man belonged.

According to Michael Rotondo and other scholars, such as T.J. Jackson Lears, what shifted at the turn of the century was that many Americans began to conceive of men as having lost a good measure of this passionate vitality that before they had possessed in natural abundance. Rotondo writes that many white American men “worried that modern males—particularly themselves and their sons—had become so civilized that their relationship with their own primal needs was now dangerously disrupted...they feared that civilization had so fully repressed their passions that their very manhood—their independence, their courage, their drive for mastery—was being suffocated.”¹⁵⁶ In essence, they believed that they had become “over-civilized.”¹⁵⁷ Therefore, in order to regain their vigor, American men and boys were encouraged to now give these primitive passions full vent.¹⁵⁸ Thus, there arose in American culture what many historians call a “Cult of Masculinity.”¹⁵⁹

This cult stressed the assertion of “manhood” by white American men and demonstrations of “character” through qualities such as aggression, risk-taking, competitiveness, virility, and strength. It manifested itself in a variety of activities such as competitive sports, physical fitness, and outdoor recreation that placed an emphasis on

¹⁵⁶ Rotondo, *American Manhood*, 232.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, 257.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, 227.

¹⁵⁹ For more on the “Cult of Masculinity”, see Bret E. Carroll, *American Masculinities: A Historical Encyclopedia* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2003), 174; Mark Christopher Carnes and Clyde Griffen, eds., *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 95; and Michael S. Kimmel, *The History of Men: Essays in the History of American and British Masculinities* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), 89.

health, the perfectibility of the male physique, and the out-of-doors. Moreover, E. Anthony Rotondo identifies three different, but often overlapping, ideals of American masculinity that emerged at the turn of the century in order to foster Passionate Manhood: the martial ideal, the athletic ideal, and “primitive masculinity.”¹⁶⁰

The martial ideal encompassed the idea that a man defined himself through battle. This ideal emphasized struggle as an end in itself. Of this ideal, Rotondo writes the following: “The new male language of struggle expressed the idea—rare in female usage—that existence was a battle” and it was thought to breed a new forceful manhood.¹⁶¹ The scholar T.J. Jackson Lears also examines the martial ideal in his book entitled *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920*.¹⁶² There, Lears argues that the martial ideal arose simultaneously to what he calls the “Cult of Experience,” a desire for intense emotional experience. He argues that the Cult of Experience was a critique of modernity, and that this desire for intense emotion essentially paralleled that of a religious conversion.¹⁶³ Through bodily testing, or struggle, American men conceived of themselves as born anew, and this moment of spiritual transformation was conceived as the one in which they summoned their courage to do battle.

Lears’ work focuses on American literature, in particular, so one of the places that he identifies the martial idea arising at the turn of the century is in the visual imagery of fiction and poetry. He identifies that by the 1890s, there was a dramatic shift in American culture as novels and poetry began to be filled with lurid descriptions of bloodshed that soon became a

¹⁶⁰ See Rotondo, *American Manhood*, 223-246.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, 232, 241.

¹⁶² See T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Anti-Modernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 133-139

¹⁶³ Ibid, 48, 117.

staple of the two genres. He describes that such imagery usually centered on the figure of an archaic warrior, often a knight from medieval times, who engaged in bloody warfare. He also describes that in the novels and poems, the ability to kill became a sign of total virility.

Bloodshed was thought to mark emancipation from weakness, which was conceived of as effeminate. Lears also describes what he believes underlay this yearning for violence as follows:

Ever since the earliest Puritan-Indian wars, upright Americans had periodically looked to violence as a means of personal regeneration. By the 1890s, among educated, urban Easterners who faced an increasingly onerous standard of respectability, longings for regeneration through violence became particularly acute. The enfeeblement of liberal Protestantism combined with the fragmenting sense of selfhood to create widespread feelings of personal disorientation and anomie among educated Americans. Fears that autonomy and even identity had become problematic lay behind yearnings for a reintegrated personality, for a self made whole again.¹⁶⁴

Essentially, in the violent novels and poems that began to emerge in the 1890s, Lears sees an outlet for urban men to experience intense emotional feeling, or passion, through their reading. In the pages of a novel or a poem, they could enter an imaginative world located far from the city. The city represented a modern world that felt increasingly felt threatening and disorienting to many Americans, in large part due to its increasing secularization, or what Lears describes as the enfeeblement of liberal Protestantism. However, through the process of identifying with the protagonist of a violent novel or poem, the reader could enter in a psychic battle. As Lears describes, it was often a battle in which a medieval warrior valiantly fought a religious holy war. In its triumphant conclusion, the reader would experience a sense of renewal, or catharsis, by vicariously fighting this archaic warrior's struggle.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, 118.

Quite arguably, the medieval knight that began to inhabit the imaginations of American men within the pages of literature in the 1890s shared some important similarities to the Mohammedan who occupied the center of the Oriental-themed den of the 1870s and the 1880s. However, this archaic warrior, rather than reclining in leisure, exerted himself in strenuous battle, in struggle. Therefore, he shared much more in common with the knight who occupied the many medieval-themed rooms of Joseph B. Vendergrift's elaborate country estate in West Virginia, where the home's owner could imagine himself the king of his own castle. Too, the archaic warrior was especially privileged in occupying the center of Vendergrift's Indian Room in which its occupant could conceive of himself as engaged in a fantasy battle to reclaim the activity of smoking from the "usurping Turk."

Another ideal of masculinity that emerged at this time was that men could define themselves through competitive sports, such as football, wrestling, boxing, fencing, or baseball. Rotondo writes that competitive sports were basically a variation of the martial idea in which war and athletics were equated with one another. For example, as evidence of this he describes how, at the turn of the century, a president of Princeton praised competitive sports as "gentlemanly contests for supremacy."¹⁶⁵ To further emphasize his point that competitive sports were intended to inculcate manhood in the men who engaged in them, Rotondo also cites the writings of an author on education in 1901 who asserted that "manly social games, like football, basket-ball-baseball, are our best resources in developing almost every characteristic of virility."¹⁶⁶ Athletics were also thought to inculcate morality, or to build "character" in their practitioners. Through the practice of discipline and self-denial,

¹⁶⁵ See Rotondo, *American Manhood*, 241.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

sports were believed to counter the habits that the nineteenth century labeled collectively as vice, such as luxury and indolence.¹⁶⁷

The third ideal of masculinity to emerge at the turn of the century, the one that Rotondo calls “Primitive Masculinity,” encouraged American men to emulate “primitives” in order to counter the effects of over-civilization.¹⁶⁸ For many American men, Indians were particularly emblematic of primitives. Therefore, playing Indian began to acquire great symbolic importance to white American men at the turn of the century. As evidence of this, Rotondo points to new rituals that began to develop among the fraternal lodges that were ubiquitous across the nation at the turn of the century. These rituals, Redondo writes, “drew proudly and self-consciously on the customs of ‘savage’ people.” For example, he recounts how the noted jurist Roscoe Pound drew an explicit parallel between the ritual activities of the Freemasons and Indians as he said that they had their origins in the “development of societies out of the primitive men’s house.”¹⁶⁹ As described by Rotondo, the significance of Primitive Masculinity as enacted in the rites of fraternal lodges marks an important shift in middle-class American culture. In their new affinity for Indians, American men not only adopted new rituals that they ascribed to native cultures, they also did so as a means by which to encourage one another to behave in a “primitive” or “savage” manner in order to give full expression to their passions.

The idea of white American men possessing a certain affinity, or kinship, with Indians was not entirely new. It was visible in American culture as early as the 1840s. However, at that time, it hardly represented a widespread cultural phenomenon. For

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, 242.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, 227-232.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, 227-228.

example, the Harvard classmates of American historian Francis Parkman somewhat disparaged his fervent interest in Indians, telling him that he had “Injuns on the brain.”¹⁷⁰ However, in the decades after the Civil War, for a white American man to exhibit a fascination with Indians increasingly became the norm.

What was especially new in the formulation of Primitive Masculinity was that American men also began to identify with wild animals as a way to give vent to the primitive within them. For this, Rotondo argues, there was absolutely no precedent. For example, by the turn of the century, many metaphors about man as a powerful animal began to abound; man was described as a “brave animal” who entered battle with “animal instincts” and “animal energy.”¹⁷¹ One example that clearly evidences the equation of man with a wild animal, Rotondo writes, is Jack London’s 1903 novel *Call of the Wild*. Within the novel, the idea that man was a civilized, rational creature was revealed to be simply a veneer. It cloaked a ruthless animal. Therefore, by the turn of the twentieth century, it was not just the Indian who worked to define a primitive masculinity for American men. It was the animals of the wilderness, too.

As Rotondo also argues, this phenomenon in American culture was tied directly to the ideas of human evolution as expounded by Charles Darwin. In 1871, Darwin had written a book entitled *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex*. It followed up on his previous work in which he had described the evolution of animal species as occurring through a process of natural selection, an epic struggle in which the fit survived and the unfit perished. However, in *The Descent of Man*, Darwin proposed a new theory in which mankind was not

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, 228.

¹⁷¹ Ibid, 229.

separate from the natural world, as most people thought, but part of it. He argued that *homo sapiens*, humans, represented the apex of the same evolutionary process described in his earlier work. Through natural selection, he said, humankind evolved from the apes.¹⁷²

This book profoundly altered the way in which many Americans conceived of themselves in relation to the natural world. For example, in 1883, a man named John Burroughs described exactly how profoundly Darwin's ideas had affected his own conception of his identity as he wrote the following:

It is a new sensation to come to see man as an animal—the master animal of the world, the outcome and crown of all the rest. We have so long been taught to regard ourselves as something apart and exceptional, differing not merely in degree, but in kind, from the rest of creation, in no sense a part of Nature, something whose origin and destiny are peculiar, and not those of commonality of the animal kingdom.¹⁷³

Burroughs words are quite revealing. After reading the writings of Darwin, he began to conceive of himself a part of the animal world, rather than separate from it. However, they also show that he began to think of the natural world in terms of a strict hierarchy in which men were not only animals, they were the “master animal of the world.” Just as some white Americans conceived of the game of football as a contest for supremacy, some animals were simply conceived as more fit in the epic struggle for survival than others. This was conceived to position them to reign over rest of the animal kingdom. Therefore, as American men began to think of themselves as wild animals with the rise of primitive masculinity, they also identified with the other “master animals” at the top of the food chain, such as the wolf of

¹⁷² As the scholar Keith Francis notes, Darwin had mentioned nothing about man's descent from the apes in his previous work, *The Origin of the Species*. See Keith Francis, *Charles Darwin and the Origin of the Species* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007), 69.

¹⁷³ Rotondo, *American Manhood*, 229.

Jack London's novel, as well as other physically powerful animals such as the mountain lion and the grizzly bear of the American West.

However, giving vent to primitive passions was not important only for American men at the turn of the century. It was also believed crucial to the development of young boys, the nation's future men and citizens. Therefore, another place where E. Anthony Rotondo observes *Passionate Manhood* arising at the turn of the century is in the development of what he calls "boy culture," which stressed action and aggression in play. For example, boys would often "Play Indian" by hunting small animals like birds or squirrels or attempt to catch fish with an improvised fishing pole. In some ways, this play essentially worked to let boys enter and imagine themselves in the roles of adult men. For example, Rotondo observes that the gun and the rod that were central features of hunting and fishing activities were important symbols of a man's duty to feed one's family. Therefore, the hunt in which boys engaged worked to symbolically bestow upon them adult power and status. Violence, however, was also a central feature of boy culture. Like the violent novels that offered American men entrée into a world of battle in which bloodshed was considered a sign of virility, the activity of the hunt also let boys experience the challenge of a kill, an experience that they found pleasurable in and of itself.¹⁷⁴

White American boys giving vent to their primitive passions encompassed much more than simply channeling aggression towards small animals, however. As Rotondo describes, at the turn of the century boys began to engage in a wide variety activities that set them against one another in hostile combat. The various forms of physical punishment that boys inflicted upon one another, he says, were numerous. Like adult men, they regularly

¹⁷⁴ Rotondo, *American Manhood*, 35-6.

exerted violence against one another in physical sport, such as football. However, there were many other forms that aggression could take. For example, boys often goaded other boys into fights just for the sake of such an encounter, and bigger boys often bullied smaller boys in schools. Boys might even just throw stones at one another as a casual form of greeting. Of the wide-ranging activities encompassed in violent play, Rotondo writes as follows: “One of the bonds that held boy culture together was the pain that youngsters inflicted on each other.”¹⁷⁵

Another form of ritualized violence that emerged in turn-of-the-century boy culture were games of warfare. In these games, boys often assumed the roles of “settlers” and others, of “Indians.” Rotondo writes that a particularly revealing aspect of these games involved the choosing of sides, for race and ancestry often dictated who would be designated a settler and who would be an Indian. However, he also writes that no “stigma attached to playing an Indian. Indeed the boys relished the role of Indian—assumed by them all to be more barbarous and aggressive—as much as they did the role of settler.”¹⁷⁶ Like the activities of hunting and fishing, Rotondo argues that these settler-and-Indian games allowed boys to enter and imagine themselves adult men through a process of aggression and bodily testing.

The activity of playing Indian by both American men and boys at the turn of the century, then, was intended to help them to revitalize the masculinity that many modern men worried was being suffocated. Through ritualized play, whether the rites enacted at a fraternal lodge or the war games of settler-and-Indian, white American men and boys sought to give vent to their primitive passions and, in so doing, to define their identities as

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, 35.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, 36.

independent, courageous, and masterful. However, because scholars such as Michael Kimmel and E. Anthony Rotondo have identified that the crisis of masculinity was basically a reaction to a perceived threat, it also seems useful to consider exactly why the modern city was thought to be an effeminizing force that had the ability to sap their vital forces and to over-civilize them. It helps to illuminate the power of the Indian Room as a restorative space to their occupants.

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the activities of many white American women began to present a significant challenge to what historians often refer to as “the ideology of separate spheres.”¹⁷⁷ The ideology of separate spheres was thought of as encompassing two spheres, a public one and a private one. The public sphere was conceived as existing exterior to the private domestic dwelling, and it represented the world of politics, economy, commerce, and law. For many Americans, the public sphere was also perceived as a world of power that was often hostile, corrupt, and threatening, and many believed that men’s natural passions naturally fit them to this sphere. The private sphere was represented by the interior of the domestic home, and it was to this sphere that much of women’s activity was relegated.

However, beginning around 1880, upper- and middle-class American women, in particular, began to move outside of the domestic sphere of the home to engage in a broader range of activities in the public sphere of the city. These two groups of women had much more economic freedom and leisure time at their disposal than their working-class contemporaries, who typically felt the effects of the nation’s economic depressions much

¹⁷⁷ See Michael S. Kimmel and Amy Aronson, eds., *The Gendered Society Reader* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 268.

more keenly than did they. American women began to attend universities in much greater numbers and to enter into professional fields such as architecture, law and medicine. Women also began to engage in realms of professional activity that were believed to require a special intellectual capacity, or “genius,” such as writing and painting.

Previously, all of these activities were considered the special provenance of men. That is not to say, for example, that women did not write or paint before the 1880s. Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, they often wrote things such as letters and diary entries, and a woman leaning to paint tolerably well was considered a sign of cultivation and refinement, like mastering the piano in order to entertain family and friends within the space of the American home. However, by the late-nineteenth century, women were writing books and articles, painting, or engaging in professional activities with the intention that they would either be paid for their work or garner some wider recognition for it, rather than having it simply appreciated by a select few as confined to the private sphere. Nor did women interject themselves into the public sphere only in terms of intellectual activity. They also did so in a very physical sense, as they increasingly began to participate in sports such as hunting, tennis, golf and riding bicycles. In the United States, as well as in other countries such as Britain, where quite similar events transpired, a woman who engaged in any one or more of these activities was generally referred to as a “New Woman.”¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁸ The literature on the “New Woman” is quite extensive. See, for example, Jean Matthews, *The Rise of the New Woman: The Woman's Movement in America, 1875-1930* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2003); Angelique Richardson and Chris Willis, eds., *The New Woman in Fiction and Fact: Fin-de-Siècle Feminisms* (New York: Palgrave, 2001); *Bicycles, Bangs and Bloomers: the New Woman in the Popular Press* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1990); Ann Heilmann and Margaret Beetham, eds., *New Woman Hybridities: Femininity, Feminism and International Consumer Culture, 1880-1930* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Sally Ledger, *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the Fin-de-Siècle* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1997); Carolyn Christensen Nelson, *A New Woman Reader: Fiction, Articles and Drama of the 1890s* (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2001); Elizabeth Otto and Vanessa Rocco, eds., *The New Woman International: Representations in Photography and Film from the 1870s through*

At the turn of the century, images of the New Woman abounded in books and magazines. This occurred as the American public sought to define this new social manifestation, to make sense of her, and to either exalt or ridicule her according to how she fit in with each particular individual's existing view of the world and their conception of proper social relationships within it. Therefore, some of the images that were presented of the New Woman were highly positive, while others were equally negative. However, some images also struck a middle ground as they strove to simply define for an audience exactly what constituted this “new” social entity, and it is one of these images that will be examined here first.

It is an illustration from a magazine that circulated sometime around the turn of the century, and it depicts a “New Woman” as located to the interior space of a room, rather than to an exterior space representative of the public sphere (**Fig. 1.20**). However, the accouterments that the New Woman wears upon her body help to illustrate that she is perfectly comfortable in both domains. Her skirt works to illustrate for viewers some of the activities in which she liked to participate. Upon it, she is depicted in miniature and shown riding a bicycle, an out-of-door activity. As she leans forward upon the machine, she appears to be speeding towards yet another out-of-door pursuit, for also embroidered upon on her skirt is a large golf club and ball.

In the illustration, it is significant that the New Woman pictured is shown wearing a skirt, both upon her very person and in the miniature version of herself. Most Americans in

the 1960s (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press and the University of Michigan Library, 2011); Gail Cunningham, *The New Woman and the Novel* (London: Macmillan, 1978); and Marianne Berger Woods, *The New Woman in Print and Pictures: An Annotated Bibliography* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland and Company, 2009).

the nineteenth century regarded a skirt, rather than pants, as the proper mode of attire for a woman. However, the jacket, vest, pleated ascot tie, and boutonnière that the New Woman wore on the upper half of her body were each elements of dress inspired by men's attire of the late nineteenth century. Her wearing of these items worked to suggest to viewers that the New Woman didn't fully subscribe to the idea that gender roles were rigidly fixed. In fact, she would give challenge to such ideas. However, this New Woman didn't eschew completely clothing that others would conceive of as feminine. The waist of her jacket was tapered to the degree that suggested that she wore a corset about her small waist, even if she did not. Rather than completely embracing men's dress or rejecting outright all social conventions of femininity, the New Woman played with them.

For viewers, there were also other accoutrements featured upon the body of the New Woman that worked to identify her as one. Upon her head, she wore a hat in the shape of a flask. This was not necessarily because the New Woman was given to drink (although she sometimes did). Rather, it was in recognition that the New Woman was typically a suffragette, and therefore, that she also likely possessed a close affiliation with the American temperance movement. By the turn of the century, the relationship between the suffrage and temperance movements was very strong, if also somewhat uneasy, as is explored in depth by the scholar Brigetta Anderson Bordin in her 1990 book entitled *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873 – 1900*.¹⁷⁹ This, however, was hardly the only item that

¹⁷⁹ As Bordin explains, the relationship between the temperance movement and the suffrage movement grew out of the intersecting personal interests of one individual, Frances Willard. Bordin writes that Willard was “unquestionably America's leading heroine to her contemporaries and the most famous woman of her day.” She also explains that many American women were attracted to the temperance movement because they suffered disproportionately from the effects of alcohol abuse. In the nineteenth-century, serious drinking was considered a male prerogative and so women were not typically the offenders. However, by the 1870s, many American women viewed the consumption of alcohol by men as one of the nation's most pressing social

worked to define the New Woman for the magazine's audience. Over her shoulder was slung a rifle, she held a cigarette in her hand, and from her waist was suspended a tobacco pouch. For much of the nineteenth century, hunting and smoking were widely regarded as "manly" activities, as were bicycling and golf. However, these were also activities that the New Woman now claimed she had every right in which to participate.

The most significant item that adorned the body of the New Woman, however, was very small. It was a key that hung suspended from her waist as located next to her tobacco pouch. For most viewers, this latter item carried especially important associations. By the turn of the century, the latchkey was becoming increasingly known as an important symbol for the woman's suffrage movement, the struggle to attain the rights of full citizenship as signified most visibly in the franchise. American women across the entire nation would only gain this right in 1919 with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, although women in some western states and territories would gain it much earlier, in the 1890s and 1910s. However, until all women were granted the franchise, the latchkey served as a symbol of women's claims to freedom and independence and to fully participate in the public sphere as a full citizen.¹⁸⁰

problems. As Bordin also writes, when the temperance movement first began, it was a "liberating force for a group of church-oriented women who could not have associated themselves directly with the equal rights or suffrage movements." However, for the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the temperance movement and the suffrage movement became much more closely aligned, and there was some overlap in their leadership. In fact, by 1890, the temperance movement's "support of suffrage caused the brewers and other liquor interests to see prohibition as a possible result of the woman's ballot," and, therefore, to oppose the latter with all of their might. The relationship between the two movements was sometimes uneasy, but most women recognized that they possessed more political power if the movements were combined than if they were to agitate for the interests of each respective movement alone. See Ruth Brigetta Anderson Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873 – 1900*, xvi, 7-8, 33, 121.

¹⁸⁰ By the turn of the century, many Americans were familiar with the latchkey as a symbol that visually identified the New Woman. For this, see Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers*, 170.

For instance, on February 6th, 1909, a writer named Kathleen Roberts published a fictional account of her first encounter with a suffragette. She said this occurred while she was out shopping. This was a role that most of her audience would have conceived of as a conventional one for a woman, for American women were widely conceived of as the primary consumers within the American household. This is significant because Roberts' article was clearly written to help garner support for the suffrage movement by laying out its basic premises for readers in readily understandable and non-threatening terms.

In her article Roberts' first explained that her encounter with a suffragette that day had led to three important discoveries by her. The first was that the suffrage movement did not constitute a war between the sexes, as she said that many suggested.¹⁸¹ She argued that suffragettes had no desire to either neglect their homes or to become like men, as some also charged, but that instead, they were fighting with "the weapons of loyalty, faith, and love for humanity, and the best men in the country are on their side."¹⁸²

Despite Kathleen Robert's assertions to the contrary, many Americans did consider the New Woman to be absolutely militant in her demands, and especially as related to public demonstrations for suffrage. For example, an illustration featured in a 1900 issue of *Life Magazine* depicted three women as fierce warriors from ancient Greece or Rome, as

¹⁸¹ There is quite a lot of primary literature that alludes to the fact that the suffrage movement was often perceived as a "war" between the sexes. For instance, in a book entitled *Personal Reminiscences of a Great Crusade*, the suffragette Josephine E. Butler alludes to the perception of the suffrage movement as warfare as she writes the following: "By the expression of the above thoughts I am anxious to make my readers clearly understand that our early conflict in this cause was—at least for myself and the considerable group of firm and enlightened women with whom I had the happiness to work—much less of a simple woman's war against man's injustice, than it is often supposed to have been." See Josephine E. Butler, *Personal Reminiscences of a Great Crusade* (London: Horace, Marshall and Son, 1896), 80. See also Marie Corelli, "Man's War Against Woman: Part II," *Harper's Bazaar* 41 (June 1907), 550-3.

¹⁸² See Glenda Norquay, *Voices and Votes: A Literary Anthology of the Women's Suffrage Campaign* (Manchester; Manchester University Press, 1995), 66.

suggested by both their dress and the portico of a classical temple upon the steps of which they stood (**Fig. 1.21**). Each was fully armed with shield and spear, and they were about to join the legion of similar soldiers that marched in the streets, leaving their men and children behind to weep over their absence. The women soldiers in the street were united together as a single regimen, as they carried a banner that read “Amazons, 3rd Regimen,” and the image of the New Woman as a militant Amazon warrior was a frequent one at the turn of the century.

However, Kathleen’s Robert’s also had a second discovery that day, and she also described this to her readers. This was the significance of the latchkey as a symbol for the suffrage movement. She wrote:

I have discovered why they want the vote. They look upon it merely as a symbol of citizenship – in other words, a latchkey, which will open a very big door. It seems a small and insignificant thing – a latchkey – but when one considers that there is no other way of getting into one’s house, i.e., of bringing in certain reforms, which in their opinion, are of vital importance to women, except through political power, one begins to understand why they go through so much to get it.¹⁸³

As explained by Roberts, readers should understand women’s desire for the vote as a very small thing—like a latchkey—almost a token object. However, she also articulated the power of this small thing to open much bigger things, like metaphorical doors to needed social reform. Her third discovery that day, she told readers, was that she considered herself a strong supporter of the cause, as she continued: “My third discovery is that I have been a Militant Suffragette all my life and never realized the fact until just now.”¹⁸⁴ In framing herself in this way, as someone who could be swayed through the force of a simple argument to hold a position with strength and conviction, she invited and gave permission to her

¹⁸³ Ibid, 66-67.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid, 67.

readers to do likewise.

Although Roberts claimed to now count herself among the “militant,” her tone with her audience of readers was very gentle in an effort to persuade. This was because she knew that many Americans considered the New Woman to be a threatening force and, often, on nothing more than the basis of her appearance. For instance, consider once again the illustration of the New Woman previously described. In it, the sleeves of the New Woman’s jacket billowed out in such a way that they appeared to significantly extend her shoulders. Rather than keeping her arms demurely to her sides, her arms were extended away from her body. In her dress and the relatively open position of her body, the New Woman asserted her right to occupy space.

However, like Kathleen Roberts, the New Woman featured in the illustration was not trying to dominate or to be overly aggressive in her demands. Instead, she was trying to assert herself in a way that she believed to be firm but fairly gentle, for quite significantly, the New Woman depicted in the illustration did not wear bloomers. These were a kind of loose, ballooned pants—or *culottes*—and by the 1890s, the bloomer-wearing New Woman was considered a truly revolutionary figure. As such, she was often the subject of open derision by the public on both sides of the Atlantic.

An 1895 illustration from the magazine *Puck* illustrates that many Americans were beginning to conceive of the bloomer-clad, bicycle-riding New Woman as quite a pervasive force in American culture. The illustration depicted her coming in a wide variety of guises from a servant girl, to a mother-in-law, to Salvation Army worker, to a widow (**Fig. 1.22**). In an 1895 issue of *Literary Digest Magazine* the exact nature of the social offense committed by the bloomer-wearing New Woman was described to readers. In an article entitled “The

Bicycle Revolution,” the author’s writer, Paul Hervicu, a writer for *The Home Journal* in New York, described to readers that many Americans already looked askance at women who chose to ride bicycles. Nonetheless, he said, bicycle-riding women also had their defenders, and he counted himself among them. However, to his readers he also described that the American women who rode a bicycle while wearing bloomers was perceived by many Americans as simply challenging social conventions to the extreme.

In his article, “The Bicycle Revolution,” Hervicu described the nature of the perceived offence committed by the bloomer-clad bicycle riding New Woman as follows:

Defenders of the “new woman” have been hailing the bicycle as an important ally because of the way it has been riding roughshod over a good many conventions, usages and traditions. In matters of dress, association of the sexes, and recreation, the ‘wheel’ is insidiously accomplishing remarkable changes. Those who believe in woman’s political equality hopefully look to the bicycle for aid. ‘Many a woman,’ says Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, ‘is riding to the suffrage on a bicycle.’ These facts have led some clergy-men to denounce the use of bicycles by women, but such attacks seem to have had little effect. The real ‘burning issue,’ as the politicians say, is whether the era of bloomers is upon us.¹⁸⁵

As described by Hervicu, the bicycle was quite literally a vehicle of social change. It provided American women with a way to access the parts of the city that were of increasing importance to them, like the public spaces where suffrage demonstrations would be held. As related by him, this caused many religious leaders to denounce bicycles, but to no avail. According to Hervicu, American women who bicycled rode “roughshod over a good many conventions, usages and traditions,” but they did so in a way that was tolerable to many Americans. What he believed really provoked the ire of many Americans was to see a woman seated astride a bicycle as dressed in bloomers. To him, this was the “real ‘burning issue.’”

¹⁸⁵ See Paul Hervicu, “The Revolutionary Bicycle,” *The Literary Digest* 12 (July 1895), 4.

Although Hervicu described to his readers a phenomenon that he observed, the fact that bloomers were highly controversial among the American public, he did not personally subscribe to the belief that there was anything inherently wrong with them. Instead, it appears that Hervicu belongs to the relatively small group of American men that the sociologist Michael Kimmel identifies as receptive, rather than fearful, of social change at the turn of the century. In fact, Hervicu not only viewed women who rode bicycles as a liberating force, he also fully appreciated the revolutionary potential of the bloomer-clad one. In his article, he evidenced a strong admiration for bloomer-clad, bicycle-riding women as he noted that in their dress, the “amazons of the bicycle have most effectively braved ridicule,” and he believed that in their challenge to tradition they were helping to advance American culture in a positive direction.¹⁸⁶

For Hervicu, the women who would dress in bloomers seemed more real and authentic to him than women who followed social convention in their dress. He described to his readers how women’s traditional dress was overly artificial and this only worked to hinder the sexes relating to one another in any meaningful way. For example, he described to readers that women who followed conventional standards of dress only made themselves into “exaggeratedly different being[s]... in pronounced and intentional contrast with the male.” He also described to his readers that a significant change was underway in American culture as he observed that “that *other* [emphasis his] being whose long and trailing skirts laid universal emphasis upon the woman, is beginning now to appear once more to men as normal creatures in her culottes, simple, verdical [sic], thenceforth very near to them.”¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

Hervicu appreciated how bloomers worked to eradicate the appearance of great difference between the sexes, for he wished to relate to women more as fellow human beings.

Therefore, he welcomed the new dress reform and he decried those who attacked the bloomer-wearing woman as embodying “a conservative spirit,” that possessed “a fear of the unknown and the horror of the unusual.”¹⁸⁸

Here, it is important to note that there was nothing actually “new” about the American New Woman of the 1880s and 1890s. She liked to dress differently than many of her predecessors and to engage in different activities, but she still remained essentially what she had always been—a woman. Neither was there was anything radically “new” about bloomers. In fact, they had first appeared on the American cultural scene forty years earlier in the early 1850s. Nonetheless, as described by Paul Hervicu, both the woman and her dress were considered revolutionary, and they each elicited fear in many of his contemporaries. However, in order to better understand the exact nature of the anxiety that bloomers produced, it is also helpful to consider the deep symbolic resonance that bloomers had acquired in American culture by the time that Hervicu was writing.

Bloomers first appeared in the mid-nineteenth century as an outgrowth of the nascent women’s right movement, when several editors and woman’s rights advocates began to advocate for dress reform. They did so because they identified that American women’s passion for fashionable dress was a divisive force in American life and, even more importantly for them, within their own movement. They thought that it worked to exacerbate class conflict among women, and they also believed that it hindered men’s ability to think of women of anything more than pretty dolls to be dressed up in beautiful

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

clothes.¹⁸⁹ Obviously, if these perceptions were correct, they could each present a serious impediment to advancing the reformers' cause to attain full participatory for rights for women as citizens.

There were numerous American women who responded to these early activists call for dress reform. However, as the scholar Margaret Mary Finnegan describes in her 1999 book entitled *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture and Votes for Women*, no one captured the attention of the American public quite like Amelia Jencks Bloomer. Bloomer was a suffragette who attended the first American convention for women's rights, the 1848 Women's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls, New York. Bloomer also owned a small newspaper in New York state called *The Lily*, and it was devoted to promoting both the women's rights and temperance movements. In 1851, Bloomer began to advocate within her newspaper that women opt for a new costume that would be less restrictive to them in their movements than the dress that they typically wore, such as corsets. The damaging effects of corsets to women's bodies were just beginning to be recognized around this time.¹⁹⁰ Bloomer adopted this costume for herself, and it consisted of two elements (**Fig. 1.23**). The first was a new undergarment to be worn underneath a woman's skirt, a kind of pants that were cinched at the ankles. The second element of the costume was a skirt that was much shorter than the one most women wore. It was trimmed so that the hem hit right below the knee.

In a book entitled *Pantaloons and Power: A Nineteenth Century Dress Reform in the United States*, the scholar Gayle Fischer describes that the costume that Bloomer adopted was not particularly unique to her. Many dress reformers adopted this exact same mode of dress, but

¹⁸⁹ See Margaret Mary Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture and Votes for Women* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 20.

¹⁹⁰ See Sander L. Gilman, *Diets and Dieting: A Cultural Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 87.

it was Amelia Jencks Bloomer who became especially known for it. The New York *Tribune* decided to especially single her out, and the costume was dubbed the “Bloomer Costume.” Fischer also describes the origins of the costume. Dress reformers looked toward the dress of women in the Far East because they thought that their “harem pantaloons,” or “Turkish trousers” as some dress reformers called them, looked soft and feminine.¹⁹¹ As Fischer also explains, the dress reformers didn’t want to quote Western men’s wear, or male trousers, too directly.¹⁹² They perceived (rightly) that the American public would conceive of this as a complete affront. However, as Fischer also suggests, adopting the harem pantaloons of Eastern women wasn’t entirely unproblematic either. She observes that some women’s rights activists may have deliberately chosen not to don the new costume because “images of Eastern women—particularly Arab and Turkish women—conveyed a highly erotic picture to the West.”¹⁹³ However, for many women associated with the budding suffrage and women’s right’s movements—such as Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony—the new mode of dress became the costume of choice.¹⁹⁴

The popular reception to the new costume, however, was overwhelming. The vast majority of Americans thought that the new costume was odd and licentious. Moreover, it was perceived as a direct challenge to American men’s power. As Gail Fischer writes, “bifurcated garments, no matter how ‘soft’ the design, belonged exclusively to men.” Therefore, many Americans greeted women wearing bloomers with taunts and jeers, and the

¹⁹¹ See Gayle V. Fischer, *Pantaloons and Power: A Nineteenth-Century Dress Reform in the United States* (Kent: The Kent State University Press, 2001), 87-89.

¹⁹² Ibid, 89.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ See Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage*, 21. See also Jill Condra, *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Clothing Through World History* (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 2008), 65.

suffragette “Lucy Stone complained that whenever she wore the outfit to a new city ‘a horde of boys’ would follow her and ‘destroy all comfort.’¹⁹⁵ However, this wasn’t the only form of harassment that Stone experienced. As recounted by her, it also came from adult men and women whose censure was likely much harder for her to dismiss than the taunts and jeers of young boys. For instance, she once described how when the wind happened to blow, it would often lift her skirt up around her pantaloons. Bystanders, rather than ignoring her misfortune by averting their eyes, would stare directly at her and laugh.¹⁹⁶

As the scholar Nancy Isenberg describes in her book entitled *Sex and Citizenship in Antebellum America*, other women donning Bloomer Costumes in the mid-nineteenth century had very similar experiences. In Philadelphia, several women’s rights activists were pursued by groups of children calling out, “Shanghai, Shanghai.” As Isenberg suggests, the children’s shouts were intended to harass the activists by comparing them to the women of an eroticized Orient. Isenberg also describes that by 1851, “Bloomer Balls” were held in some cities where women were dared to attend as dressed in their reform costume. In Boston, there were staged burlesques in which prostitutes dressed in bloomers paraded in the streets.¹⁹⁷ Of this popular reception to the costume in American culture, the scholar Eve

¹⁹⁵ See Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage*, 20. As the architectural historian Dell Upton describes in an article entitled “Sound as Landscape,” that groups of young boys would do so was not at all an unusual event in antebellum America. Instead, such taunts and jeers comprised a significant aspect of the aural landscape in which nineteenth-century Americans lived. This landscape, and those that leant their voices to it—even those of young boys—helped to maintain the social order. This they did by subjecting people in public to what Upton terms “rough music,” or discordant sounds. These sounds were intended to embarrass and harass people who had violated social norms. For instance, Upton describes how in the early 1830s, as the renowned educator Prudence Crandall admitted African Americans to her female academy in Canterbury Connecticut, she was regularly surrounded or followed...by troops of boys, who annoyed her by blowing horns, beating drums, and playing ‘rough music’ with tongs and other instruments.” See Dell Upton, “Sound as Landscape,” *Landscape Journal* 26 (January 2007), 27.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid, 21.

¹⁹⁷ See Nancy Isenberg, *Sex and Citizenship in Antebellum America* (University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 53.

Shapiro observes that the women who chose to don it “experienced stiff opposition from individuals who viewed this dress reform as the equivalent to cross-dressing.”¹⁹⁸

By 1854, the dress-reform minded women simply abandoned the costume. This was quite a deliberate and conscious choice. The women worried that if they were to continue to press for dress reform, it might comprise their ability to achieve their larger political goals, and it was simply too steep a price to pay.¹⁹⁹ However, bloomers would now be firmly established as a powerful symbol in the minds of many Americans minds. As the scholar Neil A. Hamilton writes in his book entitled *Rebels and Renegades: A Chronology of Social and Political Dissent*, to tradition-minded Americans, bloomers represented women undermining social values.²⁰⁰ For others, bloomers acquired great political significance as a symbol of women’s emancipation. Clothing, and particularly undergarments, might seem like a very minor and insignificant thing, like a latchkey, but as Hamilton writes, “to accept more liberated clothing for women meant accepting a more liberated woman.”²⁰¹

By the time the bicycle fad of the 1890s hit the United States, the fad for bloomers was revived, only now women dared to wear the bifurcated garments completely alone, without a skirt to partially obscure them. With the rise of the fad, the same debates from forty years previous about women who dared to break with convention in their dress surfaced once again. For instance, an illustration featured in an 1896 issue of *Life* depicts a scene in which a New Woman arrives at the gates of heaven. She does so on a bicycle and as

¹⁹⁸ See Eve Shapiro, “Case Study: Focus on Bloomers and Nineteenth-Century Womanhood,” chapt. in *Gender Circuits: Bodies and Identities in a Technological Age* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 82.

¹⁹⁹ Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage*, 21.

²⁰⁰ See Neil A. Hamilton, *Rebels and Renegades: A Chronology of Social and Political Dissent* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 109.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

dressed in bloomers (**Fig. 1.24**). The front wheel of her bicycle wheel has wings emerging from its center, suggesting the liberating power of the machine to carry her into new spaces. However, in the illustration, St. Peter meets the New Woman at the gates, a latchkey hanging conspicuously from his waist. Rather than admitting the New Woman entry into the gates of heaven, he denies it to her as he bars his arms firmly across his body. The caption for the illustration indicated to readers that the New Woman was confused by his stance, and she queried of him whether, in fact, she was mistaken that heaven lay directly beyond the gates. However, St. Peter would soon let her know that she had been judged and found wanting as he would reply to her as follows: “Yes, but this is the ladies entrance.” The clear message to the readers of *Life* was the final judgment for the New Woman was reserved for the afterlife, and if she hoped for her own salvation, she should adhere to social conventions in her dress and behavior. Moreover, the illustration seemed to warn, men were still in full control and possession of the latchkey to the world’s most important spaces.

Visual images weren’t the only way in which the public conveyed their disapproval of the New Woman, however. On both sides of the Atlantic, she was also subjected to a much more explicit critique in print. For example, in Britain, where the New Woman was also a social phenomenon of some force, there were articles about her that were designed to appeal to all social classes. As the scholar Marianne Berger Woods describes, a wide variety of literary forms were used to expose the New Woman to ridicule, such as poems, jingles, ditties, couplets and limericks. For instance, in 1894 and 1895, at least two British magazines sponsored competitions in which they invited readers to submit poems about the New Woman that they would subsequently publish for the benefit of their readers. The winning entry, for the magazine *Home Chat*, read as follows:

Who cuts her back hair off quite short
 And put on clothes she didn't ought,
 And apes a man in word and thought?
 New Woman.

Who rides a cycle round the town,
 In costume making all men frown
 And otherwise acts like a clown?
 New Woman.

Who's sweetest of the sweet, I say,
 Because she throws not sex away,
 Is always lady like, yet gay?
 True Woman.²⁰²

In the first stanza of the poem, the “New Woman was mocked for being “mannish” in her appearance. The second stanza worked to define her as an aggressive force in society who assailed others with her appearance as she “rode all over town.” However, this stanza also worked to take away any power that this might imply by characterizing this assault as clownish. Finally, the third stanza offered readers the ideal of womanhood by which the New Woman should be judged by others. This ideal was “True Woman.” According to the writer of the poem, only the True Woman was a real and authentic woman. She acted in accord with conventions of femininity, as she was consistently sweet, happy and demure. This worked to secure her right to call herself a woman for “she throws not [her] sex away.” Implicit in the contrast was the idea that the New Woman violated the natural order in her dress and behavior and, in so doing, eviscerated her own sexuality.

The summoning of a “True Woman” as a cultural ideal in this poem was not idiosyncratic to this particular writer. Nor was the conception of a “True Woman” limited to England, as one might be tempted to think based upon the placement of the poem in a

²⁰² See Woods, *The New Woman in Print and Pictures: An Annotated Bibliography*, 8-9.

British periodical. Instead, the idea of a “True Woman” was a pervasive one in both British and American culture. It first emerged in both countries in the 1820s, and it had an important corollary, the “True Man.” Moreover, these popular definitions of proper “manhood” and “womanhood,” had only been around for about seventy years at the time of this poem’s writing. Nonetheless, these definitions took a strong hold within American and British culture as inviolable and established tradition.

The culturally accepted notion of manhood is what historians today call “The Cult of True Manhood.”²⁰³ True manhood encompassed several different ideas. The first idea was that a true man was devoted to both hard work and material success. The second idea was that he was the patriarch of his household, similar to a benevolent ruler. The third idea was a “true man” was pure in his sexuality. Purity entailed controlling his sexual impulses and sublimating feelings of lust, some of his “passions.” According to this belief system, his so-called “vital energies” were supposed to be reserved only for procreation. Fatherhood was viewed as his religious duty, as well as his moral obligation to society.²⁰⁴

Beginning in the mid-1840s, this last tenet of True Manhood was given special force for American men as articulated in the concept of Manifest Destiny. For example, in 1845, a writer named Jane McManus Storm Cazneau expressed a sentiment already shared by many Americans about procreation as both religious and national duty as she wrote the following: “[It is] the fulfillment of our Manifest Destiny to overspread the continent allotted by

²⁰³ See Linda Gordon, “U.S. Women’s History,” in *The New American History*, ed. Eric Foner (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997), 266.

²⁰⁴ See Orson Squier Fowler, *Sexual Science; Including Manhood, Womanhood, and their Mutual Interrelations; Love, its Laws, Power, etc., Selection, or Mutual Adaptation; Married Life Made Happy; Reproduction and Progenal Endowment, or Paternity, Maternity, Bearing, Nursing, and Rearing Children; Puberty, Girlhood, etc.; Sexual Ailments Restored, Female Beauty Perpetuated, etc. etc, as Taught by Phrenology* (Philadelphia: National Publishing Company, 1870), 371.

Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions.”²⁰⁵ As described by Cazneau, the growth of the nation depended upon biological reproduction. As the scholar Elaine Tyler May explains, this was not an entirely new idea. In the early 1800s, both President John Adams and President Thomas Jefferson articulated similar ideas about the necessity for the nation’s citizens to go forth and to multiply, as did President Andrew Jackson in the 1830s. As May explains: “In the early years of the republic, notions of progress, perfection and happiness infused the national identity and gave new meaning to reproduction. Manifest Destiny, the guiding principle of expansion across the continent, called upon the descendants of European settlers to tame the wilderness and fill the land with their worthy, civilized progeny.”²⁰⁶

This project also required white American women’s participation and, for this, there was the corollary to the True Man, the True Woman. Historians today call the belief system that surrounded this cultural ideal “The Cult of True Womanhood.” The scholar Barbara Welter has characterized its basic tenets as follows: “the attributes of True Womanhood, by which a woman judged herself and was judged by her husband, her neighbors and her society, could be divided into four cardinal virtues—piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity....With them she was promised happiness and power.”²⁰⁷ In essence, the cultural ideal of True Womanhood required American women to submit themselves to the

²⁰⁵ As quoted in Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire*, 20.

²⁰⁶ See Elaine Tyler May, *Barren in the Promised Land: Childless Americans and the Pursuit of Happiness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 36.

²⁰⁷ See Barbara Welter, “The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820 – 1860,” *American Quarterly* 18, no.1, part 1 (Summer 1966): 151-174. See also Janet Price and Margrit Shildrick, *Feminist Theory and the Body: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 96.

doctrine of the nation's dominant religion, Protestant Christianity, and to their husbands.²⁰⁸

They were supposed to serve as helpmates to their husbands, the nation's citizens, by being obedient wives and devoted mothers in the domestic sphere, not active agents in the public one. According to the Cult of True Womanhood, only women's faithful adherence to the tightly circumscribed role that society allowed to them would result in their happiness and high social status.

This role entailed what was called "women's work," and it encompassed religious instruction of the household, motherhood, child rearing, and housework. These were all tasks performed primarily within the space of the domestic sphere.²⁰⁹ A lithograph published by Currier and Ives entitled *Maternal Happiness* (1849) illustrates well the dominant cultural paradigm that held sway for much of the nineteenth century (**Fig. 1.25**). It shows a woman sitting on a bench in a park-like setting with her two children. Unlike the New Woman that would emerge as a social force in the last quarter of the century, she is not actively engaged with the landscape. Rather, she sits so passively that it appears that at any moment she might drop the child who sits upon her lap (although to actually have done so would have been anathema to the ideal of True Woman as devoted mother). Her posture is severe in its upright position, and there is no actual hint of happiness in the expression upon her face in looking upon one of her two children. Instead, the dour color of her black dress and bonnet suggest that her's is a life of piety and duty, not joy. In the illustration, the landscape of the park—a setting in which women such as Amelia Jencks Bloomer would soon begin to

²⁰⁸ For Protestant Christianity as the nation's dominant religion throughout the nineteenth century, see Amanda Porterfield and John Corrigan, eds., *Religion in American History* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2010), 251.

²⁰⁹ See Arlene S. Skolnick, *Embattled Paradise: the American Family in an Age of Uncertainty* (New York: Basic Books, 1991), 32.

display themselves in public as attired in Bloomer Costumes—worked to equate nature with maternity, thereby naturalizing woman's proper role in life as mother.

For much of the nineteenth century, the Cult of True Womanhood established an ideal pattern for women to follow in their lives—marriage followed by motherhood, a pattern firmly reinforced by American religious tradition. However, beginning in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, some American women began to assert with an increasing frequency that their lives didn't need to follow a single pattern. For instance, some women, such as a writer named Clementina Black, began to question whether the institution of marriage was one in which women lacked personal autonomy. In 1890, she wrote a pamphlet called *On Marriage* in which she described that some women of her generation were quite reluctant to enter into marriage. She said that this was because the ability to divorce, should the marriage prove limiting to their either their sense of freedom or equity, was foreclosed as a possibility.²¹⁰ Women also began to argue that women's role within the household made women's bodies subject to their husband's will in a manner similar to the relationship of a slave to a master, particularly in regard to the performance of housework, which they called "drudgery."²¹¹

Therefore, women began to carve out a range of alternatives for themselves. Many chose to remain unmarried, and increasingly, there were also alternatives to traditional marriage. For instance, there emerged what was known as the "free love movement," and its participants advocated that love, rather than marriage, should be the only requisite to sexual

²¹⁰ See Clementina Black, "On Marriage: A Criticism" *Fortnightly Review* 53 (April 1890), 587-94 as reprinted in Susan David Bernstein, ed., *Renben Sachs: A Sketch* (Toronto: Broadview Editions, 2006) 235-239.

²¹¹ See Nancy M. Theriot, *Mothers and Daughters in Nineteenth Century America: The Biosocial Construction of Femininity* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 123.

relations between consenting adult men and women.²¹² Other women chose to establish a domicile with another woman in what was commonly called a “Boston marriage.”²¹³ By all accounts, many of these relationships were strictly companionate ones, but the legitimacy of same-sex relationships also began to gain some limited acceptance with the development in the 1880s of a scientific field of inquiry known as sexology.

For instance, Havelock Ellis’s 1897 book entitled *Sexual Inversion* was the first book to study homosexuality as neither immoral nor a disease.²¹⁴ Instead, it posited a reason for same-sex attraction by defining what Ellis called the “invert” as someone who possessed the characteristics of the opposite sex.²¹⁵ However, like the New Woman who challenged the biological basis of her role in society, the idea of the “invert” was also threatening to the established social order, for the invert further complicated the question of whether gender roles in society were fixed and immutable. Thus, Ellis’ ideas were fiercely attacked by many

²¹² On free-love and the proclivity of women to remain unmarried, as well as Victorian Americans’ perception that adultery was rampant in American society, see John D’Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, eds., *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 163-167. Free love was practiced widely in the United States at the turn of the century, and it was often bound with the cult of spiritualism. In the United States, free love and spiritualism were also closely tied to political identity. See Ann Braude, *Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Women’s Rights in Nineteenth Century America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001) and Joanne Ellen Passet, *Sex Radicals and the Quest for Women’s Equality* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003). For a discussion of the idea of free love as propounded in England, as well as how these ideas were different as practiced in North America, see Joan Perkin, *Women and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century England* (Chicago: Lyceum Books, 1989), 215-218. On a “Boston marriage” as another viable option for women’s lives that emerged at the end of the nineteenth century, see Jodi O’Brien, ed., *Encyclopedia of Gender and Society, Volume One* (Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage Publications, 2009), 88. On divorce in late nineteenth-century America, see Robert L. Griswold, “Law, Sex, Cruelty and Divorce in Victorian America,” in *Family and Society in American History*, eds. Joseph M. Hawes and Elizabeth I. Nybakken (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 145-172. See also Norma Basch, *Framing American Divorce: From the Revolutionary Generation to the Victorians* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999).

²¹³ See Kate McCullough, “(Re)drawing Boundaries: Looking back at the Boston Marriage in *The Country of the Pointed Firs*,” chapt. in *Regions of Identity: The Construction of America in Women’s Fiction, 1885-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 15-57.

²¹⁴ See Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, *Women, Autobiography, Theory: A Reader* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 394.

²¹⁵ See Matt Cook, *London and the Culture of Homosexuality, 1885-1914* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 78.

both in the United States and abroad, as signified in the 1890s in the very public trial of Oscar Wilde in England.²¹⁶

For the New Woman at the turn of the century, the city could represent a space of liberating freedom as she rode her bicycle to a suffrage parade or window-shopped on its streets. In the city, she could assert multiple identities across a space not bound by traditional social structures such as community, church, and home. However, for many people in the United States and other countries where the New Woman also made her presence felt, the New Woman's assertion of independence was simply disorienting. Her behavior and dress was thought to seriously disrupt their own sense of identity. This is well illustrated by an 1895 image that was printed in the British magazine *Punch* (**Fig. 1.27**). It showed the doorway to a crowded ballroom, and three young couples were standing within it. Each of the women in the illustration had nearly identical facial features, and conceivably, the subtitle of the illustration was meant to explain to readers what each of these three women were simultaneously saying to the men with whom they were engaged in conversation. The caption read as follows: "If you want me to keep the next dance for you, you must wait under this door. I can't go rushing all over the room to look for you, you know!" In issuing this one sentence, the women each asserted themselves as independent and in control, rather than submissive to the men who courted them. Significantly, they each commanded the men to stay fixed in one place, while in their words they expressed their ability—but not their willingness—to move freely around the entire space of the ballroom. The illustration was

²¹⁶ On the perception of homosexuality as social decay, see Liz Constable, Dennis Dennisoff and Matthew Potolsky, eds., *Perennial Decay: On the Aesthetics and Politics of Decadence* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 122. On the importance of the trial of Oscar Wilde to increasing the visibility of homosexuality in both British and American society, see Ryan Patrick McDermott, *The Gay Hermeneutic: Victorian Genealogies and the Practice of Reading* (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2008), 119.

entitled “What the New Woman Will Make of the New Man!” and it reveals that many men experienced anxiety that the New Woman might undermine their very definition of themselves.

For further elucidation of what many American men feared the new woman might make of them, one must look no further than an image widely distributed to the American public at the turn of the century as a stereo photograph. It was entitled “The New Woman—Wash Day” (**Fig. 1.28**). As the title of the image suggests, it depicted a New Woman on “wash day,” the day of the week designated for the labor and time-intensive chore of doing a household’s laundry. However, the New Woman in the photograph was not engaged in actually performing household duties, or “women’s work,” as would be expected of any “True Woman.” Instead, she was shown in a state of leisure, reading a magazine. Besides bicycling, smoking, and attending suffrage parades, the American public widely believed that the activity of reading was an especial favorite of a New Woman. Many images of the New Woman reading a book circulated at the turn of the century, and the magazine that this particular New Woman was now reading featured just such an image on its cover.

However, the New Woman was hardly alone in the room that she occupied. Instead, a man shared the space of the room with her, and viewers would have understood implicitly that he was the New Woman’s husband. However, unlike her, he was not in a state of rest. Instead, he was shown at a large washtub, busily engaged in washing the household’s laundry. In the right foreground of the image was a large pile of soiled laundry, still to be washed. In the background, a pair of women’s stockings and men’s socks hung from a clothesline. In the photograph, the man looked over the shoulder of his wife and towards

her reading material with a resentful look on his face as he labored and she was at ease. However, his mouth was also firmly closed, indicating that he did not issue a word of complaint. Significantly, between the New Woman and her husband hung a framed picture. In it, two bloomer-clad women frolicked at the beach in the surf, and it worked to further emphasize to viewers the New Woman's state of leisure and her husband's labor. For the many American viewers, the meaning of an image such as the "New Woman—Wash Day," would have been perfectly clear. Like the bloomer-costume women of the decades past, the American women who were insisting on pushing social boundaries were once again undermining tradition and social values, and their behavior was perceived as manly and as emasculating to their husbands.

As the art historian Mary W. Blanchard suggests in an essay entitled "The Manly New Woman," the New Woman's behavior also was viewed as devolved from the standards of civilization to sheer barbarism. Blanchard writes that for much of the nineteenth century, the Victorian woman had been perceived as a civilizing force in American culture as a loving homemaker and mother as well as a submissive, gentle, and genteel lady. However, by the turn of the century, there now emerged the following description of her: "Every woman is at heart a barbarian...There is something alluring in the idea that the prehistoric woman and Madame Nowadays are united...in a community of sensation."²¹⁷ As the historian Brooks Adams in his 1895 book *The Law of Civilization and Its Decay*, many Americans feared that civilization at large was simply falling apart, decaying, and regressing to a state of barbarism,

²¹⁷ See Mary W. Blanchard, "The Manly New Woman," in *Off the Pedestal: New Women in the Art of Homer, Chase and Sargent*, ed. Holly Pyne Connor (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2006), 92.

and many Americans considered the New Woman, or Madame Nowadays, to be particularly convincing evidence of it.

Many Americans, both men as well as some women, also felt that if they did not adequately respond to the effeminization of American men, civilization would become like that of the ancient Cliff Dwellers long ago destroyed by warring and marauding tribes. Therefore, for the American men and women who considered themselves representatives of traditional values, True Men and True Women, it was important to reestablish the strength of American masculinity, to revitalize it, and the space of the American home was considered to represent an important outpost in this struggle.

For example, in 1902, a magazine writer named Christine Terhune Herrick wrote an article entitled “Man, the Victim,” for *Munsey’s Magazine* that described to her male readers that American men had basically become victims in their own homes, especially in their wives’ misguided estheticism in the decoration of all of its spaces.²¹⁸ As described to her readers, many men perceived that the American home had become “the Woman’s Castle” in which they had no space to retreat and to rest.²¹⁹ In “Man, the Victim,” Herrick asserted that American men should be accorded the space in their own homes that they rightfully deserved, for after all, she said, “he [the man of the house] foots the bills for running the

²¹⁸ As the historian Tom Pendergast describes in his book entitled *Creating the Modern Man: American Magazines and Consumer Culture, 1900 – 1950*, *Munsey’s* was an extremely popular men’s magazine that functioned as “a kind of window on the world for its subscribers” as it featured pictures of art, people and places, reviews of stage productions and literature, current events, as well as occasional poetry submissions and editorials. The magazine also often veered toward to the illicit in featuring pictures of seminude women, and in recognition of its rather focused audience and content, many public libraries at the turn of the century simply refused to carry it. See Tom Pendergast, *Creating the Modern Man: American Magazines and Consumer Culture, 1900 – 1950* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000), 35.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

establishment.”²²⁰ Therefore, Herrick counseled her readership on the benefits of a den that would let the man of the house give vent to his primitive masculinity. A man who had what Herrick called a “Cave Dweller’s Den,” would have a space in which his own tastes and preferences could rule supreme. She wrote: “Let the man who has a den—so called—have a *den*—not a lady’s boudoir or a family assembly room. Make it a place where he can lie and growl over his bones when he feels like it...One lucky man of my acquaintance has such a den, which is to him as a cave to a primitive man.”²²¹ As framed by Herrick, if a man were accorded the space that was rightfully his within the American home, then he would have the proper opportunity to release his primitive passions and to restore his manhood. Otherwise, he would remain a victim in his own home, ostensibly as subject to the tastes of his overly domineering and barbaric wife.²²²

²²⁰ See Christine Terhune Herrick, “Man, the Victim,” *Munsey’s Magazine* 23 (April – September 1902), 891.

²²¹ See Herrick, “Man, the Victim,” 891. For pointing me to this particular source, I am indebted to E. Anthony Rotondo who cites this particular quote in *American Manhood*. See Rotondo, *American Manhood*, 227.

²²² Herrick, “Man, the Victim,” 891.

Chapter Two—
Charles Lummis and The Invention of the American Southwest

The Development of a “Regional Consciousness”

The Cliff Dwellers exhibit at the World’s Columbian Exposition, as probably the very first attempt by white Americans to replicate the ancient pueblos at a scale larger than a small architectural model displayed in a museum, helps to illustrate several different things. The first is that the development of the Pueblo Revival Style, as a style of building appropriated by white Americans, didn’t just spontaneously emerge from the Southwest landscape. Instead, it first manifested itself in an embryonic form in the Midwest, in Chicago. The development of the style was also closely linked to the interest of American anthropologists and archeologists in the pueblos of the Southwest.

However, the Pueblo Revival Style really began to emerge with the promotion of the ancient pueblo ruins as a unique tourist destination with the greater accessibility to them that was engendered by the construction of a second set of transcontinental rail lines in 1881. Prior to this time, the only direct rail route across the West was from Chicago to San Francisco, which completely bypassed the desert Southwest. When the second transcontinental route was completed, however, it went through the northern part of the New Mexico and Arizona Territories—in close proximity to a good majority of the region’s ancient and modern pueblos—before entering the desert landscape of Southern California to finally terminate in Los Angeles (**Fig. 2.1**).

It was only in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, with the development of the second transcontinental rail line, that Americans would begin to develop what the architectural historian Richard Longstreth once called a “regional consciousness” in his book

entitled *On the Edge of the World: Four Architects in San Francisco at the Turn of the Twentieth Century*.¹ This consciousness would take some time to develop and it would have several different manifestations, each of which drew on the unique architectural history of the Southwest region. The first most visible manifestation of a regional consciousness would be the Mission Revival Style, which drew on the history of the Spanish colonial missions. Like the ancient pueblo ruins, mission architecture would also be widely popularized at the 1893 Columbian World's Exposition in Chicago in the construction of the California State Building.² However, in the subsequent decades, the Pueblo Revival Style and the Spanish Colonial Revival Style would come to represent different answers to this quest to define a distinct identity for the region, too.

This chapter draws heavily of the work of many different scholars of the American West who investigate the development of a regional consciousness in the Southwest as a social construction, or an “invention,” that was created in the late nineteenth century in order to sustain a series of myths. These scholars draw on the work of Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger who co-edited and contributed to an important collection of essays in 1983 called *The Invention of Tradition*. As its title suggests, this collection explored different facets of culture that people have come to think of as long-standing and enduring tradition as inventions. As the authors of these essays argued, these practices were not, in fact, long established traditions as they were claimed. Instead, they represented new cultural practices as developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, often with the express purpose of creating a sense of unified national identity. These ranged from the wearing of

¹ See Richard Longstreth, *On the Edge of the World: Four Architects in San Francisco at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 28.

² See Karen Weitze, *California's Mission Revival* (Santa Monica: Hennessey and Ingalls, 1984), 85-86.

Scottish highland kilts to participation in men's fraternities to the popularization of sporting events such as football.³

One important book that focuses on the American West as an invention is a 1992 collection of essays entitled *Discovered Lands, Invented Pasts: Transforming Visions of the American West*.⁴ The essays were written by a series of well-known historians and art historians such as Jules David Prown, William Cronon, Brian W. Dippie, Martha Sandweiss, Nancy K. Anderson, Howard R. Lamar, and Susan P. Schoelwer. They focus on the production of artistic images of the West throughout the long nineteenth century, and many of these essays illustrate how the production of Western art served highly ideological purposes. Moreover, the collection serves to vividly illustrate how the American West was invented as a product of the American imagination and one that was largely developed on the Eastern seaboard.

Another important scholar of the American West who works in this same vein is Barbara A. Babcock. In 1990, she penned an article entitled "By Way of Introduction—Inventing the Southwest: Region as Commodity" that was featured in the *Journal of the Southwest*, an important journal devoted to the history of the Southwest region.⁵ In this essay she argued that the Southwest region was invented by American industry at the turn of the century as a tourist commodity. This idea is also supported by the work of the historian Hal Rothman. In his book *Re-opening the American West*, he argues that prior to the construction of the second transcontinental rails in 1881, there existed a monopoly over the rails travel that

³ See Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 18-31, 297-307.

⁴ See Nancy K. Anderson, William Cronon, Brian W. Dippie, Howard R. Lamar, Martha Sandweiss, Susan P. Schoelwer, and Jules David Prown, *Discovered Lands, Invented Pasts: Transforming Visions of the American West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

⁵ See Barbara A. Babcock, "By Way of Introduction—Inventing the Southwest: Region as Commodity," *Journal of the Southwest* 32, no. 4 (1990): 383-399.

made travel to the West very expensive. The first transcontinental rail lines were intended primarily for the conveyance of freight, not passenger travel. However, with the completion of the second set of lines, passenger travel by train became much more affordable. Once the monopoly was broken, the tourism industry began to consider new ways in which to make the American landscape yield greater profits.⁶

One of the ways in which the tourism industry began to do this, he writes, was to institute a new agenda of economic nationalism in which the industry worked to link travel by consumers with the formation of their identities as patriotic Americans.⁷ This is an idea that the scholar Marguerite S. Schaffer also explores at length in her 2001 book entitled *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940*, and this nationalistic agenda is conveyed in the movement's slogan to "See America First!"⁸ This rise in travel marked an important shift in the architectural development of the West, and it helps to explain why scholars such as Barbara Babcock assert that the region was invented as a tourist commodity. As the tourism industry worked to get Americans to travel within the nation, and particularly to the Southwest where lines were only recently completed, it began to recognize the importance of marketing the region as a place that was simultaneously emblematic of American national identity, but also as exotic and different. After all, there was really no point in trying to get Americans to travel somewhere that appeared to be virtually identical to the place that they had just left.

⁶ For the "See America First!" campaign as an expression of economic nationalism, see Hal Rothman, *Re-opening the American West* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998), 133.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ See Marguerite S. Schaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 2001).

Although the architectural historian Richard Longstreth also identifies the last two decades of the nineteenth century as marking an important shift in American culture, one that gave rise to what he calls a “regional consciousness” in architecture, it doesn’t appear that he conceives of this consciousness as one that was necessarily imposed over the landscape by business interests and the tourism industry, as the work of both Rothman and Schaffer suggests. Instead, Longstreth appears to envision it more as a force that simply began to percolate within American culture, in general. Of the development of a regional consciousness with the rise of travel he writes as follows: “The vast territory now encompassed by the United States and the ever greater ease with which the country could be traversed generated a new appreciation for the varied characteristics of the American landscape.”⁹

Longstreth also makes a very significant observation that it was not architects working in the West who first gave this regional consciousness architectural form. Instead, he sees this regional consciousness as developing outside the West on the East Coast. He describes that as Eastern architectural firms began to get commissions in the West, that “early manifestations of this new regional consciousness came from prominent New York and Boston firms working in sections of the country that were radically different from the Northeast.”¹⁰ One of the first examples that he cites of this emerging regional consciousness is the work of the Boston-based architectural firm of Shepley, Rutan and Coolidge at Leland Stanford University in Palo Alto, California, the design of which commenced in 1886.

⁹ See Longstreth, *On the Edge of the World*, 28.

¹⁰ Ibid.

This emerging regional consciousness was perhaps most noticeable in California at the turn of the century, as the state developed much more rapidly than the nearby territories of Arizona or New Mexico. However, as Longstreth also suggests, this regional consciousness almost simultaneously began to manifest itself to the interior Southwest, too. As evidence of this, he cites the design of the Ramona Industrial School in Santa Fe, New Mexico, which was designed in 1887 by the New York-based firm of McKim, Mead, and White (**Fig. 2.2**).¹¹

This is a building design in which other architectural historians also have been quite interested, most notably Leland Roth and Christopher Wilson. According to Wilson, it was originally intended that the Ramona Industrial School would be partially financed by proceeds from the well-known American novel, *Ramona*, written by Helen Hunt Jackson.¹² She had died two years previously, in 1885, but it appears that the funding needed for the project never materialized, and the school was never actually constructed.

Like Longstreth, Wilson also appears to view the design of the Ramona Industrial School as representative of an emerging regional consciousness in the mid-1880s. He writes that White's design for the Ramona School represented "the first suggestion that a new building could or should evoke New Mexico's indigenous architecture," the ancient Indian pueblos of the Cliff Dwellers.¹³ In support of this idea he notes that the Ramona Industrial School newspaper reported of White's design the following:

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² See Christopher Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1997), 85. See also Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter From the Late-Nineteenth Century Northwest Coast* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 41.

¹³ See Christopher Wilson, "The Spanish Pueblo Revival Defined, 1904-1921," in *New Mexico Studies in the Fine Arts* 8 (1982), 24.

[It] embodies his conception of the typical style of architecture suited to the history, climate and surroundings of New Mexico. It reveals in some of its prominent features, the ancient cliff dwellings of New Mexico and Arizona, with low roofs, projecting vegas [sic], its porticos, and quadrangular structure around a spacious court.¹⁴

As this passage suggests, Stanford White thought of the design as explicitly drawing on the ancient pueblos of the Cliff Dwellers. To the present-day eye, this is somewhat difficult to reconcile, for the school's hipped roof covered in red tile greatly contrasted with the appearance of the flat roofed pueblos. The projecting *vigas* to which White referred were the structural beams supporting the roof in his design, which were expressed to the Ramona School building's exterior. However, these were nothing like the vigas that almost appeared to float as projecting from the planar facade of an adobe pueblo. Nor did the building's commodious entry portico, as set upon a stepped plinth and defined by a large arch, look at all similar to the entrances of pueblo dwellings. These were typically flush with the building façade, and they were never set upon a plinth.

Instead, the design of the Ramona Industrial School for Girls most resembled the Italianate design of buildings located elsewhere in the nation, such as the Villard Houses in New York constructed in 1884 by White's architectural firm, McKim, Mead and White. For example, the school was divided into three levels with a tripartite coloration scheme that suggested the rustification of a *palazzo* from the Italian Renaissance. Like a palazzo, it was arranged in a quadrangular formation around a large open court, and the arched window openings with decorative quoins, colonnaded surrounds, and iron grilles all hearkened to a

¹⁴ Ibid.

Mediterranean locale rather than to the ancient pueblo dwellings inscribed into the faces of cliffs in the American Southwest.

The reasons that Stanford White did not more directly quote the indigenous architecture of the region are also suggested in Christopher Wilson's work, for he describes that White didn't really demonstrate any substantial interest in the landscape of New Mexico, its local Spanish Colonial-era missions, or the villages of the ancient Pueblo Indians. In fact, White first visited New Mexico in 1883 not with any intent to investigate its built landscape but only to visit his brother, who was working in Socorro, New Mexico as an engineer in the mining industry. As recounted by Wilson, it appears that White was quite unimpressed with the landscape and buildings of New Mexico, in general. He described Socorro as looking "like the entrance to Hell" and absent from his sketchbooks during his travels to New Mexico was any evidence of an interest in the territory's indigenous architecture.¹⁵

Nonetheless, both Wilson and Longstreth contend that such projects as the Ramona Industrial School represent a developing regional consciousness. Architects such as White thought of their projects as a direct response to the region and its storied past, they just didn't necessarily feel the need to directly reference the indigenous architecture that they thought served as their inspiration. Longstreth further explains as follows:

The unusual, sometimes exotic, nature of these projects no doubt reflected the novelty the architects saw in each locale. However, they turned to European precedents that seemed appropriate to the perceived ambiance of the region, making little or no reference to local building traditions.¹⁶

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ See Longstreth, *On the Edge of the World*, 28-29.

As described by Longstreth, it appears that White considered the indigenous ruins of the Southwest pueblos more important for their ability to produce a feeling within him—to induce a set of romantic associations—than to serve as an actual building prototype. Nonetheless, that he summoned the adobe pueblos of the Cliff Dwellers as worthy of consideration at all does signal the beginnings of a turn in architectural thinking, and one that would only continue to manifest itself with a growing frequency.

The idea that the 1880s marked an important shift in the architectural development of the Southwest is one that is also supported by the work of other scholars. It is important to recognize that before this point in time, the architectural development of the West was very similar to that of the Eastern United States, not different from it. For instance, this is a point that the architectural historian Harold Kirker argues at length in his book entitled *California's Architectural Frontier: Style and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century*. There he writes that builders on the California frontier in the last half of the nineteenth century relied upon exactly the same drawings, photographs and pattern books as did builders elsewhere in the nation. For instance, Andrew Jackson Downing's 1850 book *The Architecture of Country Houses* was extremely popular and influential for domestic architecture in California throughout the 1850s and 1860s.¹⁷ After May 1869, when the first transcontinental rail line reached the furthestmost point of the Western frontier with its arrival to California, building materials could also be shipped by rail from the East.¹⁸ This tradition of building with wood and in an Eastern mode was strong for the first three decades of California's development, and it

¹⁷ See Harold Kirker, *California's Architectural Frontier: Style and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs M. Smith, Inc., 1986), 58. See also Leland M. Roth, *American Architecture: A History* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2001), 177.

¹⁸ See Kirker, *California's Architectural Frontier*, 86.

continued into the 1880s.¹⁹ During the first several decades of California's development, then, newly arriving Americans typically worked to make the built landscape feel as much like the landscape of the East that they left behind, rather than different from it.

Kirker's argument isn't applicable only to the area of California upon which he focuses his study, however. The architecture of most burgeoning towns across the Southwest in the latter half of the nineteenth century was also typically often modeled directly upon the architecture of the cities of the nation's Eastern seaboard. In general, Americans settled to the interior of the Southwest—in New Mexico and Arizona—at least a decade or two later than they did in California. This was because there wasn't much, at first, to recommend it to them. For instance, the scholar Lawrence Culver describes white Americans' attitudes towards the landscape of the interior Southwest in the period immediately following its acquisition in the Mexican-American War. He writes as follows:

After the elation of conquest, Americans discovered that much of the new territory that they had conquered seemed a vast and desolate disappointment. Patches of arable land lured agricultural settlers to places such as the Salt River Valley, where a small settlement emerged in the 1860s near the future site of Phoenix, and later on copper drew mining interests to Apache [Indian]-dominated southern Arizona and New Mexico. Yet much of the region seemed unfit for development.²⁰

However, by the early 1880s, development of the interior Southwest accelerated as the territory was discovered not to be so invaluable after all. With the development of water irrigation systems, the land could be made productive in terms of agriculture, and, as Culver

¹⁹ Kirker attributes this tradition of building in wood to the Yankee sailors, merchants and gold seekers who first arrived to California. He writes that they brought with them the construction techniques of the Eastern seaboard. Kirker also asserts that through the 1880s, newspapers in California heavily promoted wood construction. For example, San Francisco's *Alta California*—widely promoted Downing's pattern books as especially suitable for use in California because of the tradition of wood construction already established there by these early arrivals. See Kirker, *California's Architectural Frontier*, 58-59.

²⁰ See Lawrence Culver, *The Frontier of Leisure: Southern California and the Shaping of Modern America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 18.

notes, large quantities of copper were soon discovered. The warm climate also began to attract health-seekers in great numbers. As much as a quarter of all people who would migrate to the Southwest before 1900 did so in an effort to restore their health.²¹

As white Americans began to discover that the interior Southwest possessed valuable resources and to settle there, the Southern Pacific Railroad also began to build spurs off of its main line in California to places such as Tucson, Arizona. In the interior Southwest, as in California, a strong tradition of building with adobe already existed in many areas. This building technique had been practiced for centuries: first, by many different Indian tribes; then by the Spanish Franciscans in the late eighteenth century who used the labor and many of the building techniques of Indians to construct the missions; and, then, in the early nineteenth century by the citizens of Mexico. In the mid-nineteenth century, even the United States Army used adobe to construct many of its forts, as other materials with which to build were hard to come by. Like the Spanish Colonial missions, the forts also were constructed often with the labor of Indians, so it was also useful to Americans to employ a building technique with which those who labored were already familiar.

Many of the white Americans who began to arrive to the interior Southwest in ever increasing numbers in the last decades of the nineteenth century, however, considered building with adobe incompatible with the goal of Americanization. They shared the attitude towards adobe expressed by General William Temuscah Sherman upon arriving to New Mexico in 1880. There, he proclaimed his idea that one-story adobe buildings with flat roofs, or pueblos, were foreign and strange. In an informal speech to a gathering of New Mexicans he stated as follows: “I hope in ten years hence there won’t be an adobe house in the

²¹ Ibid, 22.

territory. I want to see you learn to make them of brick, with slanting roofs. Yankees don't like flat roofs, nor roofs of dirt."²²

This same sentiment was also articulated in 1882 in an article featured in the Philadelphia-based magazine *The Friend: A Religious and Literary Journal*, as it was also likely broadcast in many other literary venues. It described to readers that the desert town of Tucson, Arizona had recently grown to encompass a population of over six thousand inhabitants. Nonetheless, the author of the article noted dismissively, there were "hardly a half a dozen houses in it over one story high." Instead, it described that with "two or three exceptions," the streetscape of the desert city was comprised only of adobe houses and that "with such houses, and with its narrow unpaved streets, it is as un-American as Pompeii itself."²³

The unnamed author was hardly romanticizing the landscape in comparing the small town to Pompeii, for he or she also described to readers was that the town was particularly unimpressive in terms of its inhabitants. According to the author, the population that occupied the town was "of a very motley kind," and it was further noted that it was nearly impossible to distinguish who among its residents was Spanish or Indian because "complexions indicate every grade of mixture of Spanish and Indian blood."²⁴ As this passage suggests, many Americans also found the hybrid culture that they encountered in the American Southwest—or *mestizo* culture, as many scholars call it—to be as un-American as the adobe pueblos erected upon its landscape.

²² See D.W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 119.

²³ See "Colorado and California," *The Friend: A Religious and Literary Journal* 15 (1882), 253.

²⁴ Ibid.

For many Americans at the turn of the century, the Southwest was technically on United States soil, but it was thought to be quite different from the rest of the nation. This difference was heightened by the fact that Arizona and New Mexico were not even fully incorporated into the American nation. Unlike the rest of the contiguous states in the nation, they had status only as territories. This rendered the citizenship status of its inhabitants as somewhat nebulous, for it meant that people born there had the right to claim U.S. citizenship, for example, but not to participate in national elections. To many white Americans, the Southwest also represented a place in which they were still a racial minority and where people, languages, and customs abounded that they did not readily understand.

The arrival of the Southern Pacific to Tucson in March 1880, however, greatly facilitated the process of transforming the landscape into one that felt more comfortable to white American newcomers. For example, by 1884, a new two-story Empire Style courthouse replaced an adobe previously at the site (**Fig. 2.3**) and a broad paved street featured to the front of it was likely a replacement for a narrow, unpaved one as described in *The Friend*. By 1892, the landscape adjacent to the new courthouse was also transformed from a dusty desert into a veritable garden as planted with Eastern planting materials (**Fig. 2.4**). Nor was this a transformation unique to Tucson. It was iterated in towns across the entire Southwest.

What this suggests is that there were two different processes at work in the transformation of the Southwest landscape beginning in the mid-1880s. One was simply a continuation of the process described by architectural historian Harold Kirker in regard to California's frontier in the nineteenth century. Many Americans arriving to the Southwest worked to make the landscape resemble the ones that they had left behind in Eastern cities.

This was essentially a process of architectural homogenization. However, as this process unfolded, there also arose a second impulse. This was to somehow retain the cultural difference that marked the lands of the Southwest. However, this was not nostalgia for what was actually being lost in the development of the Southwest. Instead, it represented the desire to create an imagined past that had never even existed. Like the homogenization process, this invention was also a way for new arrivals to the Southwest to make the landscape feel more comfortable to them and also to make it serve their needs.

Those who helped to invent it adroitly mined the architectural past of the Southwest's landscape in order to give this invention the appearance of authenticity, and foremost among them was a writer named Charles Lummis. In the early 1890s, Lummis would achieve notoriety on a national scale with the publication of a string of five books that were issued in quick succession and excerpted in nationally prominent magazines such as *Scribner's* and *McClure's*. These books were *The Man Who Married the Moon and Other Pueblo Folk Tales* (1891), *A New Mexico David and Other Stories of the Southwest* (1891), *Some Strange Corners of Our Country* (1892), *The Land of Poco Tiempo* (1893), and *The Spanish Pioneers* (1893). His books introduced the American public to the American Southwest, and his work popularized much of the work that was being conducted by archaeologists and anthropologists in documenting the folklore, buildings, and rituals of some of the cultures that had long inhabited the area. However, even upon the publication of his books in the early 1890s, Lummis was still a fairly new arrival to the Southwest, himself, having lived there for not much more than half a decade. Moreover, he brought to his interpretation of the landscape a conceptual framework that was most decidedly a product of the Eastern United States.

Many scholars who study the Southwest today view Lummis as a particularly important figure in giving shape and meaning to the region in the popular American imagination. This he did through his numerous writings, and through them, he defined the region as what he liked to call “The Great Southwest.”²⁵ Here, it is necessary for a moment to sketch the broad outlines of the region of the Southwest as Charles Lummis and his many readers understood it. What Charles Lummis called the Great Southwest was an area that extended from New Mexico and Arizona all the way to the Pacific Ocean in Southern California. This sounds like an immense geographical area but, in reality, the Great Southwest of which Lummis often wrote actually was confined to a much more narrowly circumscribed area than this suggests. As the scholar Lawrence Culver points out, the area about which Lummis wrote was confined largely to a forty-mile band north and south of the Santa Fe Railway.²⁶ Moreover, Lummis considered Los Angeles, where he lived and the railroad line terminated, to be the region’s capital.²⁷

However, in Lummis’s imagination and those of his readers, the region was also a fairly fluid space in its geographical borders. At times, if convenient to Lummis to do so in his writings or his other activities designed to promote the region, the Great Southwest could extend north to also encompass portions of southern Colorado or Utah. At other times, it could even extend down into Mexico or as far distant as Peru. What gave this

²⁵ Almost any study of the American Southwest at the turn of the twentieth century will at least mention Charles Lummis, and some scholars credit him as the primary inventor of the American Southwest in the American imagination. See, for example, Héctor Calderon, ed. *Narratives of Greater Mexico: Essays on Chicano Literary History Genre and Borders* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 11.

²⁶ See Lawrence Culver, “Promoting the Pacific Borderlands: Leisure and Labor in Southern California, 1870-1950,” in *Land of Necessity: Consumer Culture in the United States-Mexico Borderlands*, ed. Alexis McCrossen (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 173.

²⁷ Ibid.

imagined geographical space its borders, for Lummis, was really the extent of the Spanish colonial conquest of the sixteenth century.

At the turn of the century, what most people today typically think of as the American Southwest—New Mexico and Arizona—had only been part of the American nation for approximately fifty years. Part of it had been ceded to the United States in 1848 after the Mexican-American War and the rest acquired in 1853 with the Gadsden Purchase. However, the transfer of property from one nation to another did not erase the rich history of human development that had already unfolded across its broad swath for centuries. This represented quite a complex history of cultural interactions, and one that Lummis mined in his literary work. Therefore, in order to understand the history that Lummis was drawing upon, it also necessary to sketch the outlines of this history briefly.

At the time that the United States acquired the lands of the American Southwest from Mexico, they had only been a part of that country a relatively short time—thirty years—after Mexicans won their independence from Spain in 1821. Before that, the lands of the Southwest represented the northeastern-most portion of the Spanish empire for well over two hundred years. The Spanish conquistadors first arrived to what they called “New Spain” in the 1540s. Soon after, the Spanish conquered the many different indigenous American Indian tribes that had lived in the Americas for centuries, and in some cases, millennia. The extent of the Spanish conquest was immense; it extended from the lands inhabited by the Pueblo Indians of the American Southwest to the Aztecs of Mexico to the Mayans of present-day Guatemala to the Incas of Peru.

Many Americans at the turn of the century were also aware of the reason that the conquest of the American Southwest was first so appealing to the Spanish conquistadors of

the sixteenth century. Like Lummis, many of them regarded it as the stuff of romantic fable. The Aztec emperor named Montezuma had told the Spanish conquistadors that the area contained the Seven Cities of Cíbola, and he described to them that these cities were so magnificent in their wealth and splendor that they possessed streets paved with gold and precious stones. The Spanish conquistadors, who were motivated by the desire for wealth in their conquest of the Americas, were lured to the Southwest in their search for Cíbola. They were never able to locate these gleaming and bejeweled cities. Instead, they found only the Indian villages of New Mexico and Arizona, which, although not poor, were hardly what they were seeking. The inhabitants of these villages lived in a harsh desert environment in which they merely subsisted off of fixed agriculture. Nonetheless, the conquistadors thought that many of these villages resembled cities, and they bestowed upon them the Spanish word for “city,” *pueblo*. A great many of these villages were those of the culturally distinct but related tribes that are today referred to as the Pueblo Indians.

As part of the Spanish empire’s colonizing effort, it established a vast network of control over the landscape that comprised New Spain. This it did by erecting Spanish missions, *presidios* (military fortifications), and satellite towns, or *pueblos*. The most powerful of these three different types of constructions in the Spanish empire’s conquest was not the military strongholds, the *presidios*, as one might think. Instead, it was the church missions that the Spanish Catholic missionaries of the Franciscan order began to establish in the late eighteenth century. The missions were intended to be self-sustaining communities, rather than depending on the Spanish crown for their maintenance. This was to be accomplished through the establishment of fixed agriculture and cattle ranching. The lands that comprised each mission were quite extensive; the largest areas were eleven acres in diameter. Since

agriculture and ranching were very labor-intensive activities, this required the establishment of an enormous labor force, as did, too, the actual construction of the missions. For this labor, the Franciscans turned to the native populations of New Spain, many of which had been subjugated already by the Spanish conquistadors.

The mission churches worked to further impose a system of social order and control over the native populations of Indians through the establishment of a “mission system” throughout New Spain. Ostensibly, the primary objective of the mission system was to convert the Indian population to Christianity. However, as the historian James Sandos argues, the secondary objective of the missions was to “mold as well a labor force to occupy the bottom social rung of the town each mission was to become.”²⁸ The Spanish Franciscans, or *padres*, justified the enslavement of Indian populations by articulating a system of belief under which the Indians were child-like, backwards and primitive savages. The *padres* believed that they, as more enlightened individuals representing Christianity, would offer the Indians an opportunity for religious conversion by allowing them to enter the church as *neophytes*. To become neophytes, however, required that Indians surrender their labor as slaves in a system of peonage until the time that the *padres* deemed them morally fit to fully convert to Christianity.

The *padres* further justified to themselves the enslavement of Indians by thinking about the mission system in terms of a trust. They conceived of themselves as simply holding the mission lands for the beneficiaries of them, the Indians; once they thought that the Indians were morally prepared to be self-sufficient, they would distribute the lands to

²⁸ See James A. Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 10.

them.²⁹ However, this was really more in theory than in actual practice. Although the Franciscans generally maintained that the conversion process for each neophyte would take a period of ten years, the moral journey to Christianity promised to the Indian neophytes was never completed en masse. Instead, what was created was a social system in which hundreds to thousands of enslaved Indians worked at each mission to support an increasingly wealthy religious order that justified a system of oppression in terms of moral and racial superiority.

For Indian neophytes, the mission system was physically and psychologically unrelenting. For example, it was not at all uncommon in the mission system for the Franciscan padres to beat, imprison, starve, or execute Indians.³⁰ Moreover, Indian neophytes possessed little control over their lives within the mission system. As the historian James Early writes: “European diseases for which they had no immunity, and the demoralizing effect of relocation in almost penal mission communities where much of their cultures were disparaged and they were treated as children of adult size, devastated native peoples.”³¹

Reprieve to Indians from this particular system of control only came in the 1830s. In 1821, when Mexicans won their independence from Spain, they gained control of the much of the land that comprised New Spain—present-day New Mexico, Arizona and Southern California. At this time, the Mexican government began work to dissolve the missions as institutions and to redistribute the lands formerly under their control to its

²⁹ Ibid, 12.

³⁰ See Inga Clendinnen, “Disciplining the Indians: Franciscan Ideology and Missionary Violence in Sixteenth Century Yucatan,” *Past and Present* 94, no. 1 (1982), 27-48, and Steven W. Hackel, “Land, Labor and Production: The Colonial Economy of Spanish and Mexican California,” *California History* 76 (1977), 111-46.

³¹ See James Early, *Presidio, Mission and Pueblo: Spanish Architecture and Urbanism in the United States* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University, 2004), 9.

citizens. In California, the Mexican citizens who received this land became known as the “Californios,” although there were citizens who were analogous to them throughout the Southwest. Generically, they were known as *rancheros* for the large tracts of land, or ranches, that they acquired.

As the historian David Weber describes, the Californios were “a class of *nouveau-riche* cattle barons” who escaped humble beginnings as landless Mexican soldiers and sons of soldiers. They acquired ownership of most of California’s mission lands in the period between 1834 and 1846.³² As the historian Stacey L. Smith writes, the Californios also took advantage of the “windfall of cheap Indian labor” that occurred as former neophytes of the mission system became dispossessed and landless. This cheap labor was absolutely essential in order for the *rancheros* to establish their ranches and to take full advantage of a new market for cattle hides and beef tallow in New England tanneries.³³

As many scholars also study, the Californios worked very hard in the nineteenth century to distinguish themselves from other Mexicans and Indians.³⁴ The Californios referred to themselves as “Spanish,” and they asserted that they were predominantly, if not purely, of white European ancestry. As John R. Chávez writes in his book *The Lost Land: The Chicano Image of the Southwest*, in Californio society, “as in other Latin American societies, pure Spanish blood was a mark of gentility.”³⁵ In reality, however, there was little basis for such a

³² See David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Frontier Under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 208.

³³ See Stacey L. Smith, *Freedom’s Frontier: California and the Struggle Over Unfree Labor, Emancipation and Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 19.

³⁴ See Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1990), 206.

³⁵ See John R. Chávez, *The Lost Land: The Chicano Image of the Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 90.

differentiation. By the nineteenth century, the peoples of the American Southwest represented a highly hybridized culture.

This was because for more than two and a half centuries, ever since the Spanish conquistadors first arrived to the New World, the Spanish often intermarried with the indigenous cultures that they encountered there. As María Raqué! Casas writes in her book entitled *Married To a Daughter of the Land: Mexican Women and Interethnic Marriage in California, 1820-1880*, it was part of the overall Spanish colonial strategy of conquest, called *mestizaje*, to marry interethnically, although the practice did vary over time and space. She writes as follows:

When the Spanish conquered what was to them a new world, they classified indigenous women as “daughters of the land” and at times implored their men to marry these newly acquired “daughters.” This attitude toward the promotion of marriage with indigenous peoples varied considerably across New Spain and across the centuries of Spanish hegemony. At times officials advocated intermarriage; at other times they condemned it, depending on local conditions.³⁶

As is suggested here by the words “daughters of the land,” intermarriage was an important colonization strategy because it encouraged ties among the Spanish to indigenous peoples through kinship networks. As Casas also argues, it helped the Spanish establish themselves as “native,” for this strategy of intermarriage worked to supplant “the primordial, powerful association that indigenous people had with the land.” By framing ownership of land in terms of kinship ties, the Spanish could claim “a more ‘natural’ relationship like the ones they had erased when they conquered other peoples. Becoming children of the land implied

³⁶ See María Raqué! Casas, *Married To a Daughter of the Land: Mexican Women and Interethnic Marriage in California, 1820-1880* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2007), 8.

a timeless and natural association with the land, legitimating their acts of violence, conquest, and eventual development of the land for their own economic and social advantage.”³⁷

However, as Casas also traces in depth within her book, in the nineteenth century, the Californios began to claim that their own daughters were the “daughters of the land.” In doing so, they worked to establish their claim over the land as an old and established one, rather than the very recent one that it was. In emphasizing their heritage as deriving from a Spanish ancestry, rather than a Mexican or Indian one, the Californios worked to link themselves with those who had long dominated the landscape. Moreover, claiming an unbroken and pure line of Spanish ancestry helped them to negotiate their “whiteness” as Americans began to arrive to the Southwest in ever-greater numbers beginning in the 1850s. The Californios did so in the hopes that this would allow them to retain their land and to secure their status in the new American state as an elite class.³⁸

For the Californios, however, the arrival of white Americans signaled their diminished ability to retain their land. As the historian Tomás Aguilar describes, California statehood brought with it a rapid displacement of the Californios. Between 1848 and 1880, privately held land was transferred on a massive scale from the Californios to white Americans, often through highly questionable tactics.³⁹ For example, one such tactic was the implementation by white Americans of the Land Act of 1851. This established a three-man

³⁷ Ibid, 9.

³⁸ The literature on the Californios and their negotiation of their own “whiteness” with arriving Anglo-Saxon Americans is fairly extensive. See, for example, Vincent Anthony Pérez, *Remembering the Hacienda: History and Memory in the Mexican American Southwest* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2006), 71; Lisbeth Hass, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769-1936* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1995), 272; Shelley Streetby, *American Sensations: Class, Empire, and the Production of Popular Culture* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), 270; and Erlinda Gonzales-Berry and Chuck Tatum, eds., *Recovering the United States Hispanic Literary Heritage, Volume 2* (Houston: University of Texas Press, 1996), 36.

³⁹ Ibid, 66.

commission under which the titles to Spanish and Mexican land were evaluated, ostensibly to validate them. However, the basic attitude held by the commissioners was that the land titles were fraudulent unless proved otherwise.⁴⁰ Therefore, many Californios were forced to challenge the findings of the commission in court. They often paid exorbitant sums of money to lawyers—many of whom were unscrupulous in their dealings with the Californios—in order to defend their claims. Many Californios had to sell off portions of their ranches in order to pay these court costs.⁴¹ By the 1860s, a severe drought further diminished the Californios' ability to retain their land as it presented them with yet another financial obstacle when many of them were already struggling. At the end of this drought, many Californios found their ranchos mortgaged to white Americans.⁴² By the time that Charles Lummis arrived to the American Southwest in the mid-1880s, there were very few Californios who still retained their hold on their land, and the landscape was increasingly under the control of white Americans.

As described here in brief outline, the history of the Southwest was a very complex one in which there were constant cultural struggles for power and domination over the landscape. However, as many white Americans began to arrive to this landscape, they simply worked to impose their own order over it. Others, however, such as Charles Lummis, worked to understand the power dynamics already at play on this landscape as well as the alien cultures that he encountered there. He would also seek to adopt them as his own. This

⁴⁰ See Matt S. Meier and Margo Gutiérrez, *Encyclopedia of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), 123.

⁴¹ See Tomás Almaguer, "The True Significance of the Word 'White'" in *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009), 67.

⁴² See Dydia DeLyser, *Ramona Memories: Tourism and the Shaping of Southern California* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 38.

wasn't necessarily because of his great inherent respect for these cultures. Rather, adopting different aspects of the hybrid cultures that he encountered in the Southwest let him refashion for himself his own masculine identity by drawing on what he considered to be ancient and primitive cultures. It also helped Lummis to give shape to the Great Southwest as a place quite distinct from the industrial East from which he had recently arrived and to boost it to others as the locus for a new revitalized American manhood.

Charles Lummis and the Invention of the American Southwest as a Landscape of Primitive Manhood

In 1894, in the first volume of a new magazine called *The Land of Sunshine*, published in Los Angeles, California, a rather prosaic article was included entitled "Why Am I Here?" To today's reader, such a title may evoke existential questions about one's significance within a larger cosmological order. However, to the magazine's late-nineteenth-century Californian readership, who were proffered copies of it at their local newsstand, neither the article's title nor its content likely presented any ideas with which they were not already familiar. They soon found that the article was merely an exposition upon the choice to live in the burgeoning city of Los Angeles. If they chose to read the article at all, rather than flipping to those located on other pages dealing with more evidently relevant topics, it most likely only re-affirmed their own reasons for living in the state dubbed "The Land of Sunshine."⁴³

However, Californians did not comprise the magazine's only readership, or its most significant one. Most copies of the magazine were purchased by the Los Angeles Chamber

⁴³ As early as 1892, the railroad industry dubbed the state of California the "Land of Sunshine." See C.A. Higgins and John T. McCutcheon, *The Land of Sunshine* (Chicago: Henry O. Shepard, 1892). By 1893, the phrase was used for promotion of California at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, and it is likely that at this time it worked its way into common parlance.

of Commerce and distributed free of charge to public libraries on the East Coast, where Americans with time and leisure at their disposal could readily find them.⁴⁴ For this readership, the title of such an article was intended to prompt the question of why they, too, could not be physically present in the “here” represented in the magazine’s glossy page rather than in the “there” that they presently occupied.

The article’s author, W.C. Patterson, expounded upon the virtues of the landscape as well as his rather prescient belief that, “Los Angeles, by reason of its geographical and topographical situation, is destined to become the metropolis, not only of Southern California, but of the entire Southwest.”⁴⁵ Just a little over a decade earlier, in the early 1880s, the arid desert lands of the West were commonly perceived as a vast undeveloped area, somewhat nebulous in its boundaries, and somewhat valueless as property, except for its mineral deposits. By the mid-1890s, however, this perception had changed profoundly. The lands of the Southwest were quickly taking shape in the American imagination as a more geographically bounded area. Increasingly, they also were viewed not as a vacuous expanse across which one was forced to traverse in order to reach destinations on the coast, but, rather, as fascinating points of interest on a journey.

Nonetheless, the “here” represented in the article was clearly intended as the final destination in the reader’s imaginative journey. That it was Southern California, in particular, to which readers were invited to imaginatively travel was not so subtly underscored for the

⁴⁴ See DeLyser, *Ramona Memories*, 46.

⁴⁵ See W.C. Patterson, “Why Am I Here?” *Land Of Sunshine* 1 (January 1895), 38. Although Southern California is not typically thought of today as comprising a part of “The Great Southwest,” it is important to recognize that this is a modern conception of the boundaries of the region, not a historical one. Moreover, these were imaginative boundaries that *Land of Sunshine* would help to shape. As late as 1910, the Southwest was widely perceived to encompass at the very least, Arizona, New Mexico and Southern California as was explicitly described in the *Seventh Bulletin of the Southwest Society of the Archaeological Society of America: Two Great Gifts: The Lummis Library and Collections, The Munk Library* (Los Angeles: The Southwest Society, 1910), 33-34.

reader by the inclusion on the magazine's fourth page of a relief map of Los Angeles County "as seen from a balloon." The all-encompassing view suggested by this heightened perspective suggested to readers a place upon which they could center their imaginative wanderings, as they flipped through the magazine's pages.⁴⁶ Here they encountered gardens that appeared fragrant with flowers and vistas of carefully planted citrus and olive groves. All of these images worked together to suggest a land of Edenic abundance. Other images signaled to the reader that this landscape, although now a paradise, did require some human intervention to transform it from a desert to a garden. Images were also featured on the magazine's pages that emphasized this process of transformation, such as photographs of large-scale dams that conveyed water across areas of land once arid. Yet other images were featured that would highlight that the burgeoning city of Los Angeles, although set amongst a garden, was as civilized a landscape as its readers might encounter elsewhere. Civilization was highlighted with images of resorts of a grand scale and well-built residences, all constructed in the latest architectural fashion. The set of images presented within the magazine's glossy pages was intended to create a landscape in the mind of the reader that would only suffice until he or she was able to avail himself or herself of more than just an imaginative journey to the "here."

Within these pages, Patterson expounded upon his motives for choosing Southern California as his home. He asserted that the landscape possessed special restorative qualities, which had been his first consideration in his relocation:

⁴⁶ Subsequent issues of the magazine would feature destinations outside of the boundaries delineated on the map, such as the luxurious beach-side resort of the Hotel del Coronado in San Diego, but it would always frame the discussion of such destinations in relation to travel to Los Angeles.

Firstly- Because although I came to Los Angeles a physical wreck, pale, haggard and debilitated – my health has been restored: I am now simply robust, and my avoirdupois [bodily weight] has been augmented over thirty pounds.⁴⁷

Patterson followed with the considerations that had played a secondary role in his relocation. Foremost amongst these was the desire to once again be located in an American metropolis where opportunity for a man with the wherewithal to prove himself existed. He implied to his readers that, quite unlike the place from which he originally came, this metropolis would be built upon the foundation of a rich and authentic history. He stated that “In the East for twenty years, I lived in what was known as the ‘ancient metropolis’ of Ohio, and I am proud to contribute my mite [sic] toward the creation of a greater ‘metropolis.’”

Patterson’s clearly intended to establish his authority to offer his assessment of both the East as a place one could choose to inhabit and his new home. That he considered the cities of the East in no way equal to Los Angeles was strongly suggested to readers by the irony he displayed toward the appellation of “ancient metropolis” in regard to an unnamed city in Ohio, especially when juxtaposed against the “greater ‘metropolis’” of Los Angeles. The unnamed town was Chillicothe, Ohio where he had lived and worked as a bookkeeper for a wholesale grocery store for nineteen years. The reference that he made to this town as an “ancient metropolis” was an association with which many readers would have been familiar. The town had recently become associated in the minds of the American public with the ancient after archaeological artifacts had been unearthed from the mounds of the Adena

⁴⁷ See W.C. Patterson, “Why Am I Here?” *Land Of Sunshine: Magazine of California and the West* 1 (Jan. 1895), 38.

and the Hopewell Indian cultures and displayed at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago two years earlier.⁴⁸

Referencing Chillicothe seven years after his relocation to Los Angeles, Patterson expressed disdain for its antiquity and implied that any such associations that it might hold as an "ancient metropolis" were misplaced when contrasted against the antiquity of the landscape in which the "greater 'metropolis'" of Los Angeles was ensconced, and that only this would serve as a proper foundation for city-building. Moreover, Patterson's statement about the long duration of time that he had resided in the East also carried with it a slight hint of acrimony and disillusionment when juxtaposed against his assertion that in his new city of residence, his "mite" would actually contribute to the creation of something. What readers of his article were also intended to infer from his statement was that only through the strenuous efforts of people such as him would Los Angeles be transformed into an apex of civilization, the metropolis "not only of Southern California, but of the entire Southwest."⁴⁹ However, the language Patterson used also suggested a hint of irony in how readers should conceive of Los Angeles as a greater "metropolis" in relation to the cities of the East. They should understand it as a city but, simultaneously, as its antithesis.⁵⁰

The reasons Patterson provided to his readers for his relocation to California were not unique at all, for the circumstances of his arrival to Los Angeles and his beliefs about its

⁴⁸ The mound group had first become associated with the "ancient" within the scientific community in 1848 when studies of them were published for the Smithsonian. See Ephraim Squier and Edwin Davis *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1848). However, their "ancientness" became more popularly known only in the early 1890s, when Warren K. Moorehead excavated a large collection of artifacts from the site for display at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893. See Warren K. Moorehead, "Recent Discoveries Among the Mound Builders" *The Californian* 1 (1892), 470.

⁴⁹ See W.C. Patterson, "Why Am I Here?" *Land Of Sunshine* 1 (January 1895), 38.

⁵⁰ Patterson achieved this rhetorical effect by bracketing in quotation marks the word "metropolis" in regard to Los Angeles, which he juxtaposed against the "ancient metropolis" of Chillicothe. See W.C. Patterson, "Why Am I Here?" *Land Of Sunshine: Magazine of California and the West* 1 (January 1895), 38.

restorative qualities paralleled those of many recent white American transplants. For Patterson, as well as for his editor, Charles Lummis, the cities of the East in which both of them had lived the majority of their lives were the source of what they perceived to be their physical and mental ruin. Lummis's personal history somewhat paralleled that of Patterson's for both men had come to Los Angeles from Chillicothe, Ohio for their health. Patterson arrived in 1888 and Lummis three years before him in 1885.⁵¹ They also each eschewed the cities of the East as too modern, and they boosted Los Angeles as an antidote to over-civilization.

By the time that Patterson's article was published in the first issue of the *Land of Sunshine* in 1895, Charles Fletcher Lummis had already become a name synonymous with the Southwest in many households across the nation (**Fig. 2.5**). His move from Chillicothe, Ohio to the burgeoning town of Los Angeles in 1885 undoubtedly was the source for much of this notoriety. At the age of twenty-five, working as the editor for a small weekly newspaper called the *Scioto Gazette* and longing to leave Chillicothe, Lummis had concocted a promotional strategy to attract the notice of both Harrison Gray Otis, of the then-nascent Los Angeles *Daily Times*, and a larger reading public. If Otis were to give the young editor and relatively unknown writer the promise of employment, then Lummis would undertake a promotional stunt almost guaranteed to boost the newspaper's subscriptions.⁵²

⁵¹ Today, W.C. Patterson is hardly a household name, but he appears to have been a fairly influential person in Los Angeles at the turn of the century. This is suggested by an article in which he was featured entitled "Makers of Los Angeles," *Out West* 30 (Jan. - June, 1909), 313, 420. The fact that Patterson was, like Lummis, recently arrived from Chillicothe, Ohio noted in another magazine article about him. See William C. Carroll, "W.C. Patterson," *The Californian* 2 (June-November 1892), iii.

⁵² As Lummis often recounted the story, Otis offered him the job and conveyance to Los Angeles by train, which he rejected. However, in fact, the idea for the tramp was one pitched by Lummis to Otis. It is unknown exactly why Lummis settled on Los Angeles, in particular, other than his father-in-law happening to receive a subscription of the *Los Angeles Daily Times* by way of a friend. Certainly, the general belief that the

This stunt was that Lummis would walk the 3500-mile distance from Cincinnati to Los Angeles over the period of two months. His route would follow the train tracks of the newly completed Santa Fe Railway through areas of the country that many Americans still viewed as dangerous and barren wastelands. Lummis would provide to the *Daily Times*, as well as the *Chillicothe Gazette*, a series of weekly dispatches that would chronicle his journey. Dubbed his “tramp across the continent,” Lummis’s journey would take him across nine states, including the arid deserts of the New Mexico and Arizona territories **(Fig. 2.6)**.

Charles Lummis was born in Lynn, Massachusetts in 1859 to William Lummis and Harriet Waterman Fowler. His family was not particularly wealthy, but they claimed a long lineage in New England that likely gave them a good measure of social standing. The young Charles’ great-great-grandfather had served under George Washington and his father was a descendant, on the maternal side, of the Revolutionary-era figure John Paul Jones. Moreover, his father served as a moral compass within their community, as he was both a Methodist minister and principal of a New Hampshire Seminary and Female College. Lummis’s mother died in his early childhood, and he was sent away by the age of three to live with his maternal grandparents in New Hampshire. The separation from both of his parents at an early age must have been both difficult and formative. At age eight Lummis returned to live permanently with his father. This, however, did not mark the beginning of an easier childhood. Lummis possessed a sickly and consumptive constitution throughout his childhood, which isolated him from interactions with others, as his father schooled him

American frontier offered more opportunity to those Americans willing to seek their fortune also certainly influenced him. See Culver, *The Frontier of Leisure*, 28.

at home.⁵³ Trained in classical languages, he entered Harvard University at the age of eighteen in 1877.

