

**DOUBLE TAKE:
TOURISM & PHOTOGRAPHY ENDEAVORS
AMONG THE NORTHERN PUEBLOS OF THE RIO GRANDE**

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Kúdaawóháa Takítibó

DEDICATION

To my the memory of my father,
Andrew Eloy Martinez
Great artist and trickster extraordinaire 1946-1997

To Sa'yâa,
Esther Martinez, P'oe Tsáwä, 1912-2006
My moral, spiritual, and intellectual compass

To Clara Ruth Rodriguez, 1931-2007
For sharing your New Mexican values and *pastelitos*

To the future doctors of Ohkay Owingeh,
Eve, P'oe Tsáwä ay
Nia, Than Tsáwä
Timmy Jr.

ABSTRACT

The tourism industry of the Southwestern United States is imbedded where American Indians continue in the nation's imagination as artisans, as living relics of the past, and as performers of spiritually authentic rituals. Specifically, New Mexico history and culture cannot be understood without some discussions of travel and tourism to the region. Beginning in the late 1800s and into the early twentieth century, this research highlights how narratives - through travel writings, postcards, and performances - became central to the marking and marketing of New Mexico. This dissertation draws upon historical tourism practices as a backdrop to discuss not only how New Mexico has been portrayed as an *enchanted* and *enduring* land, but more importantly how Pueblo people are exerting agency within such an industry. The region discussed in this research concentrates on the northern pueblos of the Rio Grande, which are located between Santa Fe and Taos in north central New Mexico.

Fundamental to this research is the inclusion of the contemporary experiences and practices by northern Pueblo people who are producing their own images and narratives to the traveling public. This dissertation is interdisciplinary in nature. Pueblo imagery and experiences are discussed through interviews with staff who work in the tourism industry as well as a content analysis of travel photographs in Pueblo produced guidebooks and brochures. This research illustrates how Pueblo people "compartmentalize" aspects of their indigenous identities with regard to what is conveyed to the traveling public and what images and community information remains off limits for public consumption. Since 1988 Pueblo produced travel guidebooks have had a profound impact by regulating

on the ground travel experiences to local pueblos. A significant finding in this sociocultural narrative is that Pueblo people engage in ethnic tourism not merely as backgrounds in tourism imagery, but to the contrary that Pueblo people are enduring political histories by asserting control and changing the content and composition of the images through which the traveling public sees them.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE:		1
CHAPTER 1:	INTRODUCTION	3
CHAPTER 2:	TRAVELS IN THE LAND OF ENCHANTMENT, 1880-1940	32
CHAPTER 3:	ENDURING TROPES, 1940 – PRESENT	77
CHAPTER 4:	SHOOTING BACK: PUEBLO PRODUCED TRAVEL NARRATIVES	106
CHAPTER 5:	FROM LIVING EXHIBITS TO CASINO MAKERS: LABOR, DESIRE AND THE MARKETING OF NEW MEXICO	167
CHAPTER 6:	<i>UMBÍ P'ÔE'ÄÄ</i> , OUR PATH	202
BIBLIOGRAPHY		215
APPENDICES		239

LIST OF FIGURES

1.	Greeting the First Iron Horse	32
2.	Hotel Alvarado, Albuquerque	39
3.	Manitou, Buffalo Dance	48
4.	Matachina	49
5.	Chief Manitou	51
6.	Taos Indian at Fireplace	54
7.	Baking Bread	56
8.	Maria	58
9.	Hunter in Buffalo Dance	59
10.	Tesuque Indian Pueblo Governor	63
11.	Pueblo Women Baking Bread	73
12.	Reissued Pueblo Women Baking Bread	74
13.	Indians Dancing for the Tourists	84
14.	Gallup Ceremonial Dancers	86
15.	Taos Indian Dancer	87
16.	Little Nonnie	98
17.	Greetings from Taos	100
18.	Koshare Gallup	102
19.	Nambe Yellow Corn Dance, Puye	111
20.	Bepuwaveh – Welcome	115
21.	Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Visitors' Guide, 1988	122

22.	Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Visitors' Guide, 1997	123
23.	Courteous Behavior	124
24.	San Juan Deer Dance	128
25.	Tesuque Buffalo Dance	129
26.	Comanche Dance	129
27.	Cloud Dance	130
28.	Offering at Nambe Falls	132
29.	Edward S. Curtis, An Offering at the Waterfall, Nambe	132
30.	George Yates	134
31.	Tesuque Governor Milton Herrera	136
32.	Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Visitors' Guide, 1995	137
33.	Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Visitors' Guide, 1994	137
34.	Bread Baking, Pueblo Style	138
35.	Two Cultures	146
36.	Part of the Future of Santa Clara Pueblo	147
37.	Wayne Yazza, Jr., Picuris	148
38.	Pretty Water, Pojoaque	150
39.	Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Visitors' Guide, 2003	151
40.	Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Visitors' Guide, 1992	153
41.	Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Visitors' Guide, 1993	153
42.	Te Tsu Geh Oweengeh Dancers	154
43.	Pueblo of Picuris Schoolchildren	155

44.	Trampeline	158
45.	New Mexico for Dummies	163
46.	Palace of the Governors	174
47.	Indian Vendors Under the Portal	184
48.	Taos Mountain Casino	200

PREFACE

Growing up in Ohkay Owingeh (formerly known as San Juan Pueblo¹), located between Santa Fe and Taos, New Mexico I was exposed to the culture of tourism at an early age. I remember specific times of the year, mainly during the summer months and Christmas season, where the traffic was unusually high at the village. The community school had a basketball court and playground where we would often gather to play ball. At the center of the village area was Saint John the Baptist Catholic Church with a parking lot that easily accommodated vans and recreational vehicles (RVs). Visitors often parked here to shop at the local arts and crafts cooperative. In the mid-1970s - almost a decade before the start of Indian Gaming - the pueblo was relatively quiet with not much recreational activity. A number of people in the surrounding Española Valley either commuted 25 miles to work in Los Alamos or in Santa Fe.

As a child I remember my father telling me stories of visitors passing through the village in the summertime. My father and aunts recalled how as children they used to sit at the church and wait for tourists to drive by so they could get paid to have their pictures taken. They would then walk across the street to the general store to buy pockets full of penny candy. A nickel back in the late 1940s and early 1950s would buy plenty of sugar goodies to spread among their brothers and sisters. My father has passed on and I would

¹ The San Juan Pueblo designation came about in 1598 when Don Juan de Oñate explored the territory on behalf of the King of Spain and decided to name the community San Juan de los Caballeros. In 2005 Governor Joe Garcia and Ohkay Owingeh Tribal Council members officially went back to the original place name of Ohkay Owingeh – which in Tewa means “Place of the Strong People.” Signage from San Juan Pueblo has been changed to Ohkay Owingeh. Governor Garcia stated that this change reflects the identity of pueblo residents: “We're talking about sovereignty, self determination and our way of life,” he said. “How does ‘San Juan Pueblo’ relate to who we are?” (Garcia 2005).

do anything to see some of those old photographs of my father, aunts and uncles as children. I imagine that they may be stored in some dusty attic of an East Coast family from a long forgotten vacation to New Mexico during the summer of 1950.²

This project carries a personal connection to place and experience. My mother comes from a strong *Hispano* heritage and my father is Ohkay Owingeh. I attended the University of New Mexico right out of high school. Upon completion, I soon left to pursue graduate studies at Arizona State University and doctoral studies at the University of Minnesota. Studying *naví Towa* - my Pueblo people - was a logical step for me to return to New Mexico. My research provided an opportunity to explore questions I developed on travel and home. While at the Museum of New Mexico archives I came across an early twentieth century T. Harmon Parkhurst photograph of my *táa sedó*, (great- great grandfather), Felix Castellano, husking corn. Prior to this archival finding, he existed only through my grandmother's stories. Little is known about the context of the photograph. Regardless, it did provide quite a warm response when I shared it with my family. This archival finding demonstrated the connectedness of family, story and photography. Today, travelers continue to park their cars and RVs at Ohkay Owingeh to take photographs of the village, chapel and children playing. I often wonder if visitors to New Mexico realize the impacts their photography may have on future generations.

² See Appendix A for sample photographs of tourists and Pueblo children. Of particular note is George L. Beam whose scenic photography focused on what tourists might visit while on the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad in the early twentieth century. Later in the 1930s photographers like Russell Lee who worked under the Farm Security Administration photographed pueblo communities in which tourists factored into the economic life of the pueblos.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Despite the fact that American Indians have been photographed over time, little has been written about their involvement and production in photography. Until recently, literature on American Indians and photography focused on the photographers and not on the subjects (Bush and Mitchell 1994; Lyman 1982). The camera has shaped so much of our understanding of what it means to be and become an American Indian. Photographs of the generic Indian taken by non-Indians were made into objects and symbolically possessed as a historical record (Albers 1996). Edward S. Curtis figured prominently into the practice of photographing American Indians in their natural settings as they once lived (Lyman 1982). Often staged, Curtis' photographs were read at face value and took on a true-to-life interpretation. Although taken more than a century ago, the stock, black and white Edward S. Curtis photographs continue to be widely published in history books, travel media and fine art galleries.

If Pueblo Country¹ has a contemporary counterpart of Edward S. Curtis it probably is photographer Marcia Keegan. Published in 1990, Keegan's *Enduring Culture* continues to be a favorite among bookstores at the Santa Fe plaza and is displayed at various art markets and festivals. *Enduring Culture* (1990) consists of portraits of people, ceremonies and villages in the American Southwest taken in the early part of the century by frontier photographers. Keegan's photographs are positioned on the opposite side of

¹ Pueblo Country, in this reference, is used to describe the current tribal boundaries that include the existing 19 pueblos in New Mexico: Taos, Picuris, Ohkay Owingeh, Santa Clara, Pojoaque, San Ildefonso, Nambe, Tesuque, Jemez, Santo Domingo, Santa Ana, San Felipe, Cochiti, Zia, Zuni, Acoma, Laguna, Isleta and Sandia.

the page where a similar turn of the century photograph appears. Classic images by such photographers as Edward S. Curtis, John K. Hillers, and T. Harmon Parkhurst, are included throughout the text. These early twentieth century photographs are easily recognizable as they are abundant in tourist shops and postcards throughout the Southwest. In the Introduction Keegan aligns herself with Curtis by stating, “like Curtis, I often thought that what I was seeing and recording might soon vanish. Like Curtis, I was wrong – happy, fortunately, wrong . . . By following my own inclination. I had photographed in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, scenes and events of Indian life that I now realized were scarcely changed from those of a hundred years earlier” (9). Keegan’s photography is steadfast on documenting Indians as proof of endurance and unchanging cultures.

A photojournalist from Oklahoma, Keegan has been photographing Native Americans of the Southwest for the past 25 years. She claims her photographs were taken without images in mind and she was startled to find her color photographs strikingly similar in context and content to those taken a hundred years ago. Keegan’s photography encapsulates Pueblo people as passive within the confines of how a Pueblo person is supposed to be and look. In her later collection of photography and essays, Keegan’s *Pueblo People* (1999) documents each of the nineteen pueblos of New Mexico through landscapes, people and dance. Her popular work evolved to include some contemporary images of Pueblo people who are not featured solely as ceremonial dancers at villages. Regardless, it is apparent that Keegan’s work is very much aligned with documenting how Pueblo people live. Keegan’s photography today continues to be featured in *New*

Mexico Magazine on postcards and in fine art galleries.² It is safe to say that much of the recent literature on American Indian photography includes primarily non-Indian outsiders “looking in” and documenting indigenous peoples and communities.

Much of what is written about the representation of American Indians in photography portrays the subjects passively. For example, James C. Faris in *Navajo and Photography* (1996) surveys the history of photography of Navajo people and evaluates how photographs of this “minority indigenous group were produced largely by a dominant, aggressive, and exploitative majority foreign culture with institutional trajectories and disciplines that emphasized vision and was oriented toward the consumption of images” (xi). The bulk of his analysis focuses on countering the hegemonic discourses that currently command interpretations of photography representing or picturing the Navajo. Though Faris illustrates consumption practices surrounding Navajo photography, his work does not seriously examine how Navajos exercised agency in the photographs taken of them. The works of Faris (1996) and Keegan (1990; 1999) fall short when it comes to community self-representations in which American Indians continue to remain passive agents.

THE DISCIPLINARY CONTEXT

In recent years there have been some initial steps toward giving more attention to American Indians both in front of and behind the camera. In the Southwest many American Indian communities have now acquired several generations of experience with

² To name a few examples, Keegan’s photography has been featured on the cover of *New Mexico Magazine* (August 1999) and is included in the permanent collections of the Albuquerque Museum and the Museum of Fine Arts in Santa Fe.

tourists. Deidre Evans-Pritchard (1989) has noted that many of the American Indian communities of the Southwest have much more experience in dealing with tourists than tourists have in dealing with Indians. She points out that “discomfort is often in the air when Indians and tourists meet” (1989, 100). The discomfort hinders on establishing the colonial gaze and power relations. And, in the Western imagination this gaze has always been a one-way routine. Jill Sweet (1991) describes the ways in which some Pueblo communities have managed to control and regulate their relationships with tourists. She attributes this ability to, among other things, the relatively gradual development of tourism in the region and the considerable amount of self-determination as exercised by the pueblos. This is a recent trend to be discussed in this project, but suffice it to state that agency and self-determination are practices manifested not only in tourism development, but carried out in the political arena, Indian education initiatives and the visual media (Josephy, Nagel, Johnson 1999; Szasz 1999; Wilkins 2002).

More specific to the art world, Pueblo people have always presented images of tourists in relation to their communities. This is historically evident across the Southwest when indigenous peoples etched petroglyphs depicting travelers on horses (Reyna 1992). More recently, in 1940 Santa Clara painter Pablita Velarde painted an image titled “Governor Greets the Tourists” (Appendix B). In this image the Governor is holding a Pueblo cane in his right hand and is waving his left hand at tourists packed in a blue car. At first glance this could be interpreted as a welcoming gesture, but it is not really clear. This depiction can also be viewed as a halting gesture since there are Pueblo people in the background who are standing on the village rooftops (perhaps watching a dance on the

other side). The greeting of outsiders is somewhat of a common practice for the Pueblos. The act of welcoming, especially for feast days, from a Pueblo perspective is that all who attend share in the experience of ceremony. Velarde is often referred to as an artist who painted her people and community (Ruch 2001; Velarde 1989). As an artist trained in the boarding school era, much of Velarde's paintings include her interpretations of Pueblo life and contact with outsiders. Contact with outsiders is Pueblo history. Artists like Velarde are telling these stories through their own visual narratives.

In *Hopi Photographers/Hopi Images* Victor Masayesva Jr. and Erin Younger (1983) highlight works of photographers who historically documented Hopi people and communities. These photographs include aspects of ceremonial dress as well as individuals and elders in non-ceremonial and everyday clothing. According to Victor Masayesva, "as Hopi photographers we are in a delicate place. Influenced by non-Hopi photographers, we are not immune to their success and their professional accomplishments" (1983, 10). Masayesva's photography and visual work critiques much of the practices and ways non-Indians have photographed and documented Pueblo people. Artists like Masayesva recognize how stories, through photography, convey an unspoken sense of Hopi sensibilities and worldviews. In a later work, Masayesva continues his visual work through his documentary *Imaging Indians* (1992). This work includes interviews with American Indians to reveal the misappropriation of indigenous culture, spiritualism, ceremony and religion. By juxtaposing footage from Hollywood films, Masayesva is concerned about a tribal and community future. This concern is evident in Masayesva's work insofar as the camera is geared toward non-Indians as well

as American Indians who engage in misappropriation. Masayesva challenges the public to overcome the glamorized Hollywood views and critically think about the images of American Indians (Masayesva 1992; 2006).

In the larger history of tools adapted through European contact, such as horses and rifles, Paul Chaat Smith states that “the camera, however, was more than another tool we could adapt to our own ends. It helped make us what we are today” (1992, 97). The act of “making” a photograph, through a conventional interpretation, is an active process (Sontag 1977). What Smith alludes to in the above quote is the legacy and uneasy relationship between the camera and American Indians. What Paul Chaat Smith and other scholars write against are the uses of photographs in the service of a colonial gaze (Harlan 1994; Jojola 1996; Masayesva 1983; Naranjo-Morse 1992, 1994; Tsinhnahjinnie 2003). Adaptation through the camera is one of the many ways indigenous peoples have incorporated their historical and community histories.

Perhaps one of the best examples bridging the use of the camera and Pueblo experiences is Laguna photographer Lee Marmon. He received his first camera in 1946 when he returned from the army. Upon the advice of his father to record the elders and their stories, Marmon embarked on a career to visually capture Pueblo life. As a Laguna pueblo member, Marmon is one photographer who carefully navigates the proper usage of the camera according to Laguna sensibilities. Through photographing his community members, Marmon recalls that he “never tried to change what they were wearing unless they wanted to change. I left it up to them how they wanted to look in front of the camera” (Marmon 2003, 7). Not changing what people wanted to wear, like Edward S.

Curtis did, is a profound notion in the larger practice of photography of American Indians. In this “real life” approach, Marmon has photographed some of the most prolific images. Marmon’s photography includes Pueblo people in dance regalia as well as everyday casual poses (Marmon 2003). The most famous Marmon photograph is perhaps his *White Man’s Moccasins*. This image presents an elderly Pueblo man sitting down and leaning against an adobe wall wearing a pair of Converse tennis shoes. First taken in 1954, Marmon’s signature image continues to be a favorite among Pueblo people and beyond because of the irony and humor involved. Lee Marmon recounts the following about *White Man’s Moccasins*:

Of the thousands of photographs I’ve taken over the years, this one has found the most acclaim. The elderly man in the photo is Jeff Sousea. I’d known Jeff all of my life. He was known on the pueblos as “Old Man Jeff,” and was quite a character. He spent years serving as a caretaker for the Laguna Mission, and he always kept the tourists entertained with tall tales of hidden gold and herbal roots that made him strong for women. Jeff was already in his eighties when I approached him on the plaza one day. He wasn’t in the mood to sit for a photo at first, but he changed his mind after I handed him a cigar. We didn’t do much preparation, because Old Jeff had no patience. You’d never know it from the photo. His personality shines through vividly. Old Jeff would be proud to know that his image has become so well-known and admired today.³

It is through Pueblo photographers like Victor Masayesva and Lee Marmon and painters such as Pablita Velarde that new paths were created in the world of Pueblo produced visual narratives. Most photography galleries in Santa Fe that feature Pueblo artists almost always carry the works of Marmon and Masayesva. Their work is credited and valued in fine art venues as well as in some tourist publications. Furthermore, Pueblo

³ Statement retrieved from <http://www.leemarmongallery.com>. For additional Lee Marmon photography, see *The Pueblo Imagination: Landscape and Memory in the Photography of Lee Marmon*, Beacon Press, 2003.

painters like Pablita Velarde and her contemporaries like Cochiti artists Mateo Romero and Diego Romero who play on tourist imagery, are almost exclusively housed in galleries and museums.⁴ This has historically been the case in which Pueblo artists who are “recognized” by the art world are featured in select venues (Bernstein 1993). The end result is that these artists may, at best, fall short by conveying their stories as modern Pueblo people navigating multiple worldviews to the traveling public at large.

Keith Basso describes how “place-making is a universal tool of the historical imagination” (1996, 5). This tool of historical imagination, through photography and tourism practices, lends insight into how Pueblo people have come to imagine aspects of their communal histories. Furthermore, Basso argues that “place-making is a way of constructing social traditions, and, in the process, personal and social identities. We are in a sense, the place-worlds we imagine” (1996, 7). Imagination and place making – by drawing upon photography as a site – informs how Pueblo people fit within and against a tourist world. Places within the Pueblo world, whether this be physical, spiritual or cultural are constantly influenced by non-Indian sensibilities. Since the arrival of the Spanish to the Southwest, Pueblo peoples were written about in ways that positioned indigenous peoples as exotic and quaint others (Gutierrez 1991; Kessell, 1987; Spicer 1962).⁵

⁴ Some of Diego Romero’s work can be viewed in galleries on Santa Fe’s Canyon Road, See also <http://www.robertnicholsgallery.com>; Mateo Romero’s *Painting the Underworld Sky: Cultural Expression and Subversion in Art*. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press.

⁵ From 1581 to 1680, the Franciscans provided the impetus for colonization in New Mexico. For most of this period the Friars were virtual lords of the land and organized Indians into a theocracy that lasted until the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. See Gutierrez 1991; Kessell, 1987; Spicer 1962.

Pueblo people recognize the cultural and political forces imposed under the regimes of Spain, Mexico and the United States. Pueblo people, like many other indigenous groups, are products of historical warfare with foreign empires, loss of land, and removal of children to boarding schools (Sando 1992). Prior to European contact there existed 100 pueblo villages speaking eight sovereign languages (Reyna 1992; Sando 1992). Today, there are 19 pueblos in New Mexico. This drastic decline in Pueblo communities is manifested today in how Pueblo people are struggling with land and water rights, teaching indigenous languages, navigating the complexities of educational state and federal policies, and most of all balancing cultural and religious values in the twenty-first century. Part of the challenge for the Pueblos hinges on economic development initiatives. The travel industry in New Mexico is a booming force. This is evident in the growing number of casinos and resorts throughout Pueblo Country.

Pueblo people often have no choice when it comes to negotiating highway improvements and water usage with neighboring communities. But more importantly, what they can control is the production of imagery and narratives to the traveling public. The *Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Visitors' Guide* established in 1988 is one example of Pueblo produced travel imagery. This annual publication is aimed at educating the traveling public on the history and culture of the region. Other Pueblo travel publications by Acoma, Zuni and Hopi also have been recently established to educate the traveling public about visiting their communities. These are great strides that have ridden the wave of gaming initiatives in which Pueblo people are exerting agency and voice. These waves are also being felt with the opening of new cultural centers at Acoma Pueblo and the

Pueblo controlled museum at Pojoaque Pueblo. Through Pueblo produced imagery, the northern Pueblos of the Rio Grande are striving to promote a new consciousness of “shooting back” in ways that serve tribal peoples, communities and the state of New Mexico.

By discussing contemporary tourist practices among northern Pueblo people, this research is inherently an American Indian Studies project. Through an interdisciplinary approach, the scholarship on American Indian histories informs much of my lens for understanding how Pueblo people navigate in this world of tourism. A common thread among the recent scholarship in American Indian Studies is that the impact of colonialism on indigenous peoples and their societies must be considered (Mihesuah 1998; Shoemaker 2002; Thornton 1998; Warrior 1994). Furthermore, research must be navigated as such to understand this phenomenon on Native peoples. According to Thornton (1998), “colonialism involves imposing a society – ‘a way of life’ – upon a land and its people, while exploiting one or the other or both” (4). A major focus within American Indian Studies is to discuss and critique the impact of colonialism on indigenous peoples. There are varying degrees of colonialism, which differ among tribes regarding loss of language, religion, political status, and removal from homelands, to name a few. Each indigenous population, as well as researchers who write about them, must acknowledge the diversity of experiences.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) states that “decolonization does not mean and has not meant a total rejection of all theory and research or Western knowledge. Rather it is about centering our concerns and world views and then coming to know and understand

theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes” (39). This reclaiming of knowledge is a central component within the disciplinary field of American Studies for many historically disenfranchised groups. The task at hand for American Indian Studies is that recognizing similar struggles with other “subaltern” (Spivak 1985) groups and academic disciplines, will in turn create a dialogue for a more nuanced understandings of American cultures and histories.⁶

This, I argue, is a fundamental way to approach American Indian Studies - as an evolving dialogue - by thinking in terms of both research methods and methodologies. American Studies and American Indian Studies are disciplines that are conducive to facilitating an interdisciplinary dialogue by producing culturally grounded narratives. Today, American Indian Studies and American Studies share many common features, the most prominent of which is their reliance on interdisciplinary modes of thought. Each of them takes the position that studying a people’s culture and history together represents a more accurate and complete view of that society. In order to write a culturally grounded narrative, inclusion of related questions focusing on historical content and sources must be utilized to present the complexities of community histories.

My project seeks to further discuss differences among tribes as well as synthesize a common practice of imaging aspects of northern Pueblo culture. Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities* (1991) argues that one of the ways people imagine communities

⁶ This project is much in step with some feminist scholars like Marjorie DeVault (1999) who characterizes feminist methodology as “a field of inquiry united by membership in these overlapping research communities – bound together not by agreement about answers but by shared commitments to questions” (29). Furthermore, “‘feminism’ is a movement and a set of beliefs that problematize gender inequality” (29). In short, DeVault argues that feminist methodology will not be found in some stable orthodoxy but in an evolving dialogue.

is through print media. He maintains that the way in which communities, united by social, historical, and political disenfranchisement, as well as a common language, provide a vehicle through which nationalist ideologies are outlined. Each of the northern pueblos, through visual representation in tourism, has come to imagine their particular communities distinctly; yet, at times the northern pueblos of New Mexico present to the traveling public a common identity of what it means to be Pueblo. This not only is taking place in tourism practices but in the political realm with such groups as the Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos Inc., the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council Inc. and the All Indian Pueblos Council. This research is aimed at understanding how northern Pueblo people have manipulated and are continuing to shape photographs and tourism practices that represent themselves to the traveling public. Pueblo people have always been at the historical crossroads since Spanish arrival and this analysis aims to make sense of the forces that impact Pueblo people. This research is important because it investigates a relatively new phenomenon - that of northern Pueblo people exerting agency and strategic planning in an attempt to control and produce travel image making and place making.

AIMS & SCOPE OF STUDY

There is little research examining the role of American Indians in the tourism industry exerting their own agency and cultural influence. Leah Dilworth's *Imagining Indians in the Southwest* (1996) examines the phenomenon of how Southwestern Indians entered into the non-Indian American imagination, changing from a "vanishing race" into the ideal American artist. Dilworth attempts to understand the cultural circumstances that

made this transformation possible and demonstrates that “cultural primitivism,” as practiced in the Southwest by non-Indians at the turn of the century, has had lasting social and cultural implications.

In tourism literature, as well as the early ethnography of the region, the Southwest was often compared to the Biblical Orient (McLuhan 1985). Americans were told that they need not journey to distinct lands when ancient ruins, magnificent landscapes, and exotic peoples existed within their nation’s own borders (Lummis 1893). This regionalist, and nationalist, rhetoric was often similar to the discourse of orientalism (Said 1978). Barbara Babcock has written that “the Southwest is America’s Orient,” and Marta Weigle has called the development of the region’s cultural distinctiveness “Southwesternism” (Babcock 1990; Weigle 1990). Both scholars identify conceptions of the “primitive” as crucial to constructing and maintaining the Southwest as an “Other” to the nation. This research seeks to fill a gap in both the study of American Indian Studies and American Studies by presenting a contemporary example of how Pueblo people are engaging in a tourism industry that is historically embedded in a legacy of “cultural primitivism.” It is the aim of this analysis to discuss how Pueblo people, through photography and tourism endeavors, are asserting their interests in an industry that has profoundly impacted their lives, while at the same time seeking to maintain sensibilities of what it means to be a Pueblo person in the 21st century.

