Chapter 5
Women, Tourism, and the Visual Narrative of Interwar Tourism in the American Southwest

Joy Sperling

Introduction

In 1942, Arnold Newman (1918–2006) photographed the Surrealist artist Max Ernst (1891–1976) in his New York apartment surrounded by modern art, but beside him was a prominently displayed Navajo Kachina Doll (Fig. 5.1). Ernst, like other New York-based artists in the 1930s and 1940s, had "discovered" Southwest Native American Art. Indeed by 1941, so too had most of the USA. It had been exhibited widely in the East Coast since 1922, when George C. Heye opened the Museum of the American Indian in New York. In 1931, the artist John Sloan (1871–1951) mounted an *Exposition of Indian Tribal Art* at Grand Central Galleries that included more than 600 Native American art objects; in 1937, the National Gallery of the American Indian opened in Washington, D.C.; and in 1941, the prestigious Museum of Modern Art mounted a major exhibition of *Indian Art of the United States* (Douglas and D'Haroncourt 1941). Numerous New York arbiters of taste attended demonstrations of Navajo sand painting and patronized Macy's concurrently installed Gallery of American Indian Art that sold Indian arts and crafts with which to decorate the home.[1]

Since the early twentieth century, various iterations of the "See America First" campaign and the Atchison, Topeka, and the Santa Fe Railway (AT&SF) had also distributed literally millions of images of the Southwest through promotional pamphlets, posters, and illustrated calendars bearing images of the so-called "Santa Fe Indian" by Taos artists such as Irving Couse (1866–1936). Travel writer and tour guide Erna Fergusson (1888–1964) described how East Coast women were wearing "Indian-inspired" clothing, how Carl Jung (1875–1961) observed a "mysterious

[1] The term "Indian" is used throughout as the preferred term used by the Native Peoples of the Southwest.

J. Sperling (✉)
Denison University, Ohio, USA
e-mail: sperling@denison.edu

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Fig. 5.1 Arnold Newman, *Max Ernst*, January 1942. Photograph. Courtesy Arnold Newman Collection, Getty Images

Indianization of the American people" (Fergusson 1937, p. 348), and how newcomer Anglo residents of the Southwest "all went nuts about something: ruins or Indian dances, old Mexican plays, or tin sconce" (Fergusson 1946, p. 276).[2]

This chapter posits that this highly visible and visual apprehension of the cultural heritage of the Southwest, viewed through the distorting and dislocating lenses of multiple popular visual narratives, established a largely feminized visual imaginary of Southwestern cultural heritage that has functioned largely intact and relatively unquestioned, even by the region's tri-cultural residents for almost a century. Visual imaginaries carry a profound visual capital and can frame desire, expectation, and value. Images have the power to construct and sustain visual discourses, regimes, and culturally constructed (dominant) *visualities*. They validate and frame the

[2] Fergusson also provided commentary on several Anglo residents: "Witter Bynner bought and wore and hung on his friends a famous collection of Indian jewelry. Alice Corbin introduced the velvet Navajo blouse. Stetson hats, cowboy boots, flannel shirts, and even blankets were the approved costume….Jane Henderson [Baumann] made a record by living in Santa Clara all winter and learning a whole repertoire of Indian songs. Mary Austen [sic] discovered and ordered her life to the beat of the Amerindian rhythm…[and]…, Carlos Vierra and Jesse Nussbaum designed the state museum along lines of the pueblo missions: poems and pictures were Indian strained through such diverse personalities as Parsons, Cassidy, Baumann, and Nordfeldt" (Fergusson 1937, p. 377).

Fig. 5.2 *The Alvarado, Albuquerque, New Mexico*. 1914. Illustration from the Great Southwest Along the Santa Fe, Fred Harvey, Kansas City, Missouri. Postcard in possession of the author

history of time and place. Two visualities competed to describe the cultural heritage of the Southwest between World War I and World War II: that of the masculinized traveler and that of the feminized tourist. I argue that a feminized visuality of the tourist not only emerged as dominant but as the popularly constructed visual narrative of the "enchanted Southwest's" cultural heritage.