Despite Lummis passing his university entrance exams with ease, the transition to Harvard appears to have been a difficult social adjustment. As a young man raised in a female seminary, he did not share the same cultural background as many of his classmates. For instance, in the first weeks after his arrival there, he was hazed publicly by upperclassmen who implied that his appearance was too effeminate as they threatened to chop off his hair if he did not do so himself. His pugilistic response to their bullying would garner the respect (and, later, the lifelong friendship) of a fellow classmate, Theodore Roosevelt who, like Lummis, had been a sickly child and was often perceived by others, at least at this early point in his life, as effeminate.⁵⁴ Moreover, Lummis also did not share the patrician background of many of his classmates, which likely did not ease the transition. The part-time jobs he worked to support himself likely attuned his sense of class-consciousness, if it was not yet fully developed already.

Despite exhibiting a fanatical zeal for his studies when they were of interest to him, often working long hours into the night to complete difficult translations in Greek and

⁵³ James W. Byrkit, ed., *Charles Lummis: Letters From the Southwest* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), 5.

⁵⁴ For more evidence that Lummis was routinely perceived by others, including complete strangers, as effeminate and outrageous in his dress, see the recounting of an episode by Lummis' friend, Fleetwood Ward, in which the two of them go to Schumann's, "a public refreshment apartment" before the outset of Lummis' tramp. Lummis' "walking outfit," as Ward told it, attracted the notice of nearly everyone in the bar and elicited stares and whispers from them. Then, one of the patrons of the establishment approached Lummis in an openly adversarial manner and implied that his attire was outrageous. Ward also mentioned several times that Lummis' persecutor talked to him repeatedly in a "soprano voice," presumably one that he affected to underscore that he perceived Lummis as effeminate. For Ward's recollection of the incident, see Byrkit, *Charles Lummis*, 4. Perceptions of effeminacy by others also played a strong role in the life of Lummis' classmate at Harvard, Theodore Roosevelt, and as suggested by the scholar Gail Bederman, played a strong role in how Roosevelt later conceived of the spaces of the West as an opportunity for manly restoration. See Gail Bederman's chapter entitled "Theodore Roosevelt: Manhood, Nation, and 'Civilization'" in *Manliness and Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 170-215.

Latin, his time at Harvard marked a transition away from the studious engagement with classics that had characterized his youth. He chose, while at Harvard, to exhibit a preference for activities believed manlier by his classmates than studying and translating poems in archaic languages.⁵⁵ As the scholar Kim Townsend describes in his book entitled *Manhood at Harvard: William James and Others*, the culture at Harvard at the turn of the century was one premised on manhood in which the scholarly life was thought inferior to that of the masculine “warrior.” The men who graduated at the top of the class were those that possessed the qualities of an athlete, for they were believed to exemplify the cultural ideal of true manly leadership.⁵⁶ According to Townsend, young men who had very disciplined and regimented schooling in their youth, such as Lummis, often found it more difficult to adjust to Harvard than to schools like Yale or Princeton. This was because the culture of manhood was so strong at Harvard that the effort for young men to prove their masculinity often led them to get into trouble.⁵⁷

Lummis appears to be exactly one of these young men. He often skipped classes in favor of boxing, wrestling, and gambling, and he soon became very well also for his wanton womanizing. In his third year in college, in 1880, he would marry a young medical student at

⁵⁵ Lummis was quite conscious of his decision to demonstrate manliness at Harvard through activities such as drinking, gambling, and womanizing, rather than concentrating on his studies. Years later, he would describe his years at Harvard as a period of transition for him, as he said: “I found that for the restrained encircled 18-year old son of a Methodist minister, circumscribed by the atmosphere of the congregation, there were many other things to study than lessons. From my cloistered life I had come to the Tree of Forbidden Fruit. I climbed that tree to the top.” See Mark Thompson, *American Character: The Curious Life of Charles Fletcher Lummis and the Rediscovery of the American Southwest* (New York: Arcade Publishing, 2001), 7. It is worth noting that the entirety of the circumstances regarding Lummis’ rather abrupt departure from Harvard are unknown. Some scholars assert that he had the opportunity to re-take examinations that he failed and that would have earned him his degree. Therefore, the riddle of why he would willingly chose to leave Harvard without a degree and yet harbor an intense resentment towards the institution still remains somewhat unclear today.

⁵⁶ See Kim Townsend, *Manhood at Harvard: William James and Others* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996), 17-23.

⁵⁷ See Kim Townsend’s chapter entitled “Teaching Men Manhood at Harvard,” in *Manhood at Harvard* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996), 80-158.

Boston University named Dorothea Rhodes. However, the marriage would not lead to either greater stability in his academic life nor clinch for him the perception by others of an unassailable manhood that he may have hoped the marriage would secure. Instead, what followed was only a series of failures. The following year he would be denied his degree from Harvard, as he would fall ill shortly before graduation and fail several of the examinations required for its fulfillment.

Lummis's illness at Harvard was believed to be "brain fever," the immediate result of over-studying or over-stimulation.⁵⁸ As Michael Kimmel explains in his book *The History Of Men: Essays on the History of American Men and Masculinities*, brain fever, or "brain sprain" as it was typically called in the popular press, was a common term for neurasthenia. Neurasthenia is what we would today call a nervous disorder, but in the late nineteenth century it was conceived of as a disease of the mind. It was thought to afflict many young men and women in the late nineteenth century. Dr. George Miller Beard was the first to identify neurasthenia in 1869 and to propound its existence widely to the American public in his books *American Nervousness* (1881) and *Sexual Neurasthenia* (1884).

Dr. Beard conceived of the disease as a state of nervous exhaustion, a lesser manifestation of mania or madness that arose when individuals engaged in too much

⁵⁸ The fact that Lummis was diagnosed with "brain fever," or neurasthenia, is not often discussed in the existing scholarship on him. However, the fact that this diagnosis was made is documented in both primary and limited secondary literature. For primary literature, see George Wharton James, "Charles F. Lummis: A Unique Literary Personage of Modern America," *The National Magazine* 37 (October 1912 – March 1913), 77-91; Rossiter Johnson and John Howard Brown, *The Twentieth Century Biographical Dictionary of Notable Americans* (Boston: The Biographical Society, 1904), n.p.; and California State Library, *News Notes of California Libraries*, 1, (1906), 149. For secondary literature that discusses the fact that Lummis was diagnosed with "brain fever" while at Harvard, see Edwin R. Bingham, *Charles F. Lummis: Editor of the Southwest* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1955), 6, and Ramon A. Gutierrez, "Charles Fletcher Lummis and the Orientalization of New Mexico," chapt. in *Nuevomexicano Cultural Legacy: Forms, Agencies and Discourse*, ed. Francisco A. Lomeli, Victor A. Sorrell, and Genaro M. Padilla (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 11-27.

intellectual activity, or “brain work.”⁵⁹ Dr. Beard’s work on neurasthenic disease was highly informed by ideas about the human brain as propounded by Charles Darwin, as well as the sociologist Herbert Spencer, for the three men were working somewhat concurrently to one another. Dr. Beard thought that men afflicted with neurasthenia were the result of a process of “over-civilization.” This process began as their brains were presented with a vast array of stimuli as offered in modern cities. Dr. S. Weir Mitchell was another individual in American culture who was extremely influential in propounding ideas about neurasthenia, and in his 1891 book entitled *Wear and Tear: Hints for the Overworked*, he would describe to his readers exactly what he thought some of these stimuli were as follows:

The cruel competition for the dollar, the new exacting habits of business, the racing speed which the telegraph and railway have introduced into commercial life, the new value which great fortunes have come to possess as means towards social advancement, and the overeducation and overstraining of our young people.⁶⁰

This over-stimulation of men’s brains was thought to sap them of what Dr. Beard called their “nerve force,” making them susceptible to anxiety, or “nervelessness.” Dr. Beard also thought that the individuals who were prone to contracting neurasthenia could be easily identified in advance by their “sensitive,” “refined” or “depressed” temperaments. Men who regularly engaged in activities thought to require some measure of “genius,” such as artists and writers, were often especially singled out as possessing these qualities.⁶¹

⁵⁹ For brain fever as a form of neurasthenia, see Michael Kimmel, *The History of Men: Essays on the History of American and British Masculinities* (New York: State University of New York, 2005), 52. See also Audrey C. Peterson, “Brain Fever in Nineteenth-Century Literature: Fact and Fiction,” *Victorian Studies* 19, no. 4 (June 1976), 445-64. There are many primary sources that discuss Dr. Beard’s theories of neurasthenic disease as resulting from “brain work.” See, for example, “Longevity and Brain Work,” *The Spectator* 47 (December 1874), 1593-1594.

⁶⁰ See Kimmel, *The History of Men*, 52.

⁶¹ See Andrew Scull, *Hysteria: the Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 55, and George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 83.

In her book entitled *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880 – 1917*, the scholar Gail Bederman describes Dr. Beard's conception of "nerve force" in relation to neurasthenia. She explains that in the late nineteenth century, most Americans understood their bodies in terms of a closed system, and nerve force was understood to be a somewhat mysterious energetic force that gave people, and particularly men, their strength and vitality. This popular conception of nerve force, or "nerve energy" as it was also often called, derived directly from the conventional wisdom of the medical establishment. Bederman further explains nerve force as follows:

Victorian doctors believed that the human body contained a fixed and finite amount of "nerve energy." This nerve force was the energy which made life possible. Scientists had long been searching for a physical, mechanical explanation of the difference between inert matter and living things. By the early nineteenth century, they explained this difference in terms of the forces that animated the nervous system. In healthy bodies, this nerve force was evenly distributed through the organs. If any organ drew excessively on this limited quantity of nervous energy, however, the rest of the body would be starved of nerve force, and illness would result.⁶²

As Bederman explains, as do other scholars such as Joshua David Hawley and Warwick Anderson, the conservation of nerve force was thought absolutely crucial to the maintenance of American masculinity. When depleted, it was thought to lead to "nervelessness," men's overrefinement and over-civilization. Moreover, according to Dr. Beard, the process of over-civilization also gave rise to sexual irregularities in men's bodies and subjected them to decay. Eventually, if neurasthenic men continued to subject their bodies to this process, they would

See also Emily K. Abel, *Suffering in the Land of Sunshine: A Los Angeles Illness Narrative* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2006), 13, and Frederick T.L. Leong and James T. Austen, *The Psychology Research Handbook: A Guide for Graduate Students and Research Assistants* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1996), 263.

⁶² See Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880 – 1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 83.

only possess a small quantity of nerve force. This was believed to unsex them and, in the parlance of the day, to make them effeminate “sissies” or “dudes.”⁶³

Although modern life, in general, was blamed for causing neurasthenia, the diagnosis with it also carried a heavy social stigma. This was because the disease also was believed to be preventable, and those diagnosed with it simply betrayed their lack of moral character. Moreover, the only way that it was believed possible for American men to counter nervelessness and reclaim their virile manhood was to meet the challenge posed to the body through an exertion of will. In particular, strenuous physical exertion by men was thought to build up their nerve force, rather than to deplete it, and to correct the vices of their over-civilization.⁶⁴

Women such as Lummis’s own wife, Dorothea, were entering into professional spheres of activity with increasing frequency where presumably they, too, could be over-stimulated in their studies and, therefore, prone to developing neurasthenia. However, the common perception in the medical profession was that women were more prone to developing only a certain type of neurasthenia. In particular, Dr. Beard was particularly influenced by Spencer’s ideas regarding sex difference in men and women. Spencer argued that women, in contrast to men, were arrested in their human development. This, he thought, was reflected in both the physical size of their bodies and their brains. Since both were smaller, he reasoned, they operated at a reduced capacity in comparison to those possessed by men. Dr. Beard did not hesitate in accepting Spencer’s idea that men and

⁶³ For primary literature on “sexual irregularity” as a result of affliction with neurasthenia, see William J. Robinson, M.D., *A Practical Treatise on the Causes, Symptoms and Treatment of Sexual Impotence and other Sexual Disorders in Men and Women* (New York: Critic and Guide Company, 1913), 223, and Joel Schrock, *The Gilded Age* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2004), 39. See also Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 82-83, 101-2.

⁶⁴ See Kimmel, *The History of Men*, 52.

women each possessed different physical and intellectual capacities as determined by nature. He conceived of these biological dispositions as endowing each sex with differing amounts of nerve force, which he also sometimes referred to as “reserve force.” Since Dr. Beard thought men and women’s brains were quite different from one another, he postulated that neurasthenia arose in them from very different causes.

Dr. Beard conceived of women as inherently possessing a much smaller reserve force at their disposal since their bodies and brains were smaller than those of men. Like Herbert Spencer, he thought their brains were constitutionally unfit for intelligence and their bodies for physical exertion.⁶⁵ Therefore, overly engaging in brain work—such as the professional activity of writing or painting—could lead to rapid depletion of women’s limited nerve force. This most typically resulted not in “nervelessness,” as it did for a neurasthenic man, but in “nervousness” or, hysteria.⁶⁶ Likewise, participating in physical activity, such as athletics, could also serve to over work a body believed not properly fitted for it and to induce neurasthenia. Women who continued to subject themselves to too much intellectual or physical activity also were thought by Dr. Beard to risk de-sexing themselves. Eventually, such activity would make them “manly.”⁶⁷

For example, the writer Charlotte Perkins Gilman was diagnosed by Dr. Mitchell with neurasthenia in 1885 at the age of twenty-five, and the treatment that he prescribed to her was to give up the brain work that he thought over-stimulated her system. His treatment

⁶⁵ The British biologist and sociologist, Herbert Spencer widely propounded the idea that men and women were endowed with different intellectual and physical capabilities as determined by biology in his book *Education: Intellectual, Moral and Physical* (1861).

⁶⁶ See, for example, Frank K. Hallock, M.D. “The Neurasthenic Neuralgias,” *The International Record of Medicine and General Practice Clinics* 86 (September 1907), 442-446.

⁶⁷ See Alison MacKinnon, *Women, Love, and Learning: The Double Bind* (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 32, and Sheila Fletcher, *Women First: The Female Tradition in English Physical Education, 1880-1980* (Dover, N.H.: Athlone Press, 1984), 26.

was to her as follows: “Live as domestic a life as possible. Have your child with you all the time. Lie down for an hour after each meal. Have but two hours intellectual life a day. And never touch a pen, brush, or pencil as long as you live.”⁶⁸ The disparate diagnoses for men and women were premised on the belief that men and women’s intellectual capacities, temperaments and constitutions varied radically and, therefore, necessitated different treatments. Under the rubric of medical science, these diagnoses helped to maintain a culturally pervasive idea of biological difference that was at that very moment being challenged on a variety of fronts.

For Lummis, the diagnosis of brain fever shortly before his anticipated graduation from Harvard appears to have been a defining moment. Lummis had subscribed to the belief that his athletic prowess would allow him to succeed at Harvard. During his time at the university, he had worked to transform his body from that of a sickly child to a muscular athlete through the strenuous exertion of his will. It was a body in which he took great pride, but it was also one over which he no longer seemed to possess sufficient control. The diagnosis of neurasthenia carried with it the implication that he was lacking in character, debased, and as weak as a woman or a child in his inability to exert proper control over his own body.

However, by concentrating on proving his manhood to others, his ambition to attain a degree was left unfulfilled. It was a degree that could have provided him entrée into social worlds and opportunities to which he, unlike many of the other more privileged students, would not otherwise be privy. It is quite likely that Lummis believed that the institution inculcated a culture in which he could never prove himself adequate to others, and even if he

⁶⁸ See Kimmel, *The History of Men*, 52.

had concentrated upon his studies to the degree they warranted, his character would have continued to be called into question. Having dedicated his body to proving his manliness, his body had failed him, rendering him once again weak and effeminate in others' eyes. To Lummis, Harvard represented the larger social order of the East in which no matter what direction he exerted himself, others would perceive him as a failure.

Moreover, as the historian James Byrkit describes in his introduction to some a collected volume of some of Lummis's writings, entitled *Charles Lummis: Letters From the Southwest*, Lummis was a Mugwump. Like many of the American men to whom the historian Richard Hofstadter once assigned this label, Lummis felt deprived of a social position that he believed was his natural birthright as a man who, although not wealthy, could boast a long and illustrious lineage on American soil.⁶⁹ He would leave Harvard feeling defeated and carry with him an open hostility towards the institution for many years.⁷⁰

A year after dropping out of Harvard, however, Lummis witnessed an event that would be formative.⁷¹ In 1882, Frank Hamilton Cushing, a young man not much older than Lummis, gave a performance at Harvard's Hemenway Auditorium. A few years earlier, in 1879, Cushing had first joined the staff of the Smithsonian when he was asked by Major John Wesley Powell to join a team of archaeologists for a two-month information and

⁶⁹ See James W. Byrkit, *Letters from the Southwest* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), xix.

⁷⁰ Lummis often would make disparaging remarks to others about his Harvard experience such as "I wouldn't send this Western boy to Harvard for anything – not even a salary." See Sherry Smith, *Reimagining Indians: Native Americans Through Anglo Eyes, 1880-1940* (New York: Oxford University, 2000), 122.

⁷¹ The scholar, James Byrkit, describes that Lummis went to work on his father-in-law's farm in Chillicothe, Ohio in Spring 1881. However, by Lummis' own account, he was in attendance at Frank Hamilton Cushing's performance at Harvard's Hemenway Auditorium when he went on his Eastern tour in the Summer of 1882. See "Charles Lummis, "A White Indian," *Land of Sunshine* 13, (1900) 8-17. This coincides with the date that scholars generally attribute to Cushing's tour. See, for example, Curtis Hinsley, "Cushing and Fewkes in the American Southwest" in *Observers Observed: Essays on Ethnographic Fieldwork*, ed. George W. Stocking (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 53-69.

artifact collecting tour to the Indian pueblo of Zuñi. The Indian pueblos and ruins of Arizona and New Mexico had only recently become the subject of intense archeological investigation, and the pueblo of Zuñi represented the largest and the most tradition-bound of the pueblos in New Mexico. Instead of two and a half months, Cushing ended up staying at the pueblo for four and a half years, in which time he immersed himself in studying the language, customs and ritual of the Zuñi. The performance at Harvard was part of an East Coast tour designed to attract interest and secure funds for yet another expedition to the Southwest.⁷²

Cushing's performance was an elaborate piece of showmanship. Accompanied with an entourage of Zuñi Indians who performed a version of one of the tribe's sacred dances, Cushing was not content to simply present his observations garnered from his years living among the Zuñi. As one of his contemporaries would observe, "Cushing can not stand contemplating his subjects from the outside, like a spectator at a play. He must go to the stage and take his own part in the performance."⁷³ For Cushing, that meant assuming an identity that would allow him not only to take part in the performance but also to direct it. Therefore, he assumed for himself an Indian identity, claiming to be an adopted member of the Zuñi tribe. He also designed for himself an eccentric costume that, although it deviated from traditional Zuñi dress, was intended to convey to his white American audiences that he had "become" Indian (**Fig. 2.7**).

⁷² Cushing's East Coast tour was a success as far as securing financing for another expedition. In fact, it was the benefactor responsible for constructing the auditorium in which Lummis sat to watch Cushing's performance, Mrs. Mary Hemenway, who would finance the second expedition. See Tisa Joy Wenger, *We Have A Religion: The 1920s Pueblo Indian Dance Controversy and American Religious Freedom* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 65.

⁷³ See Curtis M. Hinsley, and David R. Wilcox, eds. *The Southwest in the American Imagination: The Writings of Sylvester Baxter, 1881 – 1889* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996), 68.

Cushing's costume typically consisted of the headband traditionally worn by the Zuñi, which drew his long blond hair back from his face, a dark woolen shirt, buckskin knee breeches, long dark stockings, and leather moccasins. The effect of his costume was made all the more complete with multitudes of silver buttons that adorned his clothing and a "precious ancient necklace from a mysterious cave of relics up in the mountains" that he wore around his neck.⁷⁴ So complete was his personal transformation in Cushing's own mind that he had once signed a piece of official correspondence to his superiors at the Smithsonian as "1st War Chief of Zuñi, U.S. Asst. Ethnologist," and he decorated his New York apartment in which he lived—when not at Zuñi—to resemble a Pueblo Indian kiva.⁷⁵ Nonetheless, as suggested by both his costume and his signature, Cushing's identity was designed carefully to be neither completely that of a Zuñi nor of a white American man. Through the creation of a hybrid identity, Cushing worked to command greater authority than he might otherwise claim in either his own or his adopted culture.

Lummis was mesmerized by Cushing's performance in the Hemenway Auditorium and his stories of adventures among the "wild Indians." Writing about it eighteen years later he would remember how "a young man with long yellow hair and an almost unearthly ambidexterity of utterance made the athletes forgotten in their own arena."⁷⁶ For Lummis, Cushing was a "White Indian" who embodied an alternative mode of manhood that offered

⁷⁴ The description is from one of Cushing's contemporaries as quoted in Jerold S. Auerbach, *Explorers in Eden: Pueblo Indians and the Promised Land* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), 28.

⁷⁵ See Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 119.

⁷⁶ It is interesting to note that by Eastern standards of masculinity Cushing, like Lummis, would likely have been considered a "fop" or a "dandy." In 1885, the anthropologist Ten Kate described Cushing's pueblo apartments when living among the Zuni as "a strange jumble of Indian and Japanese artwork and Oscar Wilde's aesthetics." See Curtis Hinsley, "Cushing and Fewkes in the American Southwest" in *Observers Observed: Essays on Ethnographic Fieldwork*, ed. George W. Stocking (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 59-60.

a counterpoint to Eastern conceptions of it.⁷⁷ Several years later, Lummis would decide to undertake his own adventure to the West on his tramp across the continent.

The beginnings of this westward adventure started modestly enough. In the years immediately following his departure from Harvard in 1881, Lummis left his wife in Boston to continue with her medical studies, and he moved to Ohio to work for her father upon the family farm.⁷⁸ He quickly would decide, however, that the agrarian lifestyle was not for him. Instead, he took a job as a reporter and editor for a four-page weekly newspaper called the *Scioto Gazette*. Chillicothe, however, did not prove itself to be more conducive to Lummis's attempt to successfully establish himself somewhere. By 1883, his marriage became fraught with conflict and its emotional moorings began to dissolve, although he and Dorothea would not divorce until much later. Moreover, the neurasthenia that had brought such abrupt closure to his academic pursuits at Harvard only continued to plague him.

Neurasthenia was believed to be a persistent condition, and one that made men susceptible to other diseases.⁷⁹ Sometime in the several years following his departure from Harvard and while living in Chillicothe, Lummis contracted malaria, which prompted his decision to leave Ohio. For Lummis, the maintenance of his bodily health was of the utmost

⁷⁷ See Lummis, "A White Indian," 8.

⁷⁸ See Karen Lystra, *Searching the Heart: Women, Men and Romantic Love in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 207-210.

⁷⁹ It is interesting to note that the contraction of either one of the two diseases from which Lummis suffered in the 1880s, neurasthenia and malaria, was commonly understood by the American reading public to invite contagion by the other. In 1880, Dr. George Miller Beard first published *A Practical Treatise on Nervous Exhaustion (Neurasthenia): Its Symptoms, Nature, Sequences, Treatment* and it was he who would make this link explicit over the course of the following decade. He would write that neurasthenia was a "door which opens into quite a large number of diseases of the nervous system." As formulated by Beard, the contagion could also work in the reverse, for he also believed the contraction of malaria could stimulate the development of neurasthenia. In his 1888 edition of his book he would write as follows: "Malarial poisoning frequently stimulates neurasthenia, and also induces a special type of disease which may be called malarial neurasthenia." See George Miller Beard's *A Practical Treatise on Nervous Exhaustion (Neurasthenia): Its Symptoms, Nature, Sequences, Treatment* (New York: William Wood and Company, 1880), 101, and the 1888 edition of this same book, 163.

importance because its decay was also a social indictment of his moral character. He would later write of his reasons for leaving Ohio in his 1892 book, *A Tramp Across the Continent*:

I had tested Ohio for two years, with results more flattering to the climate than to me. The ‘ancient metropolis’—former capitol of the State—where the conductor of the train used to bawl in at the car door “*Chillicothe! Fifteen minutes for quinine!*” – had proved itself lovable in all other ways but it was meteorologically accursed. Its people are delightful, but its oldest inhabitant—and the oldest bustling one—Dad Fevernager, quite the reverse. He never ‘shook’ with me but once, and that was enough. And so it was that I moved.

The reference that Lummis made to “Fevernager” was a common reference for malaria, and it is obvious from the pugilistic imagery with which Lummis rendered his contraction of the disease that he suffered from it greatly. As reported in late nineteenth century newspapers, among the chief symptoms of the disease was “a desire to ‘climb on the stove’ and a tendency to commit assault and battery on everyone who approaches.”⁸⁰ These particular symptoms were induced by the extreme chills suffered by those afflicted with the disease, for which quinine, a muscle relaxant, was administered.

Lummis conceived of the fever as a “Dad,” a father figure, with whom he had only dared to entangle once as he was “shook.” While the shaking by Lummis was a reference to the physical shaking that occurs when one contracted the fever, the image of the fever as a paternalistic one also suggests the shaking to which a child can be subjected by someone who possesses both greater authority over him as well as greater strength. The imagery suggests that Lummis felt like a small, powerless child against the disease, and his pronouncement of Ohio as “meteorologically accursed” hints at an otherwise unexpressed rage.

⁸⁰ See *Medical Review: A Weekly Retrospect of Medicine and Science* 25, no. 20 (May 14, 1892), 398.

Lummis began to associate the landscape of Ohio, itself, with illness and bodily decay, and his powerlessness to defend against it. The fact that Lummis would view the landscape as the source of his illness was not unusual for the time. Although the germ theory of disease was widely published among the scientific community by the 1880s, the theory of miasmas was one that was still much more widely accepted. In this theory, the earth itself was responsible for emitting noxious fumes that caused contagion; such fumes depended upon moisture and the decomposition of organic matter, so some locations were more susceptible to such contagion than others. It appears that Lummis wrestled with exactly where to assign blame for his disease. The image of the crowded commuter train in which the conductor daily calls out to passengers "*Chillicothe! Fifteen minutes for quinine!*" suggests both the landscape as a source for his illness but also the crowded congestion associated with the commuter train of the metropolis.

Lummis conceived of his affliction with disease as leaving him no recourse but to recognize the power of his adversary and to retreat from the city. However, for him, this also represented somewhat of an emasculating option. Beginning in 1869, with the completion of the first transcontinental railroad, movement to the spaces of the West was increasingly associated with health-seekers, particularly the arid deserts of New Mexico, Arizona, and Southern California. For Lummis, as for many other American men, true manhood meant denying the weakness of the body and countering nervelessness with a strenuous exertion of will. Therefore, he conceived of health-seekers as pathetic and effete in their admission of weakness, and he did not count himself amongst their ranks despite his own illness. Therefore, when writing of his tramp several years later, Lummis sought to distance himself from any weakness his readers might perceive in his choice of Los Angeles as a destination

and to assert instead his physical fitness. He told his readers that he had been offered a train ticket to Los Angeles, which would have been a decidedly more comfortable and faster mode of transport, but that he had rejected the offer in favor of walking. He wrote as follows:

I was after neither time nor money, but life—not life in the pathetic meaning of the health-seeker, for I was perfectly well and a trained athlete; but life in the truer, broader sweeter sense, the exhilarant joy of living outside the sorry fences of society, living with a perfect body and a wakened mind, a life where brain and brawn and leg and lung all rejoice and grow together.⁸¹

To Lummis, health-seekers were those active in their pursuit of “time and money,” and he believed that he observed them enacting their ambition daily in the ride upon a commuter train and in their subjection of their bodies to the soul-deadening space of the metropolitan office. To him, striving for money was synonymous with a desire for ease and luxury, and they were the only conceivable reason that one would confine oneself to such a work-a-day routine. They represented just some of the many “sorry fences of society” that Lummis believed constrained him and others, and that were ultimately responsible for their illness, as leisure time and money enabled the cultivation of luxury and over-civilization.

For Lummis, his choice to tramp across the continent while afflicted with malaria also represented a strenuous assertion of his nerve force against his own over-civilization. To Lummis, disease was evidence of civilization in decline, and he resented that it posed an unseen adversary that had the power to render his body at its mercy. Therefore, he thought that one needed to escape the corrupting forces of civilization and to seize life for oneself. Otherwise, external social forces, or what he called “the sorry fences of society,” would

⁸¹ Charles Lummis, *A Tramp Across the Continent* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892), 1.

introduce decay. For Lummis, it was only the “wild country” of the Western frontier that could offer an antidote to the effeminizing influence of Eastern cities. It was both a space noticeably absent of the civilizing force of white American women and one that offered Lummis, as well as other white American men, the opportunity to prove one’s manhood by demonstrating nervelessness.⁸² Unlike Lummis’s combat with malaria, a foe against which he felt powerless, the space across which he would traverse on his tramp offered to him a formidable adversary that he could meet in battle. He would seek to wrest it under his control in a strenuous act of will over his own body, testing his physical strength and his mental endurance.

As Lummis embarked upon his tramp, his weekly newspaper narratives reiterated over and over again that the spaces of the West were filled with opportunities to prove oneself a “manly man.” This he offered in contrast to the “timid stay-at-homes in a tame country,” those men who stayed in the Eastern cities. Despite the fact that others believed Lummis’s body to be marked by the effeminizing influence of the city, he nonetheless embraced the ideas that were the source of his own stigmatization. Civilization, to him, was conducive to the formation of “sissies” and “dudes” who were androgynous in their sexuality, and they threatened to destroy the Anglo-Saxon race. Lummis viewed the cities of the East, popularly conceived of as “civilization” in contrast to the unsettled spaces of the

⁸² Anglo-Saxon American women did not arrive in significant numbers to the American West until the 1920s. It was an absence that Lummis noted to readers in one of his dispatches as he laid out for them his “Grand Transcontinental Female Importing Scheme” while staying amongst a mining camp in Colorado. Despite his scheme for the importation of Anglo-American women to the West, it also was a space in which he did not seem that perturbed by their absence. See Charles Lummis, “Great Head! Lum’s Grand Transcontinental Female Importing Scheme,” *Los Angeles Daily Times*, 1 March 1885, 8.

West, as a “lie” that kept the economic engines of industrial capitalism fueled, but in so doing, also destroyed Anglo-Saxon American manhood. He wrote:

Somehow our civilization has always seemed to me to civilize backwards. Its whole tendency is to laziness, for it is always inventing something to supplant work: and laziness breeds mental, physical and moral worthlessness as sure as God made little apples. The dude is the natural outcome. He (or it) is not a separate species but merely the prototype of what we are all coming to in a few generations. He is like nearly all our young men, only more so. Civilization is mighty fast running the race physically, and the mental and moral decay are sure corollaries. No, I’m not a pessimist. I’m as far from that as anyone you ever saw. But facts are facts, and it did me good to get out of the dude-belt into a wild country not yet emasculated by civilization [sic].⁸³

Lummis believed that the cities of the East emasculated men, as the luxury associated with civilization made them soft and amenable to subordinating their will to that of others. His narratives of his tramp were filled with anecdotes of his dangerous adventures, such as an encounter with a gang of white American men who attempted to rob him but whom he scared off through a show of bravado.

More often than not, however, his exploits involved wild creatures against whom he displayed risky and violent shows of force, which he then described to readers in vivid, physical detail claiming to triumph over them. For example, he described his befriending a group of men with whom he participated in a bear hunt. The hunt was constructed as a show of masculine force against the creatures of a feminized “wild country,” for instead of seeking out a bear to kill in the open, the hunters ventured into the bear’s own cave in order to kill her and each of her cubs. For Lummis, the spaces of the West offered the opportunity to strenuously exert one’s will over others, even if only animal others.⁸⁴

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ See Charles Lummis, “Fortifying Behind Space” *Los Angeles Daily Times*, 18 January 1884, 3.

For Lummis, it was not enough to have physical encounters upon his tramp that proved his manliness, nor even to be able to relay them to his readers. It also needed to become a piece of his physical identity. Along the entirety of his journey, he collected trophies that would later convey to others in a visceral way the moment of his conquest of the landscape. These he would pack carefully in a box to be sent by train to await him in Los Angeles, such as the antlers of a 200 pound buck from whose head he had severed them by driving a round of bullets into its head with a six-shooter until he could dislocate the horns—still united by a chunk of bone—from the skull. These, he told readers, would be displayed upon the wall in his new Los Angeles home, and he challenged his readers to produce another pair so fine as his.⁸⁵

For Lummis, too, the West was a place in which the dominant interests of the established social hierarchy of the East were removed. His elevated status relative to other white American men that he encountered, such as railroad workers and the miners, made it possible for him to relax and to enjoy a male camaraderie that was only heightened by the absence of women. He admired how the railroad workers and miners physically engaged their bodies in the transformation of the landscape, and he identified with their class struggles against the power of industrial capitalism.⁸⁶ He would write in one of his dispatches as follows:

⁸⁵ See Charles Lummis, "On Again" *Los Angeles Daily Times*, 24 May 1885, 2.

⁸⁶ Lummis described enjoying a heightened sense of male camaraderie in the hunters' camp where they demonstrated their masculine affection for each other by "sleeping together spoon-fashion." As E. Anthony Rotondo notes, it was not at all uncommon or socially censured for men in the late nineteenth century to sleep in one another's arms. For Lummis to note this to his readers, in conjunction with his descriptions of the miners as manly "men," as opposed to "dudes," would only serve to reinforce the perception of the West as a male space to his readers. See Lummis, "Fortifying Behind Space," 3, and E. Anthony Rotondo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 83.

The West is full of young men—largely young men—who have come out from the East to carve a fortune for this strong young country whose makers they are. And they are men—men in body as in mind and heart. Sturdy, honorable, self-reliant, full of energy and strength, yet tender as only the manly can be, they have eliminated themselves from the dude-belt of the East and have become ALMOST A NEW RACE [emphasis his].”⁸⁷

For Lummis, the miners and the hunters of the West embodied a model of virile Anglo-Saxon masculinity freed from the confines of society. In them, he thought he glimpsed the hope for a revitalized Anglo-Saxon American manhood. He believed that this could be a potent force for the establishment of a new, greater civilization not subject to the decadence of the urbanized East.

However, the most significant part of Lummis’s tramp would be as he left the miners and rail workers in Colorado and entered into the spaces of New Mexico and Arizona, for this landscape was as in stark a juxtaposition to the cities of the East as it was possible for him to get. In New Mexico and Arizona, Lummis felt like he was able to enter into uncharted territory, far removed from the “lie” that was civilization. The desert was a strange landscape, so vastly different from any Lummis had encountered elsewhere on his tramp. It was filled with creatures that were ominous to him in their appearance, such as snakes with venom-filled fangs and large tarantula spiders that he thought resembled hairy devils. As upon the landscape of Colorado in which he ventured into the she-bear’s den, Lummis would also demonstrate to the readers of his dispatches his aggression and dominance on this landscape. For example, he would describe to them that he discovered a rattlesnake sleeping coiled in the hot sun and that before it awoke, he cut it into two with a hunting knife.

⁸⁷ See Lummis, “Great Head!” 8.

For Lummis, much of the strangeness of the landscape that he encountered in the final stages of his tramp across the desert of New Mexico, Arizona, and Southern California derived not from his encounters with its creatures, but with its peoples. At the time that Lummis first entered on foot the arid deserts of New Mexico, Arizona, and Southern California in the winter of 1884, these lands had only been acquired from Mexico as part of the United States for little over three decades. There was little visible presence within the vast space of these deserts of white Americans, who had only recently begun to arrive there in any substantial numbers. Moreover, travel there, even by rail, was only beginning to become popular with the competition of fares introduced with the completion of the second transcontinental rail line in 1881. Nonetheless, travel there was still perceived as a somewhat arduous and uncomfortable journey, appealing only to those who conceived of themselves as adventurous.

To Lummis, there were two races indigenous to the arid desert lands area—"Mexicans" and "Indians"—and both merited extensive observation and commentary by him to his readers. The northern swath of New Mexico and Arizona was not only the location of the pueblo-building Zuñi Indian tribe—a tribe to whom Lummis had been introduced during their performance with Cushing in Harvard's Hemenway Auditorium—but also other pueblo-building tribes such as the Tewa, Keres, Jemez, and the Hopi. Also located within the vast space that Lummis would traverse were other tribes with cultures quite distinct from that of the Pueblo Indians, such as the Navajo, the Hualapai, the Mojave and the Cahuilla.

Absent a large presence of white Americans, the landscape offered Lummis the opportunity to feel as if he were an explorer upon some distant continent. He would later

write, in 1892, an article featured in *St. Nicholas Magazine* entitled “Strange Corners of Our Country” that described to readers just some of the mysteries that this exotic space held forth for travelers willing to venture to see them. He wrote as follows:

These are but a few of the strange things at home of which we know not. There are thousands of others; and if it shall ever become as fashionable to write about America as to write about Africa, we shall have a chance to learn that in the heart of the most civilized nation on earth there are still savage races whose customs are stranger and more interesting than those of the Congo.⁸⁸

As revealed by this passage, this area of the American continent was conceived of by Lummis as an exotic landscape—as exotic as any elsewhere in the world—and peopled with primitive others.

The landscape was a very different one in its social complexity than the one to which Lummis was accustomed in the East. His newspaper dispatches from this segment of his tramp reveal a sorting and cataloguing of the cultures that he encountered as he made his way across these lands and how he—and by extension his white American readership—should understand themselves in relation to them. To many Americans, including Lummis, these were still relatively unknown lands inhabited by people quite different from themselves. Lummis perceived them as peopled primarily by exotic Spanish-speaking Mexicans and Indians.⁸⁹ However, in reality, Lummis’s conceptions of racial difference were very much a product of late-nineteenth century thought. As previously discussed, the long

⁸⁸ Charles Lummis, “Strange Corners of Our Country,” *St. Nicholas Magazine* 19 (1892), 122.

⁸⁹ Although this was the general conception among the majority of white Americans, this was a myth. For example, since the Spanish Colonial era, black Africans comprised a significant portion of the population in some parts of the West. Of the forty-four people who founded the city of Los Angeles in 1781, only two were white Europeans. The other forty-two founders were black Africans, American Indians, or *mestizo*, some mixture of the three races. See William D. Estrada, *The Los Angeles Plaza: Sacred and Contested Space* (Austin: University of Texas, 2008), 248.

practice of mestizaje in the Southwest meant that there were no pure Indian or Mexican cultures that he encountered.⁹⁰

Lummis was also careful to sort the people of the Southwest in terms of the very real social and economic distinctions that he perceived. For instance, upon his arrival in Santa Fe, he found that many of its inhabitants were Spanish-speaking. Despite the commonality of a shared language, however, he almost immediately discerned among the people of Santa Fe a system of social relations in which some Spanish-speaking people were considered superior to others, such as Don Manuel Chavez whom he befriended and with whom he would stay as a guest in his home.

Essentially, Chavez's social status was New Mexico's equivalent to that of a Californio. He was the head of a prominent family that possessed great power and influence in the New Mexico Territory, and he was considered one of its pioneers. To Lummis, Don Manuel Chavez was a romantic figure, similarly adventurous to him in his temperament. Chavez regaled Lummis with stories in which he had conquered the landscape and its inhabitants during his many bloody encounters with the "savage" Apache, Navajo and Ute Indians, and Lummis was clear to distinguish the family of Chavez as "Upper-Crust Mexicans" of patrician bearing quite different than the "greasers" that he encountered elsewhere.⁹¹

⁹⁰ See Martha Menchaca, *Recovering History, Constructing Race: The Indian, Black, and White Roots of Mexican Americans* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002), 59.

⁹¹ Although unbeknownst to Lummis at the time, this social caste system was based upon perceived racial difference. Those with lighter colored skin were considered of purer blood as descendants of Spanish Colonials and those with darker skin the descendants of *indios* and *afromestizos*. In fact, Lummis was, like other Anglos, somewhat oblivious, at first, to the way in which the social hierarchy of "Mexican" culture mirrored Anglo-Saxon American culture. By the time of Lummis' arrival to the West, there was an established social hierarchy among Spanish-speaking peoples based upon gradations of whiteness in which the elite based their claims of superiority upon the degree to which their skin color reflected Spanish European descent. It would

For Lummis, the adobe *hacienda*, or ranch, of Don Manuel Chavez was especially remarkable for he described it in great detail to the readers of his dispatches. It would deeply impress him as a house in which both taste and pleasure, as well as masculine power, reigned. Taste was manifested in the manner in which the goods associated with gentility were displayed, such as in the large well-lighted rooms that were handsomely papered and carpeted with lace curtains framing the windows. Lummis was impressed, too, with the way in which other objects that connoted to him primitiveness were tastefully interspersed with “American style” furnishings, such as a Mexican *fagon*, or fireplace, featured in the sitting-room and the Navajo Indian blankets used by the Chavez family as rugs and table covers.

To Lummis, the generous hospitality extended to him by the Chavezes appeared to characterize the house, as he would experience its pleasure throughout the duration of his stay. He would note to readers of his dispatches that there he was treated “like the king of trumps after the ace is played” as he was given the finest room in the house and told by its owner that the house should be considered his own.⁹²

He found pleasure in the bounty of delicious foods “unfamiliar to Eastern folk” set upon the table for him at breakfast and again at dinner. He also took great delight in the singing of Spanish songs and playing of games by the assembled family group and friends

not be until the 1890s that Lummis would learn to give the deference to elite Spanish-speaking peoples that they desired by calling them “Spaniards” rather than “Mexicans.” Lummis was perhaps much more attuned than many of his contemporaries in perceiving this social hierarchy, although he did nonetheless refer to the Chavez family as “Upper Class Mexicans.” In fact, many elite Spanish-speaking peoples living across the Southwest at this time felt slighted that arriving Anglos perceived them as “Mexicans.” They increasingly worked to provide Anglos with a vocabulary that would differentiate Spanish-speaking peoples from one another. Those claiming Spanish decent increasingly became known as “Spaniards,” or oftentimes in California, as “Californios.” For discussions of this, see Barbara Voss, “From Casta to Californio, II: Social Identities in Late Spanish American and Mexican-Era Alta California,” in *The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis: Race and Sexuality in Colonial Francisco* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008), 100-116, and a chapter by Tomás Almaguer entitled “The True Significance of the Word ‘White’” in *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009), 45-74.

⁹² See Charles Lummis, “In Clover,” *Los Angeles Daily Times*, 14 April 1885, 3.

after the evening meal. Also greatly pleasurable to Lummis was the sight of the beautiful *senoritas* of the Chavez household who greeted him at the household's table. As Lummis would relate to the readers of his dispatches, he believed each woman to possess "*un chiquito Diablo*"—a tiny devil—in the corners of her eyes. This suggested to him that the women's attractiveness derived from the hint of danger lurking in their depths, and it was one of the many dangers encountered upon Lummis's tramp that he made clear to his readers that he would meet completely without fear, if only given the opportunity for conquest. The price to be exacted by the loser of the games played after the evening meal was the forfeit of a kiss. It was a penalty that Lummis would describe to his readers as one not exacted from him but that he would hardly be loathe for the opportunity "to fall on the neck of one of those *senoritas*."⁹³

Although the house of the Chavez family signified ease, luxury, and pleasure to Lummis, it was also an environment in which his indulging in such luxury did not appear to render him effeminate in the eyes of others. Instead, luxury and pleasure appeared to be perceived as manly in the Chavez household. It was signified in the stories of Indian conquest with which Don Manuel regaled Lummis, as well as by the displays of privilege engendered by that conquest, such as the "half a dozen or more native servants about the premises" that Lummis observed.⁹⁴ Moreover, the ease and luxury manifest within the household signified to Lummis a social order that was greatly amenable to him, for it was one in which he, as a guest, appeared to be recognized at the center of that pleasure as its king.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

However, the Spanish-speaking “Upper-Crust Mexicans” were not the only people of whom Lummis took close notice on his tramp and in his dispatches. Equally important for Lummis was to attempt to understand himself in relation to “Indians.” The Southwest to which Lummis arrived was one in which he carried in his mind an image of the Zuñi Indians who had danced upon a stage at Harvard and how Cushing’s adoption by the Pueblos as a “White Indian” had somehow made the blond long-haired young man seem somehow more manly than all of the athletes in their own auditorium.

By the time that Lummis left the miners and hunters of Colorado to enter into New Mexico, he imagined himself similarly transformed by his tramp from an Eastern “dude” into a “manly man.” He had refashioned his costume to convey this to others with a pistol that he kept tucked in his belt, a wide brimmed hat, and a Mexican serape that he carried over his shoulder (**Fig. 2.8**). As he progressed on his trip, he would also begin to adorn himself in some of his hunting trophies, such as the skin of the rattlesnake that he had killed and the pelt of a coyote. However, he had yet to see for himself the pueblos of which Cushing had spoken with such authority that were so emblematic to him of Cushing’s own transformation into a manly man of the West, nor did he know how he would be received there.

The pueblo of Zuñi where Cushing had lived was located a much farther distance from the train tracks that Lummis followed on his tramp, and he would opt to go to see the performance of dances at the pueblo of Laguna, instead.⁹⁵ Lummis would describe to his readers his arrival at Laguna in terms of its unique architectural setting, different than any

⁹⁵ It is worth noting here that Anglo-American visitors had begun to arrive to these dances with some frequency beginning in the early 1880s.

that they might have chance to encounter, and the assembled throngs of Pueblos gathered upon the rooftops to watch the performance of the dance in the plaza below. He would write as follows:

To the unique town of Laguna, itself, I may sometime devote a separate letter. On the south side of the ledge, on which Laguna is built in a natural depression, is a plaza or corral, about 100 feet wide and 200 long, hemmed in by a square of houses, broken only by a narrow entrance at the eastern end, and thither we bent our way. The walls and the rooftops were brilliant with gaily appareled men, women and children, breathless spectators of the drama in the square below.⁹⁶

However, for Lummis, the architecture of Laguna was a setting for a performance far more important than the one of the Indians located in the square below. Instead, it was his own.

Lummis would climb a ladder to join the Pueblos who had arranged themselves on the rooftops around the square and, as he did so, he would imagine all of their eyes upon him. To the readers of his dispatches, Lummis would be careful to describe not only his own appearance, but also his centrality in this performance. He continued as follows:

My non-descript appearance as I climbed up a house and sat on the roof, captured the whole outfit, as well it might. The sombrero, with its snake-skin band, the knife and the two six-shooters in my belt; the bulging duck coat and the fringed snowy leggings, the skunk-skin dangling from my blanket roll, and last, but not least, the stuffed coyote over my shoulders, looking as natural as life, made up a picture I feel they never saw before and probably never will again. They must have thought me Pa-puk-ke-wis, Wild Man of the Plains.⁹⁷

The reference by Lummis to Pa-puk-ke-wis was one that many, if not most, of his readers would have been familiar, for Pa-puk-ke-wis was one of the main protagonists of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's popular 1855 poem *Hiawatha*.⁹⁸ He was the fictional "handsome Yenadizze warrior" of the epic poem who was known as a mischief-maker and an

⁹⁶ See Charles F. Lummis, "Lum's Diary" *Los Angeles Daily Times*, 29 March 1885, 5.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ See Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *Poems, Volume Two* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1857), 338.

adventurer among his tribe. For Lummis, sitting upon the roof of the pueblo, he imagined that the Pueblo Indians recognized his transformation, like Cushing, into a white Indian.

However, while Lummis conceived of his own transformation into a white Indian as making him more manly, he perceived the all-male ensemble of Indian dancers in the square below as effeminate. He described the leader of the dance to the readers of his dispatches as prancing around as “the belle of the ball, or leader of the ballet.” Although Lummis admired his physique as “a superbly formed Indian, about six feet three inches in height, and straight as an arrow” he also found him to be a leader of “queer leapers” who carried a “lance with gay-colored ribbons that he uses much after the fashion of a drum major.” Nonetheless, he admired, too, the vitality of all of the dancers for the “power of lung and muscles” that they exhibited in their dancing.⁹⁹

Lummis would view all of the indigenous peoples that he would encounter upon his tramp in terms of his own conception of civilization and its maladies. Despite the ability that Lummis attributed to the spaces of the Southwest to transform one from an Eastern “dude” to a manly man of the “wild country,” the landscape across which he would resume his tramp was one that was nonetheless somewhat ambiguous to him in its meaning. It was a vast space in which almost everywhere he looked he saw evidence of modernity and its corrupting and decadent influence. For example, on his tramp he would describe to his readers that the Western cowboys that he encountered were the biggest dandies that he had ever encountered before in his life. He would write as follows:

⁹⁹ See Lummis, “Lum’s Diary,” 5.

Talk about your dudes in the East—and you will hardly find a thoroughbred west of Philadelphia—why, they don’t know the a,b,c of dandyism! If you would see the finical fop in the country, seek out a western cowboy dressed for a visit to town.¹⁰⁰

The particularly salient features of the Western cowboy’s dress that Lummis believed were overly dandified were “his costly boots with ridiculous French heels, his silver spurs jingling with bells, and the pair of pearl-mounted six-shooters at his belt.”¹⁰¹ He perceived these as goods bespeaking of luxury, but perhaps even worse to him, they were clearly imported from elsewhere.

For Lummis, however, the ultimate sign of modernity was the railroad tracks that connected him to the cities of the East. These were omnipresent in his journey. On some days, he would count the rail ties to mark his progress. On other days he would make companions of the section gangs working to lay rail spurs. Sometimes, he even would hitch a ride with them on their handcars. However, the train was something that was not only a reminder of the moment he inhabited, placing him firmly in the present, but also something that he actively rejected. For although the strenuous exertion of a 3500-mile walk was intended to garner publicity for Lummis and the two newspapers to which he sent his dispatches, it was also a symbolic rejection of the modernity that the train represented. The train was a symbol of over-civilization and emasculation, where one’s vitality was daily under siege as remembered by Lummis in a conductor’s daily cry of “Fifteen minutes for quinine!”

The same railroad that Lummis believed responsible for his own maladies, he also viewed as responsible for that of the American Indian’s. For Lummis, the evidence of the railroad ruining the aborigine was perhaps no better demonstrated than in his encounters

¹⁰⁰ See Byrkit, *Charles Lummis: Letters from the Southwest*, 28.

¹⁰¹ See Lummis, *A Tramp Across the Continent*, 13.

with the Mojave Indians as he made his way on his tramp across the California desert.

Although he admired the Mojaves for their athletic physiques, which carried associations for him of “virility” and “character,” he nonetheless quickly assessed them as “sadly degenerate in their morals.”¹⁰² Some of the compelling evidence for him was the nakedness of their bodies relative to his own. He would remark to the readers of his dispatches that “the men wear only breech-clout, and the women a single garment generally bought of flaming bandanas bought in the piece.”¹⁰³

Perhaps even more appalling to him, however, was the evidence he saw of the influence of modernity on their culture. For Lummis, the primitive aborigine as evidenced in the Mojave men’s breechclouts, was incompatible with the modernity of the ordinary undershirts and the long scarves that they would often wear with them, costumes that he found as garish and as emasculating as if they were to wear the costume of a burlesque dancer. He would write of the Mojave men in one of his dispatches the following:

Three out of four are content with a wardrobe that would make Alice Oates green with envy—an ordinary undershirt and a “G-string.” Some of the more toney bucks add a long scarf, whose ends float gracefully upon the passing breeze.¹⁰⁴

Moreover, in Lummis’s brief interaction with the Mojaves, he was also witness to the tribe practicing a cremation ceremony upon a pyre. However, the performance of a ceremony that he related to his readers as dating from “time immemorial” was enacted not upon a pile of brush, or “primitive” materials. Instead, as described by Lummis, the pyre was assembled of

¹⁰² See Lummis, *A Tramp Across the Continent*, 258.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ See Charles Lummis, “Into California,” *Los Angeles Daily Times*, 4 July 1885, 7. Lummis’s reference to the Mojave women’s “flaming bandannas bought in the piece” also suggests that he found the commercial fabrics made available to them by the railroad’s presence both garish and a “corrupting” influence.

salvaged railroad ties, the materials most emblematic of modernity and civilization.¹⁰⁵ The series of images that Lummis presented to readers of his encounters with the Mojave suggests that he found something discomfiting in the Mojaves' use of the railroad ties; to Lummis, symbols of modernity "ruined" the Indians because they revealed the Mojave, not as belonging to a past uncontaminated by modernity but to Lummis's own present.¹⁰⁶

Despite the effeminacy that Lummis had also attributed to the dancers at Laguna, he nonetheless concluded his tramp with the idea that it was the pueblo villages of the Southwest that held the "primitive" peoples most uncorrupted by modernity.¹⁰⁷ Unlike many of the tribes he encountered located in close proximity to the railroad tracks that he followed in his tramp, the Pueblos were relatively isolated from the railroad. Moreover, while he highly valued his own mobility across the landscape, he eschewed the nomadic and transitory building practices of some tribes, such as the Navajos, who built temporary dwellings called *hogans*. He would equate the character of the Navajos with that of their architecture as he contrasted their dwellings against those of the Pueblos: "In place of the comfortable, neat and substantial Pueblo cities, they have no fixed and enduring habitations but dwell here and there among the valleys and hills in *hogans*, or rude shelters, built of pine branches and dirt, with one or more sides fully open to the weather."¹⁰⁸

To him, the sedentary and permanent qualities of the Pueblos villages of Northern Arizona and New Mexico were those of an "ideal" Indian. He would write of the Pueblo

¹⁰⁵ See Lummis, *A Tramp Across the Continent*, 258.

¹⁰⁶ Lummis' initial impressions appear formative, for he would not deviate greatly over time from the cultures that he found worthy of further investigation and those that he dismissed out of hand as already corrupted.

¹⁰⁷ For example, see Lummis's description of the Hualapai Indians on his tramp. See Charles Lummis, "On Again," 2.

¹⁰⁸ See Charles F. Lummis, "Into Arizona," *Los Angeles Daily Times*, 17 May 1885, 2.

Indians that they “live chiefly by a very fair scheme of agriculture, are clean, honest, hospitable and chaste.”¹⁰⁹ Moreover, Lummis perceived that the permanency and relative isolation of the Pueblos allowed them to better retain their traditional practices. For Lummis, the only Indians that he encountered upon his tramp who he considered uncorrupted were those who were the makers of things. The presence of handicraft among Indians demonstrated that while the presence of industrial transport across the landscape of the Southwest was an undeniable reality, the industrial processes associated with Eastern capitalism had not yet taken hold across the entire Southwest. He would note to his readers the skill of various Pueblo tribes in their ability to produce well-made goods by hand—the Hopi for their baskets, and the Acomas and Zuñi for their pottery.¹¹⁰ While he would acknowledge the Navajos for their ability to produce beautiful blankets and jewelry, he would assess them as already evidencing cultural degeneracy as a people whom he believed to be “dirty, thievish, treacherous and revoltingly licentious.”¹¹¹

In the years following his tramp, Lummis would write explicitly of his opinions of the corrupting influence of the railroad in relation to Indians, being careful to distinguish the Pueblo Indians from others as quiet children of the Sun. He would write:

The railroad ruins an Indian with marvelous rapidity, and even these quiet Children of the Sun, who are not Indians at all, but true Aztecs, ‘Grow no better fast’ under its baleful influence. Therefore, if you would visit the aborigine, find him as far as possible from all of the adjuncts of that dubious thing called civilization.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ See Lummis, “On Again,” 2.

¹¹¹ See Lummis, “Into Arizona,” 2.

¹¹² See Patrick T. Houlihan and Betsy E. Houlihan, *Lummis in the Pueblos* (Flagstaff: Northland Press,

While Lummis believed that civilization was something that would ruin an Indian with a remarkable rapidity, it was nonetheless a place that he, himself, felt compelled to live. In 1885, upon the conclusion of his tramp, he arrived at the city of Los Angeles where he would make his home. While in his tramp across the continent Lummis had actively eschewed modernity, it appears that he was hoping to find in Los Angeles not a counterpoint to the cities of the East, but, rather, a place that offered the opportunity to better establish himself. He would later describe his disappointment upon his arrival in just how undeveloped and lacking Los Angeles was to him in terms of its modernity. For Lummis, nowhere would this be better demonstrated than in the physical fabric of the built environment; he would call Los Angeles “a dull little place of 12,000 people, with some six buildings of three stories or better.”¹¹³

However, the town of Los Angeles would grow exponentially in a real-estate boom in the years immediately following his arrival there. Between 1885 and 1889, Los Angeles would grow from 12,000 to 50,000 residents. It was a boom that Lummis was well positioned to observe as he had bought an interest in the fledgling *Los Angeles Daily Times* and had been given a job as its city editor.¹¹⁴ It was growth, however, about which Lummis was conflicted. He viewed it as both a miraculous tide in which immigrants from the East joined with him in creating a new life in the Southwest but also as growth in which he lacked sufficient control of his own destiny. Having left the East in frustration with his attempts to establish an adequate social foothold for himself there, he saw in the growth of the city the

¹¹³ See Charles Lummis, “The Right Hand of the Continent,” *Out West* 18, no. 3, (March 1903), 313.

¹¹⁴ That Lummis actually bought an interest in the newspaper, rather than just being appointed to a job as city editor, is related by Lummis in one of his published stories. See Charles F. Lummis, “My Friend Will: A Story,” *McClure's* 3, November 1894, 532.

development of a power structure in which, once again, his stake in the social hierarchy was threatened.

This fact is evidenced in a narrative that Lummis would craft for *McClure's Magazine* in 1894 entitled "My Friend Will: A Story." It would soon become apparent to the reader that the protagonist of the story, "Will," was a thinly disguised stand-in for Lummis, himself. As the story unfolded, it also became quite clear to the reader that the choice of name for the main character of the story was carefully selected by the author, and the protagonist was intended to illustrate to readers what Lummis believed to be his own strongest attribute, his own strength of willpower in the face of adversity and struggle.

In the story, Lummis described to his readers that the city of Los Angeles to which he had recently arrived was one in which the interests of white American men of a lesser social status than he, "the rougher element" who owned saloons and gambling houses, held sway.¹¹⁵ While Lummis was in no way averse to indulging in behaviors that were considered vices, it appears that he resented that even here, in what amounted to a dusty frontier town, he did not occupy the position of power to which he felt entitled as his birthright.¹¹⁶ Therefore, as he described to his readers, he subsequently positioned himself in the role of moral reformer in his job as the newspaper's city editor. He spent much of his effort engaged in a struggle "to impose a new order of things, and [he] waged a relentless war on

¹¹⁵ Ibid, 531.

¹¹⁶ Lummis was well known for indulging in many vices. If anything, he derived great satisfaction from finding ways to communicate to readers in his tramp across the continent his exploits in saloons and gambling dens, as well as his sexual exploits with prostitutes. He would always describe these experiences carefully and through innuendo so that he could get away with putting such things in print. It is interesting to note that Lummis appears to have viewed his participation in these activities as merely an exercise of his strenuous manhood while, to him, they bespoke of the corruption of the other parties involved. In his 1892 book, *A Tramp Across the Continent*, he would tone down a lot of the language that he used in his the dispatches of his initial tramp, so it is important to consult the actual newspaper articles written as dispatches along his journey.

lawlessness and wrong.”¹¹⁷ To Lummis, it was a battle of wills in which he believed his would eventually prevail.

However, as also described to his readers, in 1888, after three years of “conflict [that] was unrelenting and to the knife,” Lummis’s body once again intervened.¹¹⁸ As at Harvard and in Chillicothe, his body submitted to illness. At the age of twenty-eight, he suffered from a stroke that rendered his left arm paralyzed and his speech and gait affected.¹¹⁹ However, instead of choosing to stay in Los Angeles to recuperate, Lummis persuaded his doctors that he would better recover elsewhere. Significantly, the place to which he chose to retreat from the onset of disease, which represented to him his over-civilization, was the remote desert of New Mexico across which he had tramped three years earlier. He would return to the site where before he had found so much pleasure and had been treated like a king, the home of the Chavez family. This time it was to the ranch of one of Don Manuel Chavez’s sons, Amado, located in San Mateo near Grants, New Mexico. Lummis would remain in New Mexico for a four-year period, from 1888 to 1892.¹²⁰

Just as Lummis had previously sought to exert his nerve force against the weakness of his body by setting out on his tramp, he now again sought to cure his paralysis through a strenuous physical regimen executed in the outdoors—riding his horse, hunting, and fishing. He also engaged in his new hobby, photography, which he had only just learned in the previous three years while in his job at the *Los Angeles Daily Times* (**Fig. 2.9**). In 1886, Lummis had been assigned to cover the Apache wars in Southern Arizona. There, he had

¹¹⁷ See Charles F. Lummis, “My Friend Will: A Story,” *McClure’s* 3, Nov. 1894, 531-539.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 532.

¹¹⁹ See Charles Lummis, *Pueblo Indian Folk Stories*, with a Foreword by Robert F. Gish (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), xviii.

¹²⁰ See Gutiérrez, *Nuevomexicano Cultural Legacy*, 13.

been particularly impressed with a photographer named Camillus Fly. He conceived of Fly, who had photographed the surrender of Geronimo, as “a nerry photographer from Tombstone, who had gone into Geronimo’s fortress the day before, and ‘took’ the whole place and everyone in it.”¹²¹ From that point on, Lummis conceived of photography as an act of nervelessness similar to his other manly pursuits requiring acts of bravado, such as hunting. To Lummis, the nerry way that Camillus Fly ventured into Geronimo’s fortress was similar to the way that Lummis had once ventured in the company of hunters into a she-bear’s den, where the party proceeded to kill the bear and her cubs. He viewed it as a strenuous exertion of nerve force. Moreover, photography, like hunting, culminated in the possession of a trophy to commemorate the moment of the taking, a photographic image.

Photography would not be the only way in which Lummis would seek to exert his nerve force during his period of recovery in New Mexico. In August of 1888, he would have a chance encounter with Adolph Bandelier, an archaeologist on the Hemenway Expedition who worked with Frank Hamilton Cushing. Bandelier would walk into an outdoor camp that Lummis had staked.¹²² Lummis already had fancied himself an amateur archaeologist before meeting Bandelier. He had spent much of his free time while living in Chillicothe rummaging among the earthworks seeking to uncover human bones and Indian artifacts to add to his personal collection. However, in Bandelier, sixteen years Lummis’s senior, Lummis now found a mentor.

Lummis would spend the next three years as Bandelier’s apprentice, exploring the ruins of the cultures that he had first found worthy of his notice upon his tramp—that of

¹²¹ See Houlihan, *Lummis in the Pueblos*, 2.

¹²² See Bingham, *Charles F. Lummis: Editor of the Southwest*, 13.

Mexicans and Indians. Together, Bandelier and Lummis would explore and excavate the cliff dwellings of New Mexico and Arizona and sacred rooms long covered with the passage of time, such as a kiva at Puye. In 1890, Bandelier would publish a book on the ancient Cliff Dwellers called *The Delight Makers: A Novel of Pre-historic Pueblo Indians*, and Lummis would provide many of photographic illustrations. Through Bandelier, Lummis would learn a great deal about the architecture of the ancient Cliff Dwellers. Subsequently, in July 1892, Bandelier would also travel to Peru and Bolivia to study the Inca of South America, and Lummis would travel along to be the photographer on the expedition.¹²³ The ruins of this ancient culture would also be influential on Lummis's thinking.

During Lummis's period of recuperation in New Mexico, his photographic gaze would not always well received, and this would lead Lummis also to experience the pueblo villages of the New Mexico much more intimately than he planned originally. In 1888, Lummis would be forced to leave the Chavez household that he found so pleasurable. The occasion for his departure would be the nerve with which he exerted his photographic activities. He photographed the secret rites of the Penitentes of New Mexico and these he published in *Cosmopolitan Magazine*. He would be forced to leave the Chavezes after what he believed was an attempted assassination on his life by the Penitentes in retaliation.¹²⁴ Thereafter, Lummis would live for a period of three years in a room that he would rent in the pueblo of Isleta **(Fig. 2.10)**.¹²⁵

¹²³ See Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 398.

¹²⁴ Marc Simmons, *Charles F. Lummis: Author and Adventurer* (Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 2008), 86.

¹²⁵ See Sherry L. Smith, *Re-imagining Indians: Native Americans Through Anglo Eyes, 1880-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 126.

Lummis's period of recovery in Isleta was nonetheless marked by his turning his gaze on others once again. His photographic activities included capturing a wide variety of images from the pueblos, including building exteriors and interiors, as well as the people who inhabited them. Many of his subjects, however, like the Penitentes, did not like being captured on film by Lummis. It is no coincidence that the gaze of his human subjects in the pueblos often did not meet that of the camera's lens, for Lummis often was compelled to take their photographs surreptitiously (**Fig. 2.11**). Like hunting or the collecting of artifacts with Bandelier, photography was, for Lummis, an act of taking possession.

The time that Lummis spent in the pueblo was one that he came to associate with his restoration to full manhood, and he came to view the adobe pueblo as symbolic of it. In his story "My Friend Will," he described to his readers his period of recovery in New Mexico. He started his narrative by explaining to them how his heroic protagonist, "Will" was naturally endowed with great strength as he was "sinewy and agile as a panther, and of really extraordinary strength. All over his body the knots and strands of muscle stood out like whipcords." According to Lummis, part of Will's strength derived from not speaking of it, for at the turn of the century, there was an unspoken code among American men that to be strong, one also needed to be silent about it. Therefore, Will "never bragged of this [his strength]; but he knew his strength, and was proud of it, and gloried in it."¹²⁶ Assuming the persona of "Will" in his narrative let Lummis convey to his readers, through masquerade, that he was not an effete neurasthenic but, instead, as strong as that ultimate of all predators, a panther.

¹²⁶ See Charles F. Lummis, "My Friend Will: A Story," *McClure's* 3, Nov. 1894, 531.

However, in the story, Will also had been stricken by paralysis and, not surprisingly, the hero of this narrative exhibited the exact same symptoms as Lummis. The paralysis rendered one of his arms immovable, affected the muscles on one side of his face, and made navigation upon a pair of crutches necessary. Will hated the physical degradation of his body, in which he had formerly taken so much pride. He knew that others judged his bodily decay to signal a loss of character. For example, he resented a stranger's pitying gaze when he was confined to a wheelchair. Therefore, when asked by a friend how he was faring, he replied upon a scratch pad as follows: "All right. And bigger than anything that can happen to me. All these things are outside my door, and I've got the key. Thank you."¹²⁷

The illustrations that accompanied Lummis's story "My Friend Will" were very telling of the importance that he accorded to the pueblo in the recovery of his body from paralysis. They worked to illustrate his period of recovery as one of radical transformation, a kind of "before" and "after" as conveyed through architectural space. The first illustration was captioned "Will's Quarter's With the Pueblo" (**Fig. 2.12**), and it showed Lummis's rented room within the pueblo of Isleta where he, or "Will", began his recovery. As rendered, the room was somewhat stark in its furnishings. Several items hung upon the white-washed earthen walls and some personal effects, such as books, were placed in the deep niche of an adobe wall. The room was windowless, and lit only by a single lamp located upon a desk. This threw long shadows upon the uneven surfaces of the adobe walls. The feeling conveyed in the illustration was one of profound loneliness. Through the illustration

¹²⁷ See George Wharton James, "Charles F. Lummis: A Unique Literary Personage of Modern America," *The National Magazine* 37 (October 1912 – March 1913), 85.

the reader understood that Lummis's struggle to confront the disease that plagued his body was a solitary one.

However, as also illustrated in the story "My Friend Will," by the end of recovery, the interior of his pueblo room was transformed. Instead of being a solitary and lonely space, it had become a home. In another rendering used to illustrate the article, entitled "The Dark Adobe became a Home," Lummis was shown recovered (**Fig. 2.13**). The left side of his body, previously paralyzed and limp, was now seated in an engaged position, his left leg swung over his right and the force of his body resting upon the strength of his left arm. Nor was he longer alone in his occupation of the space. He was shown in the room enjoying the companionship of Eve, a white American woman who was working at Isleta as a teacher and who had helped to nurse Lummis through his recovery. Once he secured a divorce from Dorothea, he soon would be married and begin a family with her.

The adobe walls of the room in which he was seated were no longer dark and cast with strange shadows across their irregular surfaces but were brightly and evenly illuminated. Nor was the space of the pueblo confined and restrictive, as in the illustration depicting his arrival to the pueblo. Instead, it was a space to which a window opened to the exterior world. Moreover, the room was no longer bare and sparse. Instead, it was festooned with objects from the Southwest like the ones that Lummis had first observed in the house of Don Manuel Chavez and that spoke of out-of-door adventures beyond the walls of the room: a Navajo blanket, a Mexican serape, and a piece of pottery from Acoma. As Lummis defined the pueblos to readers in his narrative and the illustrations that accompanied it, they were a space that engendered radical transformation in which the white American male body in a state of ruin could once again be restored to a complete whole.

It was during his recovery in New Mexico that Lummis would become his most prolific, and most profoundly give shape to the associations and imaginative boundaries of the Southwest as a region to a broad American audience. In his myriad books published in the early 1890s, he described a wonderland in the Southwest that was unlike any other in the country with its scenery and its exotic peoples. For instance, in his 1892 book, *Strange Corners of Our Country*, he described the buildings of the ancient cliff-dwellings built by Indian tribes that had mysteriously appeared and then had disappeared for centuries from the landscape, as well as the living villages of the pueblo-building tribes of New Mexico and Arizona believed by some to be their descendants (**Figs. 2.14**). Another book, the *Spanish Pioneers*, focused on the Spanish conquistadors who had settled in the area in the late 18th century. While all of his books likely enjoyed a fairly wide readership, both *The Land of Poco Tiempo* and *The Spanish Pioneers* became his most popular and sealed for Lummis his status in the American imagination as the preeminent authority on the Southwest region.¹²⁸

Building a Distinctive House for the Southwest

Upon Lummis's return to Los Angeles in 1893, he found a town much different than the one that he had left. In the brief three-year period in which he had previously lived there, the town had been marked by rapidly accelerated growth and an unbounded optimism, despite the forces of corruption against which Lummis perceived he fought. However, in the

¹²⁸ See Héctor Calderón, "Redefining the Borderlands: From the Spanish Southwest to Greater Mexico, From Charles F. Lummis to Américo Paredes" chapt. in *Narratives of Greater Mexico: Essays on Chicano Literary History, Genre and Borders* (University of Texas, 2004), 8. See also Bradley B. Williams, "Charles F. Lummis, "Crusader with a Camera," *History of Photography* 4, July 1981, 211.

early 1890s, it was a town very much changed by a major nationwide economic depression.¹²⁹

The speculative real-estate development that had created vast wealth for some in the boom of the late 1880s also had created a real-estate bubble with the creation of “paper towns” on its perimeter that rapidly de-accelerated in value once the frenzied buying and selling activities of the 1880s were over. Many Americans now felt as if their lives were in financial ruin, and this sentiment would take hold across the nation most fully by 1896.

Despite a trajectory that had strongly suggested that Los Angeles would achieve dominance as the center of the region’s development, land speculation was understood now as a tenuous proposition. Many Americans felt that unseen forces could shape or destroy an individual’s fortune with capriciousness. Now, convincing white Americans to once again buy into the dream of an idyllic garden was increasingly promoted as an individual act of courageous faith and manly vigor. For Lummis, the transformation of Los Angeles into the center of the Southwest was absolutely mandatory. It represented for him the triumph of will over the forces of social decay. He conceived of the city’s recovery and future development in similar terms to the physical restoration of his own body. It would only occur, he thought, through a strenuous exertion of will by its citizens.

Upon Lummis’s return to Los Angeles from his recovery living in the pueblos of New Mexico, he and Eve lived in a small cottage with Queen Anne detailing that Lummis had erected at a cost of \$1600. For a few years, at least, he considered the one-and-a-half story house more than sufficient to his needs and, in 1893, he described to the readers of *The Land of Sunshine* that the house was set in an Edenic landscape planted with trees, roses and a lawn, which four months later “was already as velvety and perfect a lawn as can be found”

¹²⁹ See Gutiérrez, *Nuevomexicano Cultural Legacy*, 13.

(Fig. 2.15).¹³⁰ Initially, at least, the verdant landscape of Southern California, as made possible through a variety of recent water infrastructure projects featured in the pages of his magazine, was emblematic of the outdoor life that he associated with health and restoration.

However, increasingly, Lummis began to conceive of the majority of the existing residential building stock, such as the cottage in which he lived, as insubstantial and inauthentic frame boxes upon which varying degrees of Queen Anne features were merely superimposed. Even more importantly, such frame boxes represented to him the building traditions of an over-civilized, and, therefore, unhealthful East. By 1895, he scraped together the last several hundred dollars in his bank account to purchase a large tract of land upon which he hoped to someday build a different kind of house, something that he conceived would be more authentic to the Southwest landscape. The parcel upon which Lummis would implement his new ideas about an architecture uniquely appropriate to the Southwest and its climate was located in a relatively undeveloped area between the small community of Pasadena, with its lushly planted lawns and gardens, and the burgeoning downtown skyline of Los Angeles. It was located at the base of Mount Washington, and the area was neither a manicured garden nor a bustling city. Instead, it was more similar to the arid desert across which Lummis once had tramped. It was strewn with large rock outcroppings, and it had a dry creek bed adjacent to it called the *Arroyo Seco*, Spanish for “dry creek.” It also had thirty trees upon the site, and these would provide the inspiration for the name that Lummis would eventually bestow upon his new house, *El Alisal*, Spanish for “alder grove.”

¹³⁰ See Charles Lummis, “Gardens of Eden While You Wait,” *Land of Sunshine*, March 1895, 63.

In the three years that ensued before Lummis would commence with the house's construction, he mused within the pages of the new magazine of which he was now editor, *Land of Sunshine*, about how architecture could be made even more appropriate to the climate of Southern California. As the scholar Lawrence Culver describes in his book *The Frontier of Leisure*, the purpose of *Land of Sunshine* not only worked to promote tourism to the Southwest region, but it also functioned as one of the many late nineteenth century shelter magazines such as *House Beautiful*, *House and Garden*, *Bungalow*, and *The Craftsman*.¹³¹

In February 1895, Lummis would describe to the readers of the magazine his growing dissatisfaction with the current building stock in Los Angeles. He wrote as follows:

It is broadly true, too, that the average house here is artistically and in convenience an improvement upon the house its self-same tenant occupied in the East. But it is the same architecture improved only as art has advanced in twenty years. Not one new house in a thousand here has learned anything *locally* [emphasis his]...Why are 95 percent of the homes here frame boxes, more or less Queen annotated? Is it that the home-builder, by exhaustive investigation, has demonstrated this the best type of house for this climate? Or is because that is the way he is used to seeing houses built?¹³²

In stressing to his readers the opportunities afforded by the local climate, he was articulating his idea that the Southwest was a far different place than the East and that this dictated a break from conventions as established there. His article was a call to those considering building homes to exert their independent will by breaking with Eastern precedents. Only in so doing, did he believe that a greater metropolis could be built.

Lummis also pondered the manner in which he could harness the landscape's ancient past in order to build the greater metropolis. The ruins of both the Cliff Dwellers and the

¹³¹ See Culver, *The Frontier of Leisure*, 37.

¹³² See Charles Lummis, "Something About the Adobe," *Land of Sunshine* 2 (February 1895), 49.

Spanish missions signified to him a primitive past that might revitalize the present. So, too, did even the inhabited Pueblo villages, for even though he had recently lived in Isleta, he thought of the adobe pueblos as places that would soon be consigned to the past. This is demonstrated in an article that Lummis wrote in 1897 for *The Land Of Sunshine* that boosted the Southwest as “the Artist’s Paradise.” In it, Lummis began to encourage artists from the East to make haste in coming to the Southwest where they should undertake to make both the Pueblo Indians and their pueblo villages the subject of their study, for he said that both were soon disappearing. There, he would write as follows:

The American Indian—who is, by all his tribes together, unquestionably the most picturesque human figure that has walked the earth since the Renaissance—is rapidly becoming extinct. In one generation from now he will hardly be worth painting anywhere. And no artist has ever made more than a few desultory, unacquainted, unrepresentative “studies” of him—if we may insult “study” by using it of such superficial work. The wonderfully pictorial architecture of bygone civilizations is fading as fast from our continent, and as unrecorded—while our rote artists hand-paint the scenes beloved of chromos. The Eastern painter of the first class, of good physique, and some intelligence of head as well as craft in his fingers, could make, in ten wise years in the Southwest, his everlasting fortune and his everlasting fame. A minor artist in the same field could raise himself from at once above the competition of his biggers and betters—for he would have something new and wonderful to tell. But the chances are that neither of these gentlemen will come until it is half-way too late.¹³³

To Eastern artists that would venture to come to the Southwest, Lummis promised that they would find an unparalleled subject for their work, the American Indian. Lummis also described to his readers his conception that the American arts had become a lot like factory work, as rote artists simply used their talents to make mass-produced photographs and lithographs look painted by hand.¹³⁴ In the Southwest, he promised, artists and writers could

¹³³ See Charles Lummis, “The Artist’s Paradise,” *Land of Sunshine* 6, no. 5 (May 1897), 239.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

flourish. With the Pueblo Indian as their subject matter, they would have exciting new material upon which to draw.

Lummis also worked to entice artists to the Southwest by promising that within a decade, if they properly applied themselves to the task, the talented artist willing to make the Indian his subject could hope to secure for himself a reputation and wealth. Those with less talent, he said, would at least get the opportunity to distinguish themselves from their betters in the East by making the Indian their subject. However, he also warned, they better hurry in making such a decision for the Indians and their architecture were fading from the continent and “rapidly becoming extinct.”¹³⁵

The impetus for Lummis’s promotion of the West as an artist’s paradise was likely threefold. As a proponent of the See America First! Movement, Lummis often promoted the interests of the tourism industry, and particularly the railroad. In fact, the Santa Fe Railway Company believed him so effective in promoting its interests within *Land of Sunshine* that it provided him with a free railroad pass upon its lines.¹³⁶ By 1897, the pueblos were becoming increasingly important to the railroad as tourist attractions. However, even more importantly, the late 1890s coincides with exactly the date at which the Santa Fe Railway began its efforts to market travel to the Southwest through paintings that depicted the Western landscape. An important part of this effort entailed getting talented artists to come to the Southwest to paint for them. By 1905, the railroad would attempt to establish an artists’ colony at the pueblo of Oraibi in the northern Arizona Territory to do just this.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Culver, *The Frontier of Leisure*, 29.

¹³⁷ See Stephanie Baron, Sherie Bernstein, and Ilene Susan Fort, *Made in California: Art, Image, and Identity, 1900-2000* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 66. See also Melody Graulich, “I Became

Lummis's promotion of the Southwest as an artist's paradise was also a project important to his own sense of identity. When he first assumed the editorship of *Land of Sunshine* in 1894, it was little more than a booster rag. However, ever since his Harvard days, Lummis had harbored literary aspirations. For example, in 1878, while still a student, he published a small book of poetry called *Birch Bark Poems*. These he printed on peeled birch bark to sell, and he sent copies to Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, and Walt Whitman in the hopes that his poems might capture their attention. He made enough money from the endeavor to help pay his way through college, but it hardly brought him the recognition he was seeking.¹³⁸ Therefore, he now envisioned turning the *Land of Sunshine* into a literary and artistic venue for writers of promise and burgeoning artists.¹³⁹ In his position as editor of the magazine, his authority as arbiter of taste would hold sway.

In fact, by the turn of the century, Lummis's own house quickly would take shape as a center for a Bohemian artists' colony known today as the Arroyo Seco colony.¹⁴⁰ At El Alisal, Lummis would bring together a vast array of people including writers, artists, photographers, politicians, collectors, architects, and businessmen. Among them were many people whose names are quite well known still today such as Charles Russell, Maynard Dixon, Adolph Bandelier, Frederick Webb Hodge, Mary Austin, Harrison Gray Otis and Lummis's former classmate at Harvard, President Theodore Roosevelt. His house also drew

the 'Colony': Kate Cory's Hopi Photographs," chapt. in *Trading Gazes: Euro-American Women Photographers and Native North Americans, 1880-1940*, eds. Susan Bernadin, Melody Graulich, Lisa MacFarlane, and Nicole Tonkovich (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 73.

¹³⁸ See Calderon, *Narratives of Greater Mexico*, 8, and Byrkit, *Charles Lummis*, xxviii.

¹³⁹ See Annette White Parks, *Sui Sin Far/ Edith Maude Eaton: A Literary Biography* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 86.

¹⁴⁰ See Kevin Starr, "Pasadena and the Arroyo: Two Modes of Bohemia," in *Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 107.

there many people influential in the Los Angeles area during their lifetimes but whose names today are not well-known generally. These included Ernest Batchelder, a tile-maker whose work often featured Indian or Mexican motifs; Sharlot Hall, a historian who regularly focused in her writings on Pueblo Indian handicrafts and folk-stories; Adam Clark Vroman, a photographer who often made the Pueblo Indian villages of the Southwest his subject; Dr. F.M Palmer, an important collector in Los Angeles of Indian artifacts; and Sumner Hunt and Arthur Benton, two architects who sought to develop a Southwestern regional style in Los Angeles.

The third objective in Lummis's promotion of the Southwest as an artist's paradise was city building. For him and for many of those encompassed within his social circle, the Southwest was the new center from which intellectuals, disaffected with the cities of the industrial East, could prove themselves superior to their Eastern counterparts. They valued the richness of American Indian culture—as embedded in folk-stories, songs, and material culture—for its ability to reinvigorate white American culture, neurasthenic and limpid, with a new vitality. They hoped to counteract the artificiality that they perceived in the Eastern metropolis, and to create a Renaissance in the arts in the Southwest. Lummis, in particular, hoped to make the burgeoning metropolis of Los Angeles the center of this Renaissance. Through his boosterism, he hoped to build the greater metropolis.

Lummis's attempts to harness the "ancient" in an effort to do just this manifested itself in several different ways upon his return to Los Angeles. One was his founding, in 1895, of the Landmarks Club. This was a club dedicated to the task of restoring the ruins of

Southern California's crumbling Spanish missions (**Fig. 2.16**).¹⁴¹ The club was a fraternity of sorts and assembled of powerful and influential people on the West Coast, men such as Harrison Gray Otis of the *Los Angeles Daily Times* as well as women who had also become powerful and influential in their own right, such as Jessie Benton Frémont, daughter of Missouri state senator Thomas Hart Benton and the wife of California state senator, John C. Frémont. The mission ruins became an effective way to monumentalize what Lummis and others conceived of as the height of Spanish civilization, and in their restoration to mark the succession of one civilization with that of another in the building of the greater metropolis. Moreover, in his work as the president of the Landmarks Club, Lummis found a useful way to consolidate his authority as interpreter of the Southwest in a more physical space than the pages of the *Land of Sunshine* would allow.

To the same end, in 1895 Lummis also organized in Los Angeles a pageant called "The Pageant of the Pacific." The idea for the pageant likely derived directly from Lummis's period of recovery in New Mexico, for it was modeled upon the Fiesta de los Muertos that he had witnessed there.¹⁴² This pageant he orchestrated in conjunction with his close personal friend, the architect Sumner Hunt; architectural floats were constructed that were intended to convey to the pageant's audience the history that comprised the architectural legacy of the West Coast. Among the eighteen floats constructed for the pageant, the Spanish missions of California were featured most prominently. However, also featured,

¹⁴¹ See William David Estrada, *The Los Angeles Plaza: Sacred and Contested Space* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), 98.

¹⁴² In his 1893 book, *A Tramp Across the Continent*, Lummis devoted an entire chapter to a description of the fiesta as held at Isleta.

were the more ancient civilizations that Lummis believed were superceded by that of the Spanish Colonial, such as those of the Pueblo Indians and the ancient Incas (**Fig. 2.17**).¹⁴³

The organization of the Landmarks Club and the Pageant of the Pacific allowed Lummis a way to convey to others in a public manner his beliefs that the greater metropolis was built upon the foundations of ancient civilizations as well as to convey his own personal authority in the interpretation of those civilizations.¹⁴⁴ Lummis, however, was also desirous of a more personal expression that would demonstrate in physical space his own “mite” in the creation of this greater metropolis. For this, he would soon turn to the construction of a building that could be most readily identified with his own identity, his own house.

Lummis, however, wrestled with exactly what the image of his new house should be and what culture might communicate best to others that the American Southwest was the center of a revitalized Anglo-Saxon civilization. He wanted an architecture that would adequately convey to others cultural dominance and masculinity. He struggled greatly with the complex history of the American Southwest and with what ancient peoples he could claim to be dominant in their mastery of the landscape. Sometimes he thought that perhaps the Spanish Colonial conquistadors and padres represented the ultimate symbol of dominance and masculinity. At other times, he thought perhaps the ancient Cliff Dweller or Pueblo Indian could best symbolize manhood, and he played with these ideas in his various writings.

¹⁴³ See Charles Lummis, “The Pageant of the Pacific, 1895,” *Land of Sunshine* 1-2 (1895), 83-84. While all of the cultures that Lummis had explored in Mexico, Peru and the American Southwest were featured in the pageant, the architectural historian Karen Weitze discusses the way in which the missions of California, particularly the San Gabriel Mission, were highlighted within the pageant. See Karen Weitze, *California's Mission Revival* (Santa Monica: Hennessey and Ingalls, 1984), 56.

¹⁴⁴ See William D. Estrada, *The Los Angeles Plaza*, 248.

For example, in 1893, Lummis wrote a book entitled *The Spanish Pioneers* in which it was the Spaniard who best signified domination of the Southwest landscape. In that book, Lummis presented the Pueblo Indians as savages who were tamed with the arrival of Spanish missionaries. Moreover, rather than conceiving of the Spanish missionaries as people who unfairly took possession of the lands of the Southwest by subjecting Indian people to their cruelty, Lummis asserted that the Spanish were both “manly” in their rule of law and humanistic in their treatment of an Indian people whom Lummis clearly conceived as inferior to them. There he wrote as follows:

It is due to the generous and manly laws made by Spain three hundred years ago that our most interesting and advanced Indians, the Pueblos, enjoy today full security in their lands: while nearly all others (who never came under Spanish dominion) have been time after time ousted from lands our government had solemnly given to them. That was the beauty of an Indian policy which was ruled, not by politics, but by an unvarying principle of humanity. The Indian was first required to be obedient to his new government. He could not learn obedience in everything all at once; but he must at least refrain from butchering his neighbors. As soon as he learned that lesson, he was insured protection in his rights of home and family and property. Then, as rapidly as such a vast work could be done by an army of missionaries who devoted their lives to the dangerous task, he was educated to citizenship and Christianity. It is almost impossible for us, in these quiet days, to comprehend what it was to convert a savage half-world.¹⁴⁵

In *The Spanish Pioneers*, Lummis argued that the Spanish missionaries worked to impose a social order over the land with the establishment of the mission system. Under this system, he said, Indians could farm and build their villages much as they had before. All that was required of Indians, he asserted, was proper recognition of Spanish sovereignty and obedience to them.

¹⁴⁵ See Lummis, *The Spanish Pioneers*, 149.

In *The Spanish Pioneers*, Lummis espoused the idea history of the Spanish in the American Southwest was “manly,” and that it was one that the American nation might lay claim as their own. As the scholar Ana Maria Verela-Lago writes: “Lummis claimed that Americans had been ‘misled’ in their understanding of the national past because the textbooks used in schools did not give credit to the Spaniards’ ‘unparalleled record.’ He called on white Americans to overcome ‘race prejudice [towards the Spanish],’ and to ‘respect manhood more than nationality.’ ‘We love manhood,” he asserted, ‘and the Spanish pioneering of the Americas was the largest and longest and most marvelous feat of manhood in all history.’”¹⁴⁶ In making the claim that manhood usurped nationality, Lummis also worked to claim the Spanish conquistadors and missionaries as emblematic of the American nation’s own manly heritage.

In the version of history that Lummis presented to readers in *The Spanish Pioneers*, good Indians were those who recognized that there was a natural social order in which savage people were civilized by more advanced people. However, he held the Pueblo Indians in especially high regard in contrast to other indigenous tribes in the Southwest, such as the Apache, because he believed that they readily accepted their place within this social order rather than resisting it. He thought that it was this acquiescence that allowed them to retain their own culture better than other Indian tribes. In accepting their domination by the Spanish missionaries, he thought, the Pueblo Indians adopted a peaceful and agricultural mode of life that ensured that they would not be dispossessed of their lands, in stark contrast to the other Indian tribes of the Southwest.

¹⁴⁶ See Ana Maria Verela-Lago, *Conquerors, Immigrants, Exiles: The Spanish Diaspora in the United States* (Ph.D. diss: University of California, San Diego, 2008), 105.

Lummis's narrative almost completely elided the fact that the Pueblo Indians did offer resistance to the Spanish. For example, it was well known that the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico had revolted against the Spanish in what was called the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, and this fact appears to be one of which Lummis was aware. It is indicated in his statement that "He [the Pueblo] could not learn obedience in everything all at once; but he must at least refrain from butchering his neighbors." However, in his narrative, Lummis glossed over this fact, for it did not quite fit with the story that he wished to tell. To him, this history of resistance was merely a minor incident in a much longer overarching project to convert the "savage half-world."

As told in his version of history as presented to readers in *The Spanish Pioneers*, the Pueblo Indians were a child-like and gentle people who, because of their acceptance of a natural social order, should be accorded their rights to their land. By framing the history of Indian resistance in this way, Lummis also justified the behavior of Anglo-Saxon Americans towards the other Indian tribes of the American Southwest, the "nearly all others (who never came under Spanish dominion) [who] have been time after time ousted from lands our government had solemnly given to them." In *The Spanish Pioneers*, Lummis explained to his readers that the disenfranchisement of land and rights experienced by other tribes of the Southwest, such as the Apache, was simply an outcome of their resisting a natural order in which more advanced cultures replaced "savage half-worlds."

However, at other times, Lummis considered whether it was possible to make the Pueblo Indian the symbol of masculine will and dominance over the Southwest landscape. This idea he tried to work out in an article called "Something About the Adobe." In that article, Lummis attempted to wrest the origins of the adobe pueblo from the Spanish, to

whom many attributed it, and to bestow it upon the Pueblo Indian, instead. Tellingly, he also attempted to do this in the form of a violent metaphor that would frame the Pueblo Indian as a strong and dominant aggressor against the Spanish Colonial, for Lummis strongly associated violence and aggression with manhood.

In Lummis's article, he framed the proper attribution of the adobe in terms of a violent physical contest between two young boys engaged in a vicious schoolyard brawl. As Lummis quickly made clear to his readers, the terms of the two fictional boys argument with one another was rooted in the difference between them in their racial ancestry. One boy, Lummis relayed to his readers was a Spaniard and the other a Pueblo Indian. However, the idea over which the two boys now engaged in combat was not that of a typical schoolyard fight. Instead, the fight ensued about which boy was better qualified to lay claim to a tradition of adobe building.

Through the metaphor of the schoolyard brawl, Lummis asserted to his readers that the adobe brick should not be associated with the Spaniard. Instead, Lummis argued that the sun-dried brick architecture evidenced across the entire stretch of the American Southwest was an invention of the Pueblo Indian and an entirely new thing to the Spaniard who encountered it only in the mid-sixteenth century. This he did as he wrote the following:

The superstition-ridden and unteachable Spaniard had several primary lessons beaten into him in the New World; and among the first and most enduring of them was a new way to spell h-o-u-s-e. For the adobe was not and is not an institution of Spain. Garden walls, stables, partition walls, yes – in some little areas of some provinces – but not the adobe house. *That*, the Don learned in America.... The sun-dried brick which the aborigine had advanced to architecture over nearly all that enormous stretch that later became Spanish America, was to the *conquistador* a new thing. As he was human, I have no doubt he off-hand despised it. But he took very little time to

learn that the new thing was also a good thing; and he so fully adopted the adobe in his exile that even the average student is apt to class it as a Spanish invention.¹⁴⁷

In Lummis's version of the development of the adobe house in the Southwest, it was the Pueblo Indians who long ago had dominated the Spanish conquistadors, rather than vice versa, and he described the Spanish in terms that many Americans usually reserved for Indians. He described the Spanish conquistadors as backward, superstition-ridden, and unteachable.

In his narrative, Lummis would tell his readers that eventually the Spanish schoolboy did learn the lesson of adobe, even though he had previously pronounced him unteachable. He would eventually master the lesson of the fight, and then, according to Lummis, the Spanish schoolboy would deliver one last deft punch to his otherwise victorious Pueblo Indian assailant. He would teach "his Indian schoolmaster, in turn, a lesson in adobe."¹⁴⁸

As framed by Lummis throughout the article, the image of the Pueblo Indian vacillated between a schoolyard bully and a stern schoolmaster. However, until the very end of his narrative, the Pueblo Indian was depicted as complete master of the situation in being the one to teach the Spanish Don his first lesson in adobe. Lummis's narrative in "Something About the Adobe" simultaneously worked to accomplish several tasks important to the author.

First, it inverted the history of power relationships as they actually existed in the Southwest. Lummis asked his readers to reconsider the idea that it was the Spanish who were the ultimate victors in the colonization process of the American Southwest as symbolized by the erection of adobe missions across the Southwest landscape. Instead, he

¹⁴⁷ See Charles Lummis, "A Lesson in Adobe," *Land of Sunshine*, February 1895, 49.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

asked his readers to consider the development of the adobe mission in different terms—not as a symbol of conquest by the Spanish, but as representative of a conflict between two cultures that was akin to a schoolyard brawl. However, in Lummis’s narrative, it was the Pueblo Indian who emerged from this brawl victorious, rather than the Spaniard. Time and time again, Lummis argued, the Pueblo Indian methodically pounded a lesson into the Spaniard’s head that the only proper way to construct a “h-o-u-s-e” was to build it of adobe.

Secondly, Lummis’s article worked to frame the adobe building as a symbol of dominance and masculinity. By framing the meaning of the adobe in the terms of a pugilistic brawl, Lummis articulated to his readers his idea that Americans should not only associate the adobe with the Pueblo Indians, rather than the Spanish conquistador or padre, but that they should also associate it with aggression and struggle. This he did by lionizing the Pueblo Indian as a savage who was manly in teaching a proper lesson to the Spaniard who sought to bully him.

Third, Lummis’s argument worked to position the adobe pueblo as indigenous to the American soil. In emphasizing the adobe house as the invention of the Pueblo Indians, not of the Spanish Colonial, Lummis worked to claim the adobe pueblo as an expression free from foreign influence, an expression of New World origin rather than a European one. In doing so, he hoped to claim it as an ancient model for a new uniquely Anglo-Saxon architecture.

Lummis had opened his article on the merits of the adobe with a question posed to his readers that prodded them to ponder exactly that possibility as he exhorted that they be willing to deviate from the established precedents for building, as he asked:

Did you ever take time to thank God that we are not so slow as the Spaniards? That we are not so tradition-ridden, so mortgaged to precedent, so up-nosed at new wisdom—in a word, that the Saxon is ‘not as other men?’ I have done so often.¹⁴⁹

However, in “Something About the Adobe,” Lummis also suggested to his readers that adopting the adobe pueblo did not need necessarily mean completely dispensing with Eastern prototypes. Among the photographs that provided illustration for the article’s argument, he placed a series of photographs: one was entitled “A Pueblo Adobe,” another “The Unmitigated Adobe,” (**Fig. 2.18**) and the third “The Adobe, Plus.” The first photograph represented a Pueblo Indian village and the second a small square one-room pueblo building that illustrated the essential building block of a pueblo village. However, as suggested by the caption for the latter photograph, Lummis didn’t necessarily believe that the adobe was suitable for use by Anglo-Saxon Americans without mitigation. Rather, the last illustration featured in the article, “the Adobe Plus,” illustrated how Lummis conceived of the adobe pueblo being made suitable for his readers’ use (**Fig. 2.19**).

The building was photographed from the side, and it had wings that featured flat expanses of wall that terminated as parapets. These were suggestive of an Indian pueblo. However, the main portion of the building featured a hipped roof with a small dormer and a wrap-around porch sheltered the building’s entry. The “Adobe Plus” illustrated how, with the addition of a hipped roof, the ancient adobe could provide a basis for the construction of the greater metropolis by Lummis and other white Americans.

Beginning in 1897, Lummis would begin to construct his ideal of a distinctively Southwest residence for himself that could serve as a counterpoint to those of the industrial East. It was a project that would take him fifteen years to build, for he would laboriously

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

construct it by hand using only his own hand labor as well as that of a series of Pueblo Indian men from Isleta whom he would convey to Los Angeles to assist him as laborers, such as Procopio Montoya and Ramon Zuni (**Fig. 2.20**).¹⁵⁰ Lummis conceived of his construction project as a “physical gymnasium” in which he could strenuously exert his nerve force and maintain the strong muscular physique of which he was so proud as symbolic of his manhood.¹⁵¹ Lummis also envisioned the construction of El Alisal as an ongoing project with which he would never be finished, and he often worked on its construction from daybreak to dark. He would eschew modern construction techniques in favor of building the house with what he considered to be “primitive methods.”¹⁵² The primary materials for the house would be boulders that Lummis gathered from the rock-strewn site as stacked into walls and reinforced with concrete.

In both “My Friend Will” and “Something about the Adobe,” Lummis had tried to fashion the meaning of the adobe pueblo as one of dominance and mastery. However, by the time he was ready to build, it appears that he largely abandoned this idea in favor of a new one. In his writings, Lummis always operated as an amateur archaeologist, sifting through history to see which aspects of other cultures he could bring to the surface to reify, and this would be true of his building project, too. By the time that he was ready to build, it appears to have occurred to him that the ancient ruins of the Cliff Dwellers would serve as a better architectural model of masculine will and dominance over the landscape than the

¹⁵⁰ See Helen Lukens Jones, “The Home of an Author-Craftsman,” *Good Housekeeping*, January 1905, 22. See also Jane Apostol, *El Alisal: Where History Lingers* (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California), 1994, 45, and Kenneth H. Marcus, *Musical Metropolis: Los Angeles and the Creation of a Musical Culture, 1880-1940* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 126.

¹⁵¹ Bingham, *Charles F. Lummis*, 22.

¹⁵² See George Wharton James, “Charles F. Lummis: A Unique Literary Personage of Modern America,” *The National Magazine* 37 (1912): 79.

adobe pueblos. He wouldn't dispense entirely of the idea that the modern pueblos or the Spanish Colonial missions could also serve as architectural models for his house, but he would opt to make it resemble most the cliff dwellings of the ancient Pueblo Indians instead. An adobe building, like a body, was ephemeral in its subjection to decay over time. However, the Cliff Dwellers built their pueblos of stacked boulders, which appeared solid and impermeable. Charles Lummis intended his house to be permanent so that, like an ancient cliff dwelling, it would "last a thousand years."¹⁵³

During Lummis's period of recovery in New Mexico, he had become well acquainted with the ancient cliff dwellings, and he had photographed several for inclusion in his 1892 book *Strange Corners of Our Country* (**Fig. 2.21**).¹⁵⁴ In a chapter entitled "Homes that Were Forts," Lummis described to his readers in vivid detail how the ruins of the Cliff Dwellers were elaborate village complexes constructed of stacked rock often set high up into cliff faces. In particular, the cliff dwellings intrigued Lummis not only as buildings intended to accommodate daily living functions, but also as fortifications intended to protect their inhabitants against marauding enemies who might attack them. Lummis was particularly taken with a cliff dwelling called Montezuma's Castle in northern Arizona, and he devoted a brief chapter in his book to it. Of it he would write the following: "It is the best remaining specimen of what we may call the cave pueblo—that is, a Pueblo Indian "community house" and fortress, built in a natural cave."¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ See Constance Du Bois, "Charles F. Lummis, Author and Man," *The Critic: An Illustrated Monthly Review of Literature, Art and Life*, January-June 1902, 328.

¹⁵⁴ See Charles Fletcher Lummis, *Some Strange Corners of our Country: the Wonderland of the Southwest* (New York: The Century Company, 1898), 94.

¹⁵⁵ See Lummis, *Strange Corners of Our Country*, 135.

In his book, Lummis provided a hand-drawn sketch of the ruin. It is likely that this sketch was traced directly from a photograph that he had taken, for it was a technique he often used. In the sketch, Lummis emphasized the walls of the ruin as constructed of massive stones, and what appeared to be a large square tower dominated the image. Lummis's written description of this ruin conveyed that he was deeply impressed with its construction. In particular, he found appealing the multiple architectural devices employed by the Cliff Dwellers to make the building impenetrable, such as the way that an exterior terrace located on an upper floor could be accessed through only one central gateway and the necessity of climbing ladders and squeezing one's body through small hatchways in order to access spaces in the ruin. His enthusiasm for the construction as an impregnable fortification was conveyed to readers as he described how "nothing short of modern weapons could affect this lofty citadel."¹⁵⁶ To even access the building at all had required an act of great physical strength by Lummis, for he related to his readers how he needed to scale the face of a precipitous cliff face aided only by the branches of a sycamore tree. His admiration for the ability of the ancient cliff dwellers to erect such an impressive construction in a place that was so utterly inaccessible was palpable as he offered the following query to the readers of his book: "What do you imagine an American architect would say if called to plan for a stone mansion in such a place?"¹⁵⁷

For approximately the first seven years that El Alisal was under construction, it would approximate in its appearance the stacked stone construction of a fortified cliff dwelling (**Fig. 2.22**). The house was marked by the simplest of geometries. Lummis first

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, 141.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, 138.

constructed a simple rectangular entry hall that was approximately twelve feet by twelve feet in its dimensions. Adjacent to this, he placed a long room that would function as a parlor. At the western end of the parlor and upon the house's front façade, he constructed a circular turret. To the other side of the square entry hall, he completed a bedroom. By 1901, Lummis completed three more rooms. The first was a second bedroom with its own corner tower for use by his wife, Eve. He also constructed a bathroom and a vestibule. These were appended to the first bedroom so that the building possessed a long linear form, like a pueblo. After the completion of these rooms, Lummis began to build an interior stair on the rear façade and to construct a second floor. By the time that Lummis was finished with the construction of the second floor walls, the building possessed the stacked massing characteristic of an ancient pueblo Cliff Dwelling when viewed from the front. Its massive walls of stacked stone, flat roofs, and two towers that recalled kivas in their rounded form also reinforced this imagery.

The rear of the house, however, began to resemble more the inhabited adobe villages of the Pueblo Indians. This façade had a flat, planar façade with a stucco surface, and this surface was broken only by voids for windows and doors, which Lummis arranged in an asymmetrical manner. Like a pueblo, Lummis worked to keep the appearance of the wall fairly blank and uninterrupted. This he achieved by placing clerestories high upon the wall that would admit light to the space of the parlor. This also left room for the insertion between the first and second floor of an outdoor roof terrace along the length of the rear elevation.

Also to the rear of the house, Lummis erected a freestanding building that called directly on the imagery of the adobe pueblos. This was an individual bedroom for his

daughter Bertha, and it had a stucco finish and a small kiva tower. Another small building adjacent to it had similar imagery, and this was a bedroom for his son, Quinn. For Lummis, to whom the process of constructing El Alisal represented a visible demonstration of his physical brawn, he appears to have taken particular pride that he had also properly inculcated his son in the attributes of manliness. As noted upon a photograph of the children's rooms, Lummis did not build the bedroom for his son. Quinn built it, instead (**Fig. 2.23**).