Modes of understanding and ways of knowing developed by Edward Dozier (1961) and Edward Spicer (1962) on compartmentalization are applied as to how Pueblo people negotiate aspects of ethnic tourism. By drawing upon compartmentalization, this

project is concerned with aspects that are kept privately within Pueblo communities versus what is conveyed publicly in tourist material, museums and guided tours. Historically, Pueblo people have experienced a tumultuous political history under the regimes of Spain, Mexico, and the United States (Sando 1992; Spicer 1962). There continues to be a practice of protecting private indigenous cultures and values regardless of the pressures to publicly market and commodify cultures. According to Dozier (1961), the Pueblos accommodated to Spanish pressures by separating the ceremonial practices that offended the Spaniards and concealing them behind a facade of the imposed Spanish-Catholic patterns. An examination of the roles of Pueblo people in the tourism industry demonstrates a conscious effort to maintain two mutually distinct and separate socio-cultural systems of private and public indigenous cultures. What is *not* presented to the public through photography, performance and guided tours, is just as telling as to what *is* presented. This is just one of the ways the northern Pueblos are departing from conventionalized tourism by keeping sacred images off limits to photography.⁷

I draw upon the experiences of the northern Pueblos to discuss how communities are redefining themselves in an industry embedded in the legendary imagining of Natives as “exotic others” which are so often portrayed in promotional (and prohibited) materials

⁷ This research compliments much of the literature of American Indian histories written and researched by American Indians. Some recent examples to the diverse and ever growing body of literature are Beatrice Medicine’s *Learning to be an Anthropologist and Remaining “Native,”* Esther Martinez’s *My Life in San Juan Pueblo: Stories of Esther Martinez*. Classics in tribal histories from insider perspectives include Alfonso Ortiz’s *Tewa World* and Ella Deloria’s *Waterlily*, to name a few. In addition, cinema is one venue that continues to expand personal and community indigenous narratives. See examples such as, *Surviving Columbus* by Diane Reyna, *Clay Beings* (2003) by Nora Naranjo Morse and *Waterbuster* by Mandan/Hidasta filmmaker Carlos Pienado.

of the Southwest.⁸ Conventional travel publications and practices infringe on the moral and ethical obligations of respect. Historical photographs from Edward S. Curtis and T. Harmon Parkhurst were taken at a time when permission from the subjects was not valued. Conventional tourism practices continue to reproduce these images with little regard to the communities these photographs represent (Cheek & Fuss 1996; Gibson 2001). Questions with regard to navigating an ethical and responsible compass are key to guiding such methodologies.

The northern pueblos are located between Santa Fe and Taos and include the following: Tesuque Pueblo, Nambe Pueblo, Pojoaque Pueblo, San Ildefonso Pueblo, Santa Clara Pueblo, Ohkay Owingeh (formerly San Juan Pueblo), Picuris Pueblo and Taos Pueblo (Appendix C). First, I chose this region since the eight northern pueblos were the first in the state to produce a travel guide promoting their own communities and surrounding activities. Second, the high traffic region between Santa Fe and Taos is a relatively unstudied region in the area of contemporary tourism practices. Much of the literature discussing New Mexico tourism influences privileges the region from Santa Fe to Albuquerque (Weigle and Babcock 1996). Third, San Juan Pueblo was the original site of the first capital of New Mexico in 1598. This exposed the northern pueblos early on with regard to the traffic in cultures passing throughout northern New Mexico.⁹ This project is concerned with the recent Pueblo produced initiatives to address these forces of

⁸Some recent travel guidebooks that publish early twentieth century photographs, which many Pueblos today have prohibited, include Daniel Gibson's, *Pueblos of the Rio Grande: A Visitor's Guide*, Tucson: Rio Nuevo Publishers, 2001. L.W. Cheek & E. Fuss, *Santa Fe. Compass American Guidebooks*, Fodor's Travel Publications, Inc., 1996.

⁹ The capital was later moved to Santa Fe in 1610 shortly after Spanish explorer and Governor Juan de Oñate was sent to Mexico and tried for mistreatment of Indians and abuse of power (Reyna 1992; Sando 1992; Sando and Agoyo 2005).

traffic and culture in an area that is strong in cultural values and history. Fourth, I grew up witnessing and hearing stories about travelers who would stop by the village and this experience further created an interest to explore this area of research.

Stories and images of contemporary northern Pueblo people are embedded in their own produced travel narratives whether they appear in guidebooks, artwork or museums. One overarching research question guides this project: **What lead the northern pueblos of New Mexico to produce their own travel media and how has this trend influenced public perceptions of Pueblo people?** To further articulate these answers, notions on compartmentalization are utilized regarding what images and narratives are appropriate for public consumption versus what is not published in travel guidebooks and brochures.

METHODS OF INQUIRY

For my research, ethnographic methods are used for understanding and observing the impacts of tourism and travel to Pueblo lands and peoples. In a general sense, ethnographic inquiries concern the link between culture and behavior and/or how cultural processes develop over time (Geertz 1973). The database for ethnographies is usually an extensive description of the details of social life or cultural phenomena in a small number of cases. In this research ethnography was conducted through observation and in-depth qualitative interviews with artists in Santa Fe as well as with northern Pueblo people who are connected to the travel industry. Throughout my years living in New Mexico, and most recently during my research, I have visited every one of the nineteen Pueblo villages in New Mexico in addition to the Hopi mesas of Walpi, Shongopavi and Oraibi

in Arizona. My visits occurred both during Pueblo feast days and non-ceremonial events, as well as for various arts and crafts festivals. My fieldwork included data collection at museums and cultural centers such as the newly opened Cultural Center at Acoma Pueblo, the Poeh Museum in Pojoaque Pueblo and the Hopi Cultural Center. My most concentrated experience and research are focused on the northern pueblo region between Santa Fe and Taos. In reflecting upon my visits, the sites mentioned have all contributed to a body of knowledge on general Pueblo history and understandings. Although it would be extremely difficult or nearly impossible to write an exhaustive research project on Pueblo people since each community is deeply entrenched in cultural and linguistic worldviews.

As the main data collection of contemporary northern Pueblo produced travel material I have selected the annual publications of the *Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Visitors' Guide* from its inception in 1988 to 2008.¹⁰ The *Visitors' Guide* illustrates how the northern Pueblos of New Mexico are exerting agency and greater control over their roles in the production of tourist-oriented photography. The practice of exerting agency

¹⁰ A portion of my graduate studies was funded by the Ohkay Owingeh Department of Education. Part of the requirement of the scholarship was to give a certain number hours of community service to the pueblo. Some of my time in the summers was spent with the Summer Discovery Program as a chaperone on field trips with students. Occasionally, I was unable to get home due to summer teaching obligations at the university. Knowing that I was student, the Tribal Council asked if I would be interested in writing the San Juan Pueblo section of the *Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council Visitors' Guide* as well as short articles for the community newsletter. This was my initial exposure and first hand experience with the publication. In 2000 I agreed to do part of my service by writing for the *Guide*. The essays I submitted, approved by the governing board, included brief historical overviews of the tribe. In other essays, I was asked to write about such themes as language and economic development in the pueblos. All essay topics were solicited and edited by the *Visitors' Guide* committee. Part of the mission of the *Guide* was to utilize youth and tribal members. My time spent working with the committee was counted toward my community service. I made several contacts working with the *Visitors' Guide* committee which proved to be helpful for later research. Regardless of my initial exposure with the *Visitors' Guide*, I felt the need to gain a deeper understanding and perspective through ethnography methods and archival research.

takes the form of influencing the actions within a Pueblo produced context as well as interactions of non-Pueblo travel media. The publication serves as a contemporary example of the northern Pueblos controlling all aspects of the tourist-oriented production, including the photography and historical background on each of the pueblos. The *Guide* is a collaborative effort among the eight northern pueblos which include the tribes located between Taos and Santa Fe. The Governors of each of the pueblos ultimately approve the content and the production of the *Guide*. This case study of photography analyses demonstrates the ways Pueblo people are engaging in self-cultural production, which often depart from conventional ways of “seeing” Natives.

The *Guide* is also used as a tool to educate the traveling public about courteous behavior when visiting the pueblos. Often in a section called “Pueblo Etiquette” are rules and regulations about photography, visiting homes and the prohibition of entering sacred sites such as climbing on structures or entering cemeteries. The *Guide* is widely circulated to visitors who travel to New Mexico as well as abroad. One previous staff person mentioned the *Guide* has been sent in bulk mail to Europe and often runs out of stock in such places as the La Fonda Hotel in Santa Fe - one of the most popular tourist hotels in the state of New Mexico (True 2002). Also, included in the *Guide* is a map to each of the eight northern pueblos and a brief historical section of the community and people as well as advertisements of artist studios, arts and crafts festivals, and local casinos and resorts.

One cannot study tourism and the role of Pueblo people in this industry without the inclusion of Santa Fe, New Mexico as an important economic and cultural work site.

The Santa Fe plaza serves as a case study for bridging the discussion of labor and the hidden elements that photography fails to capture. To further investigate this linkage between labor and tourism, in 2001 I conducted a handful of preliminary interviews with artists working at the Santa Fe plaza.¹¹ I have since conducted a total of 26 interviews to form the basis of my primary sources by selecting a tourist site and the role labor plays within this local and contested global space. By outlining the components of this project, discussions on Santa Fe are placed in the latter part of this research to illustrate a contemporary example of how photography and tourism forces ignore the hidden elements of labor.

Besides ethnography methods, this study utilizes archival collections. A Newberry Library Fellowship, Department of American Studies Writing Grant and Ford Foundation Fellowship funded my research to several archival collections. I collected and sorted through postcards and railroad history material from the Western History Collection at the Denver Public Library and the Colorado Historical Society. The John Ayer Collection at the Newberry Library held some photography (approximately 1870-1920) from photographer John K. Hillers who traveled the West with explorer John Wesley Powell. Hillers mainly photographed landscapes, but in the fall of 1872, under instruction from Powell, Hillers turned his lens from landscapes to people. His first series of images were of the Kaibab Paiutes, who were among the last American Indians to come into sustained contact with white settlers. Hillers' photographs, though posed and

¹¹ The initial step in crafting "A Living Exhibition" was part of an ethnography assignment in a Research Methods seminar at the University of Minnesota with Professor Jennifer Pierce.

staged much like Edward S. Curtis, do provide an important record of a way of life.¹² Hillers traveled throughout Pueblo Country and photographed a wealth of community activity and landscapes. While in Chicago, I made a visit out to the Curt Teich Postcard Collection at the Lake County Discovery Museum in Wauconda, Illinois.¹³ The Curt Teich Postcard Archives, part of the Lake County Discovery Museum, is recognized throughout the world as the largest public collection of postcards and related materials.

Archival collections were catalogued by individual pueblos and included an extensive sample of ceremonial photographs, landscapes and architecture. Most of the photographs, under the auspices of the Museum of New Mexico, were taken to preserve and promote activities like pottery making and other elements of “traditional” Pueblo practices. At the archival collection at the Museum of New Mexico, I came across mainly photographs and less tourist produced material.¹⁴ Though much of the early photographs were not intended for travel promotion, they have since been reproduced in postcards, travel guidebooks and fine art venues. The New Mexico State Records Center and Archives was a wealth of archival information. The Southwest Research Reading Room contains the entire collection of the *New Mexico Highway Journal* from 1923-1930 and

¹² The Kaibab Paiutes called Hillers “Myself in the Water.” It’s clear how the naming came about: Just as they saw their images reflected back at them from lake or river water, so the Paiutes’ could see themselves reflected in Hillers’ photographs. See <http://www.pbs.org/peoplevents>.

¹³ Thanks to John Aubry at the Newberry who strongly suggested that I visit the Curt Teich Postcard Collection. Archivist Debra Gust was extremely helpful by pulling the southwestern files from the Curt Teich collections.

¹⁴ Some of the photographs appear with the word RESTRICTED on them. These include a variety of inside kiva photographs as well as various ceremonial dancing, such as Turtle Dances and kachina dances. It is not clear how or who labeled the photographs as restricted but suffice it to state that these photographs are available for public viewing. The most common and recognizable of sacred imagery include the *Kossa* or Koshare (sacred clown dancers).

New Mexico Magazine from 1931-2007. There was not a postcard collection per se, but several postcards, brochures and photographs were scattered in private collections. While at the state archives I was able to get a sense of the early development of New Mexico from the *Report to the Bureau of Immigration of New Mexico* by Theo C. Camp, Commissioner of Immigration in 1881, the Territorial Archives, and the *Albuquerque Progress* publications. In summary, this study draws upon archival material, a content analysis of postcards, travel brochures, guidebooks, and interviews with artists and Pueblo people who work within the tourism industry, to present a picture of how the northern Pueblo people are departing from conventionalized forms of tourism.

THE PUEBLO PEOPLES¹⁵

From a Pueblo worldview, Pueblo occupation in the southwestern United States dates back to time immemorial. Some Tewa¹⁶ stories cite the emergence of their peoples and clans from sacred lakes and mountains throughout the Southwest. Every pueblo has its unique way of explaining its existence and occupation to the current physical world. In addition, almost all oral histories draw upon connections to mountains, lakes and animals as definitive markers in their emergence. There is physical evidence of ancestral occupation of petroglyphs dating back 6,000 years. As a historical canvas, Pueblo ancestors chronicled and etched their experiences and stories through images of animals

¹⁵ The plural version of Pueblo peoples is used interchangeably to reflect more than one cultural and religious type of communities and belief systems.

¹⁶ Tewa is spoken in six of the northern pueblos: Ohkay Owingeh, Santa Clara Pueblo, Nambe Pueblo, Pojoaque Pueblo, San Ildefonso Pueblo and Tesuque Pueblo. Taos Pueblo and Picuris Pueblo are Tiwa-speaking communities. Tewa is pronounced tay-wah and Tiwa is pronounced tē-wah.

on rock. Most importantly it is through oral tradition of story, song and dance that Pueblo peoples convey their existence and connection to this world (Ortiz 1969).

Prior to 1539 A.D. when representatives of the Spanish Empire encroached on their lands, Pueblo people had a long established history in the Southwest. Upon contact the Spanish gave them the name *pueblo*, meaning small town or village, because of the way they saw the people living together in multi-story adobe dwellings. Pueblo is still commonly used when referring to the original inhabitants living along the Rio Grande, though, all Pueblos still retain their individual indigenous place names. Ironically, the first explorer to New Mexico was an alleged black Moroccan slave named Estebanico who was under the initial exploration with Friar Marcos de Niza.¹⁷ Estebanico is not commonly viewed as the first “explorer” since popular depictions of Spanish arrival include Spanish men in armor riding horses. Some pueblos today have some remembrance of the “black man” who is reenacted in certain ceremonial dances.

The next wave of colonial presence occurred under Mexican rule from 1821 to 1848. Mexico issued its Declaration of Independence, which reaffirmed that Indians were citizens of Mexico and on an equal basis with non-Indians. During this time trade was opened with the United States and goods began to flow along the Santa Fe Trail. William Becknell brought the first wagons from the East coast across the plains to Santa Fe, thus opening the route for Anglos to Pueblo Country (Sando 1992). The Pueblo people are

¹⁷ For a thorough overview of early Spanish contact history in New Mexico. See *Surviving Columbus* (Reyna 1992); Joe Sando's (1992) *Pueblo Nations: Eight Centuries of Pueblo Indian History*. Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, *Po'pay: Leader of the First American Revolution*, Edited by Joe Sando and Herman Agoyo (2005). Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers; *Handbook of North American Indians*, Volume 9, Southwest, Edited by Alfonso Ortiz (1983). Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution; John Kessell's (1987) *Kiva, Cross and Crown*.

unique politically insofar as not having signed a treaty with any foreign government. The treaty that does affect the pueblos, negotiated between Spain and Mexico, was the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. This treaty ended the war with Mexico, as ratified by the United States and Mexico on May 10, 1848, and ceded to the United States the states of California, Nevada, most of Arizona, New Mexico west of the Rio Grande, Utah, Colorado and southwest Wyoming (Griswold Del Castillo 1992).¹⁸ The United States acquired a total of 334,443,520 acres (552,568 square miles). To deal with the transition from territory to statehood, Indian agents were placed throughout the Southwestern states. In 1849 James S. Calhoun was appointed as the first Indian agent in New Mexico who later became the first governor of the Territory of New Mexico in 1851.

Geographically, today the 19 New Mexico pueblos are located along the Rio Grande starting with the most northern pueblo in Taos and continuing downward to Isleta Pueblo, just south of Albuquerque; and, to the west of Albuquerque and Rio Rancho are located the Keres-speaking pueblos. Zuni pueblo is the furthest of the western pueblos in New Mexico. Thus far, I have applied the term “Pueblo people” as if there is a unifying concept. Some scholars, like Alfonso Ortiz (1969) have attempted to identify a common Pueblo worldview, and perhaps some key characteristics can be applied to what this research will come to understand as being Pueblo. To be a Pueblo in the most basic sense is to be given *wo p’oe* (medicine water) early in life. The initial step varies among the pueblos with regard to the time of year and proper age. Regardless, the unifying practice

¹⁸ See Richard Griswold Del Castillo (1992) *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conflict*, University of Oklahoma Press. In July of 1850 a treaty was drawn up between the United States and the Pueblos with James S. Calhoun acting as agent. However, the treaty was never ratified by the United States Senate. See Joe S. Sando (1992) *Pueblo Nations: Eight Centuries of Pueblo Indian History*. Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers.

to take a step as a Pueblo person is to have recognition through medicine water. Like most other cultures, the Pueblos recognize and honor moving from childhood, youth and adulthood. This too becomes a major focus point in understanding the role of men and women throughout their life stages. As Ortiz (1974) states, there is simply not *the* Indian viewpoint in the writing of history. Each tribe, band, or community has its own sovereign history.

The notion of sovereign histories is perhaps best demonstrated through the use of language among the Pueblos. There are five major language groups in New Mexico: Tiwa, Tewa, Towa, Keres and Zuni. The Hopi people of Arizona speak both Hopi and Tewa and although separated by hundreds of miles, the Hopi also have strong cultural and religious ties to the northern Pueblos of New Mexico. There are commonalities with regard to pottery making and dance among the pueblos. Historically, pottery making was utilitarian and all Pueblo people who now collect clay and make pottery follow a strict protocol. Dances in the most general sense are divided between animal dances such as Deer and Buffalo, to agricultural and fertility based dances such as Corn, Cloud and Basket Dances (Ortiz 1969; Sweet 1985). Dances and ceremonies are conducted to renew life. As Swentzell and Warren (1992) point out “*Shadeh* is the Tewa word for dance. Translated literally, shadeh means ‘to be in the act of getting up, of waking up.’ By dancing, one awakens, arises in a heightened sense of awareness to the dance and participation in its meaning. To dance is to move with the song and sound of the drum and, hence, to participate in an ageless cosmic movement. The dance honors and recognizes the interactive role of human beings with the natural world (93).” These all

follow a rigid seasonal calendar and Pueblo worldviews among each of the dances vary considerably. However, the complexities of being and becoming Pueblo, the cosmologies of Pueblo religion and thought, are beyond the scope of this project.

There are unique and staunch differences among the pueblos with regard to attitudes toward economic development, their location to major cities that influence labor forces, and selection of tribal leadership, to name a few. In addition, styles and images conveyed to the traveling public in guidebooks and brochures also differ. For example, Taos Pueblo is well known for publishing photos of its magnificent multi-story adobe structures and San Ildefonso Pueblo continuously portrays its picturesque Black Mesa and styles of *the* Maria Martinez black-on-black pottery (To be discussed in Chapter 4). In addition, contact with visitors over the last 500+ years among Pueblo Country is varied. Intense contact with European empires ebbs and flows. In twentieth century New Mexico, certain pueblos have captured the “stage” for travelers while some pueblos on the other hand consciously work against announcing feast days. For Pueblo people feast days are annual community celebrations that are typically held on the same day as their patron Catholic saint. Some examples include Picuris People whose patron saint is San Lorenzo on August 10th and Ohkay Owingeh whose patron saint is Saint John the Baptist on June 24th. A typical feast day for Pueblo people involves an early morning mass at the Catholic church, followed by Tewa or Tiwa rituals such as Buffalo Dances. This is a welcoming day for community members and visitors who not only watch the dances but partake in the wide variety of feedings served throughout the day at family homes.

During Pueblo feast days all are welcome to attend whether one is invited or not. It is very common for Pueblo people to invite complete strangers they see watching the dances to come inside their houses to eat lunch. In addition to being invited into homes, some Pueblos also take trays of food to the church or shrine for the general public to eat throughout the day. This is a gesture for all to be a part in the day's celebration. This sharing has created some friction in contemporary times since the general public may not always distinguish between a feast day celebration and other less public dances and rituals. For this reason, some pueblos are now reluctant to advertise any ceremonial activity. This is the case with Jemez Pueblo which does not advertise the dates of their feast days in state tourism publications, but is generally open to visitors. Other pueblos, like Taos, often close down the entire pueblo to non-Indians during certain times of the year. This is one of the major reasons Pueblo people began to produce their travel guides as a way to convey appropriate information and etiquette to the general public.

Photography discoveries parallel the growth of New Mexico. The coming of the railroads to New Mexico in 1890 coincided exactly with the introduction of the hand camera and film, with which tourists could take snapshots of landscapes and people. What this research strives to highlight are aspects of Pueblo culture and identity that are shared with the traveling public. To gauge contemporary practices of tourism and photography initiatives, this project will provide a historical context that describes how the Pueblos of New Mexico have been on the front page, so to speak, of travel promotion. Early ethnologists and travel promoters, to be discussed, capitalized on marketing the pueblos. Images of pueblo life and people were embellished in a language of exoticism

and mysticism. Pueblo people often had little or no control when it came to westward expansionism. The stories of photographing Pueblo children are abundant throughout New Mexico. Some personal childhood memories, from Laguna Pueblo author Leslie Marmon Silko, are not so favorable and a bit traumatic. In “Fences Against Freedom” Silko remembers vividly “white tourists who used to come to the school yard to take our pictures.” She recalls the following story from her childhood:

They would give us kids a nickel, so naturally when we saw tourists get out of their cars with cameras, we all wanted to get in the picture. Then one day I was older, in the third grade, white tourists came with cameras. All of my playmates started to bunch together to fit with the picture, and I was right there with them maneuvering myself into the group when I saw the tourist look at me with a particular expression. I knew instantly he did not want me to be in the picture; I stayed close to my playmates, hoping that I had misread the man’s face. But the tourist motioned for me to move away to one side, out of his picture. I remember my playmates looked puzzled, but I knew why the man did not want me in his picture: I looked different from my playmates. I was part white and he didn’t want me to spoil his snapshots of ‘Indians.’ After that incident, the arrival of tourists with cameras at our school filled me with anxiety. I would stand back and watch the expressions of the tourists’ faces before trying to join my playmates in the picture. Most times the tourists were kind and did not seem to notice my difference, and they would motion for me to join my classmates; but now and then there were tourists who looked relieved that I did not try to join in the group picture (Silko 1997, 105-106).

From northern New Mexico to the southern pueblos, stories of travelers and nickels are abundant and embedded in childhood memories. What travelers chose to photograph as recognizably “Pueblo” is a contested practice from both a Pueblo and non-Pueblo perspective. It is against this backdrop of tourists photographing villages, dances and children that sparked my curiosity to explore the subject of photography and representation further within a region surrounded by a tourism culture. This research examines and draws upon the uses of photography and travel practices to understand the

adaptation and agency of Pueblo people. Starting from the late 1980s this control and exertion of agency in the travel industry started to change and develop. With Pueblos engaging in tourism endeavors, it is the goal of these tribal communities that visitors are impacted through new “ways of seeing” (Berger 1993).

STRUCTURE OF DISSERTATION

Chapter 2, “Travels in the Land of Enchantment, 1880-1940,” presents a historical overview of tourism in New Mexico. By drawing upon travel literature and events, this early overview presents how Pueblo people have historically been and continue to be central to the imaging of New Mexico and the greater southwestern United States.

Chapter 3, “Enduring Tropes” discusses the persistence of Pueblo iconography that are ingrained in the tourism industry. It is through the process of contextualizing the historical narratives of chapters 2 and 3, both visual and textual that will guide and influence much of the later northern Pueblo produced initiatives.

Chapter 4, “Shooting Back: Pueblo Produced Travel Narratives,” is a series of case studies that draws upon the first Pueblo produced publication, the *Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Visitors’ Guide*, which started in 1988. Photography, in the *Guide*, is useful data for demonstrating what tourists see and how Pueblos view themselves with regard to the type of photos being published. Chapter 4 also discusses the role of Pueblo children who serve as cultural brokers between the traveling public and Pueblo communities. Children commonly photographed in ceremonial regalia is not a new

practice in the Southwest, but the messages and usage of Pueblo children serve as a continuance of tropes to convey Pueblo beliefs and sensibilities.

Chapter 5, “From Living Exhibits to Casino Makers” discusses interviews with American Indian artists working at the Santa Fe Plaza. The Museum of New Mexico markets the Vendor’s Program as a destination where tourists can interact and buy directly from the Indian artists under the Palace portal. This chapter discusses some of the labor involved that is not commonly captured in Santa Fe postcards. The latter half of the chapter discusses the proliferation of casinos and resorts. These are all recent trends in Pueblo Country since the onset of Indian Gaming that continues their entrepreneurial spirit in ways that are consistent with Pueblo values.

The conclusion situates Pueblo practices within the context of defining cultural sensibilities. With the new establishment of the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, D.C, so too is the Poeh Museum at Pojoaque Pueblo engaging in forms of self tribal narratives. The research concludes with a discussion of how Pueblo people are exerting agency in the tourism scene not as spectacle but as thriving and innovative communities within a global market.

CHAPTER 2

TRAVELS IN THE LAND OF ENCHANTMENT, 1880-1940

INTRODUCTION



Fig. 1 “Greeting the First Iron Horse”
Courtesy of Douglas Johnson, 2007

Tourism related travel began with the 1890 arrival of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad as the following story illustrates: “My grandfather told me a story about the train, about when the whole village came to see what the train looks like.¹ They [Tewa people] came with cornmeal. Cornmeal is used to pray in Indian [Tewa] whenever they [Pueblo people] go anywhere, when they gather medicine from nature they always throw cornmeal and ask for the earth’s permission to get the medicine and tell her what they need it for, before they take it and that is the same way for pottery clay, always throw cornmeal ask for clay and tell her what they need the clay for. So they came prepared with cornmeal when they heard the train whistle. There used to be a hill that came down,

¹ This story from Ohkay Owingeh recalls the introduction of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad circa 1890 into Territorial New Mexico. I mentioned this story to artist Douglas Johnson who is an avid painter of trains and indigenous peoples of the Southwest. My story inspired him to paint the above image (Fig. 1) of how this may have looked at the time when Tewa people gathered to bless the train. For more examples of Douglas’ work see *Douglas Johnson: A Painter’s Odyssey* by Robert A. Ewing, Clear Light Publishing, 1998.

where the river [Rio Grande] came around, the train track they had to cut into the hill to make it run straight through. The train whistled loud, you know how it steams loud and sounds like it was breathing hard, so they thought it was alive and they were afraid of the loud sound. . . [they said] you're welcome to come here but please don't be angry, come peacefully, and then they threw cornmeal. It stopped. They said it was breathing hard; [they] thought it must have come from a long way and was tired. That was their first sight. After that they [presumably railroad staff] told the Indian people they could travel for free, for free anytime they wanted, anywhere the train took them. [There would be] plenty of places to sell their pottery. [Pueblo] People sold mostly pottery to the people on the train. They could travel anywhere they want, anytime to sell their ware to other places" (Esther Martinez 2003)

I asked my *Sa'yâa* (grandmother) Esther, as a Pueblo author and educator, about stories she knew about the railroads and the above recollection was what she conveyed during one of our conversations around the kitchen table. This was the first sight of the *ohibay*, steam container, for the Tewa people in 1890 (Fig. 1). The train officially known as the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad cut through much of the northern Pueblo villages. No longer in existence, the paths created to lay the tracks are still visible today on the western banks along the northern pueblos of Taos, Ohkay Owingeh, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso and Tesuque. The railroads that cut through New Mexico sparked a new change and transition into the cultural landscape that would be evident in the decades that followed.