The Masculinized Construction of the Southwest

As early as 1907, several nationally known archaeologists and anthropologists were resident at the School of American Research in Santa Fe, New Mexico, and in 1929, at the Laboratory of Anthropology. These included Edgar Lee Hewett (1865–1946) and Kenneth Chapman (1875–1968), who promoted their work broadly in scholarly and popular publications, such as *El Palacio* or *Art and Archaeology.* In 1902, Hermann Schweizer (1871–1943) became the principal buyer of both ancient and contemporary Indian arts and crafts for the Fred Harvey Company in Albuquerque and purchased thousands of exquisite objects for its Indian Department, which he ultimately sold to museums, galleries, and collectors around the country. (Anonymous, The Alvarado 1904; Anonymous, The Great Southwest 1914) He also commissioned and sold many thousands of more modest objects through the Alvarado Hotel's Indian Building (Figs. 5.2, 5.3, 5.4), an institution so well-known in the East that it was used as backdrop for the short film, *The Tourists* (Sennet and Percy 1912). By the mid-1920s, America's upper-middle class arbiters of taste not only considered it *au courant* to display Southwest Indian art in their homes, but they wanted to visit the region. And, in the more popular realm, the nation was inundated by "western" stories and imagery through popular magazine stories, dime novels, radio broadcasts, and "western" movies (more than 225 were produced in 1925 alone) (Strickland 2000).

In 1912, when New Mexico and Arizona achieved statehood both states immediately focused on tourism as the engine of economic development for their depressed and depleted region. Competing railroad companies also promoted travel to the

Fig. 5.3 *Indian Building, Albuquerque, New Mexico*. 1914. Illustration from the Great Southwest Along the Santa Fe, Fred Harvey, Kansas City, Missouri. Postcard in possession of the author

Fig. 5.4 *Interior Indian Building, Albuquerque*, New Mexico. 1914. Illustration from the Great Southwest Along the Santa Fe, Fred Harvey, Kansas City, Missouri. Postcard in possession of the author

Southwest, aggressively advertising special fares, safe and comfortable Pullman passenger car travel, well-stocked dining cars, excellent Harvey restaurants along the way, and up-to-date and well-equipped luxury hotels, many adjacent to the train stations (Bryant 1978). With increasingly affordable and reliable automobiles and the first construction on the transcontinental Route 66 in 1926, the preexisting river of middle-class tourists to the region became a flood (Heitmann 2009). One motor tour, Indian Detours, alone boasted more than 40,000 clients per year in the 1920s (Thomas 1978, p. 320).

The first nationally disseminated visual imagery of the Southwest was produced by artists of the two nationally acclaimed art colonies in Santa Fe and Taos. These mostly male Anglo artists promoted their art in large traveling group exhibitions that regularly circulated nationally. But these same artists also produced illustrations for popular magazines such as *Harper's* and *Scribner's* and imagery for AT&SF advertising materials and exhibited at Santa Fe's Museum of New Mexico (established 1909) and the Museum of Fine Arts (1917). Since 1900, the AT&SF

had aggressively promoted artists who painted the Southwest, sponsored artists to travel to the region by train to produce art suitable for AT&SF advertising, and purchased more than 600 such paintings. Irving Couse sold dozens of his Indian paintings to the AT&SF for calendar art, while Thomas Moran's (1837–1926) *The Grand Canyon of Yellowstone* (1876), a large multi-perspectival image shown to great acclaim at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition (1876), ultimately graced a variety of AT&SF advertising materials (Kinsley 1997, p. 311). By the 1920s, the art of New Mexico art colonists was so famous in non-*avant-garde* art circles that Erna Fergusson noted: "No eastern [art] show was complete without its quota of Taos Indians, Taos scenes, and one or two Taos men on the jury" (Fergusson 1946, pp. 315–316).

The formal colonies of mostly male Anglo artists and ethnographers in the Southwest effectively functioned as mediators between local Indians and increasing numbers of Anglo tourists. Most would have rejected outright their implication in the tourist business, but in fact their livelihood depended on it. Arguably, the more paintings artists sold to the AT&SF or from traveling shows around the country, the more they invited tourists to the Southwest and in turn increased demand for their art. Until 1920, it was their visual imagery that created the prevalent and highly persuasive (if largely imaginary) visually discursive spaces of the cultural heritage of the Southwest in urban America's imaginary.