By 1902, five years after Lummis started the building's construction, he also decided to incorporate several references to the Spanish Colonial past into the house. For instance, he was already thinking that he would eventually build four different wings to the house so that eventually it would enclose to its interior a central outdoor space, like the *patio* of a Spanish or Mexican courtyard house.¹⁵⁸ In fact, despite his plans not yet being realized spatially, he was already calling the yard to the rear of his house his patio. He and his family were already using it just as it would be in Mexico, as an out-of-door room or an extension of the interior of the house. The temperate year-round climate of Southern California facilitated such a use, and it was here that the Lummis family often dined under a giant sycamore tree as waited upon by their Pueblo Indian servants.¹⁵⁹

Not only did Lummis call the rear yard his patio, but at some point early in his project, he also bestowed Spanish names to all of the rooms interior to the house. For instance, he chose to call the wide hallway into which guests entered a *zaguán*. In a house from the Spanish Colonial era, this is the name for the covered entry passageway that leads from the exterior of a house directly to its interior courtyard (**Fig. 2.24**). However,

¹⁵⁸ See Du Bois, "Charles Lummis: Author and Man," 19.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

Lummis's *zaguan* functioned very much like a typical entry hall in that it served as a public reception room that could provide entry into the more semi-public rooms adjacent to it. While the house strongly resembled a pueblo to its exterior, the way that its spaces were arranged in relation to one another were fairly typical of a late-Victorian American house located almost anywhere in the country. In it, there was a clear distinction between public and private. The main volume, a two-story mass, contained the most public spaces of the house on the first floor, the hall and parlor. More private rooms and service spaces would be appended to this mass as low-slung wings.¹⁶⁰

By 1904, Lummis also worked to evoke the Spanish Colonial past in the building's architectural imagery. On the front-facing façade of the newest wing, Lummis worked to finish the boulder masonry wall as an undulating parapet with a decorative concrete coping that suggested the façade of a Spanish Mission church. In the center of this façade, he placed a recessed niche, and this contained a large rusty bell like that which the Spanish padres had once used to call their Pueblo Indian novitiates to participate in services. Lummis also would begin finally to realize a sense of enclosure to the patio with the completion of another single story addition to the house. In this wing, Lummis would place a dining room, a pantry, a kitchen, and a breakfast room. This wing Lummis placed perpendicular to the main two-story building block to give the house an L-shaped configuration.¹⁶¹ This worked to define the patio and the giant sycamore that occupied its center as a central focus for the house.

¹⁶⁰ See Abigail Van Slyck, "Mañana, Mañana: Racial Stereotypes and the Anglo Rediscovery of the Southwest's Vernacular Architecture, 1890-1920," in *Gender, Class and Shelter: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, ed. by Elizabeth Collins Cromley and Carter L. Hudgins (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 98.

¹⁶¹ See Apostol, *El Alisal*, 59.

Sometime around this period, Lummis also added a hipped roof to the main building block of the house. This transformed the building's appearance dramatically (**Fig. 2.25**). No longer did the house appear to resemble so strongly the stacked geometric form of an ancient pueblo cliff dwelling.¹⁶² Whether Lummis intended to add this roof from the outset of his project is not known. The different coping treatments evidenced on the higher and lower masses of the building earlier in the project suggest that he may have intended to keep the roofline of the main building block flat, but the water infiltration issues endemic to flat roofs may have persuaded him to reconsider. However, with the new roof, the house also began to resemble more closely that once presented to readers in the *Land of Sunshine* as the Adobe Plus.

Lummis also worked to evoke both the ancient cliff dwellings and the Spanish Colonial past at the entrance to his house where visitors would first arrive. In *Strange Corners of Our Country*, he once had described to his readers how much he admired the impenetrable appearance of the ancient cliff dwellings and how they could only be accessed through one central gateway. At the entry to El Alisal, he placed two massive seven-foot high double doors that each weighed about a thousand pounds. In their construction, they resembled those from a Spanish Colonial era house (**Fig. 2.26**). These were often built at a large scale in order to accommodate the entry of a *caretta*, or wagon, into the zaguán without compromising the security of an otherwise fortified façade.

¹⁶² It is unknown exactly when the hipped roof was added, but it appears to be sometime after 1904. A 1907 article features a photograph of El Alisal that shows the house without the hipped roof, and the caption describes it as the "Front View of the House." However, the article also describes how the house had been under construction for six years at the time of its writing, which would date the photograph at 1904. See Bertha Damaris Knobe, "A House Made with Hands," *House Beautiful*, November 1907, 15-16. However, another source indicates that the hipped roof was added by early 1905; see Helen Lukens Jones, "The Home of an Author-Craftsman," *Good Housekeeping*, January 1905, 18-24.

Upon these doors, Lummis prominently placed an insignia that was intended to serve as his own monogram.¹⁶³ The design was a replication, in iron, of the calligraphic flourish—or *rúbrica*—used by one of the early Spanish conquistadors to the New World. It was executed by one of the artists for the *Land of Sunshine* who Lummis considered a protégé, Maynard Dixon.¹⁶⁴ For the doors to his house, Lummis asked Dixon to replicate for him the *rúbrica* of Francisco Pizarro, who long ago had forcefully and mercilessly conquered Peru (**Fig. 2.27**). For at least several years, Lummis had been fascinated with the way that the Spanish conquistadors were fond of inscribing their names in rock outcroppings to mark their presence in perpetuity upon the landscape of the Southwest. In his 1893 book *Strange Corners of Our Country* he had made one such site the subject of his study in a chapter entitled “The Stone Autograph Album.”¹⁶⁵

Lummis likely chose Pizarro’s *rubrica* for two reasons. The ornate and curvilinear *rúbrica* could be read easily as a representation of his own initials, and the conquistador’s exploits through Peru likely summoned for Lummis memories of his own explorations there with Adolph Bandelier. Now Pizarro’s *rúbrica* could work to signify Lummis’s own identity as manly adventurer and with it he could inscribe his name on a building that he intended would last for at least a thousand years.

¹⁶³ A 1907 article on El Alisal written for *House Beautiful* describes the *rubrica* as “the curious wrought monogram of the master of the house,” and this suggests that Lummis conceived of it in exactly that way. See Knove, “A House Made with Hands,” 16.

¹⁶⁴ For more on Maynard Dixon as Lummis’s protégé, see Donald Hagerty, *Desert Dreams: The Life and Art of Maynard Dixon* (Layton, Utah: Gibbs Smith Publishing, 1993), 13. As described by Hagerty, Lummis became a father-figure to Dixon, who also began to suffer from “nervous strain” (neurasthenia) in 1900. In response, Lummis helped to make arrangements for Dixon to go the pueblo of Isleta, where he himself had gone to recover from his own over-civilization twelve years previously. See Kevin Starr, “Pasadena and the Arroyo: Two Modes of Bohemia” in *Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 124.

¹⁶⁵ See Lummis, *Strange Corners of Our Country*, 163.

Lummis clearly intended that the house would convey to others his identity as a manly adventurer who had conquered the spaces of the Southwest, just as he had once worked on his tramp to convey to others that he was a “manly man” of the “wild country” by transforming his costume to convey that he was Pa-puk-ke-wis, Wild Man of the Plains. His parlor on the first floor, which he called his *museo*, was essentially a large Indian Room intended to function as a sort of museum for the display of this persona (**Fig. 2.28**).

This it did through the display of several different kinds of souvenirs of conquest: the photograph, the artifact, and the animal trophy. When visitors first entered the room, one of the first sights that they would encounter, if they had not already noticed it on their approach to the house’s entry, was a series of three windows grouped together as a triptych on the front façade of the house. In an article entitled “Charles F. Lummis: Crusader with a Camera,” the scholar Bradley B. Williams notes that the windows served as Lummis’s “autobiography in glass.”¹⁶⁶ In these windows, Lummis had inset thirty-seven glass transparencies onto which were photographic images taken by him of his travels across the Great Southwest from the pueblos of the Southwest to the Inca ruins of Peru (**Fig. 2.29**).

Lummis also had assembled what would soon be considered a very important collection of indigenous Indian artifacts that he would bestow on a Los Angeles institution that he would help to found, the Southwest Museum.¹⁶⁷ Assembled throughout the *museo* were collections of Navajo rugs, pottery from Acoma, basketry from various tribes of Arizona and California, as well as a small collection of artifacts that he had garnered from his

¹⁶⁶ See Bradley B. Williams, “Charles F. Lummis: Crusader with a Camera,” *History of Photography* 5 (July 1981), 207-221.

¹⁶⁷ See The Southwest Society of the Archaeological Institute of America, *Two Great Gifts: The Lummis Library and Collections and The Munk Library*. Seventh Bulletin of The Southwest Society of the Archaeological Institute of America (Los Angeles: The Southwest Society, 1910), 3.

explorations with Bandelier in Peru (**Fig. 2.30**). These artifacts, rather than speaking of their makers, were understood by visitors to be an expression of Lummis's own identity as both manly adventurer and man of scientific authority when displayed prominently as collections of artifacts on the walls of his home. Each derived its value not from the cultures to whom they once belonged and from which they had been extracted, but as assembled and bestowed upon them by their collector. The effect of the room as the display for trophies of the masculine adventurer was rendered complete with shredded buckskin curtains made to cover the room's windows, as well as its adornment with the "skins of animals whom the owner victoriously encountered in the wilds."¹⁶⁸

Lummis also conceived of his fortified house as somewhat analogous to the physical strength that he worked to cultivate in his own body in its making. This is evidenced in a short poem that he would write and include in a small book that he published in 1911 entitled *My Friend Will*, a longer exposition upon the article he had written in 1894 in which he had described his own will over his body against the forces of decay, or over-civilization. In the poem, he would equate once again architectural space with his own body as he would write as follows:

The citadel is small, but 'tis mine own
Impregnable unless surrendered o'er
Its gateway opens to Will's key alone
A key I keep on my side of the door.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ See Knobe, "A House Made of Hands," *House Beautiful*, 16.

¹⁶⁹ See Lummis, *My Friend Will: Including "The Little Boy That Was,"* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Company, 1911), 38.

Now, however, the architectural space that he would describe would be the impregnable fortress citadel of a cliff dweller, rather than the adobe pueblo in which he had once recovered in New Mexico.

For Lummis, the ancient ruins and living cultures of the Southwest provided a history that could be unearthed in a manner similar to the archaeological digs from which he sifted and sorted from the earth. From both the earth and the architectural legacies of different cultures, Lummis would selectively extract those items that he found valuable to suit his own purposes. However, no space within Lummis's house perhaps demonstrates Lummis's attempt to sift through the ancient past in order to find symbols that might define his own identity than a small room that he reserved for his own use on the small second floor of El Alisal, his den (**Fig. 2.31**).¹⁷⁰

Lummis particularly conceived of this upper level of the house as evoking the cliff dwellings in their spatial arrangement. Set above the rest of the house, Lummis worked to make this level feel physically inaccessible. This is described in a 1902 article on the house that was featured in the literary magazine *The Critic*. There, the author described how Lummis had successfully captured the feeling of an ancient pueblo in the way that space constricted as one ascended the staircase to the upper level and then opened up once arrived to his den, like the balcony or terrace of a cliff dwelling. She wrote: "The windows of the den have a wide outlook, but its seclusion is admirably planned, only a steep, narrow staircase, suggestive of the ladders of the cliff-dwellers giving access to it."¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰ See Bingham, *Charles F. Lummis*, 20.

¹⁷¹ See Du Bois, "Charles Lummis: Author and Man," 328-9.

For Lummis, however, the space of his den didn't only recall the ancient cliff dwellings, but also the den of a mighty and powerful animal, the panther or the mountain lion. Lummis often referred to himself as "The Lion," and within the pages of the *Land of Sunshine* he entitled his editorial column "From the Lion's Den." Here, he vociferously expressed to his readers his opinions on topics central to the day, from women's suffrage to the nation's involvement in the Spanish-American War, and his column became so well known for its bombasticism that it was the page to which many readers often turned first. However, Lummis made his authority over the magazine as its lion more keenly felt than just exerting his identity from its one-page editorial column. A mountain lion often graced the title blocks of articles throughout the magazine, and in the seventh issue of August 1897, Lummis also commissioned the artist, Gutzon Borglum, to draw a mountain lion to grace its cover (**Fig. 2.32**).

As early as 1892, Lummis had described to the readers of his book, *The Land of Poco Tiempo*, the special significance that the mountain lion held for the Pueblo Indians of the Southwest. During Lummis's recovery in New Mexico, he had photographed two lions carved into the stone at Cochiti Pueblo, and within the pages he had described to readers how the mountain lion was a creature unique to the desert Southwest, the supreme animal god of the hunt, and a symbol of great power (**Fig. 2.33**).¹⁷²

To Lummis, the mountain lion of the Southwest was also a symbol of masculine transformation. For instance, in his book, *Strange Corners of Our Country*, Lummis described to

¹⁷² Lummis took the photograph of the stone lions at Cochití around 1890 during his period of recovery in New Mexico. See Charles H. Lange, and Carroll L. Riley, eds., *The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier, 1880-1882* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1966), 518. For more on Lummis' explorations with Bandelier at Cochití, see Charles Lummis' own chapter entitled "The Wanderings of Cochití," chapt. in the *Land of Poco Tiempo* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893), 147.

readers how Pueblo Indian medicine men, or shamans, were entities within their communities that possessed great power. He also described for his readers how each hunting season these medicine men performed secret ritual activities in their kivas—such as dancing, smoking and singing what he called “man songs”—that worked to give them special prowess as hunters. These secrets rituals, he said, imbued them with the power of mountain lions. He presented to his readers what he said was a special sacred hunting song of the Pueblo Indians that went as follows:

Beh-eh eh-k’hay-roh.
 Beh-eh eh-k’hay-roh,
 Beh-eh eh-k’hay-roh,
 I am the mountain-lion young man,
 I am the mountain-lion young man,
 I am the mountain-lion young man,
 Antelope thigh in my house hangs plenty,
 Antelope shoulder in my house hangs plenty,
 Antelope heart in my house hangs plenty,
 I am the mountain lion young man,
 Deer head in my house hangs plenty,
 Deer liver in my house hangs plenty,
 All deer meat in my house hangs plenty,
 I am the mountain-lion young man.¹⁷³

The shamanistic transformation of medicine men into powerful mountain lions who could abundantly fill their houses with the trophies of their kill was one to which Lummis personally related. He envisioned his period of recovery in the Pueblo of Isleta—a time in which he also engaged in manly activities such as smoking and hunting—as one in which he underwent a similar bodily transformation from an entity that was weak to one that was powerful and strong. This transformation had been described to readers in his 1894 story for

¹⁷³ See Lummis, *Strange Corners of Our Country*, 212.

McClure's entitled "My Friend Will" in which he had become once again "sinewy and agile as a panther, and of really extraordinary strength."¹⁷⁴

At El Alisal, so complete was Lummis's identification with the mountain lion of the Pueblo Indians that he often enacted his own transformation into one at night. While his wife, Eva, slept in her own bedroom on the first floor of the house, Lummis would access the primitive animal within himself. Feline-like, he would crawl through a narrow hole located on the wall of his Lion's Den to access the unfinished attic. There, he would stealthily creep across the space to reach his own bedroom in the top of the adjacent kiva tower.¹⁷⁵

For Lummis, Los Angeles was the center of the renewed civilization built upon the ruins of the ancient. However, even more important to him than the conception of Los Angeles as the center of civilization, as opposed to the cities of the East, was what he conceived of as his place within this center. Like a series of concentric circles, Lummis conceived of the city's epicenter as his own house as centered upon the small space of his Lion's Den from which his voice finally found resonance and recognition. At El Alisal, comfortably ensconced within his Lion's Den high upon the second floor of his citadel, Lummis would roar within the pages of his magazine and shape for readers an imagined world in which he, and the city of Los Angeles to which he contributed his "mite," would figure as the center of the Southwest.

¹⁷⁴ See Lummis, "My Friend Will: A Story," 531.

¹⁷⁵ The spatial configuration of the "Lion's Den," the attic, and the kiva tower, as well as the kiva tower's function as Lummis' bedchamber is related in a 1905 article on the house featured in *Good Housekeeping*. See Jones, "The Home of An Author Craftsman," 24.

Chapter Three—

Playing Indian at the Edge of the Grand Canyon: Consuming Identities at Hopi House

The Santa Fe Railway and the Fred Harvey Company's Development of the Grand Canyon as a Tourist Spectacle

In 1901, shortly following the completion of a rail line to the Grand Canyon by the Santa Fe Railway, the company immediately began to promote the Grand Canyon as a sight that every American should see, like a fine painting as executed by an old master. This it did through an extensive advertising campaign that included a series of promotional books and pamphlets financed by the company, such as the 1902 book entitled *The Grand Canyon of Arizona: A Book of Words from Many Pens, About the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River in Arizona*. Charles Lummis's pen was one of those featured. His writings for the railroad provided yet another means by which "the lion" could amplify his roar in his boosterism of the Southwest.

One of the causes about which Lummis often roared was his idea that Americans were not familiar with their own country, even as they traveled elsewhere. He became a major proponent of what would be dubbed the "See America First" campaign.¹ In his writings for the Santa Fe Railroad, he extolled visitors to come not only to see the Grand Canyon, which he touted as "The Greatest Thing in the World," but the larger "Southwest Wonderland" in which it was ensconced. This wonderland, he noted, included a forest made of petrified rock, mysterious cliff-dwellings, Pueblo villages set atop steep, flat mountaintops,

¹ It is interesting to note that Charles Lummis would claim the phrase "See America First" as one of his own invention. Sometime around 1920 he would write as follows: "More than twenty years ago the Lion [Lummis] originated the "See America First" Crusade." See Marguerite S. Schaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 2001), 33.

“picturesque peoples,” and strange ritual performances to which visitors could play spectator. He would write:

All these, and a great deal more, make the Southwest a wonderland without parallel. There are ruins as striking as the storied ones along the Rhine, and far more remarkable. There are people as picturesque as any in the Orient, and as romantic as the Aztecs and the Incas of whom we have learned such gilded fables, and there are natural wonders which have no peer whatsoever.²

In comparing the area of the Grand Canyon to wonders located both along the Rhine and in the Orient, Lummis not only encouraged Americans to forgo foreign travel, but he also invited them to conceive of the American Southwest in similar terms. To Americans, the Rhine River was associated with a landscape that held forth an ancient European history as manifest in its castles, while the Orient was conceived as possessing exotic peoples. Lummis promised potential American visitors to the “Southwest Wonderland,” that there they would discover both.

The arrival of the railroad to the canyon’s rim would also mark the arrival of a new kind of traveler to the Grand Canyon area, one unwilling to do without the provision of comfort that could be provided with rail access. Therefore, in conjunction with the railroad’s promotion of travel to the Grand Canyon, the company also began to plan for potential visitors’ accommodation once there. This was primarily the responsibility of the hospitality arm of the Santa Fe Railway Company conglomeration, the Fred Harvey Company, which several years previously had erected a luxurious hotel facility next to the railroad’s depot in Albuquerque.³

² See C.A. Higgins, J.W. Powell, and Charles F. Lummis, *Titans of the Chasms, the Grand Canyon of Arizona* (Chicago: Passenger Dept., The Santa Fe, 1904), 23.

³ For a brief synopsis of the scholarship on the relationship of the two companies, see William Francis Deverell, ed., *A Companion to the American West* (Malden, MA: 2004), 379.

The term “conglomeration” is one that was used neither by either the Santa Fe Railway Company or the Fred Harvey Company at the turn of the twentieth century, but it is an apt one in describing the relationship of the manner in which the two companies worked in partnership to promote the interests of one another. The Fred Harvey Company, based out of Topeka, Kansas began as a restaurant company in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. The company was named after its founder, a man named Fred Harvey who had immigrated to the United States from England in 1850. Upon his arrival, Harvey first worked as a dishwasher in elite New York restaurants. By 1875, however, he was working as a freight agent for the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad when the company established the first of two railroad eating-houses. The first one was located in Wallace, Kansas and the other in Hugo, Colorado (**Fig. 3.1**). Harvey was asked to manage both of them. They each closed within a year after proving unprofitable.

The experience, however, was enough to whet Harvey’s appetite for the restaurant business and to convince him that opening a system-wide eating-house operation could be a profitable venture. In 1876, Harvey entered into a partnership with the Santa Fe Railway, at which time the railroad company agreed to give him exclusive rights to the selection of sites adjacent to its train depots upon which to erect dining facilities. The first one opened in 1878 in Florence, Kansas. By the late 1880s, Harvey had established what is often credited as the first American chain of restaurants.⁴ There was a “Harvey House” every 100 miles along

⁴ See Andrew S. Smith, *The Oxford Companion to Food and Drink* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 505.

the entire road of the Santa Fe Railway, from Kansas to New Mexico, as well as thirty railroad dining cars (**Fig. 3.2**).⁵

The reason for such a partnership between the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway was the identification by each of the company's respective management that their interests could benefit from the promotion of the other. The dining facilities erected by the Fred Harvey Company at railroad stops allowed the Santa Fe Railway to proffer a higher standard of comfort to passengers than was possible within the confines of a boxcar, however well appointed. In turn, these facilities provided an opportunity for Harvey to reap the benefits of the railroad's steady supply of travelers disembarking from trains at regularly-scheduled intervals. The Santa Fe Railway also would convey the freshest of produce, meat and dairy to the tables of Harvey's dining establishments.

Prior to the establishment of Harvey's chain of restaurants, railroad eating-houses had a reputation for being filthy and noisy establishments (**Fig. 3.3**). Most Americans perceived that service in railroad eating-houses was bad and that the food was nearly inedible. Fred Harvey, however, was determined to institute reform in the new railroad-eating houses. To achieve this, he applied a sense of uncompromising standards to his lunchrooms, emphasizing cleanliness and high-quality food.

Harvey also worked to improve the perception by customers that railroad eating-houses had bad service. He worked to establish a system of reliable labor by actively recruiting young women from lower- and middle-class backgrounds from the East and the Midwest to work as waitresses in his restaurants. These women would subsequently become a main fixture of the Fred Harvey Company, so it is worth describing them here in some

⁵ See Gail M. Beaton, *Colorado Women* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2012), 67.

detail. They were known as the “Harvey Girls,” and all of the women recruited by the Fred Harvey Company were required to be “attractive and intelligent young women of good character.”⁶ They were immediately recognizable to restaurant patrons by the starched black-and-white uniforms that they were all required to wear, which closely resembled those worn by maids in upper-class households at the turn of the century.

Like the women who worked in factories in sex-segregated company towns during the nineteenth century—such as the cotton mills in Lowell, Massachusetts—Harvey Girls also had to agree to live in dormitories under the strict supervision of a chaperone and to abide by a strict 10:00 p.m. curfew. In case a curfew and chaperone was not enough to deter a Harvey Girl from embarking on a romance while in the company’s employ, all Harvey Girls were also required to sign contracts with the company that would penalize them in terms of their salaries if they were to marry during their first term of employment, a six month-period.⁷

Fred Harvey would not live long after establishing this veritable restaurant empire, however. In 1901, he would die after a fifteen-year battle with intestinal cancer. However, in the years following his death, his restaurant chain would be widely perceived as representing an important civilizing force in the architectural development of the Southwest. Fred Harvey, himself, was often called “the civilizer of the Southwest,” and in 1913, a writer for a food-lover’s book entitled *A Gastronomic Guide to Health and Good Living* would wistfully

⁶ See Robert Gish, *Beautiful Swift Fox: Erna Fergusson and the Modern Southwest* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1996), 59. See also Walter R. Borneman, *Rival Rails* (New York: Random House, 2010), 279.

⁷ See Beverly West, *More Than Petticoats: Remarkable New Mexico Women* (Guilford, CN: TwoDot, 2001), 45, and Stanley Turkel, *Great American Hoteliers: Pioneers of the Hotel Industry* (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2009), 89.

reminisce over what he thought to be Harvey's enduring legacy as he would write as follows:

"Harvey eating-houses served as schools to all the Southwest, bringing about a general reform. The rival railway systems and other competitive lunch rooms could no longer persevere in their barbarous ways."⁸

Fred Harvey's death by no means signaled an end of the company, however. The Fred Harvey Company, like that of many other industrial corporations at the turn of the twentieth century, was strictly a "closed corporation" in which control and management was limited to family members. It was also a corporation in which a form of male-preference primogeniture was in place. Upon Fred Harvey's death, control of the company was bestowed upon Fred Harvey's two sons, as well as to his son-in-law, J.F. Huckel, who had entered into the company by marriage to Harvey's daughter, Minnie, in 1898.⁹

In the years immediately preceding Fred Harvey's death, the company had expanded greatly. It not only continued to build restaurants, it also began a large building campaign to construct elaborate hotel facilities adjacent to the Santa Fe Railway tracks. J.F. Huckel, who had worked in the publishing industry in New York before marrying Minnie Harvey, became

⁸ When exactly Fred Harvey was first called the "Civilizer of the Southwest" is unknown. However, the idea emerged within a decade of his death in 1901, and it is a common characterization of him in regard to his enterprise to bring a network of restaurants to the American Southwest. The phrase was first used in print as early as 1910. See Elliot Hubbard, *Fra Magazine: A Journal of Affirmation* (July 1910 to December 1910), xxxiii. See also Henry Theophilus Finck, *A Gastronomic Guide to Health and Good Living* (New York: The Century Club, 1913), 8, and a chapter about Fred Harvey entitled "Civilizer" in Erna Ferguson, *Our Southwest* (New York: Knopf, 1940), 190-207.

⁹ The fact that the Fred Harvey Company represented a "closed corporation" in which he passed on its control within the family to his male heirs is discussed in a chapter entitled "History of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe," in Natachee Scott Momaday and Don Louis Perceval, *The Owl in the Cedar Tree* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), 121. For a reference to the increasing power in the company by the turn of the century of Fred Harvey's heirs, see Judith A. Barter, *Window on the West: Chicago and the Art of the New Frontier, 1890- 1940* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2003), 153.

the new vice-president of the Fred Harvey Company and the driving force in the construction of the company's restaurants and hotels along the Santa Fe Railway.¹⁰

Previous to this, the company had only constructed one hotel, the Montezuma Hotel in Las Vegas, New Mexico. The hotel opened on April 17, 1882, at it was constructed at the cost of \$300,000.¹¹ It had 270 rooms and as many as 18,000 guests visited the hotel a year. The choice for the hotel's name reflects the emerging regional consciousness of which the architectural historian Richard Longstreth writes, for Montezuma was the Aztec ruler who had directed the Spanish conquistadors to go to New Mexico in search of the cities of Cíbola. However, the design of the hotel also was based solely on an Eastern building precedent, as it was Queen Anne Style. The Montezuma was advertised as a major health resort that featured amenities such as mud baths where guests suffering from "nervous afflictions" could soothe their frayed nerves.¹²

However, the Montezuma Hotel hardly represented a successful business venture for the Fred Harvey Company. The hotel nearly burned to the ground in 1884. It was rebuilt in 1885, and then it burned again four months after it reopened. Then it was built again in 1886.¹³ During the national depression of the 1890s, the hotel represented a serious financial liability to the company as it often lost nearly \$40,000 a year. Therefore, it was closed for all

¹⁰ For J.F. Huckel as the driving force behind the construction of the company's restaurants, hotels and shops, see Arnold Berke, *Mary Colter: Architect of the Southwest* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2002), 228. See Laura Jane Moore, "Elle Meets the President," chapt. in *Western Women's Lives: Continuity and Change in the Twentieth-Century*, ed. Sandra Schackel (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 352.

¹¹ See Keith L. Bryant, *History of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway* (New York: Macmillan, 1974), 119.

¹² See Richard Melzer, *Images of America: Fred Harvey Houses of the Southwest* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 31-33.

¹³ Ibid, 36.

but the summer months from September 1, 1893 to October 31, 1903.¹⁴ At this latter date, the hotel was permanently closed, and its interior furnishings were sold to the St. Louis World's Fair Hotel in Missouri.

It was not until nearly two decades after the Montezuma was first built that the Fred Harvey Company would build its second hotel, the Castañeda Hotel. It opened on January 1, 1899.¹⁵ Like the Montezuma Hotel, it was also located in Las Vegas, New Mexico, just east of the Santa Fe Railway depot. It is quite likely that the company intended it to replace the previous facility. Like the Montezuma, the name of the Castañeda Hotel summoned the history of Spanish conquest in the area, for it was named after Pedro de Casteñeda de Nagera. He was a Spaniard who in 1540 accompanied the conquistador Francisco Vázquez de Coronado y Luján on his journey from Mexico City to New Mexico in search of the fabled seven cities of Cíbola. Casteñeda, a historian, had chronicled this twenty years later in a book entitled *Relacion de la Jornada de Cíbola*.¹⁶ On this hotel-building venture, however, the Fred Harvey Company went a step further in evoking the history of the Spanish conquest of the Southwest. The new hotel facility was designed in the Mission Revival Style as designed by the Los Angeles-based architects Frederick Louis Roehrig and A. Reinsch.¹⁷

The building was arranged in a u-shaped configuration with a courtyard to its front, and it was oriented towards the railroad tracks, which were almost immediately adjacent to it. The building was covered in white stucco. It had a gabled roof, covered in red tile, which

¹⁴ Ibid, 36.

¹⁵ Ibid, 37.

¹⁶ See Jerry M. Williams and Robert Earl Lewis, eds., *Early Images of the Americas: Transfer and Invention* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1993), 230.

¹⁷ Ibid, 37. Frederick Roehrig is perhaps best known as the architect of the Mediterranean Style Hotel Green at 99 South Raymond Avenue in Pasadena, California, which he designed in 1903.

terminated at two ends with planar walls. These featured undulating parapets that suggested a mission church. The building also featured a bell tower as would also be a typical feature of a mission church. However, rather than being set to one side of the front façade, the bell tower was used to demarcate the Castañeda Hotel's primary entry. The building also featured arcaded porticos around all of its sides. These likely served as the primary circulation to many of the guest rooms, a feature that was practical only because of the temperate year-round climate of New Mexico.

According to one source, the Castañeda Hotel was the first building in New Mexico to employ the Mission Revival Style.¹⁸ However, in the construction of this new facility, it is also quite likely that the Fred Harvey Company took its cue from the design of the Santa Fe Railway's train depots in California. As previously described, since the exhibition of the California Building at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, both the Santa Fe Railway and its main competitor, the Southern Pacific Railway, had begun to employ the Mission Revival Style for the design of their respective depots.¹⁹

The design of the Castañeda Hotel marks the beginning of an increasingly aggressive business strategy of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway to market travel upon their road over that of their competitor, the Southern Pacific. This manifested itself in several different forms. One was quite a simple tactic, an advertising campaign, and this

¹⁸ See Melzer, *Fred Harvey Houses of the Southwest*, 37.

¹⁹ According to Chris Wilson, as based upon the work of architectural historian David Gebhard and railroad historian Keith L. Bryant, the Mission Revival Style was first used by the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad following the construction of the California Building at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, and the Southern Pacific followed suit soon afterwards. However, the Mission Revival style depot built by the Southern Pacific Railroad in Burlingame, California in 1894 (reputably the oldest extant depot in the Mission Revival Style) suggests that the two railroads were fairly contemporaneous in their use of the style. For a reference to the AT&SF Railroad as the first of the two railroads to use the style, see Chris Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 90. For the construction date of the depot in Burlingame, see *National Register of Historic Places Nomination #7800769*.

played out in magazines that were intended to promote travel to the Southwest to Eastern visitors. The Santa Fe Railway began to highlight heavily travel along its rails in publications such as Charles Lummis's Los Angeles-based *Land of Sunshine*.²⁰ Meanwhile, in 1898, the Southern Pacific would establish its very own publication in San Francisco, *Sunset Magazine*. In this magazine, the desirability of travel upon the rail lines of the Southern Pacific, rather than those of the Santa Fe Railway, would be conveyed subtly to readers by highlighting unique destinations along that particular railroad's lines. For instance, once visitors were arrived to San Francisco from Chicago, the main railroad hub to the West, they could take the Southern Pacific's "Sunset Limited" up and down the California coast to destinations such as the Hotel del Coronado in San Diego.

However, even more powerful than the images and articles presented within these publications was the sophisticated advertising campaign that the Santa Fe Railway and the Fred Harvey Company each devised to harness the power of art and objects for advertising purposes. The Santa Fe Railway recognized this as an effective strategy as early as 1895, when it purchased the rights to painter Thomas Moran's "Grand Canyon." This image it had printed by the thousands as lithographs for wide distribution to schools, offices, hotels and residences across the country.²¹ The company soon realized that it was much more profitable to acquire works of art outright rather than to simply acquire the copyright. Merely purchasing the rights to works of art left the artist with too much say as to its distribution.

²⁰ See Stephanie Baron, Sherie Bernstein, and Ilene Susan Fort, *Made in California: Art, Image, and Identity, 1900-2000* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 66.

²¹ For more on the AT&SF Railroad's utilization of this image as a marketing strategy, see Herman Gray and Macarena Gómez-Barris, *Toward a Sociology of the Trace* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 177.

Therefore, William Haskell Simpson, a manager for the Santa Fe Railway, soon began to expand the scale of the company's collecting activities. Simpson began to acquire actual works of art that featured the places to which its rails traveled. In the years following Simpson's arrival to the Santa Fe Railway, he would assemble a collection of over six hundred individual works of art.²² The Santa Fe Railway was well aware of their motivations for assembling such a collection and the multiple ways in which it could be used to profit them. The collection could be used not only for advertising purposes, but it also conferred prestige upon the company. William Haskell Simpson would claim credit for directing the Santa Fe Railway to become "the first road in the land to take art seriously, as a valuable advertising adjunct."²³

Around 1900, the Fred Harvey Company began to take its cue from the Santa Fe Railway that art could be an effective means of advertising. However, while the Santa Fe Railway would focus on acquiring fine paintings, the Fred Harvey Company would turn its attention to collecting rare Indian antiquities, instead. Moreover, the company would display these collections in a museum in its new luxury hotel facility. This would be the Alvarado Hotel that the company would construct in 1902 in Albuquerque, New Mexico.²⁴ As at the Castañeda Hotel, the company would employ again the Mission Revival Style. The hotel would be touted as a luxury hotel to rival those elsewhere in the United States and Europe.

²² See Nancy Hopkins Reily, *Joseph Imhof: Artist of the Pueblos: A Biography* (Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 1998), 134-5.

²³ For William Haskell Simpson's quote on the effectiveness of art as advertising, see Pamela Walker Laird, *Advertising Progress: American Business and the Rise of Consumer Marketing* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 267.

²⁴ Melzer, *Fred Harvey Houses of the Southwest*, 51.

It would be built at a cost of \$200,000, and it would feature one hundred and nineteen rooms.²⁵

It was J.F. Huckel's wife, Minnie, an avid collector of American Indian curios, who suggested that the new hotel venture in Albuquerque feature a museum dedicated to the display of American Indian crafts as well as a sales venue. Her suggestion to her husband represented a savvy and astute sensibility for marketing and a keen attunement to white American consumer desire. Although Minnie Harvey Huckel had not gained access to any formal control of her father's company, she, like many other women of her elite class, often exerted influence in its affairs from the background.

The suggestion by Minnie Harvey Huckel to have a museum and curio venue at the Alvarado Hotel is also indicative of the synthesis of ideas from two of the different social spheres to which Minnie Harvey was uniquely privy, one based on her elite social status and the other, her gender. Her social status, as a woman of substantial means, gained her entrée into the sphere of antiquities collecting in which museums and elite collectors vied against each other in a race to obtain Indian artifacts increasingly considered rare. This was a social sphere that was largely male-dominated, but it was one to which elite women of means were increasingly gaining access.²⁶ The other social sphere from which she drew for her idea was

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Prior to the late nineteenth century, the collecting of Native American antiquities was almost exclusively a male activity reserved for those with influence and means. For instance, in the early nineteenth century, Thomas Jefferson prominently displayed his collection of "Indian Curiosities" in the entry hall of his home, Monticello. However, in the late nineteenth century, this collecting activity became much more widespread as great quantities of objects began to be unearthed and collected in expeditions to the ruins of the Southwest. At this time, a select number of elite Anglo-American women also began to participate in the collecting of Native American antiquities, and particularly in the epicenters for wealth on either coast. Notable female collectors included Phoebe Apperson Hearst in California—the wife of the mining and real estate tycoon, George Hearst—and Mary Hemenway in Massachusetts, the wife of the Boston merchant, Augustus Hemenway. Both women also participated in this realm of elite collecting through their sponsorship of

one predominated by women, who typically were responsible for furnishing domestic interiors.

In response to Minnie's suggestion, Huckel established an "Indian Department" in 1901. Like the Santa Fe Railway, the company would have its own collections that it could use to promote travel to the Southwest. These collections could travel to venues such as fairs and expositions, where they could compete for prizes. When they weren't in circulation, they would be housed in a museum building at the Alvarado Hotel that would serve as an attraction to visitors, called the Indian Collection Building. The company's own collections, as displayed at the Alvarado Hotel, would also help it to establish its authority in selling Indian handicrafts to tourists in a separate sales venue at the hotel that the company would name the Indian and Mexican Building.²⁷

The idea to have a museum within a hotel complex was not an entirely new one. As early as 1886, tourist hotels began to incorporate displays of art to their interiors. For example, around the same time that the Alvarado Hotel was being constructed, tourist hotels such as the Hotel del Coronado in San Diego and the Mission Inn in Riverside—both popular destinations in California—had their own art galleries featuring paintings of the local

expeditions to unearth artifacts. However, despite the movement in the 1880s of a few elite women into the sphere of antiquities collecting, it remained predominantly male. The fortunes that their husbands possessed and to which these women had access allowed them to participate in spheres of activity that women of modest means were simply not privy. For more on collecting of Native American curios as a male activity, see Carolyn Kastner's "Collecting Mr. Ayers Narrative," in *Acts of Possession*, edited by Leah Dilworth (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 151, as well as Elizabeth Cromley, "Masculine/Indian," *Winterthur Portfolio* 31, 4 (1996), 265-280.

²⁷ For more on the Fred Harvey Company's Indian Department, see Howard and Pardue, *Inventing the Southwest: The Fred Harvey Company and Native American Art*, 9-24. See also a chapter entitled "The Fred Harvey Company and the Indian Department" in Nancy J. Blomberg's *Navajo Textiles: The William Randolph Hearst Collection*. (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1988).

landscape.²⁸ These galleries functioned in several different ways within the hotel complexes in which they were encompassed. The inclusion of such galleries helped to imbue the atmospheres of the hotels in which they were located with a rarefied air bespeaking “civilization.” They also conveyed to visitors that the landscape to which they had arrived possessed unique qualities and importance.

J. F. Huckel placed himself at the head of the new Indian Department and he promoted a Fred Harvey Company employee, Herman Schweitzer, to assist him as its manager. In 1899, Schweitzer already had begun to dabble in satisfying the consumer demand for Indian jewelry by enlisting Navajo Indians on the reservations to make silver jewelry specifically for the tourist trade. Huckel and Schweitzer would work with the well-known Indian trader, John Lorenzo Hubbell, to assemble a large collection of rare Indian antiquities for the Fred Harvey Company’s own collection. Hubbell had an Indian trading post located on the Hopi reservation in the north of the Arizona Territory. Hubbell also would assist Huckel and Schweitzer in assembling large quantities of Indian-made items that the Fred Harvey Company would make available for sale to tourists.²⁹

In part, the decision by the Fred Harvey Company to create such an elaborate hotel facility at Albuquerque was pragmatic, for the town was quickly developing into the major

²⁸ The idea of having an art gallery in a tourist hotel had been around since at least 1886 with the construction of a free-standing studio for the artist Thomas Hill adjacent to the Wawona Hotel en route to the touristic destination of Yosemite Valley. By the turn of the century, the Hotel del Coronado in San Diego, the Del Monte in Monterey and the Mission Inn in Riverside would all employ art galleries within their hotels. For a reference to the Thomas Hill Studio as a supplemental attraction to the Wawona Hotel, see Amy Scott, *Yosemite: Art of An American Icon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 200. For more on art as used in tourist hotels at the turn of the century, in general, see Stephanie Baron, Sherie Bernstein, and Ilene Susan Fort, *Made in California: Art, Image, and Identity, 1900-2000* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 66.

²⁹ For more on how discernment was a strategy employed by people to maintain class distinctions, see Pierre Bourdieu’s *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), 11.

railroad hub for the Santa Fe Railway's line through the Southwest.³⁰ It was the point at which travelers could expect a significant delay in the progression of their travel. There, they would need to de-board from their car and wait for almost a half hour's time before another train departed. The Fred Harvey Company would turn the necessity of this delay into an opportunity to garner greater profits from travelers by creating a hotel complex that would not only meet their every basic need, but also exceed them. The inclusion of a museum and curio shop within the Alvarado Hotel complex represented a way that the Fred Harvey Company could market the complex as different than hotel venues associated with the Southern Pacific. This it would do through the creation of a place-specific identity for visitors with leisure time at their disposal to consume it.

Prior to the construction of the hotel, the town of Albuquerque was anything but possessive of an appearance that American visitors from elsewhere in the country would associate with luxury. It had approximately a hundred houses, and visitors who arrived to Albuquerque often found it not only shoddy, but also downright seedy. Like many other small western towns in the Southwest, Albuquerque possessed a very high ratio of unmarried and working-class men who had been lured to stake their fortunes there in extractive industries such as mining and agriculture. However, by and large, the landscape did not yield easily to their desires. Prior to the construction of the Alvarado Hotel complex, a flourishing red-light district and saloon were some of the most visible elements from the train. Visitors

³⁰ Although the Santa Fe Railway laid its main track through the northern portion of the New Mexico and Arizona territories in the early 1880s, arriving at Albuquerque on April 22, 1880, it would not develop many of its spurs off of the main line until the late 1890s. For a brief developmental history of the railroad in both of these territories, see Calvin Alexander Roberts and Susan A. Roberts, *New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 138, and Thomas V. Paradis, *Theme Town: A Geography of Landscape and Community in Flagstaff, Arizona* (New York: iUniverse, 2003), 76.

commonly referred to the town as “hell’s half-mile,” and this suggests that its appearance carried associations to them of poverty, immorality, and vice.³¹

At the Alvarado Hotel Complex, the Fred Harvey Company would seek to create an environment that visitors would perceive as civilized. Charles Whittlesey, a former protégé of Chicago architect Louis Sullivan, would design it. Much of the Fred Harvey Company’s success in Albuquerque derived from the company’s recognition that there was great profit to be made not simply in meeting travelers’ basic needs, but in exceeding them. This they did by creating built environments that would speak to other unfulfilled and unspoken desires.

In Albuquerque, Whittlesley would design a sprawling Mission Revival style hotel complex for the Fred Harvey Company. A low, freestanding wall encircled the complex further emphasizing its visual unity. This wall served to define an outdoor courtyard setting strongly reminiscent of those sacred precincts of the missions to which the design alluded. It also helped to set the hotel off from Albuquerque’s adjacent business district (**Fig. 3.4**).

Whittlesley’s employment of a strong, comprehensively designed architectural image immediately conveyed to visitors, as they disembarked from their train, that they had arrived in a place very different than the one from which their journey had begun. In the time available to visitors between disembarking and re-embarking train, the Alvarado Hotel complex to catered to their every need or desire so that they would not have to journey beyond its precinct.

³¹ For a reference to the visibility of the red light district in Albuquerque to the train depot, see Lesley Poling-Kempes, *The Harvey Girls: Women Who Opened the American West*, 156. The fact that Albuquerque was called “hell’s half-mile” is referenced in Pablo Mitchell, *Coyote Nation: Sexuality, Race and Conquest in Modernizing New Mexico 1880 – 1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 116. For more on the prevalence of saloons and red-light districts across the West, particularly in Albuquerque, see Jan McKell, *Red Light Women of the Rocky Mountains* (University of New Mexico Press, 2009).

For many white Americans, despite the arrival of the train to destinations previously considered only undeveloped frontier land, such as Albuquerque, the territories of the Southwest still represented the farthest and most isolated edge of the country, not only physically but also psychologically. It was a landscape that was completely unfamiliar, and it was perceived as somewhat threatening to many visitors. As once described to many American readers by the writer Charles Lummis, the landscape contained strange and venomous creatures, such as rattlesnakes and scorpions. Not so long ago, the picturesque peoples that Lummis now encouraged them to travel to see had been conceived of by them as threats in the “savage wars” of the American frontier. The temperature of the desert, which was sometimes searing, could feel physically extreme to their bodies. Moreover, as they traveled across the landscape by train, visible to them from its windows were strange sights. Bizarre rock formations arose among the long flat expanses of sand and shimmering mirages glittered in the air. These often confounded travelers’ sense of reality.

The Mission Revival Style imagery of the Alvarado Hotel complex helped white American visitors to feel comfortable in what they otherwise considered an exotic land. The coolness of the Alvarado’s arcaded porticos, which were situated around lushly planted courtyards, were intended by the Fred Harvey Company to summon for them the tranquility of a Spanish Franciscan monastery. The imagery was supposed to calm any fears that they possessed by reminding them that the Southwest had been tamed adequately long ago by the Spanish so as not to pose any threat to them to them. The hotel’s own name further served to summon this legacy of conquest, as it was given after that of a Spanish conquistador, Pedro de Alvarado.

In the Santa Fe Railway's 1898 print advertisement for travel to the Southwest, the figure of a Spanish missionary, or padre, was shown cast against a beautiful well-kept garden **(Fig. 3.5)**. The two classical ionic columns that framed the image subtly highlighted the idea that the mission was an environment symbolizing civilization. The padre, like potential visitors to the Alvarado Hotel, was shown engaged in a state of leisure as he read a book. At the Alvarado Hotel, regardless of whether visitors chose to identify themselves with either conquistador or padre, they could imagine themselves as successors to a Spanish Colonial past.

Now, as the Fred Harvey Company undertook the planning of a luxurious 100-bedroom hotel complex to be built adjacent to the south rim of the Grand Canyon, the company's previous hotel venture two years earlier, would serve as a precedent for the new development. The complex would again contain amenities to meet the traveler's every need, such as the inclusion of a luxurious dining room, ample opportunities for entertainment and relaxation, as well as shopping. The hotel would be promoted widely as "of the finest class," for as a writer for *Wetmore's Weekly* would note of the new hotel in 1905, the "best class of travel will only go where the hotel facilities are high-class."³²

However, the company would choose also to depart from the precedent of the Alvarado Hotel Complex in several ways. Although, once again, the Fred Harvey Company would remind visitors of the legacy of Spanish conquest of the area, as it chose to name the new hotel building after yet another Spanish conquistador, Pedro el Tovar, the Mission Style

³² See "New \$250,000 Hotel at the Grand Canyon," *Wetmore's Weekly* 1, no. 28 (1905), 13.

would not be employed.³³ Nonetheless, Charles Whittlesey, the architect of the Alvarado Hotel, was retained again for the design of the new hotel. Despite the luxurious manner in which travelers to the canyon would now be accommodated at the new hotel facility, they wished to imagine themselves explorers in relatively uncharted territory. Therefore, for the design of the El Tovar Hotel, Whittlesey would employ a consciously rustic architectural expression that would heighten this impression. To achieve this, Whittlesey married the domestic imagery of the bungalow, a style then just becoming popular across the nation for the vacation homes of the elite, with the imagery of the log cabin of the American frontier (**Fig. 3.6**).

In part, the eclecticism of the El Tovar Hotel's exterior design arose from the fact that not one of the architectural styles employed was well suited to its sole use on a mid-rise hotel. However, each architectural style was also important, individually, for its ability to convey a certain set of associations to the minds of visitors. The bungalow-like entry signaled to them that even the current fashion could be brought to what they conceived as a still a frontier. It also communicated a sense of retreat from the everyday world such as was associated with a rustic vacation home, such as a hunting lodge. The entry also imparted a domestic feeling to the larger hotel building, the scale of which otherwise belied such associations. Likewise, the rough-hewn logs cladding the exterior of the multi-story wings served to mask the enormity of these facades by eliciting associations within visitors minds of another small-scale domestic building type, the log cabin of the American frontier. However, delicately executed decorative details on the exterior, reminiscent of a chalet in the

³³ El Tovar was a Spanish conquistador who had encountered the Pueblo peoples when he was attempting to locate the fabled cities of Cibola.

Swiss Alps, conveyed an element of refinement to the otherwise rustic expression by conjuring a European resort in an exclusive mountain setting. The new hotel was thus imbued with an instant pedigree, and the ponderosa pine trees surrounding the hotel made this equation with the majestic landscape of the Swiss Alps all the more palpable.

The company's first foray into the Indian curio sales business at the Alvarado Hotel complex, the Indian and Mexican Building (**Fig. 3.7**), had proved remarkably successful. Therefore, once again, at the Grand Canyon, the Fred Harvey Company would include a sales venue for the display and sale of Indian curios. Unlike at the Alvarado, where the sales venue was ensconced within the Mission Style complex and employed the same architectural imagery, here the building would be completely freestanding from the hotel. It would also possess its own distinctive architectural image. Moreover, the design of the new curio building would not be given to Whittlesley. While Whittlesley was adept in his ability to evoke the imagery of the missions, for the new museum building the company wished to replicate, in a scientifically precise manner, the architecture of one of the Pueblo Indian tribes, the Hopi, that had long called the Grand Canyon area their home (**Fig. 3.8**).

The impetus for construction of such a building by the Fred Harvey Company was the interest generated by the American public in the Hopi and, in particular, their villages located upon the tops of flat mountains, called *mesas*, in an area approximately 100 miles to the east of the canyon.³⁴ This was an area that writers, such as Charles Lummis, had made

³⁴ However surprising and intriguing the Hopi House may have been to visitors to the canyon, many did not come completely unprepared for what they saw. Buildings similar to the Hopi House, as constructed by the Hopi Indians, became well known to Americans in the late nineteenth century through the dissemination of images of their buildings. Indeed, for many visitors, viewed images or written descriptions of the Southwest were exactly what had compelled them to make such a journey. They learned about Hopi pueblos through popular lectures such as the John Stoddard Travel Series, where magic lantern slide shows were projected upon a screen to accompany a travel lecture. Articles in newspapers and magazines, such as *Ladies Home Journal*, were

had made well-known through their writings in the two decades prior to the building's construction, and it was known to the American public by one of two names, either the Tusayan Province or Hopiland. It was here that both ruins of the ancient Cliff Dwellers existed and the inhabited Pueblo villages of the Hopi tribe lay.³⁵ The American public's appetite to know more about the Hopi, in particular, was whetted through the writings of people such as Charles Lummis but also by venues ranging from museums to popular fairs and expositions that presented to the American public exhibits of Hopi building practices and customs.

Prior to the construction of Hopi House, the use of an architectural vocabulary by white Americans that recalled the dwellings of Native Americans had been fairly limited. Pueblo building practices, quite different from those practiced by white Americans at this time, had not long been the subject of methodical scientific study and detailed documentation. It was, in fact, only in the two decades prior to the construction of Hopi House that the Smithsonian Institution had embarked upon a project to systematically study and document the unique architectural expression of the pueblos of the American Southwest

another venues in which Americans could encounter images of pueblos in their daily lives. Through such media, people across the nation not only viewed images of the architecture of the Cliff Dwellers and the Pueblo people, but they also had described to them their customs and ceremonies. For a brief description of the roles that travel lecturers, such as John Stoddard and Burton Holmes, played in American cultural life at the turn of the twentieth century, see Kristin L. Hoganson, *Consumer's Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865-1920* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 161-168.

³⁵ It is not insignificant that Oraibi was chosen as the village upon which to model the Hopi House. In addition to being the village upon which the most detailed archaeological information existed, it was also believed at this time to be the most ancient and intact of the five Pueblo villages of Walpi, Awatobi, Shunapovi, Mishoñinovi and Oraibi that comprised the Tusayan Province. This was described in an 1895 report to the Bureau of American Ethnology at the Smithsonian, which stated that subsequent to discovery of the province and its villages by the Spanish conquistador Pedro el Tovar in 1540, one village was destroyed and three others were subsequently moved to the new sites that they presently occupied. Therefore, only one Pueblo village was believed to be the untouched and to occupy the same site that it did when encountered by the Spanish, the village of Oraibi. See Jesse Fewkes, *Archaeological Expedition to Arizona in 1895: Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report, 1895-1896* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1896), 127.

when Victor and Cosmos Mindeleff had spent one year developing an authoritative and extensive archaeological survey of Hopi architecture in 1886.

Temporary environments that were intended to convey that they were authentically “Indian,” such as the H. Jay Smith Exploring Company’s Cliff Dwellers exhibit featured at the 1893 World’s Chicago Exposition, or a very similar exhibit constructed for the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, worked to convey authenticity to fairgoers. This they did in elements such as the precise scale models of the pueblos featured to their interiors. Nonetheless, the juxtapositions of exhibits featured at fairs must have caused strange mental dislocations for fairgoers. They might have found themselves able to suspend their disbelief temporarily as they entered into the interior of such exhibits, but once they left the murky darkness of the exhibit’s interior, they must have been struck by the strange juxtapositions of other themed exhibits then visible to them. For example, the Cliff Dwellers Exhibit at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis featured a path up its exterior quite like the earlier exhibit in Chicago. However, in close proximity to this exhibit was located a classical pavilion that surely created a sense of disruption to the fantasy that visitors were truly climbing a dangerous precipice located on the frontier of the American Southwest. At the undeveloped Grand Canyon, however, such jarring juxtapositions could be carefully controlled, and the Southwest landscape would contribute to the verisimilitude of the built environment that the Fred Harvey Company would create there.

By the turn of the twentieth century, Indian curios were widely available to the white American public in venues ranging from department stores to expositions to mail order catalogues. However, the demand for Indian curios far exceeded the ready availability of such objects produced by tribes for their own use. As a curio trade developed specifically in

response to demand, the authenticity of Indian-made items was often called into question.³⁶ For instance, Navajo blankets were widely sold in department stores nation-wide and often manufactured specifically for the curio market, often by low-wage workers who were not, themselves, Navajo (**Fig. 3.9**).

For white American consumers, it was very important to think that the curios that they acquired were not only made by Indians but that such objects were also intended for their makers' use, rather than for a mass market. As concerns about the authenticity of these objects grew, the sites in which they were acquired also became important. A building that was perceived as "Indian" became an increasingly effective strategy with which to buttress the authenticity of the objects sold within it. Therefore, the Fred Harvey Company wished to render the new Indian building at the Grand Canyon with a scientific precision that would set it apart from other venues where Indian curios could be acquired, such as the temporary exhibits erected for popular fairs and expositions. However, this would require the skills of a scientific expert. Therefore, rather than Whittlesley, Reverend Heinrich R. Voth, was selected to design the new museum building within the El Tovar Hotel complex in collaboration with architect Mary Colter (**Figs. 3.10 and 3.11**).³⁷ Voth had first come to the attention of the Fred Harvey Company upon the recommendation of George Dorsey, the director of the Chicago Field Museum. Colter had first begun to work for the Fred Harvey

³⁶ Concerns about the authenticity of Indian-made items did not just appear at the turn of the century as a national curio market emerged. Such concerns had been around for several decades in regard to artifacts unearthed from archaeological sites across the Southwest as collections of Indian artifacts began to be heavily culled from them. The question of their authenticity arose due to the sheer volume of specimens that were found preserved. See Barbara Kramer, *Nampeyo and Her Pottery* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 33.

³⁷ See Judith A. Barter, *Window on the West: Chicago and the Art of the New Frontier, 1890 – 1940* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2003), 76 fn. 20, and Arnold Berke, *Mary Colter: Architect of the Southwest* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2002), 69, and 297 fn. 49.

Company as the interior decorator for the Indian and Mexican Building at the Alvarado, and she would be responsible also for the interior decoration of the new hotel.

By the turn of the twentieth century, Reverend Heinrich R. Voth had established a reputation among museum institutions as one of the pre-eminent authorities on Hopi culture. Voth and George Dorsey had co-authored together several publications on the Hopi, and Voth was considered an expert in the display and replication of objects made by the Hopi. At the time that Dorsey recommended him to the Fred Harvey Company, Voth had completed already one of the several projects that he would undertake for the Chicago Field Museum to render, with scientific accuracy, detailed displays for museumgoers of Hopi customs and material culture, such as a Hopi sacred altar. By this point, Dorsey was, himself, often employed by the Fred Harvey Company. He would lend scientific authority to the company's own collections of Hopi artifacts that were displayed at popular fairs and expositions as a way to entice potential travelers to embark on a journey to the Southwest. The two men would subsequently collaborate on several projects for the company. For instance, Dorsey and Voth assembled prize-winning collections of Native American artifacts for the Fred Harvey Company to display at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis (**Fig. 3.12**).³⁸

Voth had not trained specifically to become an ethnologist. Instead, he came to prominence in the scientific field after working to establish a Mennonite mission in the Hopi village of Oraibi beginning in 1893. Once arrived there, he quickly worked to erect a church. He and his wife Martha also both learned the Hopi language. This was that so they could

³⁸ See Nancy J. Parezo and Don D. Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 299.

both proselytize in the village streets, for they believed that under the Hopis' "outward filth and degradation there were splendid lovable natures, immortal souls to be saved."³⁹

By all accounts, Voth wasn't at all successful in his efforts to convert the Hopi, but he did manage to secure for himself an enviable reputation by the turn of the century in the field of ethnology. During his time in Oraibi, Voth also was very aggressive in his pursuit to study Hopi culture. He began assembling large collections of the Hopis' material culture, such as a large collection of kachina dolls that he would later sell to the Chicago Field Museum. The scholar Barbara Kramer relates that he often tried the patience of the Hopi elders in the village, as he would be quite forceful in his insistence that they let him access their most sacred of spaces, the kivas, in order to study their secret religious ceremonies.⁴⁰ Both the Smithsonian and the Chicago Museum would frequently consult with him, and in 1903, the year previous to the construction of Hopi House, George Dorsey would nominate Voth as a founding member of the American Anthropological Association.

Both the El Tovar Hotel and the Hopi House buildings were designed and constructed simultaneously in a location at the crest of a plateau in close proximity to the rim of the canyon. They were completed within weeks of each other in January 1905.⁴¹ The railroad depot that would convey the majority of the visitors to the complex was located to the south of the two buildings at the base of a shallow embankment that defined the southern edge of the building precinct. Once deposited at the depot, visitors would ascend a short flight of stairs embedded into the side of the embankment to reach the development

³⁹ See Kramer, *Nampeyo*, 64.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Hopi House opened on New Years Day 1905, two weeks before the El Tovar would open. See Arnold Berke, *Mary Colter: Architect of the Southwest* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2002), 63.

on top of the plateau. Upon their ascent, they would see their first glimpse of the wide panorama of the Grand Canyon, as framed by the two buildings. A sense of termination to their journey would also be conveyed to them as signified by the appearance of a landscaped roundabout, which both the El Tovar and the Hopi House buildings fronted (**Fig. 3.13**). It provided a central focus to the composition, while, functionally, it served to define a circular driveway by which guests arriving to the hotel by carriage could approach the building with a sense of decorum and elegance. The primary focus of the complex was clearly intended to be the new El Tovar Hotel building. The sheer size of the El Tovar, relative to Hopi House, commanded the visitor's attention.

The El Tovar was built on a grand scale with its wings of rooms reaching in opposite directions across the landscape. At three stories in height, it was proclaimed by the company to be the "largest log cabin in the world." As the scholar Virginia Grattan notes, the El Tovar Hotel was "probably the most expensively constructed and appointed log house in America."⁴² The Hopi House, constructed just across the roundabout from it, was built intentionally to convey to visitors a diminutive and unimposing character. Like the El Tovar, the Hopi House was constructed to be three stories in height. However, in contrast to the El Tovar's steeply pitched roofs and tower-like elements that reached towards the sky, the Hopi House was built as a compact and block-like form. It rose only a portion of the height of the adjacent hotel building in a volume organized in stepped massings that terminated at

⁴² The construction of a hotel in which luxury was reigned, and yet to which refinement was not given absolute primacy in its visual expression, resulted in construction costs that belied its appearance of rustic simplicity. The construction costs for the El Tovar Hotel, constructed only two years later than the luxurious Alvarado Hotel, cost \$250,000, \$50,000 more than the construction costs for the earlier hotel. See Virginia L. Grattan, *Mary Colter: Builder Upon the Red Earth* (Grand Canyon, Arizona: Grand Canyon Natural History Association, 1992), 14.

each level with a flat roof and roof terrace. The Hopi House building, despite its small, compact size in contrast to the sprawling form of the adjacent hotel, also had a thick, impenetrable appearance to it, like that of an ancient castle. The thick stone walls of the building appeared solid. They were pierced only occasionally with a window opening, and these were irregularly placed and of a much smaller scale than the abundant and regular rows of windows that lined the wings of the adjacent hotel building.

While both buildings shared some common characteristics in their construction, such as their use of natural materials like stone and timbers, the manner in which the two buildings were constructed also created a visual juxtaposition that suggested to visitors a strong difference between them. Both buildings employed native stone walls, whether in the El Tovar's bungaloid entry (**Fig. 3.14**) or the entire exterior of Hopi House. However, while the walls of El Tovar's entry were constructed of native stone carefully cut and dressed to fit together in a precise manner, those of Hopi House were of rough-cut stone dry-laid in irregular horizontal layers. The visual differences in the construction of the two buildings suggested to the viewer not that they were both constructed by the Fred Harvey Company simultaneous to one another, but that they dated from radically different eras, the El Tovar to the present modern era and the Hopi House to a preindustrial era already past.

The El Tovar was rustic in design, but, nonetheless, as a hotel building type, it was completely familiar to visitors. However, the Hopi House possessed, at most, only second-hand familiarity to most visitors who might have seen a model replica in a museum or a photograph of pueblo dwellings from a book or magazine. Its appearance also suggested to visitors that people far different from themselves were responsible for the building's creation. Staircases constructed as part of the building's exterior form suggested that these

elements were intended for ascent, and multiple ladders placed on the exterior between the ground and the different roof terraces reinforced this. While tall, rectangular pillars of stacked stone located on the upper-most levels of the building were clearly recognizable as chimneys, they each appeared capped with objects that seemed completely out of context. These objects appeared to be round, clay vessels such as one might find displayed as a precious object upon a fireplace mantel within an American home (**Fig. 3.15**). However, the element of the building that most strongly suggested the building's exoticism was likely the curiously small doors, some only a couple of feet in height, visible on its exterior (**Fig. 3.16**).⁴³ Nonetheless, to the carefully observant visitor, it would have been apparent that some kind of relationship existed between the Hopi House and the El Tovar Hotel, for inscribed across the surface of the roundabout upon which both buildings fronted was a boardwalk leading between them (**Fig. 3.17**). In fact, the two buildings were highly dependant upon each other for the meanings that they would acquire in the minds of the visitors to the complex.

Despite the architectural references to European architecture manifested on the El Tovar's exterior, the Fred Harvey Company also recognized that it was the area's perceived difference from European culture, not its similarities to it, that created the most compelling reason for visitors to make the journey to the area. Therefore, while the exterior of the hotel building was designed to evoke a sense of familiarity, the public spaces of the building's interior were designed to impart to guests the distinct sense that they had arrived to a place

⁴³ The diminutive size of the Hopi House building, as well as that of its interior spaces and the native people displayed within them, was clearly emphasized in the promotional literature of the time. See William H. Simpson, *El Tovar by Fred Harvey; A New Hotel at Grand Canyon of Arizona* (Albuquerque: Fred Harvey Company, 1908), 23.

that was uniquely representative of the Southwest. The primary public space of the hotel was its ground floor entrance lobby, as indicated by the name “Rendezvous” bestowed upon the room (**Fig. 3.18**). The furnishings were intended to evoke the rugged, out-of-door life associated with wilderness, and it was decidedly a space that was masculine in tone. Items associated with femininity were largely absent.

The dominant decorative items, by virtue of their scale and central placement, were trophies of wild game native to the area mounted upon each of the room’s walls. These trophies were interspersed with mounted rifles. In combination with the trophies’ life-like appearance, as executed by a skilled taxidermist, the rifles served both to give immediacy to the demise of these animals and to accentuate the fact that their presence on the wall represented an act of human will. The Mission-style furniture of dark leather and oak materials with which the room was furnished, in combination with the dark wood wall paneling of the room, evoked the masculine space of a den in an American home, where men might gather together after an evening meal, to smoke, or, as a solitary activity, to read a newspaper. The Navajo blankets used as rugs on the floor of the Rendezvous helped to cement the association of the room with masculinity, for in recent years it had become a fad across the nation to use Navajo blankets for the decoration of men’s dens and boys’ bedrooms in white American homes.⁴⁴ Despite the associations with rugged wilderness that the “Rendezvous” was designed to evoke, neither domestic comfort nor items associated with luxury were dispensed with entirely. A large fireplace featured a wide hearth and Indian basketry festooned the wall as decoration. The Rendezvous also featured an indoor

⁴⁴ See Elizabeth Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism, and Transculturation in American Art* (Ph.D. diss.: Stanford University, 1998), 16, 24-25.

newsstand where items associated with Eastern cosmopolitan refinement could be purchased, such as newspapers, magazines, and cigars (**Fig. 3.19**).

While the primary public space of the hotel entry lobby established a tone that was decidedly rugged and masculine, many of the other ground floor public spaces of the hotel attempted to meld rusticity with the refinements associated with femininity and luxury. For instance, in the hotel's main dining room, the dark colors and heavy lines of Mission Style furniture were offset by tables set with fine white linens, delicate glass, gleaming silver, and colorful flowers (**Fig. 3.20**). A private dining room evoked the hunt and the trophy only in a frieze of antelope stenciled onto the walls of the rooms and a high shelf laden with Indian pottery that ran its circumference.

Elsewhere throughout the hotel, other spaces offered opportunities for activities believed more refined than the activities associated with the Rendezvous. The rusticity of the entry lobby was completely eschewed in favor of a decor that bespoke only of luxury and comfort familiar to visitors, as evidenced in the music room with its Oriental rugs and grand piano. A solarium and a roof garden provided leisure environments for activities such as the reading of novels, strolling, and taking tea (**Fig. 3.21**). Moreover, the Ladies' Lounging Room, located on the second floor of the building and featuring a round balcony overlooking the double-height space of the Rendezvous, offered a vantage point from which women could sit and socialize with each other, apart from men, while still being somewhat connected to the activities on the floor below (**Fig. 3.22**).

Despite the manner in which the interiors of the El Tovar Hotel were divided into spaces that were believed more or less conducive to the activities of men or women, in its position adjacent to the Grand Canyon's rim it provided the opportunity for visitors—men

and women alike—to engage in the primary activity that had lured them there. This was to heed Lummis’s invective to “See America First” by gazing upon the spectacle of the canyon. However, such a sight was anything but carefully mediated; it was not intended to be encountered without eliciting powerful feelings of equal magnitude to the depths surveyed. According to the promotional literature of the Fred Harvey Company, contemplation of the canyon was intended to induce a deliciously sublime sensation as visitors viewed the canyon in its “unearthly splendor of color and form.” Moreover, it touted the canyon as the “Titan of Chasms” and “The Greatest Thing in the World.”⁴⁵ Through such descriptions, visitors understood that they should conceive of themselves as unique in their ability to travel to the Grand Canyon to see such sights (**Fig. 3.23**).

However, although all visitors would see exactly the same sights at the canyon’s rim, it was believed that it would elicit in them very different reactions. The formations of natural rock of multi-colored hues carved out of the layers of the earth’s stratum, each given a name that evoked far-distant and exotic places such as those of temples and cathedrals from around the world, was to recall for visitors the greatest of mankind’s architectural accomplishments. For some visitors, such views would make them feel diminutive in scale in relation to the landscape, even as they elicited a sense of personal mastery over it. They could revel in their sense of encountering an unfamiliar landscape, the scale of which defied their full comprehension, and also register a sense of thrill as they imagined the physical danger in occupying such a seemingly precarious position on the canyon’s rim. Although not carved or built by man, the act of seeing the canyon’s rock formations should illicit feelings

⁴⁵ See C.A. Higgins, John Wesley Powell and Charles Lummis, *Titan of Chasms: The Grand Canyon of Arizona* (Chicago: Passenger Dept., The Santa Fe, 1902), 5.

of pride in some viewers similar to that of the men who commanded the erection of ancient civilizations of monumental scale such as Greece, Egypt, India or Rome.⁴⁶ For others, however, as Charles Lummis would write, the view of the canyon would elicit such strong effects that it would make them “quake at the knee and grow tremulous in their breath.”⁴⁷ Most likely, Lummis conceived of these visitors as either those whom he would deem unmanly or the canyon’s feminine audience.

The Fred Harvey Company’s Indian Pueblo in Miniature

However powerful the canyon’s effects upon visitors were, this landscape was not the only draw to the area. Writers such as Charles Lummis had helped American visitors to conceive of the region as a Southwest Wonderland that contained not only sublime landscapes equal to the ruins of Europe but also picturesque people such as visitors conceived that they might encounter in a trip to the Orient. The Fred Harvey Company offered a series of day trips departing from the vicinity of the El Tovar Hotel; however, none was a distance of more than forty miles, and none would convey visitors to the Tusayan Province—or Hopiland—one hundred miles distant, of which visitors had heard so much (**Fig. 3.24**). The construction of a replica of a Hopi building at the canyon’s edge was intended by the company to satiate this desire. The building would help to establish the authenticity of the objects sold within, and spectacles of Hopi culture staged to both the building’s interior and exterior also would lend an aura of authenticity to the enterprise.

⁴⁶ The geological formations of the Grand Canyon were given names such as “Juno’s Temple” and “Osiris’s Temple” in the book written in 1882 by the geologist Clarence E. Dutton entitled *Tertiary History of the Grand Cañon*.

⁴⁷ See Higgins et al., *Titan of Chasms: The Grand Canyon of Arizona*, 5.

The name “Hopi House” bestowed upon the building by the Fred Harvey Company implied to visitors that it was intended to be an actual Hopi dwelling, and the company’s promotional literature distributed to potential visitors to the El Tovar Hotel offered a skillfully crafted narrative to explain the building’s existence. It suggested that the building was constructed by Hopi people as a dwelling for themselves long ago, and that they lived there still, relatively undisturbed by the activity at the canyon’s rim that now surrounded them. Moreover, visitors to the canyon were invited to avail themselves of the opportunity to visit the Hopi in their house while at the canyon. The promotional literature described how visitors to Hopi House should conceive of it as follows:

It looks like an Indian pueblo: and so it is, in miniature. If you have ever witnessed the snake dance at Oraibi you may have seen on a side street the original of this picturesque building. These quaintly-garbed Indians on the housetop hail from Tewa, the home of Nampeyo, and the most noted pottery-maker in all Hopiland. Perhaps you are so fortunate to see Nampeyo herself. Here are Hopi men, women and children—some decorating and burning exquisite pottery; others spinning yarn and weaving squaw dresses, scarves, and blankets. Go inside and see how this gentle folk live. The rooms are little and low, like their small-statured occupants. The floors and walls are as cleanly as a Dutch kitchen. The Hopi are making “piki,” twining the raven black hair of the “manas” in 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. It is almost as good a trip to Tusayan, minus the desert.⁴⁸

Although the Fred Harvey Company implied to visitors in its promotional literature that the Hopi House was an exact replication of an original building located in the Hopi village of Oraibi, the prototype offered by a Hopi dwelling for use as a curio store required much more adaptation than a simple replication could offer, particularly to the Hopi House’s interior. In some respects, the prototype leant itself well to its new programmatic functions,

⁴⁸ See Simpson, *El Tovar, Grand Canyon of Arizona*, 23.

especially in terms of how space was divided in a typical Hopi dwelling. The ground floor would serve a strictly utilitarian function for the storage of foodstuffs while the floors above it would serve as dwelling and work spaces.⁴⁹ The compartmentalized nature of a Hopi dwelling could lend itself to the space of a modern sales floor, in which it was desirable to compose items of a similar nature in thematic groupings to form “departments,” although it would also be necessary to make these rooms seem more open to one another on the main sales floor than in the prototype.

However, the compartmentalization of the prototype also meant that to the west end of the new building, some functions auxiliary to the sale of goods could also be easily accommodated in rooms separate from the main sales floor, such as storage rooms for surplus inventory, offices for the Indian Department management, and a vault in which to store both proceeds from sales and items too valuable to leave unsecured. Moreover, the multiple levels of the building prototype would lend themselves to a division of space that had not been previously possible at the Indian and Mexican Building at the Alvarado Hotel. At Hopi House the ground floor could serve as the main sales floor, while a separate floor above would offer the opportunity to create a setting more like that of museum (**Fig. 3.25**). Here the company could display its own collections of “rare and costly specimens of Indian handiwork” for occasional sale to the most discriminating of clients, such as museums and elite collectors.⁵⁰

Among these items was the Harvey collection of old Navajo blankets which had won a grand prize at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, a Hopi ethnographic collection which

⁴⁹ For more information on typical Hopi dwellings, see Catherine M. Cameron, *Hopi Dwellings: Architecture at Oraibi* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1999).

⁵⁰ See Simpson, *El Tovar, Grand Canyon of Arizona*, 23.

had been a prize winner at the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, a Pomo basket collection, an Eskimo handiwork collection, and a room filled with rare buffalo-hide shields (**Fig. 3.26**). The museum-like setting for the company's collections would also serve to lend authenticity to the curios manufactured specifically for the tourist trade sold on the floor below. The Fred Harvey Company also would enlist Voth to construct for them an altar similar to one that he had created previously for display to visitors at the Chicago Field Museum. This would be located to the west end of the second floor. Such an altar would never be found in a typical Hopi dwelling. However, the display of the altar in the building's interior, as rendered with the scientific authority commanded by Voth, would lend additional legitimacy to the company's own collections as the purveyor of the finest Indian-made objects in the Southwest.⁵¹

As on the first floor, back-of-house spaces not accessible to the public were also featured on the second floor. Two small rooms to the east end of the building served as quarters for Hopi families who would be brought by the Fred Harvey Company to live at the building for periods of time to demonstrate their craft to visitors. These quarters could be vertically accessed by ladder from a ground floor vestibule located to the rear of the building, or by a door only several feet high to the interior. The building would also rise to a third

⁵¹ Voth also made a similar altar for the Fred Harvey Company's "Indian and Mexican Building at the Alvarado Hotel in Albuquerque. The Hopi rightly considered Voth's replication of the Hopi altar at Hopi House an act of betrayal for their altars were religious objects for ritual use, and they were shrouded in secrecy within the sacred space of a kiva. Therefore, access to the kiva was highly restricted. The Hopi had granted Voth entrance into the kiva, but they did not give him permission to photograph their sacred altar or to disseminate images or replications of it outside of it. The space of the kiva was a highly sacred to the Hopi, as was the altar that they constructed within it. The altar was comprised of paintings drawn by the priests on the flattened surface of the ground in multiple hues of colored sand. The Hopi considered these paintings to have great power and that a Hopi child, as yet uninitiated into the rites of the clan, could be greatly harmed by viewing such images. For more on Voth's replication of the altars as an act of betrayal, see J. Donald Hughes, *In the House of Stone and Light: a Human History of the Grand Canyon*, ed. Timothy J. Prihs (Denver: Grand Canyon Natural History Association, 1978), 129.

floor level completely inaccessible to public, and it would serve as the living space for a building caretaker.⁵²

In many ways, however, the prototype of a Hopi dwelling presented problems if one was to both render it with scientific precision and accommodate functions for which the prototype was not designed originally. For example, since the rooms located on the ground floor of a Hopi dwelling were used for storage and not intended to accommodate the activities of inhabitants, they also tended to be very dark. Windows were not typically placed on the ground floor, and light might be admitted into these rooms only by a hatch located in the plane of the floor located above it. However, the functional requirements of a sales environment necessitated not only the addition of windows at the ground floor of Hopi House, but also the provision of electric lighting. The Fred Harvey Company's customers were quite accustomed to being able to thoroughly inspect potential items for purchase in the brightly lit interiors of the department stores located in the cities in which many of them lived.

Another problem in adaptation of the prototype was the way in which movement through multi-storied buildings differed between that of a typical Hopi dwelling and those that white Americans were used to occupying. Since the main living spaces of a typical Hopi dwelling were located on floors above the ground level, this necessitated some means of traveling vertically through the building. The Hopi were accustomed not only to using

⁵² Since original drawings of the building do not appear to exist any longer, it is not definitive that the third floor originally served as a caretaker's unit, though continuity of this use over time certainly suggests that this was so. Most likely, the building caretaker's job was to supervise at night the Hopi who were recruited by the Fred Harvey Company to come live in the building in order that they could serve as demonstrator to the public during the day. Moreover, the scholar Barbara Kramer appears to possess evidence that makes her think that the caretaker's unit was original to the building, rather than serving some other function, for she writes that the manager of the sales venue lived there with his family. See Kramer, *Nampeyo*, 89.

exterior stairs, but also ascending the interiors of their buildings by means of ladders that provided access to hatched openings connecting different floor levels. However, by the turn of the twentieth century, the various levels of all but the most utilitarian of spaces in buildings familiar to white Americans were typically accessed by means of a stair. The notion that the Fred Harvey Company might require its customers to ascend a ladder either to enter the building or to reach the building's second level, for the sake of authenticity, was probably quickly discarded, if it was at all considered. The primary motive for the company in construction of the building was to entice visitors to leave laden with packages and not to present obstacles to that movement. This required that Voth and Colter carefully balance the degree to which they altered the design of the new building from that of the prototype so that visitors would nonetheless perceive it as authentic. Therefore, the entry of the Hopi House would be placed on the ground floor of the building, rather than on a second story level, and stairs to access all levels of the building spaces located in the interior.

In order for Voth and Colter to convey authenticity in the building's expression, it was necessary to downplay the way in which white American dwelling customs differed from those of the Hopi so that the "house" would be recognizable to its visitors as such. In order to ensure that visitors to Hopi House be able to insert themselves into a narrative in which they were actually experiencing an authentic Hopi dwelling, rather than a commercial setting intended primarily for the sale of merchandise, it was necessary to immediately establish the correct tone upon their entry to the building. Therefore, the first space into which visitors entered at Hopi House was a small antechamber that preceded the main sales floor. The appearance of the room was likely different from any that most visitors had ever seen before. Its walls and floors appeared to be of an earthen material, rather than the smooth

plaster-finished or wood-paneled walls to which they were accustomed in their own houses. The ceiling also hung surprisingly low above their heads, and it appeared to be supported by rough, hand-hewn logs rather than carefully finished wood beams. Instead of supporting a ceiling surface finished with plaster and defined by wood moldings, as in most white American houses, these “logs” carried a dense layer of sapling branches assembled in a linear fashion so that they appeared almost like a woven mat. Some of the sapling branches were so irregularly shaped that they deviated in their course from the otherwise relatively flat plane of the ceiling surface.

After adjusting to their initial impression of the room’s novelty, visitors likely took closer notice of an element of the room that seemed quite different from that in their own houses but that was also recognizable to them. Placed to the corner of the room and diagonally from the door through which they had just entered the building was what appeared to be, upon inspection, a fireplace. Nonetheless, it was far different from any that visitors had encountered before. It was not constructed of brick or any other material familiar to them for constructing a fireplace, but instead appeared to be formed of rounded and sculpted earth. Unbeknownst to these visitors, however, was that such a fireplace would never be located on the ground floor room of a Hopi dwelling since the ground level was not typically occupied. However, the familiarity of such a sight as a fireplace upon visitors’ entry to Hopi House signaled to them that they should conceive of the building’s function in domestic terms as they proceeded through the rest of the building.

Although modern materials were used in the buildings construction, the manner in which in which they were used or their surfaces were treated was intended to render their modernity unrecognizable. For example, the rough texture of the horizontally-laid supports

for the ceiling made them look similar to the wooden beams that were often used in the construction of early Spanish colonial mission churches in the region. However, these support beams were, in fact, telephone poles. The floors and plaster walls of the building were treated to more closely approximate earth in their rough texture than the modern, cement materials from which they were made. To visitors to Hopi House, this room's construction likely appeared somewhat makeshift and primitive in relation to their own homes. Because the modernity of many of the materials used in Hopi House's construction was hidden, visitors could easily imagine that it was constructed long ago, rather than simultaneous to the El Tovar Hotel where they now stayed. Even the electric bulbs that were suspended from the ceiling of Hopi House, lighting the interior of the building, did not detract from the illusion. The Fred Harvey Company had been careful to note their existence in their promotional literature as a necessary concession to modernity.⁵³

The choice of the name of "Hopi House" for the building by the Fred Harvey Company was significant. It was intended to remove the building as a site of commercial exchange in the minds of visitors to it. Instead of conceiving of it as a venue in which to purchase Indian curios, visitors were instead encouraged to perceive it as an authentic Hopi dwelling. Some visitors to Hopi House likely understood that they were not, in fact, entering into an authentic Hopi dwelling into which they were invited guests, but instead were being treated to a spectacle such as they might find elsewhere accompanying goods for sale. Visitors to the building were quite accustomed to the conventions of such spectacles as offered in the cities from whence they'd come. They could encounter them in venues from department stores to popular fairs. However, many visitors probably willingly chose to

⁵³ See William Simpson, *El Tovar*, 10.

suspend any disbelief in regard to the building's authenticity as a Hopi dwelling as they entered its theater.⁵⁴

After entering the building's vestibule, visitors would ascend several steps whereupon they would find themselves in the main space of the ground floor of the building, the Fred Harvey Company's sales floor (**Fig. 3.27**). A relatively open space, the compartmentalized rooms typical of a Hopi dwelling were suggested by irregularly spaced columns that punctuated the space in an ad-hoc manner and walls that served to partially define spaces as individual rooms. Square openings placed into the interior walls that divided some of these spaces, like windows, were also likely curious elements to visitors. Voth and Colter intended that they evoke the manner in which a Hopi dwelling grew, with a new room often added to an exterior wall as the family who inhabited it grew. The space of the main sales floor, itself, also seemed to suggest that the building was constructed in a somewhat impromptu fashion, without forethought or planning. Some spaces had flat ceilings while others had low, angled ceilings.

While the earthen texture of the walls and the low ceiling space suggested an environment quite different from that to which most visitors were accustomed, it was also recognizable as a sales environment. The manner in one interior space flowed into that of another, as defined merely by a column or a partial wall, was reminiscent of the open floor plans of the various department stores frequented in the many different cities and towns from whence they had come. Visitors to the building could move through the space of the

⁵⁴ For a description of Indian demonstrators as staged in department stores, see Alan Trachtenberg, "Wanamaker Indians," *Yale Review* 86 (1998): 1-24.

main sales floor with ease, as its spaces were only loosely defined in terms of their architectural articulation.

While the differences between Hopi customs and those of white Americans were downplayed at the building's entry to make the building recognizable to visitors as a domestic dwelling, rather than as a sales environment, elsewhere in the building that difference was heightened and highlighted. On the main sales floor of the building, difference between visitors and Hopis was highlighted in the ladder that ascended to a hatched opening located between the first and second floor (**Fig. 3.28**). Here, visitors could observe Hopi as they used the ladder to move between the two floors, which contrasted with the manner in which visitors moved through the building by means of a staircase.

The most striking feature of the building was the curiously small doors only several feet in height that could be observed in several places throughout the building (**Fig. 3.29**). These doors, some located to the building's interior and others located to its exterior, were not the doors through which visitors generally circulated through the building, which were of a height familiar to visitors. Instead, such doors were understood by visitors to belong to the private spaces of the Hopi whose dwelling it was, for only they possessed the diminutive stature to enter through such a space with ease. For instance, one such door led to the low-ceilinged altar room that Voth had constructed on the second floor of the building.⁵⁵ Visitors interested in seeing a replication of the Hopi's most sacred of spaces, that of a kiva, would carefully stoop to enter through the space. Another such door led to the small living quarters

⁵⁵ It is worth noting to readers that it not possible for the public to view either the space of the altar room or the living quarters of the Hopi in a visit to Hopi House today. The spaces are closed off in a manner that visitors are not even aware of them. However, photographs of the altar room, as located in the Heard Museum Library archives, provide valuable information about this space. They are not included within the dissertation, however, due to the sensitive nature of the photographs of the sacred altar.

that the Hopi living in the building occupied, and yet another, as located on an exterior wall, led out to a terrace.

At Hopi House, it was not only goods offered for sale that were displayed on the Fred Harvey Company's sales floor. As with the company's previous curio store at the Alvarado Hotel Complex, the company planned to entice several Indian families to leave their homes for a period of time in order to live at the hotel complex and to demonstrate their craft-making skills as living exhibits to visitors of the building. At the Hopi House, the Fred Harvey Company would get Hopi Indians to come to live and work in the building from their pueblo villages located a hundred miles distant.

The technique of displaying living people performing such activities was a sales strategy with which the Fred Harvey Company was already quite familiar. At the Indian and Mexican Building at the Alvarado Hotel, the company arranged for Navajo women to demonstrate the craft of weaving to visitors in a large workroom (**Fig. 3.30**) and for Navajo men to demonstrate silversmithing. In exchange, the women and men were allowed to keep a small portion of the proceeds from the blankets that they wove or the silver jewelry that they made. Visitors could not only view and purchase from the Harvey Company's fine collection of American Indian handicrafts, but they could also observe first-hand how such craft was made.

The living exhibits served an important function for the Fred Harvey Company. They were intended to demonstrate to visitors that the process of handcraft exhibited for their benefit was the one by which all of the items offered for sale were produced. The belief that the objects for sale on the main sales floor were produced by such a process, rather than mass-produced specifically for a tourist market, also helped to imbue them with an aura of

authenticity for which the Fred Harvey Company could exact good prices. Authenticity of such objects was highly valued by white Americans, particularly because of the idea pervasive among them at the time idea that Native Americans constituted a disappearing race. The ideas of scientific Darwinism popular at the time served to legitimate the belief that native populations were savage primitives who would soon be replaced by a fitter Anglo-Saxon American race that represented the culmination of civilization's progress.⁵⁶ Therefore, consumers of Indian curios believed that such authentic objects were of limited supply, as the production of them would soon disappear, along with the people who produced them.

However, the living exhibits also served another purpose for the Fred Harvey Company. The company had recognized that for many visitors there was entertainment value in having a direct interaction with an "authentic Indian," for many visitors from the East believed that they had never had such an encounter. The success of assimilation efforts in the East, in institutes such as the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, effectively made the local Indian population invisible. Indeed, the nation's census numbers confirmed for white Americans the idea that native peoples only still existed in the most far-flung reaches of the nation, such as the territories of New Mexico, Arizona and Alaska. Therefore, for white Americans to have such an encounter was, for many, a novelty. The ethereal images of native peoples and their dwellings that white Americans saw projected in light upon a screen through a travel lectures, or the slightly more solid images as rendered by artists and printed

⁵⁶ The belief that Indians comprised a disappearing race is what historians today call "the myth of the vanishing Indian," and it will be explored in depth in a subsequent chapter. The literature on the myth of the vanishing Indian is quite extensive. For example, see Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1982); Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Knopf, 1987); and Jean O'Brien, "'Vanishing' Indians in Nineteenth-Century New England: Local Historians' Erasure of Still-Present Indian People," in *New Perspectives on Native North America: Cultures, Histories, and Representations*, eds. Sergei A. Kan and Pauline Turner Strong (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 414-32.

in ink within the pages of a magazine, were still only mere likenesses of the people and objects that they were intended to represent. It was the desire by many white Americans to behold, firsthand, the landscape of the Southwest and the peoples indigenous to it that compelled them to undertake a journey to the Southwest.

The technique of displaying living exhibits was not one of Fred Harvey Company's own invention, but instead drew upon and blended the display techniques of native peoples already established for ethnographic displays in museums, ethnographic photography and fair exhibitions. For instance, in the decade prior to the construction of Hopi House, Heinrich Voth rendered the a display of life-sized waxen figures cast from living Hopi for exhibit in the Field Museum in Chicago (**Fig. 3.31**). This display was intended to suggest the "habitat groups" of Indians of the Southwest in their "natural setting" in order to demonstrate knowledge recently garnered in the field of anthropology.⁵⁷ The display was arranged as a vignette encased within a display case, and the figures within it were frozen in a gesture in order to portray a single moment in time. However, for other popular types of exhibitions of native people, such as those at a fair or in a sales environment, living exhibits were preferred.⁵⁸ For instance, at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, the

⁵⁷ According to scholar Nancy Parezo, this display technique was first put into effect a little over a decade previous to the construction of Hopi House in Chicago's Field Museum. See Parezo, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair*, 25.

⁵⁸ The way in which these exhibits were constructed and people presented within them not only recalled ethnological exhibits, such as that of Navajo women demonstrators showcased in the "Cliff Dwellers" exhibit of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, but also of the late-nineteenth century freak shows in which different races were presented as spectacles to a viewing public. The practice of displaying "exotic native subjects" through the construction and exhibition of living ethnological exhibits at the end of the nineteenth century, and the relationship of imperialism to colonized peoples as represented in the practice, is one explored by Raymond Corbey, "Ethnographic Showcases," *Cultural Anthropology* 8, 3 (1993): 338 -369. At popular fairs, the Hopi were often displayed as "freaks" for their diminutive stature, and the promotional literature of the Fred Harvey Company for the Grand Canyon subtly evoked the language of the freak show as it invited visitors to see the "freaks of nature" at the Grand Canyon. Although the canyon, itself, was the "freak of nature" to which the literature most overtly alluded, "freakishness" was implied in the descriptions of the short

Fred Harvey Company featured a performance of the Hopi Snake Dance (**Fig. 3.32**). For spectators, such performances were like having the display case of the museum spring to life before them, for living people could perform a series of actions in real time.

Given the commercial success of the Indian and Mexican Building at the Alvarado Hotel, the company surely anticipated that the volume of buyers generated at their new store at the Grand Canyon's edge would be equally attractive.⁵⁹ At Hopi House, however, the Fred Harvey Company would choose to expand the concept of the living exhibits. While only Indian women and men had been featured in the living exhibits at the Alvarado Hotel, now the company would exhibit entire families. In the year that the hotel opened, the Fred Harvey Company would get four women, three men, and five children to come to live in Hopi House to demonstrate their crafts and their culture to visitors.⁶⁰ The Hopi Indians would be staged in small areas located to the perimeter of the sales floor as dioramas for visitors to view. The space in which they would be staged would be defined as separate from the sales floor only by the presence of a fireplace around which the activity of the exhibit was centered (**Fig. 3.33**). The fireplaces also served to establish the presented vignette as a domestic scene removed from the commercial activity of the rest of the sales floor.

stature and "curious customs" of the Hopi Indians. See George Wharton James, *How to See the Grand Canyon*, 120.

⁵⁹ At the time of the Hopi House's construction, the Fred Harvey Company was quickly securing its reputation as one of the most reputable dealers of American Indian artifacts in the nation. It would not only provide collections to the Chicago Field Museum, with whom it had a very close working relationship, but also to other museums, both national and internationally. For example, among the museums that purchased collections of Indian artifacts from the Indian Department of the Fred Harvey Company was the Berlin Museum in 1905. See Judith A. Barter, *Window on the West: Chicago and the Art of the New Frontier, 1890-1940* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2003), 57.

⁶⁰ See Kathy M'Closky, *Swept Under the Rug: A Hidden History of Navajo Weaving* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 268.

Therefore, visitors could move with ease between the living exhibits and the areas devoted to the sale of goods as they circumambulated the sales floor.

As staged in Hopi House, these exhibits of living Indian people represent what the sociologist Dean MacCannell calls the “staged authenticity” of a tourist space.⁶¹ According to MacCannell, who draws on the work of Erving Goffman, tourist spaces exhibit a “front region,” and a “back region.” The front region is the part that tourists see, like a “stage” in a theatrical production. To take the metaphor further, the back region functions as a “back stage” where the meaning in the front region is constructed. However, as MacCannell argues, what tourists are seeking in any touristic encounter is authenticity. They are like medieval pilgrims engaged in a religious pilgrimage in which they seek to view the remains of some ancient relic, like a piece of the true cross. Seeing this relic works to give meaning to their lives and to dispel their sublimated fear that their existence is shallow and devoid of authentic experience. Therefore, in recognition of the desire for authenticity by the tourist, those who construct the front region try to make it simulate a back region as much as possible. According to MacCannell, this gives rise to an inherent tension between a front region and a back region, for “it is always possible that what is taken to be entry into a back region is really entry into a front region that has been set up in advance for touristic visitation.”⁶²

For visitors to the Hopi House, the living exhibits comprised of Hopi men and women were both a departure from the safety of the lifeless cast figures set behind walls of

⁶¹ See Dean MacCannell, “Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings,” *American Journal of Sociology* 79, no. 3 (1973), 589-603.

⁶² See Ning Wang, “Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience,” chapt. in *Tourism: Critical Concepts in the Social Sciences*, ed. Stephen Williams (New York: Routledge, 2004), 214.

glass, such as they might encounter within a museum. However, such an encounter was not one for which visitors came entirely unprepared. The Fred Harvey Company's promotional literature was careful to offer to visitors a description of exactly what they could expect to encounter in a visit to Hopi House and to dispel any anxiety that they might have in regard to being in such close proximity to living Indian people within the confines of the building's interior. It described the Hopi's disposition as "gentle folk" and highlighted their "small statured" physiques.

For visitors who were not completely assuaged by such language, additional reassurance could be found in the fact that safety, as found in the comfort of the civilized world represented by the El Tovar Hotel, was only a short distance across the carriage roundabout. Moreover, while visitors to the building were free in the movement through the building, the arrangement of the living exhibits was highly static, for each one was arranged much like a stage set meant to be viewed rather than an environment in which both Hopi and visitor interacted. The Hopi were intended to stay within the space and their role as defined by the context of the diorama, and the permeability of the spaces within the Hopi House left one always open to observation by others.

However, it was not only the customs of building or the diminutive stature of the Hopi that white American visitors found so intriguing at Hopi House. Aspects of Hopi culture were almost as foreign to visitors as the physical nature of the Hopi Indians' buildings or their bodies. In order to further highlight the Hopi House and its "occupants" as a spectacle worthy of interest, the Fred Harvey Company's promotional literature also promised visitors that, at Hopi House, they would see the Hopi "doing a hundred un-

American things.”⁶³ None of the activities presented at Hopi House was completely unfamiliar to visitors in and of itself. Rather, they were activities in which white Americans also regularly engaged, such as making bread, hairdressing, mending, and smoking. However, difference was again highlighted for visitors in either the manner in which the Hopi engaged in these activities or the gender of the person who performed them.

For instance, in one of the living exhibits staged within Hopi House, Hopi men could be viewed engaged in an activity quite familiar to visitors, the smoking of a pipe. However, the image presented in the diorama contrasted with conceptions that the visitors already had in their minds of the proper way to smoke tobacco, not only in the cities from which they had come, but perhaps most recently reinforced through a purchase of a cigar or pipe tobacco at the newspaper stand located in the space of the Rendezvous of the El Tovar hotel. Smoking in the white American house was a pastime reserved for men in which they could retreat into the solitude of their wood-paneled dens in the company of other men. The habit of smoking, while found offensive by many Americans who did not like being subjected to its odor, nonetheless possessed a certain masculine dignity. In the typical white American den, the pipes from which men smoked were executed in elegantly sinuous arcs carved from dark polished wood or ebony possessing a rich sheen that matched the setting in which they were smoked. The use of such materials imparted a degree of elegance to what many believed was an otherwise unsavory activity. However, to visitors to Hopi House, a living exhibit staged in Hopi House revealed to them that Hopi men smoked from pipes made not of rich materials that connoted luxury, but rather from a material that most visitors to Hopi House could probably best envision lying upon a trash heap after an evening’s meal.

⁶³ Simpson, *El Tovar*, 23.

The material from which this pipe was made was corncob, and it rendered the pipe block-like in form and ragged in outline.

The living exhibits addressed visitors at two different levels simultaneously. They allowed their viewers to imagine that, through the act of looking, that they had gained an authentic understanding of Hopi life and culture. At the same time, they also allowed viewers to understand themselves as much different from those people that they viewed. This occurred through the construction of exhibits that created a stark contrast in visitors' minds between their own behavior as white Americans and that represented in the living exhibits. For instance, the corncob pipes that Hopi men smoked made the Hopi seem "Un-American" in their ability to emulate even this simple practice.

Another living exhibit featured at Hopi House was the "Native Roof Garden Party." This living exhibit, like many of the exhibits staged by the Fred Harvey Company, was photographed and made into postcards by an affiliate of the Fred Harvey Company, the Detroit Publishing Company (**Fig. 3.34**). As a picture postcard, the message that the living exhibit was intended to convey to its audience was disseminated far beyond the confines of the El Tovar Hotel complex by visitors who sent an image of it to friends back home. Like the living exhibit of the Hopi men smoking corn-cob pipes, the message was that the Hopi were "Un-American," and for visitors to Hopi House, the meaning of the living exhibit presented to them was probably all the more readily understood in the context of many visitors' recent participation in a similar activity, a "garden party" as located upon the roof garden, or roof terrace, atop the El Tovar Hotel.

As the architectural historian Elizabeth Cromley argues in her 1990 book entitled *Alone Together: A History of New York's Early Apartments*, many Americans at the turn of the

century began to consider a roof terrace as the height of exclusivity as grand apartment buildings became more common in American culture.⁶⁴ It was there that select company could enjoy a lovely view. The roof garden, as a garden removed from the plane of the ground, also quite literally worked to symbolize man's ability to dominate and control the landscape. From a perch located high atop the roof of a high building, it was possible for the occupants of a roof garden to feel superior to absolutely everyone and everything on the landscape below them, for it was here that they could experience an omniscient type of view.

Many white Americans also considered a "garden party" to be the height of refinement. For instance, in 1895, a woman named Rose Hardwick Thorpe counseled readers on the delights available to her readers in a book entitled *As Others See Us, Or the Rules and Customs of Refined Homes and Polite Society*. There she wrote to her readers as follows: "Nothing can be more delightful than a lawn or garden party, if the hostess has tact and the weather is propitious. The out-door sense of freedom, the games, and the various objects in nature which suggest conversation and amusement, are all elements of pleasure not to be found under one roof."⁶⁵

While Thorpe described the garden party as one of freedom and pleasure, it was, in fact, a highly regulated social activity, as is denoted by the very title of her book. The out-of-doors garden party provided a tremendous opportunity for participants to communicate to

⁶⁴ See Elizabeth Cromley, *Alone Together: A History of New York's Early Apartments* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 152.

⁶⁵ See Rose Hardwick Thorpe, *As Others See Us, Or the Rules and Customs of Refined Homes and Polite Society, Including Home Training, What and How to Read, Literary Clubs, Courses of Reading for the Young, Etc.: Also Complete Self Instruction in Physical Culture for Both Ladies and Gentlemen* (Detroit: F.B. Dickerson Company, 1895), 203.

others their own degree of personal refinement through their contrast against a natural backdrop. For instance, Thorpe also counseled her readers that “the bright dresses moving in the picturesque garden, the old house in the background, and the old associations behind it, produce a brighter and more lasting impression on the mind than the hurry and glitter of most of our ‘fashionable arrangements.’”⁶⁶ Seated at tables set with fine linen and china, the participants in a garden party could display refinement through their table manners, the way in which they held themselves, and even by what they chose to eat.

In the “Native Garden Party” enacted upon the rooftop of Hopi House, however, none of the ceremonies most important conventions were observed. Instead of being seated at a table set with linen and fine china, the Hopi were arranged upon a blanket set upon the ground. Nor were the Hopi women dressed in “bright dresses,” or the Hopi men in fashionable finery that most Americans would have thought proper for a garden party. The living exhibit of the “Native Roof Garden Party” was intended to highlight for visitors their own status as belonging to civilization and to offer further proof that the Hopi, although gentle, were child-like and primitive in their attempts to emulate white American behavior.

However, to visitors, even more astounding than the spectacle of the corn-cob pipes or the roof garden party was likely the sight that greeted them in yet another room of Hopi House. In this room, Hopi men could be viewed, as again staged around a fireplace, either knitting socks or scarves, or weaving the distinctive black dresses and sashes worn by the women of their tribe (**Fig. 3.35**). The roles that Hopi men and women played within their own society often defied white American conventions of proper masculinity and femininity, and some visitors to Hopi House were likely already well apprised of this prior to their

⁶⁶ Ibid.

arrival at Hopi House. The customs of the Hopi, which were often considered quite curious to white Americans, were widely reported in articles in newspapers, such as an article that ran in *The New York Times* in July 1900 that was entitled “Rights of Indian Women: Cannot Practice Medicine or Law, but May Rule Households: Many Henpecked “Braves”: The Woman Holds All Property and Has Exclusive Control of the Children—Husband’s Standing.”⁶⁷ This article described that Hopi women were typically responsible for constructing the houses within their villages, that they possessed the primary responsibility of selecting their spouse, and that it was their household into which their husbands would move upon marriage, rather than vice versa. Likewise, Hopi men were typically the weavers in their villages and were responsible for making the garments with which to clothe the women and the children of the villages.

At Hopi House, the fireplace hearth around which the Hopi men were gathered, as knitting and weaving, gestured towards an important symbol of domestic tranquility in the white American home. It was a symbol over which the American woman was believed guardian, and it worked to highlight for visitors the incongruity of the scene with their own conceptions of proper behavior befitting manly men. This view was reinforced one of the promotional brochures for the Fred Harvey Company which described the Hopi as follows:

They cling tenaciously to their crude way of living. The women build and own the houses, the husband being a tenant on good behavior. The men work in the fields, weave dresses, blankets and beautiful ceremonial garments.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ For an example of how the gender roles of the Hopi were considered curiosities, see “Rights of Indian Women: Cannot Practice Medicine or Law, but May Rule Households: Many Henpecked “Braves”: The Woman Holds All Property and Has Exclusive Control of the Children—Husband’s Standing,” *The New York Times*, 23 July 1900, 3.

⁶⁸ Fred Harvey Company, *The Hopi House* (Grand Canyon, Arizona: The Fred Harvey Company, 1905), 2.

For white Americans, weaving or sewing was considered an activity for which women were innately suited, like childbearing. The Hopi men's engagement in such an activity rendered them effeminate in the eyes of visitors. Moreover, their position within the Hopi household was perceived to be a disempowered one where proper gender roles were subverted, as it was Hopi women who were believed to possess the power as the head of their households. The exhibit was intended to confirm for visitors that the Hopi were primitive, uncivilized, and unequivocally un-American.

The act of looking was unidirectional in Hopi House, as the visitor moved about the space of the sales floor and viewed the Hopi in their arranged and static positions. It was an experience unmediated by any words save those already presented to the visitors in the narratives of the railroad's promotional literature. If the stillness of the spaces in which the living exhibits were staged was ever interrupted, it was only either by the sounds generated by the Hopi as they engaged in their "curious customs" or those exchanged between visitors, themselves, for observer and observed did not speak a common language.⁶⁹ Meanwhile, the main sales floor around which these rooms were arranged bustled with activity and the low din of voices as sales clerks in the employ of the Fred Harvey Company helped visitors with purchases of authentic Indian-made curios. Nonetheless, this likely did not disturb visitors' perception that they could acquire an authentic understanding of the Hopi merely by looking at them. However, even had the Hopi demonstrators shared the same language as the

⁶⁹ The scholar Barbara Kramer describes that many of the Hopi did not speak English, but only their native tongue. She also describes that when the Fred Harvey Company would send Hopi to a tourist venue to act as cultural demonstrators, such as an exhibition, they would typically require that one of the Hopi spoke English in order to serve as an interpreter for the rest of the Hopi. However, it doesn't sound like the company's interest in one of the Hopi speaking English was so much so that they could communicate with the Americans that viewed them, but more so that they could take direction when it was provided to them. See Kramer, *Nampeyo*, 105.

visitors to Hopi House, they were not in a position to communicate to them their thoughts. Their fixed roles as figures occupying the living exhibits rendered them merely as bodies upon which to gaze.

Had the Hopi been able to freely communicate with visitors, they might have disrupted the careful narrative delineated by the Fred Harvey Company in its promotional literature, which insisted that they inhabited this “house” by choice. In fact, they were simply compelled to live and work within the Hopi House, away from their own villages, by economic necessity. They did so in the hope that the earnings that they were allowed to keep would help to provide for their families living in the villages on the mesas.