RAILROAD TRAVELS, 1880-1917

In 1880 the Bureau of Immigration of New Mexico was established. Comprised of twenty commissioners, the primary duty of this agency was to publish information concerning economic issues of Territorial New Mexico to attract outside capital and immigration into the territory. More importantly, another agenda of the Bureau of Immigration was to convince Congress that Territorial New Mexico was well underway to achieving statehood (Camp 1881). After all, neighboring Colorado became a state in 1876 and many felt it was time for New Mexico to be the next state. Part of the practice of convincing Congress was by improving the capital of New Mexico and the marketing of state landscapes and cultures in a more palatable form.

One of the earliest state organized events to promote tourism to New Mexico was the 1883 Tertio-Millennial Celebration and Exposition that commemorated the 333rd anniversary of the “founding” of Santa Fe designed to “attract the attention of eastern people to Santa Fe, to induce them to visit the city and thereby to acquaint them with its historic interest, its climatic excellence and its great business advantages” (Trujillo 2003, 28).² The Exposition reflected much of the conventions of World’s Fairs during the same time period. One Tertio-Millennial brochure advertised the following:

exhibits of Indian and Mexican relics, curiosities and antiquities; Indian games, dances and feasts by bands of Pueblo, Apache and Navajo Indians; demonstrations of Navajo weaving, Apache beadwork and Pueblo pottery; demonstrations of lariat-throwing by Mexican vaqueros; and other characteristic “Spanish and Mexican” games.³

² Original citation quoted from *Daily New Mexican*, 11 December 1882.

³ Brochure information from *The Santa Fe Tertio-Millennial Anniversary, Character Celebration and Industrial Exposition*, Santa Fe, 1883

According to Trujillo (2003), “what the local exposition did was to codify the expectations of marketing in the West and set an example for the larger World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 and the Trans-Mississippi International Exposition in Omaha in 1898” (31).

From the Bureau of Immigration’s point of view, the Tertio-Millennial Celebration and Exposition was a success that spurred the development of statehood. This was despite the fact that three years earlier the United States was experiencing conflict between Apache tribes, territorial law enforcement and the Mexican army. In 1886, the War Department put five thousand soldiers into the fields to capture Geronimo and his “army” of twenty-four members of the Chiricahua Apache who throughout the summer of 1886 were also under constant pursuit by thousands of Mexican Army soldiers (Brown 1970). This “unsettling” arena of the Southwestern United States was a major reason why it took New Mexico more than half a century to shed its territorial status to achieve statehood. Many reasons have been suggested why it took New Mexico so long to become a state. According to Robert J. Torrez (1998) early efforts were hampered, in part, by a general ignorance about the territory and suspicions towards its people. Statehood was opposed by those who felt that New Mexico’s predominantly Hispanic and Indian population was too foreign and too Catholic for admission to the American Union. There was periodic debate as to whether a new name for the territory would help the cause of statehood. Interestingly, names such as Navajo and Lincoln were suggested and seriously considered (Larson 1968; Torrez 1998).

Newcomers to New Mexico (turned-travel writers) assisted in the attempt to speed up statehood. By highlighting the beauty of the region, travel writers played a major part in the development of the region. The best known at the time was Charles Fletcher Lummis (Appendix D). In 1884, Lummis embarked on a trek across the continent from Cincinnati to Los Angeles. Travel westward for Lummis meant a deliberate move away from an “East perceived as economically and morally corrupt” (Padget, 2004, 115). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Lummis was part of a generation of Anglos who became fascinated with New Mexico and began documenting their experiences. Others following Lummis included Mable Dodge Lujan and D.H. Lawrence, to name a few. Lummis’ voluminous writings through 1928 about New Mexico’s landscapes and Native peoples created a “new cultural geography of the Southwest” (Padget, 116).

One of Lummis’ most popular phrases described New Mexico as “the land of *poco tiempo*”(1893). Lummis’ interpretation of New Mexico was one place in the country where time stood still. Included in his mixture of travelogue, part history, ethnology and storytelling, were common adjectives describing and detailing Pueblo people as “wondrous,” “curious,” “marvelous,” “astonishing” “weird” and “strange” (Lummis 1891; 1892; 1893). It is no coincidence that Lummis’ *Some Strange Corners of Our Country* was published a year before the opening of the Chicago World’s Fair in 1893. The book shared the same undertones and displays of “primitive” peoples from different parts of the world.

Between 1876 and 1916, a network of international expositions spanned the nation, putting the world on display and shaping the world view of millions of Americans. Central to the Chicago World's Fair, for example, were anthropological attractions that included ethnological villages with representatives from various tribes across the United States. In Chicago, exhibits included representatives in Native garb and activities organized by soon-to-be leading anthropologists like Franz Boas, Alice Fletcher, John Wesley Powell, Elizabeth Coxe Stevenson and James Mooney (Rydell 1984). Lummis' travel writings complemented much of the anthropological descriptions at the World's Fairs.

In a handbook of the resources and products of New Mexico (1906), titled the "Land of Sunshine," the Bureau of Immigration noted the benefits of visiting: "New Mexico extends the glad hand to the tourist. It will give him his money's worth, be he interested in scenery, in ethnology, in romance, in history, in the quaint, in the picturesque or in the sublime . . . it is the land of the Cliff Dwellers, the Pueblos, the Navajos, the Apaches, of the Indian dances" (1906, 15). While the handbook still focused on railroads, land and natural resources, there was growing attention to local Indian peoples.⁴ The Pueblos were presented as peaceful and assimilated: "The Pueblos have reservations of their own and are the most advanced of all Indian tribes, being husbandmen and self-supporting" (Bureau of Immigration, 1906).⁵ In contrast, because of

⁴ See also "New Mexico: Wealth, Health, Home, The Tourists' Shrine" Published by the Bureau of Immigration, Santa Fe, 1881.

⁵ Neighboring Colorado was also steadfast on recruiting people to move into the state. Several newspaper accounts in the *Denver Times* publicized the positive outcomes stating, "it looks like Colorado is passing the threshold of success this year, and from now on there will be crowds coming here that will be much larger than what we are seeing already: In other words, Colorado will be the resort of the United

their history of “hostile” relations with the United States government, the Apaches were perceived as marauding Indians and written as such in newspaper coverage.⁶ Meanwhile, up north in Colorado, the Utes were resisting confinement on reservations and were also seen as hostile and uncooperative (Dutton 1983).

In the face of this “marauding” history, the Bureau of Immigration made a conscious effort to change popular perceptions. One example of these efforts was a statement which conveyed that “Apaches and Navahos have made considerable advance in civilization and till the soil or are owners of herds of cattle, sheep and goats . . . they are law abiding and send their children to reservation or training schools provided by the Indian office” (Bureau of Immigration 1906). By 1912, with the influence of widely read romanticized travel writers such as Lummis and the Bureau of Immigration initiatives, New Mexico was well underway to statehood (Larson 1968). In the spirit of entrepreneurship, New Mexico was fertile ground for attracting tourists and development to the region (Camp 1881; Larson 1968; Trujillo 2003).

Early image making in New Mexico coincided with the introduction of travel via the railroads. Early photography mainly of Pueblo women selling pottery at train stops like the Alvarado station in Albuquerque were common (Fig. 2). In contrast, less visible were women and men who were employed in domestic service work, railway, and

States in the future” in *Denver Times*, July 12, 1900 p. 8. See also “Traffic is Heavy, Another Great Rush of Tourists to the State.” Quoted in *Denver Times*, August 3, 1900, p. 2 and “America’s Playground for Americans: An Appreciation of Colorado and Utah” by Edwin L. Sabin, United States Railroad Administration, date unknown.

⁶ It was not only “marauding Indians” in New Mexico who caused fear; New Mexico was notorious for outlaws. For example, the legendary Billy the Kid was still fresh in the nation’s memory. For a more thorough history of statehood, see Robert W. Larson’s *New Mexico’s Quest for Statehood, 1846-1912*, University of New Mexico Press, 1968.

construction work at sites that sustained the infrastructure of the region's tourism. The southern pueblos - mainly Isleta - which borders Albuquerque on the south side and Sandia Pueblo on the north side, and Laguna and Acoma, which are located to the west of Albuquerque on I-40 (en route to Gallup) were exposed to the early effects of railroad expansion. Figure 2 is a typical image scene at the popular Alvarado Depot stop. Here Pueblo women have shawls wrapped over their heads when displaying their pottery along the sidewalk in front of the "Indian Building" next to the Hotel Alvarado. The Hotel Alvarado was completed in 1902 to serve lunch to train passengers. A round sign with an eagle symbol hangs at the entrance to the "Indian Building."



Fig. 2 "Hotel Alvarado, Albuquerque" Circa 1910
Courtesy of the Western History/Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library (# L-485)

Kurt Peters (1996) documented the labor of Laguna people who arrived in Richmond, California in 1922 as employees of the Santa Fe Railroad. Peters' research pre-dates much of the existing literature that discusses the push for urban Indian migration in the 1940s and 1950s. Pueblo communities, in relation to the types of work performed, are negated in popular understandings and perceptions of Pueblo people. With

some of the early conventional railroad images of Pueblo women as vendors, we do not get a sense of their work involved in the production of arts and crafts. Fundamentally hidden were images of Pueblo people as railroad laborers. Even though this infrastructure has been in plain sight ever since, it is hidden in the world made visible to the tourist because it is symbolically unmarked and outside the roles in which the travel media has cast Pueblo people (Albers 1996).

There exists little visual documentation of Pueblo people working along the railroads. There are even fewer examples of photographs in archives that include a significant number of Pueblos who traveled to work as farmers of southern Colorado in the potato and beet industries.⁷ Archival collections of railroad history and tourism promotion at the Denver Public Library and the Museum of New Mexico separate Indians out of labor and development history. The “Indian files” were recognizably marked and sectioned off by subject headings such as “pueblo dwellings,” “pottery,” “food production,” and “ceremonies.” At the Museum of New Mexico photography collections, files were ordered by tribe and folders within each pueblo were marked by types of pottery and weaving samples. Files and photography collections at the Denver Public Library that existed were separated out with regard to types of dances by tribes and time periods. There were no archival files containing images or information illustrating Pueblo people who participated in the development of the railroad industry. Regardless, we know from historical testimonies (Peters 1995; 1996) that Pueblo people

⁷ Ruben Donato discusses some of this beet labor history from a Latino perspective in “Sugar Beets, Segregation, and Schools: Mexican Americans in a Northern Colorado Community, 1920-1960” *Journal of Latinos and Education*, Volume 2, Issue 2, April 2003, pp 69-88.

had a development in both the Albuquerque railroads and in northern New Mexico (Norwood 1991).

Up in northern New Mexico, the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad came into sharp conflict with the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad (ATSF). The Denver and Rio Grande was often referred to as the “Chili Line” because it carried such products as potatoes and chili when it stopped in the area. The Denver and Rio Grande began to entertain transcontinental dreams for expanding south and west from Colorado. In 1878 the two organizations clashed over the historic Raton Pass route to Santa Fe and over the canyon of the Arkansas River leading to the booming silver mines at Leadville. Rival work crews fought in the Royal Gorge to secure the narrow route, but the contest was soon transferred to the courts. The differences between the two organizations were finally resolved by the “Treaty of Boston” in early 1880. The Denver and Rio Grande Railroad was awarded the Leadville route but gave up plans to build from Pueblo, Colorado to Denver and into the Colorado Mountains. The ATSF went on to complete its transcontinental connection. This was the country’s second transcontinental. The first was the Pacific in 1881 followed by the Atlantic and Pacific (Denver Public Library 1976; Norwood 1991). For a brief time, the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad operated the “Around the Circle Tour.” The 1,000-mile train tour was a popular destination for many early adventurers. One of the main attractions for tourists included a stop at Mesa Verde Cliff Dwellings. Here, travelers on the “Circle” stopped and photographed rustic mountain landscapes alongside authentic cliff dwellings.

As railroads across the United States grew to a booming economy, business entrepreneurs like Fred Harvey had a major hand in shaping the travel landscape. Originally trains in the West did not offer meal service, which often left the passengers to fend for themselves at mealtimes. Fred Harvey established a series of restaurants on the Santa Fe lines. The Fred Harvey Company recruited women via newspaper ads from towns and cities across the United States. From 1880 to 1950, known as the Harvey Girls, young women were hired to work in Fred Harvey's restaurants along the ATSF routes. Many of the workers had misconceptions about traveling out West. Not only were there perceived dangers of being a single female in the West, but the threat of Geronimo still plagued the minds of the easterners. Regardless, women with "good moral character" who displayed "good manners" left the protection of home for the opportunity to travel and earn their own way out West (Poling-Kemples 1994). The Harvey Girls are legendary in New Mexico history and current scholarship continues to emphasize the "civilizing" efforts and "manners" that East coast women brought to New Mexico (Poling-Kemples 1994; Thomas 1978).⁸

PERFORMANCES, POSTCARDS & PHOTOGRAPHS

⁸ For example Poling-Kemples (1994) states that the Harvey Girls came at a time when there were no ladies west of Dodge City and no women west of Albuquerque. They came as waitresses, but many stayed and settled, founding the struggling cattle and mining towns. On a similar tone, Judi Morris (1994) published a children's book titled *The Harvey Girls: The Women Who Civilized the West*. She presents a narrative of how these carefully groomed, capable waitresses and hostesses had a "civilizing" effect on the rough men and people of the frontier, and discusses how the Girls played as big a part in settling the West. Furthermore Judy Garland's role in the film *The Harvey Girls* (1946) embodies much of the tone of East Coast women who traveled to New Mexico who felt it was their rightful duty to teach etiquette and hospitality.

With the development of New Mexico's infrastructure, other advances took place in the arena of performance and participation among Pueblo people outside their villages. In the early 1900s Pueblo people participated in performances and artist demonstrations at selected sites that contributed to the marketing and lure of the Southwest. However, an entrepreneurial push to showcase Indian art coexisted with government attempts at civilizing Pueblo people and washing away their identity. In the midst of this tension, the Santa Fe Indian School was established as part of the boarding school initiatives across the country to remove Indian children from communities and educate them in Western traditions. By 1900 there were 300 students at the Santa Fe Indian School: 60% were Pueblo and the remainder from southwestern tribes. To handle the growing number of students, a laundry, classroom building, hospital, barn and four employee houses were built mostly with student labor (Hyer 1990). Curriculum at the school mainly focused on manual labor and vocational training such as sewing for girls and carpentry for boys. The Santa Fe Indian School was part of the larger wave of federal policies and civilizing efforts by the federal government to push American Indians to become "Americans" (Szasz 1999; Wallace 1995; Willinsky 1998). Richard Pratt, founder of the Carlisle Indian School, insisted that the best way to civilize the Indian was to "immerse him in civilization and keep him there until well soaked" (Utley 1964).⁹ While the civilizing efforts of federal policies were flourishing across the United States, New Mexico travel imagery reflected another agenda.

⁹ In 1879 General Richard H. Pratt established the Carlisle Indian School at the site of an unused Calvary barracks in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Carlisle was the first, and perhaps the most famous, of the off-reservation boarding schools established by the U.S. Office of Indian Affairs (later the Bureau of Indian Affairs).

Indian Service Agents were placed at various pueblos to oversee civilizing initiatives. Letters from Indian Service Agent Clara D. True to the Superintendent of the United States Indian School are quite revealing. True served as a teacher at the Santa Clara day school from September 1901 through December 1907. The Santa Clara day school was operated under the administration of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' (BIA) Santa Fe Indian School. It served primarily younger students who did not attend BIA boarding schools. Ms. True's letters to the Superintendent of the Santa Fe Indian School mainly concerned her activities living and working at Santa Clara Pueblo. True's letters discussed a variety of topics such as the construction of the day school, her living quarters, and the living conditions of her students. In anticipation of the upcoming 1904 World's Fair, True inquired whether more pottery makers should travel to St. Louis to celebrate the centennial of the Louisiana Purchase (Appendix E).¹⁰ True ended her letter with the following: "there are plenty of women who would go but they are not needed here nor elsewhere, as they are idle, dirty loafers who wouldn't make pottery worth the name" (True 1904). Most of True's letters provided information on whooping cough and diphtheria outbreaks, parental concerns for children attending the school, relationships between Ms. True and the Governor of Santa Clara, trespasses on Indian lands, and the acquisition of supplies and necessities. The letters also reveal a few autobiographical facts of Ms. True's life, such as being born in Kentucky and apparently teaching in Washington state before moving to Santa Clara Pueblo.

¹⁰ The territory acquired from France by this purchase embraced all the land between the Mississippi river and the crest of the Rocky Mountains, and its ownership by the United States made possible the extension of the nation's boundaries to the Pacific Ocean.

Two months after her previous letter, True (1904) requests that Pedro Chiquito Cajete and his daughter Genevieve attend the upcoming World's Fair. She wrote to the Superintendent that "Genevieve is rather nice looking and makes passable pottery. She has any amount of handsome Indian clothing which she would expect to wear exclusively. Her father showed me the wardrobe today. It is very nice from an Indian point of view" (True 1904). This quote was representative of True's descriptions. True's position as an Indian Service Agent was to serve as an advocate on behalf of Santa Clara people and their needs concerning services in the pueblo. Though when it came to Pueblo dances, much of True's tone in her letters treated the people of Santa Clara as children. It was no surprise that True later became one of the most vociferous opponents of Pueblo dances in the 1920s (Jacobs 1999).

Despite Indian Service Agent concerns about traveling and partaking in Fairs and Ceremonials, Pueblo people did attend the St. Louis World's Fair in significant numbers. Of the many attendees were Pedro Cajete and a group of Santa Clara Pueblo representatives who participated in the Cliff Dweller exhibit. According to the 1904 World's Fair Society the cost of admission to the Cliff Dweller exhibit was 25 cents for adults and 15 cents for children. Here, "Stone age" caves reproduced as cliff dwellings stood 100' tall and 250 feet wide. There was a trail that could be climbed by either walking or taking a burro ride. For the first time the Fair featured a five-acre replica of a Pueblo village. The Cliff Dweller exhibit was comprised of 12 buildings and 300 natives, including Hopi and Zuni. The type of performances included variations of Snake Dances

and pseudo “kachina” dances. In addition, a variety of “cliff dweller” people sold wares and souvenirs (Rydell 1984; Trennert 1987).

A good portion of participants at the Cliff Dweller exhibit were Pueblo people. Much of the ceremonial dress in souvenir postcards resembled Pueblo dress styles. The women typically wore a long cotton black dress (*manta*) tied with a woven belt around the waistline. Most women wore a shawl over a cotton dress, along with knee high moccasin leather “wraps.” Pueblo men typically wore cotton style dress pants and long shirts. At times, depending on the events, men would dress in ribbon shirts and “chapped style” cotton or buckskin pants. What most distinguished “Indian men” was the marked image of a warbonnet. This was not only the case with the St. Louis World’s Fair, but notably in the early photographs and postcards taken of Pueblo people performing in Colorado from about 1915-1930.

Early image making in the Southwest occurred when northern Pueblos traveled to tourist sites in Santa Fe in New Mexico, and Garden of the Gods and Manitou Hot Springs in southern Colorado. Similar to the Cliff Dweller exhibit at the World’s Fair, Manitou Hot Springs, west of Colorado Springs featured a more localized performance. According to the Manitou Cliff Dwellings Museum, “for nearly a century Native American Indians have been amazing and delighting tourists from all over the world with their costumes, dances, songs and narrative at the Manitou Cliff Dwellings” (Manitou Cliff Dwellings 2004). First opened in 1906, individuals and families from the northern pueblos were among the first to participate as dancers for tourists. Members of the Tafoya family from Santa Clara have been dancing, drumming and singing since 1916. In

addition, several Pueblo families from Taos and Tesuque also traveled to Manitou to perform.

Performances, much like organized ceremonials (to be discussed later) were public events that existed apart from traditional Pueblo ritual calendars. These dance events typically involved audiences largely composed of tourists. At Manitou events normally took place during the peak tourist summer months. At times it was, however, typical to have performances throughout the year in places like Manitou, Garden of the Gods, Indian Hills, and the Grand Canyon. Popular tourist postcards reflected the performance aspect of dance. One postcard from Manitou titled “Tewa House and Indians Ready for Buffalo Dance” featured a line of male dancers in warbonnets (Fig 3). The typical Buffalo Dance for Pueblos includes buffalo headdresses, *not* warbonnets. This could perhaps be a mislabeling in the postcard or what was told to the photographer who labeled the dance as buffalo. In any case, the dances carried out at places like Manitou Hot Springs included a mixture of pseudo Plains Indian “regalia.” In fact, the Pueblos adopted and developed their own style of feathered headdress long before tourists arrived on the scene. The use of warbonnets was typically worn for “Comanche Dances” in the pueblos. Almost every pueblo has some version of the Comanche Dance as a result of trade and warfare with Plains nations after the adoption of horses in the 1600s (Lamadrid 2003). Manitou included not only “pueblo style” adobe houses constructed for performance use; teepees surrounding the adobe building were central to making the site appear more Indian and authentic. (See Appendix F for more Manitou photography)



Fig. 3 Manitou “Buffalo Dance” Circa 1920
Author’s Collection

Much of the postcards were produced on a small scale as real photos or printed on travel ephemera in black and white or sepia tones. Sometimes, the images appeared in tinted or hand-colored formats, but these never matched the prolific and colorful views representing Fred Harvey’s Southwestern world, which drew initially on the pueblos near Albuquerque, Grants, and Gallup, New Mexico (Martinez and Albers 2003; Weigle and Babcock 1996). Another description from a postcard at the time titled “Pueblo Indians Dancers” stated that “In the busier seasons weird dances are daily, given such as the Pueblo war dance, buffalo dance, sun dance and others. The Manitou Sky Line Drive, the road of enchanting vistas, is a part of this trip” (#5390).

Another popular attraction was Na-Te-So at Indian Hills located southwest of Denver. Originally a summer campground for Ute Indians, in the 1920s the Na-Te-So “pueblo” was an imaginative promotional project for realty development and tourist business endeavors. In the spring of 1925, recruiters from Santa Fe began canvassing the pueblos of Tesuque and San Ildefonso for the builders and artisans of the planned pueblo. Several buses and cars left the pueblos for Colorado carrying about 20 families (Lang

1966). Navajo, Tesuque and San Ildefonso people constructed the adobe dwellings and the name combined a syllable from each of the three tribes, Na-Te-So.



Fig. 4, “The Matachina [sic] Dance at Nat-Te-So”
X-24680, Circa 1920-1930, Indian Hills, Colorado
Courtesy of the Western History/Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library

Buses left Denver twice a day to transport the interested and curious to the “pueblo,” where the Indians demonstrated pottery making, weaving, and other Indian crafts (Brush and Dittman 1976). One of the potters working at Indian Hills was Rose Gonzales from San Ildefonso Pueblo. Rose and her brother had been part of the first settlement in Na-Te-So. Later, a group of people from Santa Clara and surrounding pueblos would join Rose and others to demonstrate pottery making and perform dances (Fig. 4). While people toured the “pueblo,” watched dances, and artist demonstrations, real estate companies would promote buying plots of land in the area. The “Indian” dances were used to lure in potential home and land buyers. One of the most photographed individuals was Chief Evergreen Tree who apparently was one of the more colorful of the Indians. Although his origin is unclear, Tewas guess he may have been from Cochiti Pueblo. According to newspaper accounts, he is said to have ridden on a

painted pony in full Plains Indian regalia and entertained the visitors with a repertoire of bird calls. He had an evergreen tree painted on his check, which is how he got his name (Brush and Dittman 1976; Lang 1966). In addition to Chief Evergreen Tree at Indian Hills, there was Chief White Eagle who also danced for tourists. However, Chief Evergreen Tree appeared in more photographs because of his elaborate bird calls. He also rode in his Plains style regalia on a touring car to advertise the town of Indian Hills (Lang 1966).

Pedro Cajete (also known as “Chief Manitou”) and Cheripee Tafoya (known as “Indian Joe”) entertained thousands of people in the Pikes Peak region for more than 35 years. According to one account, Cajete was born in Pojoaque Pueblo and around the turn of the twentieth century came to Colorado in search of a better life for his family (Davant 2001). For the Pueblos, traveling up north to Colorado was a common practice to find employment. Cajete was a small man with an outgoing personality. He began greeting tourists and taking pictures at the downtown railroad depot (Davant 2001). Cajete was later part of the “Sociability Tour” which caravanned to the Midwest and East promoting good will and interest in the vacation possibilities of the Pikes Peak Region in 1915. One article described how “everywhere Chief Manitou stole the show” by wearing “full war paint and regalia” (*Colorado Springs Gazette* 1945). Chief Manitou appeared in postcards as far away as San Gabriel, California (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5 “Chief Manitou”
San Gabriel, California Circa 1915
Patricia C. Albers Collection

“Indian Joe” was between 86 and 90 years old when he passed away. He and “Chief Manitou” apparently passed away days apart on March 16, 1947. The newspapers covering the story about “Indian Joe” said that he was “loquacious . . . he was always in Indian costume, he danced more tribal dances than a tabulating machine could count. Postcards pictures of himself and his companions are distributed throughout the country and abroad. Many men and women will remember when as children, they gazed at him with awe and thrilled at the sight of a real live Indian, decorated with war paint, and carrying a bow and arrows, although no one could have been a gentler soul” (*Colorado Springs Gazette* 1947). Even though these individuals worked in Colorado, postcards were circulated and tourists traveled southward to New Mexico to the pueblos, much already ingrained with the presentation of dances from Chief Manitou, Indian Joe and Chief Evergreen Tree.

IMAGE MAKING IN THE LAND OF ENCHANTMENT, 1900-1930

Much has been written about the predominant place Pueblo peoples occupy in the visual and written texts that advertise travel in the American Southwest, and the role the ATSF and its major concessionaire, Fred Harvey, played in shaping the discourse (D'Emilio and Campbell 1991; Dilworth 1996; McLuhan 1985; Thomas 1978; Weigle and Babcock 1996). Some of this writing applies to the northern Pueblos of New Mexico, but much of it does not because these pueblos were outside the commercial reach of Fred Harvey until 1926. During the early years of the region's travel industry, most of the northern Rio Grande pueblos were isolated, accessible only by horse-drawn coaches and wagons from railroad stops at Santa Fe and Taos, both of which were served by the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad (Martinez and Albers 2003). The northern pueblos are situated more collectively from Santa Fe northward. Their geographic locations made it easier for packaged automobile tours to visit multiple pueblos in one day in comparison to the vast spread of the southern pueblos.