These artists' visual imaginary of the "West" was a metonym for Anglo (male) authority and dominion over the frontier, a conceptual architecture that has proven both enduring and tenacious throughout American history. It was revived and reconstituted in the early twentieth century by cowboy artists such as Frederic Remington (1861–1909) and Charles M. Russell (1864–1926), novelists such as Zane Grey (1872–1939), radio shows such as the Lone Ranger (1933), innumerable "pulp westerns," and Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919) who, despairing of a weakened, enervated and feminized American commodity culture, urged the nation to restore its vigor, virility, and power (Roosevelt 1885). Such a remasculinization demanded *de facto* internal colonization of Native Peoples by Anglo artists and ethnographers wielding social and economic power over their subjects. These same Anglo male artists also imagined themselves as romantic travelers, privileged heroic individuals whose imperative was to escape "civilization," rediscover their lost cultural innocence, regenerate spiritually, and thus attain artistic inspiration. The romantic traveler engaged in lengthy, purposeful journeys, gazed upon other cultures and their heritage with a colonizing controlling and panoptic vision, and then captured them in paint.

The Feminized (Re) Construction of the Southwest

Anglo women in the Southwest by contrast were usually characterized more modestly, domestically, and even disparagingly. Scholars have not yet examined the collective and cumulative impacts of their work. Paradoxically, scholars who have

focused on individual women frequently, if unconsciously, relegated their work to a secondary order, yet also acknowledged it as more "popular" and thus more consumable by tourists. The tourist designation purportedly devalues that work, because the tourist, in contrast to the masculinized traveler and as caricatured in *The Tourists* (Sennet and Percy 1912), was solidly middle class, bubble-headed, flighty, uncritical, uninformed and possessed of a (female) desire to consume. The female tourist—in contradistinction to the male traveler—demanded "passive comfort, convenience, and diversion," absorbed little, and ultimately returned home relatively unchanged (Beezer 1994, p. 119). The traveler embraced new experiences, while the tourist was imagined as never quite leaving home, as dragging along her Anglo social baggage as she zealously collected souvenirs to take home to display and validate her experience.

Many Anglo women artists not only produced images and objects that they sold locally, no doubt to tourists, but they also exhibited their art regionally and nationally, although not collectively. They also created visual spaces and places in which Southwest tourists operated. Thus, while dozens of Anglo women assisted in producing a mediated, filtered, and consumable "enchanted" Southwest, they did so within an expanded, oblique, elastic, and mutable field of vision. In addition to producing "high art," many women also worked in interstitial visual spaces to frame, describe, and delineate a no less pervasive and persuasive *visuality* of the Southwest's cultural heritage; one that was consumed just as greedily and even more readily. I posit that this body of images defined the Southwest imaginary more robustly than the art of contemporary men, because as W.J.T. Mitchell argues, "there is no getting beyond pictures" (or *visuality*) to "some mythic reality"; pictures do not "world-mirror" they "world make" (Mitchell 2005, pp. xiv–xv). *Visuality* then is the overall *picture* or dominant cultural vision composed by the accumulation of similarly visually discursive narrative messages. Therefore, it is crucial to explore the strategies and tactics engaged by women in the Interwar Southwest to produce what is now half-remembered, half-understood ephemeral and locational imagery in an effort to support, amplify, or modify the visual narrative of the region's cultural heritage proposed by Anglo men.

In the second and third decades of the twentieth century, significant numbers of Anglo women moved to the Southwest, mostly from the East Coast or urban Midwest. Some accompanied their husbands, but others sought independence, self-determination, freedom from the constraining mores of contemporary urban American society, and a greater ability to participate professionally in political, social, and artistic activities. Alice Stevens Tipton (1916, p. 34) claimed in a *Sunset Magazine* article that the Southwest offered "occupations unusual to women" and that "(i)n the entire union there is no other state which offers to women such rare opportunities for a field of action broader than her time-honored domestic sphere than does the state of New Mexico."

Many women newcomers to the Southwest carved out significant cultural spaces within which to act. An unusually high percentage of wealthy, privileged women in New Mexico, in particular, supported the arts, the state's several coexisting cultures, and intellectual life. In Santa Fe, for instance, Mary Cabot Wheelwright

(1878–1958) founded the *Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian* (1937), Florence Dibell Bartlett (1881–1953) established the *Museum of International Folk Art* (1953), and Amelia Elizabeth White (1878–1972) and her sister Martha Root White (1872–1939) collected Indian art and then donated it to museums around the country, fought for Indian rights, and Amelia ultimately bequeathed her home to the School of American Research. Mabel Dodge Luhan (1879–1962) dominated the cultural scene in Taos with her salons populated by artistic and literary luminaries. Her self-appointed mission was to "Save the Indians, their art culture—reveal it to the world" (Powell 1974, pp. 51–52). She even married a Taos Indian, Tony Luhan. Much of Luhan's art collection was given to Taos' first museum, established in 1923 by Elizabeth Harwood (1867–1938).