The exact financial terms of the Hopi families’ arrangement with the Fred Harvey Company is unknown, but it was probably quite similar to the one that Navajo Indians had with the company at the Alvarado Hotel complex in Albuquerque. There, the Fred Harvey Company typically persuaded Navajo Indians to come to the Alvarado Hotel to live for periods of time—often months—through an arrangement with Hubbell, whom the company depended upon to select and recruit Navajo women and men from the reservations to work as demonstrators at the hotel. In addition to displaying their skill at handicraft for the benefit of hotel visitors, the Navajo often were required to perform other work at the hotel complex, such as janitorial duties.⁷⁰ In exchange, the manager of the Fred Harvey Company’s Indian Department, Herman Schweitzer, promised the Navajo on at

⁷⁰ See Laura Jane Moore, “Elle Meets The President,” in *Western Women’s Lives: Continuity and Change in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Sandra K. Schackel (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 359.

least one occasion that they would get “double of what they are getting for their stuff on the reservation” and to also provide them with boarding while working at the hotel.⁷¹

Despite the financial compensation to the Navajo, it was also somewhat of a coercive business arrangement. The Fred Harvey Company management was rigid in its regulation of the Navajo in its employ at the Alvarado Hotel. For instance, the company would only allow an individual to leave and to return to the reservation before the agreed upon duration of his or her tenure was over in exceptional circumstances, such as a woman needing to give birth to a child. Many of the Navajo who worked for the Fred Harvey Company found the company’s policies so restrictive in regard to their lives that they offered open resistance to them. They’d simply leave without the company granting them permission to do so. In 1910, this would prompt the vice-president of the Fred Harvey Company, J.F. Huckel, to comment as follows: “These Indians seem that they can come and go as they please and the only way to handle them is to be firm with them.”⁷²

Huckel also complained frequently that the Navajo and Pueblo Indian demonstrators in his employ were becoming “spoiled,” like naughty children, and that they did not want to do anything unless they were paid for it.⁷³ However, rather than living in the comfort of their own homes, surrounded by their own possessions, and with an autonomy befitting their status as adults within their communities, the Pueblo Indians at Hopi House were typically

⁷¹ See Laura Jane Moore, “Elle Meets The President,” in *Western Women’s Lives: Continuity and Change in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Sandra K. Schackel (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 358.

⁷² M’Closkey, *Swept Under the Rug: A Hidden History of Navajo Weaving* 269.

⁷³ See Moore, “Elle Meets The President,” 234, and M’Closkey, *Swept Under the Rug: A Hidden History of Navajo Weaving* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 268. The Fred Harvey Company also exercised further control over the Indian demonstrators in a special financial arrangement that it had with the Indian trader, Lorenzo Hubbell. The scholar Martha Blue describes this relationship in her book *Indian Trader: The Life and Times of J.L. Hubbell*. There she writes as follows: “The Harvey Company and Hubbell served as each other’s bill collectors when it came to Indian accounts.” See Martha Blue, *Indian Trader: the Life and Times of J.L. Hubbell* (Walnut, CA.: Kiva Publishing, Inc., 2000), 154.

treated in a paternalistic manner by the Fred Harvey Company. Their every movement was subject to surveillance by others, whether it was the gaze of visitors during the day or the oversight of the building's caretaker at night, who ensured that the valuable collections of Indian artifacts owned by the Fred Harvey Company were secured.⁷⁴

Significantly, the objects offered for sale at Hopi House changed in their meaning and use as they moved between the site of their production—the living exhibits—and the space of their consumption by white Americans—the main sales floor. The baskets that the Hopi wove for use in carrying or storing foodstuffs were adapted for use within the modern American home as a wastebasket or a decorative container for a houseplant and displayed as such on the main sales floor. Textiles originally intended for use as blankets by the Navajo were marketed for use as rugs intended for the modern American domestic interior. In the gap between the living exhibits and the main sales floor lay the perceived difference between a pre-industrial time relegated to the past in which craft reigned and modern civilization as represented by the activities of consumption enacted on the main sales floor.

Such a disjunction between the two spaces was necessary to the movement of objects between the contexts of their production by Indian hands to the context of their consumption by white Americans in order that the Fred Harvey Company maintain its

⁷⁴ Many of the Hopi disliked living within the building. It was uncomfortable to live within it. They were subject to the constant gaze of visitors when the building was open to the public and to surveillance by the building's caretaker when it was not. When they felt uncomfortable enough to try to leave Hopi House to return to their villages before the tenure to which they had agreed was up, they met with resistance, if not open coercion, from the Fred Harvey Company. It was often "a contest of wills." In fact, it was extremely difficult for the Fred Harvey Company to either persuade the Hopi to come from their villages to live and work at Hopi House, or to retain them once they were arrived, even for a relatively short duration of several months. Hopi only did so in the hope that the small amount of money that they might earn, only a small portion of the proceeds from their pottery, would help them to provide for their families living in the villages on the mesas. The scholar Barbara Kramer provides an account of the one of the first Hopi families to stay within the building. See Kramer, *Nampeyo*, 89-94.

power as the mediator of the exchange. By the turn of the twentieth century, it was possible for travelers to purchase such curios as were offered for sale at the Hopi House directly from their producers in locations such as the outdoor space adjacent to a rail depot. At Hopi House, however, the living exhibits worked to maintain the belief held by many white Americans that the participation in a modern economy by Indians would only serve to corrupt or degrade an otherwise picturesque people.⁷⁵

At the Hopi House, the Fred Harvey Company reminded white American visitors in its promotional literature that the Hopi were a “gentle folk.” Therefore, it was permissible to forgive the Hopi the transgressions displayed in their “Un-American” behavior. Nonetheless, the diminutive stature of the Hopi, first called attention to in the Fred Harvey Company’s promotional literature and then, again, presented through the architecture of the building, served to render adult Hopi men and women as children in the minds of visitors. Any claims to fully reap the benefit of their own labor in producing such objects as the ones offered for sale at Hopi House was rendered illegitimate. Instead, the Fred Harvey Company’s role in organizing the main sales floor mediated the temporal division between the spaces of those consigned to a primitive past, the Hopi, and those who represented modernity, the Fred Harvey Company and the visitors to Hopi House. In turn, the company profited greatly from such carefully staged transactions.

⁷⁵ The Hopi, as well as other Native American tribes were often considered by Anglo-Americans to be corrupted by participation in the modern American commercial economy. For one such instance, see Mrs. George H. Taylor, “The E. L. McLeod Collection of Indian Baskets, *Out West* 36 (Jul 1912), 4 in which she alludes to her belief that “Indians” are “degraded by commercialization.” See also “Moki [Hopi] Indians Not Mercenary,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 23 September 1900, 34.

The Hopi House as Backdrop for A Wondrous Spectacle of Difference

The activities of acquiring Indian curios at Hopi House and seeing how small, gentle “un-Americans” lived were not the only experiences the building offered to a visitor to the canyon. The exterior of the building would also provide the backdrop for yet another kind of performance enacted there each evening. It was a performance that would serve to reinforce visitors’ conceptions of their own roles, as American citizens, to perpetuate the progress of civilization. Upon their arrival at the El Tovar hotel, visitors received pamphlets informing them of a Hopi Snake Dance to be performed at Hopi House each evening beginning promptly at 8 p.m. Very likely, the crowds that gathered at the building for the spectacle had already heard of or seen a Hopi Snake Dance through travel lectures or magazine articles, such as those of Charles Lummis, for, by the turn of the century, the Snake Dance had become very well known in popular American culture. For instance, in 1901, Thomas Edison released a moving picture entitled *Moki Snake Dance by Wolpi [Hopi] Indians* that certainly helped to bring the dance to the attention of the American public.⁷⁶ Moreover, by the time of the picture’s release, white American visitors had been traveling with increasing frequency to the Hopi pueblos to see the dance performed for over twenty years.⁷⁷

White Americans began to arrive to the pueblos to witness the Snake Dance by 1880, as is evidenced by the first known photographic image of the Snake Dance taken that year by a professional photographer named Ben Wittick. However, it was Charles Lummis who first

⁷⁶ See Patricia Janis Broder, *Shadows on Glass: The Indian World of Ben Wittick* (Savage, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1990), 35. See also Charles Sheldon, “The Hopi Snake Dance,” *The Independent*, 3 November 1904, 1026-1031.

⁷⁷ Alison Griffiths, *Wondrous Difference: Cinema, Anthropology and Turn-of-the-Century Visual Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 416.

brought the Snake Dance to the attention of the American public with the publication of his 1893 book *Strange Corners of Our Country*. In the decade following the publication of Lummis's book, the interest in the Snake Dance would grow, and many Americans would be compelled to undertake the difficult journey to the Hopi villages of Hualpi, Mishkanovi, and Oraibi to witness the ceremony. By the turn of the century, as many as 700 articles would be published giving an account of the Snake Dance, and the flow of visitors to the Hopi villages would be abundant. By 1904, the same year as the Hopi House was constructed, approximately nine hundred white American people gathered in the Hopi village of Oraibi as spectators to a performance of the Snake Dance.

Visitors even arrived from abroad. For example, in the mid-1890s, when Heinrich Voth was first working as a Mennonite missionary at Oraibi, the Smithsonian would contact him to request his assistance in receiving Aby Warburg there. Several decades later, Warburg would found the Warburg Institute in London, an institute devoted to Classical studies, and in 1923, he would write of the profound influence that the viewing of the Snake Dance on the Western frontier had upon him. He would write that it was what led him to form his theory of the Renaissance.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ On Warburg's 1895 trip to the pueblo villages, see Benedetta Cestelli Guidi and Nicholas Mann, eds., *Photographs at the Frontier: Aby Warburg in America, 1895-1896* (London: Merrell Holberton, 1998) and Aby Warburg and Michael Steinberg, *Images from the Region of the Pueblo Indians of North America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995). For more on Warburg's relating his experience of pueblo ritual dance to his formulation of his theory of the Renaissance, see Matthew Rampley, *The Remembrance of Things Past: On Aby Warburg and Walter Benjamin* (Weisbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), 38-42; Louis Rose, *The Survival of Images: Art Historians, Psychoanalysts and the Ancients* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001), 170; Françoise Davoine, "Casus Belli," in *First Do No Harm: The Paradoxical Encounters of Psychoanalysis, Warmaking, and Resistance*, ed. Adrienne Harris and Steven Botticelli (New York: Routledge, 2010), 213-221; and Ann Lang, *Chaos and Cosmos: On the Image in Aesthetics and Art History* (Cornell University Press), 250 n. 59.

However, the white American public likely knew the Snake Dance less by first-hand experience than by written accounts, which often described it in a sensationalized manner. Commonly described as a pagan “orgy,” the performance often was assumed to be lewd and lascivious. Such widespread misrepresentations of the dance had prompted the writer of a 1903 book entitled *Indians of the Painted Desert Region: Hopis, Navahoes, Wallapais Havasupais* to preface a chapter on the Hopi Snake Dance with the argument that much of what was popularly known about the Snake Dance was untrue. The book’s author, George Wharton James, was a contemporary of Charles Lummis who also lived right outside of Los Angeles in Pasadena. Also like Lummis, he made the study of the Southwest and Pueblo culture the mainstay of his work. He went on to invoke the scientific authority of the Smithsonian Institution in the hopes that it would carry some weight with his readers:

While perhaps no more important than others of the many ceremonies of the Hopis, the Snake Dance is by far the widest known and most thrilling to the spectator. There have been many accounts of it written, yet no less an authority than Dr. Jesse Walter Fewkes of the Smithsonian Institution asserts that most of them are not worth the paper that they are written on. Inaccurate in outline, faulty in detail, they utterly fail, in the most part, to grasp the deep importance of the ceremony to the religious Hopis. It is commonly described as a wild, chaotic, yelling, shouting, pagan dance instead of the solemn dignified rite it is.⁷⁹

Despite James attempt to convince the American reading public that the Snake Dance was a solemn dignified rite, even a book review asserted that his work hinted at the very misinformation that James sought to repudiate. The review, entitled “In the Heart of Strange Indian Lands,” was published in the magazine *How to Know Books: A Monthly Magazine Devoted to the Description of New Publications: Novels; General Works, Text Books*. There, the reviewer wrote as follows:

⁷⁹ George Wharton James, *The Indians of the Painted Desert Region: Hopis, Navajoes, Wallapais, Havasupais*, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1903), 102.

Have you seen the sunset painted on the desert? If not, you cannot have traveled along the little Colorado, looking across the alkali beds, to wilder regions of rock and sand; you have not seen the wonderland of the American Southwest, where in this very prosaic day of days, a reputed writer informs us, there dwell copper-colored people of strange customs and terrible superstitions, where the rattlesnake is worshipped with weird and soul-sickening rites and the dance of the “snake” is the bacchanalia of a cruel orgy, noisome and deadly. There is a moving hint of just such things in a book recently published.⁸⁰

According to this review of James’s work, the Hopi Snake Dance was not at all a sacred and solemn religious rite. Instead, as represented by this author, it was a wild, bacchanalian ceremony that was immoral and “soul-sickening” in its worship of the snake.

However, as correctly noted by James, rather than the reviewer of his book, the dance was indeed a solemn occasion for the Hopi. The performance was meant to ensure the Hopi community’s continued sustenance in a desert land in which water to nourish the community’s crops was understood to be scarce. As performed in the Hopi villages, the Snake Dance took place every other year on the last day of a sixteen-day ceremony. It required that many sacred rites take place prior to the actual performance of the dance, such as gathering snakes from the desert, ritually purifying the snakes’ bodies in a bath of milk and cornmeal, and constructing a sacred altar inside an underground room, called a *kiva*. Unlike other dances of the Hopi, the Snake Dance would be performed only by men of the village and those accorded status as priests. Once all of the necessary preparations were made, the male priests would gather together in the village plaza to dance before the other Hopi people of the village assembled there (**Fig. 3.36**). For performance of the dance, the priests would don costumes that transformed their everyday appearances to ones more appropriate to their roles as intermediaries of the gods. From the waist down, they would

⁸⁰ “In the Heart of Strange Indian Land,” *How to Know the Books: A Monthly Magazine Devoted to the Description of New Publications: Novels; General Works; Text Books*, January 1904), 216.

wear outfits that were assembled of cloth, fur and feathers. Some of the performers' torsos would be left almost bare, as only a thin layer of mottled white paint would cover them.

The dance that the priest-dancers performed was comprised of a series of movements often performed in unison. However, no single moment within the dance was enacted to such dramatic effect for the audience, perhaps, than the one in which the priest-dancers danced together arranged in a single-file line, each dancer holding a living snake dangling from his mouth. At the ceremony neared its conclusion, the priests would drink an emetic to ritually cleanse their bodies before descending into the underground space of the sacred kiva. The priests' ascension back to the level of the plaza would signal the end of the performance and the moment when the snakes previously carried within their mouths would be released. As the snakes sought to escape quickly the experience of their confinement, winding their bodies back and forth across the earth, they would soon disappear entirely from the view of the Hopi. Their disappearance signified the beginning of a journey by the snakes in which they would convey to the gods the prayers of the Hopi people. These prayers were for rain to arrive to the desert to nourish the community's crops.

At the turn of the century, despite two decades of travel by white Americans to the Hopi villages to view the Snake Dance, a journey to the Hopi pueblos was still understood as an exotic and dangerous adventure. It required de-boarding a train at Winslow, Arizona to make a physically grueling journey over a rough wagon road through a hot desert to the pueblo villages located on the mesas. Not only was the journey physically uncomfortable, but arrival at the Hopi villages also involved some measure of psychological discomfort to many visitors. Although many of the white American visitors arrived with some knowledge of the Snake Dance ceremony through their reading of various articles or the viewing of

travel lectures, many still came ill-prepared for what they would see. Unlike the heavily clothed attire of the white American spectators who watched them, the Hopi priest-dancers' bodies were scantily clad. The snake, long a symbol in Hopi culture for the hoped-for fecundity of crops was, for white spectators, steeped in the Judeo-Christian imagery of Eden. Therefore, for many white American spectators, the nakedness of the Hopi men's bodies and the writhing bodies of the snakes held within their mouths during the dance evoked associations with a state of original sin.⁸¹ Now, at Hopi House, white American visitors were offered a performance of the Hopi Snake Dance on a daily basis.⁸² In part, the decision to provide such an experience of Hopiland at the canyon's edge was likely motivated by the fact that the Fred Harvey Company recognized that, for many visitors, the journey to the pueblo villages on the mesas was one that they would find not only physically arduous, but psychologically threatening as well.

The idea that tourists were uncomfortable interacting with Indians outside of tourist venues in which their roles were both circumscribed and carefully monitored is one explored

⁸¹ The Hopi Snake Dance is a fertility rite that is enacted as a prayer for abundant crops, and for the Hopi who performed the dance, the imagery of the snake present in the dance is one that carries with it associations of sexuality but also of stability, as performance of the dance is intended to assure survival and sustenance. Like the imagery exhibited by many other cultures around the world for similar fertility ceremonies, much of the imagery of the Snake Dance was phallic, as many cultures conceive of seed germination in plants as akin to the sexual reproduction of humans. However, many Anglo-Americans, steeped in the Judeo-Christian imagery, interpreted such overt sexual imagery as evidence of Edenic sinfulness. For example, by the early twentieth century, descriptions of the Snake Dance by Anglo-American writers often contained accounts of wild orgies that would ensue in the course of the Hopi Snake Dance. See, for example, "The Moqui Snake Dance" in *The Papoose*, April 1903, 16.

⁸² There were several other reasons that the Fred Harvey Company management likely chose not to offer to convey visitors to see a performance of the dance as performed on the mesas. First, there was the infrequency with which the dance was performed. Secondly, in response to the intrusiveness of many Anglo-American visitors to the mesas, by 1902, the Hopi had to begin to control access to the mesas. To the Hopi, the Snake Dance was an occasion that warranted very solemn and serious behavior. However, Anglo-American visitors who came to the mesas to observe the dance viewed their participation as a festive occasion and often did not treat the performance or the Hopi people with the respect that the Hopi believed the religious ceremony should be accorded. For a discussion of the restrictions that began to be placed upon Anglo-American visitors to the mesas, see *Wondrous Difference*, 379.

by Marguerite S. Shaffer in an essay entitled “Playing Indian: The Southwestern Scrapbooks of Mildred E. Baker” as included in a collection of essays entitled *The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture*. In that essay, Schaffer describes white Americans’ interactions with Indians in the Southwest several decades later than the period that is explored here, in the early 1930s. In that essay, Shaffer describes how there only existed a certain level of comfort between tourists and Indians, even the “domesticated Indians” associated with the tourist trade.⁸³

That the Fred Harvey Company could anticipate that many visitors to the canyon would feel a sense of psychological threat by even the most limited interactions with the Hopi is suggested by the promotional literature prepared and distributed by them. It was careful to iterate to its readers multiple times the idea that the Hopi people were a gentle and peaceful people, and, therefore, not to be feared. To some white Americans, the idea of venturing to the Hopi villages to watch a performance of the Snake Dance among the Hopi people probably represented an exciting and exotic adventure. However, for others, it was much more comfortable to engage in such an activity in the safety of an audience comprised of people like themselves and with close proximity to a world that they believed represented civilization.

The late hour in the evening at which a performance of the dance was offered meant that, of necessity, it needed to be truncated in its length. This meant that the elements of the dance that white American visitors would find distasteful, could be removed. At Hopi House, the Fred Harvey Company could amend the Snake Dance to make it less threatening

⁸³ See Marguerite S. Shaffer, “Playing Indian: The Southwestern Scrapbooks of Mildred E. Baker,” in *The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), 72-100.

or disorienting to its white American audience. Likely missing from these nightly performances of the Snake Dance at Hopi House were the aspects of the dance, as performed at the Hopi villages, that audiences would have found either too uncomfortable or repugnant to their sensibilities such as the drinking of an emetic by the dancers.⁸⁴ As visitors made their way the short distance across the roundabout to the Hopi House from the El Tovar Hotel in the gently dimming light of the evening hours, the incandescent light emanating from the vast array of windows on the El Tovar's façade provided reassurance that the comfort and safety of a civilized world was not too far distant. Visitors could also come and go as they pleased; they could easily return to their rooms at the El Tovar should they tire of the dance or if they did not find it satisfactorily entertaining.

The timing of the event during the evening hours likely was intended also to add to the theatricality of the event. The landscape of the Grand Canyon, itself, would provide an

⁸⁴ Although the many Anglo-Americans visitors who did dare to venture to the villages on the mesas to see a performance of the Snake Dance were prepared for the rites that the ceremony entailed, many others were shocked and physically repulsed by particular aspects of the dance performance they viewed. The most disturbing aspect of the dance, to many, was the drinking of an emetic by the priest-dancers' in order to make themselves vomit in the space of the village square. The Hopi members of the audience understood that the intended meaning of the ritual was for the priest-dancers to purify their bodies of any charms that the snakes with which they danced may have cast upon them before descending into the underground space of the sacred kiva. However, to the Anglo-Americans in the audience, the forced purging of their bodies was a highly uncivilized behavior and a sign only of the primitiveness of the Hopi people for which no meaning could be construed. It is also worth noting that the Fred Harvey Company was not at all adverse to amending performance of the Hopi Snake Dance. They had done so before, the previous year, when staging a performance of the Snake Dance at its "Cliff Dweller" display constructed for the 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis. The company had sought to enlist Heinrich Voth to arrange for some Hopi to leave their homes on the mesas in order to perform there. Voth, for some reason, was unable to meet the request, and the company was forced to recruit members of a different tribe to the fair to pose as Hopis in the performance of the Snake Dance. The lifeless wooden snakes that the performers carried in their mouths, in lieu of live ones, were probably only slightly more stiff than the movements that the substitute dancers produced. However, so authentic did the American public believe the performance in St. Louis to be that it was reported in newspapers to account for a torrential rain that occurred during the course of the fair. See "Why it Rained at the Fair" in *The Washington Post*, October 30, 1904, B5. For a more thorough account of both the Fred Harvey Company's and Voth's role in producing this spectacle for the St. Louis Fair, see Nancy J. Parezo and Don D. Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 87, 92, 250.

additional layer of drama as a backdrop to the performance of the Snake Dance, especially during the long days of the summer months with its dramatic sunsets. This drama would unfold as the large, brilliant orange orb of the sun would begin its descent in the sky to merge with the horizon. The stacked-rock walls of the Hopi House and the vertical walls of the canyon beyond it would be also illuminated by the suffused light of the setting sun. They would shimmer with a soft, golden glow that made their contours and surfaces, just a short time ago starkly outlined by the desert sun, appear diffuse. Now a performance of the Snake Dance was enacted for visitors in real space and time by bodies rendered, not in ink upon a page but out of solid flesh. In the dimming light falling over the canyon, the solidity of the Hopi men's bodies, likely appeared ethereal and otherworldly to visitors in the dimming light falling over the canyon as did the Hopi House that was the backdrop for their performance. To some visitors, the experience of merely observing the Hopi in their ceremonial dress and engaged in one of their most well-known customs, was similar to the delight they took in the novelty of the picturesque rock formations of the canyon. As building, landscape, and dancer blended together as a series of soft tones bathed in a luminous light, visitors could be imaginatively transported to some indefinite time in the far distant past. With the setting of the sun on the horizon came also the rhythmic stomping of the snake dancers feet upon the ground as they performed before their audience. As their feet came into contact with the ground in unison, a sound would emanate from rattles cast around each dancer's ankles.

To many visitors, even though they were well aware that the Hopi tribe was known as peaceful, the snake rattles that the dancers wore round their calves must have produced a soft swishing sound almost as ominous as that of the venomous desert creature to which such a rattle is naturally appended. The strange and ghostly appearance of the snake dancers'

white-painted bodies leant themselves well to the darker ruminations of audience members, especially as performances were staged during the evening hours when the golden glow of sunset would give way to the dark cover of the night sky. For in the rhythm and chants of the dance performed before them now, the frontier conflicts between native tribes and white Americans were not so far removed in time that the meaning that white Americans ascribed to Indian dances was lost to them. For most visitors to Hopi House, the open conflict that had ensued between white Americans and Native-Americans, such as the Apache Wars of the late 1880s, were within their own lifetimes, and the stories of violence on the American frontier that filled their imaginations were also often accompanied with the sounds of a native dance as a wartime call for white American bloodshed.⁸⁵ To many visitors, observing the Hopi engaged in a performance of their dance and the small tinge of fear that it elicited in them was, nonetheless, akin to the deliciously sublime sensation of standing as close to the canyon's edge as one dared to venture, even as they felt assured of their safety amidst the trappings of civilization that the hotel complex represented to them.

⁸⁵ As many white Americans at the turn of the century understood the dances traditionally performed by Native American tribes, they were performed in preparation for war. The violent encounters between Native Americans and white Americans associated with the settling of the frontier were not so far removed in time that the fear engendered by the performance of dances, and the wartime bloodshed that Anglos understood such dances to summon, was entirely absent. Less than twenty years previous to the construction of the Alvarado, the Apache wars of Arizona were still very much on the minds of white Americans, and it was still necessary to assure them of safety in their travel to the area. In 1885, in a pamphlet written for the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad, the author assured readers that the territory was "redeemed from the terrors of Indian warfare" as he placed an emphasis on the area's extractive industries. Moreover, he asserted that it was the railroad that was responsible for defeating the "savage treachery" of the Apache by bringing civilization to the area as he wrote: "With the advent of railroads the Indian massacres disappeared; with the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad crossing the Territory, the whistle of the locomotive is ringing through the valleys and the neigh of the iron horse is heard among the mountains instead of the war-whoop of the savage and the cries of his murdered victims. The smoke of the smelter, the furnace of the manufacturers and refiners, now ascends to heaven, instead of the smoke of the burning homes of the pioneers. Across the territory the palace car carries the travelers with speed and with safety." See *A Souvenir of the World's Industrial and Cotton Exposition New Orleans 1884-5: Arizona' Exhibit* (Chicago: Atlantic and Pacific Railroad, 1885), 7-34. In his book *Imagining Indians in Unexpected Places*, the scholar Philip Deloria describes this latent fear by white Americans of Native American tribes and their dances as associated with frontier encounters. See Philip Deloria, *Imagining Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004), 27.

For the audience of men and women that gathered in front of the Hopi House nightly to see a version of the snake dance performed, the dance did not carry the meanings ascribed to it by the Hopi. In fact, the widespread but superficial knowledge of the Snake Dance that had become so pervasive across the nation had caused it to take on its own meanings and resonances within white American popular culture. While the performance of the Snake Dance at Hopi House was intended for a white American audience of mixed company, it nonetheless carried with it associations of masculinity to its audience. The association of the Snake Dance with masculinity derived, in part, from the fact that, unlike other dances performed by the Hopi throughout the year, the Snake Dance was exclusively performed by Hopi men. These men, as priests within their clans, were of high social status, and they performed many of the rites associated with the dance in the secrecy of the sacred space of the underground kiva. To white American men, then, the dance was, therefore, very much like the one of the secret ceremonies of the fraternal organizations then burgeoning in popularity that joined together men of a certain social class in a kind of brotherhood and that had associated with it secret ceremonies in spaces to which women were not privy.⁸⁶ Likewise, the sexual imagery of the ceremony, as performed by the Hopi, carried for white American men no associations with the fecundity of crops. Instead, as it summoned for them only images of male prowess and virility, for Americans associated the Snake Dance not with the weaving and knitting men that they viewed to the interior of Hopi House, but with the powerful Hopi medicine man and fierce warrior. In reality, there was such no

⁸⁶ At the turn of the century, there was a dramatic rise in the popularity of secret societies and fraternal organizations by Anglo-American men. One way in which to explain this rise is that it was attendant to the growth of industrial capitalism; such organizations helped Anglo-American men to escape the sense of alienation and loss of personal identity that they experienced in cities as a "man in the crowd."

dichotomy in Hopi culture. Weaver, knitter, medicine man, and warrior were often one and the same.

In fact, the Snake Dance had gained strong associations with manliness in popular American culture by the turn of the century that colorful pictures of Hopi Snake Dancers graced the silk wrappers of one brand of cigar manufactured in New Jersey (**Fig. 3.37**).⁸⁷ Moreover, versions of the Hopi Snake Dance were performed by white American athletes upon scoring a touchdown in a football game at college campuses such as Yale and Columbia. For these athletes, performance of the dance was a moment of shared male bonding that carried with it connotations of fraternal brotherhood, masculine animal virility, and the danger attendant to exhibiting their physical prowess on the football field (**Fig. 3.38**).

In the performance of the Snake Dance at Hopi House, male audience members could likewise imagine themselves as belonging to a brotherhood in which the dance performed in front of them was its most secret rite. As the Hopi represented to them an “Un-American” and child-like race consigned to a pre-industrial past, the enactment of the dance at Hopi House served to emphasize not the power of the dancers, but of their own. For instance, in 1906, Joe Mitchell Chapple, the editor of the Boston based monthly, *National Magazine*, watched a performance of the Snake Dance at Hopi House as one of a tour party of 115 members who had made a month-long excursion together through Arizona and Mexico on their way to a National Education Association Meeting in San Francisco.

⁸⁷ As early as the late eighteenth century, American tobacconists began to use figures of Indians, called “cigar-store Indians,” to advertise their shops due to the increasing association of Native Americans with the introduction of tobacco. See Ralph Sessions, *The Shipcarvers’ Art: Figureheads and Cigar-Store Indians in Nineteenth Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

Although women were also among the tour party, his description of the group's reaction the next morning to the performance of the dance that they had witnessed the night before was in decidedly masculinist terms. To his readers, he wrote:

The good cheer of that meeting was a fitting close to the tour, for on the morrow we were to part, as about half of the party were to leave for California. A snake dance had been witnessed before, and the party was sent off amid wild orgies which might have done justice to the Hopi Indians themselves. There were staid business men dancing with whoops and war cries to the clanging of the locomotive bell, as the California party moved away amid shouts of good cheer, and a feeling of sadness that was almost akin to the breaking of home ties.⁸⁸

For Chapple, the performance of the Snake Dance had evoked a certain freedom amongst the white American spectators that watched it, as evidenced in the “wild orgies” that ensued upon its conclusion. Such a freedom was only possible in a tamed wilderness away from the strictures and conventions of city life, as represented in the dancing with “whoops and war cries” of the usually-staid businessmen. Moreover, his enjoyment with the people that he had met upon the tour of the performance of the Snake Dance created amongst them a feeling of close fraternity that descended upon him as members of the party faced their imminent departure from one another.

While the spectacle of the Snake Dance only buttressed for male audience members the meaning of the dance as an expression of masculine prowess and virility, many of the female spectators might have felt a sense of impropriety in even viewing the dance, for viewing behavior that they found indecent cast not only the dancers' own morality into question but somewhat implicated them, as well.⁸⁹ For some women, such a break with

⁸⁸ See Joe Mitchell Chapple, “At the Grand Canyon,” *National Magazine*, Boston: The Chapple Publishing, April 1906 – September 1906), n.p.

⁸⁹ According the newspaper accounts, it was only a few years previous to the construction of Hopi House that a white American woman had even been allowed to bear witness to the Snake Dance. It was

propriety in a place far removed from the cities from whence they had come, and in which strict social conventions ruled their lives, likely carried with it a deliciousness almost equal to the small twinge of danger elicited by the dance, itself. Others, however, likely felt more comfortable at the prospect of returning to Hopi House during the light of day when the dancers were not present. Activities much more familiar to them, and in which they were comfortable in engaging, awaited them within the Hopi House's walls.

Despite the narrative into which visitors were invited to insert themselves each evening in the performance of the Snake Dance, in which they imagined themselves as bearing witness to a performance dating to a pre-industrial time, almost nightly there was a momentary disruption of the visitors' enchanted reverie. Inevitably, as the performance of the Hopi snake dance concluded, members of the audience, quite accustomed to the etiquette associated with such performances at popular fairs and carnivals, would toss coins at the dancers feet.⁹⁰ The tinkling sound of the coins as they hit the ground would momentarily break the spell that collectively transfixed the audience. In that moment, the

considered noteworthy. The fact that snake dances were considered inappropriate spectacles for women spectators as late as 1903, a year prior to the construction of Hopi House, is made clear in an article in *The Washington Post* that describes "the first American woman who dared venture among the Pueblo Indians of the Southwest." See "Her Study of Indians: Woman Undismayed by Their Threatening Talk; Won Them to Her Support," *The Washington Post*, 19 April 1903, E9. Snake dances became so associated with the "Cult of Masculinity" in the American popular consciousness by the time of Hopi House's construction that the Yale University football team performed impromptu "snake dances" after scoring a victory. The associations of the snake dance with virility made such a spectacle the perfect expression of athletic prowess. See "Yale, 6; Harvard, 0," *The Washington Post*, 26 November 1905, S1.

⁹⁰ At fairs and carnivals, the curiosities who displayed themselves for the amusement of an audience were compensated for doing so at the conclusion of a performance with the tossing of coins. See Griffiths, *Wondrous Difference*, 50. At Hopi House, spectators tossed coins at the dancers, too. For a first-hand account of this, see Abraham Per Lee Pease, *Winter Wanderings: Being an Account of Travels in Abyssinia, Samoa, Java, Japan, The Philippines, Australia, South America, and Other Interesting Countries* (New York: Cochrane Publishing Company, 1910), 196. In a 1908 letter, a visitor to Hopi House wrote of her sense of dislocation upon hearing the ring of the coin clattering on the floor and how the sound instantaneously reminds her how she and the Indian performers actually inhabit the very same world. The Fred Harvey Company would not try to control the behavior of its customers in regard to the throwing of coins, they did try to control the behavior of the Hopi dancers by forbidding solicitation by them of the spectators. See Kramer, *Nampeyo*, 92-3.

space shared by the performers and the audience collapsed. If only for an instant, the dancers were perceived by the audience to inhabit the very same place and time as those before whom they performed. In that moment, the belief held by the audience that the Hopi performing before them were doing so in the hopes that their movements would bring rain dissipated. Instead, if only for an instant, the audience recognized that which compelled the dancers before them was a belief held in common by performer and audience alike—the belief that currency and the power attendant to it could effect powerful change within their lives. Rather than the performance summoning prayers to be carried as message by snakes to the gods, the dancers who performed before them were revealed to be motivated by the same modern economic forces that affected visitors lives, as the coins thrown upon the ground upon the ground would soon provide sustenance to the dancers' families living in the Pueblo villages on the mesas.

However, even as the rapidly spinning coins began to roll in slow, broad arcs before coming to rest silently on the ground before the dancers' feet, the nightly audience would begin to ready themselves to return to the comfort of their own rooms at the El Tovar. Their visit to the interior of Hopi House during the day had confirmed for them their conception that the Hopi were a primitive, child-like and backward people who, although they might be officially considered American citizens, nonetheless required the paternalistic care of others. The performance of the Snake Dance reaffirmed for them their beliefs in their own proper gendered identities as white American men and women, and the continued need for them to enact it in order to maintain civilization.

As visitors entered the brightly illuminated lobby of the El Tovar, it is likely that, for many of them, the memory of the brief moment of rupture, in which they had occupied the

same space and time as the Hopi people who performed under the stars before them, faded. The space of the Rendezvous, with its fireplace lit, brought forth luminosity to the colors of the Navajo blankets underfoot and a glow to the sheen of the room's dark wood paneled walls. Visitors were reminded that the railroad's arrival could transform what they conceived as the last vestige of the frontier into an outpost of civilization, and be assured that such change was the inevitable hand of American progress. All this, visitors could believe based on their premise that they had actually experienced Hopiland in the Tusayan province in the short distance across the roundabout from the El Tovar to Hopi House. This short distance did not entail the endurance of any of the physical, intellectual, or emotional discomfort of making such a journey.

Chapter Four—
The Quest for a National American Architecture:
Pueblo Architecture as an “Original Type of American Architecture”

The Nature of the Debate in the Architectural Journals

Not long after the construction of Hopi House at the Grand Canyon, a national identity crisis began to manifest itself within the pages of journals dealing with the building arts. Within those pages, many writers and architects increasingly posed the question to their readership whether or not it was not possible to find a single architectural style that would transcend expressions of regional or state identity and represent the American nation with one unified voice. For example, in 1904, an architect named Charles Collins put forth the dilemma to his readers within the pages of *American Architect and Building News*. In an article entitled “The Possibilities of a Distinctive American Architecture,” he described for his readers how a client had recently demanded of him that a building “should be distinctively American in character” and unique in itself as an exponent of American civilization.¹

For Collins, this demand by his client was completely unreasonable. He believed that the states and regions within the American nation had recently demonstrated well their ability to define for themselves singular regional identities and he cited two particular examples: one was the Colonial Revival Style architecture associated with the Eastern seaboard and the other was the State Buildings erected for national expositions, such as California’s state building constructed for the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago. The latter example, the author felt, was architecturally successful in displaying the “Spanish element” with which the state of California was becoming strongly associated (**Fig.**

¹ See Charles Collins, “The Possibilities of a Distinctive American Architecture,” *American Architect and Building News*, 26 March 1904, 99.

4.1). For Collins, the problem of creating a national architectural expression—rather than simply regional expressions—lay in the fact that the American nation was simply too new to have had adequate time to synthesize all of its various influences. He argued, instead, that this was a very long process and that it could be observed unfolding only over centuries in various European countries. He cited Spain, Italy, Holland and Scandinavia as examples of the few European countries that had successfully developed a national architecture. He also explained to his readers that he thought that it took a long time to develop a national architectural expression due to the fact that individual countries were often quite varied in their climate and topography. Therefore, he said, the architecture that arose across their landscapes was often equally diverse, rather than cohesive. He asserted to his readers that it was only over vast periods of time that these different regional architectural expressions melded with one another so that they eventually conveyed to the world a singular national character.

By way of contrast, Collins said, the architectural influence of all four of these European countries, as well as many more, could now be readily observed within the American nation. He described the American nation as a kind of polyglot architectural stew, or in his exact words, a veritable “World’s Fair of architecture.”² Therefore, on the basis of what he observed as the historical trajectory in the architectural development of other countries, he thought that synthesizing these disparate elements into a cohesive whole would take a very long time, and perhaps even centuries. Of the architecture of the American nation, he wrote as follows:

² See Collins, “The Possibilities of a Distinctive American Architecture,” 99.

We are preeminently cosmopolitan and our civilization is a contribution from all of the nations of the world, the elements of which are still so fresh from the parent stock as not yet to have severed their ancestral traditions and associations. Hence, we cannot assert, as has been done, that the way to an American architecture leads in the direction of any one of our heritages.³

To architecture, Collins applied the idea that the American nation was a melting pot with fresh elements comprised of many different immigrant groups. Only gradually, he believed, would all of its citizens synthesize the various traditions and languages that they brought with them from the various parts of the world so that they would then share in common a similar tradition and language, a hybrid. After this occurred, he thought, the citizens of the nation might also be able to produce a common architectural language, or an American architecture. Until the former occurred, however, he thought it utterly useless to pursue any one vein of the many different architectural heritages that comprised the nation's building traditions as representative of an American architecture.

For Collins, only the skyscrapers of Chicago yet represented anything close to the approximation of a national expression. He believed they embodied "the spirit of commercialism and economy [that] is the only trait which as a cosmopolitan nation is found in us all."⁴ He, like many of the many Europeans who saw the skyscrapers of Chicago for the first time at the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, admired the pragmatism and ingenuity with which the inhabitants of Chicago had rebuilt their city following the fire of 1871. However, even these skyscrapers the author found lacking. He thought that they spoke of engineering in their use of steel, but not of a national art.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

Collins also made clear to his readers that he embraced his own cosmopolitanism as a reader and a proponent of French architectural theory. He told them that he found the Chicago skyscrapers somewhat artificial for their structure was not “frankly expressed as [Eugene Emmanuel] Violet-le-Duc would have it on his essay on the subject of iron.”⁵ He thought, instead, that the skyscrapers of Chicago cloaked their construction in the old forms of Europe, as if Americans were ashamed of their own ingenuity. In his article, Collins also revealed his awareness that many of his American contemporaries thought that modern civilization might be presently mired in a state of cultural decay, and that this might account for why they had not yet arrived at a national architectural expression. For instance, nine years previous, in 1895, the American historian Brooks Adams had written a book tremendously influential with the American reading public entitled *The Law of Civilization and Decay*. In it, Adams argued that all civilizations represented manifestations of energy. However, he said, based upon his study of history, all civilizations rose and fell in predictable cycles. When civilizations became too materialistic, Adams argued, this caused a civilization’s energy to dissipate. He asserted that American society was just now poised to enter into such a period of decline and that this would lead to a new “barbarism.”⁶

In “The Possibilities of a Distinctive American Architecture,” Charles Collins didn’t spend any time with his readers debating the merits of arguments such as the one put forth by Brooks Adams. Instead, he seems to have not only accepted Adam’s fundamental premise that the American nation was, indeed, mired in a period of decay, but also embraced

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ See Ernst Breisach, *American Progressive History: An Experiment in Modernization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 9. See also Joshua David Hawley, *Theodore Roosevelt: Preacher of Righteousness* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 131.

it. He asserted that periods of decay could be very conducive to the creative processes as he assured his readers that it was an unfortunate fact, but nonetheless a truism, that “it is always in the decay rather than the upward growth of a nation that the best art is produced.”⁷ Too, he believed that the building arts might also be able to benefit from this period of decay.

Nonetheless, Collins also argued that even were this period to be one of great creativity, it was not likely to produce a national American architecture. Even if it were to do so, by some stroke of individual genius, he asserted that people would not see it as such for centuries. He said that the citizens of the American nation were simply not united enough as a people to yet recognize it. He wrote:

Our country is young yet and we are not ready for a national architecture. Too many other developments must first take place. Should anyone to-day by a wonderful stroke of logic or genius produce a single result, which in several centuries would be classed among good American architecture, how many of us are imbued with the feelings and ideals of the American citizen that is to be, to be able to appreciate the work as such.⁸

For Charles Collins, the development of a national architecture and citizenship were intimately interconnected. The development of a national architecture would not occur without the integration, first, of its individual citizens into a collective whole, a citizenry united in its temperament with a “uniform national purpose and tradition.”⁹ Then, and only then, according to Collins, might a distinctive national architecture emerge. However, he also considered the development of a national architecture a side issue of less cultural import than the one of assimilating its citizenry. He ended his article, “The Possibilities of a Distinctive American Architecture,” with a cautionary proviso to his readers that a

⁷ See Collins, “The Possibilities of a Distinctive American Architecture,” 99.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

distinctively national architecture might take several centuries to develop and that this would entail great patience.

However, there were many other Americans within the pages of the nation's architectural journals who weren't so content to wait for a national American architecture to one day emerge. If they took seriously the arguments of writers and architects such as Charles Collins, they were very likely never to see or to produce, themselves, a national architecture within their own lifetimes, or even within those of their children or grandchildren. Moreover, for reasons they could perhaps not articulate, they felt a compelling anxiety to define a national American architecture. Two years subsequent to Collin's call to others to exercise patience in the development of a national architecture, at least one writer tried to find a new way around the problem.

In 1906, an author named Vere O. Wallingford proposed within the pages of *Architectural Record*, that rather than relying on the development of an architecture that that might take several centuries to develop, that an "old form" be adopted that could never mask American ingenuity. He identified the pueblos of the Southwest as "A Type of Original American Architecture."¹⁰ Although it is certainly possible that Wallingford was not writing in direct reply to the architectural argument presented two years earlier by Charles Collins in his article entitled "The Possibilities of a Distinctive American Architecture," it appears quite probable that, in fact, he was. Very early within his article he set off in quotes the phrase "American Architecture" as if to indicate that he was responding to a particular discourse quite well known to his readers. At the very least, Wallingford's article was

¹⁰ See Vere O. Wallingford, "A Type of Original American Architecture," *Architectural Record*, June 1906, 467.

providing a studied response to arguments quite similar to those articulated by Collins on the development of an “American Architecture” as presented within the pages of national architectural magazines.

In stark contrast to Collins’s contention that a distinctive American architecture would take a very long time to develop due to the vast variety evidenced in its people, its climate, and its topography, Wallingford argued that a national architectural expression was both desirable and, perhaps, quite within reach. While Charles Collins viewed the diversity of the American nation as a barrier to the immanent development of a distinct national expression, Wallingford argued that this could be problem could be circumvented by burrowing in to the specificity of a given locale. Moreover, he argued that establishing a distinct American architecture wasn’t necessarily a matter of creating something new in a far-distant future. Instead, he posited, perhaps an American architecture already existed and it was just a matter of properly recognizing it as a type. He opened his article with the following:

The architecture of a people is as much a part of themselves as their habits of living; in fact, being free from alien or abnormal influence, the architecture of a people is one of their habits of living. It develops with the necessities born of the conditions under which it exists, and given this opportunity assumes the dignity of a type.¹¹

For Wallingford, if the environmental conditions of a given place were free from corrupting influences (that is, if a locale was fairly uniform in its consistency and not subject to “alien or abnormal influence”), then architecture reflective of its inhabitants would just naturally develop. This it would do as an expression of their habits of living and, especially, in regard to those habits generated as responses to living within a particular landscape and climate.

¹¹ See Wallingford, “A Type of Original American Architecture,” 467.

According to Wallingford, these habits of living would allow people in a certain place to devise a method of building in which they could use materials readily at hand, as provided by the landscape, rather than bringing them from elsewhere. Using local materials, the “material most readily available,” would also work to generate the building solution that “most perfectly satisfies the conditions it has to meet.”¹² Among these conditions would be satisfying the most basic needs of the human body in a particular climate, such as the need to remain cool in a hot desert climate or to keep dry in a rainy one.

As an example of just such a built landscape that demonstrated habits of living he cited the Pueblo of Acoma in New Mexico, and he used a photograph of it on the first page of his article to illustrate his argument (**Fig. 4.2**). Acoma is an ancient Pueblo Indian village in New Mexico located upon the top of a mesa. It is located approximately sixty miles to the west of Albuquerque. At this site, there are three different pueblo villages, all of them inhabited, which are located in close proximity to one another. Each village is comprised of the collective apartment-style dwellings of the Pueblo Indians. That Wallingford cited domestic dwellings as illustrating his ideas regarding habits of living is not at all surprising, for most Americans at the turn of the twentieth century associated the domestic residence as the building type most associated with daily living, as opposed to other building types in which they labored or worshiped, such as factories or churches. Wallingford described the architecture of Acoma to his readers as follows:

The walls are built of stone or sun-dried adobe brick, laid in stiff adobe mud, built very thick, and plastered smoothly inside and out with the same adobe mud. Often the walls are then whitewashed with lime, and sometimes decorated with paintings. The adobe plaster when dry forms a very hard surface, reasonably waterproof, and perfectly airtight. The floors for upper stories and roofs are formed by building in

¹² Ibid.

large timbers at the desired height; these support smaller timbers and the whole is covered with adobe and packed tightly. Arranged to drain towards the walls with scuppers to discharge the rainwater, these roofs do very well in a country of little rainfall.¹³

As described by Wallingford, these pueblo buildings were a perfect environmental response to the desert Southwest. Not only did their occupants make use of materials at hand in constructing them, such as stone and mud, but these materials also worked extremely well to keep its inhabitants comfortable inside.

Wallingford also asserted that these pueblo dwellings were not only an appropriate response to their harsh desert climate, but they were also an effective response to an equally hostile social environment. Throughout the centuries, he relayed to his readers, the Pueblo Indians had needed to protect themselves from marauding tribes (such as their neighbors, the Navajo Indians). Therefore, he contended, the Pueblo Indians devised houses that also worked as fortifications. The “barren outside wall” of the pueblos presented to strangers a visual barrier, while it provided “neighborly comfort to those inside.” He also asserted that the many levels in which pueblos were built worked as a means of defense to protect from intrusion from outsiders. He related to his readers that the Pueblo Indians lived at the level of the rooftop, and “defense of this type of building was a simple matter of keeping the enemy from scaling the walls.”¹⁴

Citing the pueblos as one successful example of “habits of living” that developed in response to a particular environment, Wallingford offered that perhaps the pueblos also offered to Americans also an “original type” of American architecture. That Wallingford was claiming the pueblos as a symbol of national identity in his positing the pueblos of the

¹³ Ibid, 468.

¹⁴ Ibid.

Southwest as a model for a national architecture is evident from some of the very first sentences with which he began his article. He wrote:

Doubtless the first thought raised by the words "American architecture" will be something ranging from the rude log hut of President Lincoln's infancy, or the stately Mount Vernon home of Washington, to the modern steel-skeleton skyscraper, all of which are types created by American ingenuity to overcome American necessities. The particular type of which is here proposed to speak is one very remote from these things, however, one more truly indigenous to the soil, and influenced by no borrowed motif, but rather furnishing its own. This briefly concerns the Pueblo Indians of the Southwest; a race probably older and certainly distinct from any other of the aborigines of the United States. These people are being civilized, Christianized or subjected to some other process of elimination, so that they will soon become extinct, and with them their architecture will become a memory.

In this article, Wallingford quickly worked to equate the pueblos of the Southwest with other building expressions that he knew readers to consider "American." He described to his readers exactly how they should conceive of the dwellings of the Pueblo people as an American expression on equal par to other architectural symbols of national identity, such as the houses associated with two American presidents. Wallingford summoned, too, the very same skyscrapers of the Chicago skyline as had the architect Charles Collins in his 1904 article entitled "The Possibilities of a Distinctive American Architecture." While Collins admired them but thought them insincere in their expression, Wallingford knew that many Americans considered them an example of an architectural expression that sprang directly from the American soil, as did he.

As is evidenced by both the writings of Vere O. Wallingford and Charles Collins, a discourse was emerging at the turn-of-the-century that tied architectural expression to American citizenship. However, while Collins envisioned a national architectural expression emerging only in the far-distant future when the nation's disparate citizenry eventually fused together into a hybrid, Wallingford envisioned something more like a falling away, or a

distillation process. He put forth the idea that the Pueblo Indians should be considered exceptional from other Indian tribes as they “represented a race older and certainly distinct from any other of the aborigines of the United States.” However, Wallingford didn’t envision a future in which Indian culture fused together with white American culture to create some new hybrid citizenry. Instead, he argued, the Pueblo Indians would soon be no more. They were subject to a “process of elimination” and would “soon become extinct” so that their tradition of building pueblo architecture would soon be nothing more than a “memory.” Therefore, he thought, if Americans valued the pueblos as a type of original American architecture, they would need to become the repositories for that memory.

As conceived by Wallingford, the pueblos were particularly special because they represented an architecture that betrayed no foreign influence but were indigenous to the American continent. In reality, this was completely incorrect, as was well known by the archeologists and anthropologists who had been studying the architectural development of the pueblos in the previous two decades. They could discern in the pueblos many of the building practices of the Spanish who lived as missionaries among the Pueblo Indians for a period of two hundred and twenty-five years. However, to Wallingford, it was important that the pueblos represent a pure architectural expression “influenced by no borrowed motif.”

As Wallingford closed his article, he noted to his readers that an excellent reproduction of the pueblos had recently been completed by the Santa Fe Railway Company at the Grand Canyon of Arizona. This was, of course, Hopi House, which had opened to the public the previous year. Wallingford also noted that, as of his very writing, the pueblos were now serving as a useful model for new buildings being constructed at the University of New

Mexico.¹⁵ In fact, in 1905, the University of New Mexico's Board of Regents had agreed to the construction of at least five new buildings on their university campus as modeled upon the pueblos. As is signified by this development, the use of the Pueblo Revival Style was becoming more widespread in the Southwest and it would continue to do so with a growing intensity for the next two decades. However, what is particularly interesting about Wallingford's article as featured within the pages of *Architectural Record* is how it points to an evolving discourse in American culture on the meaning attached to the pueblos. At Hopi House, one year earlier, the Fred Harvey Company had presented the pueblos to the American public as inherently "Un-American." Now, Vere O. Wallingford was proposing to readers of the magazine that perhaps the architecture of the Pueblo Indians could, in fact, serve as an "original type of American Architecture." They just needed to think about it differently in order to recognize it as such.

Wallingford's argument was premised on several assumptions that both the author and his audience at the time well understood. The first was that the Pueblo Indians were particularly "distinct" from other Indian tribes. As will be discussed shortly, this was a relatively new idea to the American public at the turn of the century, but it was one that was beginning to gain wide currency. This idea that the Pueblo Indians were distinct from other Indians also made the architecture of the Pueblo Indians more suitable for appropriation by Americans than, say, the tule lodges of the Yokut Indians of California. The second idea was that the architecture of the Pueblo Indians would soon become little more than a memory. This idea will also be discussed shortly, and in some detail. Understanding why the majority of Americans—not just Wallingford—thought that the Pueblo Indians comprised a race

¹⁵ Ibid, 469.

soon to be extinct is absolutely imperative to understanding the development of the Pueblo Revival Style in the American Southwest, for it also says much about why the pueblos were now believed available for appropriation. Therefore, it is to these two assumptions that we will now turn.

“A Race Older and Certainly Distinct from Any Other of the Aborigines in the United States”

At the turn of the century, the idea that the Pueblo Indians were distinct from other Indian tribes was becoming increasingly pervasive in American culture, but it represented somewhat of a cultural shift. For most of the nineteenth century, many white Americans thought of all Indians—or “aborigines,” as Wallingford and some others called them—as belonging to a single “primitive” race. They didn’t think of Indian tribes as differentiated from one another by both geographical space and culture. For example, one figure who contributed in giving shape to the idea that all Indian tribes were fairly indistinguishable from one another was A.S. Meyrick, an American who, in 1880, translated into English from German a study by A. Von Schweiger-Lerchenfeld called *Woman in All Lands: Her Domestic, Social, and Intellectual Condition: Interspersed with Strange Scenes, Customs, Romances, etc.* As the title of this study suggests, the study was focused exclusively on women and it encompassed an extensive geographical range in its scope, the entirety of the globe. The study argued that women in primitive cultures everywhere exhibited more similarities to one another than differences.

The study was premised on the widely accepted idea that there existed primitive races as set apart from more civilized races, and Schweiger-Lerchenfeld and Meyrick were

hardly alone in their thinking on the matter. In the United States, anthropologists and archaeologists had begun to argue in the 1880s that the material culture of all of the Indians of the New World—whether their basketry, their blankets, their religious figures, or their houses—could be understood to spring from a single primitive mind.¹⁶ This was in cultures as geographically distant from one another as New Mexico and the Yucatan Peninsula. Moreover, all of the Indians of North America were thought to comprise a simple subset of this primitive mind. For example, in Meyrick's study, he asserted as follows: "North American Indians differ from each other only in minor details."¹⁷

This belief was hardly exceptional in the closing decades of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Instead, it was consistent with the widely accepted belief system that is today referred to as Social Darwinism. While Darwin's name is most associated with the line of reasoning encompassed in Social Darwinism, it was, in fact, a set of ideas developed and subscribed to by many prominent thinkers in the mid-nineteenth century. However, for reasons of brevity, the discussion here will remain focused primarily on the set of ideas encompassed in Social Darwinism as posited by Darwin, himself.¹⁸ In 1859, the English naturalist Charles Darwin had proposed in his book *Origin of the Species* the scientific theory that all species of life descended over time as branches from common ancestors. This branching pattern of evolution resulted from a process that he called "natural selection"

¹⁶ See Lewis Henry Morgan, *Houses and House Life of the American Aborigines* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1881), v.

¹⁷ See A.S. Meyrick (as translated from the German of A. Von Schweiger-Lerchenfeld), *Woman in All Lands: Her Domestic Social, Social and Intellectual Condition: Interspersed with Strange Scenes, Customs, Romances, etc.* (New York: Chas. F. Roper & Co., Publishers, 1880), 447.

¹⁸ See Michael Levin, *J.S. Mill on Civilization and Barbarism* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 57.

through “survival of the fittest.” Those species who were most “fitted” to their environment were those that survived; those species who were “unfit” would eventually die out.

In 1871, Darwin followed up his original work with the publication of a book entitled *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex*. In this book, he proposed a theory regarding not the development of different species as observed in the animal world, but the development of one species as separate from the natural world—*homo sapiens*, mankind as descended from the apes. For Darwin, although mankind was comprised of just one species, it exhibited a similar biological diversity to the animal world. Darwin argued that mankind was made up of many different races and that, like biological species, these races exhibited an evolutionary trajectory.

Darwin’s evolutionary trajectory, as applied to mankind, encompassed three progressive stages of advancing development through which human societies allegedly passed: savagery, barbarism and civilization. However, for Darwin, not all human societies would travel this trajectory completely. Instead, only those societies that were “fit” would follow the course in its entirety. This trajectory, as conceived by him, was predicated on the visual marker of skin tone that differentiated and sorted people much like light through a spectrum. He conceived of all people of color as belonging to black, red, brown, or yellow races, and that these were cohesively defined groups that shared certain biological traits, such as brain size. Moreover, he believed that some races, such as blacks and the Indians of South America, did not exist at the same stage of human development as other races, but instead were relics from the “savage” or “barbarous” stages of human development. These so-called primitive races were said by Darwin to possess smaller brains and more prehensile limbs

than those humans who allegedly had advanced to the two higher stages of development, barbarism and civilization.¹⁹

Races believed by Darwin to occupy the intermediary stage of development—barbarism—were generally groups of non-white people of lighter complexion than the groups that he conceived of as occupying the bottom rung of the evolutionary ladder (the yellow and brown races versus the black or red races). To these groups, Darwin ascribed larger brain sizes and more sophisticated physical development. However, they, too, were believed by him to be inferior to the alleged apex of human development. Darwin thought that only one race—the Anglo-Saxon race—had achieved the final stage in his evolutionary scheme, civilization. He attributed this to possession by them of superior intellects and physiques to all other peoples. Therefore, he ascribed only to the Anglo-Saxon race the attribute of reason; he believed that the lives of “savage” and “barbarous” peoples were dominated by instinct.

It was exactly because of the widespread belief that all the Indian tribes of North America demonstrated the existence of a single “primitive” mind that the Pueblo Indians of the Southwest became the subject of a particularly intense fascination by some white Americans in the late nineteenth century. Beginning in the mid-1870s, the amateur ethnologist Henry Lewis Morgan began to investigate and compile research on Indian-made

¹⁹ Many contemporary scholars convincingly argue that race, like gender, is a social construct that is more determined by socialization and culture than by biology. This field of inquiry is known as Critical Race Theory and it is intended to counter the widely accepted theories of race as articulated at the end of the nineteenth century, which are collectively known today as Social Darwinism, or “Race Theory.” Notable scholars working in Critical Race Theory include Derrick Bell, Mari Matsuda, Richard Delgado, Kimberlé Crenshaw, and William Tate. See, for example, Kimberlé Crenshaw, ed., *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement* (New York: New Press, 1995) and Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction* (New York: New York University Press, 2001). See also Nathaniel E. Gates, *The Concept of “Race” in Natural and Social Science* (New York: Garland Publishers, 1997).

constructions on American soil. These studies he would eventually publish in 1881 as a scientific report for the United States Department of the Interior entitled *Houses and House-life of the American Aborigines*. Morgan assembled together information on the architecture of Indians across the American nation, as gathered from other white Americans who had made direct observation of them. His study ranged from the long houses of the Seneca in New York to the tule lodges of the Yokut Indians in California.

Lewis Henry Morgan is an important figure with whom it is necessary to be familiar in order to understand exactly why, by the turn of the twentieth century, many Americans conceived of the Pueblo Indians as a “distinct race.” Morgan was professionally trained as a lawyer and he worked for some period of time as an attorney for the railroad industry in Rochester, New York. However, by the latter half of the nineteenth century, he would also achieve significant recognition as a major figure in the field of anthropology, and today he is widely considered the “founding father of kinship studies” for his work on the political and social organization of Indian tribes.²⁰

The scholar Philip Deloria examines at length Morgan’s interest in garnering precise scientific knowledge regarding the political and social organization of Indian tribes in his book entitled *Playing Indian*. This interest first bloomed as an outgrowth of Morgan’s involvement in his college fraternity in the early 1840s, and it would compel him to continue his ethnographic study of Indians for decades.²¹ At the time that Morgan first joined his college fraternity at Union College in Schenectady, New York, it was named the Gordan

²⁰ See Philip Deloria and Neal Salisbury, *A Companion to American Indian History* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 141. See also Giorgio Ausenda, ed., *After Empire: Towards an Ethnology of Europe’s Barbarians* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1995), 96.

Knot. As its name suggests, the fraternity took the classical past as inspiration for its founding mythology and its secret rites. However, by 1842, the fraternity's members were inspired by a new turn that was occurring in American literature. Authors such as James Fenimore Cooper and Herman Melville were increasingly looking to the Indian for a past unique to the American nation. Therefore, the fraternity thought that the Indian might better help the organization to define its identity, too. Members decided to rename the fraternity "The Grand Order of the Iroquois" and to invent a new founding myth.

Lewis Henry Morgan assumed responsibility not only for inventing the new founding myth but also for re-designing some of its initiation rites to be more "Indian." However, he thought that if these rites were to properly inspire members, they would need to be authentic.²² Therefore, beginning in 1844, he encouraged members of the fraternity to do ethnographic research on the Oneida Indians. Morgan instructed them as follows: "Seek out and treasure whatever remains to you of the Oneidas; of the manners, customs and history; of their government, mythology and literature and especially preserve the vestiges and relics of their civilization."²³ Morgan wanted to study primary sources, and he would travel to Albany to study Iroquois treatises.²⁴ By 1846, conducting ethnographic research as part of involvement in the Grand Order of the Iroquois was a serious matter; at one point, the fraternity even organized a research committee that proposed sending members to the

²² See Philip J. Deloria, "Literary Indians and Ethnographic Objects," *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 80.

²³ Ibid, 82.

²⁴ In Albany, Morgan would happen to encounter and befriend a Seneca Indian man named Ely S. Parker. Morgan would spend the next eight years in collaboration with Parker to obtain ethnographic information about the Senecas, and this would mark his first serious foray into anthropology after his college fraternity days. See Leslie A. White, *How Morgan Came to Write Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity* (Lansing: Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters, 1957) 3, and C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa, *Confining Indians: Power, Authority, and the Colonialist Ideologies of Nineteenth-Century Reformers: Volume One* (Ph.D. diss.: Michigan State University, 2008), 55.

far west and as far to north as Canada in order to interview members of different Indian tribes.

As Philip Deloria argues, the efforts of Louis Henry Morgan and his fraternity brothers represented a major shift from white American men only imagining Indians through literature to actually interacting with them through ethnographic research. As the fraternity members of the Grand Order of the Iroquois encountered living Indian people, rather than just fictional characters presented to them in books, it required that they re-examine older stories about Indians. One of these was a narrative that had begun to emerge in the 1830s in which white Americans began to note, somewhat wistfully, the strange “disappearance” of Indians from the North American landscape.²⁵ However, as Deloria argues, rather than these interactions with Indians provoking new narratives to emerge, it only forced the fraternity members of the Grand Order of the Iroquois to replace them with much more sophisticated ones.²⁶ In the decades subsequent to his college fraternity days, Lewis Henry Morgan would continue to do just that in his ethnological work for the United States Department of the Interior.

In Morgan’s 1881 report entitled *Houses and House-life of the American Aborigines*, some types of Indian-made buildings absolutely captivated Morgan’s attention, and he examined them in great detail, devoting entire chapters to them. Others he only described in the space of a page or two. In general, the ones that he described only briefly were ones that he appears to have considered very simple and unsophisticated as executed by “petty tribes,

²⁵ See John M. Coward, *The Newspaper Indian: Native American Identity in the Press: 1820-90* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 69.

²⁶ See Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 82-83. See also Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 8.

mere villages,” such as the tule lodges of the Yokuts in Southern California **(Fig. 4.3)**.²⁷ The Yokuts would build their houses by digging a hole in the ground about two feet deep, constructing a framework for the house made out of poles, and fastening these poles together at their tops so that they came together as either a conical shape or a wedge shape. The entire assemblage was then covered in tule, a thick reed, which the Yokuts also used for basket weaving. A circular opening at the top of the structure allowed smoke to escape from a fire inside, and a low rectangular door provided entry to the house.

As described by Morgan’s informant, a Mr. Powers, the villages of the Yokut were quite remarkable, for in them, all of these individual structures were aligned in a precise row. Sometimes, as was shown in the drawing that accompanied Mr. Powers' description of the Yokut villages, a large shade structure was constructed over the dwelling structures to provide shade to them. This was comprised of vertical wood posts and large branches served as horizontal members. A thick layer of brush infill on top of the entire assemblage helped to provide shade to the dwellings underneath. However, to Lewis Henry Morgan, the tule lodges were somewhat unremarkable as simply another variation of an Indian “wigwam” constructed by a wide variety of tribes north of New Mexico.²⁸

As based upon the space that he devoted to them in his book, Morgan found other structures built by Indians much more interesting, such as the ruins of an ancient pueblo called Pueblo Bonito as located in Chaco Canyon in northern New Mexico **(Fig. 4.4)**. In 1849, white Americans first encountered Pueblo Bonito when Lieutenant James A. Simpson of the United States Army came across it as part of a military reconnaissance mission.

²⁷ See Lewis Henry Morgan, *Houses and House-life of the American Aborigines* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1881), 107-108.

²⁸ Ibid.

Although in ruins, Simpson could discern that the pueblo had once comprised an enormous communal structure that housed as many as three thousand Indians. Only in the twentieth century would it be definitively established that Pueblo Bonito was occupied sometime between the years 828 and 1126 A.D. Pueblo Bonito was arranged in a D-shaped configuration in plan and it contained a large court in the middle (**Fig. 4.5**). This contained within it multiple estufas, large circular rooms embedded into the ground that anthropologists knew probably once served as space for political and religious functions as conducted by members of the ancient Indian tribe.

The pueblo was monumental in its scale as it measured one thousand three hundred feet from end to end. It was also constructed of stone that was laid in rough courses. In some places, the walls of the ruin rose to as many as four stories, and Simpson believed that the complex once had as many as six hundred and forty one rooms. At the conclusion of his military expedition, he published the first description of Pueblo Bonito in a report, and these were accompanied by drawings produced by an artist that accompanied the expedition, R. H. Kern. As of the early 1880s, when Lewis Henry Morgan published his own report for the United States Department of the Interior, Pueblo Bonito was still the largest Indian-made edifice ever found in North America.

Morgan also found the inhabited pueblo villages of Arizona and New Mexico especially intriguing. Beginning in the late 1870s, white Americans such as the geologist James Stevenson and his wife, the ethnologist Matilda Coxe Stevenson, had begun to go to the Zuñi pueblo in northern New Mexico in order to make collections of the material culture of the Pueblo Indians for the Smithsonian. It was Matilda Coxe Stevenson who

provided Lewis Henry Morgan with descriptions of the pueblo village for his book.²⁹ As described by Stevenson, the Zuñi pueblo was the largest occupied pueblo in New Mexico and it probably once contained as many as five thousand inhabitants. It consisted of several large communal structures, each several stories high (**Fig. 4.6**). Stevenson also described to Morgan the Pueblo Indians as possessing a Continental flair in their habit of living in stacked apartment units. She described how the Pueblo Indians organized their dwelling structures as collective apartment buildings with a social organization that resembled “French Flats.” The wealthiest of the Pueblo Indians lived in the lower houses, then those of moderate means above them, and the very poorest of the Pueblo Indians at the very top.³⁰ She also described to Morgan how the pueblos were constructed of adobe brick and of stone embedded into adobe mortar that was then covered over with plaster.

Lewis Henry Morgan was also quite taken with the ancient pueblo ruins called cliff dwellings as located in southern Colorado, northern New Mexico and northern Arizona. In *Houses and House-life of the American Aborigines*, he relayed to his readers how he had visited some of these, himself, in 1878. These cliff dwellings were located about sixty miles north of Chaco Canyon, where Pueblo Bonito lies, and Morgan described to his readers in some great detail the massing, the overall measurements, and the construction of the pueblo cliff dwellings, although he did not include anything more than diagrams as illustrations of them in his book. However, he described how one of the pueblo cliff dwellings that he explored was five or six stories high, and it consisted of a main building three hundred and sixty-eight feet long with two wings three hundred and seventy feet long. He also relayed how all of the

²⁹ Ibid, 139.

³⁰ Ibid, 139.

walls of the cliff dwelling were constructed in one of three ways: faced with stone, a mixture of cobblestone and adobe, or stone, alone.³¹

For Morgan, however, the most impressive pueblos were not the ruins of Pueblo Bonito, the adobe and stone villages of Zuñi, or the ancient stone cliff dwellings that he, himself, explored. Nor were they pueblos located within the United States. Instead, to him, the most impressive pueblo buildings were the ruins of the Yucatan and Central America as built by the Inca and Mayan Indians, such as a ruin called the “Governor’s House” at Uxmal (**Fig. 4.7**). It was a two-story building of square-shaped rooms, two rooms deep, and symmetrically arranged in a linear form. It was three hundred and twenty two feet long, thirty-nine feet deep and about twenty-five feet high. It had twenty-two apartments, and the two apartments in the middle of the structure were much longer than the rest at six feet in length. The entire building was of dressed stone laid in courses, and the walls were sometimes as thick as nine feet.

In the early 1840s, these ruins had become the subject of exploration by John L. Stephens, who subsequently published his findings in two volumes entitled *Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan*.³² Moreover, for Morgan, there were strong parallels between the pueblos in the Yucatan and Central America with those of New Mexico. He wrote:

At the epoch of their discovery [by the Spanish conquistadors], Yucatan, Chiapas and Guatemala were probably more thickly peopled than any other portion of North America of equal area; and their inhabitants were more advanced than the remaining aborigines. Their pueblos were planted along the rivers and streams, often quite near each other, and presented the same picture of occupation and of village life which might have been seen at the same time in the valley of the Rio Grande, of the Rio Chaco and probably of the San Juan, and at an earlier period, of the Scioto. They

³¹ Ibid, 173-4.

³² See John L. Stephens *Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan: Illustrated by Numerous Engravings in Two Volumes* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1841).

consisted of a single great house, or of a cluster of houses near each other, forming one village.³³

The Rio Grande, the Rio Chaco and the San Juan to which Morgan referred in his text are all the locations of ancient pueblos in New Mexico, while Scioto is the site of other ancient Indian constructions in North America that were particularly intriguing to anthropologists in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the giant earthworks of the Hopewell and Adena cultures in Ohio. For Morgan, the pueblos of the Incas and the Mayas were far superior to any ancient Indian constructions on North American soil for they were built “of stone laid in courses, and dressed to a uniform surface” rather than of irregularly coursed stone or adobe.³⁴ Too, he noted how the upper half of the exterior walls of these pueblos were highly worked with decorated with “grotesque ornaments cut on the faces of the stone,” and he described in detail how they typically had rooms to their interior with perfectly formed triangular-shaped vaulted ceilings of dressed stone.³⁵

Lewis Henry Morgan thought that the different Indian constructions evidenced across the American continents perfectly illustrated a theory that he had first developed in 1875, prior to commencing his 1881 book *Houses and House-life of the American Aborigines*. At this time, Morgan had delivered a paper before the annual meeting of the American Association of Science in Detroit on what he called “Ethnical Periods.”³⁶ He subsequently developed this paper into a book that he published in 1877 entitled *Ancient Society or*,

³³ See Morgan, *Houses and House-life of the American Aborigines*, 251.

³⁴ Ibid, 252, 260.

³⁵ Ibid, 256-62.

³⁶ See Benjamin Keen, *The Aztec Image in Western Thought* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1971), 390.

Researches in the Line of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization. The book was written in response to Darwin's 1871 book *The Descent of Man*.

As outlined in *Ancient Society*, Morgan appears to have found the three divisions in Charles Darwin's three-stage theory of human development somewhat unsatisfying. He fully subscribed to Darwin's belief that Indians comprised only a single race, "the Red Race"; however, his investigative work among Indians in the previous three decades had convinced him that there existed important distinctions between tribes that would not allow them to be neatly placed into just one category.³⁷ Instead, he put forth the idea that Indian tribes should be distinguished carefully as dissimilar from another in the conditions of their progress along the continuum of human development. Morgan thought that some Indian tribes represented "savagery." Other tribes he considered more highly evolved to a state of "barbarism." None, however, did he think attained to the level of "civilization," which he believed was marked by the development of the phonetic alphabet and the use of writing.³⁸

Moreover, Morgan was also unsatisfied with only having two categories available to him in which to place all Indians in the continuum of human development. Therefore, he divided even further the lower two stages of Darwin's classificatory scheme, savagery and barbarism. He assigned to each of them three sub-categories: lower, middle and upper. This worked to provide him with six evolutionary stages through which all societies allegedly passed before arriving at the stage of civilization, rather than just two. Once Morgan had arrived at this scheme, he then set about to classify different Indian tribes within it. He based

³⁷ See Morgan, *Houses and House-life of the American Aborigines*, 250, vii.

³⁸ See Rebecca Earle, *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810-1930* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 145; Keen, *The Aztec Image in Western Thought*, 390; and Marvin Harris, *The Rise of Anthropological Theory: A History of Theories of Culture* (New York: Crowell, 1968), 185.

their supposed evolutionary development upon the presence or absence of certain technological features.

For Morgan, material culture was an important dividing line for denoting what category to assign particular tribes. He thought that the production of pottery marked the point at which Indian tribes advanced from savagery to barbarism. Likewise, he thought that the smelting of iron ore to make tools marked Middle Barbarism from Upper Barbarism.³⁹ However, for Morgan, architecture and the particular building materials that Indian tribes used was also an important indicator of where they should be placed in his hierarchy relative to one another. He thought that building in stone represented the highest technological development among Indians because, to him, only solid stone architecture implied permanence. Therefore, he thought that the ancient pueblo-building Indians of the Yucatan and Central America, who had long ago been decimated by the Spanish conquistadors, represented the most developed aborigines because they built their pueblos out of perfectly dressed stone. Nonetheless, he maintained throughout the entirety of *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigine* that no Indian tribe had ever advanced to the level of European or white American civilization.⁴⁰

Morgan considered the rough-dressed stone and adobe, as evidenced among the living Pueblo Indian tribes of the Southwest, to be the most architecturally sophisticated type of building construction next to the carefully dressed stone of the ancient Incas. Therefore, to the Pueblo Indian tribes of the American Southwest, Morgan assigned the period of development that he called “Middle Barbarism.” He also assigned this same stage

³⁹ See Keen, *The Aztec Image in Western Thought*, 390. See also Harris, *The Rise of Anthropological Theory: A History of Theories of Culture*, 185.

⁴⁰ See, for example, Morgan, *Houses and House-life of the American Aborigines*, 225.

to the ancient Aztecs of Mexico. Morgan thought that this evolutionary stage was evidenced by both the utilization of adobe brick and the cultivation of corn and that these two technological features marked the Pueblo Indians' superior standing in their evolutionary trajectory towards civilization.⁴¹ Furthermore, he believed that "Middle Barbarism" was the highest stage that any Indian tribe on North American soil had yet reached in their human development.

Therefore, contrary to the assertion that anthropologists such as A.S. Meyrick put forth that all of the Indian tribes of North America differed from each other only in minor details, according to Morgan's work, the Pueblo Indians could be considered exceptional as distinct from all other living Indian tribes on the north American continent.⁴² It appears that Morgan also perceived some differences existing among the Pueblo Indians, themselves, although he only alluded to these briefly in *Houses and House-life of the American Aborigines*. For instance, it appears that he considered the inhabited pueblos of Northern Arizona and the ancient cliff dwellings somewhat superior to the adobe pueblo villages of northern New

⁴¹ See Morgan, *Houses and House-life of the American Aborigines*, v-vii.

⁴² The word "exceptional" was one bestowed upon many people in the nineteenth century in order to provide a rationale of how their behavior or characteristics, which typically challenged stereotypes, in fact only worked to confirm them. This the myth of exceptionalism did by positing that their behavior or characteristics represented a deviation, rather than a norm. For instance, there is a wide body of scholarly literature devoted to the role of the "exceptional woman" in professions that were typically considered male professions for much of the late-nineteenth and twentieth century, such as architecture and medicine. For more on the "exceptional woman" in architecture, for example, see Spiro Kostof, *The Architect: Chapters in the History and of the Profession* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 284; Brenda Martin and Penny Sparke, eds., *Women's Places: Architecture and Design, 1860-1960* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 83; and Helen Hills, *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), 10. By contrast, the scholarship on the "exceptional Indian" does not appear to be quite as thoroughly developed, but it does exist. See, for example, Daniel Francis, "Celebrity Indians and Plastic Shamans," in *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992), 109-143; Martin Padget, *Indian Country: Travels in the American Southwest, 1840-1935* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 98; Joel Pfister, *The Yale Indian: The Education of Henry Roe Cloud* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 77; and Arnold E. Davidson, Priscilla L. Walton, Jennifer Courtney Elizabeth Andrews, *Border Crossings: Thomas King's Cultural Inversions* (Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 41.

Mexico. This was because, as Morgan said, they were “exclusively of stone,” although they certainly were not of the solid stone evidenced in the buildings of the Inca Indians.⁴³

Here, it is important to note the degree to which many of the cultural assumptions of the nineteenth century colored Morgan’s assessment that the Pueblo Indians were more highly evolved than other Indian tribes on the North American continent. Like many other white Americans, Morgan believed that living in fixed settlements was the only proper way to live upon the land. Therefore, he considered the adobe brick dwellings of the Pueblo Indians to be superior to the temporary structures of migrational tribes. The Pueblo Indians were also known as very skilled agriculturalists, and this may well account for why the cultivation of corn was the second marker of “Middle Barbarism” in Morgan’s classificatory scheme.

As the scholar Henry Nash Smith argues in his 1950 book *Virgin Land: the American West as Symbol and Myth*, now considered a classic text in studies of the American West, the idea of an ideal citizenry made up of yeoman farmers was an especially key idea in the settlement of the American West in the latter half of the nineteenth century.⁴⁴ The development of the idea traced to the end of the eighteenth century when Thomas Jefferson had first postulated that a direct relationship between a citizen and land instilled in him a sense of civic virtue and morality. It made him both independent and self-reliant. This citizen was implicitly male, for much of the late eighteenth century and most of the

⁴³ Many of the Pueblo Indian tribes built their pueblos out of adobe brick, such as the Zuñi in Northern New Mexico. However, some Pueblo tribes, such as the Hopi (who Morgan called the “Moki” or “Moqui,” as did many of his contemporaries), also used roughly dressed stacked stone construction for their pueblos. So, too, had the ancestral Puebloans, the Cliff Dwellers. See Morgan, *Houses and House-life of the American Aborigines*, 169.

⁴⁴ On the Jeffersonian ideal of the yeoman farmer as a prevalent one in the development of the West in the latter half of the nineteenth century, see Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: the American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), 143.

nineteenth, no American women were granted full participatory rights in American civil society, such as the right to control property or to suffrage.

The Homestead Act of 1862, which was signed into law by President Lincoln, further codified the idea of the ideal citizen as yeoman-farmer.⁴⁵ The act was intended to establish a three-fold homestead acquisition process for settlement of the American frontier. Any U.S. citizen, or potential citizen, could file an application and lay claim to 160 acres of surveyed government land, provided that they had never borne arms against it. The act also required American settlers to improve the land distributed to them by the government by growing crops upon it for a period of five years. Agrarian virtue and benefits of the family farm were once again cast as the basis of America and American values.⁴⁶ Given the premium that white Americans at the end of the nineteenth century placed on fixed settlement and farming, then, it is hardly surprising that Lewis Henry Morgan considered the Indians tribes whose habits of living most resembled the agrarian ideal to be the most advanced ones.

Morgan's belief that the Pueblo Indian constituted a distinct or "exceptional" Indian race as marked by the technological features of pottery, adobe, and settled agriculture is demonstrated by looking at the frontispiece for his 1881 book, *Houses and House-Life of the*

⁴⁵ Under the provisions of the act, homesteaders needed to first file an application for a land allotment. Then, they needed to live upon the land for a period of five years and to improve it by building, at minimum, a 12-by-14 dwelling. They also needed to improve the land by growing crops. At the end of this period, the homesteader could file for his patent (or deed of title) by submitting proof of residency and the required improvements to a local land office.

⁴⁶ The scholar James Ernest Murton argues this point in his examination of the development of the United States in the nineteenth century in relation to that of British Columbia. He writes as follows: "In the 19th century, evangelical Christians saw the farmer as the natural repository of simple Christian virtues. Under the Jacksonian democrats, the family farm was seen as the proper basis of commerce. With the frontier thesis, Frederick Jackson Turner postulated that the family farm was the basis of America and American values. All these ideas were developed and supported by novels and articles on agrarian virtue and the benefits of small-town life." See James Ernest Murton, *Creating a Modern Countryside: Liberalism and Land Resettlement in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 50.

American Aborigine. There sits a color plate entitled “A Zuñi Water Carrier” (**Fig. 4.8**). It derives its title from the subject featured in the painting—a Zuñi matriarch, as signified by her clothing. It is typical of the dress worn by married women in that particular Pueblo Indian tribe. The color plate also derives its title from the activity in which the Zuñi woman appears engaged, balancing an elaborately decorated pottery vessel, or *olla*, upon her head. By the end of the nineteenth century, many Americans would acquire a taste for such pottery, finding in their intricate designs much beauty, and the Zuñi women would become well-known to them for their particular adroitness in balancing ollas upon their heads. The Zuñi Indians would often build their villages on elevated landforms above floodplains, such as low hills, ridges, or mesa tops. As a consequence, it was often necessary for the women of the village to descend these steep landforms in order to collect water from a nearby river for the use of the village. For this, a vessel was absolutely indispensable, as was a Zuni woman’s ability to balance it on her head in order to ascend the steep mesa when the olla was full.

It is unknown who, exactly, was the artist of this particular color plate, but the initials in the left corner suggest that it might be attributable to William Henry Holmes, a scientific illustrator and ethnologist who accompanied many of the Smithsonian Institution’s scientific expeditions to the Southwest.⁴⁷ Regardless of who exactly drew her, the Zuñi water carrier stands in the center of the frame as situated in a pose quite familiar from ethnographic photography of the late nineteenth century. In such photography, the subject either faced straight forward or in profile against a background, often with his or her arms hanging limply

⁴⁷ For more on William Henry Holmes, see Kevin Fernlund, *William Henry Holmes and the Rediscovery of the American West* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000). See also Nancy K. Anderson, “The Western Landscape,” in *Reading American Art*, eds. Marianne Doezema and Elizabeth Milroy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 220-222.

to the side of the body or, as here, clasped together in front of it. The expression upon the Zuñi woman's face suggests that she perhaps returned the intrepid ethnographer's gaze with some reluctance. However, her active and willing participation in the meanings constructed upon her body likely were not considered at all necessary by those who considered her an object of study.

For readers of Morgan's *Houses and House-life of the American Aborigines* who were already familiar with Morgan's theories of culture as articulated in his 1877 book *Ancient Society*, the presence of the pottery olla in the chromolithograph demonstrated that the Zuñi water carrier belonged to the stage of barbarism, as delineated in Morgan's classificatory schema, rather than to the stage of savagery. In the background behind the Zuñi woman was featured an adobe pueblo building, and this helped to establish to readers that the Zuñi woman inhabited the stage of Middle Barbarism rather than Lower Barbarism. The presence of fixed agriculture, however, was much more subtly coded, for most readers already had the information that they needed to properly categorize the Zuñi water carrier within Morgan's classificatory scheme. Therefore, the rest of the evidence offered in the chromolithograph was provided for the benefit of the ethnologist already well acquainted with Zuñi Indians and their material culture.

The olla balanced upon the Zuñi water carrier's head was one clue as to the presence of settled agriculture for the ethnologist, for water is a very important symbol among the Pueblo Indians for its association with crops. This is due to the fact that the Zuñi Indians live in a desert landscape in which water is often quite scarce. Therefore, in order to properly commemorate the importance of water, Zuñi women traditionally painted their ollas, which are made by hand and then fired, with symbols connoting water, such as clouds, rain altars,

rain birds, and the avanyu (a water serpent). Therefore, the presence of these decorative motifs on the outside of the olla signified the Zuñi peoples hopes for an abundance of water and, therefore, for agricultural fertility. When the olla was filled with water, the Zuñi water carrier would serve as the bearer of this abundance for her household.

To the left of the Zuñi water carrier is yet another symbol closely associated with agricultural production, a brightly colored basket. The Zuñi often used baskets such as these to hold food, such as ground corn meal. Yet the most important symbol of fertility was the one featured to the right of the Zuñi water carrier's right, for it not only illustrated the fecundity of the soil but also the reproductive potential of her own body. A small boy, presumably her child, sits on the ground next to her. His presence there serves to visually link together his mother as a bearer of fertility with the reproductive potential of the land upon which he sits, for in his hand he holds what appears to be a wooden doll. In fact, this is what is known as a kachina, which were small carved figures that the Zuñi made to illustrate to their children the importance and symbolism of ritual dances, such the Corn Dance that summoned the rain clouds to bring water for crops. This particular type of kachina is called the corn maiden, as is signified by the stepped headdress that she wears, and she, too, is a symbol of agricultural fecundity for the Zuñi.

In the chromolithograph, the figure of the Zuñi water carrier and her child, as posed against an adobe pueblo and surrounded with implements such as olla and basket, all work to suggest that the adobe pueblo, household maintenance, motherhood, and fecundity as interlinked. For Lewis Henry Morgan to feature a Zuñi woman and child as demonstrative of Middle Barbarism as the frontispiece of *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines*, rather than a Zuñi man, allowed him to illustrate the idea that the Pueblo Indians possessed

an important relationship with the land while also completely eliding a question that was beginning to surface in American culture with a growing frequency in the late nineteenth century, called either “The Indian Problem” or “The Indian Question.”

The Indian Question was one that had been around in some form or another since the post-Revolutionary era, but it emerged again in the second half of the nineteenth century with American expansion to the Western frontier. At this time, a small minority of white Americans in key governmental positions, such as Francis A. Walker, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, began to grapple with the manner in which industrial progress—as embodied in the “iron horse,” the train—had cut many Indian tribes off from their traditional means of support. He recognized that this threatened the very survival of many Indian tribes, and that this might eventually lead to a “desolating war” between Indians and the American federal government.⁴⁸ A scientific planner, Walker’s answer to this “question” was the further implementation in the 1870s by the federal government of an Indian reservation system first begun in the late 1850s. He espoused the idea that the reservation system was a “Peace Policy” to avoid war and one that would provide Indians with temporary economic support. He conceived of the reservations as being to the Indian what the factory was to the immigrant worker; in his mind, the reservations would provide a means of social control over Indians by the federal government and work to mold and shape them into civilized American citizens.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ See Ronald Takaki, “The Iron Horse in the West,” in *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 185.

⁴⁹ See Ronald Takaki, “The Iron Horse in the West,” in *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 186.

Then, beginning in the 1880s, the United States government's Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) also espoused the idea that it was working to assimilate Indians into mainstream American culture as citizens through the establishment of government-run Indian schools across the nation, and these would continue to operate well into the twentieth century. These schools were envisioned as civilizing rescue missions to spread Christianity and education to Indians. They were all based upon a prototype that many Americans considered extremely successful, the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania. General Richard Henry Pratt established it in 1879 as the first Indian boarding school in the nation. Like Francis A. Walker, Pratt believed that it was necessary to civilize the Indian, and his motto was to "Kill the Indian to save the man."⁵⁰

By and large, all of the government-run Indian schools across the nation functioned similarly, for their underlying mission was the same. It was to meet the objective so evocatively articulated by General Pratt. In a book entitled *The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891-1935*, the scholar Robert A. Trennert, Jr. focuses on just one of the many government-run Indian schools constructed across the nation during the late nineteenth century, the Phoenix Indian School.⁵¹ As Trennert describes, in order to achieve the primary objective of the United States assimilation program, Indian children were typically taken from their parents and their communities on the reservations. This was often a forcible separation if the child's parents would not acquiesce to a request from the BIA.

⁵⁰ See Sheri M. Huhndorf, *Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 51.

⁵¹ See Robert A. Trennert, Jr., *The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891-1935* (Norman: University of New Mexico Press, 1988).

Once removed from their families, the children would typically live the entirety of their childhoods and adolescent years in an Indian school instead.

Indian schools were intentionally designed to separate Indian children from the cultural environments with which they were familiar in order to civilize them, or, in General Pratt's words to "kill the Indian." Their architectural imagery, therefore, was intended to help indoctrinate Indian children in American civilization, and they were designed on standard American boarding school prototypes. Here, it seems useful to again consider the design of the Italianate Ramona Industrial School for Indian Girls in Santa Fe as designed by Stanford White, for it is not atypical of the design of Indian Schools at the turn of the twentieth century.

While Stanford White was abstractly expressing a regional consciousness that the landscape of New Mexico was exotic, it also seems quite probable that his design was also intended to impose his conception of a civilized environment upon it. The building was not designed to appear at all familiar to the many Pueblo Indian children who would have been brought there to live had the funding for the project ever materialized. The commodious entry portico, as set upon a stepped plinth and defined by a large arch, hardly resembled the entrances of potential students' own pueblo dwellings where their parents would reside without them once they were removed to the school. For example, the rigid formality of the entry sequence—which would have inevitably channeled Indian children through the paired entry doors of the school and into schoolrooms aligned along a corridor—either enclosed or open as a portico fronting the interior courtyard—would have stood in marked contrast to the circuitous outdoor stairways that wound upwards to the villages of Pueblo Indian children as located upon the mesas. One pathway, that of the corridor in the Indian school,

signified a strict discipline subjected over the bodies of Pueblo Indian children by people who were previously unknown to them; the other route, the freedom for Indian children to live their own lives within the constraints imposed by their own families and communities.

In fact, the formal geometry of the quadrangle at the Ramona School was quite characteristic of Indian schools constructed across the nation at the turn of the century. A very studied formal geometry was purposely inculcated at Indian schools, for the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania that served as their prototype was modeled upon a military barracks. The campus's buildings were aligned in severe rows, as they were at many other Indians schools such as one constructed sometime around the turn of the century in Flandreau, North Dakota (**Fig. 4.9**). The entire purpose of Indian schools was to re-make the bodies of Indian children so that they would be more like those of civilized Anglo-Saxon American children. For example, upon the arrival of Indian children to an Indian school, the hair of Indian boys, which was often worn long, was often immediately shorn off. Likewise, Indian children were given new clothes, taught how they should dress in them, given new foods to eat, instructed on how they should conduct themselves when eating them, told that they must abandon their own languages and schooled on how to speak English with precision. They were also subjected to many new routines. They often lived by a rigorous and disciplined schedule filled with classes and chores, and their lives were now ones ruled by the clock.

Too, Indian schools often resembled military barracks in the layout of their campuses because they were intended to function in a similar manner. For example, when Indian school children weren't engaged in schoolwork or chores, school administrators often engaged them in extensive drilling. In walking together in formation within the schoolyard,

such as at the Yuma Indian School in Arizona, children learned both to receive orders and to follow them with precision (**Fig. 4.10**).

The houses from which Indian children were removed from their families were often considered by white Americans to be the exact opposite of the ordered environment of an Indian school. For example, a typical Yuma Indian house—as located in the general proximity of Yuma, Arizona—was often very modest in its size and its construction (**Fig. 4.11**). It was sometimes only one room with a single entry door located on the front façade. It was constructed of wattle and daub, a technique in which layers of branches were infilled with mud. This building technique was very effective in the desert environment of Arizona because the thick mud served to create a very effective barrier to heat transfer, much like it would also in an adobe pueblo constructed primarily of dirt. The wall construction worked to create what is commonly referred to today as a “thermal lag.” Both the dirt material and the thickness of the wall kept heat from penetrating to the interior of the house during the day, when the desert was at its very hottest, often upwards of 100 degrees. Too, the flat roof of a turn-of-the-century Yuma Indian house, like the walls, further worked to provide a layer of thermal insulation for the house. It was typically constructed of materials readily at hand, as collected from the surrounding desert, such as wood, that would be overlaid with a layer of branches and then covered with earth.

Because the interior space of the typical Yuma Indian house was so small, an open-air shade structure was often constructed adjacent to it. This took much less effort to construct than the house, because its structure was very minimal. It required only four posts, at minimum, and some material to provide a roof cover, such as branches. Here, the occupants of the house could find relief from the desert sun and engage in activities for

which the small interior of the house was not entirely conducive. As late-nineteenth century photographs reveal, many Yuma Indians also used the exteriors around their small houses as outdoor living space. Here, cooking could be done on an industrial stove, rather than to the interior of the house where it would only serve to heat it. Since the interior of the house was small, the exterior area around the house also provided an important area in which to socialize with others. The dry desert climate also allowed many household items to be stored outside rather than to the house's interior where space was limited. However, as previously described in an earlier chapter, many white Americans in the closing decades of the nineteenth century thought that houses that were only one story, constructed of such humble materials as dirt and branches, and built with flat roofs were simply un-American.

A turn-of-the-century photograph of Indian children at the Yuma Indian School in Arizona illustrates well the order that white Americans tried to impose upon Indian children in government-run Indian schools across the nation. The children stand in military-style formation in front of one of their school buildings (**Fig. 4.12**). It is a simple one story building with a hipped roof covered in corrugated metal, and it features a wrap-around porch of six bays supported by simple wooden posts and wrapped with a wooden railing. It is much more modest, architecturally, than the unbuilt Ramona Industrial School for Girls in Santa Fe. However, the environment is very much the same. In the photograph, the strict geometry of the architecture serves to reinforce the formal discipline with which Yuma Indian children were now supposed to live away as separated from their families.

In the photograph, the six bays of the porch serve to delineate the school children into rigidly defined groups. A bay to the middle of the building defines the space for a lone adult figure who is likely a school administrator. It appears that he may be Indian, but his

central position implies that it is he who most directly maintains control over all of the people assembled in the photograph. To the left of him, as defined by nearly one half of the bays of the building, are a group of Indian boys; to his right, as defined by an equal amount of space, is a group of Indian girls. Two young men, dressed in military uniform, flank the group of boys. Like the central figure, the way in which they are set off from the rest of the group also suggests that they exert some control over it, although to a lesser extent than he. They also appear to be Indian. To the very back of the group of girls on the right, one can barely discern the faces of two white women. Presumably, they are teachers, but their role as authority figures at the Indian school appears secondary to that of the adult men featured in the photograph.

However, what is of most interest in the photograph is not the adults, but the Indian school children, themselves. The children are not only segregated by sex, they are also further compartmentalized into groupings by age. This is denoted by the different dress for each group: shirts and pants for the younger boys, suit jackets and trousers for the older boys; plain dresses for the younger girls; and floral-printed calico dresses for the older girls. In relation to his or her specific group, each child is dressed exactly alike and coiffed alike. Each is also standing exactly the same distance away from each of his or her peers, and holding his or her body in the exact same rigid position as each of the other children. At the Yuma Indian School, the repetition and precision of the school's architecture helped to convey to Indian students that there was no room there for any individual difference. Children either fit into one space or another as denoted by their sex. Likewise, they fit into front rows or back rows, as dictated by their age.

Another turn-of-the-century photograph, this one of Indian school children at the Phoenix Indian School in Phoenix, also illustrates well the objectives of the government-run Indian schools (**Fig. 4.13**). The photograph is of schoolroom devoted to giving Indian children instruction in art. The room is furnished in a manner typical of a late-Victorian American interior. A white plaster bust, rendered in a neo-classical manner, sits in the left corner of the room. It appears, too, that it may be a bust of Christopher Columbus. To the front of the room are also other neo-classical figures sitting upon a shelf, a smaller bust and a horse. These are presumably in the room as subject matter for the children's practice of drawing.

However, none of the children are drawing these figures at the moment. Instead, each child is drawing at his or her easel a portrait of a classmate, who is sitting for it as a model. As they do so, the children each sit perfectly upright on hard wooden stools, their feet firmly on the ground before them rather than crossed or resting on the rungs of their stools. They are not dressed as they might be amongst their own Indian tribes, which typically had their own conventions regarding gender and age specific dress. Instead, the children are in the dress typical of white American children. The boys each wear white shirts and dark colored pants, and the girls, white dresses. The boys' hair is cropped short and the girls' hair is pulled into tidy ponytails.

Nor is any one of the children engaged in drawing any one of the many traditional design motifs that one might encounter typically on the many Indian reservations across the Southwest. Instead, the children each draw a portrait of their classmate that is remarkable for its similarity to all of the others. Each child defines their classmate's body in the exact same gradation of tones upon a sheet of paper placed upon his or her easel: her white dress is

suggested with a black outline; a light grey wash in the background helps to give the dress definition from the paper; dark tones work to suggest her black hair; a lighter tone indicates that she has pigmentation to her skin.

At Indian schools across the nation, the children were not only taught to shed their dress, their language, and their habits of living. They were also carefully instructed on how to discard all of the cultural practices that their parents might have taught them, such as traditions of making art. Even more importantly, perhaps, the children were also instructed on how to *see* themselves as white Americans did. This they were expected to display this by rendering in almost exactly the same fashion their classmate as seated before them.

Many Indian children chafed at the rigorous discipline subjected by others upon their bodies at Indian schools. As multiple scholars have explored in detail, many Indian children found the experience of living away from their families on the reservations extremely traumatic. Many attempted to run away from the schools and back to their families, and they often assumed great risk to themselves to do so. They walked long distances across deserts or endured other severe weather conditions in which they could potentially die. Nor was suicide at all infrequent among children at Indian schools.⁵²

For many Indian children, the Indian schools were very repressive environments, although there were some children who liked them. For instance, the strict delineation of the children into groups of boys and girls was quite different than the conception of sexual identity within many American Indian tribes. Although many tribes had certain roles that men and women typically performed, these were not rigidly fixed. For instance, among many

⁵² See Michael C. Coleman, *American Indian Children at School, 1850-1930* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993), 164. See also Ward Churchill, *Kill the Indian, Save the Man: The Genocidal Impact of American Indian Residential Schools* (San Francisco: City Lights, 2004).

tribes, there were some members who were recognized as having more fluid sexual identities than other members. Sexual identity was often viewed as a process rather than as a stable social category assigned at birth on the basis of sex. For example, many native languages had specific terms to refer to individual members who lived outside of strictly masculine-feminine paradigms.

Among the Navajo, these members of the tribe were collectively known as the *nádleehé*, but there were also more specific terms to describe them. A man in the tribe who lived as a woman was known as *nadle*. This meant “one who is transformed” or “changing one.”⁵³ There were also *hwame*, women who lived as men.⁵⁴ To the Shoshoni Indians, members of the tribe who possessed fluid sexual identities were called the *tainna wa’ippe* and, among the Lakota, the *winkte*.⁵⁵ These members also often possessed a high social status among their tribes. In their sexual fluidity, they were believed to mediate between two worlds—the spiritual and the physical. They were often known for having special healing powers and they were considered important visionaries.

White Americans at the turn of the century knew very well that there existed members of Indian tribes with these fluid sexual identities and high social status, for Spanish missionaries had written in the sixteenth century about the fluid sexual roles that they observed among the Pueblo Indian tribes during the Spanish conquest of the Southwest.⁵⁶ The Spanish, like the French Jesuit missionaries who also encountered and commented upon

⁵³ See Piers Vitebsky, *Shamanism* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001), 93.

⁵⁴ See Suzanne Bost, *Mulattas and Mestizas: Representing Mixed Identities in the Americas, 1850-2000* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003), 137.

⁵⁵ See Sabrina Lang, *Men as Women, Women as Men: Changing Gender in Native American Culture* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), xv.

⁵⁶ See Walter Williams, “Changes in the Berdache Tradition,” in *The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Tribes* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), 178.

Indian people in the Americas with fluid sexual identities, called them “*berdaches*.”⁵⁷ Today, the term is still used as a kind of catch all, for it can describe the members of any Indian tribe. It is also typically used to designate members who are biologically male, but not exclusively. Another term emerged in the mid-nineteenth century to describe berdaches who were biologically female; white Americans called them “amazons” after the ancient Greek legend of women warriors.⁵⁸

In the mid-1880s, the American anthropologist Matilda Coxe Stevenson befriended a Zuñi berdache and shaman named Wéwha while she was at the pueblo of Zuñi in New Mexico.⁵⁹ It was Stevenson who several years earlier had provided Lewis Henry Morgan with the broad sketch of the architecture of the pueblo. Among the Zuñi Indians, berdaches who were biologically male, like Wéwha, often dressed as women, performed roles typically conducted by women, and had sexual relationships with other men. However, they also performed gender roles typically assigned to men within the tribe. They would often hunt, marry and live with women, and father children. One of the reasons that many Indian tribes particularly valued berdaches was that they could fill multiple roles in society; they were viewed as a very stabilizing force.⁶⁰

Among the Zuñi, Wéwha was known as a very skilled potter, which was typically a women’s role. Wéwha was also a weaver, which was an activity that was less sex-segregated at Zuñi than other pueblos, but, nonetheless, it was an activity generally performed by men.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 17.

⁵⁸ See Vern L. Bullough and Bonnie Bullough, *Human Sexuality: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994), 59.

⁵⁹ Berdaches weren’t always shamans, and shamans weren’t always berdaches. However, Wéwha was both. See Anna Mariella Bacigalupo, *Shamans of the Foye Tree (Gender, Power and Healing Among the Chilean Mapuche* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), 268.

⁶⁰ See Walter Williams, *The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Tribes* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), 114.

Wéwha also knit, a strictly male pastime at Zuñi, and participated in a male kachina society.⁶¹ However, Wéwha also typically dressed in the typical attire of a Zuñi woman, in a dress and with the hairstyle distinctive to women in the tribe. In fact, for some time, Stevenson didn't realize that Wéwha was a berdache, such as in 1886, when she invited Wéwha to travel to Washington D.C. for a six-month period to live with her, to demonstrate weaving to visitors at the Smithsonian, and to meet prominent and influential people in Stevenson's social circle such as President Grover Cleveland.

As Will Roscoe describes, Stevenson's motivations for the trip were to promote her anthropological work at Zuñi as well as the organization she had founded the previous year, the Women's Anthropological Society (WAS), the first professional association for women scientists in America.⁶² However, by all accounts, she and Wéwha also became very good friends, and they would remain so until Wéwha's death from a disease of the heart in 1896. Six years later, in 1902, Stevenson would publish an account in a government report of Wéwha's role as a berdache among the Zuñi, and in the following decades, Wéwha would become perhaps the most well known berdache to the American public. In particular, jokes circulated around Washington D.C. about Stevenson bringing a man in women's dress to enter the boudoir and ladies room of elite figures in the city's political sphere, such as the wife of the Secretary of State.⁶³

Like many of her male contemporaries in the field of anthropology, Stevenson could be quite intrusive and disrespectful in her study of the Zuñi. She candidly acknowledged in her anthropological reports that on occasion she tricked and coerced the Zuñis to provide

⁶¹ See Will Roscoe, *The Zuni-Man Woman* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 151.

⁶² See Roscoe, *The Zuni-Man Woman*, 60.

⁶³ Ibid, 71.

her with artifacts, information or other assistance, even when it caused them obvious distress to do so.⁶⁴ This was a tactic commonly employed by many anthropologists at the turn of the century. However, by many accounts, Stevenson was also very different from many of her contemporaries for her openness to question and to accept as valid the beliefs held in societies different than her own. For example, in anthropological literature that she wrote at the turn of the century for the Smithsonian, Stevenson gave credence to the idea that Zuñi berdaches were spiritual mediators that simultaneously inhabited two worlds.⁶⁵ She pondered, too, whether berdaches might even indicate that there existed a third sex, people who embodied in one body the characteristics typically attributed to one sex or the other.⁶⁶

A late nineteenth-century photograph of Wéwha in the pueblo of Zuñi illustrates why Stevenson thought that this might be so (**Fig. 4.14**). It shows a group of Zuñi Indian women (as well as a white woman, perhaps Matilda Coxe Stevenson herself) on the left side of the frame and a group of Zuñi men on the other (as joined by a white man, perhaps James Stevenson). In the middle of the group stands Wéwha dressed in the black dress typical of Zuñi women. As recognized by the tribe, Wéwha was “two-spirited”—both woman and man, not exclusively one or the other.⁶⁷ Wéwha’s central position in the photograph also indicates special status within the tribe as a shaman with special healing powers. For Matilda Coxe Stephenson, who consistently pushed gender boundaries in what was still considered a man’s field in her professional work as an anthropologist, the idea that

⁶⁴ Ibid, xiii.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 55; Thomas C. Foster, *Long Before Stonewall: Histories of Same-Sex Sexuality in the Early America* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 67; and Bost, *Mulattas and Mestizas*, 137.

⁶⁶ See Bonnie Kime Scott, *Gender in Modernism: New Geographies, Complex Intersections* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 377.

⁶⁷ For more on “two-spirit people” in Native American tribes see Sue-Ellen Jacobs, Wesley Thomas and Sabine Lang, eds., *Two Spirit-People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality and Spirituality* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1997).

it was not only permissible in another society to blur gender lines, but also extolled as special, must have been quite appealing to her.