Tourism in northern New Mexico differs slightly than what was taking place along the southern route in Albuquerque. Bryant (1978) contends that the ATSF helped to nurture and sustain artist colonies in Taos and Santa Fe for almost forty years following their founding at the turn of the century. Bryant (1978) writes that the ATSF "helped establish northern New Mexico as an internationally recognized cultural center" by "providing transportation in exchange for paintings; by utilizing the paintings on calendars, brochures, menus and train folders; by displaying the paintings in stations and ticket offices; and through the purchase of several hundred paintings from artists residing in Taos and Santa Fe" (437). The ATSF fed traffic to northern New Mexico, particularly

Taos. The first Anglo artists settled in Taos in the 1890s, and by 1910 a dozen painters at Taos represented a stable community with an identifiable style (Dauber 1993). The prototype Taos-style painting pictured a Taos Pueblo man draped in a colorful blanket with a pot or two nearby to ethnically mark place. Rina Swentzell, a Santa Clara member who moved to Taos as a teenager with her parents, conveys the following:

Why were we being presented only as happy and noble people? The paintings, it seems, were really about what those Anglos needed to see for themselves. Their paintings were efforts to fill a need inside themselves. They wanted assurance that the technological and consumeristic world that was growing around them had not yet pervaded every corner of the globe (2003, 67).

Specifically, from about 1910 to 1920 the town of Taos started developing into an artist colony enclave. Eanger Irving Couse, who in 1912 became the first president of the Taos Society of Artists, had been intrigued with Indians even when he lived in the East (Swentzell 2003). It is known that Couse belonged to the tradition of Emerson and Thoreau who yearned for unspoiled nature and untouched lives (Rodriguez 1989; Swentzell 2003). Anglo Taos artists found the Pueblos to be a cohesive and quiet people. Their architecture reflected much of their culture intact, which was projected onto their romantic and solemn paintings (Fig.6). The Taos Society of Artists wanted to live and paint in a place where daily life was lived in a different rhythm than the Anglos had experienced elsewhere. Dances in the plazas and ceremonies among the pueblos were conducted regularly and this created a visual craving artists wished to capture. At Taos many men at the time still draped themselves in blankets and the women wore their moccasin boots and *mantas*. In northern New Mexico, travel was by foot or wagon.

Furthermore, farming among the pueblos and neighboring *hispano* communities was the primary means of providing food and items for trade.

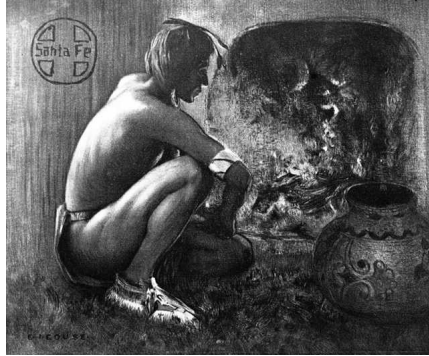


Fig. 6 “Taos Indian at Fireplace”

Photograph of a painting by E. Irving Couse, painted circa 1900-1920

A painted symbol in upper left corner reads “Santa Fe,” for the Atchison Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad.

Photographer H.S. Poley

Courtesy of the Western History/Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library

Swentzell continues to state the following about the Taos Society of Artists:

Those early artists who gathered in Taos, were I believe, sincerely searching for an alternative lifestyle that would give promise and hope for their own lives within American culture and society. E.I. Couse ‘charmingly and poetically presented the American Indian at peace in his habitat.’ He wanted so much to see peace and human oneness with the natural world. He was biased toward painting Pueblo men in peaceful and thoughtful poses, and I think not only because he knew that in Anglo culture, aggressive and socially disruptive activities are generally initiated by men. If he could find peaceful, loving, gentle men in the world, there was hope for where he saw modern life going (Swentzell 2003, 68).

This romantic notion of peace and oneness with the world reflected in paintings was reproduced in hotel lobbies and cafes in Taos and Santa Fe. Early postcards of Taos men wrapped in their white blankets also reflected the Taos Society of Artists’ “charming” tone of Pueblo people, who were often compared to the Arab.¹¹ New Mexico has never

¹¹ For more background on The Taos Society of Artists and early Taos tourism see Lujan (1993); Rodriguez (1989); Swentzell (2003).

fully escaped the early image making the Taos Society of Artists created as this type of style later recruited artists like Georgia O'Keefe to move to New Mexico.

During the same time period that the Taos Society of Artists was painting northern New Mexico, anthropologist Elsie Clews Parsons was chronicling life at San Juan Pueblo. Parsons was primarily credited for detailing gender roles and conventions of Pueblo society. As an Anglo in a Tewa-dominant village, Parsons easily stood out even though she made attempts to dress the part. Many San Juan Pueblo women often wondered “where she got that nice manta to wear?” (Martinez 2003). Stories of Parsons standing in the crowd and talking and visiting with families during wintertime storytelling were pervasive. Her observations were chronicled in *Tewa Tales* (1926). Parsons’ documentation and publication of “tales” and “myths” quickly sparked further curiosity about the pueblos. Her working relations with anthropologist Frank Boas created a name for her as a pioneer in the field. Parsons traveled extensively throughout New Mexico and Arizona publishing her articles not only in academic journals but in popular newspapers of the time. After 25 years of research, her investigations culminated in a massive two volume publication entitled *Pueblo Indian Religion* (1939).

“Myths,” “tales,” and romanticized paintings of Pueblo people, were widely reflected in tourist publications. Archival sources of tourist guidebooks, postcards and other promotional materials reflected the Pueblos as the most-well represented at the turn of the early twentieth century. Other groups such as the Jicarilla Apache in Dulce or the Mescalero Apache in southern New Mexico were almost never pictured on travel material. The Navajo in northwestern New Mexico appeared on some travel publications

but not to the extent of Pueblo people until later in the mid-twentieth century when the Gallup Inter-Tribal Ceremonial took effect. When Navajos were photographed their images mainly consisted of select weavers and jewelers at trading posts. The southern Pueblos were particularly exposed early on to the travel world via the ATSF. Photographs of women selling pottery at the Alvarado station in Albuquerque or at La Fonda in Santa Fe were common early postcard images. Most of the text in the postcards was vague in naming the particular location of Pueblo women who were identified only as “Pueblo bread baker,” “Pueblo potter” or “Woman seller” as evident in one Tesuque postcard (Fig. 7).



Fig. 7 “Baking Bread”
Detroit Publishing Company, Circa 1910¹²

Among the southern and northern pueblos, postcards rarely named the location of women potters and village names were often incorrect. It appears from the surrounding scenery and villages that a significant portion of southern women potters photographed were from Isleta, Acoma, Laguna or Zuni pueblos which was where the ATSF cut

¹² The back of the postcard reads “The Pueblo woman bakes her bread in these picturesque and curious conical out-door ovens. They are built of brush plastered over, inside and out, with thick coatings of adobe mud and last almost indefinitely.”

through. Overall, Pueblo women were generic images, so to speak, with no connection to a specific pueblo. Of particular notice were women as pot carriers referred to as *ollas*. Barbara Babcock (1995) states that the “endless reproduction of images of ‘mudwomen’ and ‘olla maidens’ shaping and carrying vessels of desire entails nothing less than the continuing aestheticization, domestication, and commodification – not to mention feminization – of the Pueblo” (125). The images of women as “vessels of desire” are for the most part just one aspect of the multitude of the representation among the pueblos. The feminization of travel photography from Babcock’s interpretation is a generalization and does not apply to all the pueblos, especially during the early twentieth century when men up north also were represented as dancers in postcards and travel material, mainly at Taos pueblo.

At the northern pueblos, an early example of Pueblo pottery making imagery that became standardized in travel media was Maria Martinez from San Ildefonso Pueblo. Although somewhat of a recognized potter among her family and neighbors at the village, it was not until anthropologists and collectors recognized this talent that Maria’s life and community drastically changed. It was Maria’s husband, Julian, who worked with Dr. Edgar Lee Hewett, the Director of the Museum of New Mexico in 1908 and 1909, during an excavation on the Pajarito Plateau (near Bandelier). This excavation sparked the revival of Tewa pottery designs and the soon to be famous Martinez pottery. Dr. Hewett asked Maria if she could make full-scale examples for the museum of the polychrome ware. It was then that Maria and Julian began an artistic collaboration that would last throughout their lifetime. Maria typically molded the clay while Julian painted the

designs on the pottery. Over a short amount of time, Maria and Julian refined their pottery techniques and were asked to demonstrate their craft at several expositions, including the 1914 Panama-California Exposition in San Diego and the 1934 Chicago World's Fair. Part of their success came from their innovations in the style of black-on-black ware. Maria and Julian were not the only members making these types of pottery designs but their name on pottery added value to the price of the pottery. It is said that Maria would sign her name to the pottery of her fellow village members so they could obtain a good price for their pottery (Torres 2004).¹³ Maria was by far the most documented and photographed of Pueblo potters. This was perhaps due to the fact Maria and Julian were the first couple willing to travel away from the pueblo to demonstrate and talk about the process of making pottery (Fig. 8).

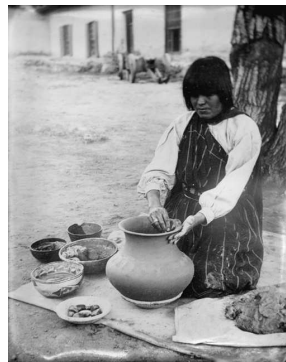


Fig. 8 "Maria" Circa 1912
T. Harmon Parkhurst, Photographer
Courtesy of the Museum of New Mexico¹⁴

¹³ Maria signed her pieces several different ways over the course of her life. At first, she signed her pots "Marie" because she was told that this name would be more familiar to those who would buy her work. Through the years her pieces were signed "Poh ve ka," "Marie," "Marie & Julian," "Marie & Santana," "Maria Poveka," and "Maria Popovi." For more information see Spivey (1979) and Marriott (1948).

¹⁴ This Parkhurst photograph was reproduced in some early postcards and later appeared in state produced travel brochures and travel magazines.

In addition to pottery makers, the types of images appearing on travel postcards among the northern Pueblos were focused on village ceremonies and dancers. The Matachines of San Juan Pueblo, Buffalo dances at Santa Clara and Tesuque, and Corn Dance at Taos were among the types of dances photographed. Picuris Pueblo almost never appeared in postcards. The Tiwa-speaking Picuris Pueblo is located southeast of Taos and was off the travel path in comparison to the other pueblos. The most photographed of the dances among the northern pueblos was the Comanche Dance. Almost every pueblo's version of the Comanche Dance has appeared on postcards, guidebooks or other travel promotional material in New Mexico. The Comanche Dance was (and still is) the most "open" of all Pueblo dances because it is viewed as a social dance adapted from relations with the southern Plains (Lamadrid 2003). Central to the photographs was the representation of male dancers and leaders. Men were commonly pictured wearing traditional Buffalo headdresses and various pseudo Plains style warbonnets and other types of headdresses (Fig 9).



Fig. 9 "Hunter in Buffalo Dance"
Photographer H.S. Poley, Circa 1910-1920

In 1918 Adolph F. Bandelier published his novel *The Delight Makers*. Based on ethnography and archeology research in places like Cochiti, San Juan Pueblo and Santa Clara, the goal was to depict what life may have been like before European contact. In the Introduction, Charles Lummis states it “will always be a standard – the most photographic story yet printed of the prehistoric Americans” (1918, 1). Previously discussed in the chapter were the writings of Lummis and it was no surprise that he would be enthusiastic about Bandelier’s writings as they illustrated and coincided with much of his interpretations of romantic lifestyles. The only difference was that Bandelier was one of the first to use a methodology of participant observation. He learned about the Pueblos not only by living with them and studying their culture, but also by developing a methodology for studying their artifacts and ruins on their land.¹⁵ In *Delight Makers*, Bandelier was referencing the Pueblo ritual clowns known as Koshare or Kossa dancers. Koshare is the Keres word for “sacred clowns;” *kossa* in Tewa, *koyemshi* in Zuni; *chiffonetti* at Taos. This was one of the earliest descriptions of American Indian life, which received respect from a leading anthropologist at the time, Lewis Henry Morgan. The discussion of Bandelier’s Koshares attempted to be historically grounded, though the imagery reflected in travel productions reinforced the “clowning” aspect of these

¹⁵ This interest in archaeology and American Indians led to the correspondence between Bandelier and Lewis Henry Morgan. Bandelier National Monument is named after him and spreads across 50 square miles. See Adolph Bandelier and Edgar Hewett, *Indians of the Rio Grande Valley*, Cooper Square Publishers, NY (1973) and Charles Lange & Carroll Riley (1966) *The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier*, The University of New Mexico Press.

important ceremonial roles.

Despite the fascination of anthropological writings discussing Pueblo dance and ceremonies from Parsons and Bandelier, on April 26, 1921, there was a small but significant attempt by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to eradicate Native dancing.

Commissioner Charles H. Burke addressed to all Indian Superintendents a document called Circular 1665. He stated that the Sun Dance and all other similar dances and so-called religious ceremonies are considered 'Indian Offenses' under existing regulations, explaining which corrective penalties apply.¹⁶ On February 14, 1923, a supplement to Circular 1665 was issued. Some of the main features of the amendment were the following:

Indian dances be limited to one day in the midweek and at one center of each district; the months of March, April, June, July and August being exempted (no dances in these months). That none take part in the dances or be present who are under 50 years of age. That a careful propaganda be undertaken to educate public opinion against the (Indian religious) dance (Burke 1923).

Ten days later, the Commissioner broadcasted a "Message to All Indians":

I could issue an order against these useless and harmful performances, but I would rather have you give them up of your own free will, and, therefore, I ask you in this letter to do so. If at the end of one year the reports which I receive show that you are doing as requested, I shall be glad, for I shall know that you are making progress -- but if the reports show that you reject this plea, then some other course will have to be taken (Burke 1923).

¹⁶ Burke regarded such restrictions as applicable to any (religious) dance which involves . . . the reckless giving away of property . . . frequent and prolonged periods of celebration . . . in fact, any disorderly or plainly excessive performance that promotes superstitions, cruelty, licentiousness, idleness, danger of health, and shiftless indifference of family welfare. In all such instance, the regulations should be enforced" (Burke 1923).

With this national initiative perhaps more focused on the Sun Dance of the Plains Indians, it is unclear to what extent Circular 1665 affected the Pueblos of New Mexico. Margaret D. Jacobs (1996) notes how the Hopi at times came under scrutiny from reformers who viewed dances as “immoral relations between the sexes” (179). The Pueblos, in a general sense, were often characterized by women reformers as barbaric and needing to be “uplifted” into civilization. By the 1920s, however, the Pueblos were widely admired by activist Anglo-American women, who challenged assimilation policies and worked hard to protect the Pueblos’ “traditional” way of life (Jacobs 1996). A year before Burke’s plea to regulate Indian dances and lifestyle, the Gallup Inter-Tribal Ceremonial was established in 1922 as an annual gathering for Indians throughout the Southwest. Also, in 1922 the Santa Fe Indian Market was established as a venue to promote “authentic Indian arts and crafts” as well as a venue for performances (Mullin 2001).

New Mexico’s Pueblos appeared to be unaffected by Circular 1665. This was perhaps due to that fact that Pueblo people were, in the eyes of assimilationists, significantly different from the Apaches, Utes and Plains Indians. After all, Pueblo people were not historically nomadic and have lived primarily as farmers along the Rio Grande. This stood in contrast to the “renegade” narrative of Apache people portrayed in select promotional material as well as the larger descriptions of the horse riding culture of the Plains. For traveler entrepreneurs like Lummis, in early travel writing the Pueblos were solidified in New Mexico’s imagination as “different,” “peaceful,” “content,” and “quiet” (Lummis 1891; McLuhan 1985). Members of the Taos Society of Artists were

steadfast on painting a visual representation of northern Pueblos as peaceful and quiet people.

The image of Pueblo men as “dignified” leaders was best illustrated through the silver-headed canes or staff that signified authority (Fig. 10). Spain first issued the canes in 1620. The Pueblos were not the only group to be issued canes as they were presented to the Comanche as well as to indigenous groups in Latin America (Kavanagh 1999). According to Joe Sando (1992) the idea of issuing a cane is thought to originate from Franciscan priests who viewed the cane or staff “to be their comfort and strength, and their token against all enemies” (243). The Spanish empire issued canes to all the leaders of the pueblos in recognition of their authority. The Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Sheriff and Fiscales (church officials) were newly established offices by the Spanish Crown. Prior to Spanish arrival, pueblo operations were conducted primarily through the War Captains and religious staff (Sando 1992). Later, Mexico too issued canes to recognize the continued relation under a new regime. These second sets of canes were believed to be issued to new Lieutenant Governors upon being appointed as officers.



Fig. 10 “Tesuque Indian Pueblo Governor,” 1935
Frasher Foto postcard collection

The issuance of canes continued after Mexican rule. To encourage diplomatic relations among nations President Abraham Lincoln issued canes in 1863 to each of the pueblos as a symbol of reestablishing sovereignty. Inscribed on each of the Lincoln Canes was the name of the pueblo, the year 1863 and the etched signature “A Lincoln.” Pueblo Governors pride themselves with the honor and privilege of carrying a cane. With this brief historical explanation, it was evident why leaders may have been out in the public during certain feast days. Photographs and postcards reflected this practice of Governors being in public with their canes during village dances (Ruch 2001). A large number of these photographs that appeared in postcards were from Taos and Tesuque. Most popular were images of Governors in ceremonial regalia or wearing the iconic warbonnet headdresses. Whether as dancers in ceremonial settings, or as “dignified leaders,” travel photography best represented the Pueblos through an enduring, exotic and enchanted Southwest. Postcards and travel narratives portrayed and positioned Pueblos as distinctive peoples who were neither a threat nor an affront to the traveler. They commonly featured Governors and other leaders labeled as “chief” and “brave warrior.”

The vast majority of scenes picturing dances and domestic activities were taken clearly within and alongside marked village settings. The most typical were of northern Pueblo women depicted baking bread, making pottery, and husking or grinding corn. Men were pictured as silversmiths with the tools of their trade, drummers and dancers wearing ceremonial regalia, and, as mentioned, leaders with “canes.” Brochures and postcards also took on features associated with the epic discourse of America’s Frontier

West with its equestrian warbonneted warriors – which formulated a visual masculine space. This noble masculine space published in postcards and brochures coincided with state tourism initiatives to pacify travelers. After all, in the state’s imagination Pueblos were tranquil people who built and lived in their own homes. Even though much of the travel imagery featured men posed wearing warbonnets or in various dances, the language surrounding the images was pacified and poised as proud people. In short, the images pictured in the travel media were ones that best represented northern Pueblo life as an idyllic, pastoral world (Martinez and Albers 2003).

NEW MEXICO MAGAZINE, AUTOMOBILE TRAVEL AND THE MARKETING OF SUNSHINE & CULTURE

Travel media practices and promotions expanded with the advent of automobile travel. Lillian Whiting was the first to use the phrase “The Land of Enchantment” in *The Land of Enchantment: From Pike’s Peak to the Pacific* (1906). But it wasn’t until New Mexico started to pick up steam in the tourist industry that the catchy phrase was used and incorporated in promotional material. Seeking to develop automobile tourism in the early 1930s, New Mexico originally tried to market itself as the “Sunshine State,” but gave up in 1934 after Florida officially adopted that slogan. In 1935 the New Mexico Department of Tourism used the phrase “Land of Enchantment” in one of their brochures. According to the *New Mexico Blue Book* (2003-2004), *New Mexico Magazine* first advertised using “The Land of Enchantment” to encourage tourism in the state. In 1941 the phrase was added to license plates and it has been in common use since the 1940s.

However, the “Land of Enchantment,” was not officially adopted as the state nickname until 1999.

Originally founded in July of 1923 as *The New Mexico Highway Journal*, *New Mexico Magazine* is the oldest state magazine in the nation. *New Mexico Magazine* has a current monthly circulation of 125,000 copies throughout the United States and 74 countries. A big success of *New Mexico Magazine* is that it thrives on promoting New Mexico’s cultural heritage through its people, arts and landscapes. *New Mexico Magazine* is popular among people living in the state as well as those living abroad who wish to maintain a visual connection with the state. *New Mexico Magazine* has grown to be a reputable and authoritative publication covering stories on New Mexico’s heritage. Central to the popularity of the state’s magazine has been the use of local Pueblo, Navajo and Apache imagery. Today, it provides information on up to date events and highlights local authors and artists.

In the 1920s, the state Highway Department was one of New Mexico’s largest and fastest growing agencies. The bulk of articles in *New Mexico Highway* were dedicated to addressing the raw and undeveloped terrain in the state. After the establishment of railroads and New Mexico statehood in 1912, travel in the 1920s began to flourish. The state became much more accessible in the 1920s with highway development. State engineer James A. French and G.D. “Buck” Macy developed the *New Mexico Highway Journal* as a way to inform department employees (Vigil 1992). Ray W. Bennett soon took over as editor. There were only 300 copies printed of the inaugural issue.¹⁷

¹⁷ The first July 1923 issue of the *New Mexico Highway Journal* was produced at a cost of \$100 (Vigil 1992).

According to Macy, that first magazine in 1923 made such a splash with department employees that they encouraged Bennett to continue producing the journal. The *New Mexico Highway Journal* steadily increased in circulation and popularity. The state comprised 121,666 square miles of undeveloped terrain. It was the department's job to make the nation's 47th state accessible by automobile, another up-and-coming phenomenon of the time. The state became much more accessible to travelers in the 1920s with state-of-the-art thoroughfares wide enough for two passing automobiles.

Sam Samson designed the first covers of the *Highway Journal*. These photographs mainly included highway scenes and landscapes. The emphasis on highways and roads was to show and promote the development of the state. In 1928 the focus shifted from a departmental sounding board to becoming more of a general interest magazine. State officials decided to save money by consolidating the *New Mexico Highway Journal* and *The Conservationist*, an outdoor-oriented magazine produced by the state Game and Fish Department. In July 1931 the first issue of *New Mexico* was published as a higher end illustrated magazine that included a combination of stories on outdoor activities, economic development and tourist attractions. Financing for the publication came from advertising sales and fees paid by both departments. It was not until after the 1930 merger of *Highway Journal* and *Conservationist* that we come to know *New Mexico Magazine*. According to former editor Harry E. Stuart, the goal of *New Mexico Magazine* was “to present words and pictures the story of New Mexico and its wonders” and to “tell the story of New Mexico in all its facets” (Vigil 1992). *New*

Mexico Magazine steadily grew to a circulation of about 5,000 in 1935 when George M. Fitzpatrick took over.¹⁸

Early on *New Mexico Magazine* included articles and photographs about Pueblo people as a fundamental part of the state's cultural landscape. Articles titled such as "How They Dance! When, Where and Why New Mexico Indians Stage Their Colorful and Weird Ceremonies Handed Down Though Centuries" attempted to educate the public about the reasons behind some of the ceremonial activities (Dupree 1931; Spencer 1934). Another article reflective of the time period titled "Indians Work, Too" described how the "Red Man" is known for his dance ceremonials:

In all the season of the year he placates Nature with beautiful ritual. Hunting dance, planting dance, rain dance, harvest dance. He does them all. Deer dance and night chant, corn dance and *Yeibachai*. He dances a ceremonial circle around the year. Mystic, poetic, barbaric Indian, does he do else than dance? He does. (Clark 1936)

The article continues to answer the question of what else the "Red Man" does. The notion of the American Indian as male is not a surprise since a large part of the travel literature and imagery relies on the warbonneted male. Although the article's intent is to describe the American Indian as a hard worker, what comes across is a patronizing tone, which was frequent during early publications. Widespread in *New Mexico Magazine* articles were descriptions used to perpetuate a gendered colonial discourse of a "barbaric" and a

¹⁸ Originally known as "the Sunshine State's Recreational and Highway Magazine," this eventually was dropped and "Magazine" was added to the title in the mid-1950s. The style of the Magazine was as varied as the state's landscapes. The use of color was sporadic during the 1930s and 1940s but soon became a mainstay in the 1950s. Just as the magazine was experiencing its most dramatic increase in circulation to date, the government placed regulations on paper usage. As of May 1944, the magazine could no longer accept new subscriptions because of wartime paper restrictions. In the spirit of patriotism, servicemen were given preference when expired subscriptions were not renewed. The magazine started to build a reputation for quality and soon was circulated globally.

male-centered Pueblo culture of dance ceremonies. Men were described as dancers and leaders while articles that featured women were focused on pottery makers and weavers. Symbolic tones and images in the early *New Mexico Magazine* articles were not that far removed from what the Fred Harvey Company produced. The staunch difference was that having a full-page-produced magazine gave a more colorful image of Indian life. Readers first saw these images on the cover and while flipping through the pages, found more images of dances, ceremonies and landscapes. In contrast, postcards could only capture images on a smaller scale and in a limited textual space.

The above quotation comes from Anna Nolan Clark who was one of the numerous writers who participated in the New Mexico Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration in 1936. Clark, along with other WPA writers, published articles in *New Mexico Magazine*. The WPA employed writers, photographers, reporters, journalists to name a few, who were struggling to produce and paint a picturesque landscape despite the harsh realities of poverty in New Mexico (Rebolledo and Marquez 2000). In *Vintage Snapshots* Petra Schindler-Carter (1999) revisits the work of the Federal Writers' Project and finds that the WPA *American Guide Series* encompassed part fiction, part encyclopedia and part travel guide. The WPA writers fueled much of the language in which New Mexico's Pueblo traditions were embellished despite changes. As one WPA writer wrote, "It is difficult to think of a modern America in a village of the Pueblo Indians, while the inhabitants dance for rain" (WPA Guide 1930, 3). The WPA staff was intended to provide much needed employment during an economic crisis. To this end, not all staff who worked as writers were trained as such. Kathy Flynn, the current

executive director of the National New Deal Preservation Association, stated “they [WPA] hired people – most of them were writers, but some people had never written before,” Flynn said. “This was a way of giving them employment, and they traveled around the state and wrote about things they found in every quadrant of the state” (Flynn 2008).

In addition to New Mexico Federal Writers’ Project, in 1939 Santa Clara painter Pablita Velarde was hired by the WPA under the supervision of the National Park Service to create paintings of American Indian life for Bandelier National Monument. Over six years, she completed more than 80 paintings of which many depicted her Tewa people and experiences (Ruch 2001). One image that came out of the WPA era was her famous “Governor Greets Tourists.” Another WPA artist was Velino Shije Herrera from Zia Pueblo, known for his Pueblo watercolor imagery. One of his most recognized paintings features three women grinding corn, with native pottery at their feet and chile hanging over their heads. What WPA artists like Velarde and Herrera accomplished during this time was an opportunity to paint their own Pueblo experiences, not only in everyday dress but in traditional styles important to Pueblo values and customs. Their work was not recognized until much later since their murals and paintings were not as widely circulated as their counterparts’ photography and WPA travel writings.