Many Anglo women artists in New Mexico were highly educated for their time but most found it difficult to maintain the kind of focused professional practice available to men, so they tended to resort to other more popular visual activities to support themselves. In Santa Fe, for example, Olive Rush (1873–1966), a well-established East Coast artist, also painted murals, taught at the Santa Fe Indian school, and even painted backdrops at the New York World's Fair (1939) for the Mayan Temple exhibit. The sculptor Eugenie Shonnard (1886–1978), who studied in Paris with Auguste Rodin, also made decorative lace and created decorative garden and architectural sculpture, pottery, and furniture. Rebecca Salisbury James (1891–1968), who moved to Taos after summering with Georgia O'Keeffe (1887–1986) at the Dodge house in 1929, also painted on glass, helped (with Nellie Dunton) to revive Colcha embroidery, wrote a Spanish-language column for the local newspaper, and published a book on legendary Taoseños. Gisella Loeffler (1900–1977) painted murals, painted on enamel, designed and sold greeting cards, made tapestries, designed china patterns, made furniture, decorated lampshades, and illustrated children's books. Barbara Latham (1896–1976) and Agnes Tait (1894–1981) wrote and illustrated children's books, and Ila McAfee (1897–1995) painted animal portraits, illustrated magazines and books, made calendars, and designed fabric, wrapping paper, and china. Mary Green Blumenschein (1869–1958), wife of artist Ernest Blumenschein (1873–1960) and originally more famous than her husband, made popular illustrations, and Gerald Cassidy's (1879–1934) wife, Ina Sizer Cassidy (1869–1965), was art critic for *New Mexico Magazine*. And, Regina Tatum Cooke (1902–1988) wrote for several magazines and newspapers, illustrated books, and designed Southwestern clothing. These artist's multifarious visual contributions to the *visuality* of the Southwest were deeply implicated in tourism and the telling of the region's cultural heritage. Indeed, many of their popular illustrations, household decorations, and crafts were highly visible and in circulation for many years.

By the 1920s, tourism was both deeply engendered and deeply attractive to women, emerging as a foundational stone in middle-class structure. Just as the continual circulation of capital marked modernity, social and geographical mobility marked the middle classes, a mobility that produced both restlessness and a corresponding desire and an ability to travel. Additionally, if we accept Nicholas Mirzoeff's hypothesis that the female gaze refracts a controlling male gaze into a "domestic" gaze engendering an impulse to collect, then it could be argued that the

touristic need to consume the cultural heritage of *others* in fractured, divisible parts to validate experience and confirm place doubly feminizes an already feminized activity (Mirzoeff 2009, pp. 174–175). Women tourists, again as portrayed in *The Tourists* (Sennet and Percy 1912), demanded immediate, hands-on contact with local Indians (unlike the male traveler); they not only wanted to purchase domestic objects such as bowls and blankets as souvenirs, they also wanted to inspect the merchandise. This process further feminized the Indian recipients of the tourist gaze: first by snaring them in a "trap" of permanent visibility (Dilworth 1996, p. 163) and second by trapping them visually at home, the explicit site of domesticity.

Many Anglo women artists unconsciously capitalized on tourists' desire for typically Southwestern imagery both in their own productions and in assessing the productions of others. Two women in particular, Mary Colter (1869–1958) and Erna Fergusson, understood tourists' visual desires for a contained, constructed imaginary of Southwestern cultural heritage. Between them they constructed wholly new visual and cultural architectures to frame the *picture* of the Southwest within the region itself. Mary Colter served as the Fred Harvey Company's interior designer and informal architect, or more appropriately stage designer, for several decades starting in 1902.