However, the majority of white Americans who knew of the existence of berdaches at the turn-of-the-century only believed them to be “unsexed mysterious creatures” who obliterated their own sexuality through their degeneracy.⁶⁸ This had not always been the case. As the scholar D. Michael Quinn describes, from the 1840s to the 1890s, the Mormons proselytized and lived among twenty-seven different Indian tribes in the West in which there were both berdaches and amazons. During this time, berdaches openly interacted with the white American visitors.⁶⁹ However, increasingly, as a Shoshone-Mekis/Cree Indian named M. Owlfeather describes, “berdache visionaries were one of the outstanding targets” during the American assimilation process. The last record of a berdache on his reservation was in the early 1900s, and from his account, Indians in his tribe simply no longer dared to reveal their identities as berdache to white Americans.⁷⁰ The reason for this, he explains, was as follows: “In the period of the 1880 to 1910, if you were found practicing Indian beliefs or dress, you could be jailed. Even if an Indian man wore his hair long, which was his pride, he could be jailed and punished.”

⁶⁸ See Jerold S. Auerbach, *Explorers in Eden: Pueblo Indians and the Promised Land* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), 181 (note 13). The scholar Bonnie Kime Scott notes that Wéwha's gender identity was the source of a great deal of consternation among white Americans for several decades. Wéwha died in 1896, but even as late as 1925, some Americans vehemently expressed outrage that the anthropologist Matilda Coxe Stevenson could assert her belief that a single individual could simultaneously embody both sexes. For example, a 1925 report issued by the American Indian Rights Association stated that “We-wha’ [sic] is probably the best joke the American Indian ever played on men and women of trained minds...whose training was such that they would be expected to know the difference between a man and a woman.” See Kime, *Gender in Modernism*, 377.

⁶⁹ See D. Michael Quinn, *Same-Sex Dynamics Among Nineteenth-Century Americans: A Mormon Example* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 133.

⁷⁰ See Roscoe, *The Zuni-Man Woman*, 100.

Indian schools weren't only repressive in terms of students' sexual identity, however. They were also repressive in terms of students' intellectual development, for it appears that most educators in Indian schools didn't think much of their pupils' capabilities. As the scholar Robert A. Trennert, Jr. describes in his book *The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891-1935*, an attitude of exceptionalism prevailed in Indian boarding school education. Most educators at the turn of the century believed that there existed only a very few "exceptional" Indian children who were capable of becoming civilized. Therefore, their intent in establishing Indian schools was to find and select those children that they designated "exceptional" and to "civilize" them in the expectation that they could return to their tribes as adults and be responsible for efforts to civilize their own people. For instance, the Indian school administrator in a photograph of the Yuma Indian School likely had once been one of those children that American educators deemed "exceptional."

The aims of Indian schools paralleled those of late nineteenth century "negro schools," such as the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Virginia founded in 1863 by General Samuel Armstrong. A 1906 issue of *Indian School Journal* spelled out the shared aims of Indian Schools and schools for African American children as follows:

To train selected youth who shall go out and teach and lead their people, first by example by getting lands and homes; to give them not a dollar that they can earn for themselves; to teach respect for labor; to replace stupid drudgery with skilled hands; and to these ends to build up an industrial system, for the sake not only of self-support and intelligent labor, but also for the sake of character.⁷¹

Educators at Indian schools, in general, did not believe that the majority of Indian children possessed the ability to advance beyond a grammar-school proficiency. They thought that

⁷¹ See M. Freidman, "Hampton Institute and Its Work," *The Indian School Journal: Issued Monthly from the Indian Print Shop, Chillico, Oklahoma: A Magazine Printed by Indians* 7, April 1906, 87.

most Indians only possessed a limited intellectual capacity and that “an Indian boy or girl will have to make their living by the ‘sweat of their brow,’ and not their brains.”⁷² Therefore, an emphasis was placed on vocational training such as iron working, picking crops, doing laundry, cooking, and hat-making.

For Indian girls, such vocational training often meant that they would eventually provide domestic help in a white American household (**Fig. 4.15**). For Indian boys, vocational training was often intended to prepare them to provide labor in the nation’s agricultural fields.⁷³ Therefore, the vocational training provided in Indian schools was not meant to help Indian children to eventually join the modern world as full citizens. Instead, it was intended to train Indian children for low skilled and low-wage work in American society as adults where they would be relegated to second-class citizenship.

If children educated in the Indian schools did not choose to join the American labor force for which they received vocational training, the only other choice available to them was “to go back to the blanket.” This phrase was a popular one at the turn of the century. It was used to describe the adult Indian people, raised in Indian schools, who chose to re-embrace their own culture and return to their families on the reservations.⁷⁴ However, to go back to the blanket was also an extremely fraught emotional decision. In Indian schools, Indian children were actively taught to reject their families and their own culture by *seeing* them as did white Americans, and even less economic opportunity existed for them on the reservations than as low-wage workers in the American workforce.

⁷² See Robert A. Trennert, Jr. *The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891-1935* (Norman: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 47.

⁷³ See Trennert, *The Phoenix Indian School*, 9-14, 66-67.

⁷⁴ See Jane Simonsen, *Making Home Work: Domesticity and Native American Assimilation in the American West, 1860-1919* (University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 81.

Therefore, by the 1880s, the Indian Question was one that was debated in some intellectual and literary circles in American society. It revolved around the question of whether Indians should, in fact, be accorded those rights that signified full American citizenship once they attained adulthood, such as the right to own property and to suffrage. For instance, in 1879, a headline in *The New York Times* queried its readership with the following headline: “IS THE INDIAN A CITIZEN?”⁷⁵ For a short time, too, the Indian Question would be especially centered upon the writings of novelist and Indian rights reformer, Helen Hunt Jackson.

In 1879, Helen Hunt Jackson was inspired to write a novel, *Ramona*, after she attended a lecture in Boston in which the Ponca Indian, Chief Standing Bear, described the forcible removal of his tribe from their reservation in Nebraska by white Americans.⁷⁶ Despite the federal government’s assurances to Indians that reservation lands were off-limits to settlement by white Americans, this was not the case, in practice, if those lands ended up being desirable to white Americans at some point in time. For instance, white Americans often challenged Indian claims to reservation lands within the court system. However, after hearing Chief Standing Bear speak, Jackson’s sympathy was aroused to the injustice suffered by Indians throughout the United States. Her response was to write a book, for Jackson

⁷⁵ For primary literature on “The Indian Question,” see Elwell S. Otis, *The Indian Question* (New York: Sheldon and Company, 1878); Francis A. Walker, *The Indian Question* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1874); and S.C. Gilman, *The Future Indian: A Brief Treatise on the Indian Question* (Indianapolis: Carlton A. Hollenbeck, Printers, 1891). For secondary literature, see Laura L. Mielke, *Moving Encounters: Sympathy and the Indian Question in Antebellum Literature* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008) and John M. Coward, *The Newspaper Indian: Native American Identity in the Press, 1830-90* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 214-215.

⁷⁶ See Kate Phillips, *Helen Hunt Jackson: A Literary Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 223.

thought that if she were to write a novel that involved Indian characters, she might be able to elicit a similar feeling of sympathy in her white American readership.

Jackson's course of political action was inspired by the work of her friend, Harriet Beecher Stowe, whom she greatly admired. In 1852, Stowe had written the anti-slavery novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which had worked to achieve support for the abolition movement by making white American readers empathize with the black characters presented to them within the novel's pages. Of Jackson's hopes for her own novel in relation to Stowe's, she wrote: "If I could write a story that would do for the Indian a thousandth part of what *Uncle Tom's Cabin* did for the Negro, I would be thankful the rest of my life."⁷⁷

Jackson's novel, *Ramona*, was published in 1884 and it was set in Southern California in the years immediately following the Mexican-American War. It featured as its protagonist a young orphan girl for whom the novel was named. Jackson described to her readers that Ramona was of mixed parentage—part Scottish and part Indian—who was raised by a Mexican woman named Señora Moreno who despised her because she was Indian. Eventually, Ramona falls in love and marries an Indian man named Alessandro, and together they suffer one misfortune after another. They are removed from their homes, their beloved first child dies because a white doctor would not go to their homestead to treat her, Alessandro goes crazy with grief, and then he is murdered after riding away upon the horse of a white rancher at the height of his insanity, even though the rancher had known previously that he was mentally unbalanced.

⁷⁷ See Valerie Sherer Mathes, ed., *The Indian Reform Letters of Helen Hunt Jackson, 1879-1885* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 258.

Jackson hoped to arouse sympathy for her protagonist by illustrating for readers the discrimination and hardship that Ramona suffered throughout her life because of her identity as an Indian. She chose to tell Ramona's story as a tragic romance, most likely because Jackson knew well that the readers of novels in the late nineteenth century were typically women. However, if she could persuade women to reconsider their position on the Indian Question, they might be able to exert influence with people who had much more power and authority than they, themselves, possessed—their husbands.

However, instead of Jackson's novel provoking moral indignation in her readers over the plight of Indians, most readers were struck with the background against which the novel was set. To these readers, the novel presented a vision of an exotic landscape located right on American soil. It was comprised of "half-elegant, half-barbaric" Mexican ranchos, considered vestiges of the Spanish Colonial era, and Spanish missions, which were thought of by readers as romantic.⁷⁸ Jackson's novel didn't work to instigate social reform, as had Stowe's. Instead, it produced a tourist phenomenon. In the years immediately preceding the publication of Jackson's novel, railroad travel to the West had become far more accessible to many Americans with the completion of a second set of transcontinental rail lines. Inspired by the novel's imaginative landscape, Americans began to travel to California in droves to see the childhood home where Ramona supposedly lived, a Mexican rancho, as well as the Spanish missions of California where other scenes in the novel were said to have unfolded.

By 1886, just two years after the novel's publication, the Western tourist industry began to seriously capitalize upon the success of Jackson's novel. For example, one tourist

⁷⁸ See Helen Hunt Jackson, *Ramona: A Story* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1884), 27. See also William Alexander McClung, *Landscapes of Desire: Anglo Mythologies of Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 95.

guide in 1886 would describe Santa Barbara, where a Spanish Colonial era mission was located, as simultaneously being a version of Spain and the home of Indians all wrapped into one exotic landscape and as located within the easy reach of American tourists. It described the seaside town as follows: “It is Spain once more...near by...there must be the Alhambra...But it is America, and California, and better yet, it is the home of Ramona.”⁷⁹ By 1887, the Santa Fe Railway was also making inroads to capitalize on the novel by promoting travel to California with “Ramona Tours.”⁸⁰

As the architectural historian Karen Weitze traces at length in her book entitled *The Mission Revival Style*, the Western tourist and railroad industries would also make this interest in “the home of Ramona” even more manifest upon the landscape with the development by the early 1890s of Mission Revival Style architecture. At the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition, the state of California would promote itself as the home of Ramona with the construction of the California State Building and almost simultaneously, the Santa Fe Railway and the Southern Pacific railroads would appropriate the imagery of the Spanish missions for their new train depots in California.⁸¹ Helen Hunt Jackson’s book worked to inextricably interlink in the minds of many Americans the Hispaño and Spanish Colonial past, as exemplified in the architecture of ranchos and missions, with the Indian past.

The minority of American women who were particularly drawn to the plight of Indians in the 1880s, like Jackson, probably did so because they saw parallels existing between the Indian Question and their own political situation within American society. In

⁷⁹ See Edwards Roberts, *Santa Barbara and Around There* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1886), 151.

⁸⁰ See Dydia DeLyser, *Ramona Memories: Tourism and the Shaping of Southern California* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 75.

⁸¹ See Karen Weitze, *California’s Mission Revival* (Santa Monica: Hennessey and Ingalls, 1984), 85.

the United States, there was a discourse occurring in the latter half of the nineteenth century that was far from settled, and it was known either as the “The Sex Question” or “The Woman Question.” Like “The Indian Question,” it revolved around who was considered a full citizen in American society and, therefore, what rights accrued to particular individuals in their involvement in the public sphere. As the two names bestowed upon this latter “question” suggest, the Sex Question, or Woman Question, hinged on sexual difference, not racial difference.

For almost the entirety of the nineteenth century, most American women were not accorded full participatory status as citizens in civil society, although the American women’s suffrage movement had begun to gain ground in the United States beginning with the 1848 Women’s Rights Convention held in Seneca Falls, New York. For example, just twelve years after the convention, suffragettes managed to get important legislation passed with the Married Women’s Property Act of 1860 in New York. This was considered a significant victory for the way in which the legislation challenged the principal of marital coverture.

Since the late eighteenth century, marital coverture provided much of the foundation for denying women full participatory citizenship in American society. In essence, marital coverture was a legal mandate that, once married, a woman lost her individual identity. She would be considered a dependent of her husband, and she could not act independently in economic or political matters. Therefore, her role was limited to wife and mother within the domestic sphere, and this radically circumscribed her involvement in the public sphere. For much of the nineteenth century, the principal of marital coverture was also used to deny full participatory citizenship to single women, too. As it was typically argued, although single

women weren't yet married, there existed the strong potential in the *future* for them to become dependents.⁸²

Despite the gains made for the Women's Suffrage Movement in the passage of legislation such as the Women's Property Act of 1860, these victories were limited in their practical effect. They only applied to women in one state, not to American women in the nation as a whole, and women in New York were still not allowed the right of suffrage. With the passage of the Women's Property Act of 1860, New York women were now only allowed the right to own and control property. This was not insignificant, however, for property ownership had provided the basis for white American men to vote throughout the nineteenth century. Therefore, this meant that the women of New York were one step closer to achieving equality in the public sphere than many of their female contemporaries in other states.

Like the women of New York, the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona also possessed more claim to full American citizenship than many other Indian tribes in the West throughout the nineteenth century. This also contributed to the perception by white Americans that they were "distinct." Unlike other Indian tribes, the federal government had allowed the Pueblo Indians to retain their land and the ancient pueblos that they had built upon it rather than being removed to new reservation lands where they would need to build anew. This unique status among the Pueblos was due mainly to two factors: the provisions of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which was signed in 1848 at the conclusion of the

⁸² For more on the development of marital coverture as the basis for the denial to American women of full participatory citizenship, see Clare A. Lyons, "Sex and the Politics of Gender," in *Sex Among the Rabble: An Intimate History of Gender and Power in the Age of Revolution, Philadelphia, 1730-1830*, 238-239 and Caroline Winterer, "Daughters of Columbia, 1790-1800," chap. in *The Mirror of Antiquity: American Women and the Classical Tradition, 1750-1900*, 75

Mexican-American War, and the fact that the Pueblo Indians never offered any serious aggressive resistance to American expansion in the West, such as raiding American settlements or taking up arms against the United States in the various Indian wars on the Western frontier.

Under the provisions of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the Pueblo Indians were considered citizens of the United States, for when the United States government acquired lands formerly belonging to Mexico, it had needed to assert how it would deal fairly with the people who already lived there. The treaty held that the former citizens of Mexico who owned property now encompassed in the American nation “shall enjoy with respect to it, guarantees equally ample, as if the same belonged to citizens of the United States.” It also stipulated that Mexican citizens who became American citizens “shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, their property, and the civil rights now vested in them according to Mexican law.”⁸³ Under the treaty, the Pueblo Indians of Arizona and New Mexico were considered former citizens of Mexico, as were many other Indian tribes in the Southwest, and, initially at least, their land tenure was recognized as such.

However, as is studied by many scholars of land tenure in the Southwest, such as Martha Menchaca, these rights could be challenged, and they often were. In fact, within a year of the ratification of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the United States government began to violate its own citizenship equality statements. It began a process of what Menchaca terms “racialization” designed to disenfranchise the former citizens of Mexico of their citizenship status and to strip them of their land rights. This it could do easily because

⁸³ See Menchaca, *Recovering History Constructing Race*, 220-226, and James A. Vlasich, *Pueblo Indian Agriculture* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 90-91.

the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo also contained within it a clause that denied rights to all “savages”; therefore, if the United States government characterized a group of Indians as aggressive against the national interests, their land tenure rights could be dissolved. This happened to many Indian tribes in the Southwest, such as the Navajos and the Apaches, who fought vigorously against white Americans to retain their land.⁸⁴

The Pueblo Indians, on the other hand, largely managed to maintain their status as American citizens throughout the 1870s and 1880s, and, therefore, their land tenure. This was largely because the federal government considered the Pueblo Indians to be non-aggressive to the aims of American expansion in the West. For example, this is demonstrated in a 1890 report written by the Department of the Interior, Census Office, entitled *Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed in the United States (Except Alaska) at the Eleventh Census, 1890*. The report described how the Pueblo Indians consistently demonstrated their allegiance to the American nation as they “aided the United States with soldiers in war and by remaining good citizens in peace.”⁸⁵

Nonetheless, like American women, the Pueblo Indians also inhabited a very nebulous position in American society in regard to the particular rights that citizenship conferred upon them. In some respects, they would be recognized as American citizens. In other regards, they would not. For example, the 1890 *Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed* also described to its readers that the vast majority of the Pueblo Indians were not taxed. This was due to the special sovereignty over their land granted to them under the

⁸⁴ See Nancy A. Hewitt, ed. *A Companion to American Women's History* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 143.

⁸⁵ See Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed in the United States (Except Alaska) at the Eleventh Census, 1890* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1894), 164.

terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. However, the federal government also maintained that because of this, it was therefore compelled to deal with the Pueblo Indians as if sovereignty had never passed between the United States and Mexico in respect to the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Since the majority of Pueblo Indians were not taxed, the government maintained, they should not be allowed to vote. The report provided further justification for this decision by maintaining that the Pueblo Indians had never exercised their right to vote in the more than forty years since they first became American citizens.⁸⁶ Another highly significant and important way in which the Pueblo Indians were not always treated as full American citizens was that, just like other tribes, their consent was not needed to remove their children from them to attend Indian schools.⁸⁷

Given all this, when readers of Lewis Henry Morgan's *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigine* were presented with an image of a Zuñi water carrier as the book's frontispiece, they knew that she possessed no claims to full participation in the American citizenry. As many scholars who study the intersection of race and sex would describe it, she was in what is called a "double-bind."⁸⁸ Within American society, she also had no claims to full participatory citizenship because of her race as an Indian. However, she also had no such claims to full citizenship because of her sex as a woman. Even if one obstacle to full participatory citizenship were to be removed imminently by the settling of either "The

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ See Barry Pritzker, *A Native American Encyclopedia: History, Culture and Peoples* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 95.

⁸⁸ For more on the "double bind" of race and gender, see, for example, Sandra Adell, *Double-Consciousness/Double Bind: Theoretical Issues in Twentieth Century Black Literature* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 104.

Indian Question,” or the “The Woman Question,” the laws surrounding the other debate would likely remain in effect for some time.

Therefore, too, when Vere O. Wallingford argued in 1906 within the pages of *Architectural Record* that the pueblos might constitute an important prototype for “An Original Type of American Architecture,” he was not articulating a belief that the Pueblo Indians constituted an important part of the American citizenry and, therefore, that their architecture should be considered American architecture. Like Lewis Henry Morgan had first articulated, he believed that the Pueblo Indians constituted an ancient and distinct Indian race, exceptional among other Indians, as manifest in their architecture that spoke of a long history of permanent settlement of American soil. However, Wallingford did not think that this special status made the Pueblo Indians invulnerable to other cultural forces that he believed were presently at work. Instead, Wallingford argued that the Pueblo Indians were soon becoming “extinct” and their architecture would soon become a “memory.” This was the second of the two assumptions upon which Wallingford structured his argument, and this one was understood by his readership probably even better than the first, for it represented a broadly disseminated discourse in American culture. Therefore, it is to this second assumption that this chapter now will turn.

The Pueblo Indians as “Subject to a Process of Elimination”

For the vast majority of Americans in the latter half of the century, the Indian Question was simply moot, and the people in support of Indian rights, like novelist Helen

Hunt Jackson, were often derided as “sentimentalists.”⁸⁹ This was due to the growing pervasiveness in American culture of Social Darwinism. In regard to the theory of mankind that Darwin presented in *The Descent of Man*, the process of evolution unfolded over a very long period of time, much like he observed as occurring among animal species. In that book he would write as follows: “At some future period, not very far distant as measured by the centuries, the civilized races of man will almost certainly exterminate and replace throughout the world the savage races.”⁹⁰ As most Americans understood it, then, human development, as described by science, was a natural and successive process. The stage of Barbarism replaced Savagery, and this, in turn, was followed by Civilization. To them, this process was described by Darwin’s principal of natural selection, or the principal of “survival of the fittest,” enacted at the human scale rather than that of the animal world.

Today, Darwin’s evolutionary theory is widely known for the controversy that it provoked when it was first introduced, as it continues to be a source of great debate even today. During the second half of the nineteenth century, this controversy was far-reaching across the globe. Like today, this was largely due to the challenge that Darwin’s theory was perceived to pose to Christianity and to the role of God in creating the universe. However, here it is also necessary to understand that, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, a large majority of white Americans who believed in God also found ways in which to make Darwin’s theory work for them. Among them, for instance, was the anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan. Of Social Darwinism, Morgan wrote that it represented “part of the plan of

⁸⁹ See, for instance, Robert G. Hays, *A Race at Bay: New York Times Editorials on the Indian Problem, 1860-1900* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2007), 155.

⁹⁰ See Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex* (London: John Murray, 1871), 136.

the Supreme Intelligence to develop a barbarian out of the savage, and a civilized man out of the barbarian.”⁹¹

Like many of his contemporaries, Morgan believed that education, as well as the embrace of Christianity, offered the possibility of improvement to Indians. However, like Charles Darwin, he also believed that the destiny of the Indian was eventual extinction.⁹² As outlined by Morgan in *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines*, the Pueblo Indians represented the aborigines of the North American continent who were most advanced in their human development. Nonetheless, according to Morgan, they had only attained the stage of “Middle Barbarism.” This left a significant gap between them and the stage of civilization supposedly occupied only by the Anglo-Saxon race. Since the proponents of Social Evolutionary theory, such as Darwin, argued that each stage of evolutionary development occurred over millennia, this would likely not provide the Indians with time enough to evolve.⁹³ Instead, according to the theory of “survival of the fittest,” they might become extinct as a race, instead.

The belief that Indians comprised a disappearing race is what historians today call “the myth of the vanishing Indian.”⁹⁴ As alluded to earlier in the discussion of Lewis Henry

⁹¹ For Lewis Henry Morgan’s own reconciliation of Darwin’s ideas with religious thought, see *Ancient Society: or, Researches in the Line of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization* (Chicago: C.H. Kerr, 1877), 554.

⁹² See Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 206.

⁹³ See Thomas Broolski, ed., *A Companion to the Anthropology of American Indians* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2004), 444, and Joy Porter, *To Be Indian: the Life of Iroquois-Seneca Arthur Caswell Parker* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001), 32. See also Bernard J. Sterns, *Lewis Henry Morgan: Social Evolutionist* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1931).

⁹⁴ The literature on the myth of the vanishing Indian is quite extensive. For example, see Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1982); Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man’s Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Knopf, 1987); and Jean O’Brien, “‘Vanishing’ Indians in Nineteenth-Century New England: Local Historians’ Erasure of Still-Present Indian People,” in *New Perspectives on Native North America: Cultures, Histories,*

Morgan and his involvement with his college fraternity at Union College, this myth first began to emerge in American culture by the 1830s. At first, it manifested itself among white Americans as just as a kind of wistfulness over what they perceived to be a strange, but largely unexplainable, “disappearance” of Indians. However, by the 1850s, the idea that Indians were disappearing from the landscape would evolve and acquire new force. It would come to represent a belief held among the majority of white Americans that all Indians comprised an “ill-fated race,” or a “vanishing race,” who would inevitably and eventually disappear.⁹⁵ The myth of the vanishing Indian was intimately interconnected with another concept that also emerged around the same period of time called “Manifest Destiny” and, therefore, it is most useful to consider them in tandem.

The concept of Manifest Destiny refers to the idea that God ordained Americans to spread republicanism across the whole of North American continent. However, in the second half of the nineteenth century, it also encompassed an entire constellation of other ideas including the idea of moral progress and the evangelical Christian idea that the American nation was predestined to usher in the transformation of the world. This transformation would occur with the Second Coming of Christ, or what was also called “the End of Days.” This event would initiate the redemption of the earth and the establishment there of an Edenic paradise.

While it was the redemption of the earth, in general, that was thought to be at stake, Manifest Destiny was a particularly powerful idea in relation to vast expanses of the area of

and Representations, eds. Sergei A. Kan and Pauline Turner Strong (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 414-32.

⁹⁵ As early as the 1830s, white Americans were predicting the demise of Indians as a vanishing race. See Coward, *The Newspaper Indian: Native American Identity in the Press, 1820-90* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 69.

the North American continent that is known today as the American West. The phrase, itself, is generally credited to the American editor John L. O'Sullivan, who was an influential political writer affiliated with the Democratic Party. However, many scholars argue that it was actually first coined by one of his writers, Jane McManus Storm Cazneau.⁹⁶ She was the daughter of U.S. Congressman William T. McManus, and she worked as a professional journalist after attending one of the earliest colleges for women, Emma Willard's Troy Female Seminary in New York. Because of her father's political connections to former U.S. Vice President, Aaron Burr, Storms became involved in the early 1830s with the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company. She and her brother, Robert, soon acquired two enormous tracts of land in present-day Texas.

At the time of this acquisition, however, Texas was still a part of Mexico, and Storm was an extremely notable figure in working to bring the first legal settlement of Americans there as part of the Stephen F. Austin colony.⁹⁷ Exactly when Jane McManus Storm Cazneau first used the phrase "Manifest Destiny," is uncertain, but in 1845, she used it in a famous essay entitled "Annexation" featured within the pages of the *Democratic Review*. There, she argued that it was "the fulfillment of our Manifest Destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions."⁹⁸ In particular, Storm had in mind the annexation by the United States of Texas, and she was

⁹⁶ See Amy Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 20, and Thomas A. Woods, *Knights of the Plow: Oliver H. Kelley and the Origins of the Grange in Republican Ideology* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1991), 12.

⁹⁷ For more on Jane McManus Storm Cazneau, see Linda S. Hudson, *Mistress of Manifest Destiny: A Biography of Jane McManus Storm Cazneau, 1807-1878* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 2001).

⁹⁸ See Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire*, 20.

among a larger group of Americans who believed that its annexation would help to fulfill the nation's destiny in helping to establish "paradise on earth."⁹⁹

In short, Manifest Destiny was what the literary scholar Lloyd Pratt calls a "potent synthesis of Christian millennialism and nationalism."¹⁰⁰ The historian Thomas A. Woods describes its aims concisely as "the republican promise of liberty and consequent prosperity elevated to self-fulfilling prophecy. Since it was the will of God that the entire continent be ruled by Americans, it would happen whether or not Americans did anything to hasten the conquest. But it also justified American imperialism as the will of God."¹⁰¹ Moreover, such a conquest was not to be long in the making.

In 1846, the United States invaded Mexico, initiating the Mexican-American War. This war would almost immediately result in the annexation of Texas and, eventually, the rest of the Southwest. Two years later, in 1848, the United States emerged from the war victorious.¹⁰² At the conclusion of the war, Mexico ceded to the United States the lands that previously comprised the northern portion of its country as spoils with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Five years later, the United States would acquire additional lands from Mexico with the Gadsden Purchase of 1853. James Gadsden, the southern railroad developer for whom the purchase was made, was instrumental in orchestrating it. The lands that make up present-day Arizona and New Mexico were very flat and, therefore, he considered them ideal for the development of second transcontinental railroad. This

⁹⁹ See Laura Lyons McLemore, *Inventing Texas: Early Historians of the Lone Star State* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004), 53.

¹⁰⁰ See Lloyd Pratt, *Archives of American Time: Literature and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 36.

¹⁰¹ See Woods, *Knights of the Plow*, 12.

¹⁰² See Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire*, 20.

purchase would complete the footprint of the contiguous United States as we know it today. The nation would acquire later in the nineteenth century its outlying territories and possessions, such as Hawaii, Alaska, and Puerto Rico.

As the historian Amy Greenberg convincingly argues in her book *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire*, it was not only a small religious fringe group in American culture that subscribed to the belief in Manifest Destiny in the mid-nineteenth century. Instead, the majority of Americans were very quick to embrace the idea. The reason that they did so was because although the phrase, itself, was new, the idea was not.¹⁰³ The roots of the concept dated back to the very beginnings of the American nation. The Puritans envisioned founding in New England a settlement that would function as a “city upon a hill,” a “Godly Commonwealth” that would serve as a beacon for less blessed people elsewhere.¹⁰⁴

To many Americans, Storms’ earlier prophecy that Americans were destined to overspread the entirety of the North American continent appeared partially fulfilled with the annexation of the American Southwest. However, there still remained the problem of the landscape’s settlement by white Americans, and for this Manifest Destiny remained a powerful concept throughout the rest of the nineteenth century. One of the best-known artistic images of the nineteenth century that illustrates the concept of Manifest Destiny is an 1872 oil painting by John Gast entitled *American Progress* (**Fig. 4.16**). In fact, many historians

¹⁰³ See Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire*, 20. See also Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 297.

¹⁰⁴ See Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire*, 20. See also Lawrence W. Kennedy, “A City Upon a Hill” in *Planning the City Upon a Hill: Boston Since 1630* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), 11-22, and Christopher Buck, “The Puritan Myth of America” in *Religious Myths and Visions of America: How Minority Faiths Redefined America’s World Role* (Westport, CN: Praeger, 2009), 28-32.

consider the painting to be the “classic example” of a work of art that illustrates this concept.¹⁰⁵

American Progress was a very well known image to Americans in the late nineteenth century because of its wide dissemination. George Crofutt, who owned a monthly newspaper dedicated to Western tourism and development called *Crofutt's Western World*, commissioned the painting with the intent of reproducing it as a chromolithograph in his publications.¹⁰⁶ In addition to his newspaper, Crofutt also published tourist guides to the American West, and these were extremely popular with the American public. They sold over half a million copies throughout the 1870s and 1880s. Crofutt gave Gast very precise instructions on what he wanted included in the painting as its subject matter, and when reproduced, the painting was variously entitled not only as *American Progress*, but also *The Spirit of Progress*, *Manifest Destiny*, or *The Spirit of Manifest Destiny*. As these two latter titles make explicit, the painting was intended as an allegory to illustrate the concept of Manifest Destiny.

The painting presented viewers with a representation of a beautiful maiden with long flowing hair who dominated the composition's center. She resembled a spirit floating unencumbered over the American landscape, and most viewers would have recognized her as Columbia. Ever since 1791, when Americans first decided to place their national capital

¹⁰⁵ The painting is the subject of much historical analysis. See, for instance, Brian W. Dippie, “The Moving Finger Writes: Western Art and the Dynamics of Change” in *Discovered Lands, Invented Pasts: Transforming Visions of the American West*, ed. Jules Davis Prown (New Haven: Yale University Press; Yale University Art Gallery, 1992), 89-114. See also Klaus Lubbers, *Born for the Shade: Stereotypes of the Native American in United States Literature and the Visual Arts, 1776-1894* (Atlanta: Rodopi, 1994), 187-188; and Gordon Morris Bakken, ed., *The World of the American West* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 191.

¹⁰⁶ See Pamela Walker Laird, *Advertising Progress: American Business and the Rise of Consumer Marketing* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 129, and William R. Handley, *Marriage, Violence and the Nation in the American Literary West* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 27.

on the Potomac River and to call it the Territory of Columbia, she had been an important symbol of the American nation.¹⁰⁷ In the painting, Columbia's diagonal pose and her flowing robes suggested to viewers her forward movement across the landscape. Moreover, most viewers implicitly understood that their gaze should follow Columbia in her trajectory across the painting. Therefore, they knew that they should read it right to left, rather than left to right, as one might read a text.

Too, viewers soon came to understand that the picture frame corresponded to the cardinal directions upon a compass and that Columbia's movement across the painting signified her movement from the industrial East to the frontier West. In the background to the right of the painting, viewers could observe the faint outline of a city, steamships, bridges, manufactories, schools, and churches that implied the established settlement of the Eastern seaboard. In contrast, to the left of the painting, there were no indications of fixed human settlement upon the landscape. The landscape appeared as a vast open space.

Implied in Columbia's traverse across the picture frame and as spelled out for viewers in the painting's title, *American Progress*, was the idea of expansion to the American nation's westernmost territories as a civilizing force. Columbia carried with her two symbols that many nineteenth century Americans considered particularly representative of civilization. In one hand, she held a schoolbook. In the other, she held a telegraph wire, one of the great technological advances of the era, and directly behind Columbia was a row of telegraph poles that she appeared to thread as she moved across the landscape. At the base

¹⁰⁷ See Matthew Dennis, *Red White and Blue Letter Days: An American Calendar* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), 129.

of these poles, following in her wake, was depicted the other great technological advance of the era, the railroad.

Just in case it wasn't already clear to viewers that Columbia's movement was towards the nation's westernmost territories, symbols associated with pioneering activities in the American West also appeared to follow Columbia across the landscape, such as wagons and stagecoaches. Beneath Columbia's feet were figures associated with western trail blazing, such as a surveyor, a prospector, a hunter, and a Pony Express rider. The landscape over which these figures walked undulated like waves, suggesting that the establishment of civilization was a successive process. Therefore, behind the trailblazers also followed figures symbolic of more established settlement in the form of western homesteading. A rough pioneer cabin of logs helped to define the space of cultivated land upon which one man led a team of oxen and another steered a plow.

Columbia's movement across the space of the picture plane was also depicted as a God-ordained force, for she was literally a celestial being floating in the sky, like a deity. Moreover, mounted upon Columbia's forehead was what viewers would have understood to be the "Star of Empire," or the light of civilization.¹⁰⁸ The star of empire was a popular image from many earlier popular lithographs that depicted trains as beacons of civilizations or of the "Godly Commonwealth." For example, these included Andrew Melrose's *Westward the Star of Empire Takes its Way—near Council Bluffs, Iowa* in 1867 and Fanny Frances Palmer's *Across the Continent: "Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way"* (1868), which was widely published and distributed as a lithograph by Currier and Ives.

¹⁰⁸ See George A. Crofutt, *Crofutt's Trans-Continental Tourist* (New York: George A. Crofutt, Publisher, 1874), 157.

In Melrose's *Westward the Star of Empire Takes its Way*—near Council Bluffs, Iowa, a train is depicted heading toward the viewer with the headlight of the train shining brightly like a star as daylight begins to break in the East. The visual equation of the train with daybreak is that it is a force that dispels darkness. As the sun rises in the East and the train moves westward, there is also the idea that the train is a civilizing force. To signify this, deer caught in the path of the train flee, and they are representative of untamed wilderness (**Fig. 4.17**).

Fanny Frances Palmer's *Across the Continent: "Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way"* (1868) reiterated this theme as she depicted a train moving westward, passing a frontier town comprised of log cabins in which pioneer wagons and men on horseback figured prominently.

The artist Thomas Nast's *Beyond the Mississippi* (1868) extended the idea of the train as a civilizing force in westward expansion (**Fig. 4.18**). He showed the train as set in the center of a circular frame, and once again, wild animals were shown to flee as the train advanced. This time, the animals were buffalo and deer. In Nast's engraving, he also depicted the train as set against what was just then beginning to become a site of western touristic pilgrimage, the Yosemite Valley in the Sierra Nevada Mountains of Northern California. The rock formation known as Half Dome and the Yosemite Falls featured prominently in the background. The image was intended as the frontispiece for Albert D. Richardson's book entitled *Beyond the Mississippi*. In it, Richardson would provide readers with an account of an excursion that he made in 1867 from the Middle West to California. The purpose of the trip was so that Richardson could observe and write about the progress of the Central Pacific

Railroad Company as it worked to complete the first set of transcontinental lines across the nation, which would be finished in 1869.¹⁰⁹

To each side of the large circular frame in the illustration's center were two smaller circular frames. Within each of these were featured depictions of men who worked to tame and harness the western landscape's productive potential. The small circular frame on the left showed a man driving a team of mules as he endeavored to till the soil. The other frame on the right was a depiction of gold-seekers who mined the surface of the ground and its waters with pick-axes. Then, directly below the large circular image of the train was yet another frame. This one was only a half-circle and it illustrated the settlement of a group of California Indians, as denoted by the wood wickiup structures featured in the background. However, unlike the men in the two frames above them, the Indians were not shown engaged in any productive activity. Instead, they were completely at rest as gathered together around a fire.

Immediately above this frame were yet three more figures. Unlike any of the other figures in the engraving, no frame circumscribed them. Instead, their bodies worked to tie together the frame above them and the frame below them, and to suggest what would happen when the world depicted in the central frame would finally intersect with the one situated below it. One figure was an Indian woman wrapped in a blanket holding a child in her arms. The other was an Indian man, who appeared to discard a blanket wrapped around him as he became seized with terror. Like the buffalo and the deer pictured to each side of

¹⁰⁹ See Albert D. Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi: From the Great River to the Great Ocean. Life and Adventure of the Prairies, Mountains, and Pacific Coast: With More than Two Hundred Illustrations, from Photographs and Original Sketches, of the Prairies, Deserts, Mountains, Rivers, Mines, Cities, Indians, Trappers, Pioneers, and Great Natural Curiosities of the New States and Territories; New Edition: Written Down to Summer of 1869* (Hartford, CT.: American Publishing Company, 1869).

them, these figures were shown in flight as the train approached them. The train's headlight, as placed in the exact center of the engraving, suggested to viewers that the "the star of empire" would soon eclipse the Indian way of life, as pictured in the bottom frame.

In John Gast's painting *American Progress*, Columbia traced the movement of the sun in its daily traversal across the sky. As she did so, darkness appeared to recede and to give way to light, an image with clear biblical allusions to a beacon or a godly city located upon a hill. Therefore, Columbia's movement across the sky carried multiple connotations for viewers; she was like a train, but she was also like the "sun" that moves across the sky. She also was like the "son" of God who ushers in the transformation of the world with the End of Days and establishes paradise on earth.

The painting, however, was not only an allegory involving the establishment by Americans of paradise on earth in their settlement of the West. It also presented Indian removal from this landscape as part and parcel of the fulfillment of American destiny. To the left side of the painting, was depicted the Sierra Nevada Mountain range of California rising from the vast, flat expanse of the Great Basin, and this is the very last mountain range on the American continent before one encounters the watery expanse of the Pacific Ocean. Located near the eastern base of these mountains, the faint outline of a group of people could be seen standing in a circular formation in the murky darkness located directly under Columbia's left elbow.

If one was looking at the painting without the benefit of text, then the significance of this group of people might have gone unnoticed. However, George Crofutt's western tour guides, for which the painting was commissioned, typically featured written descriptions that accompanied the chromolithograph reproduction of the painting. These spelled out precisely

how readers should interpret this circular formation of people on the landscape. Crofutt described it to them as the “war-dance of the ‘noble red-man.’”¹¹⁰ He made particularly clear to his readers that he disparaged those who performed such a dance by parenthetically setting off the phrase “noble red-man” in his text, a device he often employed within the pages of *Crofutt’s Overland Tours*.¹¹¹ He told them, too, that “the general tone of the picture on the left declares darkness, waste and confusion.”¹¹²

The idea of the Indian as a noble figure, or a “noble red-man,” was one evidenced in the early nineteenth century in the work of writers such as James Fenimore Cooper and Herman Melville.¹¹³ In fact, the concept of the “noble red man” functioned in early nineteenth century American culture as a sort of shorthand, a Romantic cliché by which to describe all Native American Indian men. Like all clichés, it ignored the many real cultural and individual differences that existed among men in tribes across the North American continent. Nonetheless, it was generally positive in its connotations, for the idea of the Indian as noble traced to the late eighteenth century, when the philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau had argued in his novel *Emile* for the essential goodness of mankind in a state of

¹¹⁰ See George A. Crofutt, *Crofutt’s New Overland Tourist and Pacific Coast Guide* (Omaha: The Overland Publishing Company, 1880), 251.

¹¹¹ For instance, Crofutt would also parenthetically set off the phrase “noble red-man” as he described the supposedly unprovoked murder of two white American settlers at the hands of an Indian man in a 1890 edition of *Crofutt’s Overland Tours*. There he would write as follows: “It was from here—westward where the ‘noble red-man,’ less than 20 years ago, was wont to choose his victims, and the time and place at his leisure. We know him. The crumbling head-board of two of his numerous victims still stands. We buried them both in one grave, rolled up in their blankets. A wagon seat served as a tombstone to mark the place, upon which our ‘jack-knives’ carved their names. ‘Farewell’ was the last word—it was a low whisper. Two arrows and a rifle bullet did the work.” See George A. Crofutt, *Crofutt’s Overland Tours: Consisting of Six Thousand Miles of Main Tours, and Three Thousand Miles of Side Tours, also Six Thousand Miles by Stage and Water* (Chicago: Rand, McNally and Company, Publishers, 1890), 21.

¹¹² See Crofutt, *Crofutt’s New Overland Tourist and Pacific Coast Guide*, 251.

¹¹³ See Anna Krautheimer, “Chingachcook and Queequeg: The Noble Savage,” in *The Representation of the Savage in James Fenimore Cooper and Herman Melville* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 39.

nature, or the theory of the natural man. In 1672, the English poet, John Dryden, had called the natural man the “noble savage” and, eventually, the two ideas were linked together.¹¹⁴

Scholars such as Stelio Cro have traced the manner in which Americans’ conception of their own political identity has been linked to that of the “noble savage,” or the Indian, since the pre-revolutionary era. In his book *Playing Indian*, Philip Deloria describes how American colonists often dressed in Indian costume as a form of political protest. This phenomenon drew on Old World traditions of misrule, such as May Day and carnival, but as synthesized with the meanings that accrued to the Indian of the New World in the minds of the colonists. Deloria notes that the most compelling instance of this tradition was the Boston Tea Party.

In 1773, American colonists who called themselves the Sons of Liberty destroyed tea to protest British policy, for they believed that taxation of the tea violated their rights to be taxed only by an entity in which they had some political representation. For this occasion, like many others in the colonies, the Sons of Liberty dressed up as Mohawk Indians (**Fig. 4.19**). While dumping tea into the waters of Boston Harbor, they also further performed their Indianness while grunting to one another in an invented tongue.¹¹⁵ Part of the reason that they did so was a practical consideration simply to disguise their identities, for Boston was then a relatively small town in which individuals’ faces were well known to others. However, as scholars such as Deloria and Mark Klamath argue, the colonists’ particular

¹¹⁴ Terry Jay Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 38.

¹¹⁵ See Stelio Cro, *The Noble Savage: Allegory of Freedom* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1990) and Deloria, “Patriotic Indians and Identities of Revolution,” in *Playing Indian*, 10-37. See also Mark L. Kamrath, “American Indian Oration and Discourses of Republic in Eighteenth-Century American Periodicals,” in *Periodical Literature in Eighteenth-Century America*, eds. Mark Klamath and Sharon M. Harris (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2005), 143.

choice of costume was also more significant than to simply conceal their identities or to deflect blame elsewhere. They argue that the American colonists also identified with the Indian as a “noble savage” who signified to them freedom from tyranny.

Not incidentally, the Boston Tea Party was also a key event among those leading up to the American Revolution, which was undergirded by the political philosophy of the French Enlightenment and particularly that of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. It was Rousseau who articulated the Enlightenment idea that all individuals were inherently good and that they, therefore, possessed certain inalienable rights. Rousseau believed that human rights should not be accorded only to those born of nobility; instead, he argued in his novel *Emile: Or, On Education* that all people possessed the right to consent to be governed. He illustrated this idea through the metaphor of the “noble savage” who was naturally free. Rousseau argued that a civil state entailed the loss of “natural freedom” in favor of that which made possible the attainment of two new forms of freedom—civil freedom and moral freedom. These two superior freedoms were realized in the justice and legitimacy of what Rousseau termed the “social contract.”¹¹⁶ Each individual citizen under the terms of the social contract possessed inviolable rights. However, when these individual rights were violated, then the social contract became null and void, and the individual citizen possessed the right to challenge the authority given to civil society in its establishment. Each individual’s inherent right to consent to be governed was intended to keep in check a balance of power.

Rousseau’s ideas influenced revolution, first in France, and, then, in the United States, and the attributes of the philosopher’s noble savage corresponded to many of the

¹¹⁶ See Joseph R. Reiser, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: A Friend of Virtue* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), 123.

ideals of the American Revolution as a social movement. For many colonists in the United States, the noble savage represented the legitimacy of their rebellion against the British government. The noble savage also symbolized for them the promise of mankind as unfettered from the corrupting influence of civilization. The colonists rejected a repressive civilization, as represented by the British Empire, in favor of striking out for the wilderness of the American frontier.

Following the success of the American Revolution in establishing a nation separate from Britain, Rousseau's ideas regarding the noble savage continued to be influential. For instance, the idea of the noble savage helped to establish the precepts upon which the new American government would be founded. Echoing Rousseau, the United States Declaration of Independence declared that all men were "naturally endowed by their Creator with the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."¹¹⁷ However, nowhere is the relationship in American culture between liberty and the Indian as noble savage better illustrated, perhaps, than upon the nation's currency. Today, upon the head of the most basic unit of American currency, the penny, resides a venerable symbol of American national identity and freedom, the profile of president Abraham Lincoln. However, prior to 1909, it was not Lincoln who occupied this space. Instead, in 1859, the well-known American portraitist and engraver, James B. Longacre, designed for the U.S. mint a penny that featured the profile of an Indian chief who resided there for the next five decades (**Fig. 4.20**).

¹¹⁷ Rousseau's ideas, as well as those of John Locke, are thought to have played a fundamental role in shaping the political thought of those that drafted the American Declaration of Independence, such as its primary author, Thomas Jefferson. He framed the aims of the American Revolution in terms of the political ideas that Rousseau articulated in his novel, *Emile, or On Education*. See Harold Hellenbrand, *The Unfinished Revolution: Education and Politics in the Thought of Thomas Jefferson* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1990), 66 and Lester Crocker, "Rousseau's Emile: Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness" in Marian Hobson, J.T.A. Leigh and Robert Wolker, eds., *Rousseau and the Eighteenth Century: Essays in Memory of R.A. Leith* (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation, 1992), 101-115.

Although the image featured upon the coin is easily recognizable to us today as a Plains Indian, as denoted by his headdress, many Americans in the mid-nineteenth century did not recognize that such a headdress was a cultural tradition unique to only approximately a dozen tribes inhabiting the spaces of the American plains, such as the Sioux. Instead, the headdress simply worked to convey to them that its wearer was Indian. Moreover, the headdress, which was traditionally worn as a war bonnet by Sioux warriors, denoted that this Indian possessed a male body, and the youthful and sculpted features of his visage implied that the rest of his body was a strong one. The headdress, inscribed with the word “liberty” across it, suggested, too, that this Indian was a fierce warrior who, like the revolutionaries in the war for American Independence, would engage in battle for the most abstract of ideas—freedom. The Indian-head penny was a symbol with which Americans interacted on a daily basis for the second half of the nineteenth century, and like the profile of Abraham Lincoln that would eventually take its place, the Indian-head penny was a source of pride for Americans as a symbol of their own identity.

Somewhat ironically, however, the fate of the flesh-and-blood noble savage inspired a bitter struggle in the United States following the American Revolution. As the scholar Philip Deloria notes, this is because there exists a duality in the myth of the noble savage. In his 1997 book *Playing Indian*, he writes as follows:

This [duality] is, of course, the familiar contradiction we have come to label noble savagery, a term that both juxtaposes and conflates an urge to idealize and desire Indians and a need to despise and dispossess them. A flexible ideology, noble savagery has a long history: one going back to Michel de Montaigne, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and other Enlightenment philosophers. If one emphasizes the noble aspect, as Rousseau did, pure and natural Indians serve to critique Western society. Putting more weight on savagery justifies (and perhaps requires) a campaign to eliminate barbarism. Two interlocking traditions: one of self-criticism, the other of conquest. They balance perfectly, forming one of the foundations underpinning the

equally intertwined history of European colonialism and the European Enlightenment.¹¹⁸

In a book entitled *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness*, the scholar Sander L. Gilman argues that this duality is typical of all stereotypes, not just the noble savage explored by Deloria. Gilman writes that stereotypes are “inherently bipolar, generating pairs of antithetical signifiers (the ‘noble savage’ vs. ‘the ignoble savage’)” that each respond to the needs of specific groups within a given society.¹¹⁹ At any point in time, one of these paired signifiers can gain more force than the other if it is intuited to better suit the needs of a majority of people within a given society.

Therefore, while many white Americans seriously considered the merit of Indians as their equals in the early decades of the nineteenth century, which would be recognized by extending to Indians the same rights of citizenship as white Americans, by 1850, public opinion had swung in the other direction. This is an argument that the historian Reginald Horsman presents in his 1985 book *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism*.¹²⁰ By the mid-nineteenth century, many Americans, like George Crofutt of *Crofutt's Western World*, arrived to the conclusion that the subject of Indian citizenship just didn't merit their consideration at all. They dismissed out of hand the idea that Indians should be considered either “noble” or their equals. While many white Americans in the late-eighteenth century had admired Indians as symbols of liberty and resistance to misrule, now they despised Indians for any act of opposition by them to American settlement. For

¹¹⁸ See Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 4.

¹¹⁹ See Sander L. Gilman, *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 27.

¹²⁰ See Reginald Horsman, “Racial Destiny and the Indians,” *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 190-191.

instance, resistance by Indians as signified by “war dance” depicted in Thomas Gast’s 1872 painting, *American Progress*, was conceived of as antagonistic to the fulfillment of national destiny.

However, as shown Thomas Gast’s 1872 painting, *American Progress*, many white Americans also anticipated that the performance of Indian dancing would soon be no more. The dancers were shown only faintly and in the darkness, as if they might soon fade entirely from sight, and the rays of white light emanating from the “Star of Empire” mounted upon Columbia’s forehead promised to soon fill every corner of the painting with her impending arrival. Instead, Indians were depicted as distinct figures only in the foreground of the painting and to its very edge on the left side. There, too, they appeared poised to vanish into the darkness immanently, for like the Indians caught in the headlamp of the train in Thomas Nast’s engraving *Beyond the Mississippi*, they also were shown engaged in flight.

Two women, who many white Americans would have understood to represent half-naked “savages,” as they were only dressed from the waist up, both led Indian ponies. One of these towed behind it a travois, or dray, which was a mode of transport that Indians often used to carry the wounded.¹²¹ Two figures were seated upon the travois, and these were likely Indian people who were unable to keep up with the swift clip of the group because they were wounded, old, or otherwise infirm. Two Indian men were also depicted in the group. One man was mounted on horseback, and the other man was shown walking behind him. Like the women, this latter of the two figures was also shown naked from the waist up.

¹²¹ For instance, see a description of a travois being used to carry the wounded in Richard G. Hardoff, *Hokaday! A Good Day to Die!: The Indian Casualties of the Custer Fight* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 122.

In the painting, the big game animals that white Americans associated with wilderness and upon which the Indians of the American plains so depended for their very sustenance also appeared to be retreating as Columbia advanced upon them. In the background of the painting, a herd of buffalo bolted across the wide expanse of the Great Basin as followed by a lone Indian figure mounted on horseback. In the foreground, a large grizzly bear also stood. Throughout the latter half of the long nineteenth century, many white Americans considered animals such as wild bears and mountain lions to be the ultimate symbols of the untamed wilderness of the western frontier.

For example, Theodore Roosevelt's 1902 book entitled *The Wilderness Hunter: An Account of the Big Game of the United States and its Chase with Horse, Hound and Rifle* described to readers how animals such as bear, wolf, bison, moose, caribou, wapiti, deer, bighorn, lynx, fox, wolverine, sable, mink, ermine, beaver, badger were all New World "beasts of the chase" that paralleled those that hunters pursued in the Old World. He drew this comparison between the Old World and the New World as he described to readers the following:

As late as the seventeenth century the turbulent village nobles of Lithuania and Lavonia hunted the bear, the bison, the elk, the wolf, and the stag, and hung the spoils in their smoky wooden palaces, and so, two hundred years later, the free hunters of Montana, on the interludes between hazardous mining quests and bloody Indian campaigns, hunted game almost or quite the same and decked their log cabins and ranch houses with the hides and horns of the slaughtered beasts.¹²²

For Roosevelt, the men of the New World—the American miners of the Western frontier—were similar to the nobles of the Old World in their predilection for manly conquest of nature. This was first performed in the activity of the hunt, he thought, and subsequently in

¹²² See Theodore Roosevelt, *The Wilderness Hunter: An Account of the Big Game of the United States and its Chase with Horse, Hound and Rifle* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1902) 139.

their display of their trophies of conquest to the interior of their homes. However, Roosevelt also reserved a special fondness for hunting those animals of the New World that long held high status as beasts of the chase in the Old World, such as lions and bears. He described to readers that the mountain lions of the West (also known as cougars or panthers) were “a favorite figure in the wilder hunting tales.”¹²³

Apparently, so too was the grizzly bear, for the frontispiece to Roosevelt’s book was an illustration by A.B. Frost entitled *The Death of the Grizzly* (**Fig. 4.21**).¹²⁴ It depicted a white hunter, dressed in the fringed, hunting outfit of rough hide that Americans typically associated with the frontier, with a rifle in hand.¹²⁵ The illustration depicted a moment that had just transpired, the successful killing of a bear by the hunter. In the illustration, the enormous animal lies dead at his feet, while the hunter stands above it, a relatively small figure in comparison to it. The rifle is still raised and firmly gripped within his hands, as is he had only just fired it. The snowy white landscape in which the man and the animal are ensconced holds associations of purity and innocence. The large brown body of the dead bear, mouth still wide open, suggests that it was the animal that it was the aggressor in an epic battle between good and evil, not the small armed man who is now shown triumphant over it.

In John Gast’s painting, *American Progress*, the large grizzly bear turns its head to bare its teeth at Columbia in one final act of aggression. However, the position of the bear’s body

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid, frontispiece.

¹²⁵ For scholarship that strongly suggests that most Americans conceived of this as the typical hunting outfit of the Western frontier, as well as the way in which Americans consciously fashioned this self-presentation, see Linda Baumgarten, “Clothing a Legend: Davy Crockett,” in *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 73.

is away from Columbia, and the inference to viewers was that such resistance by the bear was absolutely futile. Like the Indians with which it shared the foreground space of the painting and the buffalo featured in the background, the bear's continued movement westward was implied. An equation was also offered to viewers in the painting. The rendering of Indians and the beasts of the wild as existing together in darkness implied to viewers that somehow the two were inextricably linked.

As many scholars today argue, white Americans in the nineteenth century conceived of little difference between Indians and the world of nature as represented by plants and animals.¹²⁶ Instead, most nineteenth century Americans conceived of the natural world as encompassing all three. Indians, as a people who they considered to live close to nature in a state of either savagery or barbarism, were conceived of as a part of wilderness, not separate from it. As the historian Roderick Nash argues in his book *Wilderness and the American Mind*, white Americans envisioned themselves as existing in stark contrast to wilderness. They thought of wilderness in biblical terms as something primeval that needed to be tamed, and they viewed themselves as agents of civilization who “broke the ‘long chain of the savage life.’”¹²⁷ For the “primeval barbarism” of the wilderness, they would substitute “civilization, liberty, and law” as well as the “arts and sciences.”¹²⁸

Just in case the viewers of the painting somehow missed either the significance of *American Progress* as an allegory for Manifest Destiny or the Indian and wilderness as

¹²⁶ See, for instance, E.R. Baierlein and Harold W. Moll, *In the Wilderness with the Red Indians: German Missionary to the Michigan Indians, 1847-1853* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1996); Guy Chet, *Conquering the American Wilderness: The Triumph of European Warfare in the Colonial Northeast* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003); Douglas Cazeaux Backman, *Wild Men: Ishi and Kroeber in the Wilderness of Modern America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); and Michael P. Nelson and J. Baird Callicot, eds. *The Wilderness Debate Races On: Continuing the Great New Wilderness Debate*, 194.

¹²⁷ See Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), 41.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

vanishing, George Crofutt was also very careful to precisely spell it out for them in his western tour guides. There, an advertisement for a chromolithograph of the painting described the left side of the painting as follows:

Fleeing from “Progress” and toward the blue waters of the Pacific, which shows itself on the left of the picture, are the Indians, buffalo, wild horses, bears and other game moving westward, ever westward— Indians with their squaws [sic], pappooses [sic], and “pony lodges” turn their despairing faces toward the setting sun as they flee from the presence of the wondrous vision. The “Star” is *too much for them* [emphasis his]. What American man, woman or child does not feel a heart-throb of exultation as they think of the glorious achievements of Progress since the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, on staunch old Plymouth Rock!¹²⁹

For most viewers, the meaning of the painting as an allegory was likely perfectly clear without Crofutt providing such a close reading for them. However, the text also worked to drive several points home. Viewers implicitly understood Columbia, located within the midpoint of the picture frame, as only proceeded halfway in her movement across the American continent. However, the text worked to define the beginning point in the trajectory of her journey in terms of time. As a symbol of American progress, her journey should be understood as beginning with the moment that the Pilgrims first landed on Plymouth Rock rather than in the centuries that preceded this event, when only Indians occupied the continent. Moreover, according to Crofutt, the project of Manifest Destiny was one that should arouse a feeling in them akin to religious inspiration, as it should ignite in every American man, woman, and child “a heart-throb of exultation,” for when complete, the rays of civilization would be cast everywhere. Implicit in this was the idea that paradise on earth would be established, and the “darkness, waste and confusion” of the left side of

¹²⁹ See George A. Crofutt, *Crofutt's Trans-Continental Tourist* (New York: George A. Crofutt, Publisher, 1874), 157.

the painting would be permanently banished from the land. The Star of Empire would *be too much* for the Indian, who would simply vanish, as if into the sea.

Visions and Ghosts

By the turn of the century, when Vere O. Wallingford presented his idea within the pages of *Architectural Record* that the Indian pueblos of the Southwest might represent “A Type of Original American Architecture,” many white Americans did, in fact, have good reason to believe that the existence of Indians was tenuous. For example, as the historian Jared M. Diamond describes in his 2005 book *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies*, diseases introduced to Indians by people of European descent decimated entire tribes in the preceding centuries.¹³⁰ Too, successive displacements by white Americans, such as represented by the implementation of the Indian reservation system of the 1860s and 1870s, meant that it was a constant effort for Indian tribes to remain in possession of land upon which they could sustain themselves. At the end of the nineteenth century, Indians were almost completely disenfranchised from participating in the American economic system as any more than second-class citizens through their relegation to low-wage work, as implemented through the Indian school program. The centuries of struggle since Indians had first come into contact with Europeans was tremendously demoralizing to many native people. However, these broad generalizations really do nothing to convey the reality of the “myth of the vanishing Indian” as lived by Indian peoples during the second half of the long

¹³⁰ See Jared M. Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: Norton, 2005), 210.

nineteenth century. For this, it is important to again consider John Gast's 1872 painting *American Progress* with a second closer reading.

While Gast's painting was tremendously successful in communicating to white Americans the project of Manifest Destiny, it is also an important work to consider for its silences. Contained within its frame, it carried within it an important hint of a counter-narrative to the project of Manifest Destiny. As ensconced in the gloomy murkiness located at the base of Columbia's elbow, the circular formation of people that Crofutt derided as anything but "noble" in their performance of an Indian "war dance" were likely not enacting a war dance at all. Instead, it is far more probable that they were performing a Ghost Dance, or what is also known as a Round Dance. The Great Basin region located at the eastern base of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, as depicted in the painting, is exactly where the dance originated.

As is studied by many scholars, the Ghost Dance Movement was an important pan-Indian religious movement that developed in the latter half of the nineteenth century.¹³¹ In the early 1870s, the Ghost Dance first began to be performed in Nevada by the Paiute tribe. It is widely thought to have first originated as the prophetic vision of a man named Wodziwob. He was a Northern Paiute Indian who lived in the area near Pyramid Lake in Northern Nevada (**Fig. 4.22**). Wodziwob was known as a great healer, or shaman, who could make the departed spirits of the sick return to their bodies. Shamans often did this

¹³¹ See, for example, Gregory M. Smoak, *Ghost Dances and Identity: Prophetic Religion and American Indian Ethnogenesis in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Michael Hittman and Don Lynch, *Wavoka and the Ghost Dance* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997); Sam A. Maddra, *Hostiles? The Lakota Ghost Dance and Buffalo Bill's Wild West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006); and Russell Thornton, *We Shall Live Again: The 1870 and 1890 Ghost Dance Movements as Demographic Revitalization* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

through a process called a “vision quest” in which they entered an alternate state of consciousness. Ingesting a hallucinogen often helped to induce this state. During this vision quest, or trance, the shaman’s spirit was believed to travel elsewhere, typically to where the spirits of the deceased resided. The spirits would reveal wisdom of a healing nature to the shaman, and the shaman would then bring this knowledge back with him or her in order to heal members of the tribe. Often, the shaman would also record the vision he or she received on the spiritual journey. Many of the ancient petroglyphs, or rock art, located across the American Southwest are individual narratives of these vision quests, but their abundance across the landscape speaks to the existence for hundreds of years of similar religious traditions among many different Indian tribes **(Fig. 4.23)**.¹³²

In 1869, however, the Paiute shaman named Wodziwob experienced a vision of healing quite unlike any other he ever had before. When Wodziwob traveled to the world inhabited by the spirits of the dead, they informed him that an Indian renaissance was close at hand. Within the next three or four years, the spirits said, an apocalyptic event would occur that would ravage the earth. At this time, the white men would disappear from the earth forever. Indians would also disappear, they said, but this should be no cause for great alarm. Those who showed themselves faithful to the spirits would return to earth after only a few days, and they would find the earth restored as a paradise. The big-game herds, the fish, and the waterfowl, which had all begun to disappear in recent years, would be found again in abundance. They would also experience great joy in being reunited there with all of their loved ones who had previously died, and in this restored paradise they would live together a

¹³² See William M. Eaton, “Shaman at Petroglyph National Monument, Albuquerque, New Mexico,” in *Odyssey of the Pueblo Indians; An Introduction to Pueblo Indian Petroglyphs*, Pictographs and Kiva Art Murals in the Southwest (Paducah, KY: Turner Publishing, 1999), 79.

life free from death, disease, and poverty.¹³³

In order to hasten this renaissance the spirits told Wodziwob that his tribe would need to start performing at night the Round Dance, the oldest of the Paiute dances. Prior to Wodziwob's vision, the Round Dance was held only three times a year on very special occasions. Performance of the Round Dance marked the turning of the seasons: it was held once during the fishing season in the spring, a second time just before the pine-nut harvest in the fall, and a third time during the rabbit hunts which occurred as winter approached. However, now the spirits instructed Wodziwob that the Round Dance should be performed to mark a new event—the cataclysm of which they foretold.

A painting entitled *Ghost Dance* (**Fig. 4.24**), executed sometime around 1892 by the artist Mary Irvin Wright Gill, describes in much greater detail what exactly the dance entailed than the hazy abstraction featured in Gast's painting *American Progress*. Like the chromolithograph featured at the beginning of Lewis Henry Morgan's *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines*, Gill's painting was executed as part of an ethnographic study for the Smithsonian produced in the period between 1892-1893. Like that chromolithograph, too, it is quite likely that it was painted from a photograph. Little exists about Gill as an artist; however, what is known about her is that she illustrated with several paintings the ethnographical study conducted by the American ethnographer, James Mooney, which was focused solely on recording the Ghost Dance. By the late 1880s, the special performance of the Round Dance that the spirits first instructed Wodziwob to perform in 1869 had grown

¹³³ See Todd M. Kerstetter, "Uncle Sam and the Lying Messiah," in *God's Country, Uncle Sam's Land: Faith and Conflict in the American West* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 2006), 83.

into a social movement practiced by Indian tribes across the United States.¹³⁴ By that time, the dance was better known as the Ghost Dance, which is why the name Round Dance and Ghost Dance are used here somewhat interchangeably.

As is shown in Gill's painting, participants of the Ghost Dance arranged themselves in a circular formation around one or more singers and dancers situated to the circle's center. These central figures were known as "medicine men," and they functioned in a similar manner to priests within their tribes. Like shamans, they were believed to be visionaries and to possess special healing powers. Participants in the Ghost Dance would rotate slowly around the medicine men in a clockwise direction. In Gill's painting, a couple of figures were also seated upon the ground as located in the left and right foreground. Unlike all of the figures assembled in the circular dance formation, whose heads were bare to the elements, the heads of the seated figures were covered with blankets, as if they were sheltering themselves from the cold. The shoulders of these seated figures were also somewhat stooped, and this suggests that they were probably elder tribe members who might not have the physical wherewithal to participate in the dancing ceremony.

To each side of the painting, outside of the circular formation, were also featured two groups of standing figures. Many of these figures also had their heads covered, as if to prevent the chill wind that undoubtedly ripped through the flat desert landscape in winter from pervading their bodies. It is quite likely that many of these figures were, like the people seated upon the ground, those members of the tribe whose physical constitutions were considered too compromised to participate in the dance ceremony, such as people afflicted

¹³⁴ See James Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890; Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1892-93 by J.W. Powell, Director; Part II* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), 814.

with illness, women in the later stages of pregnancy, and the elderly. The main purpose of the Ghost Dance was not spectatorship by others, but rather active participation. Therefore, the vast majority of the figures featured in Gills' painting were dancers, not spectators.

Prior to Wodziwob's prophetic vision, the Round Dance was typically performed before the commencement of a subsistence task. The idea of the dance was that, in performing it, participants would become collectively focused on whatever task lay at hand, whether it was harvesting food from the trees to store for the winter or hunting rabbits. This they would do through their circumambulation around the singer-dancers featured at the circle's center. This ritual activity by a group can be thought of as similar to that practiced by many other cultures, such as worshippers at a Sunday church service. By being physically present with others in the same space, the group could collectively recognize the importance of the abundance provided to them by the gods, or spirits, as signified in the bounty of the harvest or hunt. Too, each participant in the ritual gained a heightened awareness of his or her individual role in the community in helping to achieve the task at hand.

However, the task for which the Round Dance would now also be performed, as instructed by the spirits in Wodziwob's vision, was to usher in the arrival of the cataclysmic event that would transform the world into an earthly paradise. Here, it is important to recognize that the apocalyptic narrative described by Wodziwob had striking parallels with the millennialism of white Americans as expressed in the belief in Manifest Destiny. There are many scholars of the Ghost Dance who examine these in much more depth than can be discussed here.¹³⁵ However, in short, both the Round Dance (or the Ghost Dance) and

¹³⁵ See, for example, Richard Landes, ed., *Encyclopedia of Millennialism and Millennial Movements* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 299; Catherine Wessinger, ed. *Millennialism, Persecution and Violence: Historical Cases*

Manifest Destiny were said by their followers to express divine will. Each predicted a cataclysmic event would occur, or an “End of Days.” Each also predicted that this event would initiate the disappearance from the face of the earth of the group with which it often came into conflict, typically over land. Finally, both narratives described the establishment of a paradise on earth. Therefore, performance of the Ghost Dance should be rightly recognized as a counter-narrative to white American millennialism.

Like the exploration of Manifest Destiny as presented in Thomas Gast’s 1872 painting *American Progress*, it is also necessary to understand further the historical context in which this counter-narrative evolved. By the 1860s, Paiute Indians, such as Wodziwob, were often perfectly familiar with the teachings of Christianity. This occurred through increasing contact with Christians, including the Mormons who were a dominant presence in Nevada and Utah.¹³⁶ Therefore, the fact that Wodziwob’s vision paralleled the narrative offered in white American millennialism is not at all surprising. Moreover, as a religious prophet for his people, the vision that he received on his vision quest perfectly accorded with his understanding of the world. From Wodziwob’s perspective, the necessity of a supernatural and apocalyptic event must have appeared absolutely requisite to restore order to the world, for it was one that seemed increasingly dangerous and chaotic. It was also a world in which he and the other Paiute must have felt that their ability to effect any significant change was simply beyond their power as individuals. Therefore, change would take an act of divine will.

To better understand this sense of individual powerlessness, it is necessary to

(Syracuse University Press, 2000), 64; Charles H. Libby, *Being Religious, American Style: A History of Popular Religiosity* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1994), 126.

¹³⁶ See Joel W. Martin, *The Land Looks After Us: A History of Native American Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 89.

understand the larger cultural forces that were at work in the specific area in which Wodziwob and his tribe lived. By 1870, the Pyramid Lake area in Nevada was subject to the increasing control of white Americans. This was due, in large part, to the Gold Rush of 1849 that occurred in the Sierra Nevada Mountains at the base of which the Paiute lived. It was also on account of the discovery of a large amount of silver ore in Nevada named the Comstock Lode. Both events worked to rapidly bring an influx of white American settlers, miners and ranchers to the area. At first, the Paiute were generally very receptive to the arrival of white Americans because they viewed it as an increased opportunity to trade. The Paiute highly valued exchange, and they were part of a vast trade network that extended across the entire Southwest. It included many tribes such as the Utes, the Hopis, the Navajos, the Mojaves, the Chumash, the Hualapapais, and the Havavasupais.¹³⁷ However, the relationship between the Paiute and the white American settlers quickly soured due to increased competition for the land's resources.

The Paiute were a semi-nomadic people who depended heavily upon hunting and gathering activities for their survival. Quite soon, however, white settlers began to deny the Paiute access to their traditional gathering places. They also began to decimate the big-game herds, the fish, and the waterfowl upon which the Paiute depended in order to feed themselves. By the winter of 1859, the Paiute, as well as other Indian tribes living in the area, were starving to death.¹³⁸ Simultaneously, the United States government also began to intervene in the relationship that the Paiute had to the landscape upon which they lived in

¹³⁷ See Christian W. McMillen, *Making Indian Law: The Hualapai Land Case and the Birth of Ethnohistory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 4.

¹³⁸ See John Bevis Reid and Ronald Michael James, eds., *Uncovering Nevada's Past: A Primary Source History of the Silver States* (Reno: University of Nevada, 2004), 13.

the establishment of an Indian reservation. Government officials generally viewed the Paiute, like other Indians, as a military threat and an impediment to the establishment of white civilization. Therefore, the federal government established the Pyramid Lake Reservation in Nevada upon which the Paiute were thereafter forced to live.

In keeping with the tenets of Manifest Destiny, which posited that God intended white Americans to settle the North American continent and that it, therefore, rightfully belonged to them, most Americans supported Indian removal as implemented through the reservation system. They justified it to themselves by thinking of reservation lands as an act of benevolence, a generous gift to Indians from the American nation.¹³⁹ In reality, however, the reservation system was anything but benevolent. It concentrated Indian tribes—many of whom, like the Paiute, were semi-nomadic or nomadic—onto tightly defined stretches of land. Typically, the land selected for a reservation was viewed by white Americans as absolutely worthless to them in terms of its potential for cultivation or to yield natural resources. Therefore, the Indian tribes who were placed to live on this land often suffered not only one blow to their economic well being, but several. Their traditional means of economic subsistence—often, hunting and gathering rather than fixed agriculture—was almost immediately destroyed with their confinement to the reservation. Nor could they easily substitute their means of subsistence for non-traditional ones. Since reservation lands were often comprised of soil ill suited for cultivation, even were they to adopt fixed agriculture, the land would yield little. Increasingly, too, free trade with white Americans became more and more restricted, for the United States government soon instituted a formal

¹³⁹ See Justin R. Foley, *In Defense of Self: Identity and Place in Pyramid Lake Paiute History* (Thesis: University of Nevada, Reno, 2008), 37.

relationship in which white American traders brokered all transactions between white Americans and Indians. This was typically very profitable to the traders, but not to Indians. In Nevada, the Paiute, like other Indian tribes placed on reservations across the nation, quickly saw their quality of life decrease dramatically.¹⁴⁰

The disputes between white Americans and Indians over land and access to resources also invariably led to an escalation of violence between them. For instance, shortly after the establishment of the Paiute Indian reservation at Pyramid Lake, there occurred on June 2, 1860 an event known today as the Pyramid Lake War. A three-hour battle ensued between one hundred and fifty white American settlers and a large and well-organized group of Paiute Indians. At the battle's end, one hundred and sixty Paiute men, women and children lay dead as well as three white Americans. Ostensibly, the outbreak of the violence began when several white American traders in charge of a Pony Express station located near the California-Nevada border kidnapped and raped two young Paiute women. In the course of rescuing the two women, the Paiute killed the five white American men whom they held responsible. However, neither the white Americans nor the Paiute involved in either of the two latter incidents viewed either one as random or isolated. Instead, each side perceived the attack by the other as part of a larger pattern of violence against them and, therefore, worthy of retaliation.

Although the Pyramid Lake War happened on just one particular day, the massacre should be properly understood as the culmination of several years of deteriorating relations between white American settlers and the Paiute over access to the land and its resources.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ See Foley, *In Defense of Self*, 37.

¹⁴¹ See Reid and James, *Uncovering Nevada's Past*, 13-18.

Nor should this violent outbreak be understood as an incident isolated to conflict between white settlers and the Paiute tribe. Rather, it should be understood as representative of a much broader pattern of escalating conflicts that unfolded across the entire West throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. The locations varied, as did the details in regard to the specific groups of white American settlers and particular Indian tribes involved, but the terms of the struggle were almost always the same—who would control access to the land and its resources.

The living conditions on reservation and events such as the Pyramid Lake War led the people of many Indian tribes across the West to feel an utter sense of despondency and lack of control over their fates, and this formed the background against which Wodziwob's prophetic vision of healing emerged. The Paiute Indian people could no longer control their destinies in terms of their ability to sustain themselves or to determine the course of their own lives. Because of this, they needed an intervention by a force greater than they individually or collectively possessed. Therefore, Wodziwob's vision that the spirits would someday soon intervene to restore order to the world was a very welcome prophecy, and the new Round Dance offered to his people a means of spiritual and emotional survival.

The Round Dance was also pacifistic. The Paiute considered performance of the dance to be a religious ceremony in which they simply prepared themselves for the cataclysmic event and their subsequent deliverance. Indian leaders typically asked participants to leave home any accoutrements of war, and they also encouraged them to practice honesty, peace, and goodwill to white Americans, presumably because supernatural

forces would deal with them in due time.¹⁴² The only way in which the Round Dance could be interpreted as violent in any way is as a form of wish fulfillment, for the dance expressed the desire that someday the white Americans who had suddenly appeared in the lives of the Paiute, after many centuries without them, would disappear just as quickly.

Another one of Mary Irvin Wright Gill's paintings, entitled *Ghost Dance – Inspiration* depicts some typical ghost dancers (**Fig. 4.25**). In the painting, there are three figures in the foreground, and each appears to be experiencing a different emotion while participating in the dance. The focus of the painting, however, is its central figure. With both arms and face raised to the sky, she appears to be experiencing a moment of religious ecstasy. During performance of the Ghost Dance, which occurred over the course of five days, the dancers would often dance so hard and for long that they would reach a state of hypnosis in which they, like Wodziwob, experienced their own visions.

At these moments, quite like the evangelical Christians worshipping at a camp revival meeting of the nineteenth century, they believed that they came into communion with the divine. For instance, in 1888, a Rev. D.M. Canright described the typical pose of a Seventh-Day Adventist in a moment of religious ecstasy as follows: "In ecstasy, the limbs are motionless but not rigid. The eyes are open, the pupils fixed, the livid lips parted in smiles, and the arms extended to embrace the beloved vision."¹⁴³ At a camp meeting, the most visible indication that worshippers were seized with the divine often occurred as they raised their hands in the air, as is illustrated in a nineteenth-century engraving (**Fig. 4.26**).

However, as described by the Reverend D.M. Canright, worshippers experiencing a state of

¹⁴² See Kerstetter, *God's Country, Uncle Sam's Land*, 83.

¹⁴³ See Reverend D.M. Canright, *Seventh-Day Adventism Renounced: After an Experience of Twenty-Eight Years by a Prominent Minister and Writer of that Faith* (Kalamazoo: Kalamazoo Publishing Co, 1888), 52.

religious ecstasy might also burst into song, speak in tongues, or move their lips without any sound escaping at all.

The special performance of the Round Dance thought necessary to usher in the cataclysmic event described in Wodziwob's vision did not remain confined for long to the space at the base of the eastern side of the Sierra Nevada. As previously mentioned, the Paiute were part of a broad trade network in which not only things, but also ideas, were exchanged. Too, for many centuries, the Paiute Indian tribe has occupied a very large geographic area of the West. To the south, this area extends all the way to southern Utah, Nevada and northwestern Arizona. To the north, it reaches Oregon, Idaho and northeastern California. Therefore, word of Wodziwob's prophetic vision and the necessity for performing the Round Dance quickly spread among the Paiute. However, it also spread in all four cardinal directions to many other Indian tribes. As word traveled, the narrative encompassed within Wodziwob's vision also began to take on slightly different shapes.

For instance, when news of Wodziwob's vision reached the Pomo tribe of California, it was then that the "Round Dance" began to be called the "Ghost Dance." The detail of the cataclysmic event originally foretold by Wodziwob also became more specific in its outline. As told by the Pomo, a messiah would soon arrive who would usher in the end of the world in the form of either a giant earthquake or a flood.¹⁴⁴ Like Wodziwob's vision, this apocalyptic event would rid the landscape of violence and evil as embodied in the white race.¹⁴⁵ As told by the Pomo, Wodziwob's prophetic vision acquired a particular symmetry, for the California landscape that the Pomo inhabited sometimes seemed to them to be quite

¹⁴⁴ See Cora Alice Du Bois, *The 1870 Ghost Dance* (Millwood, N. Y.: Kraus Reprint Co., 1976), 151, 222.

¹⁴⁵ See Du Bois, *The 1870 Ghost Dance*, 151.

animated. It was almost like an animal or a monster, as the ground shook with earthquakes or was inundated by floods. Now, however, the landscape from which white American settlers drove the Pomo would become a supernatural force that would seek its own revenge upon those who denuded it of its resources and harmed its long-time occupants. Moreover, like the biblical flood described in Genesis, in which Noah builds an ark until the flood waters subside, the earthquake or flood event would work to restore paradise on earth for all Indian people.

By 1872, when George Crofutt's vision of Manifest Destiny was painted in *American Progress*, versions of the Round Dance, or Ghost Dance, were practiced by a multitude of tribes across the West.¹⁴⁶ For example, in California, Oregon, Idaho, and Wyoming alone, the dance was practiced by the Achmawi, Alsea, Atsugwei, Bannock, Cahto, Calapuya, Chihila, Coos, Costanoan Gosiute, Huchmon, Karok, Klamath, Konkow, Lassiki, the Miwok, Modoc, Monache, Nisenan, Nomlaki, Patwin, Paviotso, Pomo, Santiam, Shasta, Shoshone, Siuslaw, Towola, Tustutni, Umpqua, Ute, Wailiki, Wappa, Washo, Whilkut, Wintu, Yana, Yokuts, Yoncella, Yuki, and Yuroks.¹⁴⁷ As the 1870s progressed, however, performance of the Ghost Dance by tribes across the West would also wane. The cataclysmic event foretold in Wodziwob's vision never materialized, and Wodziwob and the followers of his prophetic vision became disillusioned.

By the 1880s, the Ghost Dance would enjoy a second resurgence among Indian tribes in the West. At this time, another Paiute shaman named Wavoka experienced a vision quite similar to the earlier one of Wodziwob. As would soon be documented in 1892 by

¹⁴⁶ See Smoak, *Ghost Dances and Identity*, 204.

¹⁴⁷ See Thornton, *We Shall Live Again*, 4-5.

James Mooney in his report for the Smithsonian, this second revival of the Ghost Dance would achieve a much larger following. Indian tribes across the entire American nation would practice it as recorded by Mooney on a map that accompanied his report (**Fig. 4.27**). For instance, in Northern California, the Pit River Indians practiced the Ghost Dance. The desert Southwest of New Mexico and Arizona—where the Paiute, Pueblo, and Navajo tribes all lived—comprised the largest area in the nation in which the dance was practiced. Practice of the Ghost Dance even reached as far to the east as North Carolina.

After 1890, however, performance of the Ghost Dance would become forever etched in the minds of white Americans as associated with the Sioux and Lakota tribes of South Dakota. This was due to events that transpired on the morning of December 29, 1890. It was this day that would forever mark, for the members of many Indian tribes and white Americans alike, who possessed greater control of the Western landscape—Indians or white Americans. This day also had extreme significance in the millennial thought epitomized by both Manifest Destiny and the Ghost Dance Movement as to which group was more likely to vanish and become ghosts.

In the months preceding that fateful day, a large and growing encampment of three thousand ghost dancers had gathered at the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. The inspiration for the gathering was that several Sioux Indians, including a man named Kicking Bear, were recently returned from a trip to Nevada. They had traveled there by train to hear the new shaman prophet for the Ghost Dance, Wavoka, speak. They returned to South Dakota bearing news of the wonderful new religion to the Sioux chief, Sitting Bull, and they wanted his permission to let them hold a Ghost Dance of their own on the reservation. However, Sitting Bull had already heard of the Ghost Dance religion, and he was extremely

reluctant. He knew that many white Americans, and particularly soldiers, would perceive the dance as a “war dance” and find it subversive. Kicking Bear and his companions, however, assured him that performance of the dance would be safe for its participants. With the zeal of recent religious converts, they relayed to him that the participants would wear special “ghost shirts” while they were dancing (**Fig. 4.28**). They ascribed shamanic power to the shirts that they believed would protect the wearers.¹⁴⁸

As previously described, many white Americans—like George Crofutt—perceived dancing by Indians as threatening. Therefore, throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century, many white Americans characterized Indian dancing, in general, as an activity performed by bloodthirsty savages, or “hostiles.”¹⁴⁹ Negative characterizations of native dances were extremely persistent in American culture well into the twentieth century, as a scholar named Tisa Wenger makes the subject of her 2009 book *We Have a Religion: The 1920s Pueblo Indian Dance Controversy and American Religious Freedom*, which is focused on the performance of native dancing by the Pueblo Indians in Taos. However, it appears that the Ghost Dance was considered particularly threatening by white Americans. Just as Indian tribes knew of and understood the messaging of Christian millennialism, many Americans must have understood the performance of the Ghost Dance as a form of political resistance to them, either consciously or subconsciously.

¹⁴⁸ See H.W. Brands, *The Reckless Decade: America in the 1890s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 17. Interestingly, Gregory Smoak discusses in some detail that it does not appear that the belief in ghost shirts came from the Great Basin area where Wavoka preached and from which the Sioux were just returned. See Smoak, *Ghost Dancers and Identity*, 53.

¹⁴⁹ See, for instance, “Description of Indian Dance: As Witnessed and Told by an Old Florentine Now Among the Aborigines: Popular and Romantic Pastime of the Apache Indians Down to Southern Arizona, *Florence Times Daily* (Florence, Arizona), 30 June 1905, 2.

For example, negative characterizations of the Ghost Dance manifested themselves in American culture as late as the 1930s, when the influential anthropologist Albert Kroeber (widely known for his association with Ishi, “the last wild Indian” in America) began to study the Ghost Dance from the University of California at Berkeley. This he did with his research assistant, Cora Du Bois, who like Kroeber, was trained as an anthropologist. Ostensibly, both scientists possessed the capability to observe different human activities and to work to objectively explain them, as their field of study dictated that they should. However, neither Kroeber nor Du Bois possessed the ability to recognize the Ghost Dance either as a kind of survival strategy or as a pacifistic ceremony performed by devoutly religious people. Instead, both conceived of the Ghost Dance in pathological terms. They described the Ghost Dance as an “epidemic,” or an “infection” that broke out in the minds of “crazy” or “febrile” Indians.¹⁵⁰

A sculpture entitled *The Indian Ghost Dancer* by sculptor Paul Wayland Bartlett, which was exhibited for the first time at the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago, is typical of how many white Americans viewed the Ghost Dance and ghost dancers (**Fig. 4.29**) The figure is shown naked, despite the fact that Indians who performed the Ghost Dance typically did so in full dress. However, as already seen in the painting *American Progress*, many white Americans in the nineteenth century characterized Indians as uncivilized “savages” who went around in various states of undress. The arms of the Ghost Dancer flail

¹⁵⁰ For example, in an introduction to Cora Du Bois’ studies on the Ghost Dance, which she published as a book entitled *The 1870 Ghost Dance*, the scholar Thomas Buckley notes that “Du Bois, and Kroeber before her seem to naturalize the survivors’ mental or spiritual pathologies, apocryphally and metaphorically, as physical disease, hence obscuring the historical and cultural, colonial roots of Native distress.” See Thomas Buckley, “Introduction to the Nebraska Edition,” in Cora Du Bois, *The 1870 Ghost Dance* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), xiv.

wildly in front of him, as if he is out of control, and there is a vacant look in his eyes. As depicted by Wayland, the Ghost Dancer was not an Indian peacefully dancing. Instead, as would later be described in the work of Kroeber and Du Bois, he was crazy, fevered, out-of-control, and dangerous.

The very way in which white Americans framed ghost dancing throughout both the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries worked to de-legitimate it as a peaceful response to competing claims over frontier land and its resources. In the late nineteenth century, white Americans like George Crofutt perceived the Ghost Dance as symptomatic of war mongering by savage and irrational beings. In the early twentieth century, anthropologists only slightly recast ghost dancing. They described it as a physical disease with which Indians became afflicted before finally succumbing to a fevered state. In both cases, Indians were conceived of as reacting irrationally and, even, insanely. However, conceptions such as these proved to be far more lethal than any dancing.

In the fall of 1890, a young white Indian Agent stationed at the Pine Ridge Indian reservation named Daniel Royer became increasingly hysterical about the growing encampment there of ghost dancers. Royer was a doctor by training and a failed politician. He had gotten his job as an Indian agent as a result of his friendship with South Dakota Senator Richard Pettigrew. He had no specific training for his job or previous experience working with the particular problems that the Sioux Indians faced in their lives on the reservation. Moreover, Royer appeared to know very little about human relations, in general. The Sioux quickly dubbed him “Young-Man-Afraid-of-Indians.”¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ See Brands, *The Reckless Decades*, 17.

In response to his fear of the growing encampment of dancers, Royer shut himself within his house and let his duties as Indian agent fall to the school superintendent. On November 15th, 1890, he grew increasingly fearful of the ghost dancers and he telegraphed to Washington the following message:

The Indians are dancing in the snow and are wild and crazy. I have fully informed you that employees and government property at this agency have no protection and are at the mercy of these dancers. Why delay further investigation? We need protection and we need it now.¹⁵²

For some time that fall, officials in Washington simply ignored Royer's pleas. However, in late November, 1890, the situation had escalated to the point where it was deemed serious, and troops from the U.S. Army were dispatched to the Pine Ridge Indian reservation. A few Americans cautioned that the arrival of the troops would just exaggerate tensions. For example, one former Indian agent was asked how he, himself, would handle the Ghost Dancers, and he replied: "I would let the dance continue. The coming of the troops has frightened the Indians. If the Seventh-Day Adventists prepare their ascension robes for the second coming of the Savior, the United States Army is not put in motion to prevent them. If the troops remain, trouble is sure to come."¹⁵³

His words proved to be truly prophetic. On December 15th, 1890, yet another Indian agent, James McLaughlin, stationed at a reservation adjacent to Pine Ridge, received a report that Sitting Bull was preparing to leave his home to join the dancers. Sitting Bull was known and revered among the Sioux as a leader for the way in which he offered significant resistance to white Americans in the recent Indian Wars, such as the Battle at Little Big

¹⁵² See Rani-Henrik Anderson, *The Lakota Ghost Dance of 1890* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 111.

¹⁵³ See Brands, *The Reckless Decade*, 18.

Horn. This report that Sitting Bull would lend his support to the dancers inspired great fear in McLaughlin. Therefore, in a preemptive move, he directed the Indian police who worked on the reservation to arrest Sitting Bull at his cabin at dawn. Expecting to find him alone, the police were surprised to find a larger group of Sioux assembled there to join the Ghost Dance. Shooting quickly ensued and, by the end, a dozen people lay dead, including Sitting Bull.

Many of the Sioux considered this an assassination, and they fled to the hills surrounding the reservation in fear of their lives. In the following two weeks, U.S. Army troops followed a large group of Sioux into the hills, for the troops perceived the group to be particularly resistant to efforts to subdue them. On the morning of December 29th, 1890, the heavily armed troops caught up with the group. Upon this encounter, the Sioux were fearful. They appeared to be both outmanned and outgunned. Many of the Sioux were ready to surrender, but they also feared that they, too, would be assassinated. According to at least one scholar, it was at this juncture that a Sioux medicine man began to dance the Ghost Dance, and he urged his Sioux companions to defend themselves against the troops. Their ghost shirts, he said, would protect them against the soldiers' bullets. The dancing, however, only served to make the troops nervous. Before long, someone had fired a bullet. This was quickly followed by an exchange of gunfire on both sides.

The violence quickly escalated. By the end of that morning, it is estimated at least one hundred fifty-three Sioux Indians lay dead, including men, women, and children.¹⁵⁴ As the historian Dee Brown writes, twenty-five white American soldiers also died and thirty-

¹⁵⁴ See James F. Harris, *The Serpentine Wall: The Winding Boundaries Between Church and State* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 2013), 115.

nine were wounded, mostly as hit by the bullets of their fellow soldiers or by shrapnel.¹⁵⁵ The estimate of the death toll among the Sioux, however, does not include all of the Sioux who crawled away from the site only to die from their injuries later. When this is taken into account, as many as three hundred Sioux Indians died that day in December, or soon after, leaving only approximately fifty survivors of the party. Shortly after the battle, a blizzard began to approach, and the bodies of the Sioux Indians were left on the battlefield to freeze into grotesque shapes. After the weather cleared, on January 3rd, 1891, a burial party of white American soldiers was dispatched to the site. As depicted in an illustration that accompanied James Mooney's 1892 report on the Ghost Dance to the Smithsonian, the bodies of the Sioux would then be buried in a mass grave, a deep trench in the ground approximately five feet deep and seven feet wide into which they were unceremoniously piled one upon the other (**Fig. 4.30**).¹⁵⁶

This event would eventually become known in American history as the Massacre at Wounded Knee, and it definitively marked the last major confrontation between white Americans and Indians in the settlement of the Western frontier. The significance of the Massacre at Wounded Knee carried well beyond the borders of the Sioux reservation at Pine Ridge, where the tremendous loss of life was most keenly felt. For many Indian tribes across the United States, and especially those who practiced the Ghost Dance, the massacre presented absolutely devastating evidence that ghost shirts and ghost dancing simply wouldn't save them from becoming what they believed white Americans intended them to

¹⁵⁵ See Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* (New York: Rinehart and Winston, 1970), 523. See also Marty Gitlin, *Wounded Knee Massacre* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2001), 91.

¹⁵⁶ See Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890*, 879.

be—ghosts. As the scholar Brian Dippie writes, “For a moment the rebirth of Indian America had seemed as imminent as a man’s next breath, as real as moccasined feet pounding the earth to the thump of drums. Then it was over. The apocalyptic vision of the ghost dance was buried on the battlefield at Wounded Knee. ‘A people’s dream died there,’ an old Sioux holy man remembered sadly. ‘It was a beautiful dream.’”¹⁵⁷ To the historian Dee Brown, who in 1970 wrote a history of the massacre entitled *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West*, the events of December 1890 marked “the symbolic end of Indian freedom.”¹⁵⁸

Here it is important to note that following the horrific violence of the events that transpired at the Massacre at Wounded Knee, which were widely publicized to the American public, there existed the opportunity for new narratives to emerge in American culture regarding the myth of the vanishing Indian. There are many scholars who study violence in societies, and while they don’t condone its occurrence, they do explore whether the manifestation of extreme physical violence possesses the capacity to disrupt or defamiliarize dominant narratives.¹⁵⁹ The scholar Teresa P.R. Caldiera describes this potential concisely as she writes, “Violence always poses problems of signification. The experience of violence disrupts meaning, a disruption that narrative tries to counter.”¹⁶⁰ The scholar Sara Cobb, whose work specifically focuses on conflict between different groups writes that “narratives of suffering are one way to create a liminal space in which identity itself is unhinged and new

¹⁵⁷ See Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing Indian: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Middletown, CT.: Wesleyan University Press), 1982.

¹⁵⁸ See Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, xix.

¹⁵⁹ See, for instance, Teresa P.R. Caldiera, *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation and Citizenship in São Paulo* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 34; Sarah Cobb, *Speaking of Violence: The Politics and Poetics of Narrative in Conflict Resolution* (New York: Oxford, 2013), 106; Leslie Hosfield, *Narrative, Political Unconsciousness, and Racial Violence in Wilmington, North Carolina* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 19.

¹⁶⁰ See Caldiera, *City of Walls*, 34.

ways of speaking and being through community are created.” But she also sees this as occurring in a non-linear and time-intensive manner as she further explains that “this description belies the complexity of these processes.”¹⁶¹

As Kathleen Grace Washburn argues in *Indigenous Modernity and the Making of American, 1890-1935*, for some white Americans, the extreme violence manifested at the Massacre at Wounded Knee had exactly the effect of forcing new narratives to emerge. For instance, in 1891, only six months after Wounded Knee, a woman named S. Alice Callahan tried her hand at her first and only novel. It was entitled *Wynema: A Child of the Forest*. Callahan intended her novel to register social protest over the massacre and to counter the sentimentalism of novels such as Helen Hunt Jackson’s *Ramona*. The narrator promised to present to the reader “the Indian’s story—his wrongs and oppression.”¹⁶² Like Jackson’s *Ramona*, the novel featured as its main protagonist a young Indian girl for whom it was named. Callahan’s novel alternated dramatically between scenes of the protagonist’s childhood enthusiasm at the prospect of becoming “civilized” and grisly scenes of the Massacre at Wounded Knee. As Washburn argues, in the novel’s representations of violence, the narrative presented in *Wynema* was a new one in that it both drew upon and subverted the discourse of the vanishing Indian.¹⁶³

For the vast majority of white Americans, however, it appears that the Massacre at Wounded only served to confirm their belief that Indians were vanishing, not to persuade them that it should be otherwise or that they possessed the power to change the trajectory of

¹⁶¹ See Sarah Cobb, *Speaking of Violence: The Politics and Poetics of Narrative in Conflict Resolution* (New York: Oxford, 2013), 106.

¹⁶² See Kathleen Grace Washburn, *Indigenous Modernity and the Making of Americans, 1890-1935* (Ph.D. diss.: University of California, Los Angeles, 2008), 213.

¹⁶³ Ibid, 214.

history. As noted by Teresa P.R. Caldiera, narrative typically tries to counter the disruption, or the counter-narratives, that can potentially emerge from violence.¹⁶⁴ In the decades that immediately followed the Massacre at Wounded Knee, white Americans continued to be presented with an overwhelming amount of evidence in forms as diverse as architecture, art, literature, scientific publications, and official government reports, that only reinforced their belief that Indians would very soon be nothing but a memory.

For instance, the government census information of 1903 helped to corroborate the belief that Indians constituted a vanishing race. In the pre-revolutionary days, American colonists on the East Coast had encountered many different Indian tribes and their populations were flourishing. However, according to the 1903 census, many Eastern states now counted among their populations just a handful of Indians. Maryland counted a population of only forty-four Indians, the District of Columbia twenty-five, and Delaware, four Indians. As the scholar Jean M. O'Brien describes in a book entitled *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England*, Indians were not actually vanishing on the East Coast, as the census data presented here suggests. Indians were still very much present; white Americans just denied them recognition as belonging to modernity.¹⁶⁵

In contrast to the 1903 census numbers for the East, it was only in the relatively unsettled spaces of the West that any significant populations of Indians were believed to still exist. The Arizona Territory was estimated to possess the largest population of Indians in the nation with 29,981 people counted, and the Alaska Territory followed closely behind.

¹⁶⁴ See Teresa P.R. Caldiera, *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation and Citizenship in São Paulo* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 34.

¹⁶⁵ See Jean M. O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2010).

California and New Mexico also represented areas heavily populated by Indians, with populations of 16,624 and 15, 044, respectively.¹⁶⁶ However, this information only reinforced the ideas of American civilization as depicted in Thomas Gast's 1872 painting *American Progress*. The march of civilization, as represented by Columbia and the western trailblazers who followed in her wake, would occur as a trajectory that moved from East to West, like the sun's path across the sky. It would also be a slow and successive process.

A sculpture displayed at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago demonstrates the continuity in the narrative of the myth of the vanishing Indian in the years immediately following the Massacre at Wounded Knee. Executed by the sculptor Alexander Phimister Proctor, the statue was of a Sioux Indian scout mounted on horseback.¹⁶⁷ At the fair, the sculpture was located to the front of the Transportation Building as designed by Chicago architect Louis Sullivan with assistance from junior members of his firm, such as Frank Lloyd Wright (**Fig. 4.31**). The sculpture was also immediately adjacent to the Mining Building, as is shown in a more detailed photograph of Proctor's Indian scout as also located in situ at the fairgrounds (**Fig. 4.32**).

As the historian Robert Rydell explores in great depth in his book *All The World's A Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916*, the architecture of the primary area of the fairgrounds, which was known as the White City, was fairly unified in its architectural expression by design. The architects Daniel H. Burnham and John W. Root

¹⁶⁶ This census information is as published in Thomas F. Barnes, ed., "The Remnant," *The Papoose*, April 1903, 24.

¹⁶⁷ The statue was modeled directly upon a Sioux Indian who performed in Buffalo Bill's Wild West show, which was staged right outside of the exposition fairgrounds. See Joseph M. Di Cola and David Stone, *Chicago's 1893 World' Fair* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2012), 105, and Wayne Craven, *Sculpture in America* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1984), 517.

oversaw its planning and, by and large, the major buildings were Beaux-Arts style and constructed of staff painted white to resemble marble. The White City was intended to represent a vision of an ideal city, or dream city, to American fairgoers. It was also intended to illustrate for them "the steps of progress of civilization and its arts in successive centuries, and in all lands up to the present time."¹⁶⁸

At the exposition, both the Transportation Building and the Mining Building worked to convey civilization to fairgoers in the exterior architecture of their facades. Sullivan chose to depart from the Beaux-Arts style with a polychromatic scheme, as he did not feel that the Beaux-Arts style properly represented the modern era of industry and scientific achievement, while the Mining Building adhered to the architectural scheme used elsewhere within the White City.¹⁶⁹ To their interiors, both buildings were believed by fair organizers to showcase the nation's progress. The Transportation Building featured displays related to the nineteenth century's greatest innovation in transportation, the train, as well as new fads, such as the bicycle. The Mining building displayed the productive potential of the landscape, and in particular, western lands. One way that this was signified to fairgoers was a sculpture of a cowboy, also executed by Alexander Phimister Proctor, which was located in close proximity to it as located at the very southern end of the Transportation Building.

Proctor's Indian Scout, however, was not intended to illustrate civilization and progress, as represented to the fairgoers in the Transportation and Mining Buildings, as well as the larger White City in which they were ensconced. Instead, the sculpture was supposed to heighten for fairgoers these associations by providing a counterpoint to it. The Indian

¹⁶⁸ See Robert Rydell, *All The World's A Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 45.

¹⁶⁹ See Di Cola and Stone, *Chicago's 1893 World' Fair*, 34.

scout faced away from the two buildings that framed it to its rear and right side and, instead, towards the waters of a man-made lagoon. This lagoon featured an island in the middle, called the Wooded Island. The designers of the densely planted land formation, such as Frederick Law Olmsted, intended it to simulate a small wilderness reserve within the White City.¹⁷⁰ To this end, the many bridges that led to the island featured sculptures of “native American animals” such as bison, panthers, grizzly bears, elk, and moose. Proctor and the sculptor, Edward Kemeys, executed them.¹⁷¹

As located in front of the Transportation Building, the Indian scout holds his hand up over his eyes, as if shielding them from the light of the sun in order to better see what dangers lie upon the horizon. What he sees there is unknown to the viewer; conceivably, it could be advancing soldiers of the U.S. Army, the allegorical “star of empire” of an advancing Columbia in her march of civilization, or the headlamp of an advancing train. The Indian scout’s face betrays little emotion; it appears stoic. However, Procter was successful

¹⁷⁰ As architectural historian Thomas S. Hines describes, the Wooded Island would have represented a wilderness to an even greater extent if Theodore Roosevelt had been fully successful in his lobbying efforts. Roosevelt, a member of many men’s’ sporting clubs including the Boone and Crocket, a large-game hunting club, had actively lobbied the lead designer of the White City, architect Daniel Burnham, to establish a “model hunting camp” on the island. However, Frederick Law Olmsted, the landscape designer for the fair, did not want a permanent building erected on the island as a hunting cabin. He would only allow Roosevelt to erect some tents, a campground, and some horses there. According to Hines, these conditions did not satisfy Roosevelt, and by the spring of 1892, the idea of a model hunting camp died. Instead, the space of the Wooded Island was awarded to the Japanese government to build a small pavilion, the Ho-o-den. However, Roosevelt was partially successful in his lobbying efforts; he managed to get sculptors, Alexander Phimister Proctor and Edward Kemeys, to create sculptures representing wilderness for all of the bridges to the island. See Thomas S. Hines, *Burnham of Chicago: Architect and Planner* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 108-109 and Douglas Brinkley, *The Wilderness Warrior: Theodore Roosevelt and the Crusade for America* (New York: Harper, 2009), 257.

¹⁷¹ For the fact that these sculptures were conceived at the turn of the century as representing “native American animals,” see Lorado Taft, *A History of American Sculpture* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1903), 477. For more on the animal sculptures as executed by Proctor and Kemeys, see also “Chicago and the West,” *Forest and Stream: A Weekly Journal of the Rod and Gun: Angling, Shooting, the Kennel, Practical Natural History, Fishculture, Yachting and Canoeing and the Inculcation in Men and Women of a Healthy Interest in Outdoor Recreation and Study*, 6 July 1895, 8; Douglas Brinkley, *The Wilderness Warrior: Theodore Roosevelt and the Crusade for America* (New York: Harper, 2009), 257; and James B. Trefethen, *An American Crusade for Wildlife* (New York: Winchester Press, 1975), 22.

in anthropomorphizing the face of the Indian scout's horse, and this registers the emotions that the scout's do not betray. The horse rears its head into the air, and as it does, its gaping mouth curls downward at the corners, making it look as if it is crying out in sheer terror at what it, too, sees approaching on the horizon. As presented at the 1893 World's Columbian exposition, the message conveyed to white American fairgoers was still the same as it was two decades previously as presented in John Gast's *American Progress*.

For the majority of white Americans at the turn of the century, then, the Indian was not considered an important constituent of the citizenry in a cosmopolitan nation, the one described as the ideal by the architect Charles Collins in *American Architect and Building News*. Instead, for most, Vere O. Wallingford's position, as delineated in 1906 within the pages of *Architectural Record*, was more apt. The narrative of Manifest Destiny first developed in the mid-nineteenth century would persist in holding its power into the twentieth. The Star of Empire would *be too much* for the Indian, who would simply vanish as if into the sea. Therefore, if anything were to be saved of Indian culture, many white Americans thought, it was time to begin salvaging remnants.

Chapter Five—

Building American Character at the University of New Mexico: Playing Indian as Evolutionary Recapitulation

A New-Old Style at the University of New Mexico

In June 1906, the writer V.O Wallingford had proposed within the pages of *Architectural Record* that perhaps the Pueblo Style architecture then being constructed at the University of New Mexico could perhaps serve as a model for “A Type of Original American Architecture.”¹ At that point in time, the University of New Mexico was undergoing a rather extensive building campaign. One year earlier, in June 1905, the university’s Board of Regents had approved plans for the construction of the first Pueblo Revival Style building on campus, a new central steam heating plant, which was soon constructed. In 1906, the construction of four more Pueblo Revival Style buildings would follow in quick succession: two dormitory buildings, the university president’s house, and a fraternity building.²

Nor was this anticipated to be the end of the university’s Pueblo Revival Style building campaign. Instead, as described in the recent master plan for the university, the campus would continue to develop along similar lines in the future. The master plan described the vision for future development as follows:

The existing laboratories and halls will be remodeled along pueblo lines and all the new buildings will follow the same style. Two immense, irregular rectangles, each a model of a complete communal city, will face each other across a fifty-foot tree-lined avenue. Each of these rectangles will consist of about six buildings, so connected that when the whole is finished it will appear to be one building. At the back of the

¹ See Vere O. Wallingford, “A Type of Original American Architecture,” *Architectural Record* 19, no. 1 (June 1906), 467- 469.