In keeping with much of the language from previous decades, the 1930s and 1940s travel media continued to distinguish and distance the Pueblos by wrapping their images in a language of exoticism and mysticism, while at the same time making them appear familiar and approachable to tourists (Martinez and Albers 2003). The original

descriptions that Lummis wrote decades earlier were recycled and refashioned in postcards. The driving force and appeal of the text was that it was now wrapped in a visual image of Pueblo people appearing in full page articles. *New Mexico Magazine* recycled much of the imagery and textual descriptions previously presented in postcards. Common postcards described the Pueblos as “curious” and “quaint” peoples with “barbaric” “mysterious ceremonies” and “weird customs.” As one early Curt Teich (OB-H213) postcard caption put it:

An Indian dance is not a dance in our sense of the word. It is a ceremony, either religious or otherwise. The corn dance is a sort of harvest thanksgiving to the pagan gods. Thousands of tourist flock to these annual dances for the brilliant coloring, the barbaric music and rhythm are nowhere else to be met with.

These circa 1930 textual conventions were much in line with the original language set forth by the Bureau of Immigration records, Charles Lummis or writers like Mabel Dodge Luhan. The representation of the Pueblos through a discourse of “quaint” and “mysterious” was nothing new, but the visual and narrative devices that were used to express it became much more dramatic and affected. What followed this language was the circulation of images reproduced in a variety of postcards and guidebooks (WPA 1930).

With the arrival of Fred Harvey’s famous “Detours,” which took travelers by motorized vehicles to sites in northern New Mexico, the villages of the northern Pueblos started to occupy a more prominent position in the region’s tourism (Thomas 1978). The first Indian Detour took place on May 15, 1926. They promised an unprecedented experience for the traveler. Hundreds of thousands of people first saw the Southwest and the Indian under the auspices of the Indian Detours (Thomas 1978). The Indian Detour

was sold as part of the regular ticket on the Santa Fe transcontinental trains. The general plan of the Detour was a “personally conducted” all-expense motor trip, under Santa Fe/Fred Harvey management, covering nearly three hundred miles and lasting two to three days. It was promised as a photographic ramble through Indian country for “the most discriminating traveler” who wished to explore the way of life of “the first Americans” (McLuhan 1985; Thomas 1978).

In the 1930s and 1940s, a typical Fred Harvey Indian Detour trip included a day visit leaving from La Fonda Hotel in Santa Fe to visit the cliff dwellings at Bandelier National Monument (Appendix G). A stop on the way between Los Alamos and Santa Fe would be a visit to San Ildefonso Pueblo. Other itinerary day trips would include a drive up to Taos Pueblo where patrons would have a tour of the village, or stop at San Juan Pueblo and Santa Clara Pueblo where women would demonstrate pottery making or bread baking. Pueblo children often helped sell their families pottery to visitors. A three-day trip to Taos Pueblo cost \$65. Tourists were lured to the exotic theater of the Southwest with the promises of comfort and style. Simultaneously, artist colonies were in full development in the towns of Taos, Santa Fe and Abiquiu and therefore drawing more visitors to northern Pueblo lands (D’Emilio and Campbell 1992; Dilworth 1996; Swentzell 2003).

In order to keep the enchanted and enduring Southwest alive, travel photography was enlisted to help preserve the myths (Martinez and Albers 2003). One common image was postcards and photographs of women baking bread in beehive-shaped ovens. The Pueblos commonly call the outdoor ovens *horno* in Spanish or in Tewa a *panteh*.

Whether from the southern pueblo of Acoma or the most northern Taos Pueblo, they follow nearly identical conventions. These photographs commonly depicted women with a traditional *manta* and shawl. Pueblo women appeared to be unaware of the camera, crouched down to remove baked goods from the oven. Images were usually of one or two women paired together leaning into the oven.

It was common practice in the production of Fred Harvey images to retouch photographs and manipulate the content in order to erase evidence of modernity and to present a more primitive image. For example, an original Fred Harvey postcard titled, “Pueblo Women Making Bread” showed two women in a village setting (Fig. 11).

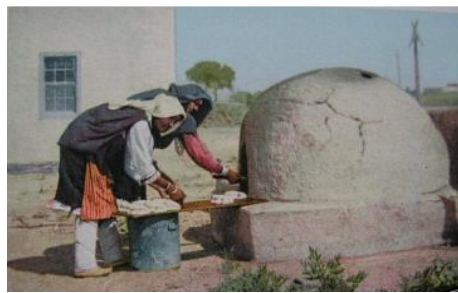


Fig. 11 Fred Harvey Postcard
Circa 1930
Author’s Collection

In the above postcard the women are stooped over reaching into the *panteh*, both covered in shawls with their faces slightly exposed. Located on the right in the far background are railroad crossings and a glass covered window, an adobe structure is directly on the left side of the women. In a reissued postcard, (Fig. 12) again by Fred Harvey, the women and *panteh* appear to be same, but the setting is a bit different.

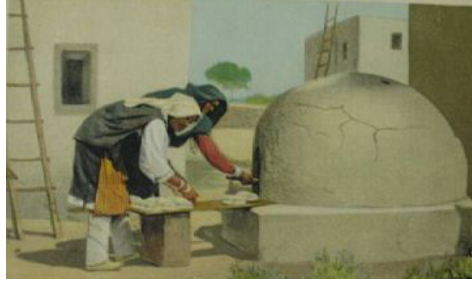


Fig. 12 Reissued Fred Harvey Postcard
Circa 1930
Author's Collection

The railroad crossings have been removed; the tin bucket originally holding the baked goods has been replaced with a wooden box. Moreover, ladders now appear and are aligned against the added adobe dwellings in the background. The window is no longer glass but is merely an opening in the wall. These substitutions make the Pueblo women appear primitive, picturesque and frozen in time. Even though much ethnographic information was removed (with the railroad crossing, windows and tin bucket) the new setting seems more natural, more authentic and timeless. The markers of modernity (glass, tin, and railroads) have been replaced by items with a more “authentic” setting (adobe dwellings, wooden ladders). There was another third variation of this postcard without the ladders and added adobe dwellings. The back of the Fred Harvey (D-2273) postcard states that the following:

After nearly 400 years, their strange ‘apartment houses towns,’ or pueblos, remain practically as Coronado found them. So few are the changes wrought by the ages in their daily lives and extraordinary religious ceremonials that a great student of the Southwest once exclaimed: ‘Among the Pueblos it is possible to catch archeology alive!’

These photographs from the “white-border” linen era were especially well suited to shaping and producing images into myths because its products were long-lived.

CONCLUSION

United States occupation, tourism, trade and mobility along the Rio Grande often served as contact zones for understanding Pueblo history and relations with outside forces. Pratt (1992) used “contact zones” to describe the spaces of colonial encounters. A “contact” perspective emphasizes how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other. In other words, “It treats the relations among colonizers and colonized, or travelers and 'travelees,' not in terms of separateness or apartheid, but in terms of co-presence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, often within radically asymmetrical relations of power” (Pratt 1992, 7). In the early twentieth century, the New Mexico stage for contact zones was manifested through railroad expansion, Pueblo performances outside of villages and the introduction of automobile travel to Pueblo lands. These sites of contact were wrapped in non-Indian desires to capture and market people and communities.

Early textual and image making initiatives were central to the expansion of New Mexico tourism. Some fundamental key players to early travel imaginings included the work of territorial agencies, travel writers and anthropologists. In addition, Pueblo people as performers through dancing and pottery demonstrations were major players who captured the limelight of the camera. The early beginnings of *New Mexico Magazine* became *the major* state publication to promote the cultures and histories of New Mexico. Pueblo people and *New Mexico Magazine* became synonymous with tourists and cameras. Furthermore, art produced from members of the Taos Society of Artists, namely

E. Irving Couse and Ernest L. Blumenschein, were duplicated in *New Mexico Magazine* in the 1930s. Taos artists supplied much of the promotional materials for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway. From a statewide level, WPA writers and state travel publications like *New Mexico Magazine* worked interchangeably (Author Unknown 1930; Clark 1936; Haystead 1930). The language of marketing “a land surpassing beauty and attraction” became solidified in travel guides, postcards and artist colonies (WPA 1930).

The force of the Fred Harvey Company declined after the 1940s due to the increased use of automobile and individual travel. The volume of Fred Harvey’s postcard production and the range of its reach slowly declined. This decline notwithstanding, Fred Harvey’s influence continued in the lasting appeal of the travel images it had helped to fashion on postcards and brochures a half century earlier. The next chapter will discuss some of the enduring tropes in travel photography that are manufactured in present day narratives. Contextualizing the historical narratives, both visual and textual, will guide much of the contemporary Pueblo initiatives discussed in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER 3

ENDURING TROPES, 1940-Present

INTRODUCTION

The 1940s and 1950s in Pueblo Country was an era of profound cultural shifting. In 1941 World War II greatly impacted families and entire communities whose members were recruited to serve. It is estimated that more than 40,000 American Indians left their reservations during each of the war years to work in war industries (Holm and Rosier 2007; Sando 1992). In 1943, Los Alamos National Laboratory was established as a nuclear research laboratory, which later became world famous as the site credited for building the atomic bomb. Many northern Pueblos from San Ildefonso, Santa Clara and San Juan Pueblo were recruited to work in the Los Alamos service industry as housekeepers and construction workers. Moreover, one of the most momentous political events in Pueblo history occurred in 1948 when Pueblos obtained the right to vote. It was not until an Isleta Pueblo man, Miguel Trujillo Sr., sued the State of New Mexico for discrimination that Pueblo people could legally vote. Even though Pueblo men served in the United States military during World War I and World War II, it took a federal court decision to grant the right to vote for New Mexico's indigenous people.¹ Pueblo Country in the 1940s was shifting more into the mainstream American educational and political systems. This change was further fueled in 1952 when the Bureau of Indian Affairs

¹ During the 1940s, a few states still prohibited Indians from voting due to the "not taxed" policy: Arizona, Maine, Mississippi, New Mexico and Washington. Trujillo's ensuing actions helped pave the way for Pueblo people to later engage in political organizing. See Joe S. Sando's (1998) chapter "Miguel H. Trujillo in *Pueblo Profiles: Cultural Identity through Centuries of Changes*. Clear Light. Pp. 56-62 and M. Martinez (2005) "Pueblo People Win the Right to Vote" in www.newmexicohistory.org

established relocation programs. Many Pueblo families moved to cities outside of New Mexico in search of better employment opportunities, adult education and vocational training. While these events were taking place in New Mexico, the travel industry was shifting gears as automobile travel and access roads to previously remote areas increased.

The epic travel discourse of the past continued to be pervasive in the 1940s and sustained itself through state tourism agencies and travel entrepreneurs like the Fred Harvey Company. New Mexico was well underway to being promoted as the travel destination of the Southwest in which Pueblo imagery became central to the state's initiatives. Much of the travel language carried a romanticized tone by describing Pueblo people as "civilized," "self-sufficient," "diligent farmers," "skilled craft workers," and "friendly to outsiders." Postcards of the time conveyed that Pueblos were "fairly independent and a thrifty class" or "ask no aid from Washington." Another Curt Teich (5A-H2527) postcard described Taos Pueblo:

A land utterly alien and astonishing. The superb Taos Indians still rove the country north of their pueblo, independent both of other peoples and their possessions. The old traditions and religious customs, so arrogant, so proud, so magnificently are they clung to that the pueblo dwellers merit a place among the great peoples of the world.

The romantic tones from previous decades when the State of New Mexico wished to pacify travelers to the region carried into the 1940s. Selective sites like the Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial and *New Mexico Magazine* dominated the travel industry discourse and established a tone of colorful tropes that would endure for decades.

The irony embedded in this chapter of enduring tropes articulates how constructed indigenous images travel into mainstream circulations. Previously *New Mexico Highway*

Journal and *New Mexico Magazine* were published to market the progress of the state. Images of ceremonial dancers, bread bakers and Koshares were intended to highlight the beauty of New Mexico's landscape and peoples. In the quest for state agencies and travel entrepreneurs to brag that Pueblos are independent and "ask no aid from Washington" at the same time travel photographs and textual descriptions have an enduring legacy that continues to become popularized through the 1980s. Trope as an inherent theme in this discussion is how travel photography involves incongruity between what is expected and what occurs. The disconnection of "real" and being lifted for public consumption demonstrates an act of making a photograph in the quest to create a comfortable and exciting tourist experience. Postcards marketing New Mexico as a conduit for story and experience became the standard to "see" Pueblo people regardless of the change taking place in the political and cultural landscapes. The notion of an enduring trope becomes synonymous with Pueblo dance and ceremony. As the travel industry to New Mexico becomes more fluid, the stock travel imagery also figures prominently along the state's cultural highways.

"AMERICA'S GREATEST INDIAN SPECTACLE"

Gallup, New Mexico was originally a railroad town surrounded by parts of the Navajo and Zuni reservations. The Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial was established in 1921 and since has been held annually in the middle of August. The Ceremonial was started by a small group of Gallup businessmen, Indian traders, and reservation superintendents. In 1939 the New Mexico Legislature designated the Gallup Inter-Tribal

Indian Ceremonial as an official agency of the State of New Mexico. The original purpose was for the encouragement of Indian arts and crafts and the education of Anglos to the beauty of American Indian life (Carroll 1971). A major success factor to the Ceremonial was the showcasing of the traditions and customs of American Indian life. At the Ceremonial there were dances, rites, chants, songs, athletic contests, sports and arts and crafts. The Gallup Ceremonial attracted tribes from Mexico and throughout the United States. There was usually a large hall for exhibits of various paintings, silverwork, pottery and weaving. A major draw for dancers to participate in the Ceremonial was the monetary prizes given for the various dance categories (Carroll 1971).

A typical description of the Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial described an agenda packed with “action, color and drama” (*Sun Trails* 1951). Each day’s program opened with a parade through the streets of Gallup. Usually around 10:00 a.m. a mounted sheriff’s posse would lead the parade followed by each of the Indian tribes in full regalia. Promotional materials described Indians in “costumes” in which “Indians drums beat, a band plays and marching Indians spontaneously break into songs and tribal dances” (*Sun Trails* 1951, 10). Flyers, brochures and state travel magazines during the month of August almost always featured a story or advertisement of the Ceremonial. One well circulated travel magazine, *Sun Trails and Fly & Shell*, promoted itself as “the magazine of travel, recreation, sports and living in the ‘Land of Enchantment.’” Published monthly out of Albuquerque, *Sun Trails* dedicated its August issues to Ceremonial photographs and advertisements. One *Sun Trails* article titled “The Indians are Coming” described the evening program as the Ceremonial highlight:

For here, under the star lit Indian sky is the climax of the whole Ceremonial, the grand entry of the Indians, the weirdly beautiful songs and chants, the spectacular dances. The word 'dance' conveys little of what one sees and feels during the evening program. Drums throb, choruses chant, gourds filled with dried seeds and pebbles clash against the clatter of turtle rattles . . . dances are performed with such pagan grace and beauty that even the civilized white man feels a responsive chord stirred within him . . . That the Ceremonial is no 'Indian sideshow' is borne out by the fact that famous artists, writer, musicians, dancers, ethnologists and anthropologists come each year to study the Indians. Here, in four days, the average tourist can learn more about Indians and understand them better than he could in a month of tourist the thousands of miles of the vast southwestern Indian Country. Yes, the Indians are coming . . . to Gallup for the greatest Indian Ceremonial to date, and the whites are coming, too! (Sun Trails 1951)

From the 1940s to the 1970s, the Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial became the single most important source of travel photographs, picturing dances and dancers in the Southwest. Gallup Ceremonial dance images and descriptions of “weirdly” and “spectacular” sights dominated the state in promotional guidebooks, postcards and brochures (Albers n.d.). *New Mexico Magazine* reflected this trend and commonly featured cover images of young hoop dancers, Apache Crown Dancers, and numerous Pueblo dance groups. Even though the Ceremonial was held in a predominately Navajo city, Gallup, Pueblo people from around the state participated in the parade and dance performances. Pueblo dancers from Taos, San Juan Pueblo, Acoma and Zuni were some of the popular groups featured in *New Mexico Magazine*. When Navajos were featured they were photographed mainly as artisans and not as dancers. This was perhaps, according to the view of one *New Mexico Magazine* author, “Navajos are not famed for their dancing, but their costumes and ceremonies captivate all as they are decidedly barbaric” (Mills 1931). Even though Navajo people have their own culturally rich dance customs and unique ceremonial rituals, *New Mexico Magazine*, travel postcards and

brochures clearly marked the Pueblo as *the* dancers of the Southwest. Various Pueblo Buffalo dancers, Eagle Dancers, Taos Hoop dancers and Zuni Olla dancers far outnumbered any of the other Southwestern Navajo, Apache or Ute dancers.

The Department of Development was established in 1959 to develop and promote the state's various attractions. The Department later branched into two offices, the Department of Economic Development and the Tourism Department. Many state Department of Development and *New Mexico Magazine* photographers were hired to document and promote the Ceremonial. This linkage between agencies and photographers produced many of the same pictures appearing on postcards that were associated with the state's official tourist agency. State tourism photography, brochures and postcards out of the Development office capitalized on the Ceremonial as an opportunity to promote the state's culture. In travel promotions, the Gallup Ceremonial became the main event to selectively represent New Mexico's indigenous peoples. Photographers and travel entrepreneurs did not need to travel the entire state to visit the pueblos when at one location one could photograph a variety of dance troops and performers (Appendix H). Photographs from the Ceremonial were also recycled and used to promote other events such as village feast days and arts and crafts fairs.

Between 1930 and 1945 the changing technology enabled publishers to print cards on a linen type paper stock with very bright and vivid colors. Photographs now covered the entire postcard and were not confined within the white borders from the previous era of postcards. The travel industry also witnessed the introduction of new ways to view postcards during this era. First introduced at the New York World's Fair,

View-Masters were intended as an alternative to the scenic postcards. These View-Masters were designed as a device for viewing 3-D images on a paper disk. In the 1940s the popular View-Masters were commonly sold alongside postcard racks. Throughout New Mexico, stationary stores and gift shops sold Gallup Ceremonial paper disks for View-Masters. These disks contained duplicates of original Ceremonial postcards. But now, travelers were able to purchase a nifty souvenir of colorful, closer to life, 3-D images.

Confirming America's love for high color and bright images, the color "Photochrome" first appeared in the 1940s. "Chromes" captured the best of true living color and were of high photo quality. Chrome refers to a process used to make the cards shiny. They soon replaced both linen and black and white postcards on postcard racks. The chrome cards were popular in the 1950's and are the most common type of card found on postcard racks today. *New Mexico Magazine* and flashy tourism brochures also transitioned into a more elaborate "chrome" process as covers of magazines mimicked the chrome feel of shiny and colorful images.

Chrome postcards from the Ceremonial were generically labeled as "Braves in Full Dress," "Hoop Dancers," "Indian in Full Dress." One Curt Teich postcard (3C-K140) titled "Indians Dancing for the Tourists" described the following:

The Indian Dance is a most spectacular and colorful ceremony seen in the Southwest. Tourists come from far and near to watch the Indians perform their dances. With their bright costumes and ornaments, they make an unforgettable sight (#3C-K140).



Fig. 13“Indians Dancing for the Tourists” Curt Teich, Circa 1950
Distributed by Southwest Postcard Co. Albuquerque, New Mexico
Author’s Collection

The above postcard shows a side view of one young man and child facing each other with arrow and shield accoutrements (Fig 13). The young man is wearing a bright red and yellow headdress and bustle. The child is wearing a “roach” style headdress. They are both wearing colored breechcloths and moccasins with white fringes. There are numerous onlookers in the background. This description is typical of “The Indian Dance” with no tribal affiliation mentioned or the name of the dance performed. In another Curt Teich (3C-K1327) postcard “Eagle Dancers” are described as “Indian ceremonies throughout the Indian country are unusual and interesting events. Prayers rise to the Gods, when dancers nod beaked head dresses and wave plumed arms in the ceremony of the Eagle dance.” Both of these postcards were distributed by the Southwest Postcard Company in Albuquerque. Whether it be Eagle dancers or Buffalo dancers, postcards at the Ceremonial rarely mentioned the dance group or tribal affiliation and focused on the colors and dance of the event. Although based on the types of kilts worn, the mentioned Curt Teich Eagle Dance postcard appears to be from Zuni. At the Ceremonial it was common for some dancers to borrow dance regalia and various other jewelry and accoutrements for performances, parades or even photo opportunities. After all, it was

inter-tribal and the Ceremonial often provided an opportunity for friends and relatives to gather for a long weekend.

Whether it was describing the Ceremonial as “The Greatest Indian Show on Earth” through “primitive music and the guttural chanting of Pueblo Indians” (Kirk 1941) or in a feature article by *New Mexico Magazine* editor George Fitzpatrick, titled “America’s Greatest Indian Spectacle,” (1955) these descriptions followed identical conventions. Numerous articles in *New Mexico Magazine* continued to market the Ceremonial as unmatched anywhere in the world with phrases like “spectacular,” “it is tom-toms throbbing a primitive beat” and as “a fashion show of squaw dances.” As in the past, photography continued to support the mystique that surrounded Pueblo ritual and ceremonialism. In the end, the images published kept the myth of the Southwest alive, but it did so in ways that appealed to the sense of thrill, excitement and enchantment that surrounded the extravaganzas of the Ceremonial. In 1954 the owners of *Sun Trails* lobbied to merge the publication with *New Mexico Magazine* and operate it as a private enterprise. Instead, *New Mexico Magazine* took over *Sun Trails* and it quickly became the reputable and recognized official promoter of New Mexico’s cultural landscapes. *New Mexico Magazine* remained under the jurisdiction of the state throughout its history. As part of their marketing and development initiatives, *New Mexico Magazine* continued its practice of borrowing and recycling photographs from private business entrepreneurs who published postcards and brochures (Fig. 14).



Fig. 14 Gallup Ceremonial Dancers, 1956
Published and distributed by the
New Mexico Department of Development



New Mexico Magazine, 1956

Marketed as “The Indian Capital” (Curt Teich, D-5076), Gallup became an elaborate meeting ground for inter-tribal dancing and socializing. No previous Ceremonial had brought together so many people from different backgrounds. In a recent conversation with Henrietta Mann (Cheyenne), who danced at the Ceremonial in the 1950s, mentioned “it was like an Indian Upward Bound program for dancers. We were really excited to be chosen to travel so far to dance in Gallup. It was a nice place for other young Indians to meet new friends” (Mann 2008). Other testimonies from dancers appeared in early *Sun Trails* articles as well as featured pow wow dancers in *New Mexico Magazine*. Visitors to the Ceremonial - both Indian and non-Indian - were able to view a rich variety of Aztec dances, Buffalo dances, hoop dances, Apache Crown dances, Otoe-Pawnee, and Kiowa dances. Through the purchase of arts, crafts and photographic images visitors preserved their encounters and experiences with memories of Indians captured in colorful photographs, postcards, manufactured slides, souvenir folders and View-Masters. According to the promotional language of the New Mexico Tourism Bureau, this was *the place to experience New Mexico*. New postcards were issued with dramatic flairs,

literally, that added to the sense of color and thrill. (Fig 15). Entertainment, excitement and exhibition dancing became the dominant experience as this was captured and marketed in postcards and state travel publications (Kirk 1941).



Fig. 15 “Taos Indian Dancer”
Al Schroeder Photograph Collection (No. 31683)
State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico

THE FUNNY MEN

Whether described as “Delight Makers,” “Striped Devil Dancers” or clowns, the imagery of Pueblo Koshares were quick to be painted and photographed by curious travelers through New Mexico. One *New Mexico Magazine* article titled “The Funny Men” attempted to describe the role and history of the Koshare in Pueblo culture (Knight 1941). In the article photographs of dancing Koshares focused on the comical role of crowd teasing. Their goal was to “make you laugh.” Up in La Junta, Colorado a Boy Scout Troop called the Koshares constructed a Koshare Kiva in 1949. The “kiva” was used as a dance arena for the Boy Scouts-turned-Koshare-Indian-Dancers who were the featured performance at the Koshare Indian Museum. Sometimes called “Weird Koshare Indian Devil Dancers,” the Boy Scouts coined themselves as the new Indian tribe and

cultivated a new 1940s generation of boys fascinated with pseudo Indian dance and culture (Ashlar 1947). Like the La Junta Boy Scouts, New Mexico's travel literature and early anthropological writings emphasized the comical and "weird" aspects of teasing by Koshares (Bandelier 1890; Lummis 1891; Parsons 1939). Generally, people refer to the English translation of "clown," when in reality Pueblo Koshares are much more than clowns. Koshares only come out with Pueblo dancers during some of the most intimate of village ceremonies. These include seasonal Corn Dances (i.e. Yellow and Green Corn), Turtle Dances, Basket or Harvest Dances. Humor was and still is very much a central part of Pueblo ritual and thought (Ortiz 1969; Sweet 1985). From a Pueblo perspective (Ortiz 1969) interpreting Koshares or Kossas humor is just one of the many complex elements of those who hold this esteemed role.

Although Koshares can be either male or female, normally what gets photographed and reproduced are images of Koshares only as men. Photographing Koshares and kachinas is strictly off limits for all people. This, according to Pueblo worldviews (Ortiz 1969), is having respect for clan people to conduct ceremonial activity. It is the act of photographing during dances that is intrusive. On the other hand, most Pueblo people do not have a major concern when it comes to painting or sculpting images of Koshares. Painting and sculpting of Koshares and select sacred clown imagery have been a popular image for many Pueblo artists (Green 1996; Naranjo 1992; Ruch 2001; Shutes and Mellick 1996). San Ildefonso artists Tonita Peña in the 1930s, Pablita Velarde in the 1940s and later J.D. Roybal in the 1950s were some of the notable Pueblo artists to paint aspects of Pueblo dance and Koshare imagery. Images of Koshares were one of the

early tropes when it came to painting and photography that fueled the development of souvenir kitsch in New Mexico. Much like kachina imagery, Koshares became part of the highway kitsch of the sixties that appeared on postcards, coffee mugs, key chains and t-shirts. Koshare photography, in contrast to kachina dancers, was one way tourists remembered what they saw and experienced while visiting one of the pueblo dances. Clowning is a universal phenomenon whether these come from images of the Italian court jester or the Shrine Circus; travelers to New Mexico problematically interpreted the Koshares in much of the same light. Their constant behavior in ceremony as “contrasters” captured the photographer’s eye when in reality the irony of the Koshare is meant to not look or behave like one of them (Sweet 1985).

Pueblo people who gather to watch the dances in which the Koshare participate also look forward to seeing them among the dancers and crowd. There are several origin stories discussing the significance of the Koshare. One important role is that the Koshare often help to alleviate the long hours of dancing by “entertaining” the crowd and dancers. Alfonso Ortiz (1972) referred to them by the seemingly contradictory phrase “sacred clown.” Historically, clowns entertained audiences in mass public rituals. They do this by burlesquing tourists, missionaries, government officials, members of neighboring tribes, anthropologists, and other people who touch their lives. Koshares are often the “go between” among the sacred and secular. Their behavior is contradictory and opposite – as conveyed in the black and white striped mud painting on their bodies. According to Ortiz they “make the sacred relevant to the everyday” (Ortiz 1972, 160).