In 1876, the AT&SF hired restaurateur Fred Harvey (1835–1901)—famous for his Harvey Girls waitresses—to overhaul its pit stop cafés, dining car service, and later hotels, activities he subsequently brokered into a hospitality empire. Harvey cleverly conflated AT&SF advertising with his own para-scientific promotion of the region's cultural heritage at World's Fair exhibitions, and then re-appropriated the same World's Fairs' exhibitionary strategies, in both formal exhibition spaces and in midway entertainments, to orchestrate and theatricalize visitors' actual experiences in the Southwest (Bennett 2001). The Chicago World's Columbian Exposition (1892) included artifacts from the Mesa Verde cliff dwellings discovered in 1888 along with encampments of Navajo and Pueblo Peoples on the midway who performed demonstrations of weaving, jewelry-making, and pottery for fairgoers. At the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, the Fred Harvey Company contributed a much more elaborate (re)construction of an entire Hopi village where, for several months, Hopi people performed scripted simulacra of their lives. Mary Colter probably contributed to this installation, and in 1915, at the behest of J. F. Huckel and Schweizer, and in consultation with Hewett, she created a ten-acre *Painted Desert Exhibit* for the San Diego Panama-Pacific Exposition. The centerpiece of the *Painted Desert* was a wholly fictional Indian settlement that included Navajo hogans, Apache tipis, a Hopi settlement, and mock-ups of the Taos and Zuni pueblos. Three hundred members of various tribes, including the famous San Ildefonso potter Maria Martinez and her husband Julian, lived on site for several months enacting a scripted (re) enactment of their daily lives of farming, cooking, making crafts, and performing ceremonial dances. An adjacent Harvey trading post offered souvenirs for purchase.

The Fred Harvey Company quickly recognized the potential of motor tours as an adjunct to transcontinental train travel. In 1926, they engaged Fergusson to lead "Indian Detours," tours into the field originating from La Fonda in Santa Fe, and R. Hunter Clarkson to maintain the fleet of cars and buses to transport "Detourists"

Fig. 5.5 *Indian Detour Bus Tour, Santa Clara Pueblo*, c.1926. Courtesy Palace of Governors (MNM/DCA) Negative 046940

(Fig. 5.5). Fergusson was charged with selecting and training a coterie of 20 highly educated young women as tour guides (couriers) and was afforded exclusive control over their training, although she was ostensibly assisted by an all-male Courier Corps Advisory Board of "experts," including Edgar Lee Hewett, F. W. Hodge, A. V. Kidder, S. G. Morely, and Paul F. Walter. By 1930, Indian Detours offered eight major tours throughout New Mexico and Arizona. In 1928, Charles Fletcher Lummis (1859–1928) characterized Indian Detours as "not merely a magnificent Pullmanizing of an incomparable wilderness [but] a vital sociological and educational enterprise," adding that "[t]oday the laziest traveler can not only see…..the wildest and noblest scenery on this continent, and the most picturesque and fascinating types of humanity—but he can see them comprehendingly, with guides so charming and so authentic as were never available before" (Lummis 1928, p. 7).

That couriers were women represented a dramatic break from past touring practice, especially in the West. Ruth Laughlin remarked in The *New York Times* (1935): "Feminine America is making its mark even in the Wild West…cowboys used to typify the Western cattle-range country, but now it is soft-voiced college girls" (Laughlin cited in Thomas 1978, p. 307). Lummis also emphasized the feminized aspect of Indian Detours: "I know of no other such corps of Couriers as the Indian-detour has trained to this service. Fine, clean, thoroughbred, lovely young women of old families, inheriting love and comprehension of their native State, and put through a schooling in its history and nature" (Lummis 1928, p. 8).

The rigors of courier training detailed in promotional material underscored the assumed cultural veracity of courier narratives: "It may interest you to know something of the training of a Harveycar Courier, once she is qualified as to social background, character and personality" (Anonymous Indian Detours November 1930, p. 5). Most couriers were college graduates and some even had undertaken graduate studies, which was extraordinarily uncommon for tour guides in the 1920s. Couriers were expected to have a deep knowledge of Southwest culture and history, to have traveled abroad if possible, and to have a speaking knowledge of at least one language beyond Spanish and English. The training course comprised 4 months of