² See Van Dorner Hooker, Melissa Howard, and V.B. Price, *Only in New Mexico: An Architectural History of the University of New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 17.

rectangle, the main building or highest part of the pueblo will be three stories and a half in height.³

As described in the master plan, when completely implemented, it was intended that all of the disparate building projects at the university would be woven into a cohesive whole. At that time, the university campus would appear to be one giant pueblo building, but as comprised of two separate communal cities “so connected and so built under one roof as to appear to be one village.”⁴

The pueblo city that thought to serve as a particular model for the campus development was the ancient pueblo village of Sikyatki as located, not in New Mexico, but in the north of the Arizona Territory. Ten years earlier, in 1895, the archaeologist Jesse Walter Fewkes, had issued a report to the Smithsonian on his excavations at this ancient site entitled *Archaeological Expedition to Arizona in 1895: Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report, 1895-1896*. The site was located in close proximity to the inhabited pueblo villages of the Hopi Indians built on the mesas, such as Walpi and Oraibi. The ruins at Sikyatki, however, were located at the base of the mesa upon which Walpi was located, and it was said of the ruins that they once had “presented the appearance, at a distance, of a huge pyramid.”⁵ When the University of New Mexico campus was fully completed, it was intended to resemble Sikyatki in its form.

An architect named Edward B. Christy was selected to design each of the new buildings. However, it was the university’s new president, Dr. William George Tight, who

³ See John Kessel, *The Missions of New Mexico Since 1776* (Albuquerque: Published for the Cultural Properties Review Committee by the University of New Mexico Press, 1980), 25.

⁴ See Ramon Jurado, “Prehistoric Home for New University,” *The Technical World Magazine* 11, no. 1 (March, 1909), 370.

⁵ Ibid.

was really the driving force behind the university's Pueblo Revival Style building campaign, and it was he who initially conceived of the idea that this style of architecture could function as "a new-old style which would make the University of New Mexico absolutely distinctive in college architecture the world over" (**Fig. 5.1**).⁶ Within several years of his arrival to the university, Tight quickly initiated efforts to steer campus construction efforts away from what he perceived to be an Eastern mode of development and towards a style based upon pueblo architecture.⁷

Tight had arrived to Albuquerque in 1901 from Ohio, where he had most recently lived. Prior to this, Tight pursued special studies at Harvard University from 1888 to 1893, and he had received his doctorate recently from the University of Chicago.⁸ When he arrived to Albuquerque in 1901, it was a small town located along the tracks of the Santa Fe Railway. However, its population was quickly growing. Between 1880 and 1900, it increased threefold from 2,315 to 6,238 people (**Fig. 5.2**). In response to this growth, in 1889, the University of New Mexico was founded and the site selected for it was upon a mesa located two miles outside of town.

Therefore, by the time of Dr. Tight's arrival, the campus already possessed several buildings (**Fig. 5.3**). The most substantial of these, and the university's first building, was the Main Building. This was completed in 1892 (**Figs. 5.4**). It was two and one-half stories tall and constructed of red brick with a light sandstone trim. It featured a steeply pitched hipped roof with a front-facing gable, and a large cornice with a neo-classical dentil molding

⁶ See Kessel, *The Missions of New Mexico Since 1776*, 24.

⁷ See William E. Davis, *Miracle on the Mesa: A History of the University of New Mexico, 1889-2003* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press for the Office of the President, 2006), 53.

⁸ *Ibid*, 54.

terminated the top of the wall. The building also had a rusticated stone foundation, and a large rounded arch appeared to spring from the foundation at its entry. The basement and first story level had rectangular double-hung windows, while the second floor and the small attic in the gable had window openings that were rounded at top. Like many buildings constructed across the West in the late nineteenth century, the Main Building was also decidedly based upon an Eastern precedent, the Richardsonian Romanesque style.⁹

That the Main Building for this university campus, as located on a dusty mesa in the Southwest, was based upon an Eastern precedent is not at all surprising, as described in earlier chapters. However, Tight's arrival to the University of New Mexico is also important in that by the turn of the century, the regional consciousness not only was arriving to the Southwest from architectural firms located in the Northeast, such a consciousness was also quickly developing in many other Americans, too, such as those who could commission or otherwise direct building campaigns.¹⁰

Dr. Tight was trained as a scientist—a geologist, to be exact—and he likely came by his regional consciousness through his reading habits. From his previous locations in the East, he took a keen interest in the scientific studies on Pueblo architecture being conducted in the Southwest, such as those of the Smithsonian Institution. As previously discussed, these were studies such as those of Cosmos and Victor Mindeleff, who had first begun to study pueblo architecture in the mid-1880s. However, by the turn of the century, the Mindeleffs' work was also reaching a much broader audience, too. For instance, in 1897, Cosmos Mindeleff published articles on his work in the pueblos for the Boston-based

⁹ See Davis, *Miracle on the Mesa*, 19-21.

¹⁰ See Longstreth, *On the Edge of the World*, 28-29.

magazine *American Architect and Building News*.¹¹ Therefore, it is quite possible that Dr. T'ight was influenced by more popular articles such as this one in the development of his regional consciousness. One of the scientific studies on pueblo architecture in which Dr. T'ight is known to have been particularly interested is that of the anthropologist and archaeologist, Jesse Walter Fewkes.¹² However, upon T'ight's arrival to the Southwest, he tried to make himself more familiar with the pueblos than simply reading Fewkes' detailed reports would allow by actually making visits to them.

In 1909, a writer named Ramon Jurado would describe what he believed to be Dr. T'ight and Edward Christy's design intent in their plans for the campus development along the lines of pueblo architecture. This he would do in his article, "Prehistoric Home for New University" which was featured in *The Technical World Magazine*, a magazine devoted to the science of engineering. The article would describe the master plan for the university in some detail, as well as some of the buildings recently constructed, and it would be illustrated with many photographs. Too, it is quite likely that Jurado was provided with some kind of official tour of the university, so it can be reasonably assumed that T'ight, Christy, or another university administrator provided to him some of the verbiage that he used in his article. There he explained to his readers that the new university design was intended "to perpetuate for all of time the architecture of a dying race" and "to preserve for all of the archaeologists, anthropologists and ethnologists of future generations types of buildings which were evolved by the first dwellers on the great American desert."¹³ In his article, Jurado also commented

¹¹ See Daniel Noah Moses, *The Promise of Progress: The Life of Lewis Henry Morgan* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2009), 75

¹² See Kessel, *The Missions of New Mexico Since 1776*, 24.

¹³ See Jurado, "Prehistoric Home for New University," 368.

upon who exactly was conceived to be the direct beneficiaries of this architectural legacy. It would be “the pale-face student of the Southwest who seems to take as kindly to the cool-in summer, warm-in-winter type of architecture as his more pigmented step-brother of several centuries ago.”¹⁴

The first building constructed as part of Dr. Tigh’s building campaign, the central plant, housed the modern steam heat equipment for the entire university (**Fig. 5.5**). It was built of conventional brick, but this was covered with a coat of rough cement that was intended by its designer to exactly counterfeit “the stone-adobe construction of the original pueblos.”¹⁵ To its exterior, the heating plant very much resembled a pueblo dwelling. It had a tiered massing, simple planar walls punctuated only by thick rounded buttresses on its sides, punched window openings, and *cañales*, or roof drainage pipes, at the level of the roof. It featured a stepping motif upon its parapet that was reiterated on a projecting wing wall that helped to define an entry to the building. The heating plant’s design also suggested that it was the product of several different building campaigns, even though it was constructed in only one. For example, to the left of the entry was a small wing that appeared to be an addition, as did, too, an exterior porch that extended from a thick vertical party wall at the second story level. It is quite likely that this porch didn’t serve any practical purpose for the steam plant, other than providing access to the roof for maintenance. However, the total effect of the building’s massing worked to suggest the way an Indian pueblo residence would grow over time through an additive process.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ See Kessel, *The Missions of New Mexico since 1776*, 24.

The central heating plant project was followed shortly, in 1906, by the construction of two separate dormitory buildings (**Fig. 5.6**). These were very similar to one another in appearance. Each building was two stories in height at its center. Like the central heating plant, both dormitories possessed tiered massings so that they appeared to be the product of multiple building campaigns, rather than just one. Lower one-story masses flanked each two-story volume. Also like the central heating plant, each dormitory building featured simple planar walls, rounded buttresses, punched window openings, and flat roofs with *cañales*. Each dormitory building also featured a broad sun porch at each level of the building. It is also quite likely that these porches, unlike the one featured on the central heating plant, were intended to be functional. They would provide the students who lived within them easy access at all times to the out-of-doors.

Located upon the very top roof of each building on the very top of each dormitory was a rounded mass that resembled a *horno*, the outdoor ovens especially associated with the Pueblo Indians of Northern New Mexico, such as the Zuñi. These ovens are particularly distinctive for their shape, for they resemble beehives. The Pueblo Indians of northern New Mexico use hornos to make a black bread (**Fig. 5.7**). However, in pueblos, these ovens are not placed on the roofs, where they might present a fire hazard to the building's occupants. Instead, they are typically located on the ground in the large outdoor plazas characteristic of many pueblos. However, at the University of New Mexico, the hornos featured on the dormitory roofs were not intended for baking bread. Instead, as was reported in 1907 in a national news magazine, *The World's Work*, the hornos featured on the roofs of the dormitories concealed water tanks. These were conceived of as “novel sun-heater[s]” to

provide hot water for the bathrooms below them.”¹⁶ However, when the sun was “off-duty” or too many students were in need of water at once, the dormitories were also connected to the central steam heating plant.¹⁷ Hot water, as provided to students, would never run in short supply.

Despite the Hopi names given to the dormitories and the hornos featured on their roofs, the 1907 article featured in *The World's Work* also stressed that the University of New Mexico's new campus buildings were intended to be modeled directly upon the ancient pueblos and not upon the “modern pueblo of Arizona and New Mexico with its mixture of Spanish types.” By the turn of the twentieth century, anthropologists and archaeologists working on documenting the architecture of the pueblos, like Jesse Fewkes, knew very well that the pueblos demonstrated a synthesis of cultures. They could readily observe the influence of the Spanish in the pueblos. This was particularly true in northern New Mexico, where the Spanish had gained a stronger foothold in establishing settlements than in Northern Arizona. For example, the Pueblo Indians acquired building practices such as applying whitewash to their buildings from the Spanish.¹⁸ Too, after what was known as the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, in which the pueblo tribes of Northern New Mexico rose up against the Spanish missionaries who dominated them and drove them out, some Spanish mission churches were destroyed. Elements of the mission churches, such as the heavy hand-hewn beams called *vigas*—which were often the handiwork of the Pueblo Indians who supplied the

¹⁶ See Kessel, *The Missions of New Mexico Since 1776*, 24.

¹⁷ See Jurado, “Prehistoric Home for New University,” 372.

¹⁸ For the fact that Americans at the turn of the century were well aware of the practice of whitewashing as one of Spanish influence, see Victor Mindeleff, “A Study of Pueblo Architecture: Tusayan and Cibola,” in *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology 1886-'87*, ed. J.W. Powell (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891), 143-144. The practice of whitewashing by the Hopi is also noted in a contemporary piece of scholarship. See Catherine M. Cameron, *Hopi Dwellings: Architecture at Oraibi* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1999), 30.

labor in building the missions—were often salvaged and then incorporated into the construction of their own pueblo homes.

However, in hearkening back to the ancient pueblos, rather than the modern ones, such cultural hybridity was eschewed actively in the building campaign at the University of New Mexico. Nonetheless, the author of the article on the university buildings featured in *The World's Work* did concede, however, that the dormitories style did display some evidence of the Spanish influence. It said that “the capitals of some of the wooden pillars” were “copied from those of the old San Miguel church in Santa Fé.”¹⁹ Too, also evidencing the Spanish influence, the author thought, was the employment in the dormitories of heavy wall buttresses.

The two dormitories constructed at the university were intended to segregate its student body by sex in its provision of living accommodations, for both male and female students were in attendance there. The men’s dormitory was given the name Kwataka, and the women’s dormitory the name Hokona. Like the architecture of the dormitories, themselves, the inspiration for their names were the scientific reports from anthropologists conducted for the Smithsonian. For example, in Jesse Walter Fewkes’ report entitled *Archaeological Expedition to Arizona in 1895: Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report, 1895-1896*, he recounted some Hopi folklore. There, he described how Kwataka meant “man-eagle” in the Hopi language. He also described how Kwataka was a dreaded supernatural being among the Hopi, a winged monster who destroyed many pueblos. According to

¹⁹ See Kessel, *The Missions of New Mexico since 1776*, 25.

Fewkes, Kwataka offered a parallel to the many semi-deities of Greek mythology. For the Hopi, he said, Kwataka was considered the most powerful god of war.²⁰

According to the university, the name bestowed upon the women's dormitory—Hokona—meant “butterfly maiden” in the Hopi language. She was said to be a symbol of purity and beauty.²¹ However, in reality, Hokona literally translated to “butterfly virgin” in Hopi, or at least that is how it was described in another scientific ethnological report of the Smithsonian.²² This name derived from the fact that young women in Hopi culture typically wore their hair in two large whorls, one above each ear. The hairstyle very much resembled the wings of a butterfly as mounted upon the head of its wearer, and young Hopi women wore this hairstyle to signify their status within their villages as unmarried (**Fig. 5.8**).

The names bestowed upon the sex-segregated dormitories at the University of New Mexico appear significant, for they were hardly the only words from the Hopi language available to Dr. Tipton or other administrators to choose. As appropriated by the university, they were likely intended to convey to the students who lived within them their roles at the university while they were in attendance there. The imagery of Kwataka on the young men's dormitory suggested that they should mold themselves into powerful and ferocious warriors. This would prepare them to enter the world of business and industry that undoubtedly comprised the future for many of them in their adulthood. The significance of the butterfly virgin as the name for the women's dormitory was likely intended to reinforce for women students the importance of chastity in their time at the university. As Hokona was also a

²⁰ See Jesse Fewkes, *Archaeological Expedition to Arizona in 1895: Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report, 1895-1896* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1896), 127.

²¹ See Jurado, “Prehistoric Home for New University,” 370.

²² See J. W. Powell, *Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1900-1901* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), 104.

symbol of unmarried status, it also served to reinforce that marriage was anticipated to become a central event in female students' transition into adulthood.

To their interiors, the dormitories at the University of New Mexico were modeled on standard American building prototypes. They were arranged in repetitive units of two bedrooms with a shared study, as typical of many university dormitory buildings across the nation. The interiors were rendered very simply in terms of their finishes. Decorative plaster moldings were eschewed in favor of plain, plaster coated walls, and these somewhat resembled the plain, whitewashed walls that characterized the interiors of many pueblo living spaces.

It appears that by the turn of the twentieth century, some white Americans considered the interiors of pueblos, not just the exteriors, to have an attractive appearance. For example, by 1911, photographic postcards of a "typical" Hopi interior were distributed in the United States, and it is quite likely the image appealed to many of those who were in receipt of it. The room's unseen owner demonstrated a careful deliberation in the placement of objects within the room. A blanket, no longer in use, hung from a wood sapling embedded in the plaster wall. A rectangular niche in the corner of the room provided ample space for a carefully stacked pile of firewood. High upon the wall, adjacent to the blanket, was a shelf-like niche that provided display space for objects such as pottery. The space looked spare, functional, and utilitarian, as well as bright, clean, and tidy (**Fig. 5.9**).

Many photographs of Hopi interiors from this period demonstrate that such an interior was not atypical of the pueblos. However, the Hopi interior featured on the 1911 photographic postcard also reflected, to a large extent, the personal idiosyncrasies of the room's occupant. Such an aesthetic is, therefore, not easily replicated. This lesson however,

was somewhat lost on Dr. Tight. Instead, he attempted to convey to students that the interior spaces of the dormitory were Indian through elaborate decorative paint schemes, which he and an English teacher named Miss Ethel Hickey painted upon the walls (**Fig. 5.10**). Many of the design motifs likely were lifted straight from photographs and sketches of Pueblo Indian pictographs and sand paintings as presented in the reports of Jesse Fewkes and other anthropologists to the Smithsonian. In the dormitory buildings, in addition to the decorative paint stencils, Tight and Hickey also hung curtains in each dormitory room that they conceived of as Indian in their design. Many rooms also featured light sconces in the shape of a reverse swastika, a religious symbol often found in the ceremonial sand paintings of the Hopi.²³

It was these dormitory buildings that Tight and Christy conceived as forming the building blocks for the university's future development (**Fig. 5.11**). Eventually, they hoped to place a one-story L-shaped wing adjacent to each of the dormitory buildings. These wings would help to define two distinct u-shaped blocks. Each block would form its own "communal city"—one for the university's male students, the other for its female ones. To the interior of each communal city would be a spacious "patio or placita...devoted to flowers and foliage plants indigenous to the desert."²⁴ While Tight and Christy conceived of the ancient pueblo of Sikyatki as the primary model for the development of the university campus, the pueblos of northern Arizona and New Mexico provided some minor inspiration, too. To the exterior of each building complex "winding, walled stairways [would] lead up the outside of these buildings, seeming like the sinuous carved trails that give

²³ See Davis, *Miracle on the Mesa*, 53.

²⁴ See Jurado, "Prehistoric Home for New University," 370.

access to the lofty mesas on which are situated the pueblos of Hualpi and Acoma” (Fig. 5.12).²⁵

As described by the master plan for the university, the two communal cities that each dormitory was to become also were intended to eventually adjoin a central building, a new Administration Building, which would work to unite the entire complex as one large communal pueblo. This building would house facilities used by the entire university, faculty and students, alike. It would include rooms such as a kitchen, a dining room, laundry, and storerooms. This building would be the highest structure of the university complex, as it would be three and one-half stories tall and seventy feet in height. All of the lower building wings would appear to grade down around this central building. In so doing, the campus would then resemble the huge pyramid at Sikyatki as described by Jesse Fewkes in his report to the Smithsonian.

One aspect of the pueblos that fascinated many Americans at the turn of the century, including Tight and Christy, was the way in which pueblos functioned as communal housing. In the pueblos, multiple families lived in close proximity to one another in a single building, rather than in individual free-standing houses, and Christy reputedly spent some time making “a personal study of the pueblo communal houses before beginning work on the educational institution’s home.”²⁶ Although there is no indication that Tight or Christy ever directly alluded to it, it appears that both men were also inspired by Eastern precedents for universities in the layout of the campus, such as Thomas Jefferson’s academical village at the University of Virginia.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

The central building for which they planned, as the highest building on campus, was similar in conception to the rotunda around which Jefferson's academical village centered. Jefferson's rotunda, modeled on the Pantheon in Rome, functioned as a library and, it was intended as the symbolic nexus of an ideal community of scholars, with students and faculty living and learning in building wings flanking it. Like that academical village, Tight's village would be centered on a building serving a communal function and it would be immediately flanked by dormitory housing for students. The "sinuous carved trails" of walled stairways that ascended the exteriors of the dormitory buildings, with their l-shaped configurations and stepped vertical planes were, if not a conscious summoning of the serpentine walls that enclosed gardens at the University of Virginia, at least evocative of them in their description **(Fig. 5.12)**.

Unlike Jefferson's academical village, however, Tight's university of scholars was designed to be co-educational. Therefore, rather than the building that formed the central apex of campus opening onto a shared outdoor living space, a lawn, the main axis would be a broad tree lined avenue that further emphasized the complex as divided into two separate but equal communal cities. The lower slung dormitory wings would each open onto what was the equivalent of their own lawn, one for "man-eagles" and the other for the "butterfly maidens." At the time that Tight and Christy's vision for the university was fully realized, it would be a sex-segregated academical village clothed as one enormous communal pueblo.

In an effort to more fully realize this vision, in the same year as the dormitories were constructed, in 1906, the university president's own house was erected upon campus in the pueblo style **(Fig. 5.13)**. It was very similar in its appearance and construction to the student dormitories, only smaller. Like the dormitories, Dr. Tight's house was also freestanding, and

it is unknown whether he intended that eventually the house would become part of the one large communal pueblo that he and Christy envisioned. This is because the master plan for the university, as envisioned by the two men, would never be fully implemented.

Instead, the architectural development of the university would be cut short quite abruptly. In 1909, eight years after his arrival at the university, Dr. Tight would be dismissed from his post as the university's president without warning, and he would die shortly thereafter. One close friend of Tight, a Professor John Clark, referred to his dismissal as "one of those eruptions so volcano-like in its severity and all too common in state institutions in the West."²⁷ According to several historians, Tight's dismissal certainly could have revolved around his plans for the university's architectural development.²⁸

Some people believed that the university president was visionary in his plans for the university, such the writer Ramon Jurado who published an article on the university building program in June 1909 in *Technical World Magazine*. Jurado called it the "most remarkable campaign of building ever undertaken by any individual or corporation since white men came to the New World."²⁹ Others, however, were not so enthusiastic. There were many townspeople in Albuquerque who viewed Dr. Tight's vision for the university to be seriously retrograde. As the historian Marc Simmons writes, "It was in the design of new buildings...that President Tight chalked up his greatest achievement, and at the same time unexpectedly touched off an avalanche of public criticism....Citizens of Albuquerque had watched with undisguised alarm while the university head indulged his fancy for maverick

²⁷ See Davis, *Miracle on the Mesa*, 75.

²⁸ Ibid. See also Marc Simmons, *Albuquerque: A Narrative History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 316.

²⁹ See Jurado, "Prehistoric Home for New University," 268. See also Kessel, *The Missions of New Mexico since 1776*, 26.

architecture—"a reversion to the primitive," many called it.³⁰ As a clear example of the contempt with which many Albuquerque residents held Tight's vision of the development of the university, the historian John Kessel cites one resident who commented that, "If you are to be consistent, the President and faculty should wear Indian blankets around their shoulders and feathered coverings upon the heads!"³¹

Whether Tight's dismissal was actually over the architectural development of the university, or whether it merely provided a touchstone is unknown with any certainty, for the controversy over the campus design represented only one of several firestorms in which he became enmeshed in his last year at the university.³² The Board of Regents was also upset with his termination of two faculty members without their consultation, the suspension of a student, and concern was expressed over the propriety of him taking a female faculty member on buggy rides. A whispering campaign also surfaced regarding the occasion of his divorce from his wife in December 1905 and his remarriage three years later in June 1906.³³ Nonetheless, whatever the true reason for Tight's dismissal from the university, his penchant for pueblo architecture became an important point around which both his supporters and detractors rallied.

A "Reversion to the Primitive": Barbaric Youth, American Manhood, and Recapitulation Theory

As previously described, in 1909, the writer Ramon Jurado described "the pale-face student of the Southwest" as the direct beneficiary of Dr. Tight's campus architecture, and

³⁰ See Simmons, *Albuquerque*, 316.

³¹ See Kessel, *The Missions of New Mexico Since 1776*, 26.

³² See Davis, *Miracle on the Mesa*, 75.

³³ *Ibid.*, 74-5.

he contrasted this student to “his more pigmented step-brother of several centuries ago.”³⁴

This statement is particularly revealing when one considers it in the context of one of the last buildings in Dr. Tight’s building campaign at the university. It offers especially compelling evidence of exactly what lay at the heart of Dr. Tight’s educational philosophy and why some residents in Albuquerque were absolutely correct, in one sense, in their allegations that the campus represented a reversion to the primitive.

This was a Pueblo Revival Style building for a student fraternity called the Tri-Alphas as constructed in 1906 (**Fig. 5.14**). The fraternity building was particularly unique in the university’s building campaign to refashion its image along pueblo lines. Unlike the previous buildings, it was not made out of conventional brick covered in concrete. Instead, it was made out of adobe brick. Also dissimilar to the other buildings, it was rendered with a high degree of archeological precision, at least to its exterior. It was modeled specifically upon an estufa at the pueblo of San Ildefonso located in northern New Mexico (**Fig. 5.15**). Also setting the building apart from others on campus was its construction process. It was not built by a building contractor, as was most certainly the case with the central steam heating plant and the dormitories. Members of the Tri-Alpha fraternity built it, and Dr. Tight personally taught them how to mold the adobe mud bricks and build the walls.³⁵

As described by the anthropologist and archeologist Jesse Fewkes in a 1908 article for *American Anthropologist*, the terms “estufa” and “kiva” were considered somewhat interchangeable at the turn of the twentieth century. There he wrote as follows: “The special chamber set aside by Pueblo Indians for ceremonial purposes was called by the early Spanish

³⁴ See Jurado, “Prehistoric Home for the New University,” 368.

³⁵ See Davis, *Miracle on the Mesa*, 53. See also “Pi Kappa Alpha’s Myths and Legends: Mysteries of the Estufa,” *Shield and Diamond* (Summer 2006), 23.

discoverers an *estufa*, or stove, a name no doubt suggested by the great heat of the room when occupied. An *estufa* is commonly designated by the Hopi Indians a *kiva*, a term which is rapidly replacing the older name. It is found that prehistoric ruins as well as modern pueblos have *kivas* and that specialized rooms of this kind likewise exist in cliff dwellings.”³⁶ Today, as was suggested by Fewkes, *kiva* is the word that is typically used to describe the ceremonial room in which the typically male medicine men and shamans of Pueblo Indian tribes gathered to perform secret rites, often in preparation for a sacred dance to be held in the public plaza of the pueblo. However, since the fraternity constructed at the University of New Mexico was called an *estufa*, rather than a *kiva*, both names will continue to be used interchangeably here for the sake of clarity.

Estufas, or *kivas*, could be constructed in a variety of ways among the different Pueblo Indian tribes of the Southwest, both ancient and modern.³⁷ However, they were all circular in shape. Frequently, as at the ancient pueblo site of Puyé or Pueblo Bonito, they were rooms that were completely subterranean. This was also the case at the modern pueblo of Taos, New Mexico (**Fig. 5.16**). Sometimes, the *kivas* were only partially submerged into the ground (**Fig. 5.17**). The *estufa* at the pueblo of San Ildefonso, upon which the fraternity at the University of New Mexico was modeled, was built above ground. What all of these *kivas* shared in common, besides their circular shape, was their sacred function and use by a particular Pueblo Indian clan, or what American anthropologists in the late nineteenth century also called a “fraternity.”

³⁶ See Jesse Walter Fewkes, “Ventilators in Ceremonial Rooms as Prehistoric Cliff-Dwellings,” *American Anthropologist* 10, no. 3 (July-Sept. 1908), 387-398.

At the turn of the century, anthropologists such as Fewkes were still working to untangle the exact uses and the meanings of the estufa by Pueblo Indian fraternities. However, it was also a space with which many Americans were becoming increasingly familiar through the writings of people such as Charles Lummis. Even if they had never seen or experienced an estufa themselves, many had read descriptions of them or seen photographs and drawings of them. For instance, in 1892, Lummis had described the space of the estufa to the American reading public in somewhat precise detail in his popular book *Strange Corners of Our Country: The Wonderland of the Southwest*. There he described it as follows:

The estufa is a building by itself, round and low, with a diameter of from forty to fifty feet. It has no doors in the sides, but is reached by ladders from ground to roof, and from the roof by another ladder through a trap door to the interior. The interior of the estufa is a plain, circular room, with walls bare, save for a few antlers and rude paintings of sacred animals.³⁸

As an architectural description of an estufa, Lummis's writing was evocative, and he was just as explicit about the activities that supposedly transpired within the space. He described how the estufa was a place of "punctilious etiquette" and "utmost sacredness" where male warriors of the Pueblo tribe gathered for periods of self-purification following a successful battle. He also said it was where the Pueblo Indians carried the scalps of their foes. According to Lummis, a sacred fire was featured in the middle of the interior space. There, the cacique, or chief of the tribe, sat on the west side of the estufa while his first assistant sat opposite to him on the east, and all of the "acolytes" filled in between them to both sides in semi-circles. According to Lummis, Pueblo Indians fasted, smoked, and sang "man songs" for days in the space of the estufa, before they finally emerged into the public plaza to dance

³⁸ See Charles Fletcher Lummis, *Some Strange Corners of our Country: the Wonderland of the Southwest* (New York: The Century Company, 1898), 239.

with Pueblo Indian women what he called the “Mad Dance,” which he said commemorated their victory in battle.³⁹

In 1900, a popular American periodical, *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, *The American Magazine*, also described to white American readers the activities supposedly conducted in an estufa in an article entitled “The Estufa, The Religious ‘Gas-Works’ of the Pueblo Indian.” There, the author, Marion Hill, described to readers how the Pueblo Indians conceived of the estufa as a sacred religious space parallel in function to a chapel, or a “holy of holies.”⁴⁰ The writer, however, did not place much credence in this as a valid religious belief, for Hill proceeded to describe how the rounded shape of an estufa could not help but to conjure for white Americans the image of a gas-tank. This irreverent association, the writer thought, was fitting. Hill went on to describe how the estufa could be considered a space in which residuals of savagery, witchery and heathenism still existed amongst the Pueblo Indian people. The writer also acknowledged cognizance of the fact that many Americans considered the Pueblo Indian to be a house-owner, an agriculturalist and a law-abiding and gentle citizen. For Hill, however, the estufa was clear and convincing evidence that the Pueblo Indians were not as civilized as others might be led to think. Hill’s opinion was that the estufa clearly represented a “temple of sin.”⁴¹

Unknown is whether Dr. Tight agreed with writers such as Charles Lummis that the estufa represented a space of the “utmost sacredness” or, like Marion Hill, a “temple of sin.” However, given his fascination with the pueblos, he was probably aware of the competing

³⁹ See Lummis, *Some Strange Corners of Our Country*, 239.

⁴⁰ See Marion Hill, “The Estufa, The Religious ‘Gas-Works’ of the Pueblo Indian,” *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* 50 (Oct. 1906), 616.

⁴¹ Ibid.

discourses. It is quite possible, too, that Tight could have embraced both ideas regarding the nature of estufas simultaneously, despite their apparent incongruity, for reasons that will be explained shortly. Regardless, given all of the scientific research being generated at the turn of the twentieth century on both the fraternities of Pueblo Indians and their use of estufas, the choice to model the new fraternity building on an estufa must have seemed an almost obvious one, especially given the plans for the campus to be developed as a giant pueblo.

The Tri-Alpha's fraternity building, like the estufa at San Ildefonso upon which it was modeled, was a simple circular form broken only by a pair of wing walls. These walls contained between them a flight of stairs that ascended to the plane of the roof. It was only here, from the roof, that one could enter into the building by entering through a trap door and descending by ladder into the building's interior. This was comprised of a single room, oval in its configuration and approximately five hundred square feet in its size. Little else about the interior is known other than that it featured exposed rafters made out of timbers, just like the interior of a typical Pueblo estufa. As at the pueblo of San Ildefonso, the fraternity building contained no windows and no doors other than the trap door. This was appropriate to its function, for like the estufa, fraternity members conceived of the interior of the building as a sacred space in which would occur highly secret rituals.

The fraternity building provides an important clue as to the educational theory embraced by Dr. Tight, particularly in regard to his male students. However, here it is necessary for a moment to describe a little more about the members of the Tri-Alpha fraternity. Previous to Dr. Tight's arrival at the University of New Mexico in 1901, the Tri-Alphas were not yet established on campus as a formal organization. Instead, beginning in 1896, the members comprised an informal organization of male students that called

themselves the Yum-Yum Society (**Fig. 5.18**). They were considered the rowdiest boys on campus, and they had a reputation for bullying other students. Their name was one that they probably bestowed upon themselves, and it is believed to derive from the fact that one of the pranks that the Yum-Yum Society members were especially well-known for was stealing the lunches of other students. This they would do before gathering together at noon to eat underneath the few shade trees at the university.⁴²

Shortly after Dr. Tight arrived to the university, he worked to formalize the Yum-Yum Society into a more formal organization. In 1903, the members of the Yum-Yum Society became New Mexico's first fraternity, the Tri-Alphas.⁴³ In the following three years, Tight also worked to secure funds for the Tri-Alphas to build for themselves a meeting house, a fraternity building. According to Tri-Alpha fraternity lore, Tight's motivations for doing so somewhat derived from his own self-interest. Whether true or not, fraternity members perceived that the provision of the building carried with it an obligation that they would eventually agree to become an affiliate of Tight's own college fraternity, Phi Delta Theta.⁴⁴

A parallel group of women students also developed on the university's campus. They called themselves the Minnehaha Social Club, and after Tight's arrival, this club was also formalized. The Minnehahas became the Sigma Sigma Sorority.⁴⁵ What typical activities the female students engaged in is unknown, but that they conceived of themselves as the elite on campus is hinted at in the fact that the inspiration for the name of their social club was the

⁴² See "Pi Kappa Alpha's Myths and Legends," 21.

⁴³ See Davis, *Miracle on the Mesa*, 64.

⁴⁴ See "Pi Kappa Alpha's Myths and Legends," 22.

⁴⁵ See Davis, *Miracle on the Mesa*, 64.

fictional Indian princess, Minnehaha. She was the heroine in Henry Wadsworth's 1855 mythic poem *The Song of Hiawatha*. Tight, however, does not appear to have been as immediately invested in the development of the Sigma Sigmas as a campus organization as he was with the Tri-Alphas. While he worked to get funds for the Tri-Alphas to build a fraternity, the Sigma Sigmas were allotted space in the existing Administration building. There he arranged for a room to be "newly furnished" and re-papered in the sorority colors of green and white.⁴⁶

In 1939, a writer named Dorothy Belles Hughes would write a history of the University of New Mexico entitled *Pueblo on the Mesa: the First Fifty Years of the University of New Mexico*. There she describes in some detail Dr. Tight's attitude towards members of the Yum-Yum Society. Of the Yum-Yum Society, she would write as follows:

This group led "rather an exciting, intermittent, and precarious existence," according to its own members. Its exact purpose wasn't known "but the general impression is, that its principal object was the regulation and instigation of scientific 'rough-house.'" Dr. Tight turned this undirected scientific energy into a more worthy fraternity channel.⁴⁷

As Hughes account suggests, Dr. Tight did not wish to deter the Yum-Yum Society members in their rough-house play, he only meant to redirect it in a more positive direction. Dr. Tight's efforts to redirect the rambunctious energies of the Yum-Yum Society into a more formal organization, in which they undertook the building of their own estufa fraternity house, can be seen to represent the popular educational theory of childhood and youth development propounded by Granville Stanley Hall at the turn of the century.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ See Dorothy Belles Hughes, *Pueblo on the Mesa: the First Fifty Years of the University of New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1939), 63.

Whether Tight actually read Hall's work cannot be ascertained, but Hall's ideas were quite pervasive within education circles. As will be illustrated shortly, the entire campus development of the University of New Mexico reflected Hall's educational theory to some extent, but no single element quite as vividly as the estufa fraternity house.

Hall was the founder and president of Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts, and he was widely considered to be a guru of educational psychology as applied to children and adolescents. In 1904, one year prior to Dr. Tight's submission to the University of New Mexico's Board of Regents of his plans for a pueblo university, Hall published a book highly influential in both academic circles and the American public at large. This book was entitled *Youth: Its Education, Regimen and Hygiene*. In it, Hall articulated the "recapitulation theory of play," a theory for which he is considered the most important proponent in the United States.⁴⁸

Hall's work drew on that of the German biologist, Ernst Haeckel who, in 1866, first put forth the idea of evolutionary recapitulation. He postulated that the development of an organism exactly mirrors that of its ancestors.⁴⁹ Haeckel was studying invertebrates, such as sponges, but by the turn of the century his work was also providing the basis for explaining childhood development in the United States. Hall, in particular, combined Haeckel's theory of recapitulation with his own ideas about the importance of play for childhood development.

⁴⁸ The scholar Gail Bederman explores the work of Granville Stanley Hall in relation to the recapitulation theory of play in depth. See Gail Bederman, "Teaching Our Sons to Do What We Have Been Teaching the Savages to Avoid": G. Stanley Hall, Racial Recapitulation, and the Neurasthenic Paradox" in *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 95-101.

⁴⁹ Ernst Haeckel's theory of recapitulation was first articulated in his 1866 book *Generelle Morphologie der Organismen*. For more on Haeckel's work, see Robert J. Richards, *The Tragic Sense of Life: Ernst Haeckel and the Struggle Over Evolutionary Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2008), 148.

Hall, like many other Americans at the turn of the twentieth century, thought that American civilization was mired in a state of social and moral decay, and that this was leading to a crisis in American manhood. Hall's recapitulation theory of play sought to address this problem by focusing on the development of white American boys into adulthood. He argued that the successful transition to American manhood was marked by each individual male child undergoing in his own development each of the stages of human evolution in an abbreviated form. He believed that they did this through the activity of play. He postulated that through this activity, young boys first worked through the stage of savagery. Then, he thought, they entered the stage of barbarism as adolescents. Finally, as adults, they would enter the stage of civilization.

The problem, as Hall saw it, was that boys' natural evolutionary development was susceptible to circumvention. This would occur, he postulated, if they did not find an appropriate outlet for the full expression of each evolutionary stage. One significant factor that hindered these developmental processes from unfolding naturally, he thought, was that fathers were often too absent from the home. This was due to the constraints of their working lives providing for their families. He considered this to subject young boys to the undue influence of their mothers. Contained too long within the house and, particularly in the feminine social space of the parlor, a boy could develop into an effeminate "sissy."⁵⁰ This, Hall thought, was what eventually led to the crisis of American manhood.

Therefore, Hall thought that the strenuous life lived in the out-of-doors—where boys could fully experience being "savages" and, then, "barbarians"—was absolutely

⁵⁰ See Julia Grant, 'A Real Boy and Not a Sissy: Gender, Childhood and Masculinity, 1890-1940,' *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 4 (2004), 829-51.

essential in order for them to enter adulthood as men strong in body and mind. Only by fully recapitulating each stage in their development could they be born properly into the next one. For example, in his book *Youth: Its Education, Regimen and Hygiene*, Hall described this process as he wrote that, in play, “we rehearse the activities of our ancestors, back we know not how far, and repeat their life work in summaritive and adumbrated ways.”⁵¹ For Hall, the ideal situation for a young boy’s development was for him to engage in rough-house sports, such as football. He conceived of this sport, in particular, as recapitulating an ancient and primitive battle. If possible, it was also preferable for a boy’s father to actively participate in these activities with him.⁵²

Despite Hall’s emphasis on the importance of fathers in helping boys to properly recapitulate, the reality at the turn of the century was that many men simply needed to be absent from the American home for long periods of time in order to provide adequately for their families. Therefore, in recognition of this fact and in direct response to the ideas of early childhood development propounded by people such as Hall, social organizations developed to help fill the gap. These organizations often encouraged American boys to play Indian in order to properly recapitulate their savage ancestors.

For instance, in 1902, Ernest Seton Thompson established the League of Woodcraft Indians in Cos Cob, Connecticut. This he did after local schoolboys continually vandalized his property after he enclosed it with fencing. He had purchased the property, one hundred

⁵¹ See Granville Stanley Hall, *Youth: Its Education, Regimen and Hygiene, Volume 58* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1904), 68-74.

⁵² For more on Hall’s theory of recapitulation, see Benjamin Rader, “The Recapitulation Theory of Play: Motor Behavior: Moral Reflexes, and Manly Attitudes in Urban America, 1880-1920,” in *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, ed. J.A. Mangan and James Walvin, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 123-34. See also Richard Courtney, *Play, Drama and Thought: The Intellectual Background to Drama in Education* (New York: Drama Book Specialists, 1974), 46.

acres of woodland, to serve as a getaway for him and his wife from their apartment in Manhattan. The acquisition of the property represented a dream for Seton that was enabled by the success in 1900 of two books that he had written, *Wild Animals I have Known*, *The Biography of a Grizzly* and *The Trail of the Sandhill Stag*.⁵³ Seton was a naturalist, in both his profession as a writer and as a personal lifestyle. He was attempting to create his own private park in enclosing the property. However, the boys who lived in the area were quite used to roaming the parcel freely, and they resented its enclosure. Therefore, they would tear down the fencing and paint “wicked pictures” on the entry gate.⁵⁴

Instead of prosecuting them, however, Seton devised an experiment that would basically mirror some of the educational ideas of Granville Stanley Hall about the value of boys playing out ancient ancestors in order to properly recapitulate. Seton went to the school that they boys attended and he invited them for a weekend retreat. He told them that they could build Indian teepees, canoe on his newly built lake, and run about as they pleased. Seton thought that boys engaging in strenuous out-of-door activities, such as building teepees and engaging in games of warfare, would help them properly develop to manhood.⁵⁵

When the boys arrived for the weekend, Seton not only let them roam on the property, he also told them stories about the Indians of the far West, adventure, and nature. He also suggested that perhaps they might want to organize themselves into their own tribe

⁵³ See David L. Witt, *Ernest Thompson Seton: The Life and the Legacy of an Artist and Conservationist* (Layton, UT: Gibbs Smith, 2010),

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 98.

⁵⁵ For more on the development of these organizations in relation to American manhood, see E. Anthony Rotondo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 258; Bret Carroll, *American Masculinities: A Historical Encyclopedia, Volume One* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2003), 68-69; and Hallie Bond, Joan Jacobs Brumberg, and Leslie Paris, *“A Paradise for Boys and Girls”: Children’s Camps in the Adirondacks* (New York: The Adirondack Museum, 2006), 27.

of Indians, the Woodcraft Indians, and choose their own leaders, or chiefs. He would serve only in the role of advisor as a “Medicine Man.”⁵⁶ A month later, Seton began to write a series of articles for *Ladies Home Journal* called “Ernest Thompson Seton’s Boys” in which he described to readers his experiment.⁵⁷ By 1903, there were sixty “tribes” of Woodcraft Indians across the nation, and in 1910, the American Boy Scouts would form as an outgrowth of the Woodcraft Indians. In this new organization, playing Indian would continue to be an important activity.

The period at which a young man arrived at a university, away from home for the first time, was thought to be a particularly important time in his development. If successfully navigated, it would mark his successful passage from adolescence to adulthood. In his time at the university, his identification with the home, which was conceived of as feminine, should be severed. Once this was accomplished, he would move from the stage of barbarism to civilized manhood, and assume a masculine identity more suited to the competitive demands of the workplace, which was still largely conceived of as a male domain.⁵⁸ However, this point in a male youth’s life was also considered a particularly dangerous one. Without a father figure to guide him through this last stage of his development, he could also leave the university without successfully transitioning to manhood, that is, in the parlance of the day, a sissy.

It appears that Tight greatly valued strong bodies and physical strength as proper representations of masculinity. He, himself, was a man of large physical stature and great

⁵⁶ Ibid, 99.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ See Mark C. Carnes “Middle Class Men and the Solace of Fraternal Ritual,” chapt. in *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America*, ed. Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 48.

physical strength. He was well known to students for his uncanny ability, when encountering two male students engaged in a dispute, to pick both of them up off the ground simultaneously. This Tight would do by grasping them by the skin of their necks and suspending them at arms' length, as if his body were a giant cross. This show of physical power by him would effectively end the argument, as he would let the students down only after they agreed to resolve the dispute.⁵⁹

In his role as university president, Tight also appears to have seen himself as a father figure who would help his male students successfully transition to manhood by helping them to cultivate physical strength in their own bodies. One of the ways he did this was through an emphasis on out-of-door activities. For instance, in the years almost immediately following his arrival to the university, Dr. Tight made Arbor Day, or tree planting day, a special holiday on campus. The celebration of Arbor Day was ostensibly both to boost student morale and to beautify the campus. Dr. Tight wished to transform the dusty mesa upon which the campus was built into a desert garden. It would be extensively planted with an eclectic palette of planting materials including tamarisks, roses, honey locusts, yucca, cacti, and large ponderosa pines.

However, Dr. Tight also used Arbor Day as an occasion to physically transform the bodies of his male students, too. In 1904, on Arbor Day, Tight dispatched groups of male students with horse teams and wagons into the nearby Sandia Mountains. There, they would dig up ponderosa pines and transport them back to the university to be the first trees planted on campus (**Fig. 5.19**). This, in itself, was a physical act that required great strenuous exertion and endurance by the students. The following year, in 1905, Dr. Tight began an

⁵⁹ See Davis, *Miracle on the Mesa*, 62.

even larger campus beautification effort on Arbor Day than that of the previous year. In April 1905, he planted thirty pines west of the existing Administration Building before placing a challenge to his male students. By spring break, they should match his individual planting efforts by collectively planting two hundred more pines.⁶⁰ In so doing, he offered his own body as a kind of object lesson, an ideal of masculinity that his male students should aspire to match.

Given the emphasis on physical activity on the University of New Mexico campus, it is quite likely that Dr. Tight conceived of the fraternity house building project as yet another opportunity to redirect the rough-house energies of his students and to better prepare them for entry into manhood. As with Dr. Tight's tree planting projects, building the estufa fraternity required acts of strenuous physical strength as conducted in the out-of-doors. To make the building would have necessitated the Tri-Alphas excavating dirt and transporting it to the site, mixing the heavy dirt with water and straw, and pouring buckets of mud into forms for bricks. Once the bricks were dried, they would then need to spend hours lifting them into place to build walls before covering the entire assemblage in plaster. As they did so, they physically transformed their bodies into ones that were muscular and strong.

It is quite likely, too, that on some level of consciousness, Tight and his students conceived of the fraternity-building project as recapitulating the activities enacted long ago by the ancient Pueblo Indians of the Southwest. In the archaeological precision of the estufa, as modeled on the one at San Ildefonso, they attempted to perfectly replicate the building activities of the Pueblo Indians. Moreover, as a young man worked each day on the project to build the fraternity, and as his white skin became bronzed in the heat of the New Mexico

⁶⁰ See Davis, *Miracle on the Mesa*, 62.

sun, “the pale-face student of the Southwest” of whom Ramon Jurado would write would literally begin to resemble “his more pigmented step-brother of several centuries ago.”⁶¹

The actual building of the fraternity was not the only important aspect of this recapitulation process, however. So, too, were the activities that would occur inside once the building was complete. What exactly would transpire within the space of the Tri-Alpha’s estufa would remain a closely guarded secret known only to its members, for throughout the decades following its construction, access to the building would be highly guarded and especially against the women students who comprised a portion of the university’s student body (**Fig. 5.20**).⁶² However, the work of scholars such as Bret E. Carroll and Mark C. Carnes provides some indication of the activities that likely occurred to the interior of the estufa as well as the meanings that they carried for the students that participated in them.

Both Carroll and Carnes are historians whose work focuses on gender and, particularly, on the construction of American masculinity at the turn of the century. This Carroll does in a book entitled *American Masculinity*, while Carnes work focuses specifically on the role of secret ritual to the formation of American manhood in a book entitled *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America*.⁶³ Carnes is also an editor and contributor to a book of essays on American masculinity entitled *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America*. One of the cultural phenomena with which both scholars are interested is

⁶¹ See Jurado, “Prehistoric Home for the New University,” 368.

⁶² See “Pi Kappa Alpha’s Myths and Legends,” 23.

⁶³ See Carroll, *American Masculinities: A Historical Encyclopedia* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2003); Mark C. Carnes, *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America*, ed. Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); and Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

the rise of fraternities and fraternal ritual at the turn of the century, for rushing, pledging, and joining a fraternity was thought to be the ultimate rite of passage to American manhood.

In a chapter entitled “Middle Class Men and the Solace of Fraternal Ritual,” Carnes describes how fraternal ritual was thought to provide an especially effective means by which young men could transition from youth to adulthood. This was fostered through the cultivation of the idea that, through membership in a fraternity, young American men could be reborn into adulthood and a new system of family relations. This new system of family relations was a fraternal brotherhood, and it was thought to be more supportive of manhood than a young man’s family could provide. As Carnes argues, a fraternity helped young men to sever their ties with the home by introducing them into a surrogate family that would care for and protect them.⁶⁴

Essentially, as both Carnes and Carroll argue, this rebirth into adulthood and a new system of family relations occurred with the initiation ceremonies. The interior of the fraternity, itself, represented a liminal space in which initiates were conceived to recapitulate to a higher stage of evolutionary development, from adolescent barbarism to civilized manhood. For example, before the initiation ceremonies, initiates into the fraternity were conceived of as sons to the officers of the fraternity. However, once they underwent the initiation rituals, they joined their fellow members as adult equals, as brothers. Moreover, in his book *American Masculinities*, Carroll argues that fraternal initiation ceremonies directly reflected the educational theories of Granville Stanley Hall regarding the necessity of play for boys and male youth to properly recapitulate each of the stages of their development.⁶⁵ In

⁶⁴ See Carnes, “Middle Class Men and the Solace of Fraternal Ritual,” 45.

⁶⁵ See Carroll, *American Masculinities*, 179.

fraternal ritual, the officers of the fraternity worked as father figures that would help their “sons” to achieve manhood.

What is of particular interest in regard to the estufa fraternity constructed at the University of New Mexico is that the process of recapitulation embodied in fraternal secret rites often involved playing Indian. This is an idea that both Mark Carnes and several other scholars explore. For example, in an essay entitled “White Men, Red Masks: Appropriations of ‘Indian’ Manhood in Imagined Wests,” David Anthony Tyeme Clark and Joane Nagel explore the multiple ways that many American men at the turn of the century played Indian. This they typically did in masculine spaces of entertainment, relaxation, and pleasure, and the three most popular venues for this were men’s clubs, rustic hunting lodges, and fraternities.⁶⁶

Playing Indian in a fraternal organization often centered on the initiation rites. This can be traced back to the 1840s as described in an earlier chapter in relation to Lewis Henry Morgan’s efforts to re-make the founding mythology and rites of his college fraternity at Union College in New York. With the ethnological work that he and his fellow fraternity brothers conducted among Indian tribes, they were able to transform their fraternity from one based on Greek mythology, the Gordian Knot, to one based on a powerful invented Indian mythology as informed by precise anthropological details. This transformation of the Gordian Knot into the Grand Order of the Iroquois is described in detail by the scholar Philip Deloria in a chapter entitled “Literary Indians and Ethnographic Objects,” in his book

⁶⁶ See David Anthony Tyeme Clark and Joane Nagel, “White Men, Red Masks: Appropriations of “Indian” Manhood in Imagined Wests,” in *Across the Great Divide: Cultures of Manhood in the American West*, eds. Matthew Basso, Laura McCall, and Dee Garceau (New York: Routledge, 2001), 109-130.

Playing Indian.⁶⁷ In a chapter entitled “Middle Class Men and the Solace of Fraternal Ritual,” Mark Carnes explores in detail the themes of the initiation rites of another fraternal organization of the late nineteenth century, The Improved Order of the Red Men. As described by both Deloria and Carnes, the initiation rites of these two fraternities shared many similarities, particularly the theme of death and rebirth. Therefore, it is quite likely that the initiation rites of the Tri-Alphas, if not exactly like those of The Grand Order of the Iroquois or The Improved Order of the Red Men, were similar in their basic content.

As described by Carnes, the initiation ceremonies of The Improved Order of the Red Men were often elaborate staged dramas. The fraternity even had its own costumes that very much resembled the ghost shirts once worn by the Sioux Indians, with the addition of an American flag motif on the back collar (**Fig. 5.21**). The plot of this drama typically revolved the initiate pretending to enter uninvited the camp of some sleeping Indians. They would then awaken to find him there. Subsequently, they would capture him, and he would be threatened with a variety of executions, or as Carnes calls them, “metaphorical death[s].” The plot of the ceremony also centered around the idea that an initiate was a “pale-face” or an effeminate Indian “squaw” who was “afflicted” with the fear of torture. This was thought to betray a lack of character. However, when the initiation rite was over, the initiate would be reborn as a fierce warrior “brave,” or a manly man of strong character, who was now worthy of joining the Indians into whose camp he wandered.⁶⁸ On the initiation rite, Carnes writes as follows:

⁶⁷ See Philip Deloria, “Literary Indians and Ethnographic Objects,” *Playing Indian* (Yale: New Haven Press, 1998), 71-94.

⁶⁸ See Carnes, *Meanings for Manhood*, 41-48.

The purpose of the ritual was not to reform the initiate but to remake him entirely, for his errant life course was due to personal deficiencies. Though apprehended for the crime of trespass, he was to be put to death for a failing of character: He was a “pale face” and a “squaw” who could not bear torture. He was excluded from the tribe, which consisted of “men without fear,” because he was unfit. Through the transformative magic of the ritual, the initiate’s courage was confirmed. Now he could travel with the brethren of the Red Men.⁶⁹

Here, it is important to note several things. The first is that in the mythology of the Improved Order of the Red Men, the evolutionary trajectory of development as first described by Charles Darwin and then in the educational theories of Granville Stanley Hall was somewhat inverted. Rather than the pale face man who wandered into the camp being emblematic of white adult civilization, he was conceived of as existing outside of its bounds. His paleness made him too white, or over-civilized. This was conceived to render him both barbaric and feminine, a squaw. Therefore, in order to rejoin his “brethren” in manhood—as a man without fear and a man of character—he essentially needed to recapitulate the activities of ancestors in a primitive battle with Indians. This required a ritual sacrifice of the part of the initiate’s identity that was considered feminine, his fear. Only in the evisceration of his fear, through metaphorical death, would he be reborn into the next phase of his development, as he became a fierce Indian brave, essentially a white Indian. As Philip Deloria describes in regard to the Grand Order of the Iroquois, the transformation of a newly initiated fraternity member’s identity would also be solidified with the bestowal upon him of an invented Indian name.⁷⁰

Therefore, given the presumption that the fraternal rituals of the Tri-Alphas somewhat paralleled those of adult white men in their fraternities, male students at the

⁶⁹ Ibid, 44.

⁷⁰ See Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 81.

University of New Mexico also rehearsed, or recapitulated, the activities of ancestors. This they did both in the construction of the estufa fraternity and the ritual activities that occurred within it. In the space of their adobe estufa, members could imagine themselves united in brotherhood like the medicine men or shamans of an ancient Indian clan. Like the bodies of shamans who traveled between two worlds in order to bring back visions that would heal the wounded, their estufa was also conceived to encompass a liminal space. It was conceptualized as one that straddled the line between adolescent barbarism and adult civilization. Therefore, the activities in which students participated within the privacy of its thick, unfenestrated adobe walls probably vacillated between those thought appropriate to a temple of sin to those befitting a space of utmost sacredness. The activities enacted within its walls likely ranged from barbarous pranks and rough-housing to more civilized activities, such as the singing of songs, smoking, and the telling of stories around a sacred fire.

In “reverting to the primitive” at the University of New Mexico, Dr. Tight and his male students were seeking to successfully negotiate a perilous terrain known as American manhood. It was one in which male adolescents believed themselves either afflicted or incomplete, and they sought the aid of medicine men like figures, or fraternal brothers, to help them become whole. Through fraternal ritual, they conceived of themselves as becoming strong and fierce braves, accompanied by fellow warriors, who could face without fear the adversity that adulthood might present to them. The attainment to adulthood was also thought to entail a ritual sacrifice, the killing of the adolescent or the effeminate squaw within each of them.

However, as the students of University of New Mexico appropriated the architecture and the rituals of the pueblos, and climbed up and down the ladder from the roof to access

their estufa's ritual space, they were likely not aware that such a sacrifice would hardly be demanded of them among the Pueblo Indians. Nor was such a sacrifice even desirable. If they knew anything at all about what actually occurred within the pueblo kivas, then they would have also known that some of the strongest and most powerful shamans, such as the Zuñi berdache named We'wha, didn't need to sacrifice any part of their identity at all in order to navigate manhood. A berdache shaman wearing a dress could just as successfully negotiate the ladder of a kiva as any medicine man and also bring to its interior space the very special power that accrued from embracing his identity in its entirety.

Chapter Six—

Playing Indian Among the Ruins: *Indians' Secrets of Health* and the Southwest as the Locus for the Restoration of the American Body

*Modern allegory, Walter Benjamin tells us, is based on a sense of the world as transient and fragmentary. "History" is grasped as a process, not of inventive life, but of "irresistible decay." The material analogue is thus in the "ruin," an always disappearing structure that invites imaginative reconstruction. Benjamin observes that "appreciation of the transience of things, and the concern to redeem them for eternity, is one of the strongest impulses in allegory."*¹

—James Clifford, *Writing Culture: The Politics and Poetics of Ethnography* (1986)

Salvaging the Indians' Secrets of Health

At the turn of the century, the idea that salvaging remnants of the frontier could offer Americans access to ideal citizenship manifested itself culturally at a variety of scales. White Americans representing a vast array of different professions from the sciences to the arts—such as archaeologists, ethnologists, writers, artists, and photographers—increasingly began to collect the languages and the stories of Indian peoples and to document their material culture. Two of the most popular mediums for this were literature and photography. Whether writing down Indian folklore, photographing an Indian dwelling, purchasing an Indian curio, or constructing a building in what they considered to be an Indian mode, white Americans demonstrated their belief that salvaging such remnants was vital to the formation of a healthy American citizenry unique in its character.

For example, by the turn of the century, people such as the well-known photographer Edward Curtis were combing the Southwest looking to photograph remnants of the so-called vanishing race. Other lesser-known figures in American culture, such as the

¹ James Clifford "On Ethnographic Allegory," in James Clifford and George E. Marcus (eds.), *Writing Culture: the Poetics and Politics of Ethnography: A School of America Research Advanced Seminar* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 119.

photographer Arnold Genthe and the writer and promoter of the Southwest, George Wharton James were similarly engaged. Each of these men not only sought to photograph the vanishing race as remnant peoples, they were also extremely interested in the architectural settings created by Indians. Each man also conceived of his work as encompassing a larger project to photographically document the architectural expressions particular to different Indian tribes. Curtis's project was one that he would carry out across the American continent. Genthe and James, meanwhile, would confine their documentary activities to the Indians of the Southwest, and the pueblos of the ancient Cliff Dwellers and the villages of the living Pueblo Indians fascinated each of them equally.

In 1905, the writer George Wharton James would publish his photographs of different types of "aboriginal American home[s]" as two articles within the pages of the popular Arts and Crafts Movement journal, *The Craftsman*.² Three years later, in 1908, he would not only once again publish many of his photographic studies of the dwellings of the Indians of the Southwest, he would also seek to construct an argument about the importance of them (**Fig. 6.1**). This he would present in a book entitled *The Indians' Secrets of Health or What the White Race May Learn from the Indian*. Like the writer Vere O. Wallingford, who argued within the pages of *Architectural Record* that the pueblos of the Southwest were "A Type of Original American Architecture," James thought that the buildings of Indians could infuse American architecture with a new vitality.

² George Wharton James, "Aboriginal American Homes: Cave, Cliff and Brush Dwellings in New Mexico, Arizona and California," *The Craftsman*, 8, no. 4 (July 1905), 459-471. See also George Wharton James, "Aboriginal American Homes: Brush, Mud and Willow Dwellings," *The Craftsman* 8, no. 5 (Aug. 1905), 640-649.

James, however, also went much further than did Wallingford. He argued that the relationship that all of the Indians of the Southwest possessed with the landscape—not just the Pueblo Indians—was one of health. Moreover, he said, this relationship was one from which white Americans, and the nation as a whole, could benefit.³ In a chapter in his book entitled “The Indian and Out-of-Door Life,” James put forth the argument that Indians possessed a special relationship to the out-of-doors as evidenced in their architecture. This thesis he illustrated within his book with multiple captioned photographs intended to demonstrate how the architecture of Indians reflected not the “indoor life” of the American city—which he thought unhealthy—but, instead, architectural space as merged with the out-of-doors.

For example, in *Indians' Secrets of Health*, James explained to his readers that many of the structures created by Indians—whether the brush structures of the Chemehuevi Indians of Southern California or the pueblos constructed by the Hopi Indians of Northern Arizona—provided opportunities for the occupants to sleep outside (**Figs. 6.2 and 6.3**). Another photograph, entitled “A Navajo Blanket Weaver in Her Open Air Workshop,” was intended by James to illustrate how even the interiors of Indian buildings possessed a closer relationship to the out-of-doors than those of white Americans, for they invited light and fresh air to circulate freely within them (**Fig. 6.4**).⁴ Moreover, James argued further that that the strong relationship that Indians possessed to the outdoors, as evidenced for him in their architecture, made them healthier than white Americans. This relationship comprised

³ Ibid.

⁴ See George Wharton James, *The Indians' Secrets of Health or What the White Race May Learn from the Indian* (New York: J.F. Tapley Co, 1908), 48, 70, 77.

“secrets of health” that, he would now attempt to reveal to readers of his book for the benefit of the entire American nation.

Today, George Wharton James is not a particularly well-known American figure except to those scholars who specialize in Western history, and the existing literature in regard to his ideas is still rather nascent. However, much of it treats him and his ideas as if he was a somewhat eccentric figure who possessed obsessive ideas about health and Indians quite idiosyncratic to him.⁵ For instance, his idea that Indians provided to white Americans an ideal model of health was predicated on his belief that they excelled at some of his own health practices, such as nudism while engaged in exercise, vegetarianism, diaphragmatic breathing, and sun-bathing. In fact, however, the ideas that James articulated in *The Indians' Secrets of Health or What the White Race May Learn from the Indian* appear to reflect a much larger cultural discourse about Indians, the Southwest, and the health of the American nation that took place at the turn of the century. Therefore, a close examination of what led George Wharton James, individually, to propound Indian architecture as a model for the health of the white race possesses the potential to illuminate the larger meaning of white Americans playing Indian upon the landscape at the turn of the century, and it is to this task that this chapter will now turn.

George Wharton James' interest in the architecture of Indians as demonstrating an ideal of health arose out of his own conception of himself as someone afflicted by illness. In

⁵ See, for example, Leah Dilworth, *Re-imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996), 155; Wild, *George Wharton James* (Boise Idaho: Boise State University Western Writers Series, 1990), 8; Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 109-110; and The Southwest Museum, *The Anthropology of the American Masterkey* (Los Angeles: The Southwest Museum, 1986), 24.

his book, *The Indians Secrets of Health*, he specifically introduced this idea to his readers as he wrote the following:

I myself began life handicapped with serious ill health, and for twenty-two years was seldom free from pain. Nervous irritability required constant battling. But when I began to realize the benefit of life spent in God's great out-of-doors, and devoted much of my time to climbing up and down steep canyon walls, riding over the plains and mountains of Nevada and California, wandering through the aseptic wastes of the deserts of the Southwest, rowing and swimming in the waters of the great Colorado River, sleeping nightly in the open air, and in addition, coming in contact with many tribes of Indians, and learning from them how to live a simple, natural, and therefore healthy-life—these things not only gave to me almost perfect health, but have suggested the material of which this book is made.⁶

George Wharton James also argued that he was not alone in suffering from illness. The whole of American civilization, he thought, was unhealthy. He asserted that breathing indoor air was a toxic substance, and that it strongly contributed to the decline of white Americans' minds and bodies. Furthermore, he would argue that white Americans living in the industrial cities of the East were particularly susceptible to ill health. According to him, the comfort and ease evidenced everywhere in the city—from the superheated street and railway cars to the steam-heated rooms located to the interior of its houses—served to physically corrupt their bodies. Moreover, he implied, it corrupted them morally as it made them “proud, haughty, [and] conceited.”⁷

For James, the ill health of the nation was also largely attributable to an over-emphasis by white Americans on study and book learning.⁸ This, too, he argued, worked to break down their bodies, including his own. His words contained within them a palpable

⁶ James, *The Indians' Secrets of Health*, 38.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid, 28-38

anger as he described to his readers that he, for one, would not “bow down before the civilization” that he attributed to his own brokenness as he wrote the following:

Can I bow down before the civilization whose highest educational establishments—Harvard, Yale, Cornell, New York, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, followed by a host of lesser institutions—every year send out from five to thirty per cent of their students broken down in health? What is the good of all the book-learning that all the ages have amassed unless one has the physical health to enjoy it?⁹

This strong anti-intellectual sentiment, as expressed in *The Indians' Secrets of Health*, appears rather curious, at first, when one considers that by this point in time George Wharton James was the author of two books and numerous articles.¹⁰ However, the apparent contradiction is resolved once one better understands the illness that he understood to afflict him.

Although James did not go into specific detail about the nature of the illness from which he suffered for twenty-two years—a span of time in which he likely received some sort of diagnosis—most of his readers likely understood implicitly that he considered himself someone afflicted with neurasthenia, for nervous irritability was thought to be one of the disease’s primary symptoms.¹¹

As already discussed, by the turn of the twentieth century, many white Americans had come to think of civil society, or civilization, as in ruin. Moreover, civilization was conceived of as a corrupting influence that caused minds and bodies to decay through the

⁹ Ibid, 33.

¹⁰ These included articles such as “Indian Basketry in Home Decoration” (1901), “Indian Handicrafts” (1903), “Aboriginal American Homes: Brush, Mud and Willow Dwellings” (1905), “Aboriginal American Homes: Cave, Cliff and Brush Dwellings in New Mexico, Arizona and California” (1905), and the book entitled *The Indians of the Painted Desert Region: Hopis, Navahoes, Wallapais, Havasupais* (1903).

¹¹ If there was any doubt in reader’s minds that James was afflicted with neurasthenia, it was likely assuaged with the publication of another book by James in 1916 entitled “Quit Your Worrying!” As the title indicates, the anxiety attributed to the neurasthenic individual was the book’s main subject. See George Wharton James, *Quit Your Worrying!* (Boston: L.C. Page and Company, 1916). For more on James affliction with illness, see also George Wharton James, *Living the Radiant Life: A Personal Life Narrative* (New York: J.F Tapley Co., 1916), 8.

affliction of what was commonly known as “social disease.”¹² Social disease was believed to take several forms at the turn of the century. One was neurasthenia, as widely associated with decay of the mind. Another was consumption (a disease better known today as “tuberculosis”), as associated with decay of the body. The diagnosis of social disease reached epidemic proportions in American culture in the last decades of the nineteenth century, prompting the author H. Addington Bruce to write in the *North American Review* that “On every street, on every corner, we meet the neurasthenics.”¹³

It was only in the mid-twentieth century that the American medical profession began to question the validity of neurasthenia as a disease and to cease using it as a legitimate diagnosis.¹⁴ However, as is suggested by the comment of the writer H. Addington Bruce that the neurasthenic could be met on every corner of every American city, those believed to be afflicted with the disease were established fixtures in American life for the latter part of the nineteenth-century and for a good part of the twentieth. The scholar Zachary Ross writes the following: “Neurasthenia, known more popularly as “nervousness,” “Americanitis,” or even just “that tired feeling,” became the most widely diagnosed neurological illness of the Gilded Age.”¹⁵ Therefore, neurasthenia is critical to understanding not only why George Wharton James felt so compelled to ask Americans to toss out their books but, even more

¹² For primary literature that discusses tuberculosis as a “social disease,” see, for example, Sigard Adolphus Knopf, M.D., *Tuberculosis as a Disease of the Masses and How To Combat It: With Supplement on Home Hygiene, School Hygiene, Installation of the Sanatorium Treatment at Home, and a Historical Review of the Anti-Tuberculosis Movement in the United States* (New York: Fred P. Flori, 1908), 6.

¹³ See Cushman, *Constructing the Self*, 66.

¹⁴ See Chee H. Ng, Keh-Ming Lin, Bruce S. Singh, and Edmond Y.K. Chiu, eds., *Euro-Psychopharmacology: Advances in Current Practice* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 12. See also Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 85-87.

¹⁵ See Wanda Corn et al., *Women on the Verge: The Culture of Neurasthenia in Nineteenth-Century America* (Stanford: Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University, 2004), 22.

importantly, to understand how American ideas of illness and health played out upon the landscape of the Southwest at the turn of the twentieth century.

Historians have really only begun to study neurasthenia in the last several decades, despite its prevalence as a mass phenomenon in American culture by the turn of the century. For instance, in 1987, F.G. Gosling wrote a book entitled *Before Freud: Neurasthenia and the American Medical Community, 1870 – 1910* that marks the first attempt to place neurasthenia within a cultural context as a disease that was once believed to plague the nation's intellectual and economic elite.¹⁶ Tom Lutz's 1991 book entitled *American Nervousness, 1903* developed Gosling's ideas by exploring the diagnosis of neurasthenia in many individual American figures such as Theodore Roosevelt, Brooks Adams, Henry and William James, Kate Chopin, Edith Wharton, W.E. B. Du Bois, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Mabel Dodge Luhan, and John Muir.¹⁷ A more recent study on the role of neurasthenia in American culture is a 2001 collection of essays edited by Marijke Gijswijt-Hofstra and Roy Porter entitled *Cultures of Neurasthenia from Beard to the First World War*.¹⁸

In recent years, art historians have also begun to consider the importance of neurasthenia in American visual culture, such as in an exhibit in 2004 of nineteenth-century art mounted at the Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University. A catalogue entitled *Women on the Verge: The Culture of Neurasthenia in Nineteenth-Century America* was published in conjunction with the exhibit, and it included an introduction to the subject as written by noted art historian Wanda Corn, as well a collection of essays by

¹⁶ See F.G. Gosling, *Before Freud: Neurasthenia and the American Medical Community, 1870 – 1910* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987).

¹⁷ See Tom Lutz, *American Nervousness, 1903: An Anecdotal History* (Cornell University Press, 1991).

¹⁸ See Marijke Gijswijt-Hofstra and Roy Porter, *Cultures of Neurasthenia from Beard to the First World War* (New York: Rodopi, 2001).

scholars Katherine Williams, Zachary Ross, Kathleen Spies, Amanda Glesmann, and Claire Perry.¹⁹

The contraction of both neurasthenia and tuberculosis were widely associated by Americans with both urbanity and sexual excess.²⁰ As is also suggested by the effeminate neurasthenic man and the manly neurasthenic woman, the diagnosis of neurasthenia was very much bound up with white Americans conceptions of sexual identity. Doctors believed that the contraction of social disease was linked to muscular action in the body and to particularly afflict those individuals with “weak nerves.” Therefore, different manifestations of social disease were thought to often occur together. A weak mind, as denoted by the diagnosis of neurasthenia, was thought to correspond to a weak body, as manifest in tuberculosis.

Many Americans believed that affliction with social disease betrayed a lack of will, or character, on the part of those who suffered from it. Many, too, thought that it reflected judgment upon the sufferer by God. According to Dr. Beard, the industrial cities of New England were the epicenter of neurasthenia, and it is the scholar Tom Lutz who identified the frontier of the American West as the space that was believed to offer an antidote for the disease, especially for men.²¹ Even at the turn of the century, the American West was considered to be wild and undeveloped place, and one in which the over-civilized man afflicted with neurasthenia could seek treatment in his encounter with the landscape. There it

¹⁹ See Zachary Ross, et al., *Women on the Verge: The Culture of Neurasthenia in Nineteenth-Century America* (Stanford: Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University, 2004).

²⁰ See David S. Barnes, *The Making of a Social Disease: Tuberculosis in Nineteenth Century France* (Ph.D. diss.: University of California, Berkeley, 1992), 38. See also Leong and Austen, *The Psychology Research Handbook*, 263.

²¹ See Wanda Corn et al., *Women on the Verge: The Culture of Neurasthenia in Nineteenth-Century America* (Stanford: Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University, 2004), 22, and Gosling, *Before Freud*, 100-101, 113, 135, 171, 173, 174, 191.

was believed that he could counter “weak nerves” with a show of vital force, or will, as conducted in the out-of-doors. Women could also find restoration in the American West, as it was believed to offer them an escape from the urban environments and stimuli that taxed their nerves.

For Dr. Beard, there was no perhaps no more potent figure by which both men and women could conceive of both their affliction with disease and their recovery from it than the Indian. For example, in his 1884 book *Sexual Neurasthenia (Nervous Exhaustion)*, Dr. Beard articulated his belief that neurasthenic men could learn to lead highly productive lives despite their affliction with neurasthenia. However, they could do so only if they conceived of themselves as akin to a figure that he characterized as the “Indian squaw.” At the end of the nineteenth-century, as it is still today, “squaw” was a derogatory term that was used to connote either an Indian prostitute or a married Indian woman debased by her husband’s insatiable sexual desire. Therefore, it is not insignificant that Dr. Beard chose her as a figure against which to contrast the man whom he diagnosed as neurasthenic. He wrote:

While neurasthenia makes life painful and irritating, it does not of necessity shorten life, nor does it always destroy its usefulness. Much of the world’s best work has been done by neurasthenics. George Eliot, Darwin, Heine, Spencer, Edwards, Kant, Bacon, Montaigne [*sic*], Joubert, Rousseau, Schiller, illustrate the possibility of not only living but of doing original work on a small capital of reserve force. The Indian squaw, sitting in front of her wigwam, keeps almost all of her force in reserve, the slow and easy drudgery of the savage domestic life in the open air—unblessed and uncursed by the exhausting sentiment of love; without reading or writing or calculating; without past or future, and only a dull present—never calls for the full quota of her available force; the larger part is always lying on its arms.²²

²² Given Dr. Beard’s argument that only neurasthenic men were capable of leading productive lives as writers and artists, it is interesting to note that among his list of neurasthenic men who became prominent writers was George Eliot, the English writer who is today known to have disguised behind this pen name her female identity as Mary Ann Evans. Scholars today still argue whether she was among the many women writers at the end of the nineteenth-century who hid behind a male pen name, rather than be subjected to charges of mental over-exertion in her ambition to achieve literary “genius,” or whether she did so for other reasons. Regardless, Beard’s citation of her as a male writer certainly reveals the assumption of a male identity by her

For Dr. Beard, then, neurasthenic men could still lead productive lives and even do great thinking (he apparently did not recognize that “George Eliot” was a pen name for a woman, Mary Anne Evans). According to Beard, neurasthenic men possessed feeling, sensitivity, and perhaps even genius. However, these attributes could prove both a blessing and a curse, for Dr. Beard believed that they also made men particularly susceptible to neurasthenia. In order to realize this genius, they would always need to realize and keep in check the limits of their reserve force. He encouraged men afflicted with neurasthenia to think of their identities in terms similar to a woman as embodied in the highly sexualized image of an Indian squaw leaning back on her arms.

For Dr. Beard, the figure of the Indian squaw was very much an object of pity and contempt. Nonetheless, despite the “drudgery” that he attributed to her “dull present”, Dr. Beard also articulated his belief that she clearly possessed something to which neurasthenic men should aspire—her health. For Dr. Beard, she epitomized the life lived in the out-of-doors as she always sat “in front of her wigwam.”²³ She was not subject to the corrupting influence of the “indoor life” of the city, as was the neurasthenic man. Instead, she lived a simple life in the “open air.” Dr. Beard thought that neurasthenic men possessed full well the capacity to restore themselves to health. However, to summon health would require of them an act of strenuous will. If they chose to reject the indoor life of books and study for that of

certainly served that purpose, whether it was her intent or not. See George Miller Beard, A.M., M.D., *Sexual Neurasthenia (Nervous Exhaustion): Its Hygiene, Causes, Symptoms and Treatment with a Chapter on Diet for the Nervous* (New York: E. B. Treat and Co., 1884), 59. See also Gordon Haight, *George Eliot: A Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press), 118-119 and Elaine Showalter, “Hysteria, Feminism, and Gender,” chapt. in *Hysteria Beyond Freud* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 286-344.

²³ See George Miller Beard, A.M., M.D., *Sexual Neurasthenia (Nervous Exhaustion): Its Hygiene, Causes, Symptoms and Treatment with a Chapter on Diet for the Nervous* (New York: E. B. Treat and Co., 1884), 59.

the out-of-door life—like the simple life led the Indian squaw—they might be able to reclaim their virile manhood.²⁴

For the “sensitive white woman” afflicted with neurasthenia, Dr. Beard thought that the “Indian squaw” presented a much different object lesson. Since he thought that women were endowed with only a certain amount of nerve force, they would never be able to “hold a powerful reserve”; therefore, they needed to “live, in a physical sense, from hand to mouth.”²⁵ If they continued to aggravate their minds and bodies, through activities such as intellectual or physical exercise, they would always remain plagued by social disease. Most Americans knew that prolonged affliction with social disease was thought eventually to escalate to madness and could lead to their institutionalization in an asylum (**Fig. 6.5**).²⁶

Therefore, rather than letting social disease go unchecked by letting go “the last unit” of the sensitive white American woman’s force—as represented by the “cruellest of robbers, worry and ambition”—Dr. Beard advocated that the sensitive American woman should not be more assertive in the exertion of her nerve force, but more compliant. She should strive to be more like the “Indian squaw for whom “the larger part [of her force] is always lying on

²⁴ See Julia Grant, “A ‘Real Boy’ and Not a Sissy: Gender, Childhood and Masculinity, 1890-1940,” *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 4 (Summer 2004), 832-833.

²⁵ Dr. Beard would write the following: “The sensitive white woman—pre-eminently the American woman, with small inherited endowment of force; living in-doors; torn and crossed by happy or unhappy love; subsisting on fiction, journals, receptions; waylaid at all hours by the cruellest of robbers, worry and ambition, that seize the last unit of her force—can never hold a powerful reserve, but must live and does live, in a physical sense, from hand to mouth, giving out quite as fast as she takes in—much faster oftentimes—and needing long periods of rest before and after any important campaign.” See Beard, *Sexual Neurasthenia*, 59.

²⁶ See Tim Armstrong, *American Bodies: Cultural Histories of the Physique* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 95; Lizbeth Goodman, ed., *Literature and Gender* (London: Routledge, 1996), 117; Elaine Showalter, “The Rise of the Victorian Madwoman,” chapt. in *The Female Malady: Women, Madness, and English Culture, 1830-1980* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985), 51-74. See also Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: the Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979).

its arms” in seeking out what became known as the “rest cure.”²⁷ According to Dr. Beard and other medical professionals, such as Dr. Wier Mitchell, women suffering from over-exertion of their brains and bodies should “heed the gospel of rest” and be removed to the calm of a darkened room. Here, the intent was that they would remain as still and quiet as possible in an effort to restore their frayed nerves.²⁸

As the art historian Zachary Ross writes in an essay entitled “Rest for the Weary: American Nervousness and the Aesthetics of Repose,” the furnishing of the American home was thought to be very important for those women diagnosed as suffering from neurasthenia. As he writes: “the construction of a comfortable and harmoniously decorated interior environment where repose could be fostered was a favored prescription for releasing stress and avoiding nervousness.”²⁹ In his essay, he illustrates this point with a painting by the artist Walter Launt Palmer (**Fig. 6.6**). Entitled *De Forest Interior*, the painting portrays a figure, which is presumably Mrs. De Forest, seated at rest within the space of a darkened room in her house in New York City. As Ross argues, the dark tones, gentle rhythms, tonal harmonies and orderly patterns of the Turkish-inspired decorative motifs were intended to create a therapeutic home environment for their occupant. The restrained furnishing of the interior space, he argues, was believed to induce a state of inward repose and, therefore, to heal the body of the woman afflicted with neurasthenia.

In the diagnosis and treatment of disease, white American men believed by others to have violated the social order, as evidenced by effeminacy, were encouraged to “be a man”

²⁷ See Beard, *Sexual Neurasthenia*, 59.

²⁸ See George Miller Beard, A.M., M.D., *A Practical Treatise on Nervous Exhaustion (Neurasthenia): its Symptoms* (New York: William Wood and Company, 1880), 178.

²⁹ See Wanda Corn et al., *Women on the Verge: The Culture of Neurasthenia in Nineteenth-Century America* (Stanford: Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University, 2004), 28.

in their participation in the strenuous life. Therefore, they were ushered into the great out-of-doors.³⁰ Meanwhile, “manly” women who challenged the established social order in either their mental or physical activities were relegated back to the domestic interior as represented by Dr. S. Weir Mitchell’s rest treatment. The disparate remedies for neurasthenia in women and men not only helped to maintain a culturally pervasive idea of biological difference, but they also worked to maintain the boundaries of the ideology of separate spheres.

The benefit of the out-of-doors that Dr. Beard propounded as especially restorative to neurasthenic men is a manifestation of a larger movement at the turn of the twentieth century that became known as “The Simple Life.” It was widely espoused by well-known medical professionals, such as Dr. John Harvey Kellogg of the Battle Creek Sanitarium in Michigan. According to the tenets of the “Simple Life,” one could protect and cure oneself from social diseases by plain living. Practice of the simple life was thought to entail a life lived in the out-of-doors as engaged in healthful exercise and deep breathing of crisp, cold “pure air.” For instance, Dr. Kellogg (who would also found a breakfast cereal company) argued for the benefits of the simple life in 1906 when he stated in *Modern Medicine Magazine* that “the outdoor life, the simple life, the cold-air cure, and return to natural methods, are saving thousands. Everybody ought to know that there is a way out of the wilderness of disease.”³¹ The practice of the simple life also encompassed abstinence from alcohol and

³⁰ The exhortation to “be a man” become commonplace in the nineteenth-century. See Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity*, 3.

³¹ Kellogg would first advocate in writing the simple life as a cure for tuberculosis, but his other writings demonstrate that he also viewed it as a cure for neurasthenia. See Battle Creek Sanitarium, *Modern Medicine Magazine* 15, no. 1 (January 1906), 21. See also “Nervousness Caused by Poisoning: Dr. J.H. Kellogg Shows Neurasthenia to Be a General Chronic Toxemia,” *The Battle Creek Idea* 11, no. 4 (February 1913), 1.

other drugs, “correct” posture and dress, and the ingestion of “pure” food.³² The practice of the simple life was intended to thoroughly remake the American body as afflicted by social disease, an idea that the monthly periodical *Farm Journal* made explicit as it stated the following: “Strictly speaking, the cure is not a cure. It is not aimed directly at the destruction of the disease, but the reconstruction of the body.”³³

While the practice of the simple life eschewed alcohol and drugs, pure food could often encompass homeopathic medicine. One such remedy advertised to the American public was an herbal remedy called Dr. Bartlett’s Vital Force (**Fig. 6.7**), and the company that made it issued a thin eight-page pamphlet that explained to readers exactly what it was supposed to cure. What is particularly of interest here is not the actual product, but the way that its advertisement speaks to the fear of neurasthenia as a pervasive force in American cultural life, as well as the way it graphically and textually summoned other discourses in American culture.

Entitled “Hope is The Star of Promise,” the pamphlet promised that the Vital Force product would cure the “sensitively stringed instrument,” the man or woman who was “prone to Worry,” the most dangerous of all nervous affectations.” The logo for Vital Force was two large bold letters, the letter “F” and “V.” Within the V, the word “vital” was spelled out twice. Similarly, the word “F” contained the word “force,” also in duplicate. The intent

³² A Dr. Paulson joined Kellogg in advocating the simple life when he delivered a series of “health lectures, exemplifying the simple life in its true light, showing the advantages of the outdoor life, correct posture, healthful dress, [and] pure food.” The *Journal of the Outdoor Life*, a publication of the National Tuberculosis Association, also advocated the simple life as it counseled to its readers in 1907 that “plain living, not drugs, a return to the simple life, is demanded of him who would protect himself from the white plague.” See S.M. Miller, M.D., “The Cure of Tuberculosis,” The *Journal of the Outdoor Life* 4, no. 11 (December 1907), 401. See also Lenna F. Cooper, “Chautauqua Work as a Missionary Field,” *The Medical Missionary* 14, no. 1 (January 1905), 322.

³³ See *Farm Journal* 32, no. 3 (March 1908), 139.

was that the image would be read from bottom to top, so that it read “Vital Force.”

Therefore, as shown, the F was on top of the V, as if pressing downward on it to dominate it. Through its bold graphic, the message conveyed to viewers was that the product, itself, was strong, and it would restore vitality of nerve force to those who took it. Rays of light also radiated outward from both letters, and the pamphlet’s title was an obvious reference to the star of empire as featured in paintings such as Thomas Gast’s *Manifest Destiny*. The Vital Force product also promised to restore the over-civilized neurasthenic from the dark wilderness of disease and to introduce him or her once again to the radiant light of civilization.

At the turn of the twentieth century, medical professionals weren’t the only ones extolling the virtues of the simple life to their patients. Instead, people as seemingly diverse as writers, scientists, photographers, and theologians espoused the practice of the simple life across all areas of American culture. So, too, did politicians. As David E. Shi describes in his book entitled *The Simple Life: Plain Living and High Thinking in American Culture*, “The Strenuous Life” promulgated by Theodore Roosevelt was yet another version of the simple life.³⁴ Architecture and interior decoration were also fertile ground for practice of the simple life, as is perhaps best exemplified by a book entitled *The Simple Home* published in 1904 by the poet and scientist Charles Augustus Keeler. His book was specifically intended to demonstrate to its audience how the practice of the simple life could be put into practice within the American home through means such as the proper selection of home furnishings.

³⁴ See David E. Shi, *The Simple Life: Plain Living and High Thinking in American Culture* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2007), 201.

Keeler was hardly alone in his promulgation of the simple life. From his home in Berkeley, California, he traveled within a constellation of influential American intellectuals that included among them George Wharton James, Joseph Nisbett LeConte, Helen Gompere Leconte, Charles Warren Stoddard, Edward Rowland Sill, John Muir, Charles Lummis, Ina Coolbrith and Reverend Joseph Worcester.³⁵ Many of these intellectuals, like Keeler, also subscribed to the practice of the simple life and advocated it within their own realms of influence.

The simple life movement, although supposedly focused on individual health, had deep religious underpinnings as it aimed at reconstruction of the larger social body. In Keeler's book he described to readers with an almost evangelical zeal how the "gospel of the simple life" almost compelled one to "scatter broadcast the faith" as he described to them the movement as manifest in the arts:

A movement toward a simpler, a truer, a more vital art expression, is now taking place in California. It is a movement which involves painters and poets, composers and sculptors, and only lacks co-ordination to give it a significant influence upon modern life. One of the first steps in this movement, it seems to me, should be to introduce more widely the thought of the simple life, to scatter broadcast the faith in simple beauty, to make prevalent the conviction that we must live art before we can create it.³⁶

This movement is what is today known as the American Arts and Crafts Movement, and it was occurring not just in California, but across the nation. Like the British Arts and Crafts

³⁵ For reference to the fact that George Wharton James belonged to the same social circle as Keeler, see Writers Program, Federal Writers' Project, *Berkeley: the First Seventy-Five Years*, 1941, 64. See also George Wharton James, "Charles Keeler, Scientist and Poet," *National Magazine* 35, no. 11 (November 1911), 245-262. For a reference to Joseph Nisbett LeConte, Helen Gompere Leconte, Charles Warren Stoddard, Edward Rowland Sill, John Muir, Ina Coolbrith and Reverend Joseph Worcester as part of Keeler's circle, see Ed Herny, Sheely Rideout and Katie Wadell, *Berkeley Bohemia: Artists and Visionaries of the Early Twentieth Century* (Layton, UT: Gibbs Smith, 2008), 48. For Charles Lummis as an active participant in Keeler's circle, see Leslie Mandelson Freudenheim, *Building with Nature: Inspiration for the Arts and Crafts Home*, 209 n. 47, 48.

³⁶ See Charles Keeler, *The Simple Home* (San Francisco: Paul Elder and Company, 1904), v.

Movement from which it had developed, the movement was both a response to industrialism and nostalgic in its yearnings for a simpler time as placed in the pre-industrial past and its rejection of mass production.³⁷ Proponents of the movement placed an emphasis on the expression of “natural” materials not obviously subjected to methods of mass production, such as wood, clay, copper and rattan over “artificial” materials, such as cast iron.

Here, it is also important to recognize the degree to which the practice of the simple life, as manifest in the arts, was also a response to the perceived decay of American society. Many proponents of the Arts and Crafts Movement, including Charles Augustus Keeler, conceived of the ornate mass-produced commercial goods of the Victorian era as corrupt objects symptomatic of modernity, over-civilization and cultural degeneracy. In his book *The Simple Home*, he would state that the movement was a reaction to the perceived “artificiality” of modern life as people “are growing weary of shams and are longing for reality.”³⁸ This feeling that modern life was somehow not real, a “sham” as Keeler described it, was one that he attempted to counteract through material culture. In the home furnishings and interior decoration schemes that he thought reflected enduring qualities such as “truth,” “morality” and “beauty,” he hoped to regain his psychological moorings in a rapidly changing social world in which all that he previously took for granted was challenged.³⁹

Nowhere is this perhaps more apparent than in an article on Charles Augustus Keeler published in the *Overland Monthly* in 1916. There, Mira Abbott Maclay described to

³⁷ See David Shi, *The Simple Life: Plain Living and High Thinking in American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 155-214, and Elizabeth Cumming and Wendy Kaplan, *The American Arts and Crafts Movement* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 143-178.

³⁸ Charles Augustus Keeler, *The Simple Home* (San Francisco: P. Elder and Company, 1904), 54.

³⁹ Keeler, *The Simple Home*, xvi.

readers the motivations that possessed Charles Keeler to propound “the gospel of the simple life” for more than a decade. There she wrote as follows:

Mr. Keeler distinctly feels that he has a ‘message.’ Twofold it is: on the one hand, a rebuke to the sins of modern life—cynicism, pessimism, artificiality, the social wrongs that result in the drunkard, the harlot, the unfathered child. On the other, a constructive message—a plea for the simple life, a philosophy that reads final triumph and good rather than final destruction and doom into the vast vision that science given, succeeding cycles, worlds and suns without end.⁴⁰

Keeler’s conception of modernity was that it exemplified a state of social decay, or “social wrongs” marked by “sin.” This decay was signified to him in the physical bodies of men, women, and children, alike, as symbolized in “the drunkard, the harlot, and the unfathered child.” Moreover, to Keeler, the sin evidenced in all three of these physical bodies was representative of social change that occurred as society became more secular and oriented around science, rather than God. To Keeler, rather than science working to investigate new questions and to provide new explanations of the world, the rise of scientific inquiry resulted in the upending of a natural order and chaos as the world of tradition disintegrated into “the vast vision that science given, succeeding cycles, worlds and suns without end.”⁴¹ For him, however, the practice of the simple life—as manifest in objects collected and displayed in “the simple home”—could serve as a material analogue to the reconstruction of the body afflicted by the “sins of modern life.” This is revealed in his evocation of the “final triumph and good” that he believed was accessible to all those who embraced the simple life.

⁴⁰ See Mira Abbott Maclay, “Charles Keeler, Poet: What A Man with Faith in his Message has Done in New York and the World Over,” *The Overland Monthly* 68 (July-December 1916), 67.

⁴¹ Ibid.

As presented by Keeler to his readers in *The Simple Home*, he conceived of all physical manifestations in space as representative of the “one Ideal,” a euphemism for God.⁴² Nor was Keeler’s conception of this particularly unique to him. The British Arts and Crafts Movement, from which the American version derived, was also endowed with strong religious underpinnings and the belief that material culture could manifest either the presence or absence of God. In Britain, John Ruskin’s book *The Stones of Venice* was highly influential to the ideas embodied in the British Arts and Crafts Movement. It articulated one of the core ideas of the movement—the idea that a product of work, such as a medieval cathedral, was demonstrative of a process of handicraft by which the medieval craftsmen who made it came into communion with God.⁴³ Moreover, as conveyed to readers in *The Simple Home*, the spiritual value of objects of handicraft did not of necessity adhere to the people who made them. Instead, the moral qualities associated with objects could readily accrue to the people who possessed them, and the “One Ideal” could become manifest at every conceivable scale from the exterior architecture of buildings to the design of individual objects and furnishings located to their interiors.

Many of the men and women in Keeler’s personal circle of friends and acquaintances, such as George Wharton James, shared his belief social decay could be

⁴² Keeler, *The Simple Home*, v.

⁴³ See John Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice* (New York: John B. Alden, Publisher, 1885), 44-54. Keeler specifically paid homage to the British Arts and Crafts Movement when, in 1896, he founded a Berkeley-based branch of the Ruskin Club. Named specifically after John Ruskin, the organization was devoted to “show[ing] the necessity of art in the home, home-making and decoration” and it was one of hundreds of similar organizations that developed across the nation in the period from 1890 to 1910. Keeler’s group held their meetings at the newly completed Unitarian Church in Berkeley designed by another figure associated with the Arts and Crafts Movement in the Bay Area, the architect A.C. Schweinfurth (who, it is interesting to note, is credited by David Gebhard as the architect of the first example of a Pueblo Revival style building in 1894, as located in the San Francisco area). See Leslie M. Freudenheim, *Building with Nature: Inspiration for the Arts and Crafts Home* (Layton, Utah: Gibbs Smith, 2005), 71. See also See David Gebhard, “The Myth and Power of Place: Hispanic Revivalism in the Southwest,” chapt. in *Pueblo Style and Regional Architecture*, ed. Nicholas C. Markovich, Wolfgang F. E. Preiser, and Fred G. Sturm (New York: Van Nostrand and Reinhold, 1990), 149.

countered through its material analogue in the practice of the “simple life” and approached it with a similar religious fervor.⁴⁴ James would write:

Ah! Beautiful simplicity and joy of naturalness. The God of men and women surely knew what was good for them when he set in motion the forces that created them. In harmony with His will and purpose we are healthy, happy normal beings, living lives of purity, progress and peace. In opposition to His will we are unhealthy, unhappy, abnormal beings full of wretchedness, impurity and misery.⁴⁵

For George Wharton James, individual happiness came only to those who adhered to the will of God, and they were “healthy, happy normal beings.” Those who deviated from his will were “unhappy, abnormal beings full of wretchedness, impurity and misery.”⁴⁶ For a period of twenty-two years, George Wharton James had counted himself among the latter. Now, in his embrace of the simple life, he counted himself among the former, instead.

George Wharton James book, *The Indians’ Secrets of Health*, strongly suggests that the point at which he considered himself among the “unhappy, abnormal beings” was when he considered himself afflicted by neurasthenia as caused by his “brain work.”⁴⁷ At the turn of the century, the act of writing was morally treacherous ground fraught by the politics of sexual identity. Many Americans considered the genre of travel writing—such as James often published in roaming the Southwest looking to document remnants of the vanishing race—as an act of masculine self-assertion and mastery. However, just as easily, others could perceive such writing as effeminate and the product of leisure by the sensitive and refined artist prone to over-civilization.⁴⁸ James’ book, *The Indians’ Secrets of Health*, shows ready

⁴⁴ See Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915*, 205.

⁴⁵ See James, *The Indians’ Secrets of Health*, 181.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ See James, *The Indians’ Secrets of Health*, 38.

⁴⁸ See Bret Carroll, *American Masculinities: A Historical Encyclopedia, Volume One* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2003), 153; Charles C. Calhoun, *Longfellow: A Re-discovered Life* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004),

evidence that he experienced the profound sense of shame that often attended individuals stigmatized by the contraction of social disease, and he internalized it. Even as he presented to readers his identity as a writer, he renounced books and book-study as “sinful.”⁴⁹ Furthermore, as evidenced in his writings, he clearly believed that the life of the mind led to the deterioration of his health and that this was a judgment by God upon him.

For many of those white Americans who propounded the benefits of the simple life as a way to reconstruct the body, like George Wharton James, the Indian became a powerful symbol of the healthy out-of-door life. Dr. George Beard had already laid the groundwork to suggest such a parallel in contrasting the neurasthenic to the Indian in his book *Sexual Neurasthenia*. Moreover, the strenuous life of vigorous exercise conducted in the out-of-doors, as advocated by figures such as Theodore Roosevelt, helped to shape white Americans’ conceptions that the out-of-door activities traditionally practiced by Indians, such as hunting and fishing, embodied manly ideals.

George Wharton James also viewed Indian handicrafts—such as basketry, pottery, and blankets—as evidence that Indians were both harbingers of the simple life and a pre-industrial tradition on American soil, like that of John Ruskin’s medieval craftsmen.⁵⁰ In

83; and Miriam Brody, *Manly Writing: Gender, Rhetoric and Composition* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press), 35.

⁴⁹ See James, *The Indians’ Secrets of Health*, 28-33, 58.

⁵⁰ White Americans did not consider all Indian tribes to serve equally as representatives of the simple life, however. They considered many Indian tribes across the nation, and particularly those located in proximity to cities, to be already tainted by civilization. For example, in 1904, at approximately the same time that Charles Augustus Keeler prepared *The Simple Home* for publication, he also authored notes on Southern California for inclusion in C.A. Higgen’s tourist guide to the Southwest called *To California and Back: A Book of Practical Information to Travels to the Pacific*. There, he expressed to readers his idea that, only a century previous, Southern California “was the undisputed home of hosts of Indians, who lived their simple life in its valleys.” However, he also thought that the Indians of Southern California lost irretrievably their access to the simple life with the advance of white civilization in the development of places such as Los Angeles. See Charles A. Higgins and Charles Augustus Keeler, *To California and Back: A Book of Practical Information to Travels to the Pacific* (New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1904), 124.

addition to his book, *The Indians' Secrets of Health*, James often promoted collecting Indian handicrafts for home decoration in books and articles such as his 1903 book entitled *Indian Basketry, and How to make Indian and Other Baskets*.⁵¹ Like travel writing at the turn of the century, collecting Indian handicrafts was an activity in which both men and women at the turn of the century participated. However, it, too, was potentially fraught by the politics of sexual identity, for many Americans considered the decorative arts as the provenance of women. Therefore, James was careful in navigating this dangerous territory. As is noted by the scholar Elizabeth Hutchinson in her 1998 dissertation on turn-of-the century art entitled *Progressive Primitivism: Race, Gender and Turn-of-the Century American Art*, James described his personal interest in collecting Indian basketry as requiring both personal effort and tenacity.⁵² Therefore, as framed by him, collecting Indian basketry should be perceived by others as an assertion of strength, and, therefore, manly.

James also reiterated the idea of collecting Indian basketry as an activity in which men could participate without threat to their masculinity when, in 1903, he created a club based on the collection of Indian basketry from his hometown of Pasadena, California. This club he began to promote in a quarterly magazine, edited by him, called *The Basket: The Journal of the Basket Fraternity or Lovers of Indian Baskets and Other Good Things*.⁵³ Through subscription to the club, members could receive both the quarterly journal as well as Hopi

⁵¹ See George Wharton James, *How to Make Indian and Other Baskets* (New York: Frank M. Covert, 1903). See also George Wharton James, "Indian Basketry in Home Decoration." *The Chautauquan: A Magazine for Self-Education* 33 (April – Sept. 1901), 619-24.

⁵² See Elizabeth Hutchinson, *Progressive Primitivism: Race, Gender and Turn-of-the Century American Art* (Ph.D. diss.: Stanford University, 1998), 33.

⁵³ See George Wharton James, *The Basket: The Journal of the Basket Fraternity or Lovers of Indian Baskets and Other Good Things* 1, no. 3 (July 1903), 1.

baskets from him by mail order. James also promoted the club with advertisements placed in nationally distributed journals and in the rear pages of his own books.

Ostensibly, the club was meant to supplement James' income as a writer by capitalizing on the authority of the Southwest that he commanded in his books and articles. James also made efforts to make sure that others perceived this club was as manly. He evoked a fraternal brotherhood in dubbing the club a "Basket Fraternity." However, James also knew that many, if not the majority of his customers would be women, as they were most often charged with the furnishing of domestic interiors. Therefore, the club's tagline ensured that it could also be perceived as inclusive as it explained that the fraternity was "a society of lovers of Indian baskets and other good things." In the third issue of the *The Basket*, he made this inclusiveness clear to readers in the opening paragraph of the very first article featured on the front page. There, in an article entitled "To All Lovers of Indian Basketry and Other Good Things," he wrote as follows:

Beloved! A mutual tie binds us together. We are as diverse in thought, perhaps, on some things as we are in birth, education, and work, yet a common enthusiasm unites us. We are enthusiasts and sentimentalists and not only do not deny it, but glory in it. For what is an enthusiast? *En theos*—in God, or God in—one in whom God dwells, or who dwells in God.... It will be contended by some that we are enthusiastic over small things—mere Indian baskets, the perishable work of a fast passing away race. To the superficial all things seem small. The thoughtless little imagine what great things are enthroned in little things. It takes a wise man to determine which one of two seeds is that of the parsnip and that of the Sequoia Gigantia, the largest tree known to man, yet from the one grows the vegetable of the moment and the other the tree of ten thousand years.⁵⁴

As put forth by James, his basket fraternity was comprised of many people, and very real and perceptible differences marked them from one another. In summoning the enthusiast and the sentimentalist, he made it clear to his readers that he thought that the primary one was

⁵⁴ Ibid, 1.

sexual difference. At the turn-of-the century, the term “enthusiast” carried connotations of virile and powerful manhood. For example, it was often one used to describe men who possessed a particular penchant for “manly” activities such as hunting or fishing. The term “sentimentalist,” on the other hand, was associated with subjective emotional feeling and womanhood, as displayed in activities such as the reading of sentimental novels.⁵⁵

As now framed by James, however, both men and women who reveled in their love for Indian basketry could consider themselves united in that doing so. He thought it demonstrated for both sexes “*en theos*”—their communion with God. Moreover, he said, in their love for Indian basketry, which he noted were physically small things, they proved themselves wise in their ability to recognize a larger presence in things and to judge passing fashion from enduring style. James dismissed the idea that basketry was “the perishable work of a fast passing away race.” Instead, he argued that Indian basketry was like the giant Sequoia of the California landscape. He thought of it as native, rooted, and enduring, even as he accepted the premise espoused by the majority of white Americans that Indians, themselves, constituted a vanishing race.

For George Wharton James, although the Indian was consigned to vanish, he considered them to be among those “healthy, happy normal beings” in communion with God. This was because he, like many Americans, considered Indians to have an especially

⁵⁵ While there is a quite a lot of literature pertaining to sentimentalism as a female attribute at the turn-of-the-century, the literature on the relationship between enthusiasm and manhood does not appear to be as well developed. However, for primary literature that strongly supports the idea that the term “enthusiast” was associated with manhood, see a chapter entitled “Intense Enthusiasm Inspired by Virile Powers” in Bermarr MacFadden, *Virile Powers of Superb Manhood: How Developed, How Lost, How Regained* (New York: Physical Culture Publishing Company, 1900), 12. For literature on sentimentalism as an inherently feminine attribute, see, for example, Lori Merish, *Sentimental Materialism: Gender, Commodity Culture and Nineteenth Century Literature* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000). See also Bruce Burgett, *Sentimental Bodies: Sex, Gender and Citizenship in the Early Republic* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998).

close relationship to nature, as symbolized by wilderness. He thought of Indians as simple and innocent children who could provide access to God for the “abnormal” white American adults who, in their affliction with disease, demonstrated that they had strayed too much from his will.⁵⁶ Of the Indian’s communion with God, he would write:

In many things the Indian, too simple to go far from the Divine precepts which come to him through contact with nature, is wiser than we. Let us then put on the garment of simplicity, seek to know the will of God, and with hearts like little children learn the true way, and then seek for courage to walk therein.⁵⁷

For James, the practice of the simple life—as modeled upon that of the Indians—was one of redemption. In his book, *The Indians Secrets of Health or What the White Race May Learn from the Indian*, James implored white Americans to toss aside the books and book study destroying their minds and bodies. Instead, he asserted, the only way the “health of mind and soul return to the sinful,” was for white Americans to model Indians in the practice of the simple life in “God’s great out-of-doors.”⁵⁸

James articulated to readers his belief that activities such as work, exercise and sleep, if conducted in the out-of-doors, would work to combat disease through increased intake of “God’s pure air” and vivification of the blood.⁵⁹ In fact, he said, in living the out-of-door life of Indians, he could regularly flout conventional medical wisdom by engaging in behavior that many doctors would claim to invite illness. He described to his readers that he regularly made a habit of sleeping outside in “the heat of the desert, and the cold of the snowy

⁵⁶ See also George Wharton James, *Singing Through Life with God* (Pasadena: The Radiant Life Press, 1920), 161-162.

⁵⁷ See James, *The Indians’ Secrets of Health*, 181.

⁵⁸ See James, *The Indians’ Secrets of Health*, 28-33, 58.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 50.

plateaus of Arizona.”⁶⁰ He argued that the out-of-door life provided such a strong antidote to civilization that, upon assuming practice of it, he was never again visited by the harsh judgment of disease.

Indians were particularly appealing to James as models of the simple life for several reasons. The first of these was that despite the fact most Americans believed that Indians were rapidly vanishing according to the tenets of “survival of the fittest,” many also increasingly associated Indians with bodily health and the out-of-doors. Much of this was likely due to the fact that for much of the late nineteenth century, Indians were often singled out as exemplars of immunity to social disease.⁶¹ According to the tenets of Social Darwinism, no Indian tribe was thought yet evolved to the stage of civilization. Therefore, Indians—as members of the “barbarous” and “savage” races—were thought to ordinarily lack the subjective complexity and fragility that would make them respond with acute sensitivity to the modern world, as did those Americans afflicted with “weak nerves.” The medical profession believed that only white Americans, and particularly those belonging to the white upper and middle classes, possessed brains and bodies advanced enough in their civilized development that they were susceptible to social disease.⁶²

⁶⁰ Ibid, 75.