One 1935 T. Harmon Parkhurst photograph “Koshare clowns at San Juan Pueblo”

was replicated in New Mexico souvenir guidebooks in the 1960s and continues to be published in several contemporary photography and tourist guidebooks (Cheek and Fuss 1996; Gibson 2001; Lippard 1992). The original photograph is filed at the Museum of New Mexico.² During one of my pueblo visits in 2003, by chance, I was invited to eat at John Kellywood's house at Picuris Pueblo.³ As a current day Koshare (Kossa), I noticed John had the same 1935 Parkhurst photograph hanging in his living room. In the photograph there were four smiling Koshare men standing side by side. They were wearing the typical striped head piece, their bodies were painted in black and white stripes and each was wearing a striped breechcloth. The two men on the left have white moccasins. The third Koshare had black shoes and the far right man was pictured sticking his tongue out and also wearing black boots. The second Koshare has his hands on his hips and appears to be looking outward to his left. John mentioned his relative in the photograph and gave me the names of the other Koshares.⁴ I asked John about such a photograph which is off limits in today's pueblos. He said "back then they [Pueblo people] didn't realize that taking pictures was wrong. All people, no matter from where, were invited to come watch the dances. We opened our villages to outsiders, not knowing

² Museum of New Mexico (# 3895) under Indians, San Juan, Ceremonial Clowns by T. Harmon Parkhurst, 1935 and various Clown photo Postcards by Charles E. Lord, 1934. In addition to numerous Koshare photographs at the Museum of New Mexico, there are black and white photographs of Turtle Dances which are marked RESTRICTED for duplication because of the sacred imagery. In addition, examples of photographs and postcards like "Picuris Indian Standing by Shrine" (#40332) are also part of the photography collection at the Museum. Some Pueblos know about the intimate nature of the photography collection and not much effort has been made to repatriate the images. One reason is that Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990 does not provide language to include photography as sacred objects.

³ John Kellywood is from Ohkay Owingeh but married at Picuris Pueblo, which is about 20 miles northeast from Ohkay Owingeh. Picuris is a Tiwa speaking village closely related to its neighboring Taos Pueblo.

⁴ In the original T. Harmon Parkhurst (Museum of New Mexico # 3895) the last names of the individuals from left to right are Aquino, Trujillo, Tafoya and Archuleta.

all the pictures and recordings that would come out. That is no longer the case today. This picture reminds me that I come from a history of clowns. I'm proud of it" (Kellywood 2004). Not anyone can be a Koshare. There are strict cultural and religious protocols that have been passed through clan leadership for generations. Being a Koshare or serving as any other spiritual position among Pueblo people is a lifelong commitment and responsibility. The role of "clowning" is serious business in which the Koshare's family is also very much a part of the activities and dance preparations.

As a staple on postcards the enduring "clown" trope continues to fascinate the traveling public. This is perhaps because the Koshare are the most misunderstood among the traveling public. Of the numerous pueblo dances and ceremonies, the Koshare are the most directly engaged with the general public (Green 1996; Sweet 1981, 1985). In keeping with the entertainment and excitement of the travel industry, from a non-Pueblo perspective, it was perhaps the Koshares who best perpetuated these notions when in reality what is inherent about being a Koshare is not all about clowning but also about fostering community livelihoods. As one Curt Teich (3B-H81) postcard on the Feast of San Geronimo at Taos Pueblo states, the clown "produces much amusement for the spectators." Amusement is the definitive word here. This is what the traveling public takes away when viewing Koshares at village ceremonies. The context and cultural understanding of norms and behaviors are lost in translation. What the travel industry promotes is the amusement and entertainment for visitors. Koshares, whether one is "seen in action" at a village ceremony, or bought on a postcard rack, they are the perfect souvenir memory to delight travelers and authenticate their experiences.

The enduring imagery and descriptions of Koshare dancers draw upon the traveling public's perceptions of what is selectively viewed as Pueblo culture and ritual. Koshares are not a staple in Pueblo rituals. Regardless, any mention of Pueblo dances in *New Mexico Magazine* almost always includes descriptions and photographs of Koshares. Much like the image of the generic warbonnet Indian, so too does the striped dancer play into the imagination of visitors to New Mexico. The trope of the "frontier" West was typified in the image of "chiefs" in warbonnets. The trope of New Mexico's "Wild West" was typified in early newspaper accounts as a stereotype of an unsettled land; while at the same time the irony of a passive and tranquil people is perpetuated as an economic tool to attract development. Pueblo men, as mentioned with Chief Manitou, were frequently attired in this regalia when they posed for pictures at popular tourist attractions. Later, the growing popularity of Hollywood movies and TV westerns during the 1950s and 1960s bolstered the strength of the frontier legend in the public mind. In American television, out of the top 20 television shows 12 were westerns (Kilpatrick 1999). Some of these television shows included the Indian fighter *Davy Crockett* in 1954, *Gunsmoke* in 1955 and *Zorro* in 1957. This was also the peak of John Ford's films that commonly focused on expansionism and conventional cowboy and Indian themed films. Moreover, from 1964 to 1967 *Bonanza* was the nation's most watched television program (Kilpatrick 1999). These television shows along with Hollywood's distribution and the imagery associated with it had growing a appeal in Southwestern tourism as it did in many other parts of the United States (Green 1988b; Albers and James 1983). Hollywood's distribution, much like state-produced material, selectively highlighted what was

perceived to be American Indian.

The generic “Santa Fe Indian” is manifested in the larger imagination of American Indians. Popular Five and Dime stores in the 1970s sold “Santa Fe Indian” generic teepee, buffalo hunting, stoic male imagery along with the contrasting Koshares on key chains, coffee mugs and table mats. These images continue to be abundant at the Santa Fe plaza. On every postcard rack today one can easily find an image of a warbonnet Indian or sacred clown. It is the pervasiveness of male imagery in postcards and tourist produced imagery in brochures and guidebooks that define much of northern New Mexico’s travel landscapes. Even though women as *olla* maidens, potters and vendors are a staple image in the promotion of the Southwest, especially among the southern pueblos, the overall imagery of men is ubiquitous and is a constant enduring trope in northern New Mexico. The travel imagery from the 1950s through the 1980s developed into flashier dance images. The generic Plains warbonnet imagery included men from Taos Pueblo who were photographed as popular hoop dancers and fancy-style war dancers. To situate New Mexico’s travel industry as a feminine space (Babcock 1990) is to negate the wide range of travel imagery that captivated visitors via colorful dances and male dancers.

TIMELESS PEOPLE

As the twentieth century progressed, much of what had been distinct about Pueblo cultures was no longer subject to the tourist’s gaze. This happened as Pueblo communities selectively “compartmentalized” (Dozier 1961) the ordinary and unique

aspects of their lives that were closed from those open to outsiders. In time, many Pueblo people, communities and ceremonies were off-limits to the public and the camera alike. It also occurred as a result of the changing appearance of the communities themselves, many of which began to look indistinguishable, at least externally, from much of the rest of the Southwest. As Pueblo people took on more of the fashions and material conveniences of the wider population, they were less likely to present the kind of imagery inscribed in local tourism materials (Martinez and Albers 2003). The All Indian Pueblos Council has been heavily involved with federal policies since the 1920s. This steadfast political organizing continued under the John Collier administration, Commission of Indian Affairs, in the 1930s.

Pueblo people have always participated in the state's wage labor sector. This is especially true from about 1935-1943 when Pueblo people were involved in a multitude of jobs through the Works Progress Administration. This was the largest New Deal agency, employing millions of people with the goals of family training and by creating solitary workers. Not only in New Mexico, but throughout the United States, American Indians have been central players in the development of the workforce (Iverson 1998; Littlefield and Knack 1976; Sando 1998). Pueblo people like Daisy Pino, a young Acoma Pueblo woman, was commonly photographed working in the service sector. Northern Pueblos continued to commute to Los Alamos and Santa Fe to work in state and federal agencies. Many veterans from WWII started to attend college as funding from the GI Bill became available. *New Mexico Magazine* and travel photographers selectively focused on ceremonies and cultural events as markers of Pueblo existence. It is tourists, defined as

actual sightseers in search of experience (MacCannell 1976), and travel photography that make the reality of Pueblo people invisible. According to MacCannell (1976) the idea of differentiations are the attractions. Travelers want to experience the difference and recognize Pueblo people when they are marked ethnically from another time and space.

In the tourist imagination, the experience of seeing those perceived as not modern or in Eric Wolf's (1982) words, the "people without history," draws curiosity. The idea of frozen in time and unchanging is manifested in travel postcards as well as state tourism initiatives. Articles in *New Mexico Magazine* described Pueblos as clinging to ancient traditions and standing as relics of the past. This was one theme that remained constant throughout the twentieth century. For example, one 1960s article titled "Time Stands Still at Jemez" describes Jemez people as unchanging (Abarr 1960). The cover of a 1970 edition of *New Mexico Magazine* featured the development in the city of Farmington. Snapshots of the city's industrial development were labeled as "the Future" while another side picture on the left showed a group of Navajos labeled as "the past!" In *New Mexico Magazine*, as elsewhere, Native peoples are not imaged as part of the modern world nor are they viewed as coexistent within modernity. Examples of unchanging and timelessness are pervasive in Southwestern travel publications regardless of Pueblo people's contribution to work and education sectors.

Another publication that provided updates on the development of the state was *Albuquerque Progress*. Several issues presented photographic reports on the Indians of New Mexico. As an example, one article stated that "New Mexico's colorful Indians, Pueblos, Navajos, Apaches and Utes, rank high on the list of attractions and each year

draw tourists from all parts of the nation to this Land of Enchantment” (1953). Though the various tribes are mentioned, a photograph of what appears to be Taos men were featured on the cover with adobe structures and an *horno* as a cultural backdrop. Descriptions of New Mexico’s tribes are described, but published photographs include mainly Pueblo people situated in villages. The theme of an unchanging landscape and people appeared in several editions of *Albuquerque Progress* and continues to illustrate how Pueblo people still live much as they have for centuries past. In short, Southwest travel narratives are embedded where American Indians are kept and imagined as relics of history. Most of the imagery produced in the travel industry is for the consumption of tourists to see and experience a people and place from another time and place.

Many of the publications promoting economic development and tourism in New Mexico have gone out of business except for *New Mexico Magazine*. Today, *New Mexico Magazine*, with a staff of about 20 along with hundreds of freelance writers, photographers and illustrators, the magazine has grown into a multimillion dollar a year operation. It is estimated that almost half a million readers pick up *New Mexico Magazine* each month. About 70 percent of the total circulation of the magazine goes out of state (Vigil 1992). *New Mexico Magazine* designs and develops the annual official *New Mexico Vacation Guide*, with a circulation of nearly one million copies.

Staged or taken from “real life,” the Pueblo bread baker stock image represents a classical embodiment of the Southwestern imagination (Martinez and Albers 2003). Images of bread bakers reappears much like the early twentieth century photographs as part of the series included in *New Mexico Magazine*’s publication of *Forever New*

Mexico: Heartfelt Images from the Land of Enchantment (2004). The recycling and reissuing of photographs from early twentieth century New Mexico continues to be a popular trend. Pueblo photographs are constantly repackaged and sold to give the illusion of unchanging and frozen in time. The goal of *Forever New Mexico*, like state tourism initiatives, is to present snapshots from a tri-cultural state – Native American, Hispanic and Anglo.⁵ Even though New Mexico is marketed and prides itself as a tri-cultural state, the fact remains that Pueblo, Navajos and Apaches continue to be central to the imaging and imagining that lures travelers to the region. Any state-produced or municipal travel brochure is bound to include a photograph of a Pueblo person in a ceremonial dance or marked ethnic dress. The inside jacket of *Forever New Mexico* reads “Fortunately, the New Mexican lifestyle that *endured relatively unaffected by outside influence for centuries* remained intact long enough for early twentieth century photographers to record many examples of it before inevitable modernization occurred after World War II” (emphasis added). To paint New Mexico as an unaffected culture that is outside modernity and cultural influences is to perpetuate a flawed notion of timelessness.

Kodachrome pictures, more than fifty years ago, still appear, but now they are repackaged with new frames to give the illusion of being present in the time and experience of the tourists who consume them. One photograph titled “*Little Nonnie*,” features a Pawnee child and was first issued in 1960 (Fig. 16).

⁵ For further discussions on triculturalism in New Mexico see Chris Wilson’s (2003) “Ethnic/Sexual Personas in Tricultural New Mexico” in *The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture*, Hal K. Rothman (Ed), University of New Mexico Press, p. 12-37; *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997; Sylvia Rodriguez “Art, Tourism, and Race Relations in Taos: Toward a Sociology of the Art Colony,” *Journal of Anthropological Research* 45, spring 1989.

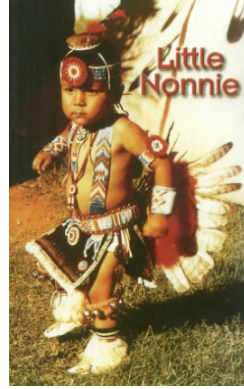


Fig. 16 “Little Nonnie”
By H.S. Crocker Co. Inc., circa 1960
Author’s Collection

The original *Nonnie* was more than likely a photograph by Steve Dodson from Oklahoma City. Dodson’s other postcard images carry the same conventions of this time period that focused on pow wow dancers from Oklahoma. After the 1960 postcard, other distributing companies like Petley Studios and Smith-Southwestern also published the original, unchanged image that was distributed throughout the Southwest. This continues to be one of the best selling postcard images in New Mexico. *Little Nonnie* saturates the travel landscape and is reproduced in travel guides and postcard racks in today’s market unchanged from nearly fifty years ago. The back of the postcard reads “The Thriller ‘Little Nonnie’ Two year old Pawnee-Otoe Indian Dancer, youngest of brave scout performers” (H.S. Crocker Co. Inc, circa 1960). The Pawnee-Otoe are located in Oklahoma, but much of the travel industry seems to blur the lines regarding the correct location of American Indian tribes. Perhaps to the common traveler, *Little Nonnie* could very well be from one of the local pueblos in New Mexico. In several refashioned postcards editions, *Little Nonnie* is sandwiched in a cluster of postcards titled “authentic Indians of the Southwest.” The inside of the series reads “Today, throughout the country,

one can see the American Indian still in his colorful native dress and still living in his native habitation, according to the ways of his ancestors.”⁶ The descriptions of unchanging and still living according to his ancestors continues to dominate the travel discourse. The Indian, much like popular culture in the historical imagination is male (Bird 1996). A colorful image of a young “brave scout” demonstrates the enduring popularity of Indians in postcards. *Little Nonnie* has also been featured in an “Indians of Arizona” postcard series as well as on Santa Fe t-shirts, calendars and coffee mugs.

When modern images no longer offer exotic sights for the grist of the travel industry’s visual mills, vintage pictures feed the mythic icons (Albers n.d). Beginning in the late 1980s, the appearance of early twentieth century photographs on postcards and other travel ephemera became part of a growing trend. Especially popular were photographs taken by Edward S. Curtis that played into the mythical tropes of the Southwest as an enchanted and enduring place. In Santa Fe there are fine art galleries that feature the original works of Edward S. Curtis. Almost every gallery and souvenir shop in New Mexico also reprint Curtis’ postcards. These are black and white images of village scenes, potters, bread bakers and an abundant selection of ceremonial dances. If tourists are not allowed to photograph a village or dance scene, they can easily purchase what may be perceived as a close replica of the original dance.

Moreover in the 1980s and 1990s, many travel photographers in the Southwest began to represent the region’s ethnicity more through its physical sites and objects than its people (Martinez and Albers 2003). Taos Pueblo, now a World Heritage Site, remains

⁶ Cited from *Authentic Indians of the Southwest, New 13 Full Color Views*, Published by Petley Studios, Phoenix Arizona 85008 and Petley Studios, Albuquerque, NM 87110, date unknown (circa 1990s).

one of the most popular sites in New Mexico, but while the architectural features of this pueblo are widely photographed, the number of pictures that include the residents of this village has declined dramatically (Fig. 17).

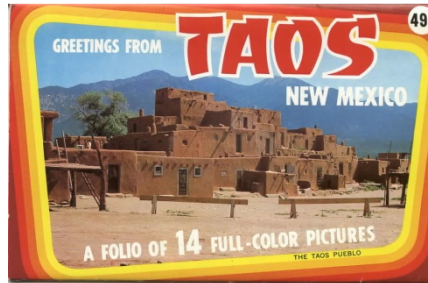


Fig. 17 "Greetings from Taos"
Published and distributed by Petley Studios, Circa 1990
Albuquerque, New Mexico
Author's Collection

Travel photographers have focused their sights on aesthetic displays of rugs, baskets, pottery, and jewelry instead of the artists behind their production. Even though the artisans are absent, their arts and crafts are still singled out at the travel industry's altar of curios and relics and illustrated as such (Martinez and Albers 2003). What remains constant in travel imagery are Pueblo children who are tied to their identity and ethnic markings. The images of Pueblo people that do appear on postcards continue to be images from previous decades. And, most notably are black and white Edward S. Curtis photographs as well as T. Harmon Parkhurst images featuring Pueblo and Navajo people in classic romantic poses.

In New Mexico, and throughout the Southwest, there are countless shops, galleries and hotels with names like "Kachina Lodge" and "On the War Path." A "Casa de Koshare" bed and breakfast located in Corrales, near Albuquerque, took its name

“from the medicine men of the Pueblo Indians” (Casa de Koshare 2007). The advertisement states that the “Koshare are said to be the Tradition Keepers and the Delight Makers of the tribe.” Casa de Koshare recommends further reading Tony Hillerman’s novel *Sacred Clowns* (1993) to learn more about Koshares. Tony Hillerman is perhaps one of the most recognized writers of the Southwest. Much like his previous novels, *Sacred Clowns* (1993) attempts to solve a murder mystery. The plot is situated during a kachina ceremony where Hillerman describes the scene of a dancing Koshare filling the air with “tension.” Moments later, the clown is found bludgeoned to death in the same manner a reservation schoolteacher was killed only days before. Officers Jim Chee and Lieutenant Joe Leaphorn believe that answers lie in the sacred clown’s final cryptic message to the Tano people. But to decipher it, the two Navajo policemen may have to delve into closely guarded tribal secrets. This is typical of Hillerman’s writings that have a continuous theme of mysticism and sensationalized themes.⁷ The Hillerman plug on behalf of the Casa de Koshare is situated against a backdrop of travelers to New Mexico who are faced with a variety of vacation choices. Visitors can stay at a Bed and Breakfast nestled among colorful landscapes, partake in Santa Fe style sweat lodges, or as a catchy slogan states “Ruin Your Weekend” for a hike up to Bandelier National Monument. In New Mexico’s continuance of luring travel activities it makes sense for visitors to have an opportunity to ride in a Koshare hot air balloon (Fig. 18) as one way to see New Mexico in a fun and entertaining manner.

⁷ For critical reviews of Tony Hillerman see “Cutting Both Ways: Race, Prejudice, and Motive in Tony Hillerman’s Detective Fiction” by Jane S. Bakerman in *MELUS*, Vol. 11, No. 3, Ethnic Images in Popular Genres and Media (Autumn, 1984), pp. 17-25 and Victor Masayesva’s *Imagining Indians* (1992).



Fig. 18 “Koshare Gallup”
By Peter Procopio, William E. Lee, Thomas E. Robinson
Courtesy of the Albuquerque Balloon Fiesta, 2004

Central to the tourism experience are exploration, adventure and excitement. New Mexico’s travel industry has diversified over the years as evident in an increase of outdoor recreational activities such as hiking and ballooning, packaged cultural tours, golfing and resorts. Whether it is shopping in downtown Santa Fe or at one of the local village shops, a major part of remembering a tourist experience is purchasing postcards. Photography becomes a visual way to record memory and experience (Sontag 1977). Pueblo people remain, albeit tangentially, a part of the tourist experience for those who travel to New Mexico to visit a place entrenched in history and colorful landscapes.

CONCLUSION

Today, Pueblo people are increasingly less likely to be present in the photographs that picture their villages. Taos Pueblo and Acoma Pueblo are examples of places that continue to be some of the most popular photographed and painted sites in New Mexico. Regardless, while the architectural features of these pueblos are widely photographed, the number of residents pictured in these villages has declined dramatically. Some villages, like Santo Domingo, Zia Pueblo and San Ildefonso have become entirely off-limits to outside photographers. The historical legacy of having the will to know and document

people is manifested in a few photographers who took aerial views of the Santo Domingo during a summer Corn Dance in the 1960s. These photographs were published as postcards. Today, an entire sequence of aerial photographs of the pueblos in New Mexico has been issued, including the communities who still prohibit commercial photography in their villages. Notwithstanding their own policies to control “on the ground” activities, the Pueblos of New Mexico are still subject to unwanted surveillance from the eye of the region’s travel media. This battle is still being debated today as commercial jet services are looking to be routed over the tribal boundaries of Santo Domingo Pueblo en route to Santa Fe.⁸

Charles Loomis (1890) once stated, “New Mexico, like the dearest of women, cannot be adequately photographed. One can reproduce the features, but not the expression – the landmarks, but not the wondrous light which is to the bare Southwest and the soul that glorifies the plain face”(83). Stated more than a hundred years ago, Loomis’ remark resonates today insofar as one cannot effectively photograph people and places. The camera is limited in scope and time related. However, what often occurs is that travel photography chooses to privilege certain images and peoples. Since the initial marketing of Territorial New Mexico into statehood by travel writers, entrepreneurs and state agencies, New Mexico’s Pueblo people have been solidified in time. Postcards, guidebooks and photography in much of New Mexico’s modern travel industry have

⁸ A recent *Santa Fe New Mexican* article “Pueblo’s concerns snag S.F. flights” stated that “Santo Domingo tribal officials apparently are displeased that flights to and from Los Angeles, proposed by American Eagle and Delta, could result in noise and passengers taking photos as they fly over the pueblo southwest of Santa Fe,” said Jim Montman, Santa Fe Municipal Airport manager. The flight patterns to Los Angeles are directly over their property. Not only is the concern noise pollution and possible photography opportunity, but the people of Santo Domingo wish to have a sense of respect for their tribal boundaries above ground. See Bob Quick in the *Santa Fe The New Mexican* (February 26, 2008).

become sealed by its own mythical productions. Under the enduring spell of an *enchanted* and *exotic* Southwest, the travel industry is embedded in a semiotic of attraction (MacCannell 1976). MacCannell (1976) argues that travelers do not in any empirical sense “see.” More importantly it is their experience of “seeing” Pueblo dances and visits to places like Taos Pueblo that authenticate a meaningful travel experience. The experience of being in another time and place, like New Mexico, authenticates what travelers wish to photograph, paint and purchase. Since the 1904 St. Louis World’s Fair when Pueblo people performed and danced at the Cliff Dwelling exhibit, photography became an opportunity to experience a sense of how people lived and dressed. Seeing how “real Indians” lived and dress in World’s Fairs and at Manitou sealed imaginations of Pueblo life and experience. Images of ceremonial dress and dwellings endured throughout the twentieth century as travel entrepreneurs capitalized on selective imagery. Pueblo people have been the subjects of scores of travel photographs, literature, brochures, and guidebooks since the late 1800s. The travel industry has a history of “cultural primitivism” (Dilworth 1996) and continues to reinvent and recycle vintage photographs. It is the “Indian” who becomes a conduit for lasting implications and “seeing” Pueblo people.

Albers and James (1983) argue that “Many snapshots made by tourists complete a hermeneutic circle, which begins with the photographic appearances that advertise and anticipate a trip, moves on to a search for these pictures in the experience of travel itself, and ends up with travelers certifying and sealing the very same images in their own photographic productions” (136). It is this hermeneutic circle, the sense of being trapped

by enchantment, so to speak, that would be challenged with Pueblo organized Ceremonials and Pueblo produced guidebooks in the late 1980s. The enduring tropes of dancers become conventionalized and taken for granted as a real part of Pueblo life. The false consciousness exposed by Ceremonial photographers, travel promoters and state agencies is that New Mexico was ever pristine, timeless and enchanting. The falsity exposed by later Pueblo produced narratives seeks to reflect multiple dimensions of Pueblo life.

In summary, the years between 1940 and 1960 represented a transitional time when the subjects and styles of image-making gave way to the sorts of enduring representations that would dominate in later decades. But even though cultural and political changes were taking place in New Mexico, the endurance of dancing and dancers marked in an ethnic context persisted and became even more firmly established decades later. The image of New Mexico and the greater Southwest as a grand Ceremonial, laughing Koshares and bread bakers remained as the basis for regional travel marketing. Under the notion of being trapped by enchantment, the enduring and continuation of Pueblo imagery is re-invented, recycled and marketed in new fashions to promote the Land of Enchantment. The problem the travel industry now faces is that it no longer occupies a position where it can control and manipulate the images behind its productions as it did in the past. Against this historical backdrop, the Pueblos of New Mexico now have a voice and the means to challenge the myths and perceptions the travel industry uses to represent them. To illustrate these notions and practices the subsequent chapters will discuss northern Pueblo produced travel narratives.

CHAPTER 4

SHOOTING BACK: PUEBLO PRODUCED TRAVEL NARRATIVES

INTRODUCTION

The title “Shooting Back” is inspired from Shooting Back Inc., which is an initiative designed to empower American Indian youth to photograph and write about their own world and experiences. As David Schonauer (1994) articulates, “To be able to show others the world as you see it – that’s an astounding power too easily taken for granted.”¹ With the beginnings of Pueblo produced travel initiatives in the late twentieth century, New Mexico’s northern Pueblo people have begun to exert agency and power to the traveling public in ways that depart from conventional narratives. Agency in the context of this work represents the capacity of tribes to define and fashion their actions within local tourism industries. The exertion of agency is a conscious choice for Pueblo people who organize their own Ceremonials and produce travel publications in ways that define and promote aspects of select Pueblo identity to the traveling public. Over the last century, travel narratives describing Pueblo people have been largely written and painted through non-Indian perspectives. For New Mexico’s indigenous communities, it has been nearly impossible to escape practices and forces of outside tourists and their travel vendors. In recent decades, however, Pueblo communities (through their own operated travel enterprises) are becoming more fully engaged in tourism and marketing.

Three thematic case studies in this chapter are presented that discuss Pueblo produced travel guidebooks and the ways they represent Pueblo peoples and their

¹ Quote taken from jacket insert in J. Hubbard (1994). *Shooting Back from the Reservation: A Photographic View of Life by Native American Youth*. New York: The New Press.

communities to the traveling public. Pueblo produced tourist brochures and guidebooks are intended to sell a positive and attractive destination to travelers; what is not as clear are the hidden messages conveyed by the selection of certain pictures in brochures and guidebooks produced. The case studies in this chapter draw upon the first Pueblo produced publication, the *Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Visitors' Guide*, which started in 1988.²

By coding photographs in Pueblo produced guides, this chapter discusses how Pueblo people are departing from many of the conventionalized images and tropes discussed in previous chapters. The Pueblos of New Mexico are positioned on fertile ground to cultivate new tourism practices and narratives. Visual themes discussed focus on the styles and practices that demonstrate Pueblo sensibilities. Pueblo people are confronted with questions concerning the kinds of understandings that are appropriate for public consumption versus what is not published in travel guidebooks and brochures. These are guiding principles woven together in the chapter. However, before looking at these themes, some of the events leading up to the production of a Pueblo guidebook need to be outlined.