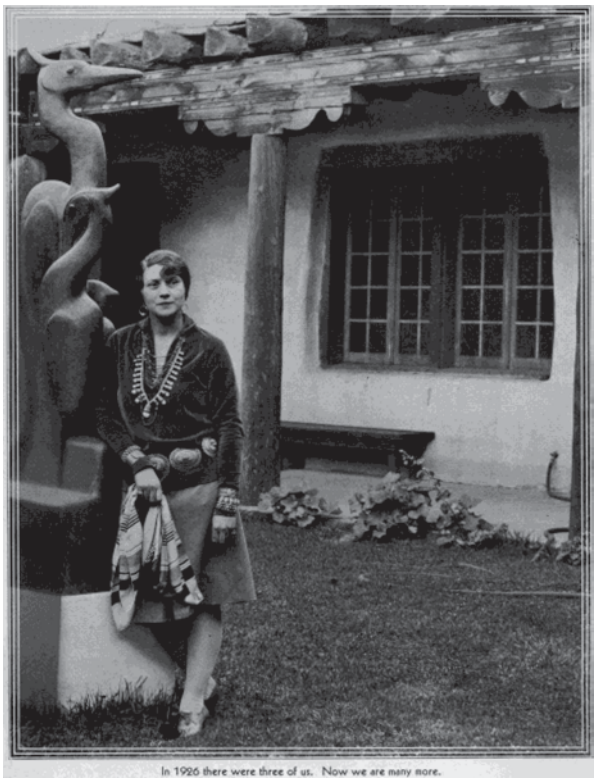

Fig. 5.6 *In 1926 there were three of us. Now we are many more*. 1930. Indian-detours—Most distinctive motor cruises in the World. Rand McNally, Chicago. Page 4

"bookwork, lectures, and long field trips by motor into the backcountry," followed by examinations to qualify first as a substitute courier, then as a regular courier, and then, "after proof of tactfulness and resource to meet any emergency," receive the "coveted designation" of land cruise courier, qualifying her "to pilot you and yours over the length and breadth of a quarter million square miles" (Anonymous Indian Detours November 1930, p. 6).

Most couriers were girls of social standing, but independent, resourceful, and usually much better educated than their Detourists: yet they were expected to be modest in their accomplishments, to be socially adept, genteel, refined, and accommodating. Couriers facilitated a direct and constant interface between the tourist and Indian and Spanish cultures as well as the Anglo elite in Santa Fe and Taos (Fig. 5.6). After couriers greeted guests as they arrived by train, it was then their "privilege to fill the pleasant dual role of hostess as well as guide" (Anonymous Harvey October 1929, n.p.). They ensured the comfort and well-being of Detourists in the field, served them meals, provided informal informational tours, and mingled with their clients in the evenings in La Fonda's social spaces. The stated goal of Detours was simple: "we want you to feel at home in the Southwest" (Anonymous Indian Detours November 1930, p. 5).

La Fonda was advertised as a sanctuary and resting place for weary Detourists at the end of their touring days: "Nothing could present a more soothing contrast to

too much geology or too much travel than the quiet restfulness, the sense of being at home again, that a Harvey House gives" (Fergusson 1946, p. 189). Mary Colter's feminized La Fonda interiors and Fergusson's feminized use of Colter's spaces normalized tourists' field experiences. The hotel's lounges, for instance, offered a "comprehensive library of books and photographs" physically framed by the comfort of a large fireplace and "huge chairs and couches and subdued richness" and brief, conversational lectures illustrated by colored magic lantern slides (Anonymous Indian Detours November 1930, p. 10). Speakers studiously elided difficult or uncomfortable issues such as Indian poverty or land loss. Courier and instructor Elizabeth De Huff (1886–1983) probably used similarly romanticized slides commissioned by the Harvey Company from Laura Gilpin (1871–1979) (see Sandweiss 1986, p. 60). Several couriers spoke so engagingly that they were even sent on promotional tours around the country to solicit prospective Detourists (Clarkson and Roger 1926).

La Fonda was also the primary public social place for Santa Fe's artistic elite, male and female, in the late 1920s. Journalist Ernie Pyle (1900–1945) claimed: "You never met anybody anywhere except at La Fonda" (Pyle 1937, n.p.). And, since couriers were usually invited to participate in that community, they also facilitated introductions between artists and Detourists, who tended to be wealthy or influential and potentially prospective collectors. Courier and author Beatrice Chauvenet (1902–) described artists regularly welcoming Detourists into their studios.

Couriers functioned as both physical and visual embodiments of a feminized and feminizing narrative of the popular cultural heritage of the Southwest. They rendered the (largely masculine) scholarly narrative of Southwest history and ethnography familiar for tourists. They rendered it feminized on multiple levels: through the gender of the teller; through the deliberately informal manner of delivery of information in short snippets as part of a conversation; and through the informal sites of its delivery, in La Fonda's homely living-room spaces, in Pueblos, and from within Detour automobiles. And, since most tours visited Pueblo Indians in their homes to purchase souvenir arts and crafts, the content of most courier narratives was perforce trained on the cottage industry based and domestic lives of Indian women. Indian Detours narratives were delivered by women, were largely about women, and for women.