⁶¹ See Sander L. Gilman, *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race and Madness* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 201-202. See also Joel Pfister, *The Yale Indian: The Education of Henry Roe Cloud* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 112.

⁶² White Americans were well aware of the fact that European diseases throughout the centuries decimated many Indian tribes. However, “social diseases” such as tuberculosis and neurasthenia were widely conceived as ones that primarily afflicted the white race despite strong evidence to the contrary. For instance, around 1890, an epidemic of tuberculosis devastated the Sioux Indian tribe. Nonetheless, tuberculosis was conceived of as “The White Plague,” well into the twentieth century. The reason that doctors thought that social disease did not afflict Indians was predicated on the racial assumptions of Social Darwinism. At the turn of the century, the prevalent conception among doctors was that only the Anglo-Saxon race was advanced enough in its human development to contract a social disease, such as tuberculosis. Indians, African Americans, immigrants, Catholics, Jews, and members of the white American working class were all considered by the American medical establishment, and American culture at large, to be somewhat arrested in the trajectory of

For example, in 1901, in a book entitled *Pulmonary Consumption, Pneumonia and Allied Diseases of the Lungs: Their Etiology, Pathology and Treatment, with a Chapter on Physical Diagnosis*, a Dr. Thomas Jefferson Mays—a professor of chest diseases at the Philadelphia Poly Clinic in Pennsylvania—explained to his colleagues that the Indian was generally free from disease in his “native” environment. Like the neurasthenic who afflicted him or her self with social disease, Dr. Mays thought that Indians were susceptible to social disease only when they were deviant in their behavior. For Dr. Mays, such behavior comprised the Indian straying from his “native” environment to an American city in an attempt to become “civilized.” At this time, Dr. Mays said, his brain and nervous system would become overburdened as he became engaged in “unequal warfare with modern civilization” and fell “an easy prey to this disease.”⁶³ In general, Dr. Mays thought, Indians typically remained where they belonged, on the reservations. According to him, then, most Indians were naturally free from social disease.

The Indians of the Southwest were also appealing to James as models for the simple life because of the mysterious healing powers that he associated with the landscape in which they lived. As early as 1874, medical professionals extolled to white Americans the especial healing powers of the Southwest. For example, in December of that year, a Dr. G.B. McPhail delivered a speech to the Virginia Medical Monthly entitled “Arizona as a Health Resort for Consumptives.” In this speech, the doctor emphasized not only the fact that the

their human development. Moreover, people conceived of as particularly “barbarous”—such as African Americans, Mexicans and Native Americans—were all believed particularly immune to neurasthenia and “comparatively free from pulmonary consumption [tuberculosis].” See, for instance, Thomas Jefferson Mays, M.D., *Pulmonary Consumption, Pneumonia and Allied Diseases of the Lungs: Their Etiology, Pathology and Treatment, with a Chapter on Physical Diagnosis* (New York: E.B. Treat and Company, 1901), 236-237. For more on the epidemic of tuberculosis that devastated the Sioux tribe, see David S. Jones, *Rationalizing Epidemics: Meanings and Uses of American Indian Mortality Since 1600* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 118-119.

⁶³ See Mays, *Pulmonary Consumption, Pneumonia and Allied Diseases of the Lungs*, 236-237.

territory's native inhabitants appeared to possess a particular immunity to social disease, but that the landscape also seemed to provide special benefit to those Americans "chasing the cure," as he said:

I have been thrown with many native Mexicans and more than twenty-five hundred native Apache Indians, on the San Carlos and White Mountain Reservations; and during all this period I have not seen a case of consumption among the native and no case in the white population that had not been arrested, many of which were apparently cured.⁶⁴

As the closing decades of the nineteenth century progressed, other medical professionals joined Dr. McPhail in espousing to white Americans the idea that the Southwest was an ideal destination not only to arrest the progression of social disease, but also to permanently cure it. The construction of the second transcontinental railroad in the early 1880s made settlement and travel to the Southwest infinitely more accessible to many Americans, and the idea that the wilderness was the natural locus for restoration of the American citizen was widely promoted by real estate boosters.⁶⁵

These ideas likely contributed greatly to George Wharton James own perception that Indians, and particularly Indians as located in the Southwest, possessed a special curative relationship to the landscape as well "secrets of health" from which he and other white Americans could benefit. Moreover, beginning in the 1880s, men such as Theodore Roosevelt began to propound the idea that the Western frontier presented the ideal

⁶⁴ See W.D. Bizzell, *Climate of the United States Considered with Reference to Pneumonia and Consumption* (Mobile, Alabama: Mobile Daily Register Office, 1875), 36.

⁶⁵ Health-seekers first began to travel to the Southwest in the 1860s and 1870s, but only the most affluent Americans could make such a journey. The construction of the second transcontinental rail lines in the early 1880s served to break the Southern Pacific Railroad's monopoly on travel there, making it more affordable. By 1890, Denver, Colorado was established as the "tuberculosis capital" of the United States, but health-seekers flocked in successive waves to other places in the Southwest—first to California, then to the territories of New Mexico and Arizona, and, finally, to Texas— to recuperate in health sanatoriums as located in the wilderness. See C.L. Sonnichsen, *Tucson: The Life and Times of An American City* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 148.

opportunity for men to become manly men and “True Americans” in their contact with wilderness and Indians. Now, men and women thought afflicted by social disease as induced by the luxury and ease of Eastern cities sought to restore themselves in the West. However, now the task was not the one of the frontiersman who conquered both land and Indians; instead, the exertion of strenuous will was re-directed at their own bodies, and it entailed playing Indian to restore oneself to an ideal American citizen.

Indians’ Secrets of Health and Reconstruction of the White American Body

By the turn of the century, the belief that Indians could serve as a model of restoration for white Americans began to manifest itself architecturally in the Southwest. One building that strongly exemplifies the manner in which it did so is the Arrowhead Hot Springs Sanatorium constructed in 1905 at the foot of a mountain five miles north of San Bernardino, California (**Fig. 6.8**). The sanatorium, as located away from the corrupting decadence of the city, was intended as a corollary—but idealized—environment to it. The sanatorium was conceived as a place where American men and women and men could withdraw from civilized society in order to recuperate and then return to it as a productive member.

Designed by the white American architect, Arthur Benton, an architect whose firm was located in Los Angeles, the three-story building possessed a stacked stone base that worked to suggest that the building was native to the soil from which its form sprang. It recalled the stacked stone pueblo ruins of the ancient Cliff Dwellers. The building’s stark geometric massing also resembled the inhabited pueblo villages of the Southwest and, particularly, when viewed from a distance across the San Bernardino valley. However, the

Arrowhead Hot Springs Sanatorium is also revealing of the degree to which the quest by white Americans for a distinct style of architecture representative of the pueblos was not yet firmly established in their minds. The building was an eclectic architectural expression with references in its detailing to both Spanish Colonial and Moorish architecture (**Fig. 6.9**).

However, despite these references, the overall architectural expression of the new sanatorium building was intended to strongly reinforce associations with Indians already present at the site.

The Arrowhead Hot Springs Sanatorium is important for the way it illustrates that playing Indian by white Americans upon the landscape of the Southwest often involved more than just the erection of physical environments. Perhaps, just as importantly, it also often involved elaborate myth-making designed to imbue the landscape with the meaning that white Americans wished to derive from it. Two decades prior to the design and erection of Benton's Indian-themed building, white Americans began to articulate narratives that the site of the Arrowhead Hot Springs Sanatorium possessed especial healing powers as associated with Indians and as physically manifest in the landscape to which the sanatorium was connected. Moreover, this healing landscape was one to which white Americans were encouraged to conceive themselves as heir.

The site was extremely well suited to the construction of such a narrative. Prior to the arrival of white Americans in the West, the site was long occupied by the Cahuilla, Serrano and Paiute tribes. This gave it a history of occupation by Indians. Moreover, the site was also considered to possess strong visual markers of its inhabitation by Indians. Upon the mountain against which the Arrowhead Hot Springs Sanatorium building stood was located a large granite rock formation 1,360 feet long and 540 feet wide. This formation could be

seen from up to twenty-five or thirty miles away and, from a distance, it strongly resembled an Indian arrowhead. Finally, the site also was believed to have special magical properties. At the base of the mountain to which the arrowhead pointed was located a canyon with a series of natural hot springs, which were believed to have healing qualities. It was this geologic formation and the hot springs for which the Arrowhead Hot Springs Sanatorium was now named.

Prior to the construction of the building in 1905, two other iterations of a sanatorium had occupied the site. In the early 1860s, a Dr. David Noble Smith built the first one, named Smith's Hygienic Sanitarium.⁶⁶ Little is known today about this building other than the fact that, at some point within the two decades that followed its construction, it burned to the ground. In 1883, however, the San Bernardino valley in which the site of the first sanatorium was located became an important node for railroad travel. At that time, the Southern Pacific Railroad laid the first tracks into the valley. The valley was reinforced as a node for transport two years later, in 1885, when the Southern Pacific Railroad's competitor, the Santa Fe Railway, laid tracks five miles distant from the first set of rails. Although both lines were constructed with the intent of transporting agricultural produce away from the San Bernardino valley, the dry climate, the mountains, and the easy access to them by rail soon also began to attract a large number of health-seekers.⁶⁷ In 1886, the sanatorium would be rebuilt and renamed the Arrowhead Hot Springs Sanatorium. On July 4, 1895, this

⁶⁶ See Peter Massey, Angela Titus and Jeanne Wilson, *California Trails South Coast Region* (Hermosa Beach, CA: Adler Publishing, 2006), 77.

⁶⁷ The fact that the San Bernardino Valley began to attract consumptives with the arrival of the Santa Fe Railway's lines there in 1885 is described in the form of the personal narrative of one consumptive particularly influential in the turn-of-the century development of Southern California, the booster and future publisher of *Land of Sunshine*, Charles Willard. See Abel, *Suffering in the Land of Sunshine*, 8. For more on the development of the San Bernardino valley in relation to the railroad, see Eugene P. Mochring, *Urbanism and Empire in the Far West, 1840-1890* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2004), 58.

second sanatorium building would also be destroyed by fire. The apparent combustibility of the site, as demonstrated by these two fires, is revealing of the strong appeal that the site possessed to the series of white Americans who chose to construct upon it.

While little is known about the first sanatorium building, the second sanatorium building constructed upon the site was three stories tall with arcaded balconies surrounding it on at least three sides. The building was covered by a hipped roof with several dormers (**Fig. 6.10.**). It was based upon residential prototypes popular across the nation, such as the cottage residences popularized by Andrew Jackson Downing in his 1850 book *The Architecture of Country Houses*. This is not at all surprising given the architectural development of California's frontier after the arrival of the first cross-continental rail in 1869.⁶⁸ As the architectural historian Harold Kirker argues in his book entitled *California's Architectural Frontier: Style and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century*, builders on the California frontier in the last half of the nineteenth century relied upon the same drawings, photographs and pattern books as did builders elsewhere.⁶⁹ Downing's book was extremely popular and influential, and the last of nine editions was published in 1866, just three years before the construction of the sanatorium.⁷⁰ Moreover, California newspapers such as San Francisco's *Alta California* promoted Downing's pattern books as especially suitable for use in California because of the state's tradition of wood construction.⁷¹ In particular, the design of the sanatorium building resembled some of the Italianate designs by Alexander Jackson Davis included within

⁶⁸ See Harold Kirker, *California's Architectural Frontier: Style and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs M. Smith, Inc., 1986), 86.

⁶⁹ Ibid, 58.

⁷⁰ See Leland M. Roth, *American Architecture: A History* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2001), 177.

⁷¹ Ibid, 58.

Downing's books, and it also bears strong resemblances to the Chalfonte Hotel constructed in Cape May, New Jersey in 1875 (**Fig. 6.11**).⁷² However, despite the standard pattern-book imagery of the second sanatorium building, its construction also clearly marks the beginning of white Americans playing Indian at the site.

Shortly after the construction of the second sanatorium building, railroad companies began to promote travel to Arrowhead Hot Springs within the pages of nationally circulated magazines, as would continue for many years.⁷³ Some of these articles were somewhat concerned with describing the architecture of the sanatorium to their readers, as they featured drawings or photographs of it and included written descriptions of the building's amenities. However, the articles also consistently demonstrate a preoccupation with presenting to readers a much larger narrative—the landscape as the sanatorium's primary draw, and one possessed special recuperative powers.

In May 1886, almost the entirety of an article entitled "Arrowhead Hot Springs" featured in *Vick's Monthly Magazine*, a horticultural journal, was given to presenting to the reader a mythology of this landscape. The unnamed author of this article began by setting out the imaginative framework with which readers should understand what was presented to them.⁷⁴ The author stated that there existed many ancient Indian legends about the site of

⁷² See John C. Poppeliers and S. Allen Chambers, Jr., *What Style Is It: A Guide to American Architecture*, 58.

⁷³ See, for example, Passenger Department of San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad, and H.C. Nutt, *Legends of the Arrowhead* (Los Angeles: Passenger Department, 1913); Amy Dudley, "A Prehistoric Landmark," *Sunset Magazine* 9, no. 2 (June 1902), 93-95 and "Arrowhead Hot Springs," *Vick's Monthly Magazine* 9 (May 1886), 135.

⁷⁴ Whether the author was merely recounting verse already written by someone else, or was constructing it whole out of his or her own imagination, remains uncertain. The "legend" appears again later in various publications so the authorship of it is unclear; however, this is the earliest article in which it is found, and, as the date strongly corresponds with that of the second sanatorium building, it is quite likely that it may be its source.

the Arrowhead Hot Springs Sanatorium. However, the author also stated that now only one would be recounted for readers for it could be considered the most graceful of them all. The reason for the legend's gracefulness, the reader was informed, was that it was told in verse form just like Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's 1855 epic poem, *Hiawatha*. A poem was then provided to the reader that explained the significance of the arrowhead inscribed on the side of the mountain and the waters of the hot springs located below its point as of Indian origin.⁷⁵

One thing is quite clear about the poem that was presented as an old "Indian legend" to the white American readers of *Vick's Monthly*. It was not composed in ancient times and passed down through the oral tradition of Indians, as the author suggested. Just like Longfellow's *Hiawatha*, the poem was written in the free verse that only became a popular form among Euro-American writers in the late nineteenth century. Moreover, while the arrowhead formation upon the mountain had existed upon the site for many years, perhaps thousands, its association with Indians by white Americans was fairly new. Two decades earlier, the geological formation was associated not with Indians, nor with the hot springs located in the canyon below its point. Instead, the arrowhead was thought by most—if not all—of the inhabitants of San Bernardino to mark the valley as the location for a new branch of the City of Zion. In the early 1850s, Mormons returning to the United States from Europe and Australia established the San Bernardino Valley as a colony after their leader, Brigham Young, was said to experience a prophetic vision of an arrow pointing down to a rich and fertile valley. Other white Americans did not arrive to the valley in any significant numbers until six years after this settlement, when Brigham Young suddenly issued a

⁷⁵ See "Arrowhead Hot Springs," *Vick's Monthly Magazine* 9 (May 1886), 135.

directive to his followers on October 30, 1857 that they should return to the primary City of Zion located in Salt Lake City. His followers hurriedly sold their farms to an influx of non-Mormons. Less than three months later, the Mormon settlement was dissolved.⁷⁶

What is interesting about the poem presented to readers within the pages of *Vick's Monthly*, therefore, is not its historical veracity as an "Indian legend." Nor is its craftsmanship as a poem, for despite its claims to the contrary, its verse was not particularly graceful. Rather, it is the manner in which the poem worked to re-frame the meaning of the site for white Americans. This it did, first, by severing any previous associations that white American readers of the poem held with the site, such as its affiliation with Mormons, by linking it with Indians, instead. Then, the poem's narrative worked to claim the site as one imbued with special restorative power due to its relationship to Indians. However, this restorative power did not long remain with them. Instead, through a deft sleight-of-hand, it soon rested in the custody of the American nation and, in particular, in the possession of the huge influx of white American health-seekers who began to arrive to the San Bernardino valley in increasing numbers after the construction of the first railroad tracks there in 1883.

The poem began by introducing to readers its main protagonist, a god-like Indian of the skies named Manitou. As described by the poem, Manitou was too indulgent with his Indian people and when they became prosperous, they "boastingly forgot His presence." Therefore, he sent a spirit to punish them, "a loathsome monster bringing pestilence and famine" whose "fiery breath consumed the valley, [and] fiery folds enwrapped the mountains." Many readers of the poem, as located across the American nation, probably did not pick up upon the fact that that the fiery folds of the serpent was likely a reference to the

⁷⁶ See Milton R. Hunter, *Brigham Young the Colonizer* (Santa Barbara, CA: Peregrine Smith, 1973), 78-79.

flames that engulfed the first sanatorium building, unless they previously had occasion to visit Smith's Hygienic Sanitarium, or, otherwise knew of its existence and destruction by fire.⁷⁷ Nonetheless, the symbolism of fire as one of ritual purification worked to sever any previous associations readers held regarding the site. It is highly unlikely, however, that the majority of the readers of the poem missed the significance of the serpent's breath as a "pestilence" that "consumed the valley."⁷⁸ If by chance they did, the poem worked to further ensure that readers understood the serpent's breath as a symbol of social disease as it described to them how Manitou possessed a single infant daughter, Ne-wah-nah, whose body the serpent enveloped with "fever" and "terror."

The readers of the poem also likely soon understood the poem as an allegory involving an epic battle of good and evil. The poem described that Ne-wah-nah was much beloved by her father. However, in her affliction with disease, Manitou was presented with a choice between that which he desired—to keep his child alive—and that which was good for his people, the ridding of the serpent of disease upon their land. The serpent of pestilence and famine represented in the "Indian legend" was clearly meant to elicit associations in the minds of white American readers with the Old Testament, and the book of Genesis, in particular. After Adam and Eve ate from the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden, an act

⁷⁷ See "Arrowhead Hot Springs," *Vick's Monthly Magazine* 9 (May 1886), 135.

⁷⁸ The reference to the serpent's breath as also evincing famine is today not quite as clear-cut as it likely was to late-nineteenth century readers of the poem. It may allude to the fact that the spread of tuberculosis in the San Bernardino Valley prevented farmers from working the agricultural valley to the same extent that they had done in the preceding decades, for in 1886, one of the many consumptives residing in the valley and the future publisher of a magazine called *The Land of Sunshine*, Charles Willard, would comment on the strange lack of available agricultural produce that year. He would write home to his mother and sisters in Chicago: "Strange as it may seem, we have no fresh vegetables and very little fruit. We have had strawberries for example only about half a dozen times." See Emily K. Abel, *Suffering in the Land of Sunshine: A Los Angeles Illness Narrative* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2006), 14–15.

instigated by the serpent, two of the punishments meted out to them by God were affliction with pestilence and famine.

In the poem, however, Manitou's choice was framed as one in which he did not favor his own individual desires, as did Adam and Eve, but the greater collective good of the Indian nations over which he ruled. Saving his land and his people from further destruction by the serpent's fiery breath was posited as necessitating him to renounce his own personal desire through an act of strenuous will. He sacrificed his beloved daughter to the serpent and this had both the effect of slaying the monster serpent and restoring order to the world of the poem that Manitou inhabited.

The exact reason that the sacrifice of Ne-wah-nah had this effect was left unstated in the poem. However, to many readers of the poem who understood it as an allegory, it likely made perfect sense. The epic battle of good and evil presented in the narrative worked to frame Manitou's decision as a moral choice. Disease, as represented by the serpent, was understood only to afflict those who were morally deviant, as in the masculine body made effeminate by social disease. Therefore, the act of Manitou sacrificing his child, as a feminized version of himself, represented an act of strenuous will against the forces of decay. Prominent figures in American culture, such as Dr. George Beard, asserted that a similar exertion of will was required of neurasthenic men in order to save the American nation.

The poem's narrative also worked to present the site as one associated with health by linking it with Indians. This was accomplished in the poem at the conclusion of the battle between Manitou and the serpent, as the landscape upon which Manitou made his sacrifice was commemorated as one of healing and restoration. As told in the poem, Manitou shot a giant arrow through the sky at the serpent in the last throes of his struggle with it, but he

missed. The arrow, however, struck a mountain and, there, it broke into two. Thereafter, the place where it landed was forever marked upon the landscape by the geologic formation resembling an arrowhead. At the point of the arrowhead also lay the body of the slain serpent, and it was from its body which sprang hot springs. According to the poem, the site of sacrifice and conquest also became one of restoration. These springs possessed properties that would heal not just the individual bodies of those “not dead or dying” but also the larger social body to which they belonged, that of Indian nations.

What is particularly significant about the poem as an old “Indian legend” presented to a white American audience within the pages of *Vick's Monthly*, however, is that it did not end with either the final throes of the epic battle or with the healing of the Indian nations that ensued. Instead, in its conclusion, the poem continued past those two points, as follows:

And the chieftan called the people,
 All that were not dead or dying,
 Pointed to the broken arrow,
 Pointed to the healing waters:
 Made a dance and joyous council
 For the healing of the nations.
 Now, the people, torn and scattered,
 Wander, wander o'er the mountains;
 But for many moons their dwellings
 Were near the crystal waters,
 Ne'er beyond sight of the broken
 Arrowhead above the waters.⁷⁹

The resolution of the Great Spirit Manitou's battle with the serpent worked to render the landscape of the mountain and the hot springs as a kind of Edenic Garden for “the healing of the nations.” However, instead of the healing waters of the hot springs being of

⁷⁹ Ibid.

continuing benefit to the Indian people for whom Manitou directly made his sacrifice, the Indian people who had once resided in their dwellings “near the crystal waters” disappeared. Most American readers likely understood the Indians in the poem as comprising members of the vanishing race as signified in their increasing invisibility on the landscape as a “people torn and scattered.” This absence at the poem’s conclusion, however, is significant in that it left the American readers of the poem to imagine themselves as the new beneficiaries of the site’s healing powers.

The story of the arrowhead as described to readers in the “Indian legend” of the poem—and as located on the mountain directly above the Arrowhead Hot Springs Sanatorium—served to make white Americans understand the site as one where brokenness occurred, but also healing. In the narrative of the poem, brokenness was literally manifest in the breaking of Manitou’s arrow upon the mountain. However, the show of strength and resolve that he demonstrated in the sacrifice of his daughter instigated all of the remaining narrative action in the poem, including the creation of the healing waters of the hot springs for which the Arrowhead Hot Springs Sanatorium was known at the turn of the twentieth century.

It is no coincidence that hydrotherapy, in particular, was believed to be an especially soothing remedy for those suffering from social diseases, such as neurasthenia or tuberculosis, for it was thought to allay their frayed nerves.⁸⁰ Moreover, exposure to the “pure air” of the out-of-doors— and in particular, the air of the mountains in the West— was also believed a highly efficient remedy for neurasthenic patients. Their affliction with

⁸⁰ See a chapter entitled “Neurasthenia” in Simon Baruch, *The Principles and Practice of Hydrotherapy* (New York: W. Wood and Company, 1903), 398-412.

disease was thought to derive, in great measure, from the toxicity of indoor air in abundance in the cities of the East. At the Arrowhead Hot Springs Sanatorium, then, playing Indian in the form of narrative story-telling worked to imbue a site intended for the benefit of white Americans with special recuperative power. The landscape for which the Great Spirit Manitou sacrificed for “the healing of nations” in the poem was one upon which white Americans could imagine themselves powerful warriors, like Manitou, in their fight against the serpent of social disease. An undated advertisement for the Arrowhead Hot Springs reinforces this idea as it shows an Indian warrior drinking from the site’s healing waters (**Fig. 6.12**).

In the following two decades, the linking together of Indians with white Americans’ own health would only continue to become more architecturally explicit in the citation by white Americans of the ruins and pueblos of the Southwest. For example, according to architectural historian David Gebhard, in 1903, the architect Charles Whittelsey (the architect of the Alvarado Hotel Complex in Albuquerque and the El Tovar Hotel at the Grand Canyon) would design a grandiose Pueblo Revival Style sanatorium in Alamogordo, New Mexico that fused together the architectural language of the multi-story Indian pueblos with an Ecole de Beaux-Arts formality.⁸¹ However, the sanatorium was never built, and information about it appears scant.

Much better known is a Pueblo Revival Style sanatorium called Sunmount that was constructed in 1914 on the outskirts of Santa Fe (**Fig. 6.13**). It would replace a tent-city sanatorium, and it would be immensely popular in drawing to the Southwest many health-

⁸¹ See David Gebhard, “Modern Regionalism: Referential Regionalism,” in *Architectural Regionalism: Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity, and Tradition*, ed. Vincent B. Canizaro (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007), 198.

seekers, including many writers and artists who would eventually stay there to live, including the writer Alice Corbin Henderson, the associate editor for *Poetry, A Magazine of Verse*. She would arrive to Sunmount from Chicago in 1916. Subsequently, in 1924, her husband, the architect William Penhallow Henderson, would build the couple a Pueblo Revival Style house just down the road from the sanatorium on what was then called Telegraph Road. A colony of writers and artists recently arrived to Santa Fe had already begun to settle on the outskirts of the city in the area immediately around Sunmount Sanatorium. After its construction, the Hendersons' Pueblo Revival Style house on Camino del Monte Sol would function as an artistic and literary salon, drawing to it a group of Santa Fe poets that included Wittner Bynum, Haniel Long, Spud Johnson and the poet and playwright Lynn Riggs.⁸² Alice Corbin Henderson would also soon convince city authorities to change Telegraph Road's name to Camino del Monte Sol.⁸³ This is Spanish for "Road of the Sun Mountain," and the name speaks to the importance that the Sunmount Sanatorium played in the lives of many drawn to Santa Fe to live in an attempt to recover their health.

The sanatorium's Pueblo Revival Style imagery—and, subsequently, the Hendersons' house—derived from a conscious effort by local business boosters and the staff of the New Museum of New Mexico to create a distinctive image for the city. This effort first began in 1912. In so doing, boosters hoped to revive the city's economy through the development of tourism.⁸⁴ In 1920, John Gaw Meem, who is well-known for helping to shape this distinctive image, would arrive to Santa Fe for the first time. This he would do in order to stay at the

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ See Lynn Cline, *Literary Pilgrims: The Santa Fe and Taos Writers Colonies, 1917-1950* (Albuquerque: University of New Press, 2007), 23.

⁸⁴ See Chris Wilson, *Facing Southwest: The Life and Houses of John Gaw Meem* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2001), 9.

Sunmount Sanatorium after being diagnosed with tuberculosis while working in Rio de Janiero for the National Bank of New York.⁸⁵

As the scholar Christopher Wilson describes in his book entitled *Facing Southwest: The Life and Houses of John Gaw Meem*, Meem would be entranced with the Pueblo Revival Style architecture of Sunmount Sanatorium. Meem previously had trained as a civil engineer at Virginia Military Institute, but after his stay at the sanatorium, he desired to shift his focus to architecture. After a year and a half in residence at Sunmount, he would be pronounced well enough to pursue an internship in Denver with the prominent architectural firm of Fisher and Fisher. However, after sixteen months, the rigors of the internship, which involved very long working hours, proved too much for Meem's physical constitution. In January 1924, he would return to Santa Fe and to Sunmount. The sanatorium's director, Dr. Mera, would soon make available to Meem one of the buildings on the grounds of the sanatorium for use as an architectural office.⁸⁶ From here, Meem would design many of Pueblo Revival Style residences in Santa Fe as first inspired by his arrival to Sunmount. Chris Wilson observes the importance that Sunmount played to Meem and to many others as he writes the following: "Like so many of his fellow patients, John Meem not only regained his physical health, but he was also reborn psychologically facing southwest across Sunmount's sunbathed panorama." Apparently, too, Wilson finds this psychological transformation significant enough that it inspired the title of his book on Meem, *Facing Southwest*.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ See Bainbridge Bunting, *John Gaw Meem: Southwestern Architect* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), 9; Wilson, *Facing Southwest*, 8, and Lyn Bleiler and Charles Strong, *Santa Fe Art and Architecture* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2012), 60.

⁸⁶ See Wilson, *Facing Southwest*, 11-15.

⁸⁷ Ibid, 11.

One of Meem's very first commissions, in 1924, would be a Pueblo Revival Style residence for the writer, Mary Austin. She was also recently arrived to Santa Fe from New York, and like many of the new arrivals with an artistic or literary bent, she settled in the area around Sunmount on the Camino del Monte Sol. Like the Hendersons' house, Austin's Pueblo Revival Style house would attract writers and artists from around the country. For example, her friend Willa Cather visited Austin for a time and wrote parts of her novel *Death Comes to the Archbishop* there.⁸⁸ However, it was not just the houses of writers and artists in the area that functioned as literary salons. To some extent, the Sunmount Sanatorium did, too. As Chris Wilson describes, Sunmount functioned as half-sanatorium, part-hotel, and the sanatorium's common room regularly hosted public talks by local writers such as Austin and Wittner Bynam, as well as other influential people in Santa Fe. These included archaeologists associated with the Museum of New Mexico such as Edgar Lee Hewett and Sylvanus G. Morley. Well-known visitors to Santa Fe and to Sunmount also presented their work there. The poets Vachel Lindsay and Carl Sandburg gave poetry readings in Sunmount's common room, and Robert Flaherty screened his groundbreaking documentary "Nanook of the North" there.⁸⁹

Other Pueblo Revival Style sanatoriums also would be constructed across the Southwest, such as the Desert Sanatorium constructed in 1926 in Tucson, Arizona (**Fig. 6.14**). An elaborate building complex, it also was dedicated to the treatment of social diseases

⁸⁸ See James Woodress, *Willa Cather: A Literary Life* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 394-395.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

such as tuberculosis and neurasthenia.⁹⁰ The facilities were envisioned as an ideal environment that would provide “for a more rapid recovery from fatigue and debility induced by overwork of body and mind” for their white American patients.⁹¹ Like the third iteration of the Arrowhead Hot Spring Sanatorium constructed in 1905 in San Bernardino, the architecture of the Desert Sanatorium in Tucson represented a significant departure from the Eastern prototypes upon which late-nineteenth century sanatoriums in the area were typically constructed, such as St. Mary’s Sanatorium built on the outskirts of the small desert town in 1870. Like the second iteration of the Arrowhead Springs Resort, its design was modeled upon Eastern building prototypes from standard pattern-books such as that of Andrew Jackson Downing (**Fig. 6.15**). The Desert Sanatorium was constructed as a sprawling complex of eighteen buildings designed specifically to elicit associations from its white American patients with Indians.

Each building was designed in the Pueblo Revival Style with a simple geometric form, flat planar walls, plastered exterior wall surfaces, and parapets with soft rounded edges. Many of the buildings were two stories high with stacked massings suggestive of the terraced villages of the Pueblo Indians, and wooden ladders placed to the buildings exteriors suggested that the levels of the buildings were intended for ascent by those who inhabited them (**Fig. 6.16**). Repetitive and simple forms, such as that of a central courtyard flanked by a colonnade of roughly hewn timbers, bestowed a cultivated primitiveness to buildings in the

⁹⁰ Like much literature of the time, the promotional brochure for the sanatorium did not explicitly name the disease of neurasthenia. Instead, it stated that the facilities were dedicated to treating a variety of chronic pulmonary complaints, various “selected types of nervous exhaustion,” and “all conditions in which physical reserves have been depleted.” See Bernard Langson Wyatt, *The Desert Sanatorium and Institute of Research, Tucson, Arizona* (Tucson: The Desert Sanatorium and Institute of Research, 1927), n.p.

⁹¹ Ibid.

complex, such as the complex's Institute of Research with its Diagnostic and Out-patient Clinic, Clinical Laboratories, and Operating Room. Only two metal-sheathed domes located upon the façade of the Institute of Research alluded to the modern state-of-the-art medical technologies housed inside, such as an X-ray machine for the diagnosis of disease (**Fig. 6.17**). These domes somewhat resembled the gilded or smooth-tiled domes of Moorish-influenced Spanish Colonial buildings in the Southwest, but their metal-sheathed exteriors also summoned associations with the advanced technology of the many astronomical observatories also then being constructed across the Southwest.

While the modernity of the facilities was alluded to subtly in building facilities such as the Institute of Research, elsewhere it was deliberately downplayed for patients by creating for them associations with the simple life as signified by Indians. For instance, each of the eight residential buildings of The Desert Sanatorium complex was bestowed with the name of an Arizona Indian tribe: Pima, Papago, Navajo, Moqui, Maricopa, Yavapai, Hopi, and Apache.⁹² However, of particular importance at sanatoriums in the Southwest were efforts to make patients conceive of the interior spaces of the sanatorium as representative of the healthy out-of-door life as signified to them by Indians. As is indicated both by Dr. George Miller Beard's cloistering of the feminine neurasthenic to the interior space of the "darkened room" as well as George Wharton James belief that the "steam-heated" interiors of buildings in the cities of the East evidenced a luxury and ease which served to emasculate men, the

⁹² While each of the sanatorium units was given a name that was intended to correspond to an Arizona Indian tribe, the names "Moqui" and "Hopi" were, in fact, redundant of one another. Throughout the late nineteenth-century, the Hopi Indian tribe was frequently known by Anglo-Americans not as the Hopi tribe, but by the misnomer "Moqui" or "Moki." However, by the 1920s, these two misnomers had fallen into disuse, in general.

interiors of buildings were conceived by most Americans to be intrinsically feminine spaces and indoor air to be a toxic and corrupting substance.

At the Desert Sanatorium, access to the out-of-door life was available in many of the sanatorium's amenities. For example, a large swimming pool located to the exterior of the sanatorium complex not only provided the opportunity for patients to engage in physical activity in the out-of-doors, but it also dispensed to them the hydrotherapy believed imperative to the soothing of their frayed nerves (**Fig. 6.18**).⁹³ There were also indoor pools within the sanatorium where other patients could engage in hydrotherapy without venturing outside. An outdoor putting green within the sanatorium complex provided another occasion for male health-seekers to summon and to exert their nerve force with physical activity in the out-of-doors (**Fig. 6.19**). Unknown is whether female patients at the sanatorium were actively dissuaded at all from participating in the manly activity of golf, but for them to engage in the activity would have certainly violated the basic premises of the rest treatment that women should conserve their energy to an interior space rather than expend it in the out-of-doors.

However, patients did not travel long distances or pay substantial amounts of money in order to spend all of their time in the out-of-doors in their stay at a sanatorium. Therefore, many of the buildings at sanatoriums located in the Southwest were constructed to fuse together the out-of-door life with the indoor life. One way this was accomplished was through interior decorating schemes. Since the medical establishment thought that one of the main reasons that neurasthenic men contracted social disease was too much exposure to indoor air, the design of interior spaces for them required special care so that they would

⁹³ See Wyatt, *The Desert Sanatorium*, n.p.

aid in revitalizing of their masculinity, rather than further draining it. Therefore, sanatoriums often featured interior spaces intended to play a transitional role in the treatment of their male patients, as afflicted by social disease, by helping them to internalize socially accepted ideas of masculinity. Such internalization was thought necessary for a full restoration of health before the neurasthenic or tubercular patient was once again introduced to the corrupting influence posed by modern civilization.⁹⁴

For example, at the Sunmount Sanatorium in Santa Fe, a room was specifically designed to accommodate activities that its patients would conceive of as manly, such as the playing of billiards or the reading of newspapers.⁹⁵ Therefore, the interior was paneled with heavy fumed oak and a billiard table placed at its center. Both worked to denote the room a masculine space as such interior furnishings were typical of men's clubs as located in the cities of the East. However, the walls of these interior spaces were also often furnished with signifiers of the healing out-of-door life. Therefore, at Sunmount, Indian basketry also festooned the walls of the billiards room and worked to mark it as a restorative one for the male patient afflicted by social disease (**Fig. 6.20**).

Likewise, at the Desert Sanatorium in Tucson, each individual patient room featured not only standard American furnishings thought conducive to creating a healing environment, such as hospital beds, but also furnishings of Indian design such as rugs (**Fig. 6.21**). Moreover, as described in the sanatorium's promotional literature, buildings throughout the complex featured "a fascinating scheme of Indian decorations, ornaments,

⁹⁴ See R. Marie Griffith, "Minding the Body," in *Born Again Bodies: Flesh and Spirit in American Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 128.

⁹⁵ For billiards as a "manly" indoor sport associated with men's clubs in cities, see *A River Running West: The Life of John Wesley Powell* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 438.

ceilings and walls” that were intended to bring the simple life, the out-of-door life of the Indian, into the interior. Many of the buildings possessed Indian mural designs that elicited from Americans associations with masculinity, in particular, such as “authentic reproductions of altar and ceremonial practices of the Zuni Indians” that were known to belong to the fraternal ritual of Pueblo Indian priest clans **(Fig. 6.22)**.⁹⁶

The environments of many sanatoriums in the Southwest fused together the out-of-door life with the indoor life not only through interior decorating schemes, but also through an architecture that took full advantage of the dry and relatively temperate year-round climate. At both the Sunmount Sanatorium built in Santa Fe in 1914 and the Desert Sanatorium in Tucson, many of the buildings were constructed around central courtyards surrounded by covered outdoor terraces, or patios **(Fig. 6.23)**. These served to blend the distinction between the active out-of-door life, as signified by the space of the courtyard, with the restful qualities associated with the indoors; therefore, they provided an ideal place for the recuperation of both male and female patients. Moreover, central courtyard configurations in sanatorium buildings were often utilized to bring a sense of the out-of-doors to the interiors of the rooms arranged in wings around them. Opening windows and doors to both the central courtyard and to the exterior of buildings provided for cross-ventilation and for the circulation of the “pure air” of the out-of-doors through interior spaces, such as patient rooms, which would dilute the indoor air that was believed to be a toxic and effeminizing substance.

Moreover, in transitional spaces that blended both the out-of-doors and the indoors, patients were privy to a relatively new therapy believed conducive to their recovery—

⁹⁶ See Wyatt, *The Desert Sanatorium*, n.p.

heliotherapy. At the Desert Sanatorium, one of the architectural features of the out-of-door life attributed by George Wharton James to the Pueblo Indians—the out-of-door terrace for sleeping—was specifically incorporated into many of the residential buildings in the complex. Solariums located atop each of the residential buildings provided an ideal place for reclining patients to receive more intensive heliotherapy treatments as aided by the latest development in medicine for treatment of social disease, the Thezac lens.

As is shown to the left of a photograph of a roof-top solarium at the Desert Sanatorium in Tucson, the Thezac lens was essentially a mirror mounted upon a tripod (**Fig. 6.24**). It was used to focus the radiation of the sun upon patients' skin for limited amounts of time in order to burn it. Eventually, the lenses would be directed across the entirety of the patient's body to produce a tanned color to the skin (**Figs. 6.25 and 6.26**). In the practice of heliotherapy upon the rooftop terraces of the Desert Sanatorium, white Americans afflicted by social disease also sought their restoration to health by playing Indian. With the aid of a Thezac lens and the intense rays of the sun in the Arizona desert they could quickly cast aside their identities as pallid neurasthenics confined to the interior spaces of the cities of the East and assume the bronzed appearance of the healthy Indian who lived the strenuous life in the out-of-doors (**Fig. 6.27**).

A 1929 advertisement featured in the *Journal of the Outdoor Life*, a monthly magazine of the National Tuberculosis Association, further illustrates the benefits that were thought to accrue to those who engaged in heliotherapy (**Fig. 6.28**). It is an advertisement for a Luxor Model Sun Lamp, which was thought to bring the benefits of the Thezac lens indoors. The advertisement stated that physicians were confidently prescribing the Alpine Sun lamp because it had served them in health institutions throughout the world. It also promised that

the Alpine Sun Lamp could bring a little sunshine into every home in the American nation, and especially those located far away from those “homes unusually well-suited climatically,” such as those in the desert Southwest. The advertisement also described how thousands of parents were safeguarding the health of their children with the Alpine Sun Lamp, as well as the rest of the family. With only the “snap of a switch,” the advertisement promised, the lamp would provide a greater intensity of ultraviolet light rays than even the brightest noonday sun.

A photograph accompanies the advertisement, and in it, a young boy lies naked upon the floor. He is located within an interior space, conceivably his home as is indicated by the copy for the advertisement. Located next to him in the Luxor Model Alpine Sun Lamp. Ostensibly, the lamp is the height of modern technological progress, as is indicated by its sleek metal body. It is cylindrical, similar to the barrel-shaped body of a train. Upon a long arm hangs a large lamp. It is depicted as casting a solid ray of light down onto the figure of the boy beneath it. The boy lies reclined upon the floor, and his eyes are covered with goggles to prevent the bright light from searing his eyes. The Luxor Model Sun Lamp promised to reproduce the “alchemy of nature” to the interior of the house. Essentially, it promised to bring the healing benefits of wilderness indoors. This it would do in the form of ultraviolet light that would “heal, strengthen, and build up the body” in order to resist disease. It would work to produce “robust, sun-tanned, ‘light-blessed’ children who are the constant pride of their parents.” In the advertisement, the young boy’s naked body is brown and his body appears well formed, as if he had been long engaging in physical activity in the out-of-doors. With the Luxor Model Sun Lamp, families across the nation could play Indian within their very own homes as a means to prevent the onset of social disease.

The Desert Sanatorium is just one example of the manner in which the creation of Indian-themed architectural environments in the early twentieth century by white Americans were powerful means by which to play Indian. The many references throughout the complex to the simple life, as thought embodied in the culture of the Pueblo Indians, was believed by white Americans to provide access to their own health and restoration. Latent in this idea, however, was always the image of the ruin. As James Clifford suggests, the ruin is an always-disappearing structure—like a mirage in the desert—that invites imaginative reconstruction.⁹⁷ For health-seekers, the architectural ruin as located in the spaces of the Southwest and as associated with Indians, was a symbolically powerful way both to imagine the decay of their own bodies as well as their restoration to health.

That this was a particularly resonant image is perhaps nowhere better illustrated than within the promotional literature for The Desert Sanatorium. Prominently featured on one of the opening pages of its promotional literature was presented to readers an image of crumbling adobe ruins as located directly to the north of the sanatorium complex (**Fig. 6.29**). These were the ruins of an old fort constructed in the mid-nineteenth century by the U.S. government for military use. Although technically not Indian ruins, the dissolving adobe walls appeared similar to those of an Indian pueblo. Moreover, readers were asked to associate the ruins with Indians as it was described how they represented an American barrier against the raids of the Apaches and how the Apache tribe represented the most savage and relentless of aborigine warriors. For many white Americans, this was exactly the image that the Apache tribe summoned. At the turn of the twentieth century, the Apache

⁹⁷ James Clifford “On Ethnographic Allegory,” in James Clifford and George E. Marcus (eds.) *Writing Culture: the Poetics and Politics of Ethnography: A School of America Research Advanced Seminar* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 119.

Indian named Geronimo came to epitomize for many Americans the indefatigable and ferocious Indian warrior as vanquished in the taming of the Western frontier. In 1886, it took the unleashing of a force of 5,000 U.S. Cavalry men to make Geronimo and his eighteen fellow warriors finally concede defeat in their struggle to retain their land.⁹⁸ Subsequently, his face came to be recognized by millions. Photographs of Geronimo and cartoons depicting him were widely disseminated, and he gained what is described by some as a “glamorous” celebrity for his appearances at popular fairs and other events, such as the 1904 World’s Fair in St. Louis. It is worth noting here, however, that the meaning of such appearances by him was as a kind of trophy of conquest, for the celebrity accorded to him at these events was also dependent upon the fact that he was a captive inmate of the U.S. government.⁹⁹

The ruins located to the north of grounds of the Desert Sanatorium were, then, a symbol of warfare but they were also one of conquest. Significant to its meaning, too, was that many Americans conceived of a fort as an outpost of civilization and one that required considerable force and energy its establishment. However, as would be keenly felt by prospective patients reading the Desert Sanatorium’s promotional literature, civilization was also thought subject to decay. Forces such as Apache Indians could weaken or destroy an

⁹⁸ The U.S. Cavalry tried to subdue the Apache Indians in a series of conflicts from 1849 to 1886 as it took physical possession of the lands of the Arizona Territory. These conflicts famously escalated as the U.S. Cavalry, as headed by General Nelson B. Miles, unleashed in July 1886 a force of 5,000 men—representing one-quarter of the U.S. Army—against a band of 18 Apache Indian warriors. The brunt of the entire force, however, was primarily directed at the capture of just one man, Geronimo. Ultimately, the U.S. Cavalry succeeded in its efforts when it took Geronimo prisoner on September 4, 1886; and his capture marked the cessation of major open conflict by the Apache against the U.S. government in its claim to the lands of the Arizona Territory. See William B. Kessel and Robert Wooster, eds., *Encyclopedia of Native American Wars and Warfare* (New York: Facts on File, 2005), 144. See also Claudia Sadowski-Smith, *Border Fictions: Globalization, Empire and Writing at the Boundaries of the United States* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 2008), 81, and Odie B. Faulk, *The Geronimo Campaign* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969).

⁹⁹ See Sacvan Bercovitch, ed., “Chestnutt and Imperial Spectacle,” *The Cambridge History of American Literature: Prose Writing, Volume 3* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 194.

“American barrier,” a signified in the adobe walls of the ruined fort. However, many readers also believed that forces of decay were present in own bodies as afflicted by social disease. To struggle against the decay of civilization was conceived to involve a fierce and strenuous force of will like that of a savage warrior. Therefore, the energy and vitality with which the Apache Indian warrior once fought could also be imagined by white Americans as of benefit to a body in ruin. The architectural ruin, therefore, served as an important metonym for white Americans. They could imagine themselves reborn from a state of decay and, in the hope of their reconstructed bodies, they could also hope for their re-admittance to what they conceived to be civilization.

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Figure 1.1 A scale model of an Indian pueblo as executed for display at the Museum of Science in Boston circa 1900.
Image Credit: Personal postcard collection of the author.



Figure 1.2 The Cliff Dwellers exhibit at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition.
Image Credit: Duane A. Smith, Karen A. Vendl, and Mark A. Vendl, *Colorado Goes to the Fair: World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), n.p.



Figure 1.3 A mesa in Mesa Verde National Park, “Home of the Cliff Dwellers, Colorado.”
Image Credit: personal postcard collection of author

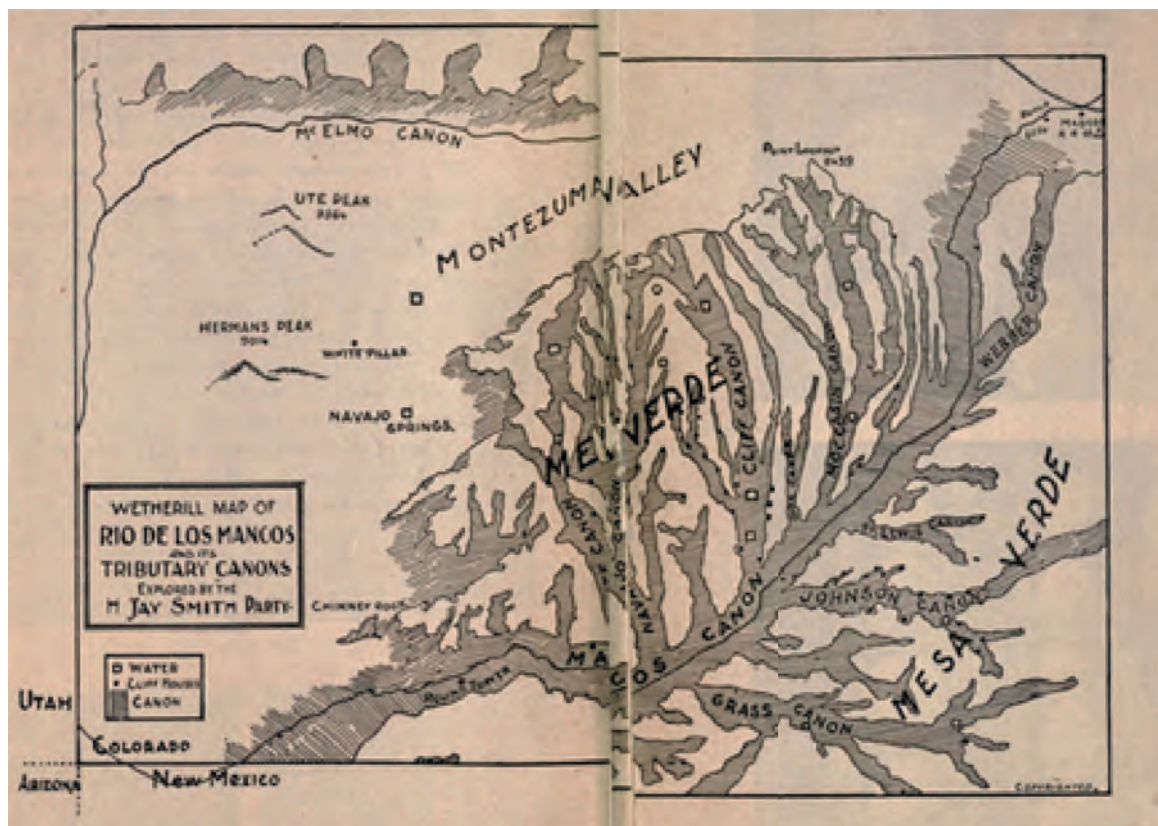


Figure 1.4 Map of the Mesa Verde area illustrating the canyons as tributaries.
 Image Credit: The H. Jay Smith Exploring Company, *The Cliff Dwellers* (s.l., s.n: 1893), 10-11.

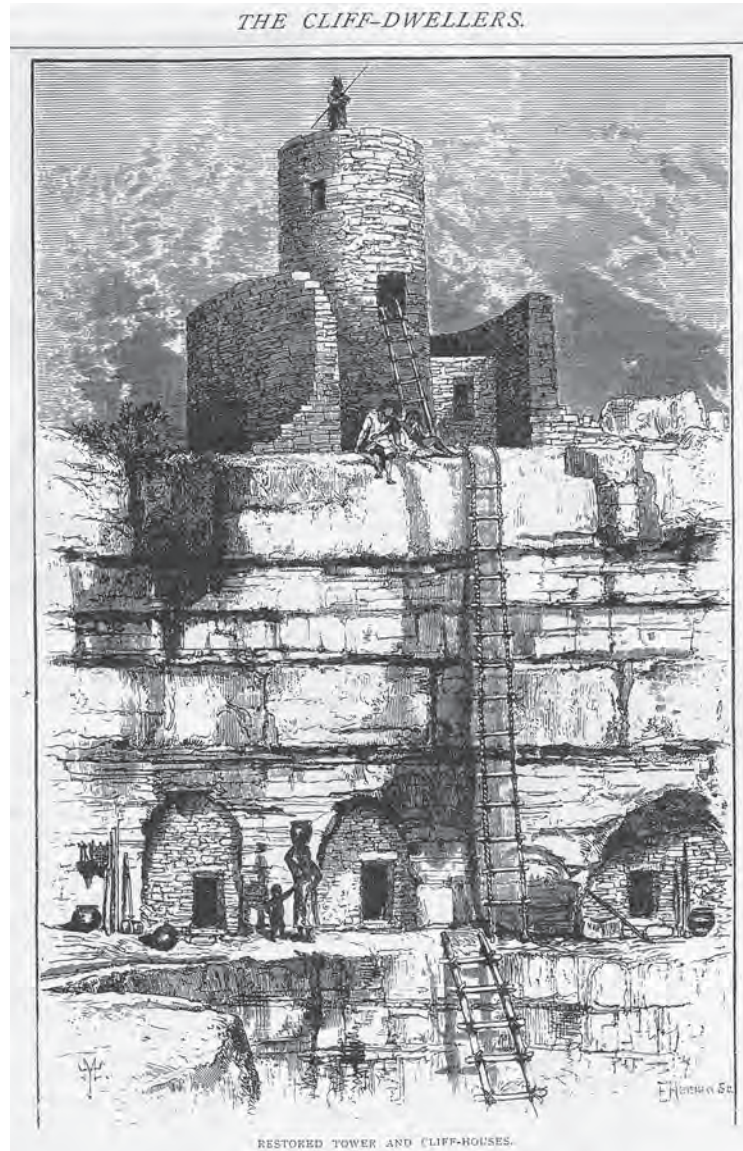


Figure 1.5 The illustration of the ruins of the Cliff Dwellers that accompanied Emma Hardacre's 1878 article for Scribner's Magazine. Like many illustrations of nineteenth century, it did not show the ruins as they were, but as the artist imagined they might have been once long ago when inhabited by the ancient Cliff Dwellers.

Image credit: Emma Hardacre, "The Cliff Dwellers," *Scribner's Monthly*, December 1878, 266.



CLIFF PALACE, FROM THE OPPOSITE SIDE OF THE CANYON

Figure 1.6 The Cliff Palace at Mesa Verde as embedded into the cliff face of a mesa.
Image Credit: Jesse Walter Fewkes; Smithsonian Institution; Bureau of American Ethnology, *Antiquities of the Mesa Verde National Park; Bulletin 51; House Document (U.S. Congress House), 61st Congress, no. 99* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), plate 2.



CLIFF PALACE, FROM THE SPEAKER-CHIEF'S HOUSE TO THE SOUTHERN END

PHOTOGRAPHED BY F. K. VREELAND

Figure 1.7 The Cliff Palace at Mesa Verde in detail.
Image Credit: Jesse Walter Fewkes; Smithsonian Institution; Bureau of American Ethnology, *Antiquities of the Mesa Verde National Park; Bulletin 51; House Document (U.S. Congress House), 61st Congress, no. 99* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), plate 1.



Figure 1.8 The ruins of an ancient kiva at Puye in New Mexico as explored in 1890 by the anthropologist Adolph Bandelier and as photographed by Charles F. Lummis. Image credit: Patrick T. Houlihan and Betsy E. Houlihan, *Lummis in the Pueblos* (Flagstaff, Arizona, 1986), 141.



Figure 1.9 The exhibit of mummies featured in the Relic Room of the Cliff Dwellers exhibit at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition.
Image Credit: Duane A. Smith, Karen A. Vendl, and Mark A. Vendl, *Colorado Goes to the Fair: World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), n.p.



Figure 1.10 The seed planter and other agricultural implements of the Cliff Dwellers as exhibited at the Cliff Dwellers exhibit at the 1893 Columbian World's Exposition.
Image Credit: The H. Jay Smith Exploring Company, *The Cliff Dwellers* (s.l., s.n: 1893), n.p.

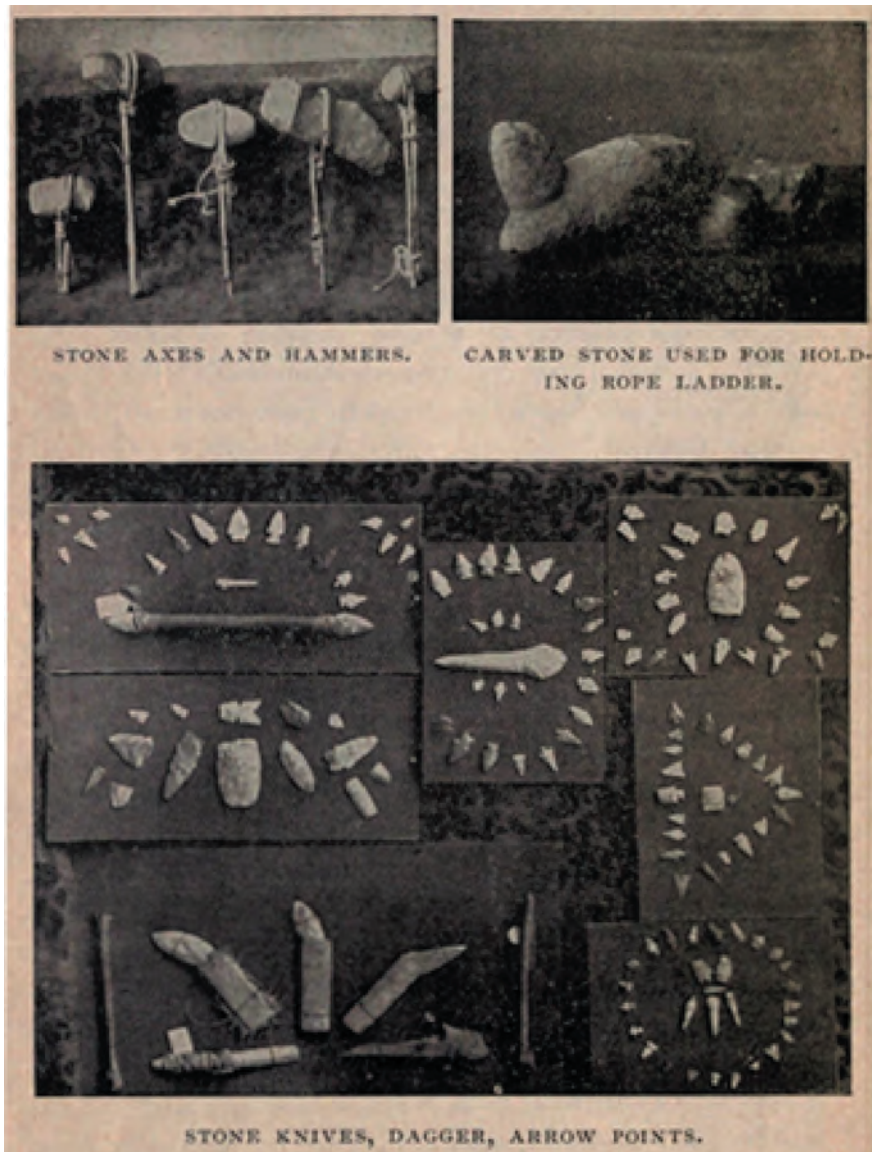


Figure 1.11 The weaponry of the Cliff Dwellers as exhibited at the Cliff Dwellers exhibit at the 1893 Columbian World's Exposition.

Image Credit: The H. Jay Smith Exploring Company, *The Cliff Dwellers* (s.l., s.n: 1893), 16.



Figure 1.12 The feather cloth that typically covered the mummified bodies of the Cliff Dwellers as exhibited at the Cliff Dwellers exhibit at the 1893 Columbian World's Exposition.

Image Credit: The H. Jay Smith Exploring Company, *The Cliff Dwellers* (s.l., s.n: 1893), 19.



Figure 1.13 A drawing of “She,” the mummy that the H. Jay Smith Exploring Company promoted as a spectacle for visitors to the Cliff Dwellers exhibit at the 1893 Columbian World’s Exposition.

Image Credit: The H. Jay Smith Exploring Company, *The Cliff Dwellers* (s.l., s.n: 1893), 13.



Figure 1.14 The back side of the Cliff dwellers exhibit with the Agriculture Building in the immediate background and some of the more ornate buildings surrounding the Court of Honor beyond.

Image Credit: Duane A. Smith, Karen A. Vendl, and Mark A. Vendl, *Colorado Goes to the Fair: World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), n.p.



Figure 1.15 A drawing of an explorer using hand holds to ascend the cliff face of a mesa in order to reach the cliff dwellings.
Image Credit: The H. Jay Smith Exploring Company, *The Cliff Dwellers* (s.l., s.n: 1893), back cover.



Figure 1.16 A portrait of Edward Everett Ayer in his “downstairs Indian Room,” as painted in 1897 by his nephew, Elbridge Ayer Burbank.
Image credit: Leah Dilworth, ed., *Acts of Possession: Collecting in America* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 139.



Figure 1.17 The Chicago residence of Edward Everett Ayer as designed in 1885 by the architectural firm of Daniel H. Burnham and John Root.
Image credit: Library of Congress, Historic American Building Survey Collection



Figure 1.18 The West Virginia mansion of Joseph B. Vendergrift constructed in 1904 that featured an Indian Room to its interior.
Image credit: "Vancroft"—A Great Country Estate on the Banks of the Ohio Among the Hills and Valleys of West Virginia—A True Country Home with All of the Conveniences of a City Dwelling Place," in *Country Life in America* 5, no. 1 (March 1904), 419-420.



Figure 1.19 A turn-of-the-century photograph of the writer George Wharton James' "Indian Room," or den, as located within his bungalow in Pasadena, California. Image credit: the University of Southern California Digital Library Collection (image # chs-5134).



Figure 1.20 An image of a “New Woman” (circa 1880 – 1890). On her skirt, she is depicted in miniature riding a bicycle, an activity in which women in the United States first began to participate in the mid-nineteenth century. The presence also of a golf club and ball on her skirt indicates that this is an activity with which this “New Woman” was fond. Women began playing golf in Britain in the 1850s, and by the 1890s, many women in the United States also began to play.
Image credit: undated magazine clipping (circa 1890).

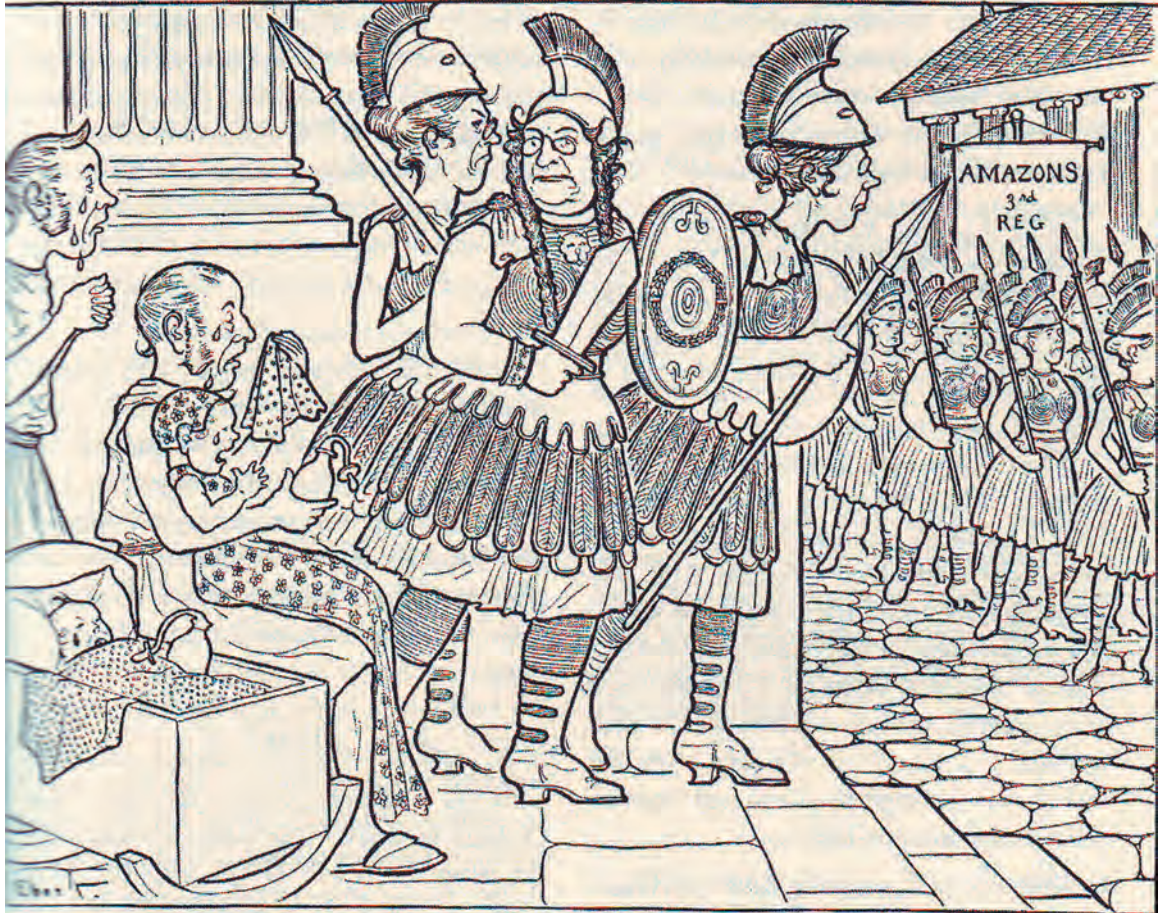


Figure 1.21 An illustration of the “New Woman” as a militant Amazon warrior as featured in a 1900 issue of *Life Magazine*.

Image credit: Marianne Berger Woods, *The New Woman in Print and Pictures: An Annotated Bibliography* (Jefferson, N.C.: MacFarland and Company, 2009), 69.



Figure 1.22 An image of a bloomer-wearing “New Woman,” as featured in an 1895 issue of *Puck*, showed the many different forms she could take as seated upon “the revolutionary bicycle.” She could be a servant girl, a mother-in-law, a Salvation Army worker, or even a widow.

Image credit: Marianne Berger Woods, *The New Woman in Print and Pictures: An Annotated Bibliography* (Jefferson, N.C.: MacFarland and Company, 2009), 20.



Figure 1.23 An image of the “Bloomer Costume” as worn by early proponents for the women’s rights and suffrage movements, such as Amelia Jenks Bloomer.
Image credit: The National Park Service Digital Collection.



"ISN'T HEAVEN IN THERE?"
"YES, BUT THIS IS THE LADIES' ENTRANCE."

Figure 1.24 Images of the bloomer-wearing, bicycle-riding New Woman, such as this one as featured in *Life Magazine* in 1896, often made her the object of scorn and ridicule.
Image credit: *Life Magazine*, 2 January 1896, 25.



Figure 1.25 A lithograph published by Currier and Ives entitled *Maternal Happiness* (1849). It illustrates well the dominant cultural paradigm that held sway in the mid-nineteenth century that a woman's proper role was in the domestic sphere where she would perform "women's work," of which one of the primary tasks was understood to be motherhood and the raising of children. Her faithful adherence to the fulfillment of this role was promised to result in her "happiness."

Image credit: Zachary Ross et al., *Women on the Verge: The Culture of Neurasthenia in Nineteenth-Century America* (Stanford: Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University, 2004), 73.



Figure 1.26 An 1895 image of the “New Woman” and the “New Man” as featured in the British magazine *Punch*.

Image credit: Marianne Berger Woods, *The New Woman in Print and Pictures: An Annotated Bibliography* (Jefferson, N.C.: MacFarland and Company, 2009), 142.



Figure 1.27 Many images such as this one, entitled “The New Woman—Wash Day” were widely circulated at the turn-of-the-century, and they depicted the New Woman as an emasculating force to her husband.
Image credit: Library of Congress



Figure 2.2 Stanford White's 1887 design for the Ramona Industrial School for Indian Girls in Santa Fe, New Mexico (unbuilt). The school was named for the fictional protagonist of a novel by travel writer and Indian-rights advocate, Helen Hunt Jackson.

Image credit: from Richard Longstreth, *On the Edge of the World: Four Architects in San Francisco at the Turn of the Century* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983), 28.



Figure 2.3 The Pima County Courthouse (far right) was completed by 1884 following the Southern Pacific Railroad's arrival to Tucson in 1880. The building replaced an adobe building previously on the site. The left foreground shows an adobe building that many Americans, like General William Temuscah Sherman, held in disdain as incompatible with the goal of Americanization.

Image credit: Anne Woosley and the Arizona Historical Society, *Early Tucson* (Charleston: Arcadia Press, 2008), 44.



Figure 2.4 By 1892, twelve years after the Southern Pacific Railroad arrived to Tucson, the courtyard square adjacent to the still relatively new Pima County Courthouse, was transformed with lush plantings and water infrastructure projects from a desert landscape into a veritable Edenic garden.

Image credit: Anne Woosley and the Arizona Historical Society, *Early Tucson* (Charleston: Arcadia Press, 2008), 44.



Figure 2.5 A photograph taken of Charles F. Lummis while he was approximately twenty years old.
Image credit: Jane Apostol, *El Alisal: Where History Lingers* (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 1994), 16.

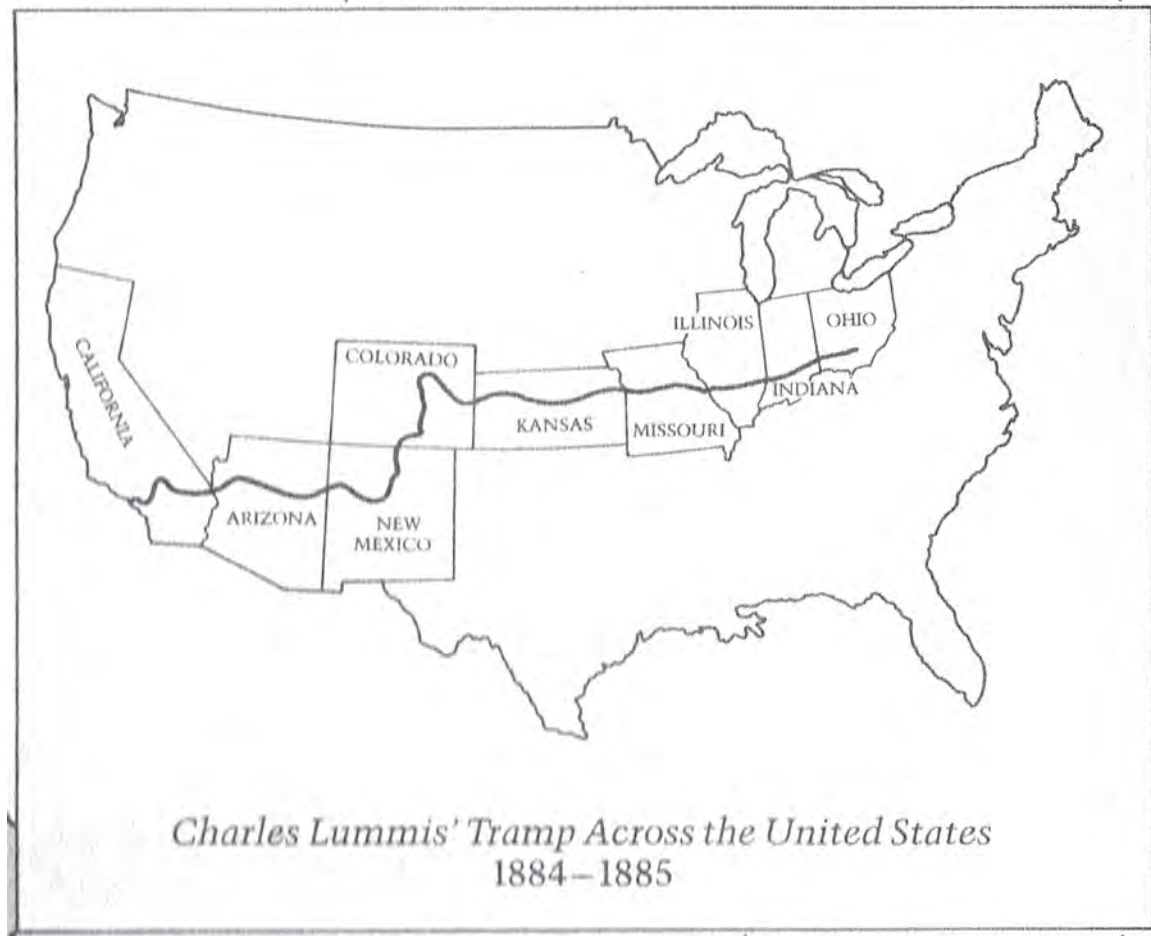


Figure 2.6 The route of Charles F. Lummis' tramp across the continent in 1884 -1885.
Image credit: James W. Byrkit, ed. *Charles Lummis: Letters from the Southwest* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), endpaper.



Figure 2.7 A photograph taken of Frank Hamilton Cushing around the time that he delivered his lecture at Harvard's Hemingway Auditorium in 1882.
Image credit: Charles Lummis, "The White Indian," *The Land of Sunshine: Magazine of California and the West* 13, June 1900, 5.



Figure 2.8 Charles F. Lummis as photographed in his tramping outfit shortly after completion of his famous “Tramp Across the Continent” begun in late 1884 and finished in early 1885.
Image credit: Jane Apostol, *El Alisal: Where History Lingers* (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 1994), 18.



Figure 2.9 Lummis photographing near the pueblo of Acoma during his period of recovery in New Mexico.
Image credit: Jane Apostol, *El Alisal: Where History Lingers* (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 1994), 36.



Figure 2.10 A photograph taken by Charles F. Lummis of the pueblo of Isleta in which he spent his period of recovery from paralysis.
Image credit: Patrick T. Houlihan and Betsy E. Houlihan, *Lummis in the Pueblos* (Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1986), 9.

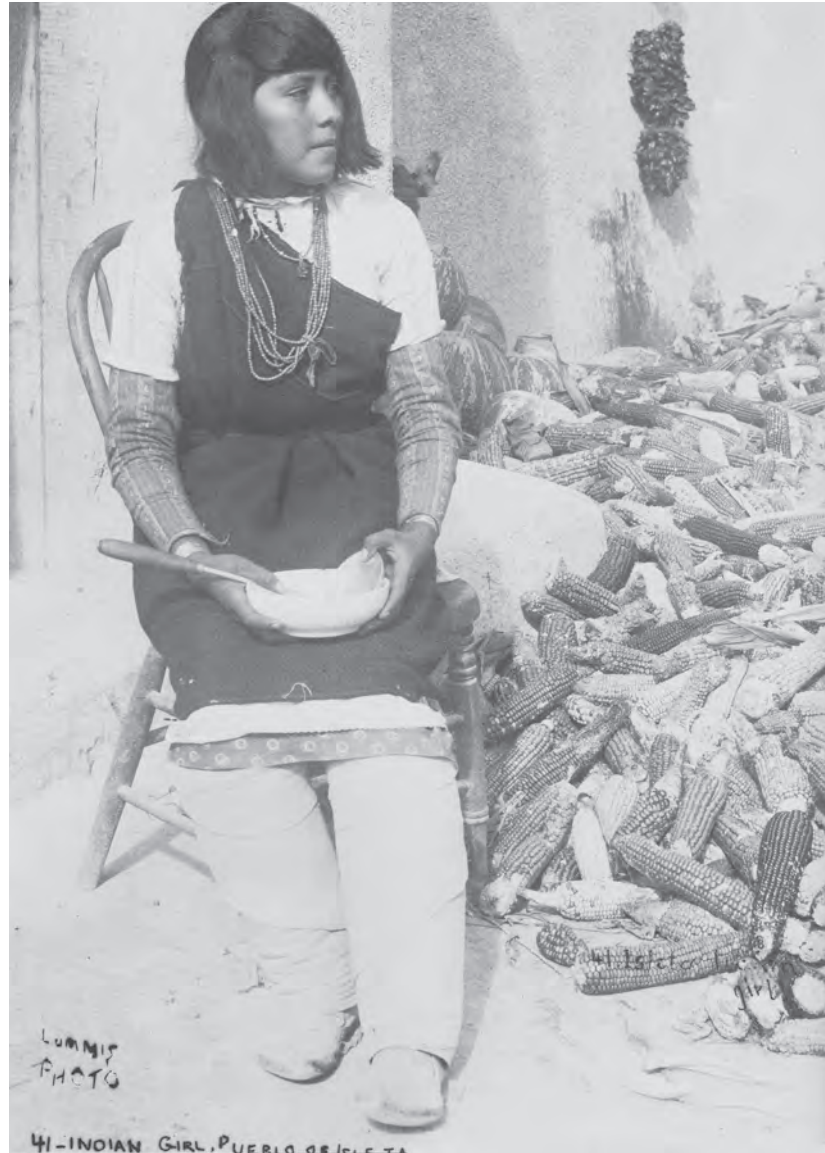
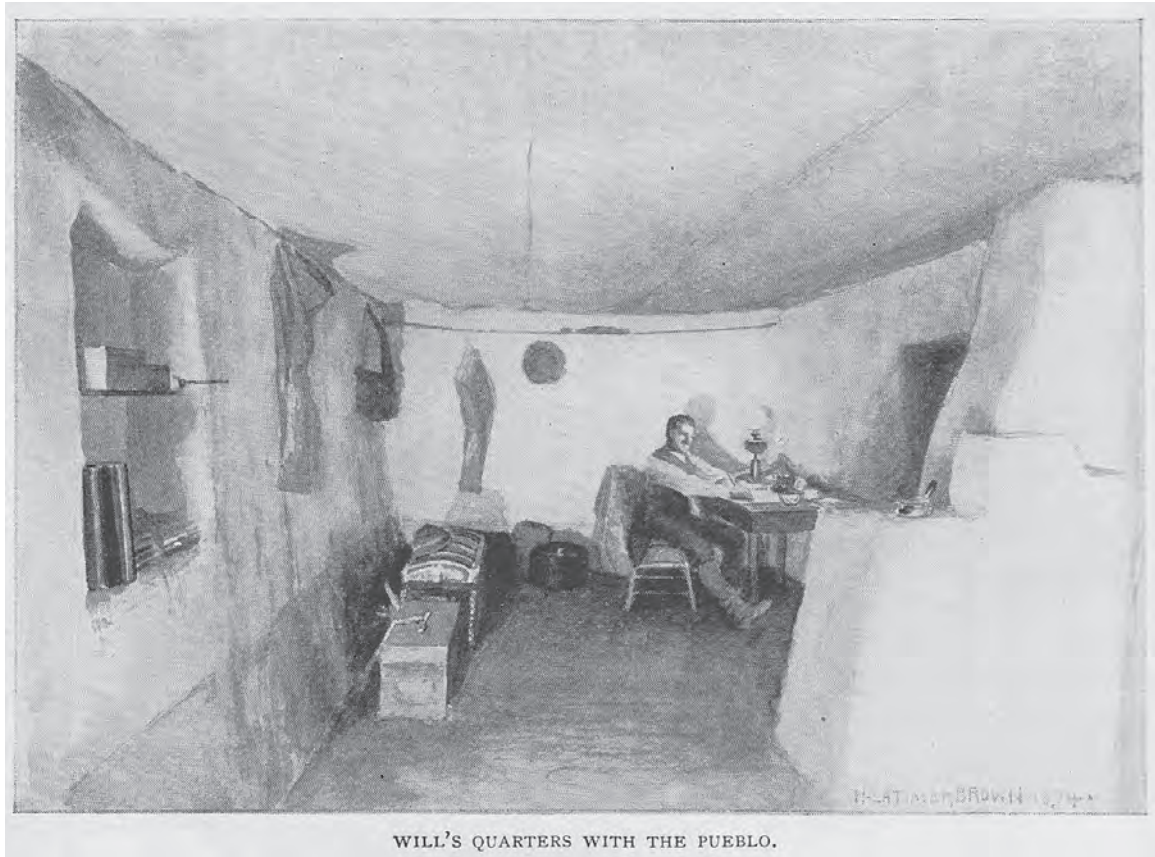


Figure 2.11 A photograph taken by Charles F. Lummis entitled “Indian Girl, Pueblo of Isleta.” Many of the people that Lummis photographed in the pueblos did not want their images “captured” on film by Lummis, and he often took their photographs surreptitiously. It is, therefore, no coincidence that their gaze often did not meet that of the camera’s lens. However, there is a posed quality to this particular photograph, which indicates that the “Indian girl” may have been a willing participant in Lummis’ image-making. This image was obviously one of Lummis’ favorites documenting his period of recovery in the pueblo of Isleta. He would later install a glass transparency of it as a window lite in El Alisal. Image credit: Patrick T. Houlihan and Betsy E. Houlihan, *Lummis in the Pueblos* (Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1986), 24.



WILL'S QUARTERS WITH THE PUEBLO.

Figure 2.12 A rendering of “Will’s” (Charles F. Lummis) quarters when he first arrived to the pueblo of Isleta during the period of his recovery in New Mexico as included in Lummis’ account of that time published in a 1894 article in *McClure’s*.

Image credit: Charles Lummis, “My Friend Will: A Story,” *McClure’s*, November 1894, 538.



Figure 2.13 A rendering of “Will’s” (Charles F. Lummis) quarters near the end of his period of recovery in New Mexico, when “The Dark Adobe Became A Home” as included in Lummis’ account of that time published in a 1894 article in *McClure’s*.

Image credit: Charles Lummis, “My Friend Will: A Story,” *McClure’s*, November 1894, 539.



STRANGE CORNERS OF OUR COUNTRY.

BY CHARLES F. LUMMIS.

Figure 2.14 The frontispiece for an article entitled “Strange Corners of Our Country” written by Charles F. Lummis for *St. Nicholas Magazine* in 1892 as a promotion for his book of the same name.
Image credit: Charles Lummis, “Strange Corners of Our Country—Part III—The Snake Dance of the Moquis,” *St. Nicholas Magazine*, July - August 1892, 701.



Figure 2.15 Charles F. Lummis' own "frame box" house at 14 Forester Avenue was "Queen Anne-annotated." In a 1893 article entitled "Gardens of Eden While You Wait," it was presented by Lummis to readers of the *Land of Sunshine* as a house set in an idyllic garden.
Image credit: Charles Lummis, "Gardens of Eden While You Wait," *The Land of Sunshine*, December 1894, 214.



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Figure 2.16 This promotional advertisement for The Landmarks Club was often featured in the *Land of Sunshine*. It featured many prominent names with whom the readers of the magazine were already familiar, such as that of author Margaret Collier Graham, architect Sumner P. Hunt, and that of the club's president, Charles F. Lummis.

Image credit: *The Land of Sunshine*, June – November 1895, 285.



Figure 2.17 A pueblo-inspired float featured at the Fiesta de Los Angeles held in Los Angeles in 1895.
Image credit: Charles Lummis, "La Fiesta de Los Angeles," in *The Land of Sunshine* 5-6 (1896), 263.



Figure 2.18 A photograph of “The Unmitigated Adobe” featured in Charles F. Lummis’ 1895 article in the *Land of Sunshine* entitled “There’s Something About the Adobe.”

Image credit: Charles F. Lummis, “Something About the Adobe,” *The Land of Sunshine*, February 1895, 49.



Figure 2.19 A photograph of “The Adobe Plus” featured in Charles F. Lummis’ 1895 article in the *Land of Sunshine* entitled “There’s Something About the Adobe”
Image credit: Charles F. Lummis, “Something About the Adobe,” *The Land of Sunshine*, February 1895, 49.



Figure 2.20 Charles Lummis constructing the foundation for El Alisal. It is not possible to see the face of the person helping him, but it is known that several Pueblo Indian men from Isleta traveled to Los Angeles to work for periods of time as Lummis' assistants on the project (The house in the background is a temporary structure that Lummis erected on the property for his family to live in while he built the house).

Image credit: University of Southern California Special Collections Library (image #chs-1423).

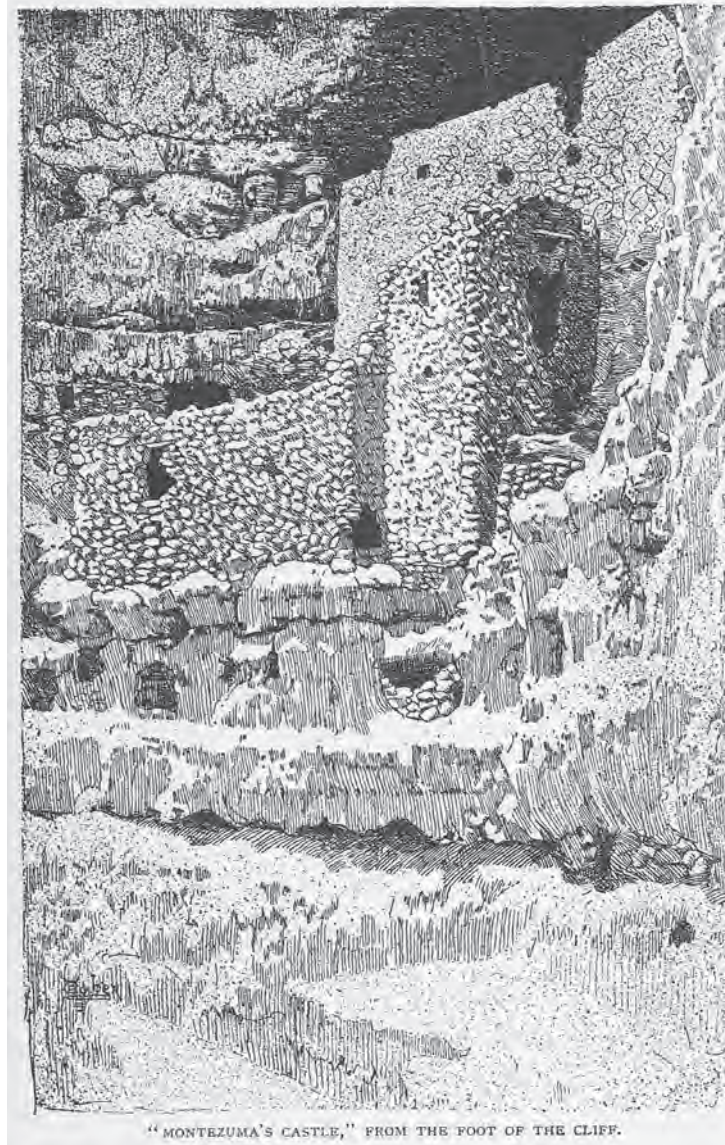


Figure 2.21 An illustration of Montezuma's Castle as included in Charles F. Lummis' *Some Strange Corners of Our Country*.
Image credit: Charles Lummis,



Figure 2.22 For approximately the first seven years that the house was under construction (1897 - 1904), its form resembled most closely the fortified dwelling of a Cliff Dweller or the stacked geometry and spare form of a contemporary pueblo. Image credit: University of Southern California Special Collections Library (image #chs-1420.



Figure 2.23 A photograph of the Pueblo Revival style “houses” that served as bedrooms for two of Lummis’ children (no longer extant).
Image credit: Jane Apostol, *El Alisal: Where History Lingers* (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 1994), 66.

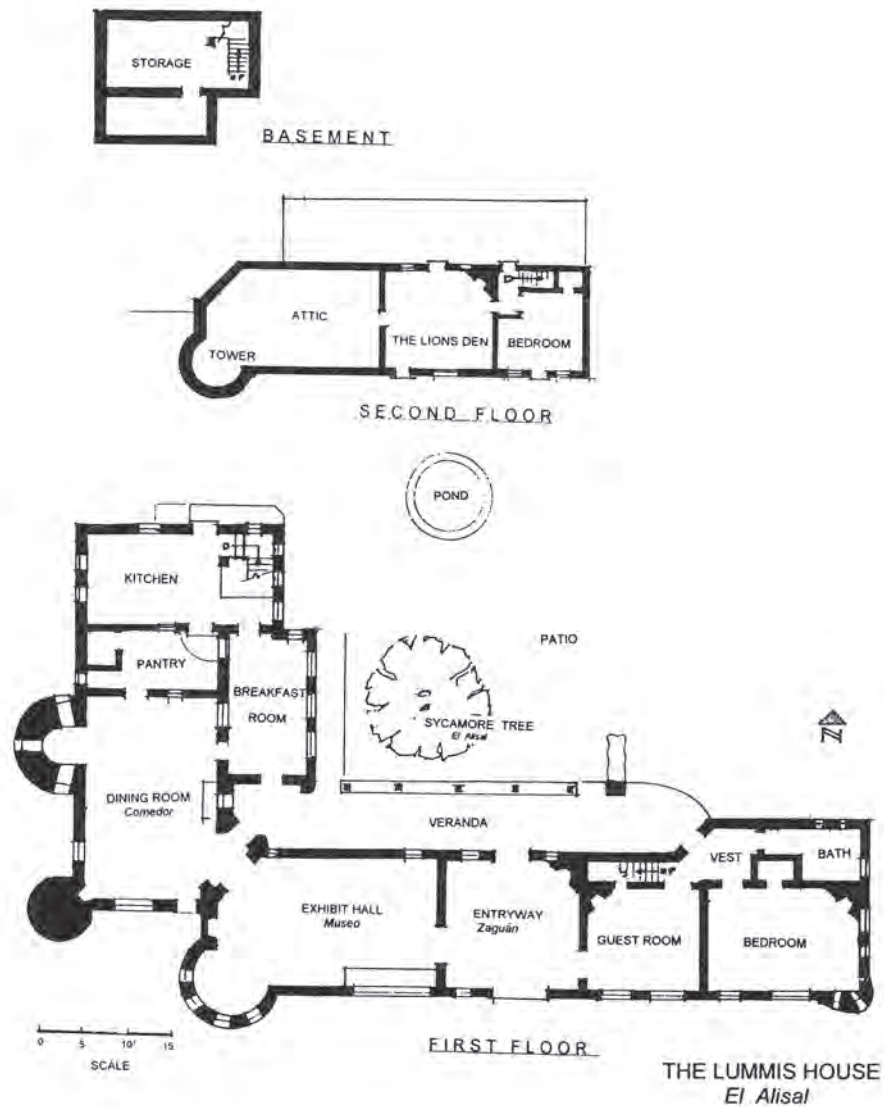


Figure 2.24 The first floor plan (bottom), the second floor plan (middle) and the basement level floor plans of El Alisal (the outbuildings that Lummis constructed for his children, which are no longer extant, are not shown here).

Image credit: Jane Apostol, *El Alisal: Where History Lingers* (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 1994), 44.



Figure 2.25 El Alisal shown with the hipped roof added over the main building block and with the Mission-style facade added adjacent to the kiva tower (circa 1960)



Figure 2.26 The entry door to Charles F. Lummis' El Alisal.
Image credit: University of Southern California Special Collections Library (image #chs-1541).

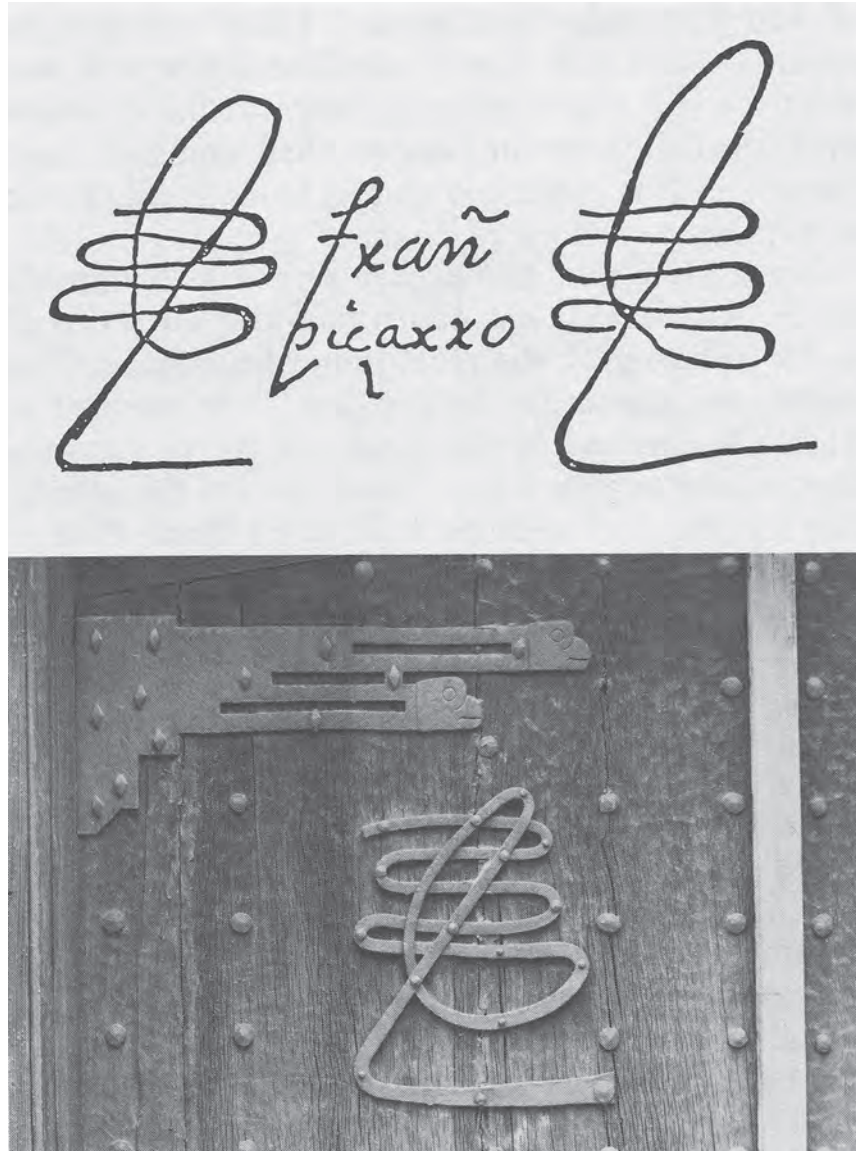


Figure 2.27 Francisco Pizarro’s rubrica (above) and Lummis’ “monogram” upon the entry door of El Alisal.

Image credit: Jane Apostol, *El Alisal: Where History Lingers* (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 1994), 54.



Figure 2.28 El Alisal's "sitting room" (or the "Museo," as Lummis called it) was intended by him to function as a museum. Here, the Museo is shown circa 1902.
Image credit: University of Southern California Special Collections Library (image #chs-1421).



Figure 2.29 The window of the museo at El Alisal that functioned as a narrative of Lummis's travels across "The Great southwest." Lummis' photograph entitled "Indian Girl, Pueblo Of Isleta" is prominently featured (center of photograph).



PREHISTORIC PERUVIAN AND CLIFF-DWELLER POTTERIES, FETICHES, ETC.

Figure 2.30 One of the many glass display cases at El Alisal featuring Lummis' collections of pottery and artifacts.

Image credit: The Southwest Society of the Archaeological Institute of America, *Seventh Bulletin: Two Great Gifts: The Lummis Library and Collections, The Munk Library* (Los Angeles: The Southwest Society, 1910), 16.



Figure 2.31 A photograph of Charles F. Lummis' "Lion's Den" at El Alisal.
Image credit: Jane Apostol, *El Alisal: Where History Lingers* (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 1994), 58.



Figure 2.32 The 1897 cover of the *Land of Sunshine* featuring the lion as drawn by the artist Gutzon Borglum.

Image credit: Jane Apostol, *El Alisal: Where History Lingers* (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 1994), 24.



Figure 2.33 A photograph taken by Charles F. Lummis of the “stone lions” at Cochiti that he explored with Bandelier during his period of recovery in New Mexico. Image credit: Patrick T. Houlihan and Betsy E. Houlihan, *Lummis in the Pueblos* (Flagstaff, Arizona, 1986), 128.



Figure 3.1 The first Fred Harvey Railroad eating-house opened in 1875 at the Wallace Hotel in Wallace, Kansas.

Image Credit: Donald Duke, *Santa Fe: The Railroad Gateway to the American West: Passenger and Freight Service, the Fred Harvey System and Diesel Locomotives, Signals, Communications, and the Santa Fe Emblem: Volume 2* (San Marino, California: Golden West Books, 1992), 370.



Figure 3.2 A map showing the extent of the Fred Harvey Company system as located along the lines of the Santa Fe Railway
Image Credit: University of Arizona Special Collections



Figure 3.3 A late-nineteenth century drawing of a typical railroad eating-house.
Image Credit: Donald Duke, *Santa Fe: The Railroad Gateway to the American West: Passenger and Freight Service, the Fred Harvey System and Diesel Locomotives, Signals, Communications, and the Santa Fe Emblem: Volume 2* (San Marino, California: Golden West Books, 1992), 371.



Figure 3.4 The sprawling Alvarado Hotel Complex adjacent to the train tracks
Image Credit: World Catalogue Image Collection, Image #00073487



Figure 3.5 A 1898 Advertisement for the AT&SF Railroad's "California Limited" summoned the imagery of a Franciscan mission; this imagery the company would translate into the built environment with the construction of its Alvarado Hotel Complex in 1902.

Image Credit: magazine clipping in personal collection of author.



Figure 3.6 The El Tovar Hotel (circa 1922) on its site adjacent to the south rim of the Grand Canyon.
Image Credit: Grand Canyon Archives, Grand Canyon, Arizona (Folder #FHarvey-GRCA-70793-JUN1922.



Figure 3.7 Photograph of the Indian and Mexican Building at the Alvarado Hotel in Albuquerque.
Image credit: Museum of Northern Arizona Library, Flagstaff, Arizona, #MS143-1466.



Figure 3.8 The Hopi House, constructed in 1904 and completed in 1905, marks an important shift to attempting to replicate Pueblo Indian buildings in a scientifically precise manner rather than the loose representations often featured in popular expositions.
Image Credit: Grand Canyon Archives, Grand Canyon, Arizona (Folder GRCA -15803).

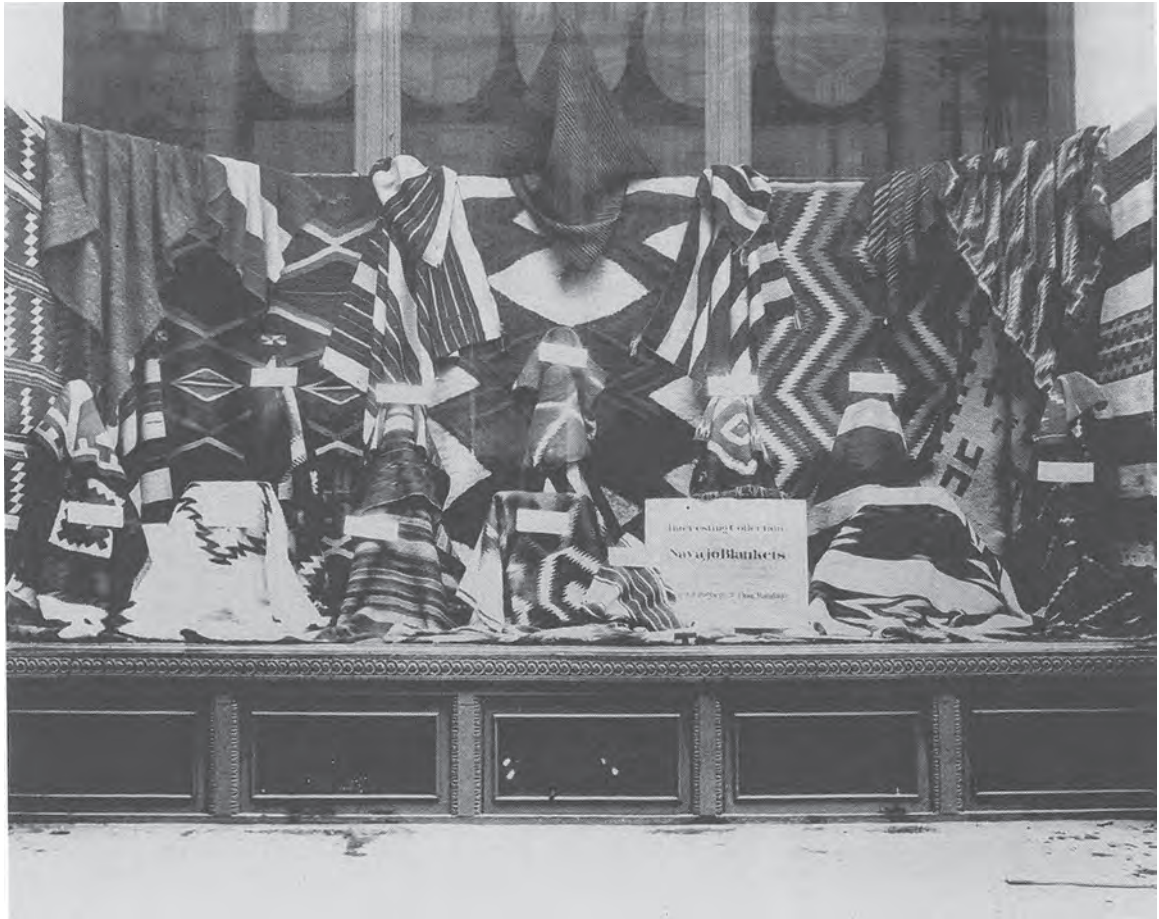


Figure 3.9 The mass marketing of Navajo Indian Blankets, like the ones offered for sale in a Marshall Field's Department Store Window in 1899, introduced concerns to the Anglo-American public as to the authenticity of such items. Photo Credit: Elizabeth Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism, and Transculturation in American Art* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 39.



Figure 3.10 Photograph of Heinrich R. Voth.

Image Credit: Fred Eggan, "H.R. Voth, Ethnologist," in *Hopi Material Culture: Artifacts gathered by H.R. Voth in the Fred Harvey Collection*, edited by Barton Wright (Flagstaff, Arizona: Northland Press, 1979), 1.



Figure 3.11 Mary Colter was responsible for the interior design of both El Tovar and Hopi House at the Grand Canyon in 1904 (as well as for the interior design of the Indian and Mexican Building at the Alvarado Hotel in 1902).
Image Credit: Arnold Berke, *Mary Colter: Architect of the Southwest*, 34.



Figure 3.12 The award given to the Fred Harvey Company at the 1904 Exposition in St. Louis for its collections of “Aboriginal Blanketry and Basketry.”
Image Credit: Heard Museum Library, Phoenix, Arizona, #RC2-209.



Figure 3.13 The El Tovar Hotel at the Grand Canyon, as published in the railroad's promotional brochure of 1905 entitled *El Tovar*. The view is looking westward from Hopi House (note roof ladder in foreground) with central bungaloid entry wing in center.
Image Credit: Grand Canyon Archives, Grand Canyon, Arizona (Folder #FHarvey-GRCA-49438-ca1905-1908).



Figure 3.14 The bungaloid entry of the El Tovar Hotel in 1922.
Image Credit: Grand Canyon Museum Archives, GRCA-70798

the higher rooms being more frequently of the short types prevalent in the farming pueblos of Cibola and in Tusayan. The tall chimneys found in Zuñi proper, and consisting often of four or five chimney pots on a substructure of masonry, are undoubtedly due to the same conditions that have so much influenced other constructional details; that is, the exceptional height of the clusters and crowding of the rooms. As a result of this the chimney is a more conspicuous feature in Zuñi than elsewhere, as will be shown by a comparison of the views of the villages given in Chapters III and IV.

In Tusayan many of the chimneys are quite low, a single pot surmounting a masonry substructure not more than 6 inches high being quite common. As a rule, however, the builders preferred to use a series of pots. Two typical Tusayan chimneys are illustrated in Fig. 74. Most of the substructures for chimneys in this province are rudely

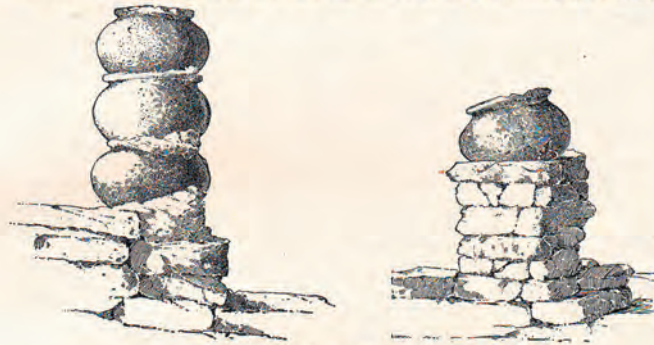
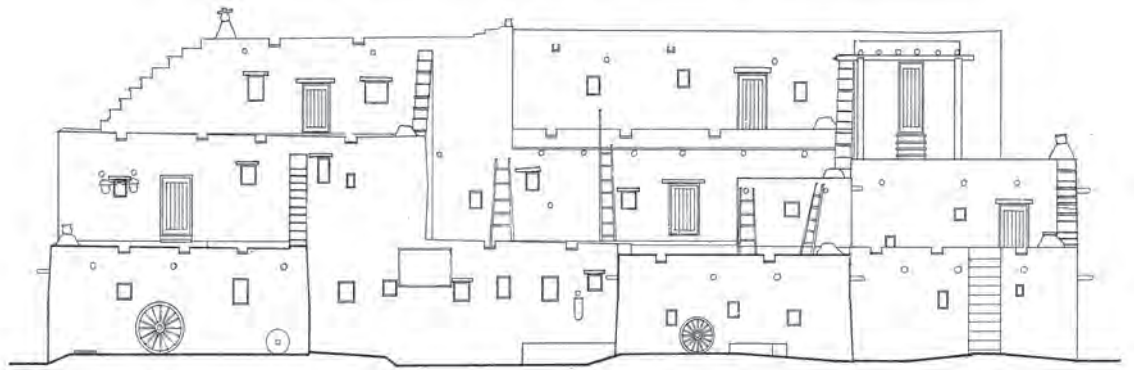


FIG. 74. Tusayan chimneys.

rectangular in form, and clearly expose the rough stonework of the masonry, while in Zuñi the use of adobe generally obliterates all traces of construction. In both provinces chimneys are usually surmounted by a chimney pot. These usually occur in clusters, the builder of a room or group of rooms preferring to use a single pot. Pl. CI illustrates a portion of the upper terraces of a building where a number of masonry chimneys are grouped together. The roof are principally of the rectangular form, being a development from the square roof hole. The latter is usually seen with a rim rising several inches above the roof surface, the roof of slabs set on edge or of ordinary masonry. They are often closed or covered with thin slabs of sandstone in the same manner as the roof holes that they resemble, to which some of them belong appear to be used for ventilation rather than for cooking, as they are often disused during the summer season.