PUEBLO ORGANIZED CEREMONIALS, ARTS & CRAFTS & INDIAN GAMING, 1957-1988

² In 2002 my first exploratory research was conducted while on a Graduate Research Partnership Grant with Dr. Patricia Albers. The grant provided funding to return to New Mexico to review back issues of the *Eight Northern Visitors' Guide* since 1988. In addition to back issues, I found several boxes of photographs not published in the *Guide* as well as scope of work projects that informed my research. At the time Jesse Davila, *Visitors' Guide* Coordinator, was extremely helpful by providing access to issues of the *Guide* as well as former Coordinator Theresa True who gave insights on the organization of the *Guide*. A co-authored conference paper with Patricia Albers titled, "Imaging and Imagining Pueblo People in Northern New Mexico Tourism" was presented at the Tourism and Photography conference held at Sheffield Hallam University in the summer of 2003. The core of Chapter 4 – "Shooting Back" - is based on further research from this initial conference paper.

Although Pueblo people participated in high numbers at Anglo-organized events and ceremonials including the Gallup Inter-Tribal Ceremonial, the annual State Fair in Albuquerque and The Santa Fe Indian Market, it was not until 1957 that the first Pueblo organized Ceremonial took place at Santa Clara Pueblo. Jill Sweet (1981; 1985) argues that Anglo-organized Ceremonials, Tewa-organized Ceremonials, and Pueblo village ceremonies differ in several respects. In her ethnography research, Sweet (1981) suggests that “Tewa village events are of the ritual mode of communication, Anglo-organized Ceremonials are of the theatrical mode of communication, and Tewa-organized Ceremonials share aspects of both” (4). Former Santa Clara Governor John Chavarria imagined a day when his people might dance among the ancient Puye Cliffs (Sweet 1985). Chavarria became a major promoter of what became known as the Puye Cliff Ceremonial. Ten miles west of Santa Clara Pueblo located near the boundaries of Los Alamos, Puye Cliffs is thought to be one of the origins of the Tewa people. Various artifacts and cliff dwellings are located within a two mile stretch of the canyon area. Up until 2000, when a major forest fire occurred, part of this area was a popular recreational site for camping, fishing and hiking. The initial Puye Ceremonials included only Santa Clara dancers. As the Ceremonial developed into a popular event in the 1960s, surrounding pueblos were invited to dance and participate. At about the same time northern Tewa people were dancing during the summer months at Bandelier National

Monument. Many of the surrounding Tewa dance groups would frequent the same organized Ceremonials as well as participate in their own specific Pueblo village rituals.³

It was the Puye Ceremonial that set a different tone in the development of Pueblo produced events. According to Jill Sweet (1985), Santa Clara people were quick to point out that they tried to minimize the non-Indian aspects of their ceremonials. She finds that “There were no competitions or awards, no sports events, no marching bands or parades, and no queen contests. Replacing the American flag was a banner of Pueblo design” (Sweet 1985; 50). From a Tewa perspective, this made sense insofar as Puye Cliffs was viewed as an extension of modern day village dances. The ceremonial dances, whether at Puye Cliffs or in the main plaza area, were carried out with much of the same respect and dedication. Practice for the dances, such as learning the words and verses in songs or making dance regalia, often took weeks of preparation. Holding dances at Puye Cliffs, Bandelier or Pecos Monument was always considered an honor for Pueblos because they were dancing at ancestral sites. The ancient dwellings and now “abandoned” ceremonial kivas had always been in use, regardless of some non-continuous Pueblo occupation. It is known that certain tribes and clan groups travel to these and other sites on public land to gather medicine and evergreens for ceremonial activities. At Puye, like other sacred mountains, each peak cradles a lake where the Cloud Beings dwell. According to Peter Garcia Sr. “these mountains constitute sacred sources of precious moisture, evidenced by

³ In conversations with Tewa religious leader Peter Garcia, Jr. from Ohkay Owingeh he mentioned several examples of when his father took him and his brothers to dance at Bandelier National Monument during the 1960s and 1970s. Peter Garcia Sr. was an active member of the *Sawipingeh* - a group of singers and drummers who supervise Tewa dances. Garcia was often known as “the Singer” who was active in cultural revival movements since the 1950s and recorded with such labels as Indian House among many other labels. See Huang’s (2004) “San Juan Pueblo” in *Voices from Four Directions* by Brian Swann (Ed.), Pp. 327-339. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

more rainfall at higher elevations, by trees felled by lightning, and by an almost perpetual presence of clouds overhead, which are taken as signs of the presence of ancestral spirits” (Huang 2004, 335).

Acknowledging their relations and reverence for place, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the Tewa people invited other tribes and non-Indians to attend and dance at their place. Dancing at ancestral sites from a Tewa perspective is a logical fit since many of their songs name the directions and places in and around Puye Cliffs. In addition to holding Buffalo, Corn and Deer Dances at the Ceremonial, local New Mexico food was served and some arts and crafts were sold. Dancing was the major activity, however, with business interests and development at Puye taking a back seat. Santa Clara Pueblo people were mainly the ones who organized and promoted the Puye Ceremonial. Since this was a Ceremonial with a social element, photography at Puye was permitted. State agencies, like *New Mexico Magazine*, selectively promoted the Ceremonial; for the most part advertisements of the Ceremonial were mainly published in local newspapers, flyers and brochures.

The Puye Cliffs Ceremonial has not been held since 1981 when lightning struck and killed two Indian women during a dance. Puye is a cultural and religious site in which many Tewa travel to pray and collect medicine. Having a “ceremonial,” as some Tewa elders interpreted it, was a warning that the events should no longer be held at Puye Cliffs. As if the lightning incident was not tragic enough, the Santa Clara Puye Cliff site was part of the largest wildfire in New Mexico history. Known as the Cerro Grande Fire it started on May 5, 2000, and burned an estimated 70 square miles, including some

dwellings at the Cliffs. Four hundred people were left homeless in nearby Los Alamos. The site is now permanently closed to the public.

In addition to the Puye Cliffs Ceremonial, Nambe Pueblo also began organizing a parallel event in 1961 over the Fourth of July holiday weekend. The Ceremonial was held at Nambe Falls, about 4 miles west of the village area. Here, people could walk up to the waterfalls, picnic in the area and fish along the stream. Although an important economic and cultural site, the Nambe Falls Ceremonial was not photographed to the extent of the Puye Cliffs Ceremonial. In contrast to the Puye Cliff Ceremonials, which was the subject of a mural and a number of postcards, photographs from the Nambe Ceremonial are almost nonexistent. Photographs from Puye Cliffs appear in greater numbers in other media too, including state publications and select brochures. The Fourth of July weekend became a busy time for many families and attendance at Nambe Falls reflected this. Initially, the Nambe Falls Ceremonial was organized as a fundraiser for the Nambe church (Yates 1999). Later, priorities and time constraints among the leadership and staff who organized the event ebbed and participation declined.



Fig. 19 “Nambe Yellow Corn Dance, Puye Ceremonial”
Postcard courtesy of Marguerite Gregory © California Academy of Sciences 1965

Common in Puye Ceremonial photographs and postcards where images of colorful sky backgrounds, ancient cliffs and dwellings (Fig 19). Non-Indian postcards and brochures from the Puye Ceremonial almost always included the scenery of cliff dwellings along with Pueblo dancers. Even though a Pueblo controlled Ceremonial, photography and postcards circulated from the Puye Cliffs Ceremonial were not Pueblo produced. Often tribal officials or organizers sold photo permits to visitors attending. Visitors at the Puye Cliffs Ceremonials mainly included local community members and local New Mexico visitors. It is not clear how many out of state travelers made the annual trek up to the northern pueblos to visit either the Nambe Ceremonial or Puye Ceremonial. Other tribally operated Ceremonials and events at the time included the annual Taos Powwow held in July and the Santo Domingo Arts & Crafts Fair held during Labor Day weekend. Photographs produced from these events remain slim and most appeared locally in newspaper advertisements and brochures without any large scale or state distribution.

Among the northern Pueblo villages, many political and cultural accomplishments were unfolding that coincided with the Pueblo controlled travel initiatives. After 64 years of protest, appeal and lobbying of the federal government by Taos leaders and their supporters, Taos Pueblo regained ownership of its sacred Blue Lake in 1970.⁴ The Blue Lake case set a precedent for sacred land disputes. This was the first time in the history of U.S.-Indian relations that a claim for land, based on the practice of aboriginal religion,

⁴ It should also be noted that in 1978 the Supreme Court ruled in favor of tribal sovereignty in *Santa Clara Pueblo v. Martinez* that Indian tribes enjoyed immunity from suits and that the Supreme Court lacked jurisdiction over the tribe (436 US 49 (1978)). This was another political and cultural battle won in Pueblo Country that had lasting implications for decades to follow.

successfully ended in the restoration of that land to an Indian reservation. When the U.S. took over the entire region in 1848, assuming sovereignty under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Anglo-American settlers soon began to filter into the area and settle on the traditional Taos lands. Blue Lake was the primary water supply source of the pueblo and consequently was of great importance to the area's agricultural survival. Repeatedly, Taos leaders made known their claims to portions of the land as non-Indian encroachment increased. It took a long campaign of congressional legislation, and ultimately an executive decision by President Richard Nixon, to restore Blue Lake. In their testimony Taos leaders insisted on religious freedom and justice (Sando 1992). By returning the land to its rightful owners, permanent protection of this sacred place was ensured for the Taos Pueblo. Today, Taos people can now make their annual spiritual pilgrimage to Blue Lake without having to obtain clearance. Previously, Taos leaders had to obtain permission from the National Forest Service even though in 64 years permission was never denied.⁵

Contrary to popular beliefs about the survivance and florescence of Pueblo dances and rituals, not all pueblos had thriving ceremonial activities. In 1973, for the first time in one hundred years, Pojoaque Pueblo⁶ carried out their Comanche and Spear dances in honor of their patron saint, Our Lady of Guadalupe. As a result of their turbulent history

⁵ For more background on Taos and Blue Lake see R.C. Gordon-McCutchan (1991) *The Taos Indians and the Battle for Blue Lake*. Santa Fe: Red Crane Books; J.J. Bodine (1973) "Blue Lake: A Struggle for Indian Rights" in *American Indian Law Review* Vol. I, No 1, p 23-32, Winter; R.S. Michealsen's (1983) "We Also Have a Religion": The Free Exercise of Religion among Native Americans in *American Indian Quarterly*, p 111-142.

⁶ Pojoaque Pueblo is one of the six Tewa speaking villages in the northern Rio Grande Valley. In Tewa *P'osuwageh Owingeh* translates as "the place of the drinking hole," which was known as a common rest stop for Pueblo people who historically traveled along the Rio Grande. For Tewa translations see Esther Martinez (1982) *San Juan Pueblo Tewa Dictionary*.

confronting a major smallpox epidemic, lack of water, and the encroachment of non-Indians, many Pojoaque people were forced to relocate in the late 1800s (Guyette 1996; Sando 1992). Pojoaque people relocated to surrounding pueblos but some moved to live and work in southern Colorado. It was not until 1934 that Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier issued a call for Pojoaque people to return to their homeland under the Indian Reorganization Act. This was a milestone for Pueblo cultural and community revitalization which proved, however, to be a slow process. The Pojoaque Pueblo had to build up their membership and recreate their cultural practices. In 1989, the Tribal Council passed a resolution to initiate programs which included archival research, Tewa language instruction and greater participation in ceremonial dances (Guyette 1996). Since 1989, Pojoaque residents have made valiant efforts to regain their lost traditions. In the process, they have continuously utilized assistance from other Pueblo villages to initiate the return of their participation in kiva-related activities. One of the early cultural instructors and Tewa Ambassadors to Pojoaque Pueblo was Peter Garcia Sr. from Ohkay Owingeh. He is often photographed while drumming and singing at Pojoaque Pueblo during some of their initial feast day activities.

Despite the success of Pueblo organized Ceremonials, both these ceremonials along with non-Indian varieties became rarer in the 1980s. According to Jill Sweet (1985), arts and crafts gained greater popularity than dancing as venues for tourists. The most successful Pueblo organized arts and crafts event to date is the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Artists and Craftsman Show. This was the first Pueblo owned and operated event of its kind. It has been held annually since 1973 at one of the eight

northern pueblos. There are usually approximately 300 artists from surrounding pueblos and an estimated ten to twelve thousand visitors come to the show every year. The artists are primarily from New Mexico but since 2000 artists started to travel from throughout the United States to participate in this annual event. Before the late 1980s, similar to Pueblo operated Ceremonials, advertising for the event was local in scope and produced in small scale brochures, pamphlets and newsletters. There was only a small advertising budget, and each of the northern pueblos took turns hosting the event. Accommodations, logistics and advertising were often dependent upon the host pueblo. It was not until 1988 that a full-page colored guide was produced to attract visitors to the show, and not coincidentally, this was the same year the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act was passed. This Act enabled the development of the highly successful and profitable gaming and recreational adventures of the northern Pueblos and in turn provided revenue for the production and distribution of travel guides and brochures for the traveling public.

THE EIGHT NORTHERN INDIAN PUEBLOS VISITORS' GUIDE, 1988-2008

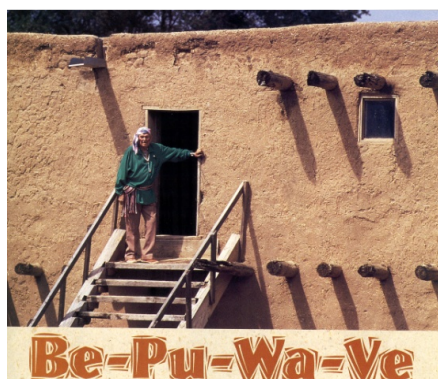


Fig. 20 "Welcome"
Photo courtesy of the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council, Inc.
Eight Northern Visitors' Guide, 1988

The alignment of Tewa Ceremonials, arts and crafts events and Indian gaming in New Mexico produced the necessary steps for the publication of a Pueblo owned and operated tourism guide. The *Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Visitors' Guide* started primarily as a venue to promote and welcome economic development. From the onset imagery and textual descriptions promoted an inherent tone of welcoming visitors (Fig. 20). Pueblo organized tourist events fell in line with much of the state's interests in the pursuit of the economic welfare of community while maintaining a sense of cultural uniqueness. For example, in the City of Santa Fe business development enterprises are encouraged but continue to remain highly regulated by city government with regard to the color and style of buildings due to a 1957 ordinance. Business enterprises and tourism agencies are mainly interested in commercial viability, while Pueblo communities have always struggled to connect economic development consistent with cultural and religious belief systems. Although historically active participants in the tourism industry as dance performers and pottery makers, Pueblo people had little control with how and when photographs were taken, contextualized or marketed.

What is appropriate for public consumption versus what is off limits in travel brochures and guidebooks are embedded in Pueblo produced tourism initiatives. Photographing, publishing and marketing Pueblo people and communities by Pueblo people demonstrate an act of cultural sovereignty (Coffey and Tsosie 2001). The notion of cultural sovereignty, as understood by Coffey and Tsosie, encompasses the ability of tribes to define their own histories and identities, which in part counter the stereotypes

and imagery of the dominant society. As Coffey and Tsosie (2001) define it, cultural sovereignty is “the effort of Indian nations and Indian people to exercise their own norms and values in structuring their collective futures” (191). Moreover, Wilkins (1997) posits that sovereignty carries a “political/legal dimension” and a “cultural/spiritual dimension.” This notion clarifies the literature on tribal sovereignty to a more nuanced discussion to incorporate interpretations on images and values beyond tribal sovereignty being rooted in a concept that recognizes tribes’ inherent rights as independent nations.

Sovereignty informs the primary legal and political foundations of federal Indian law and policy (Light and Rand 2005; Wilkins 2002). However, according to Wilkins (2001), there is a “bewildering array of interpretations” of the nature and extent of tribal sovereignty. The act of cultural and material production is not based in a legal sense per se, but photographing, representing and producing tribal narratives in an industry embedded in non-Indian agendas and themes is to confront colonial discourses. In other words, exerting a narrative of Pueblo produced travel imagery is a step toward decolonizing outside perspectives and methodologies. According to Linda Tuhiwai Smith, “representation of indigenous peoples by indigenous peoples is about countering the dominant society’s image of indigenous peoples, their lifestyles and belief systems” (151). Furthermore, Smith argues that research is embedded in a history of imperialism and colonialism, in which Indigenous peoples have been displaced – geographically, culturally, temporally - and continue to live in a colonial state under “post-colonialism.”⁷

⁷ Post-colonial discussions have stirred some indigenous resistance with regard to the idea that colonialism is over. Smith quoted Aborigine activist Bobbi Sykes asking at an academic conference “What? Post-colonialism? Have they left?” see *Decolonizing Methodologies*, p. 24. Also, Elizabeth Cook-Lynn has been vocal about critiquing approaches and methodologies. See “Who Stole Native American

In this project's discussion, the colonial state in Pueblo Country is manifested in exotic travel logs in which communities get continuously framed as timeless and powerless.

Because of how the northern Pueblos are geographically situated between Santa Fe and Taos, they are conducive to a sort of cultural highway that travelers can easily visit within a relatively short radius. One can drive along Highway 84 north of Santa Fe and easily exit to visit one of the northern pueblos. In comparison with the southern pueblos, for which traveling requires several miles off Interstate 25 to arrive at one of the pueblos. And, there is more distance to travel between each of the southern villages. This was perhaps one reason the Harvey Detour Company became popular in the late 1920s and 1930s because multiple day stops could easily be accommodated in northern New Mexico. With the development of Santa Fe from "a way of life to a style" (Hammet, Hammet, Scholz 2006) the northern pueblos became more actively involved in the economic boom of the art markets. This required traveling to Santa Fe to work at the plaza or in the booming service and construction industry in the 1970s and 1980s.

Since 1988 the northern Pueblo people have had considerably more power to define the terms of their relationship to the traveling public. The passage of the 1988 Indian Gaming Regulatory Act offered the Pueblos an opportunity to participate in the gaming and travel market on their own terms and with no outside competition. From its inception, the *Guide* was intended not only to advertise the tribally-owned casinos and resorts, but also to educate the public about Pueblo culture and history. According to the

Studies?" *Wicazo Sa Review*, Vol. 12, No 1 (Spring, 1997), pp. 9-28. In addition, Robert Warrior's *Tribal Secrets: Recovering American Indian Intellectual Traditions* (1994) is useful for understanding indigenous conceptual models and analytical categories.

Visitors' Guide Business Plan (Legacy Media, Inc 2004), the mission of the *Guide* is the following:

- To produce a guide whose purpose ranges from a promotion-driven vacation guide to one used by tribal members as an information piece.
- To promote tourism to the Pueblos in a manner consistent with Pueblo values and etiquette.
- Profit oriented.
- Public education.

The above mission statements convey, on the one hand, a unique agenda that aims to connect promotional driven efforts with Pueblo values and etiquette, while, on the other hand, guidebooks and brochures that are intended to induce travelers to choose the pueblos as a travel destination. It is through this tension of navigating ideals between promoting entrepreneurship through tourism and remaining true to Pueblo values that photography in the *Guide* is considered. In a sense, through opening meanings in text and highlighting interpretation, the *Visitors' Guide* allows a reading that reveals a tourism promotional practice that is consistent with Pueblo values. Further, that the *Guide* serves as a way to promote the business spirit of Pueblo people.

The popularity of the *Visitors' Guide* has made it a northern New Mexico tradition and icon of recognition. This is in part due to it being the only publication of its kind produced by and for the northern Pueblos. This publication is distributed free of charge to the public. By request and with a nominal handling fee, the *Visitors' Guide* is mailed out nationally and internationally. For these reasons the *Guide* is a major educational and marketing tool that has become a vital part of promoting tourism among the Eight Northern Pueblos and the state of New Mexico. According to the Scope of Work the *Guide* is intended

to introduce and welcome the visitor to our communities and educate them about our long history of cultural integrity and preservation. With the assistance of the Guide, tourists take with them a realistic view of Native Americans as contemporary people as guardians of a long tradition. The Guide entices tourists to visit the pueblos and assists in improving economic development within these communities (BigBee 2002).

Incorporated as a nonprofit consortium of the tribal governments in 1962, the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council, Inc. (ENIPC, Inc.) is comprised of the eight northern pueblos located between Santa Fe and Taos.⁸ Its mission then, as it is now, is to “promote and facilitate improvement of educational opportunities, health care, economic development, housing conditions, and the environment for the approximate 10,000 Tribal Members of these Pueblos” (ENIPC, Inc. 2007). Under the direction of the ENIPC executive director, a managing editor is contracted. Each of the northern pueblo Governors appoints a tribal liaison who works on the governor’s behalf within their respective community to gather information and coordinate the editorial and pictorial efforts of the managing editor. The publication is completely controlled and supervised through the *Visitors’ Guide* committee. Most of these committee members either live in the pueblos and/or work for their tribal governments. Along with staff hired or contracted to produce certain articles and photos, a committee organizes the general layout of the text and its accompanying visual imagery. The *Visitors’ Guide* is then submitted to the governors for their final approval before the end of the year.

The editorial illustration, design, printing and distribution are contracted to private businesses. Annually, with available funding, the ENIPC publishes 150,000 copies for

⁸ Nambe, Picuris, Pojoaque, San Ildefonso, Ohkay Owingeh, Santa Clara, Taos and Tesuque. See Appendix C.

which the demand surpasses the supply. The *Visitors' Guide* is distributed to approximately four hundred outlets such as annual advertisers, major hotels, restaurants and retailers. The *Visitors' Guide* is also provided free of cost to travel carriers and terminals, travel agencies, New Mexico State Visitor's Centers, chambers of commerce, private and public state museums, parks, monuments, the New Mexico Film Office, vacation spots, all nineteen pueblo entities as well as casinos and resorts (BigBee 2002).

Through its circulation, the *Guide* serves as a major alternative source of information on the northern pueblos and their people. The *Guide* lays out the proper conduct for outsiders visiting the villages and taking in the public ceremonies, including camera usage. It also contains essays written by members of the eight northern Pueblos. These include descriptions of each pueblo's landscape, its history, political traditions, ceremonial life, artistic contributions, and economic aspirations. Every *Guide* is liberally illustrated with photographs, and most of the contemporary photos represent the work of photographers who also come from one or more of the eight northern pueblos.

Ruth Benedict (1934) once stated that no other people in North America spend more time in dance than the Southwest Pueblos. With the abundance of tourist brochures and postcards featuring Pueblo people it is easy to see how this may be perceived as truth. The *Eight Northern Visitors' Guide* is no different. Hundreds of different photographs have appeared in the *Guides* over the past twenty years. Many of them follow the same visual conventions in other contemporary travel publications (Gattuso 1991; Gibson 2001; Cheek and Fuss 1993; King and Greene 2002). At first glance, it would appear that the northern Pueblos are perpetuating the popular images that have

represented them for so long in the mainstream travel industry. But, upon closer inspection, it becomes clear that the picture is illustrative of a more rounded context of community histories (Martinez and Albers 2003).

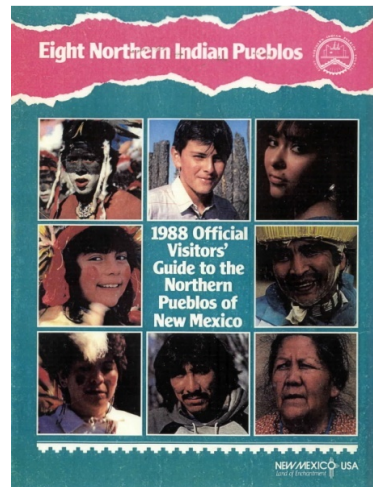


Fig. 21 Eight Northern Visitors' Guide, 1988
Photo courtesy of the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council, Inc.

The above image is the first cover of the thirty-two page *Visitors' Guide* (Fig. 21). From its inception, the *Guide's* cover photograph set the tone for the types of images and information conveyed to the traveling public. There are eight snapshot photographs of Pueblo members in various poses, ceremonial dress and two youth above who are not wearing any sign or attachments to ceremonial regalia. With the exception of two covers which featured artwork (1989; 1990) almost every edition features Pueblo people in a ceremonial context (Fig. 22). As one of the key missions is a promotion driven guide, the northern Pueblos recognize the importance and use of colorful images when attracting tourism business. Several researchers have analyzed texts consumed by tourists and the impact those have had on tourist experiences (Albers and James 1998; Pritchard and Morgan 1996; Urry 1990). For example, by describing how tourists are trying to live up

to in their travels, Urry (1990) comments that places are chosen to be gazed upon because there is anticipation . . . of intense pleasures (3). Furthermore, Albers and James (1988) outlined a methodology for how photographs can be used to investigate tourist practice as well as stereotypes born through recurring themes in travel photography. They state “Tourism adopts, shapes, and distorts popular ethnic imagery to its own ends. It does so, however, in a way that is consistent with some broader historical understanding, even if this is ultimately false” (Albers and James 1988, 143). From the onset, the *Visitors’ Guide* was positioned and written in a way that interrogated tourism distortions of ethnic imagery. The dominant images of ceremonial dances may be easily taken out of context as entertainment but in the *Guide* the context is outlined in a way that situates Pueblos in a modern context. Part of the context is educating visitors about the various ceremonial events and the protocol when visiting the pueblos.

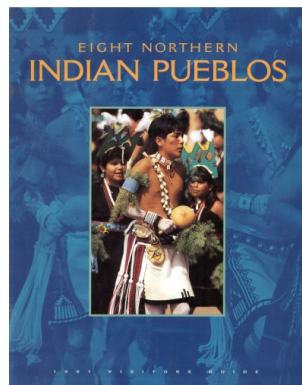


Fig. 22 Eight Northern Visitors’ Guide, 1997
Photo courtesy of the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council, Inc.
According to Susan Guyette (1996) “a mutually beneficial (and comfortable)

relationship will exist with tourism if the ‘do’s and don’ts for each tribe are written and made accessible to visitors. The majority of visitors desire to be respectful of tribal land and would welcome some guidelines” (192). As an educational tool, every edition of the

Guide is adamant about the rules and regulations when visiting the pueblos. Although varied in style, the articles convey that “outsiders must, however, show their respect by watching in silence. It is not proper to talk to the dancers before they enter the plaza or applaud when the dance is over because these dances are not performances” (ENIPC 1989; 8). In another edition, Barbara Gonzales (1992) writes an article titled “Through a Dancer’s Eyes” that personally describes her observations of proper tourist behavior. During her dance she narrates that “there is supposed to be no picture taking allowed today. My guess is that they [tourists] didn’t see the sign. It is a sacred Buffalo Dance. Now the se-va-ho [tourists] will have his film and camera taken away. The dance guardians will take care of the matter” (11). She continues to talk about smell of chili stews, oven bread and pies in the air. Upon entering the kiva, Barbara hears the men [War Captains] saying something about “some children who had to be escorted back to their folks when they were caught climbing on old houses. I’m glad no one was hurt. Some of our old houses were once ceremonial buildings, now left for nature to demolish. And, like our mesas, shrines, hills, they are all spiritual pathways for our beliefs. The men conclude by saying ‘Guess we have to put more signs up’”(11) (Fig. 23).

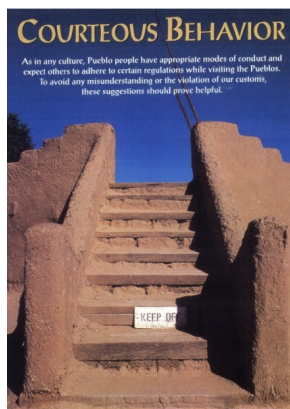


Fig. 23 “Courteous Behavior”⁹
Photo courtesy of the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council, Inc.