The feminized aspect of tours was also accentuated by the costumes and behaviors enacted by both couriers and drivers. Drivers dressed in cowboy outfits refracted through a Hollywood lens. They wore boots and hats but were tidy, clean, and courteous: advertising described them as "reliable," "clean-cut," and "courteous and thoughtful of the little things" (Anonymous Indian Detours November 1930, p. 7). Initially, when leading Koshare Tours, Fergusson dressed in trousers and boots. But the couriers needed to appear more feminine so Winifred Schuler designed a uniform that fused several kinds of visual signifiers. An advertising pamphlet boasted: "There won't be any difficulty on recognizing our uniform, with its brilliant Navajo blouse, flashing Navajo belt of figured silver conchos, turquoise and squash-blossom necklaces, and the Thunderbird emblem on a soft outing hat" (Anonymous Indian Detours November 1930, p. 5). Courier uniforms comprised a fashionably short pleated walking skirt, durable tan stockings, and polished walking shoes with small heels. Couriers wore long unstructured

Navajo-style velveteen blouses with long sleeves and an open neck that came in a variety of brilliant jewel colors, and which served as a perfect visual foil for the heavy silver jewelry that they also wore around their necks, waists, and wrists. The hats were fashionably soft-brimmed felt cloches with a Harvey Company Silver Thunderbird insignia attached. The hybrid effect communicated fashionable urbanity, art-colony Bohemianism, and knowledge of both Indian and Spanish history and culture. The brilliant colors of courier blouses explicitly marked them as exotic regional chic (local color) and "primitive" (since it was widely believed at the time that "primitive" peoples were incapable of distinguishing between nuanced colors and thus preferred brilliant color) (Mirzoeff 2009, pp. 100–102). The overall visual semiotics described a fashionable, intelligent, independent, and slightly unconventional young woman, who was also glamorous, poised, socially assured, tasteful, and culturally sensitive. Courier costumes were also incidentally walking advertisements for the clothing and jewelry sold simultaneously in La Fonda's curio and gift shops and in Harvey hotels throughout New Mexico.

Middle-class Detourists relished multiple opportunities to purchase souvenirs in the form of postcards, photographs, booklets, jewelry, and art and craft objects in hotel curio shops or, preferably, from Indian artists themselves (see Thomas 1978, p. 130 ff). The acquisition of souvenirs served both as evidence of the trip and as a prompt for retelling and re-inscribing the story of the trip at home. But souvenir production also (re)inscribed the lives of its producers (Dilworth 1996, p. 165; Naranjo 1996, p. 192). While the tourist business successfully bolstered depressed Southwestern economies, it also catalyzed cultural shifts among Indian craftspeople, especially women. As they progressively sold their art wares to tourists and traders, Indian craftswomen became increasingly implicated in the Anglo cash-based economy, frequently emerging as the primary wage earner for their families and also causing cultural and familial disruptions. As craftswomen exploited their markets, they also accommodated their art to tourists' tastes making smaller, more purely decorative, and cheaper objects that could be produced quickly and *en masse* unlike large functional objects.

Some assimilationist-leaning Anglo women proffered craft production as a means of "lifting" Indian women out of (what they considered) a degraded state of poverty and of encouraging self-sufficiency; for example, they encouraged craftswomen to adapt traditional designs to decorate Anglo domestic objects such as candlesticks or pitchers (see Jacobs 2003; Dietrich 1936; Nash 1936). But other preservationist-leaning Anglo women vehemently opposed this strategy, lamenting the putative degeneration of Indian crafts and dilution of the Pueblo cultural heritage. They urged craftswomen to "preserve authentic" Indian designs free from commercialism. They even offered "assistance" in the "restoration" (actually reimagination) of ancient forms and imagery (see Bramlett 1934). Their efforts to guard jealously the "primitive" state of what they described as "their Indians" and their art both denied craftswomen's rights to function as self-actualized artists and robbed them of a self-narrated cultural heritage. The implicit Anglo presumption was that living Indians were degenerate, ill-equipped to survive in the modern world without Anglo "assistance," and unable to tell their own story (Fergusson 1937, p. 384).