Figure 3.15 Detail as drawn in the 1886 survey by the Smithsonian's Bureau of Ethnology and the same detail as constructed at Hopi House
Image Credit: Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture: Tusayan and Cibola." In *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology To the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1886-'87*. Edited by J.W. Powell (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891), 179; Photographic inset by author.



West Elevation

Figure 3.16 The West Elevation of the Hopi House
Image Credit: As-Built Documentation for the Hopi House, National Park Service., Grand Canyon, Arizona



Figure 3.17 Photograph showing the roundabout between the El Tovar Hotel and the Hopi House across which a boardwalk was inscribed
Image Credit: personal photograph collection of author.



Figure 3.18 The Entry Lobby at the El Tovar Hotel, dubbed the “Rendez-vous” as published in the Fred Harvey Company’s promotional brochure of 1905 and entitled “El Tovar, Showing Rustic Interior Decorated With Mounted Animal Trophies and Indian (Navajo) Blankets Used as Rugs.”
Image credit: Museum of Northern Arizona Library, Flagstaff, Arizona, #MS301-3-291.



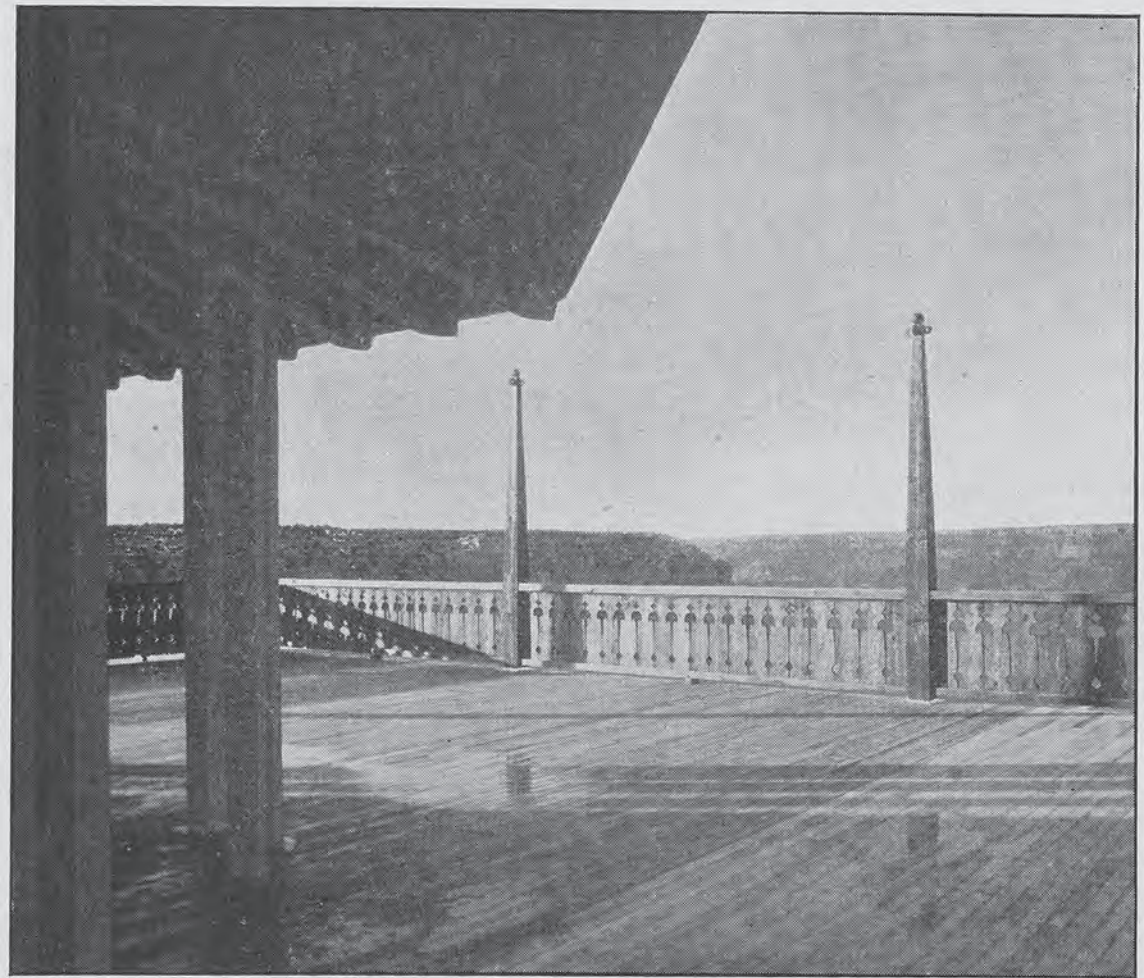
The News Stand and Corner of Rendezvous

Figure 3.19 The news stand adjacent to the space of the rendez-vous at the El Tovar.
Image Credit: William H. Simpson, *El Tovar by Fred Harvey; A New Hotel at Grand Canyon of Arizona* (Albuquerque: Fred Harvey Company, 1908), 8.



The Main Dining Room

Figure 3.20 The dining room of the El Tovar
Image Credit: William H. Simpson, *El Tovar by Fred Harvey; A New Hotel at Grand Canyon of Arizona* (Albuquerque: Fred Harvey Company, 1908), 16.



The North Roof Garden

Figure 3.21 The north roof garden at the El Tovar.
Image Credit: William H. Simpson, *El Tovar by Fred Harvey; A New Hotel at Grand Canyon of Arizona* (Albuquerque: Fred Harvey Company, 1908), 22.



The Ladies' Lounging Room

Figure 3.22 The ladies lounging room at the El Tovar.
Image Credit: William H. Simpson, *El Tovar by Fred Harvey; A New Hotel at Grand Canyon of Arizona* (Albuquerque: Fred Harvey Company, 1908), 12.



The Grand Canyon, from El Tovar

Figure 3.23 Visitors to the El Tovar Hotel at the rim of the Grand Canyon.
Image Credit: William H. Simpson, *El Tovar by Fred Harvey; A New Hotel at Grand Canyon of Arizona* (Albuquerque: Fred Harvey Company, 1908), 6.



Figure 3.24 Photograph of the Hopi village of Oraibi in the Tusayan Province
Image Credit: University of Southern California Libraries Special Collections, #chs-m16921

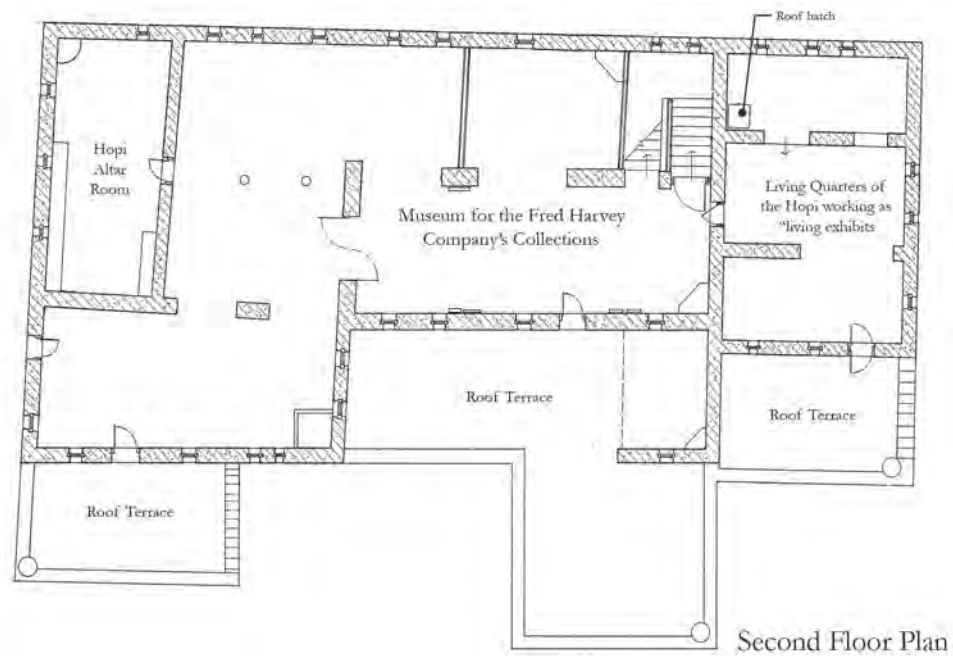
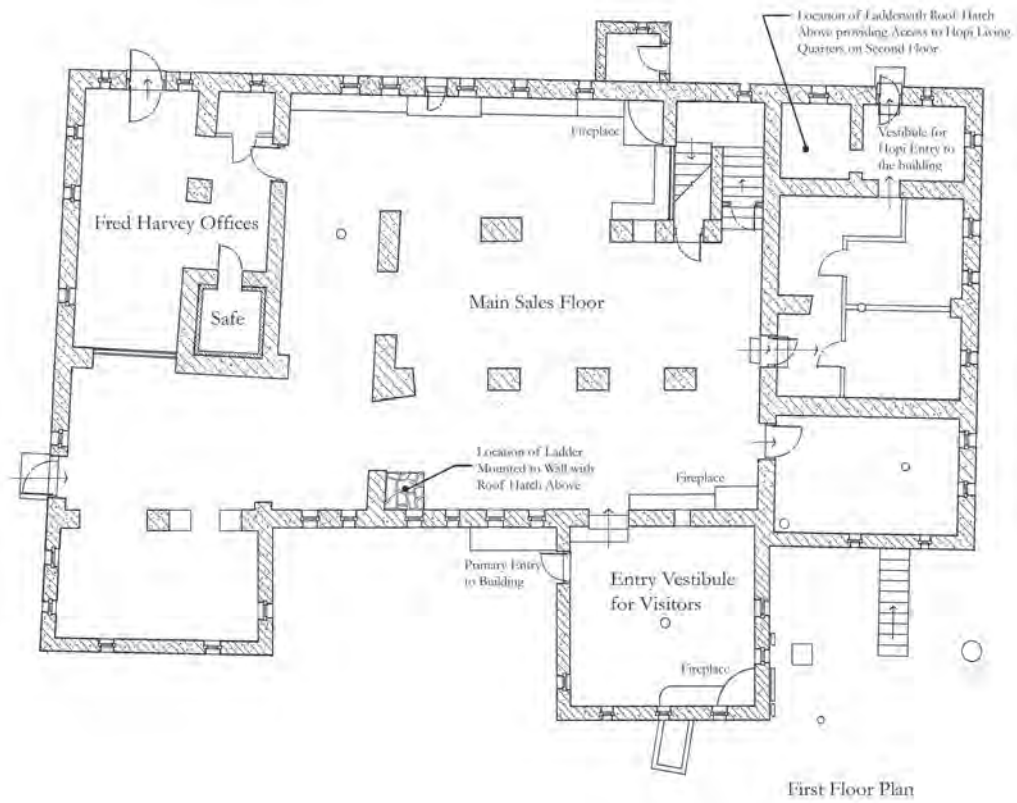


Figure 3.25 First and second floor plans of Hopi House
 Image Credit: Drawings by Author based on As-Built Documentation for the National Park Service



Figure 3.26 One of the Fred Harvey's Company's collections as featured in the museum-like setting of the second floor of Hopi House.
Image Credit: Grand Canyon Archives, Grand Canyon, Arizona (Folder #FHarvey-GRCA-15803).



Figure 3.27 One of the rooms of the main sales floor at Hopi House. A “window” and a display niche are featured to the right of the image.
Image Credit: Grand Canyon Archives, Grand Canyon, Arizona (Folder #FHarvey-GRCA-15803)



Figure 3.28 One of the rooms of the main sales floor in Hopi House featured a ladder by which Hopi could demonstrate to visitors the way that they moved through the interior of their buildings in their ascent to the second floor of Hopi House (ladder is located to the left of the image).
Image Credit: Grand Canyon Archives, Grand Canyon, Arizona (Folder #FHarvey-GRCA-15803).

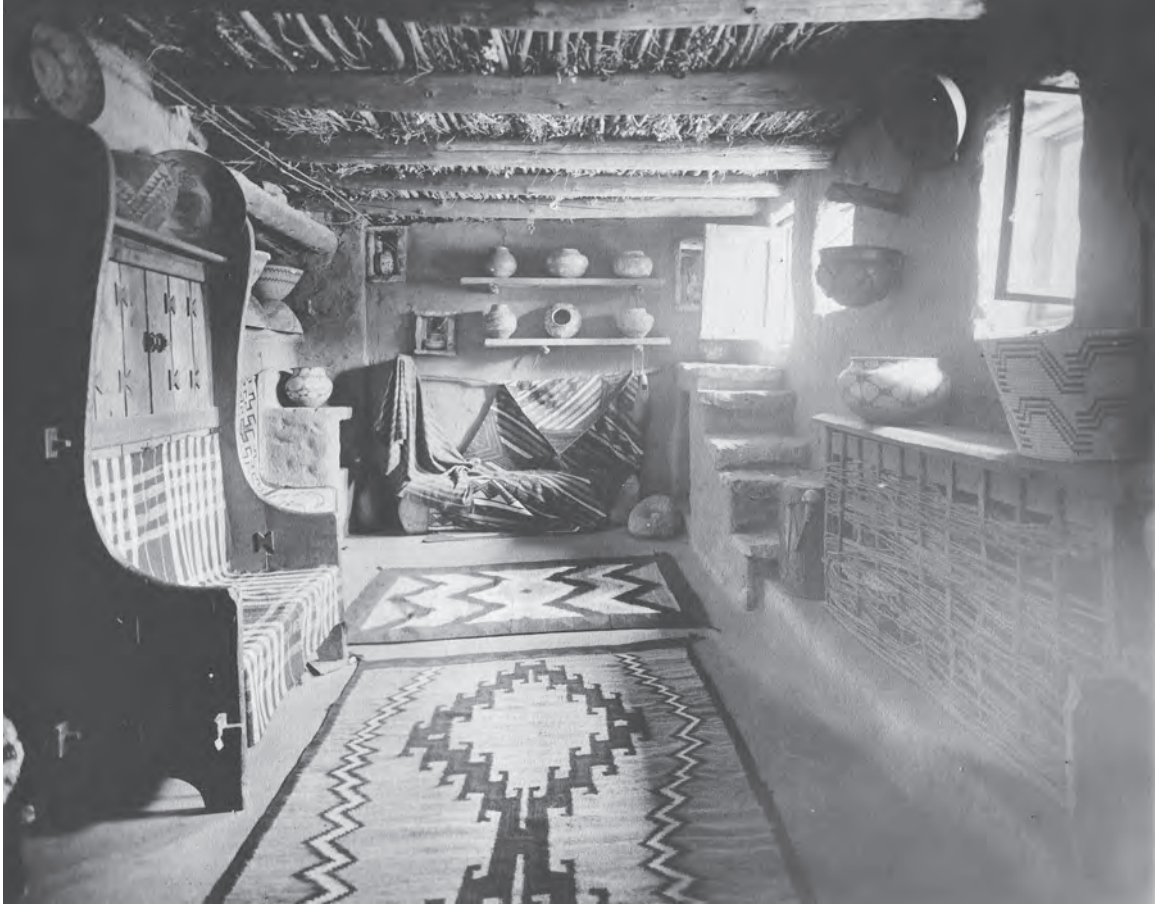


Figure 3.29 One of the curiously small doors featured in Hopi House (as shown at top of stairs to the right of the photograph).

Image Credit: Grand Canyon Archives, Grand Canyon, Arizona (Folder #FHarvey-GRCA-15803).



Figure 3.30 Drawing by H.H. Betts of Navajo Indian women displayed in living exhibits to the interior of the Indian and Mexican Building at the Alvarado Hotel.
Image Credit: Heard Museum Library, Phoenix, Arizona, # RG1-517.

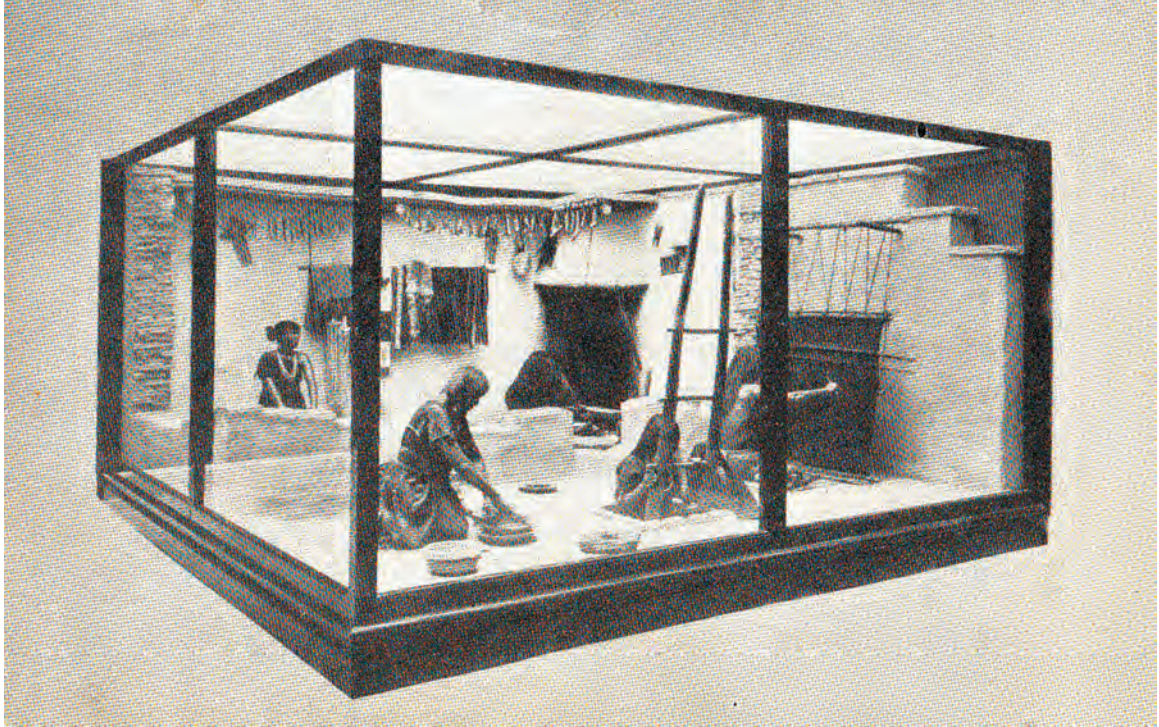


Figure 3.31 A picture postcard showing the display that Voth created for the Field Museum entitled “Interior of House, Hopi, Arizona (Figures Cast From Life).”
Image Credit: Personal postcard collection of the author.



Figure 3.32 Snake dancers exhibit at the 1904 St. Louis Fair.
Image Credit: Nancy J. Parezo, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 250.



Figure 3.33 The living exhibits in Hopi House were typically staged around a fireplace to convey to visitors that they should be conceived as domestic vignettes set apart from the main sales floor.

Image Credit: Grand Canyon Archives, Grand Canyon, Arizona (Folder #FHarvey-GRCA-15803).



9287 A NATIVE ROOF GARDEN PARTY, HOPI HOUSE, GRAND CANYON, ARIZONA.



Figure 3.34 A picture postcard by the Detroit Publishing Company of “A Native Roof Garden Party.”
Image Credit: personal postcard collection of author.



Figure 3.35 A living exhibit of Hopi Indian men staged to the interior of Hopi House was intended to demonstrate that it was Hopi men who were responsible for the task of weaving within their villages.

Image Credit: Grand Canyon Archives, Grand Canyon, Arizona (Folder #FHarvey-GRCA-15803)



Figure 3.36 Photograph of the Snake Dance at Oraibi ca. 1898
Image Credit: University of Southern California Libraries Special Collections, Image #chs-m16346



Figure 3.37 A Snake Dance Featured on a Cigar Silk (The Hopi were often referred to as the “Moki Indians” through the early twentieth century).
Image Credit: personal collection of author.



Figure 3.38 Performances of the snake dance at football games at Columbia University in 1899 and one between Kansas and a rival team at an unknown date.
Image Credit: Personal photograph collection of the author.



Figure 4.1: The Mission Revival Style California State Building at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition

Image credit: W.B. Conkey Company, *Photographic World's Fair and Midway Plaisance: The Main Buildings, the Entrances, the Foreign, State and Territorial Buildings, the Charming Water Views, Statuary and Paintings, and the Most Striking Scenes on Midway Plaisance: the Most Extensive and Perfect Collection Yet Published on the Marvels and Beauties of the World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago: W.B Conkey Company, 1896), 125.



FIG. 4. ACOMA PUEBLO, NEW MEXICO.

Figure 4.2 A photograph of the pueblo of Acoma in New Mexico as featured on the title page of Vere O. Wallingford's 1906 article in *Architectural Record* entitled "A Type of American Architecture."
Image credit: Vere O. Wallingford, "A Type of American Architecture," in *Architectural Record*, vol. xix, no. 6 (June 1906), 467-469.

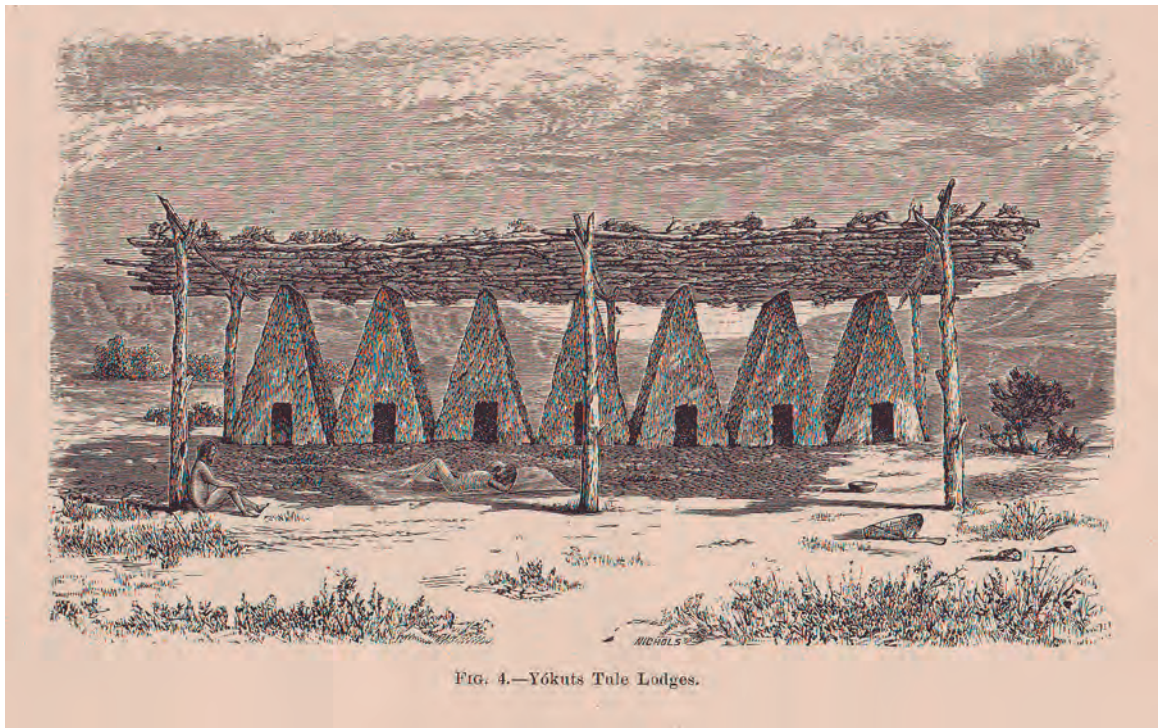


FIG. 4.—Yókuts Tule Lodges.

Figure 4.3 An engraving of the tule lodges of the Yokut Indians in California.
Image credit: Lewis Henry Morgan, *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1881), n.p.

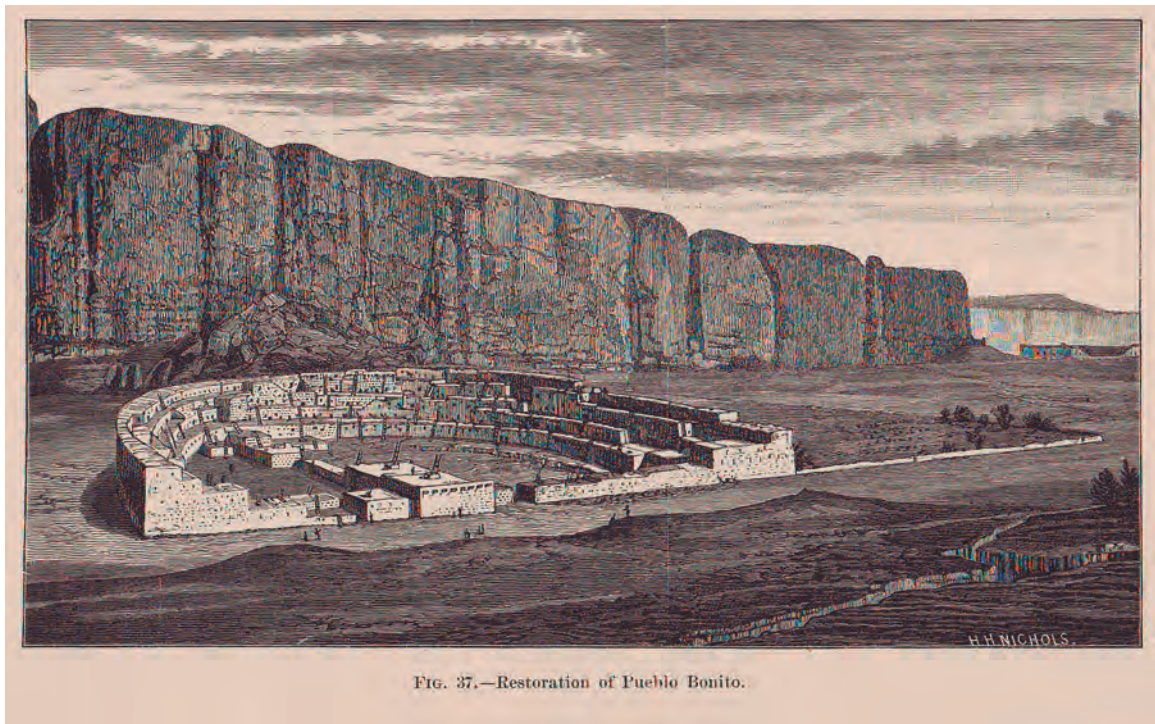


Figure 4.4 An engraving of the ancient pueblo called Pueblo Bonito as it was speculated to look if restored.
Image credit: Lewis Henry Morgan, *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1881), n.p.

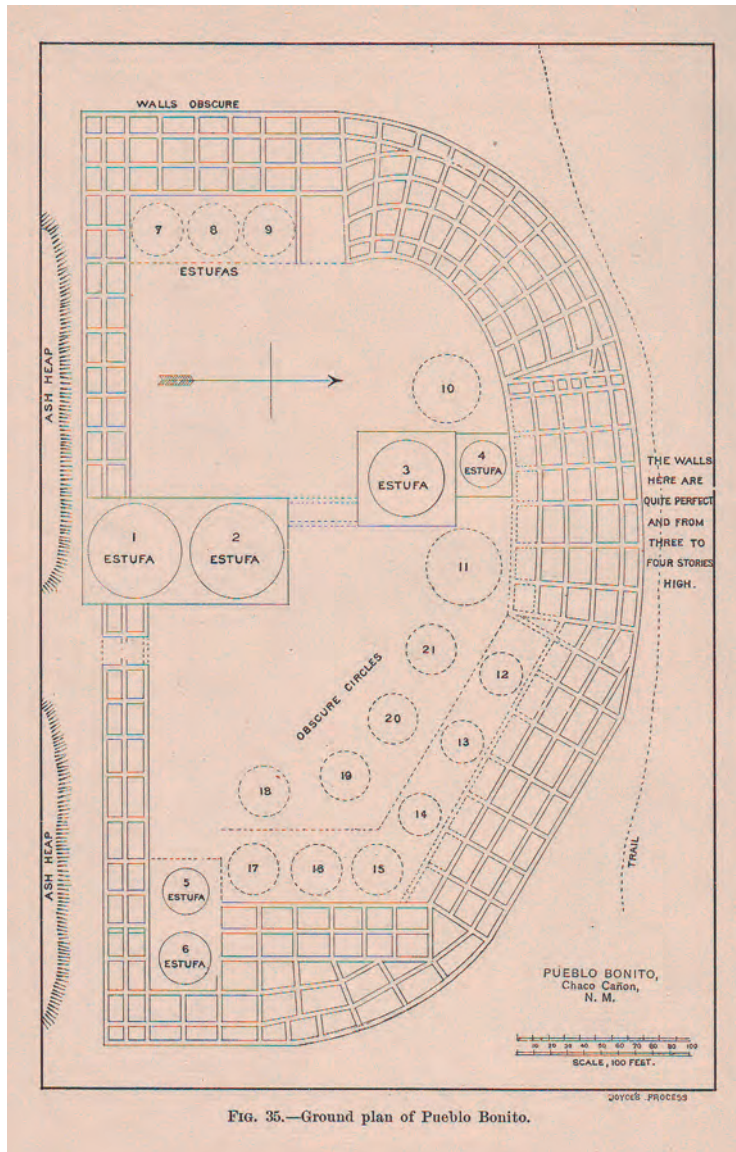


FIG. 35.—Ground plan of Pueblo Bonito.

Figure 4.5 A ground plan of the ancient pueblo located in Chaco Canyon in New Mexico called Pueblo Bonito.
Image credit: Lewis Henry Morgan, *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1881), opposite 163.



Figure 4.6 The pueblo village of the Zuni Indians in northern New Mexico, from Lewis H. Morgan, *Houses and House-life of the American Aborigines* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1881), frontispiece.
Image credit: Lewis Henry Morgan, *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1881), n.p.

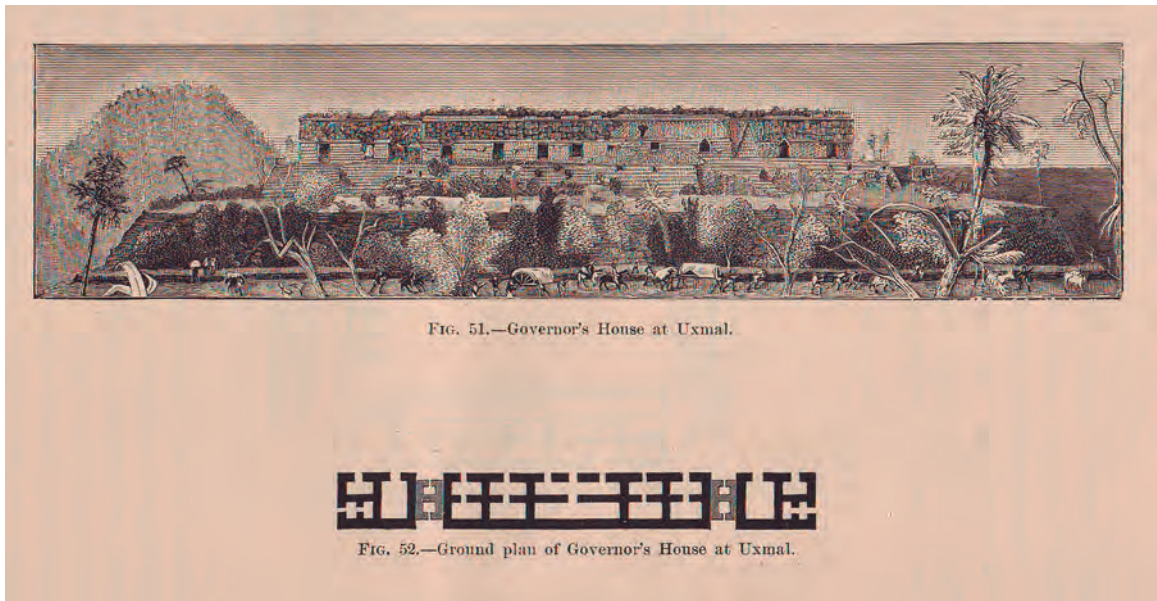


Figure 4.7 An engraving of the Inca Indian pueblo ruins called “The Governor’s House at Uxmal.”
Image credit: Lewis Henry Morgan, *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1881), opposite 260.

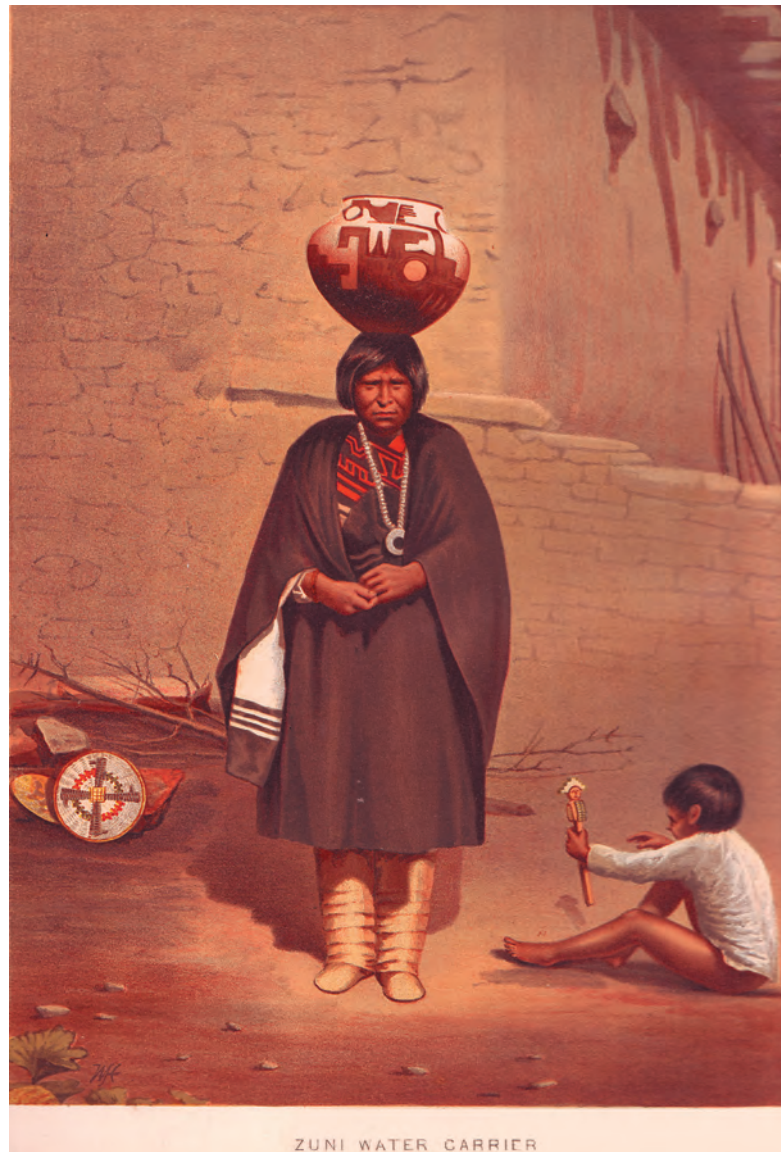


Figure 4.8 The frontispiece of Lewis Henry Morgan's 1881 book *Houses and House-life of the American Aborigines* showing a Zuni water carrier in front of her pueblo village. This image was intended to vividly illustrate his argument that the Pueblo Indians represented the stage of "Middle Barbarism."
Image credit: Lewis H. Morgan, *Houses and House-life of the American Aborigines* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1881), frontispiece.



Figure 4.9 The Arrangement of Buildings at Indian Schools Constructed Across the United States Often Resembled Military Barracks as is demonstrated at this one in Flandreau, South Dakota.
Image credit: postcard in personal collection of author.



Figure 4.10 A turn-of-the-twentieth-century photograph of students drilling standing in a military-style formation at the Yuma Indian School in Yuma, Arizona.
Image credit: The University of Southern California Digital Library Collections (Image #chs-3535).

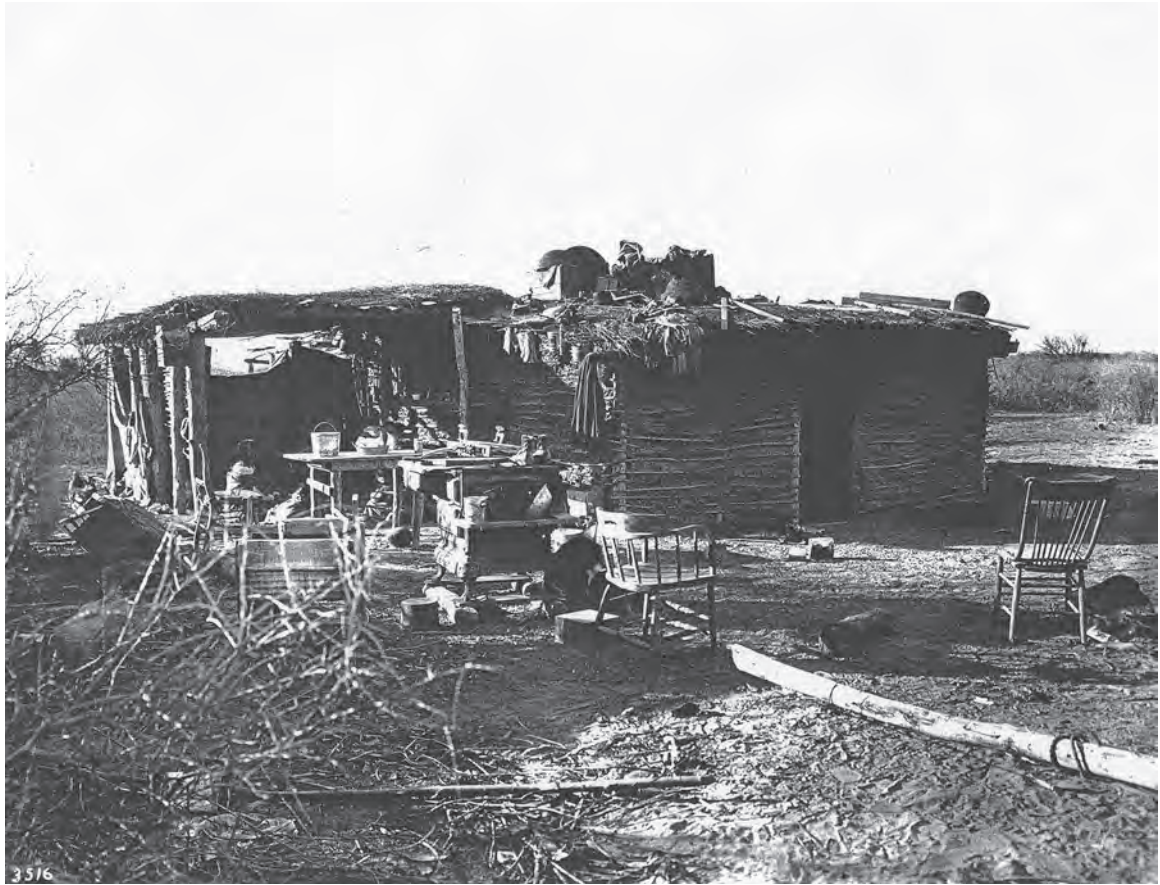


Figure 4.11 A turn-of-the-twentieth-century photograph of a typical Yuma Indian house. Image credit: The University of Southern California Digital Library Collections (Image #chs-3516).

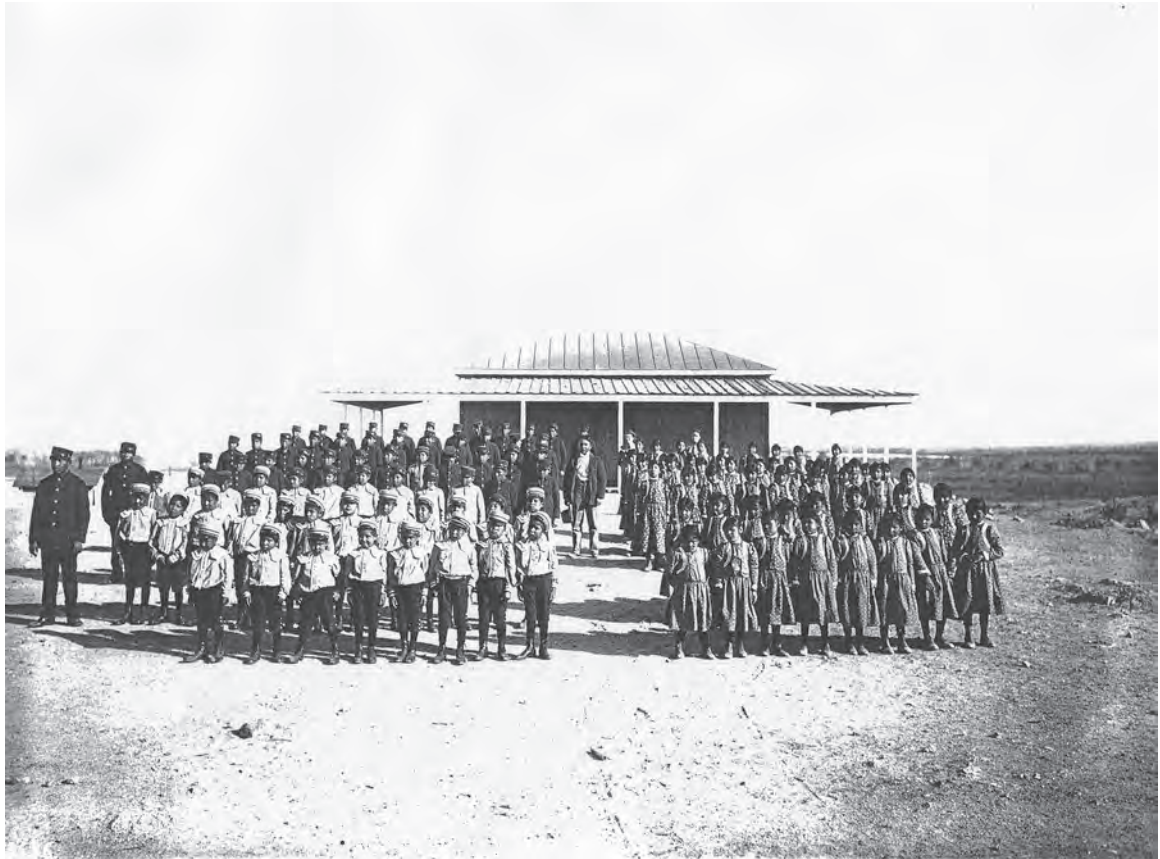


Figure 4.12 A turn-of-the-twentieth-century photograph of students standing in a military-style formation in front of one of the buildings at the Yuma Indian School in Yuma, Arizona.
Image credit: The University of Southern California Digital Library Collections (Image #chs-3536).



Figure 4.13 A turn-of-the-twentieth-century photograph of students to the interior of a schoolroom called the “Art Department” at Phoenix Indian School
Image credit: The National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland (#518923).



Figure 4.14 We'wha, a Zuni berdache and shaman, stands between groups of men and women in a late nineteenth century photograph.
Image credit: Piers Vitebsky, *Shamanism* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001), 93.

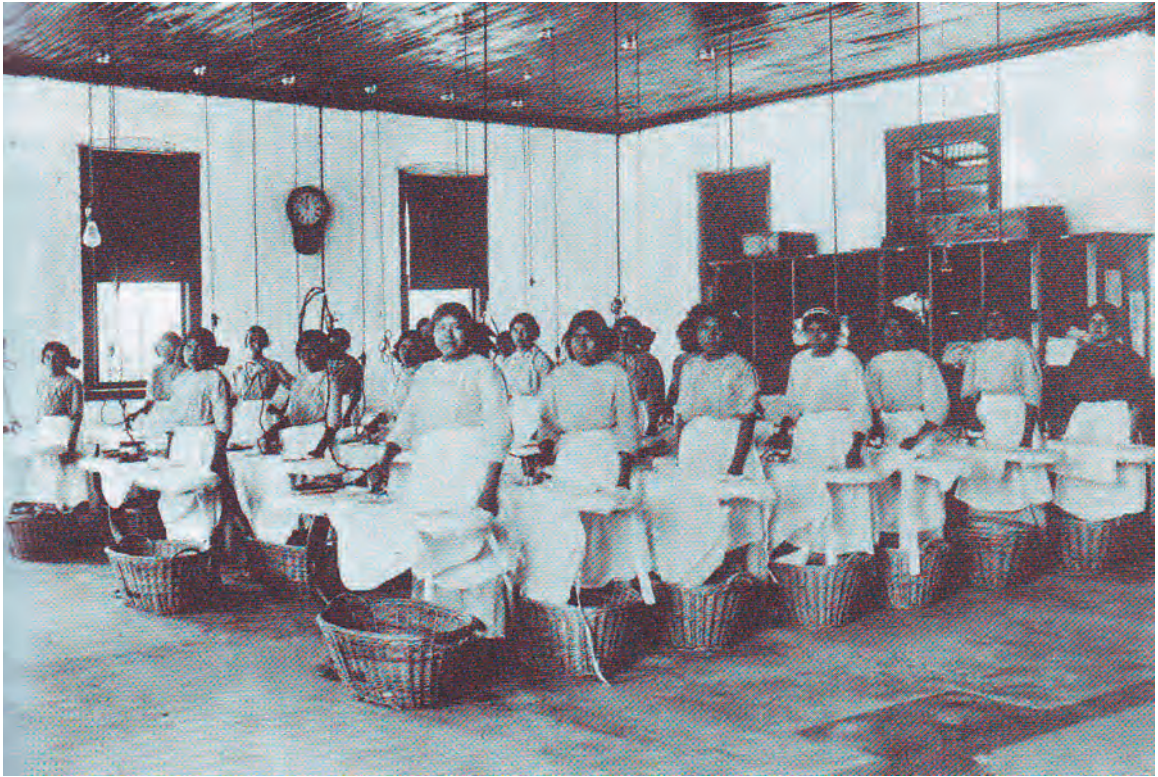


Figure 4.15 Female students at an Indian School, the Sherman Institute located in Riverside, California, being trained for low-wage labor in white American homes.
Image credit: David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875 - 1928*, 151.



Figure 4.16 Thomas Gast's 1872 painting entitled *American Progress*.
Image credit: Carolyn Mercant, *Reinventing Eden: The Fate of Nature in Western Culture* (New York; Routledge, 2003), 110.



Figure 4.17 Fanny Frances Palmer's Across the Continent: "Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way" (1868) as published by Currier and Ives.
Image credit: Martin Berger, *Sight Unseen: Whiteness and American Visual Culture* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), 156.



Figure 4.18 Thomas Nast's *Beyond the Mississippi* (1868).
 Image credit: Brian Dippie, "The Moving Finger Writes," in *Discovered Lands, Invented Pasts: Transforming Visions of the American West*, ed. Nancy K. Anderson, William Cronon, Brian W. Dippie, Howard R. Lamar, Martha Sandweiss, Susan P. Schoelwer, and Jules David Prown (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 98.

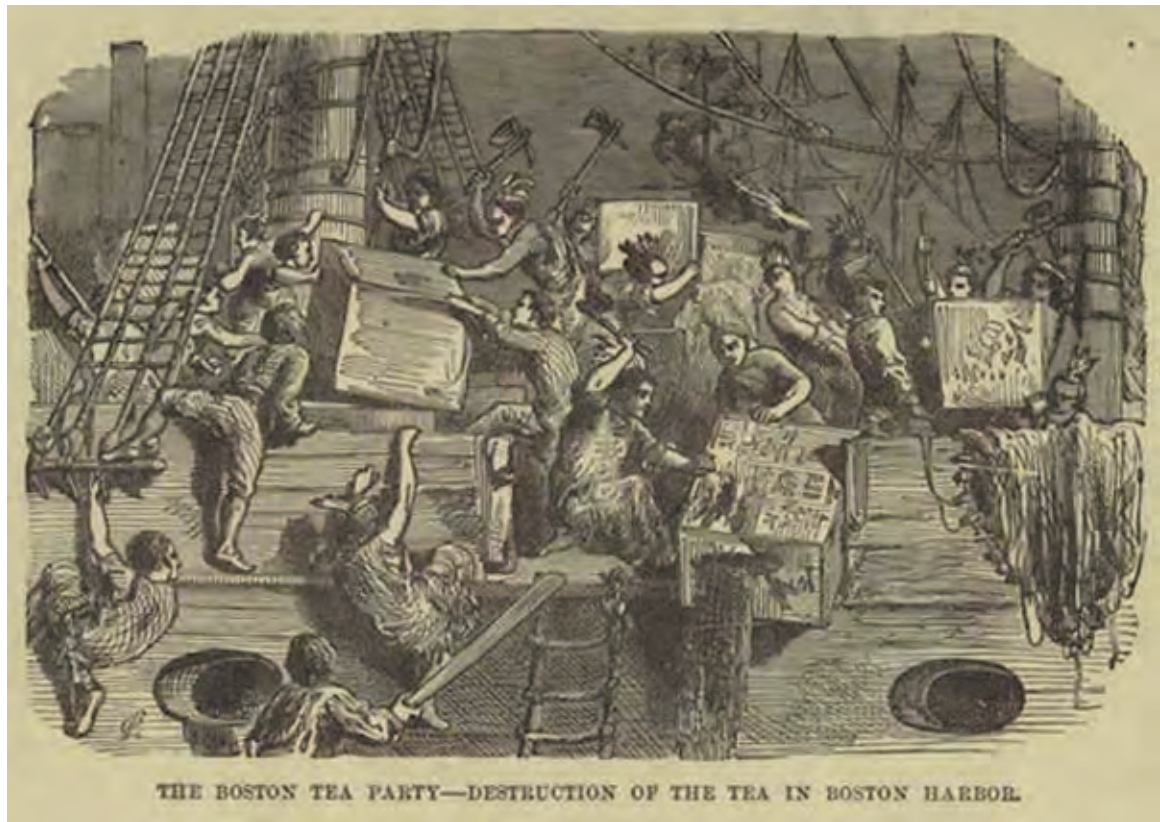


Figure 4.19 An engraving entitled “The Boston Tea Party—The Destruction of the Tea in Boston Harbor” showing white American colonists dressed up as Mohawk Indians.

Image credit: The New York Public Library Digital Collections.



Figure 4.20 A 1908 Indian head penny as designed in 1859 for the U.S. mint by the well-known American portraitist and engraver, James B. Longacre.



Figure 4.21 The frontispiece to Theodore Roosevelt's 1902 book entitled *The Wilderness Hunter* depicted the grizzly bear as one of the ultimate hunting trophies on the Western frontier.

Image credit: Theodore Roosevelt, *The Wilderness Hunter: An Account of the Big Game of the United States and its Chase with Horse, Hound and Rifle* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1902) 139.



Figure 4.22 A map showing the Great Basin area at the base of the Sierra Nevada Mountain Range that runs along the border of California and Nevada. On this map, the Paiute shaman named Wodziwob lived in the area designated as “Owens Valley Paiute.”

Image credit: *The New Encyclopedia Britannica* (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1994), 372.



Figure 4.23 Southwest rock art depicting a shaman on his or her vision quest.
Image credit: Polly Schaafsma, *Indian Rock Art of the Southwest* (Santa Fe: School of American Research, 1986), cover.



Figure 4.24 Mary Irvin Wright Gill's painting entitled *Ghost Dance* (circa 1892).
Image credit: James Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890*; *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1892-93* by J.W. Powell, Director; Part II (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), 925.



Figure 4.25 Mary Irvin Wright Gill's painting entitled *Ghost Dance - Inspiration* (circa 1892).
Image credit: James Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890*; *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1892-93* by J.W. Powell, Director; Part II (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), 929.



Figure 4.26 A Nineteenth-century chromolithograph depicts an evangelical Christian camp meeting in which worshippers manifest religious ecstasy by stretching their arms into the air.
Image credit: The National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Harry T. Peters "America on Stone" Collection

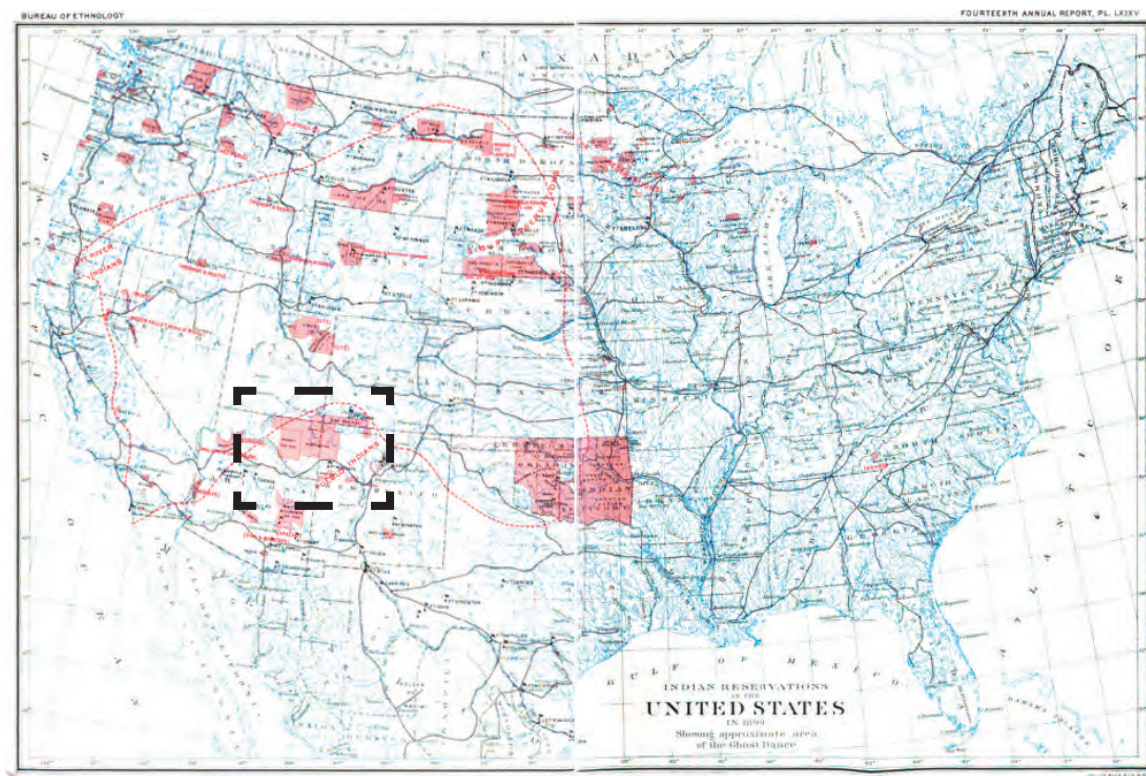


Figure 4.27 James Mooney's Map of the Indian Reservations of the United States showing the approximate location of the Ghost Dance (circa 1892). The black dashed line is added by the author in order to show the preva



SIOUX GHOST SHIRTS FROM WOUNDED KNEE BATTLEFIELD

Figure 4.28 A photograph of the “ghost shirts” of the Sioux Indians from the Battle of Wounded Knee.

Image credit: James Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890*; *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1892-93* by J.W. Powell, Director; Part II (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), 789.



Figure 4.29 A sculpture entitled *The Indian Ghost Dancer* by sculptor Paul Wayland Bartlett that was exhibited shortly at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.

Image credit: Smithsonian American Art Museum Digital Collections.



Figure 4.30 A painting (circa 1892) of the unceremonious burying of the dead in a mass grave after the Massacre at



Figure 4.31 The Indian equestrian statue by sculptor Alexander Phimister Proctor was featured to the front of the Transportation Building at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition.

Image Credit: Joseph M. Di Cola and David Stone, *Chicago's 1893 World' Fair* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2012), 34.



Figure 4.32 The Indian equestrian statue by sculptor Alexander Phimister Proctor as viewed from the one side and with the Mining Building shown in the background.

Image Credit: Joseph M. Di Cola and David Stone, *Chicago's 1893 World' Fair* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2012), 105.



Figure 5.1 A portrait of Dr. Tight circa 1901.
Image credit: Dorothy Hughes, *Pueblo on the Mesa: The First Fifty Years at the University of New Mexico* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 24.



Figure 5.2 A photograph of the town of Albuquerque, New Mexico in the 1890s when the development of the university campus first began as located upon a mesa located two miles outside of town.
Image credit: Dorothy Hughes, *Pueblo on the Mesa: The First Fifty Years at the University of New Mexico* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 10.



Figure 5.3 A photograph of the University of New Mexico campus prior to Dr. Tight's Pueblo architecture building campaign that began in 1905.
Image credit: William E. Davis, *Miracle on the Mesa: A History of the University of New Mexico, 1889-2003* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico for the Office of the President, 2006), 68.

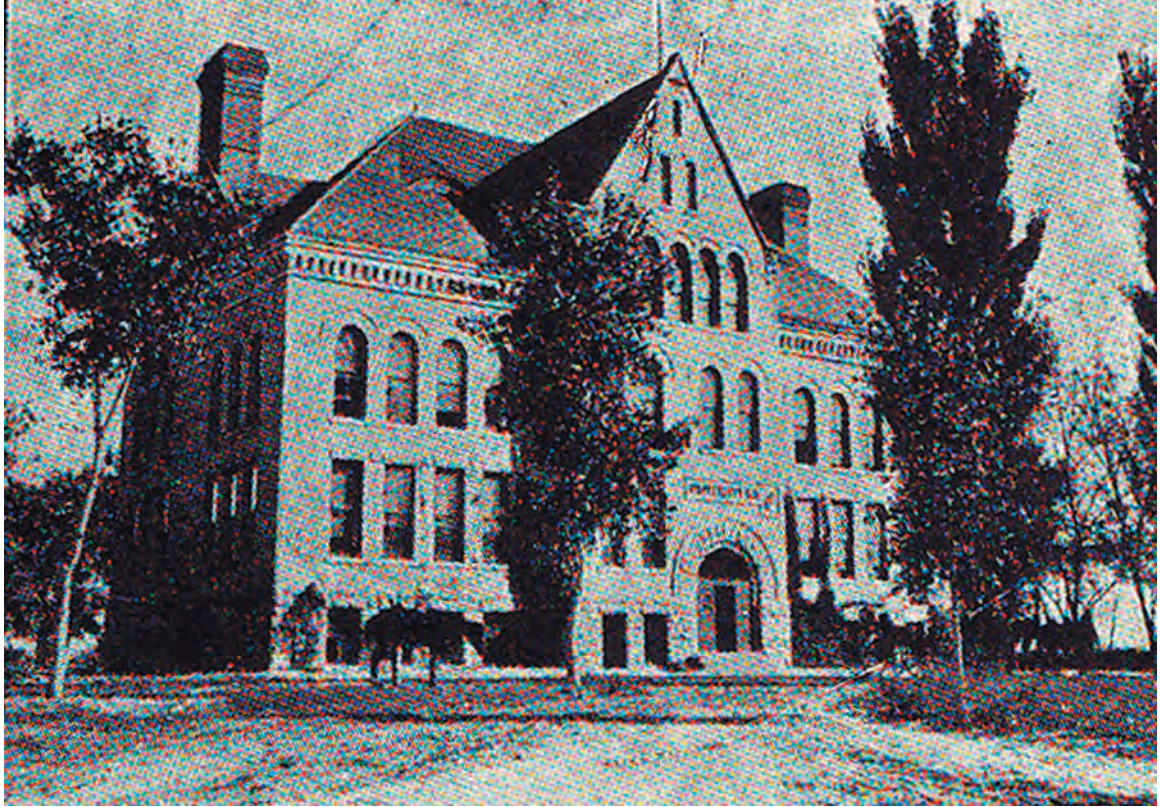


Figure 5.4 The Main Building on the University of New Mexico Campus as constructed in 1892.

Image credit: Dorothy Hughes, *Pueblo on the Mesa: The First Fifty Years at the University of New Mexico* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 23.



THE CENTRAL HEATING PLANT.

Figure 5.5 A photograph of the Central Heating Plant constructed at the University of New Mexico in 1905.
Image credit: "A Revival of Old Pueblo Architecture," *Architects' and Builders Magazine: Devoted to the Interests of Architecture, Building and Engineering* 10, October 1908 – September 1909, 285.



Figure 5.6 A photograph of Kwataka Men's Dormitory at the University of New Mexico.
Image credit: William E. Davis, *Miracle on the Mesa: A History of the University of New Mexico, 1889-2003* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico for the Office of the President, 2006), 67.



Figure 5.7 A photograph of an unidentified pueblo village with a horno shown in the middle foreground.
Image credit: Personal postcard collection of author.



Figure 5.8 A turn-of-the-twentieth century photograph of a Hopi “butterfly virgin” or “butterfly maiden.”
Image credit: University of Southern California Digital Collections Library (Image #chs-4581).

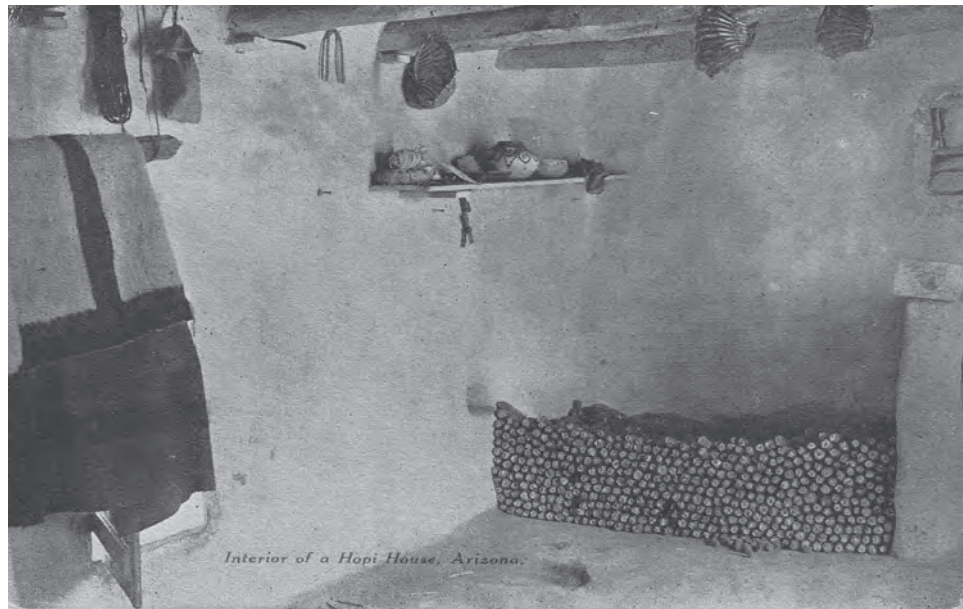


Figure 5.9 Postcard postmarked 1912 and entitled “Interior of a Hopi House, Arizona”
Image credit: Personal postcard collection of author.

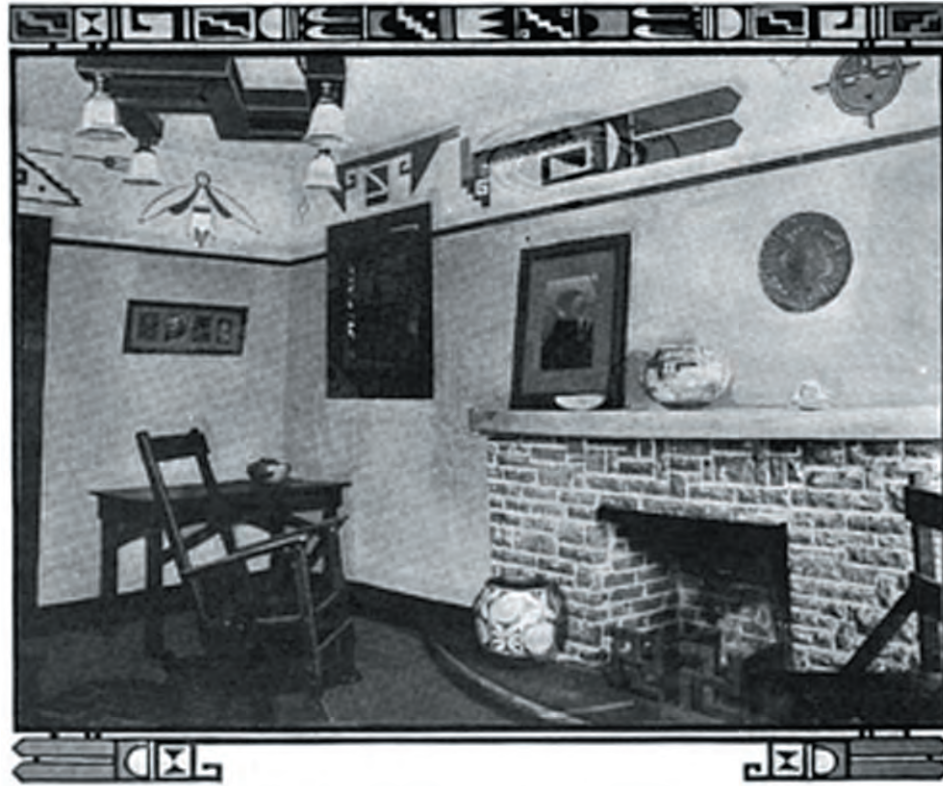


Figure 5.10 A photograph of the Reception Room in the Hakona Dormitory at the University of New Mexico circa 1909.
Image credit: Ramon Jurado, "Prehistoric Home for New University," *The Technical World Magazine* 11, no. 1, March 1909, 372.



Figure 5.11 A photograph showing the Hokona and Kwataka dormitories in relation to one another with a caption that states that “they will eventually be united into one large pueblo.” The round structure in the center of the photograph is a sundial monument given to the University of New Mexico by the class of 1907.

Image credit: Ramon Jurado, “Prehistoric Home for New University,” *The Technical World Magazine* 11, no. 1, March 1909, 373.



Figure 5.12 A photograph (circa 1909) of the steps leading up to the second level of the Kwataka men's dormitory at the University of New Mexico.
Image credit: Ramon Jurado, "Prehistoric Home for New University," *The Technical World Magazine* 11, no. 1, March 1909, 369.



Figure 5.13 A photograph (circa 1909) of the university president's house at the University of New Mexico.
Image credit: "A Revival of Old Pueblo Architecture," *Architects' and Builders Magazine: Devoted to the Interests of Architecture, Building and Engineering* 10, October 1908 – September 1909, 284.

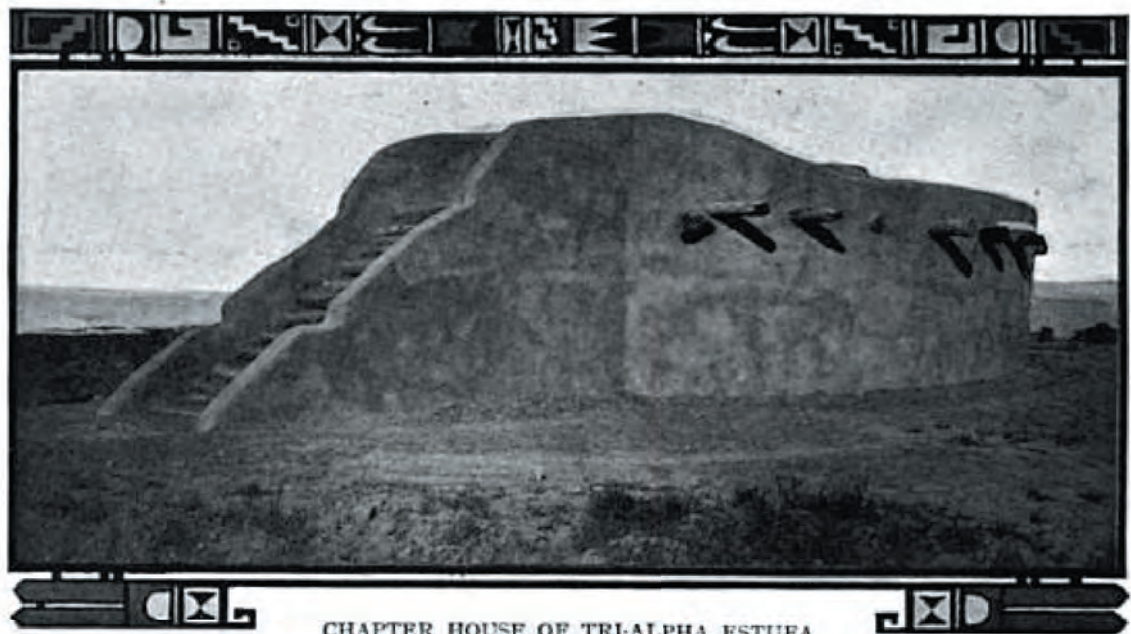


Figure 5.14 A photograph (circa 1909) of the chapter house of the Tri-Alfa Estufa Fraternity.
Image credit: Ramon Jurado, "Prehistoric Home for New University," *The Technical World Magazine* 11, no. 1, March 1909, 374.



Figure 5.15 A photograph (circa 1937) of the estufa, or kiva, at the San Idelfonso Pueblo. Image credit: United States Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Building Survey, Image #HABS NM, 25-SAILFOP, 2--1.

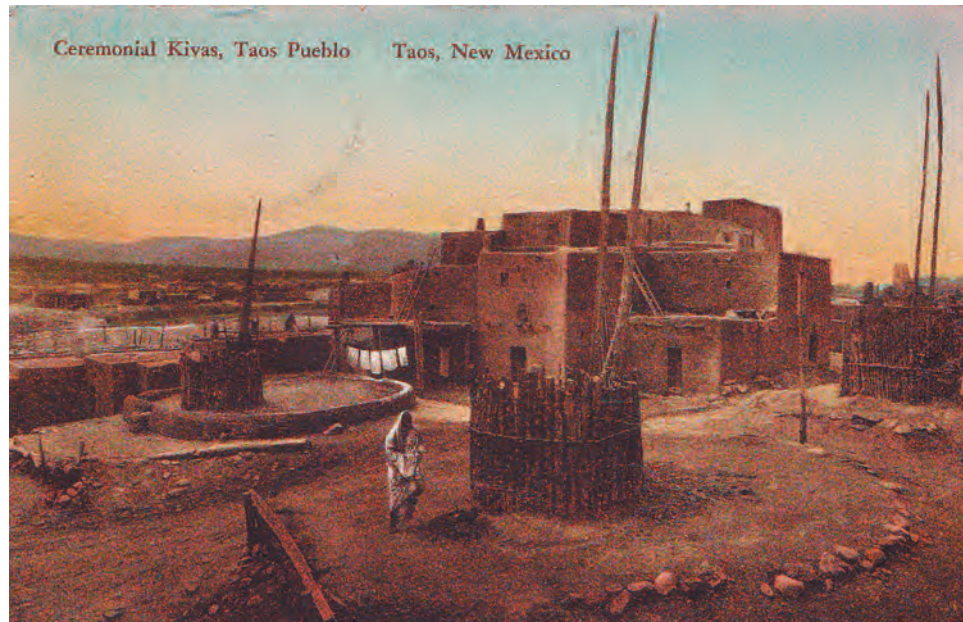


Figure 5.16 A hand-tinted photograph of the ceremonial kivas at Taos, New Mexico.
Image credit: Personal postcard collection of author.



Figure 5.17 A photograph of the kiva at Puye, New Mexico.
Image credit: Personal postcard collection of author.



Figure 5.18 By 1903, The Yum-Yum Society had become the Alpha Alpha Alpha Fraternity.
Image credit: Dorothy Hughes, *Pueblo on the Mesa: The First Fifty Years at the University of New Mexico* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 61.



Figure 5.19 A photograph of one of Dr. Tight's pine tree planting efforts. This one, planted in 1908, was used to memorialize him, as it was named "Tight's Grove."

Image credit: Dorothy Hughes, *Pueblo on the Mesa: The First Fifty Years at the University of New Mexico* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 31.



Figure 5.20 A drawing (date unknown) of the estufa at the University of New Mexico some time after it became the fraternity of the Pi Kappa Alphas rather than that of the Tri-Alphas.

Image credit: "Pi Kappa Alpha's Myths and Legends: Mysteries of the Estufa," *Shield and Diamond Newsletter*, Summer 2006, 22.



Figure 5.21 A photograph of the costumes of one late-nineteenth century fraternal order in which “Playing Indian” was requisite, The Improved Order of the Red Men. Note the American flag motif on the back of the collar, as well as the visual similarity to the “Ghost Shirts” of the Ghost Dancers. It is unknown whether the costumes of the Tri-Alphas at the University of New Mexico were similar to these, but it is quite likely that they played Indian in many more ways than to simply build their estufa fraternity. Image credit: Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 67.



Figure 6.1 At the turn of the twentieth century, men such as the writer, George Wharton James, roamed the Southwest collecting images of and information about different Indian tribes.

Image credit: the University of Southern California Digital Library Collection (image # chs-4085).



Figure 6.2 George Wharton James used this photograph, which he entitled “A Chemehuevi Indian and His Out-of-door Shelter From the Sun,” to illustrate his argument that American Indian architecture of the Southwest demonstrated qualities of simplicity and healthfulness in its relationship to the out-of-doors.

Image credit: George Wharton James, *The Indians' Secrets of Health or What the White Race May Learn from The Indian* (New York: J.F. Tapley Co, 1908), 77.



TERRACED HOUSES OF THE HOPIS, ALLOWING SLEEPING OUT OF DOORS.

Figure 6.3 An illustration of the pueblos of the Hopi Indians from George Wharton James 1908 book *The Indians' Secrets of Health or What the White Race May Learn from The Indian*. James extolled pueblo architecture as illustrating an architecture of the out-of-doors as it possessed exterior terraces that he believed were healthful environments in which to sleep.
Image credit: George Wharton James, *The Indians' Secrets of Health or What the White Race May Learn from The Indian* (New York: J.F. Tapley Co, 1908), 70.



Figure 6.4 A illustration of a Navajo Blanket Weaver's Open-Air Workroom from George Wharton James' 1908 book *The Indians' Secrets of Health or What the White Race May Learn from The Indian*. To George Wharton James, the interiors of houses were full of unhealthy air. However, for him, the architecture of the Indians of the Southwest illustrated how the interior of the domestic environment could be more healthful by opening it up to the out-of-doors.

Image credit: George Wharton James, *The Indians' Secrets of Health or What the White Race May Learn from The Indian* (New York: J.F. Tapley Co, 1908), 48.



Nervous Breakdown

"I am so nervous it seems as though I should fly"—"My nerves are all on edge"—"I wish I were dead." How often have we heard these expressions or others quite as extravagant from some loved one who has been brought to this state by some female trouble which has slowly developed until the nerves can no longer stand up under it. No woman should allow herself to drift into this condition without giving that good old-fashioned root and herb remedy Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound a trial.

Read the Letters of These Two Women.

North East, Md.—"I was in ill health four or five years and doctored with one doctor after another but none helped me. I was irregular and had such terrible pain in my back, lower part of my body and down each side that I had to go to bed three or four days every month. I was very nervous, tired, could not sleep and could not eat without getting sick. A friend asked me to take Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound and I am sorry I did not take it sooner for it has helped me wonderfully. I don't have to go to bed with the pain, can eat without being sick and have more strength. I recommend your medicine and you are at liberty to publish my testimonial."—ELIZABETH WEAVER, R. R. 2, North East, Md.

Minneapolis, Minn.—"I was run down and nervous, could not rest at night and was more tired in the morning than when I went to bed. I have two children, the youngest three months old and it was drudgery to care for them as I felt so irritable and generally worn out. From lack of rest and appetite my baby did not get enough nourishment from my milk so I started to give him two bottle feedings a day. After taking three bottles of Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound I felt like a new woman, full of life and energy. It is a pleasure to care for my children, and I am very happy with them and feel fine. I nurse my baby exclusively again, and can't say too much for your medicine."—MRS. A. L. MILLER, 2633 E. 24th St., Minneapolis, Minn.

Nervous, Ailing Women Should Rely Upon

Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound

LYDIA E. PINKHAM MEDICINE CO., LYNN, MASS.

Figure 6.5 A turn-of-the century advertisement
 Image credit: Wanda Corn, et al., *Women on the Verge: The Culture of Neurasthenia in Nineteenth-Century America* (Stanford: Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University, 2004), 6.



Figure 6.6 A painting by Walter Launt Palmer entitled *De Forest Interior* (1878) depicts the restorative potential that was thought to accrue to the darkened room as located within the home. Here, the dark tones of the furnishings and a harmoniously decorated interior were thought to foster repose in order to release stress and avoid nervousness.

Image credit: Wanda Corn, et al., *Women on the Verge: The Culture of Neurasthenia in Nineteenth-Century America* (Stanford: Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University, 2004), 28.



(Registered.)
See that every package bears our registered trade-mark.

THINKER AND OBSERVER.

A Great Combination.
[From the Lowell Sun.]
"Dr. Bartlett, one of Lowell's leading physicians, was a deep and profound thinker from the time he entered Bowdoin Medical college until he graduated in 1871. For thirty years he has been a close observer, the slightest variation in a patient's condition attracting his attention, and no detail escapes him. The innumerable chronic cases he has cured prove without a doubt that his diagnosis is always correct."
"No wonder was a man is busy from the time he comes to his office, until long after time of closing. For him, success has been a simple matter. Common sense, faithful industry in the practice of medicine and surgery, and a courageous adherence to ideals which have won him notable recognition, not only in Lowell, but outside of it, explain it all."

DR. BARTLETT

Destined to Become Rich With His Remedy, Vital Force.

[From the Lowell Citizen-Courier, Feb. 1st, 1903.]
"Few readers of the Citizen-Courier need be informed that Dr. Bartlett is one of Lowell's most skilled and successful physicians and surgeons. His wonderful remedy 'Dr. BARTLETT'S VITAL FORCE' is in such demand that between professional duties and compounding the remedy for druggists and others, the doctor has not a moment to himself. It is the result of thirty years' study in the practice of medicine. In fact, it has been tested for thirty years, and unless all signs fail, Dr. Bartlett is destined to reap a princely fortune from this wonderful germ killer, blood and nerve medicine. The perfection of physical vigor is to be so sound in every part as not to be aware that we have stomachs, hearts, livers or lungs, or head or limbs. The minute that any part of us makes a protest by an ache or pain, that minute nature has sounded its warning to remove the obstruction and get back to easy going conditions. Dr. Bartlett's residence of thirty years in Lowell, and his successful practice have gained for him the confidence and patronage of the afflicted all over the country. His patients are among our most intelligent citizens of every trade and profession, many of whom have exhausted the skill of their family doctor. We wish the doctor the best of success with his Vital Force."

If you have a hard day's work before you, take a tablespoonful of Vital Force and you will be well fortified for the day's demands and burdens.

Hope
is
The Star
of
Promise

Figure 6.7 A 1903 brochure entitled *Health is the Star of Promise* summoned the “star of civilization” in its text and in its advertisement for Dr. Bartlett’s “Vital Force,” an herbal remedy, for “the sensitively stringed instrument,” the neurasthenic man or woman “prone to ‘Worry,’ the most dangerous of all nervous affectations.”
Image credit: from personal collection of the author.



Figure 6.8 A photograph (ca. 1905) of The Arrowhead Sanatorium as set against the arrowhead-shaped geologic formation on the side of the San Bernardino Mountains.

Image credit: USC Libraries Special Collections, Image #chs-m16346



Figure 6.9 An architectural drawing (ca. 1905) by the Los-Angeles based architect Arthur Benton of The Arrowhead Sanatorium.
Image credit: USC Digital Library Collection (Image #chs-8256).



Figure 6.10 A photograph of the second manifestation of The Arrowhead Sanatorium. Image credit: Rhea Francis Tetley, *Images of America: Lake Arrowhead* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing Company, 2005), 14.



Figure 6.11 A picture postcard of the Chalfonte Hotel built in Cape May, New Jersey in 1876. Unlike the second iteration of the Arrowhead Sanatorium, it was only two stories, and it featured a hipped roof broken by several gables. However, in its block-like massing and arcaded balconies with gingerbread decorative trim, the two buildings built on opposite sides of the American continent during the same decade look quite similar to one another.
Image credit: Don and Pat Pocher, *Cape May in Vintage Postcards* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 1998), 14.



Figure 6.12 A postcard for The Arrowhead Sanatorium that merges together in a single image the 1905 sanatorium building and the healing properties that were believed to accrue to the landscape as signified by the arrowhead, the Indian, and the natural hot springs (exact date of image unknown).
Image Credit: Roger G. Hatheway and Russell L. Keller, *Lake Arrowhead* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2007), 39.



Figure 6.13 The Pueblo Revival Style Sunmount Sanitarium circa 1920. The upper level above the entrance is a sleeping porch, reflecting George Wharton's James idea that the upper-level terraces of pueblos could serve as an architectural model for the out-of-door life.

Image credit: Chris Wilson, *Facing Southwest: The Life and Houses of John Gaw Meem* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2001), 10.



Central Driveways, Administration Building, Patients' Courts;
Cactus-Clad Plains and Pine-Crested Santa Catalina Mountains

Figure 6.14 A view of several of the buildings that formed the eighteen building complex of the Pueblo Revival Style Desert Sanatorium constructed in Tucson, Arizona in 1926.

Image credit: *The Desert Sanatorium and Institute of Research, Tucson, Arizona* (Tucson: The Desert Sanatorium and Institute of Research, 1927), 10.

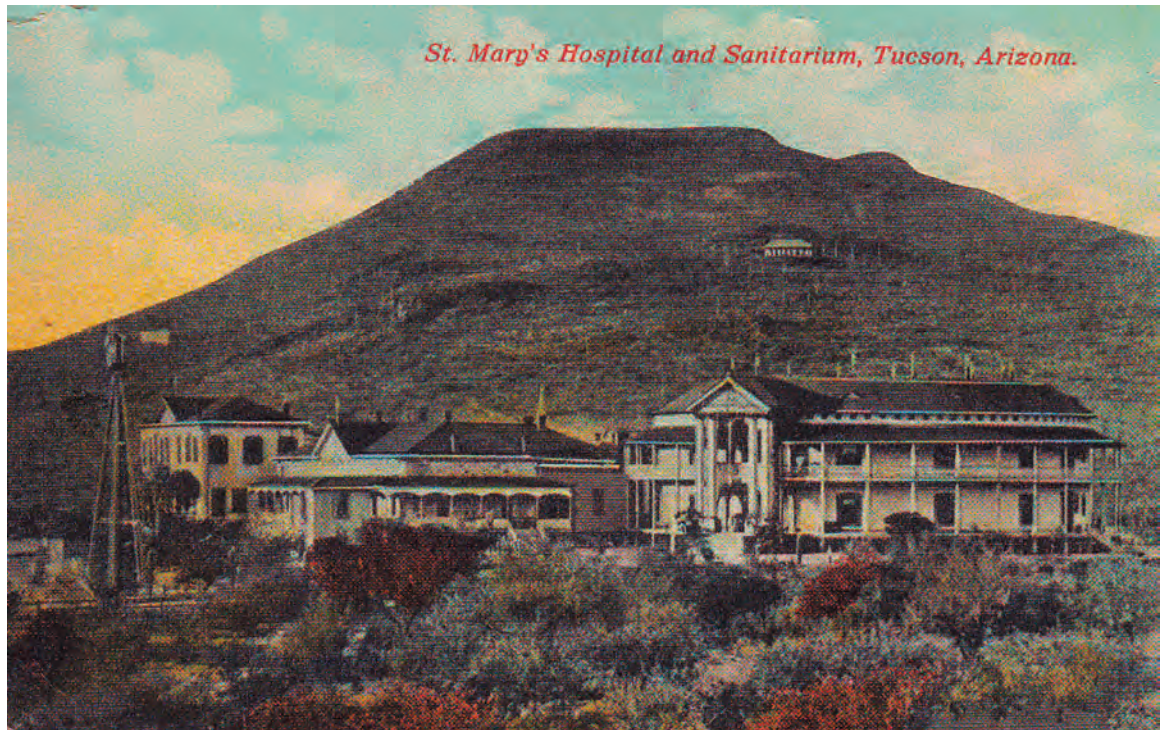


Figure 6.15 A postcard of St. Mary's Hospital and Sanitarium in Tucson, Arizona, as constructed in 1870. Like the second iteration of the Arrowhead Sanatorium constructed sixteen years later in San Bernardino, California, the architecture of late nineteenth-century sanatoriums in the Southwest, such as St. Mary's, were typically modeled upon Eastern building prototypes from standard pattern-books such as that of Andrew Jackson Downing. Image credit: personal postcard collection of author.



Figure 6.16 A view of several of the buildings that formed the eighteen building complex of the Pueblo Revival Style Desert Sanatorium constructed in Tucson, Arizona in 1926.

Image credit: Frasher Foto Postcard Collection, The Pomona Public Library, Pomona, California

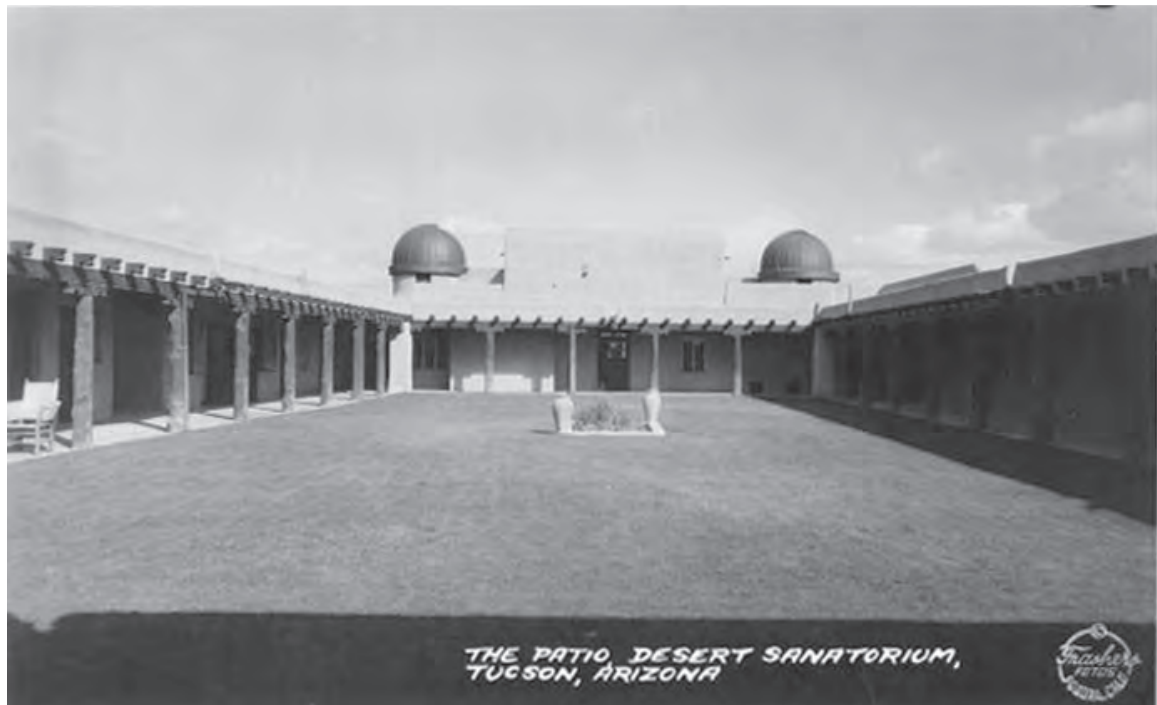


Figure 6.17 A photograph of one of the courtyards around which many of the buildings at the Desert Sanatorium were organized. The large courtyards allowed for cross-ventilation and provided to patients plenty of sunlight and “pure air”, both of which were considered to be restorative therapies of the out-of-door life advocated by proponents of the simple life.

Image credit: Frasher Foto Postcard Collection, The Pomona Public Library, Pomona, California



Figure 6.18 A photograph of the swimming pool that was a prominent feature at the Desert Sanatorium. The pool provided a way for patients to exert their “nerve force” through out-of-door activity. In addition, the health benefits of water, or hydrotherapy, was widely touted by the medical profession as one vital to the restoration of neurasthenic and tubercular patients, in particular, as the water was thought to work to soothe their frayed nerves.

Image credit: Frasher Foto Postcard Collection, The Pamona Public Library, Pamona, California



Putting Green and Lounging Terrace outside the Recreation Hall

Figure 6.19 A photograph of the putting green located outside the Recreational Building at the Desert Sanatorium.

Image credit: *The Desert Sanatorium and Institute of Research, Tucson, Arizona* (Tucson: The Desert Sanatorium and Institute of Research, 1927), 16.



Figure 6.20 A photograph of some of patients recuperating at the Sunmount Sanatorium in Santa Fe, New Mexico while playing billiards. It is not insignificant that all of the patients in this room were male. Rest to the interior of buildings was thought more suited to women than men, who were supposed to be more active in their embrace of the outdoor life. Therefore, to the interior of the Sunmount Sanatorium, male sporting culture as represented by the game of billiards worked to support the Cult of Masculinity as typically evidenced in more urban settings. In cities, men often congregated in billiard parlors, theaters, brothels, and saloons in order to engage in activities believed vital to the maintenance of masculinity such as telling stories, drinking, bragging, smoking cigars, and gambling. At the Sunmount Sanatorium, the dark wood paneling helped to establish the tone of the room as a masculine one, like that of a private den, or public men's club, while the Indian rugs and basketry helped to establish the interior as a recuperative one.

Image credit: New Mexico State Records Center and Archive



Patient's Suite

Figure 6.21 A photograph of a Patient Room at the Desert Sanatorium as furnished with a rug of Indian design.

Image credit: *The Desert Sanatorium and Institute of Research, Tucson, Arizona* (Tucson: The Desert Sanatorium and Institute of Research, 1927), 17.

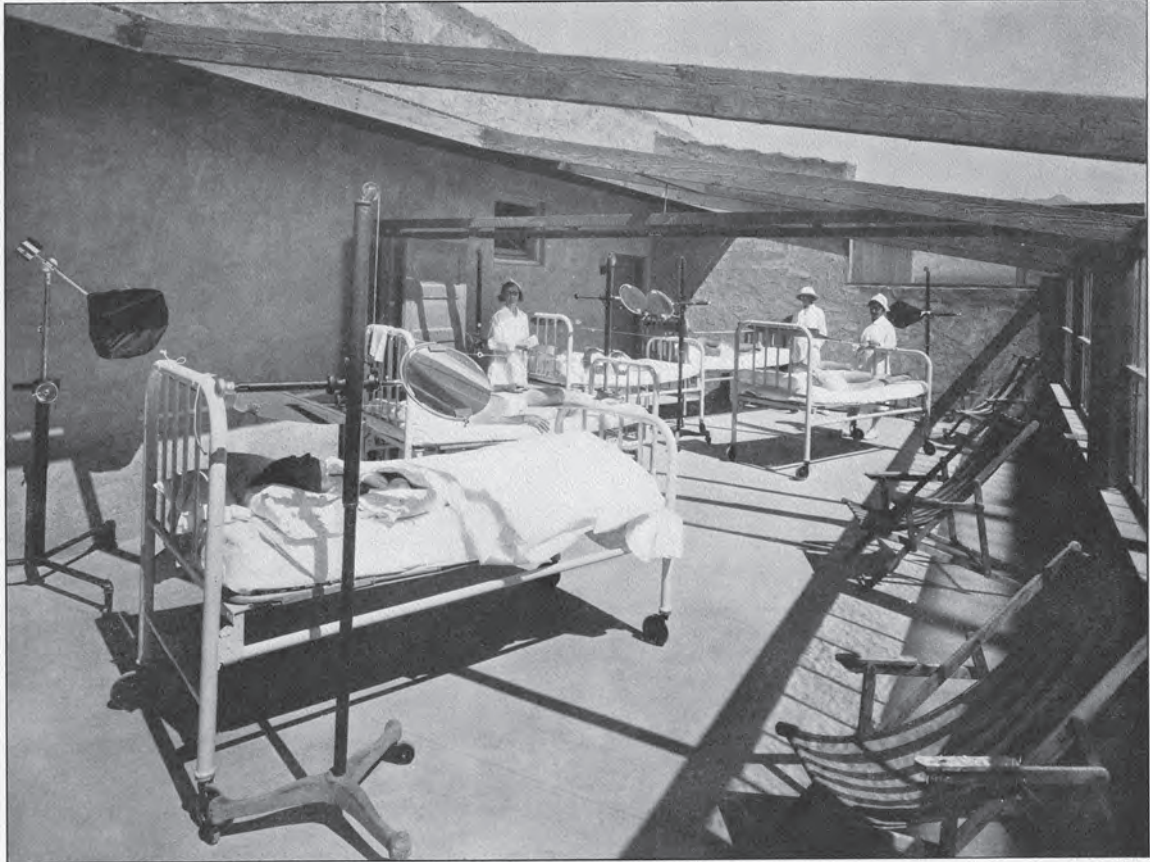


One of the Zuni Dining Rooms with Picture Window
Opening out on the Desert View

Figure 6.22 A photograph that shows one of the many Indian-style wall murals (circular shape to far left of image) featured throughout the Desert Sanatorium. Notice, too, the painted murals featured on the ceiling.
Image credit: *The Desert Sanatorium and Institute of Research, Tucson, Arizona* (Tucson: The Desert Sanatorium and Institute of Research, 1927), 18.



Figure 6.23 A photograph of patients resting their bodies in the out-of-doors as they “chased the cure” on a porch at the Pueblo Revival Style Sunmount Sanatorium in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Patients could engage in the outdoor life by inhaling “pure air” and rest their bodies from the stresses of modern life as they withdrew from the industrialized cities that taxed their “reserve force.” Although both men and women patients are pictured here, it is important to note that rest and withdrawal was believed particularly important for women, who were thought to possess a much more limited supply of reserve force than men. Note, too, the piece of Pueblo Indian pottery in the middle-ground; Indian decorations were widely touted by writers such as George Wharton James as possessing a restorative quality for the white Americans who



*Patients Receiving General Heliotherapy and Thezac-Lens Treatment
on Private Solarium Attached to Court where They live*

Figure 6.24 A photograph of the terraces atop the residential buildings of the Desert Sanatorium where patients could lay to receive the benefits of heliotherapy thought beneficial to them.

Image credit: *The Desert Sanatorium and Institute of Research, Tucson, Arizona* (Tucson: The Desert Sanatorium and Institute of Research, 1927), 22.

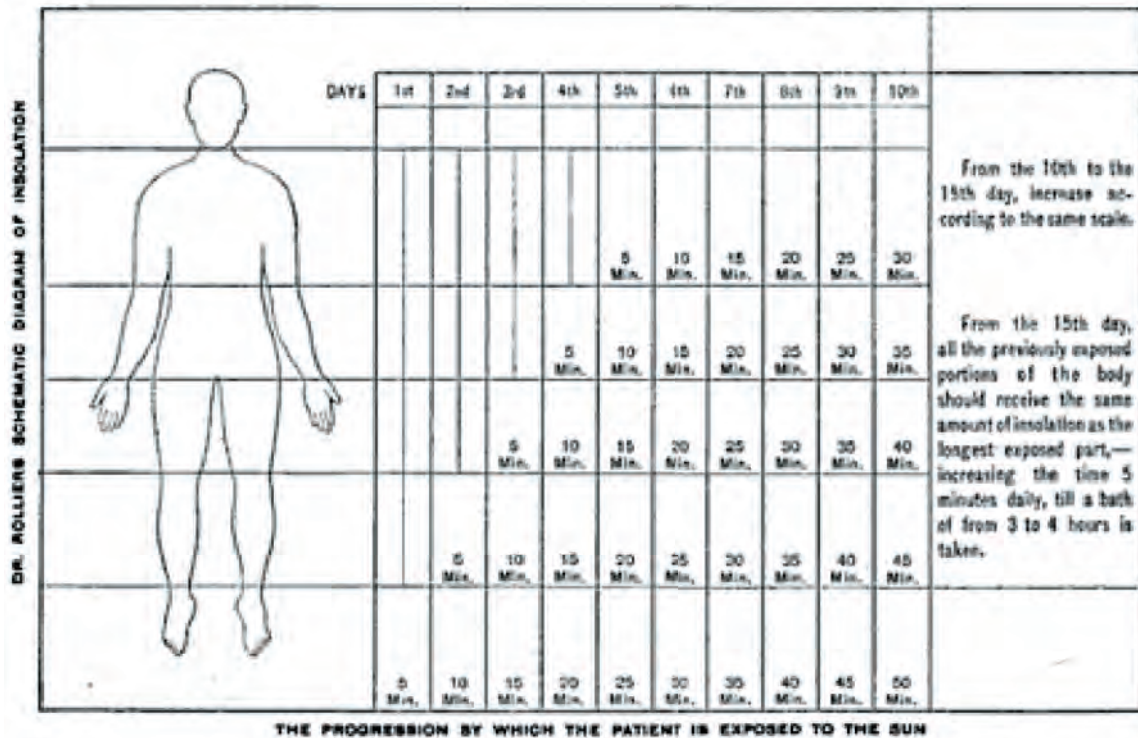


Figure 6.25 A diagram showing the gradual progression of time to which patient's bodies were exposed to the sun in the therapy known as "heliotherapy."

Image credit: *Minnesota Medicine: Journal of the Minnesota State Medical Association* 5, no. 1 (January 1922), 304.



Figure 6.26 Children and adults undergoing a heliotherapy treatment at a sanatorium would lie prostrate and nude on a hospital bed located to the exterior of the building in order to sunbathe. Often, too, as this boy does, patients undergoing heliotherapy treatment would cover their faces in order that their eyes would not be subjected to the glare of the sun.
Image credit: *Journal of the Outdoor Life*, 1915, 278.



Fig. 1.—Osteitis and multiple periostitis. General condition very bad. (Dr. Rollier's Children's Clinic at Leysin.)



Fig. 2.—The same case. Complete cure after six months' treatment with heliotherapy.

Figure 6.27 Before and after photographs, as included in medical literature of the 1920s, of the body of a young male patient believed to benefit from heliotherapy. This specific patient was not one treated at the Desert Sanatorium, but no photographs of patients there are known to exist. Photographs of white adults were rarely included in medical literature at this time because of the stigma associated with disease, while photographs of children were generally thought to be more acceptable.

Image credit: *Recent Studies of Tuberculosis: Medical Symposium Series, No. 3: A Reprint of Articles Published in the Interstate Medical Journal* (St. Louis: Interstate Medical Journal Company, 1914, 73.

A Little SUNSHINE IN EVERY HOME

ROBUST, sun-tanned, "light-blessed" children are the constant pride of their parents. Yet they are found rarely these days, except in homes unusually well situated climatically. . . . or where the health elements of sunshine are brought into the home through Ultraviolet.

Thousands of modern parents are safeguarding the health of their children . . . of the entire family in fact . . . with the Home Model of the *Alpine Sun Lamp*. This convenient device provides, at the snap of a switch, a greater intensity of the vital Ultraviolet than even the brightest noonday sunshine.

Any well-informed physician can tell you of the benefits to be derived through light-bathing in Ultraviolet. He can explain what is known of the alchemy of nature, by which this unseen element of light heals, strengthens and builds up the body, helping to store up the vitamins required for disease-resistance. He will be able to direct the employment of Ultraviolet to best meet your medical requirements.



Physicians are confidently prescribing the *Alpine Sun Lamp* because, for nearly a quarter-century it has served them in their offices, in hospitals and in health institutions throughout the world. They have seen the need for the present Luxor Model, which makes this health aid more widely available than ever before . . . either on a purchase or modest rental basis.



Luxor Model

ALPINE SUN LAMP

Write today for the intensely interesting free booklet which tells the facts about Ultraviolet



HANOVIA CHEM. & MFG. CO.
DEPARTMENT U, NEWARK, N. J.

Figure 6.28 A 1929 advertisement for a Luxor Model Sun Lamp, was supposed to bring the benefits of the Thezac lens indoors in American homes that weren't as "well-suited climatically" as those in the year-round climate of the Southwest. Image credit: *The Journal of the Outdoor Life: A Monthly Magazine of the National Tuberculosis Association*, May 1929, back cover of magazine.

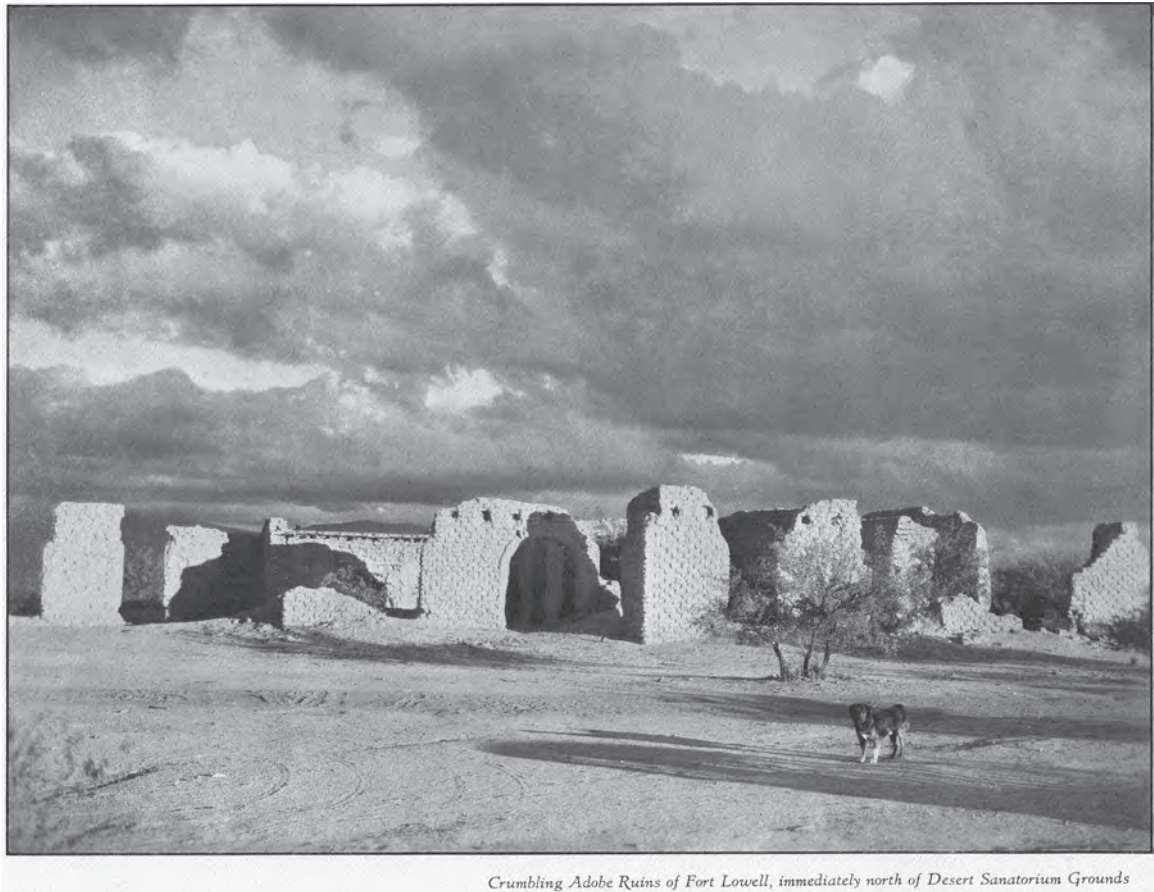


Figure 6.29 A photograph of the crumbling adobe ruins of Ft. Lowell that lay just north of the Desert Sanatorium that were prominently featured in the sanatoriums' promotional literature with a caption that read "Crumbling Adobe Ruins of Fort Lowell, immediately north of Desert Sanatorium Grounds." Although the ruins were not those of an Indian tribe, but rather those of the American government which constructed them (likely with the help of Indian labor, as was the case with the construction of many forts across the Southwest), the promotional literature of the sanatorium told readers exactly how they should associate them with a particular Indian tribe, the Apache.
Image credit: *The Desert Sanatorium and Institute of Research*, Tucson Arizona (Tucson: The Desert Sanatorium and Institute of Research, 1927), 8.