Indian Detour couriers and resident Anglo elite women alike delivered visually inscribed narratives of Southwestern cultural heritage that were distorted through the refracting lenses of their own racial, social, and cultural *visualities*. Anglo tourists consumed these narratives as naturally occurring because they were familiar, comfortable, and ultimately confirmed already established cultural preconceptions and prejudices. This *visuality* was distinctly feminized, acquisitional, and self-serving. Fergusson described Interwar tourists and newcomers as "that tribe which roams the world looking for what it has not, talking about what it does not know, seeking emancipation from what it can never escape" (Fergusson 1946, p. 281). She disparaged them:

> In a frenetic effort to escape the complications of western cities, they were seeking not only the peace of the desert but the refreshment of primitive life. What a relief to turn….to softly mellowed pueblos where brown men raised what they ate in peace….Jaded and nerve wracked aesthetes plunged into it as into a refreshing bath. Nothing was too extreme to express their desire to go western, to live simply, to be part of the country… Everybody had a pet pueblo, a pet Indian, a pet craft. Pet Indians with pottery, baskets, and weaving to sell were seated by the corner fireplace ([which was also] copied from the pueblo), plied with tobacco and coffee, asked to sing and tell tales… It was obligatory to go to every pueblo dance. Failure to appear on a sunny roof on every saint's day [to watch the dance] marked one as soulless and without taste (Fergusson 1937, pp. 377–378).

Conclusion

A trip to the Southwest in the 1920s promised adventure and excitement to a region that was "primitive" and "savage," yet safe and civilized for visitors. It was visually imagined as a place of spiritual renewal and an anodyne for "world-weary bodies and minds" (Beezer 1994, p. 127); a place of majestic beauty and isolated pockets of "authentic" remnants of ancient civilizations. It was promoted as isolated yet easily accessible by rail and automobile. The Indian Detour described itself as "The Road to Yesterday" (*The Indian-detour* 1926) and "The newest way to see oldest America" (Clatworthy and Simpich 1929, p. 252). The visual imaginary of the Southwestern cultural heritage consumed by Americans en masse between 1900 and 1930 was romanticized, exoticized, *othered*, but most significantly domesticated, contained, rendered safe, and ultimately feminized.

Both the masculinized and feminized visual imaginaries that transformed the Southwest's visual cultural heritage into an "enchanted" place were refined and reshaped largely for Anglo tourist consumption. But, the monocular direct gaze of the largely male Anglo newcomers was refracted in a multi-ocular, multi-perspectival sideways glance by Anglo women active in popular visual spaces, who collectively and cumulatively posited a complex, imbricated, and tri-culturally interlaced visual narrative of Southwestern cultural heritage. Their domesticated and feminized touristic visual imaginary shaped an understanding and perception of the Southwest's cultural heritage as "enchanted," a construct that not only remains relatively unchallenged today, but still functions as the region's prevalent popular narrative of cultural heritage.

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Joy Sperling is professor of art history at Denison University. Her books include *Jane Gilmor: I'll be Back for the Cat* (Iowa Arts Council 2012), *Jude Tallichet: Fragonard's Shoe* (Sara Meltzer Gallery, New York 2010), *Famous Works of Art in Popular Culture* (Greenwood Press 2003), and *Out of Belfast (Three Women Artists from Belfast): Herbert, Kelly, and O'Baoill* (Denison University Museum 1999). She recently edited and revised the last section of *Art History* by Marilyn Stokstad, published independently as *Book 6: 18th−21st Century* (Pearson/Prentice Hall 2010). Her most recent book chapters include "Genres of Visual Culture: An Historical Analysis" in *A Companion to Popular Culture* (edited by Gary Burns) (Wiley Press in press); "Wot is to Be?" The Visual Construction of Empire at the Crystal Palace Exhibition, London" in *Fear and Loathing in Victorian England* (Ohio State University Press 2014); "Prints and Photographs in Nineteenth Century England: Visual Communities, Cultures and Class" in *A History of Visual Culture: Western Civilization from the 18th to the 21st Century* (Berg Press 2010), and "Artists Taking the High Road and the Low Road" in *Popular Culture Values* (McFarland Press 2009). Articles by Sperling appear in a number of journals including *The Journal of American Culture* (for which she co-edited the special issue *American Art and Visual Culture* March 2008) and *Nineteenth Century Worldwide*. Her most recent articles include "Reframing the Study of American Visual Culture: From National Studies to Transnational Digital Networks" in *The Journal of American Culture* (March 2011) and "From Magic Lantern Slide to Digital Image: Visual Communities and American Culture" in *The Journal of American Culture* (March 2008). She is past president of the Popular Culture/American Culture Association. Her current book project is *The Enchanting of the Enchanted Land: The Visual Culture of Tourism in the Southwest in the 1930s.*