In an interview with Harold Torres, a San Ildefonso staff member who works at the tribe’s visitor center, he mentioned that “it has been about the last five years that the tribe has not allowed photography during dances. No photographing of any kind. This just got out of hand. People were taking pictures without permission and it is too much of an interruption . . . It’s [dances] a religious purpose, just like the church is what we often tell people. Our dances are prayers. Our priest here in the village does not allow photographs in the church or during mass. This is about respect. We need to focus and concentrate on the dances. Taking photos disrupts our dances” (2005).¹⁰ Harold continued by stating that he is very adamant when it comes to educating travelers about courteous behavior:

People should not pick up broken pottery or artifacts. These are not souvenirs to take home. Our land is sacred and is to be respected and not to be taken. Not even rocks or pottery. One time there was this family with kids visiting and the kids had turkey feathers they found at one of the shrines. I guess the kids picked them up to play with. We saw this and asked them to leave the feathers with us so we could return them. They didn’t know this was not allowed. Shrines in the pueblos are often near the kivas and are in plain sight. These are meant to be open for prayers. Often times, offerings such as feathers and food are left at the shrines. There really is no way of policing the shrines. From a Pueblo perspective, putting a sign or guard in front of shrines would be awkward and inappropriate. The best advice is to be respectful and not pick up any “souvenirs” (Torres 2004).

⁹ The text of the image reads “As in any culture, Pueblo people have appropriate modes of conduct and expect others to adhere to certain regulations while visiting the Pueblos. To avoid any misunderstanding or the violation of our customs, these suggestions should prove helpful.”

¹⁰ Torres continued to state that “quite a number of visitors stop at San Ildefonso to buy pottery. Many of them are familiar with Maria Martinez. They know of her work or have read books about her. People are curious to see the artwork of today. They want to know how we live, operate business on the pueblos and ask about dances. Sometimes they ask to take pictures of us here at the office. I usually don’t mind and don’t ask for anything. At times I do get a copy of the photo in the mail with a thank you card” (2004).

In *Planning for Balanced Development* (1996) Susan Guyette argues that one of the most important things to learn about tourism development is the way in which the tourism industry promotes possible attraction for its clients. Guyette was one of the early staff members who worked to develop and coordinate the publication of the *Guide*. The tourism industry wants a prepaid package or a product (Guyette 1996; Tiller 1996). Guyette states that a tribe may be able to develop such a package and “the most important product development step a tribe can take is the printing of itineraries which show the traveler how to link together the different stops with the reservation region” (192). This is evident in early editions of the *Guide* that focused on tours called “Pueblo Vacation Itineraries.” The intent, according to the Scope of Work in the *Guide*, was for travelers to help plan their visits to see unique sights. A three-day sample itinerary with a cultural and shopping emphasis includes a day trip up to the Pojoaque Visitor center, shopping at San Juan Pueblo’s Oke Owingeh Crafts Co-op and then on to visit the San Ildefonso Museum. Another sample itinerary, aimed at recreational tourists, focused on camping and horseback riding at Tesuque, or fishing at San Ildefonso and ending with a barbecue at Santa Clara canyon. A third sample suggested hiking at Nambe Falls, fishing at Picuris Pueblo and horseback riding at Taos Pueblo. The Pueblos do not own and operate packaged tours, but each tribe works closely with visitors who can call ahead of time to arrange a visit and inquire about entrance fees. The *Guide* is clear about publishing contact numbers, directions and photo permit regulations. Included in the *Guide* is also a

calendar of Pueblo Feast days and other events that travelers may be interested in when planning their visit to northern New Mexico.

By surveying hundreds of photographs in the *Guide*, it becomes apparent that many of the unique place images are repeated yearly. For example, Taos Pueblo stands out visually because it is the most well photographed and painted among all the pueblos. There are almost no photographs of Taos ceremonial dances within the village setting, but an emphasis remains on the multi-story adobe dwellings along with their scenic mountain backdrop. Nambe Pueblo is recognized through perpetual images of Nambe Falls. *Guide* articles featuring Santa Clara Pueblo commonly have images of the Puye Cliffs. San Ildefonso Pueblo remains steadfast on marketing their pueblo as the home of Maria Martinez along with their picturesque Black Mesa. Their museum is advertised as having a small collection of Maria and Julian pottery. Local artists who live within the plaza area have small shops that feature much of the recognized black-on-black style pottery. The most southern Tewa village, Tesuque Pueblo, usually has their Camel Rock as a marketing image. In fact their casino is named the Camel Rock where visitors often pull off the main highway to picnic and photograph the famous camel rock image in the desert, which has been replicated in postcards and landscape paintings. At San Juan Pueblo, images of the Deer Dance and the St. John the Baptist Catholic Church are central in photographs. The chapel is the only one built in a French gothic style out of volcanic rock. The Archdiocese of Santa Fe owns the Catholic Church situated close to the center of the village. Most other pueblo churches, also located near the center plaza area, are built in the more recognized traditional adobe styles (Fig 24). From the *Guide's*

publications, it is evident that each pueblo takes pride by highlighting aspects of what is unique about each of their villages.



Fig. 24 “San Juan Deer Dance”
Photo courtesy of Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council, Inc.

The Buffalo and Comanche Dances are the two most frequently published photographs in the *Guide*. These dances are invariably public dances among New Mexico’s northern pueblos and open to all visitors (Appendix I). These two dances are also the ones most performed, along with Eagle and Butterfly Dances, as well as variations of Group Buffalo Dances at events like the Gallup Inter-Tribal Ceremonial, the New Mexico State Fair and the Eight Northern Indian Artists and Craftsman Show. For these dances, the Buffalo and Comanche, the Pueblos usually allow photography and video recording (Fig. 25). Almost all pueblos have some version of the Comanche Dance. Most notably recognized as Southern Plains, the stories of Comanches raiding Pueblo villages for food and supplies are evident in oral stories (Lamadrid 2003; Reyna 1992). It is believed that the Comanche Dance signifies a Pueblo victory dance over the Comanches. This is noticeable, for example, in many of the Comanche dances carried out not only in the pueblos but in neighboring *Hispano* communities. The Comanche Dance

is the most colorful of all the dances which includes a variety of pseudo Plains Indian regalia with warbonnets and roach piece headdresses (Fig. 26).¹¹



Fig. 25 Tesuque Buffalo Dance
Photo courtesy of
Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council, Inc.



Fig. 26 Comanche Dance
Photo courtesy of
Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council, Inc.

Other common dance photographs in the *Guide* include Deer Dance, Cloud Dance and select Corn Dances. These dances are usually not performed outside the villages. More importantly, there are striking differences among the pueblos regarding the appropriateness of opening them up to public spectatorship either within villages or performing them outside the village context. Such dances, like Cloud Dance, follow strict seasonal protocols (Fig. 27).

¹¹ For further reading on Indo-Hispano cultural relations see Enrique R. Lamadrid (2003) *Hermanitos Comanchitos*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press; Miguel Gandert (2000) *Nuevo Mexico Profundo: Rituals of an Indo-Hispano Homeland*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press; Sylvia Rodriguez (1996). *The Matachines Dance: Ritual Symbolism and Interethnic Relations in the Upper Rio Grande Valley*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. In addition, Thomas W. Kavanagh's (1999) *The Comanches: A History* offers a valuable contribution to understanding Comanche and Pueblo relations during the 1700s and 1800s.



Fig. 27 “Cloud Dance”
Photo courtesy of the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council, Inc.

Customarily, Tewas carry out a Cloud Dance only in late winter or early spring – before spring planting – because of its connections to agriculture and fertility. As would be expected, the policies that govern taking pictures of these dances also vary. In general, decisions are made on behalf of the War Captain and staff (*aakongeh*) and Tribal Council. Historically, the War Captains served as “scouts” to watch and preside over ceremonial activities. Today, the *aakongeh* are appointed on an annual basis and their primary duties include carrying out all facets of dances within the pueblo boundaries. This includes duties such as conveying pertinent information about dance practice, gathering wood to heat the kiva and helping to dress and care for the dancers. Each year, depending on the type of dance and staff, War Captains may choose not to allow photography, completely shut down the village or open up the dances to the public as is most common during Feast Days. It is the religious staff that is in charge of properly carrying out the ceremonial aspects of the village and not the appointed or elected tribal officials such as the Governor or Lieutenant Governor. Most non-Pueblo people tend to recognize the Governor as the orchestrator of cultural and ceremonial activity. Although

these roles can sometimes be interchangeable, the religious and dance decisions are almost inherently left of to War Captains and clan leaders.

DOUBLE TAKE:



Fig. 28 “Offering at Nambe Falls” (1999)
Photo courtesy of the
Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council, Inc.



Fig. 29 “An Offering at the Waterfall, Nambe”
Edward S. Curtis, 1925

The title of my dissertation, *Double Take*, was inspired through a myriad of examples and similarities of conventional historical photographs aligned with the contemporary Pueblo images in the *Guide*. The notion of time, past and future are common themes in Pueblo produced publications. Pueblo people are proud to be part of an ancient past. Everything about being and becoming a Pueblo person reflects a strong connection with past people, events and the present (Ortiz 1969). One example of this is a photograph taken at the Nambe Pueblo waterfalls that appeared in the 1999 *Guide* (Fig 28). In conversation with some of the *Guide* staff, certain tribal officials conveyed their reluctance to publish such a photograph because of the ceremonial clothing being used. For a few intimate Pueblo ceremonies that include mainly clan specific activities, men typically wear a *puuyawhi* (breechcloth). The Nambe image features a Pueblo man wearing his breechcloth, down on one knee giving a turkey feather as a prayer offering at the edge of the stream. Wearing a *puuyawhi* for prayer and ceremony is a very private

matter and it is unclear why this image was photographed as such. The Nambe waterfall image is clearly an imitation of a work by Edward S. Curtis (Fig. 29). Here, the Tewa are reclaiming one of the images ingrained in the public's imagination that stereotypically represents them in the travel media. This recycling and appropriation should come as no surprise. It is common for many Pueblo families to have historic museum framed pictures of their relatives taken at the turn of the twentieth century. Curtis' style of photography has great appeal because for Pueblo people it portrays their ancestors in a respectful and aesthetically pleasing way. In a Pueblo context, these images are not icons, invoking a strange yet pleasurable otherness - the role they prominently play for the population at large (Lyman 1982). Instead, their iconic meanings engage a sense of continuity, an unbroken connection with their cultural past, which, although idealized, still has the possibility of manifesting itself in the present (Martinez and Albers 2003).

The Curtis picture above is a popular postcard item sold on racks throughout New Mexico. I have also seen this image reprinted on posters, calendars and most recently in Daniel Gibson's (2002) *Pueblos of the Rio Grande: A Visitor's Guide*. In these non-Pueblo produced publications the meaning of the image to Pueblo people is lost. As the Curtis image stands alone, without any context, it is easily misread and misinterpreted as a popular iconic image. When the image appears in the *Guide* it can be argued that it is still situated within a commodified venue. More importantly in this case, the setting is controlled and located within a Pueblo context. The articles surrounding the Nambe Falls image in the *Guide* use an "our" perspective. It is through the voice of establishing a connection, both descriptively and visually, that Pueblo people chose to replicate the

image as an example of respect for environment and place. For Pueblo people the connection to the past through prayer and environment is of great reverence.

On the following page of the Nambe waterfall image in the *Guide* is a photograph of George Yates wearing a red ribbon shirt and holding a laptop computer (Fig. 30).

Yates, a former Governor and Lieutenant Governor of Nambe Pueblo, has worked at Los Alamos National Laboratory since 1965. Yates had a great interest in photography which led to the development of a camera that would bear his initials. The article states that the “GY-11 high-speed nuclear radiation monitoring video camera is just one of George’s achievements during his career at LANL” (1999, 50). Also noteworthy is that George helped to form a committee to raise funds to build a new church by holding dances on July 4th at Nambe Falls. The new church was built and this event became known as the Nambe Ceremonial. The article is rather telling in many respects since this is a travel publication, but yet serves as a venue to show a more complete story of Pueblo people and communities. This is what it means to create context in ways that visually critique conventional tourist publications. By situating Pueblo people as having past connections, as in the Nambe waterfall image, the *Guide* is also clear about situating people and community in the here and now and connecting them together in one fluid travel venue.

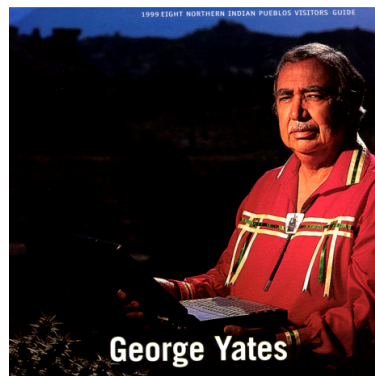


Fig. 30 “George Yates”
Photo courtesy of the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council, Inc.

In addition to men participating as ceremonial dancers, there is a deep respect for leadership. The 2000 cover featured the current leadership from the eight northern pueblos with a caption that read “Emerging into the New Millennium.” The governors dressed in their Pueblo-style ribbon shirts with the background of a ladder was taken at Puye Cliffs. This image defines the cultural continuity of past with present leadership. Like previous photographs of governors with their canes, this too is continued in the *Guide* (Fig. 31). Interviews with governors are illustrated throughout the editions of the *Guide*. Governor Milton Herrera states “as Tesuque Pueblo approaches the next century, it will be important for our people to carry the teachings of our ancestors into the new millennium” (ENIPC 1999, 14). Canes are powerful images for Pueblo people and any image that includes a governor with his cane is approached with the utmost respect. The *Guide* reveals that Pueblo people are now taking charge of the some of the images that have defined them in the travel media and they are now assigning them new meanings. With the abundant examples of ceremonial dancing, the producers of the *Guide* have not separated themselves, at least visually, from historical tropes embedded in the travel industry. One of the reasons, perhaps, for the persistence of the old conventions in the Pueblo controlled media is that many of the subjects they feature are ones Pueblo people take pride in, such as the Cane images.

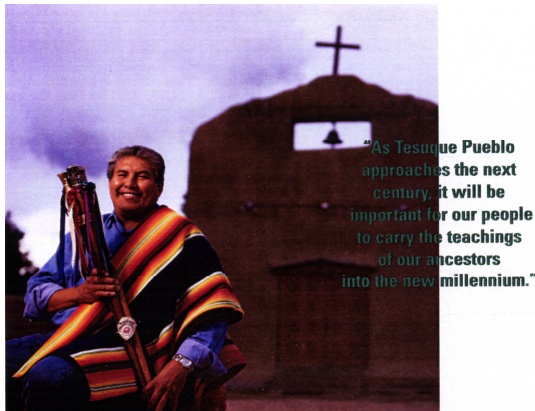


Fig. 31 Tesuque Governor Milton Herrera
Photo courtesy of the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council, Inc.

Many of the other stock subjects in the region's travel photography, notably bread baking and pottery making also appear in the *Guide*. In the *Guide*, bread baking has been visually represented in a couple of ways. One cover of the *Guide* for 1995 (Fig. 32), for example, illustrates bread baking in a manner not dissimilar to its appearance in other travel productions. Against the backdrop of scenic Taos Pueblo we see elder Crucita L. Romero removing baked goods out of the *horno*. I first met Crucita while on a tour of Taos Pueblo in 2003 when I saw that she had this photograph framed. I recognized the photograph and remarked how nice it was. She immediately said "that's me!" Crucita mentioned that she also modeled for previous photographs that appeared on Taos postcards. In Fig. 32 Crucita is dressed in typical Pueblo regalia wearing moccasins, a flower patterned dress with a red woven belt and a green shawl draped over her head and shoulders. She is also wearing turquoise bracelets and rings. The caption on the *Guide* reads "New Mexico America's Land of Enchantment." This is an obviously staged photographed that highlights the baking culture of Pueblo people. As mentioned in previous chapters, photographs of solitary women and bread baking is a staple among

New Mexico's travel industry. This is no exception since Crucita is carefully dressed and poised for the photo opportunity.¹² If the *Guide* is intended to attract travelers to the region, the northern Pueblos very much recognize the visual appeal of such photography.

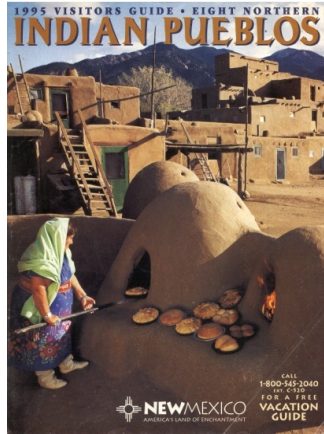


Fig 32, *Visitors' Guide* 1995
Photo courtesy of the
Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council, Inc.

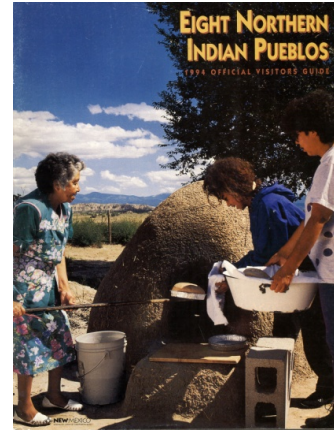


Fig. 33, *Visitors' Guide* 1994
Photo courtesy of the
Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council, Inc.

In a striking contrast, the 1994 *Guide* cover, depicts bread baking in a way more faithful to how people actually appear when the activity is undertaken (Fig. 33). In most northern Pueblo communities, bread is baked in the old fashioned way only for ceremonial occasions, although some Taos women often produce and sell it daily for tourists who come to their main village. In general, baking bread is labor intensive and most women, including Crucita, would admit this is not an individual practice but to the contrary involves multiple helping hands to produce a variety of baked goods. It is also an activity people usually carry out in their everyday dress and not the regalia typical in

¹² Crucita also showed me some of her photographs and she was especially proud of a postcard with her and her granddaughter “Little Tina” that stated they were descendants of Chief Albert “Weasel Arrow” Lujan, one of Taos Pueblo’s first Indian artists.

travel pictures. The kind of imagery that is more “real” seldom appears in the mainstream travel media, but it is common practice in Pueblo publications.

A 2004 cover of *New Mexico Magazine* featured a vintage photograph of a Pueblo woman baking bread from San Ildefonso Pueblo - a stock image in New Mexico’s travel marketing and promotion materials. The woman appears unaware of the camera’s presence; her head is partially covered with a shawl as she kneels on the ground to place the bread into the *panteh* (adobe oven). My initial read of the photograph was that it was probably staged. Growing up at the pueblo we know it is practical to kneel completely down while loading or unloading baked goods. To kneel and get too close to the oven is physically not possible because of the intense heat emitted from the oven. Most of the time women (and men) who bake outdoors slightly bend over to remove the baked goods. This photograph first appeared during the 1930s as part of a postcard series issued through the New Mexico State Tourist Bureau (Fig. 34). As discussed in previous chapters, whether pictures of this activity come from Isleta, Taos or Tesuque, they follow nearly identical stylistic conventions. Women are often the lone bread bakers in which the camera has erased men and children from this laborious communal activity.

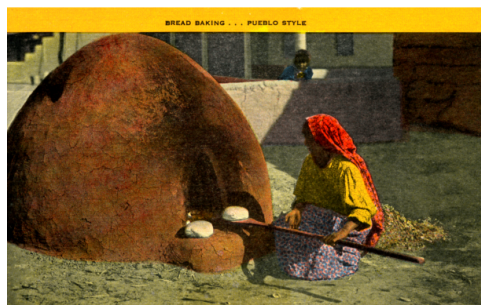


Fig. 34 “Bread Baking . . . Pueblo Style”
Photo by New Mexico State Tourist Bureau, Circa 1935
Distributed by Alfred McGarr Advertising Service. Albuquerque, New Mexico

The back of the postcard reads “A land of great contrasts is New Mexico. Here we see a Pueblo woman baking bread in a primitive oven – and in her home she may have an electric toaster: such is the great contrast today of the new and old in the Indian way of living” (#3033N). The San Ildefonso bread baker reappears and is repackaged as part of the photography series included in *Forever New Mexico: Heartfelt Images from the Land of Enchantment* (Vigil 2004). The recycling of photographs from early twentieth century New Mexico continues to be a popular trend. Examples of this type of repackaging of postcards are exhaustive and continue to be a staple on today’s postcard racks.

A close look at the photograph above reveals a young boy leaning over the wall. As children growing up at the village we were never allowed to just watch. Even though this is a snapshot at one point in time and place, anything could have been taking place outside of what is not photographed. Though the popular appeal of this “timeless” photograph thrives on the crafted image of women as the lone bread bakers, the postcard is an example among many where children are hidden and unmarked from the photographer’s lens. For tourist practices and Southwest photography, children appear only worthy of being photographed when they are engaged in doing what Pueblo children do – that is, ceremonial dancing. Hidden from this travel narrative are Pueblo men who assist in the production. In this example, Pueblo women are similar to Navajo women who are commonly featured and photographed as weavers.¹³ In Pueblo society, baking

¹³ Missing from Navajo weaving postcards and photographs are the experience of male weavers. For some discussion on this see *A Loom With a View: Modern Navajo Weaving*, video, Directors Sierra Ornelas and Justin Thomas (13:00 minutes) Arizona State Museum 2004. and Wesley Thomas “Male Weavers of

and preparing for feast days, involves women, children *and* men. Distinct baking preparations exist for bread, pies and cookies. In addition, and most importantly, is the labor involved such as chopping wood, heating the *panteh*, sweeping out the ashes and carrying the heavy trays of food. This is no doubt a communal and laborious activity. Most importantly, children were, and continue to be, the go-betweens for much of the activities. In Pueblo customs it is common, for example, to send children to run inside the house to get another tin pan or basket to help carry out the baked goods. As always children are never permitted near the baking area for obvious reasons, but nonetheless play a fundamental role in this baking culture. To further examine the role of children in Pueblo produced travel narratives the following section discusses youth as a continuous and complex trope in the *Eight Northern Indian Pueblo Visitors' Guide*.

UNDERSTANDINGS OF CHILDREN AND CHILDHOOD

Fundamental to Pueblo thought and culture are the value and place of children within community. Pueblo culture is based on respect and relations. In a general worldview this includes respect for the natural world and its people. From a Pueblo perspective, we are to respect others, no matter how young or weak or strange, in part because what goes around eventually comes around. This especially holds true for children, and not only because they have power. As elders will often say the only person who ever tricked the Trickster was a child; however, respect and value are essential because that child will one day be an adult. According to Tewa beliefs a child is still

the Diné Nation: Our Stories and Experiences,” Gallery Guide produced for *Weaving in the Margins*, Museum of New Mexico Museum of Indian Arts and Culture 1999.

“raw” and “wet” meaning that he or she can still not see in this new world but is able to see environments that adults have lost sight of from being “dry and matured” (Ortiz 1969).

The role of children in Pueblo culture is embodied in Pueblo identity and cultural protocol. With regard to social and daily interactions, children were useful workers. In Pueblo upbringings, children are taught early on about their role in navigating community relations. Mainstream tourism discourse negates any role and importance that children may fulfill in community functions. Children are often hidden with regard to labor, community roles, and responsibilities and only pictured in ethnic dress, often detached from family. Historically, one interview with Santa Clara Pueblo member, Tessie Naranjo, conveyed the following about children and their functional role in tourism:

Children were like the town criers who announced the arrival of visitors. This was especially true when the Fred Harvey Detour buses came to Santa Clara Pueblo [1930s]. Usually women were busy taking care of the younger children in the house, gathering clay or doing other chores while the men were maybe out gathering wood. It was the children who would also spread the word of the day. When children announced the visit of the Fred Harvey car approaching the village, the mothers would often send them as ‘gatekeepers’ to save a spot in the lineup or sometimes a half circle that the women would form to set up pottery for display when tourists arrived. Children served as a way of relieving adults of extra work. At a young age children learned to become workers and the role they would fulfill in the Pueblo community (Naranjo 2005).

Prior to the established formal rules of the Native American Vendor’s Program at the Santa Fe plaza in the 1970s, children would set their mark, literally, on the plaza. It is often mentioned in conversations with Indian artists that they recall traveling to Santa Fe at a very young age with their mother. Children were often put up in front of the line to run and save a space under the porch because they were small and could run fast. This

was during a time when physical competition to get a vending spot was fierce.

Nowadays, vending under the Palace Portal in Santa Fe is highly regulated (see Chapter 5) and children are only allowed to be present or vend during their special weekend set aside for Vendor's children. Stories like this of how Pueblo children contribute to tourist economies are hidden but from Pueblo perspectives are seen as crucial and essential to the well being of Pueblo life.

Cochiti Pueblo educator Joe Suina and co-author Laura Smolkin stated the following about the place of children in Pueblo society:

The roles of Pueblo children in native religious ceremonies range from key parts as deer dancers in a Buffalo Dance, to more passive observer participation as the audience at a sacred night dance, to membership in special societies. In virtually all ceremonies, Pueblo children are integral participants. Indian parents rarely, if ever, need a babysitter for traditional ceremonial preparations or actual events. Pueblo children, literally from birth, observe and adopt strongly practiced group orientations. (Suina and Smolkin 1995)

This role and the critical place of children is not a new research discovery. In 1974 Gordon Kelly pointed out that studying childhood and the culture surrounding it provides crucial insights into core values and practices of our society, revealing how American culture reproduces itself in the younger generation. Earlier, Margaret Mead (1942) observed that "just as one way of understanding a machine is to understand how it is made, so one way of understanding the typical character of a culture is to follow step by step the way in which it is built into the growing child" (38). There is a growing body of literature in the field of Childhood Studies that ranges from physical developments, childhood psychology, and early childhood development to children as consumers, to name a few (Bowman 2007; Mills and Mills 2000). Scholars working in the field of

Children and Childhood Studies also differ on their approaches and definitions, but in the most inclusive definition is that this field of study centers on questions regarding children, childhood and representations of children and childhood (Bowman and Spencer 2007). The method of defining children and childhood is beyond the scope of this chapter but suffice it to state that the most basic sense is that Pueblo children in the *Guide* are below the age of 12 years old and youth and children in this chapter are used interchangeably.

Historically, children served functional roles by helping to assist in day-to-day village duties. According to Esther Martinez (2004), “[i]n the early days, children were used for messengers. Any time anybody making bread wanted to send maybe a piece of warm bread to somebody, or a loaf of warm bread, they would call us and say ‘Take this to so and so, on the other side.’ So we would take the bread and run, take it wherever they told us to take it. That was our job, and we did it willingly” (68-69). Within this backdrop of definitions we can view Pueblo children as central workers to community relations. To be a Pueblo child is to be treated as a valuable person who has a place and purpose within community functions. Children are not separated out of the definitions of what it means to be a Pueblo person, but are integral to the roles and responsibilities of being a Pueblo person. Bruce Hucko stated about being an “art coach” that “teaching Pueblo children requires becoming informed about their culture and establishing an environment in which peer help is sought, ideas are respected, and we all try to work together” (1996, 8). The working of together is self evident in some ways but more importantly for this chapter,

the role of Pueblo youth in tourism publications reveals aspects of exerting Pueblo agency and storytelling to the traveling public.

BOOTSIE BROWN EYES:
PUEBLO CHILDREN AS CULTURAL BROKERS

The role of Pueblo children can be read along the lines as serving as cultural brokers between the traveling public and Pueblo communities. The field of cultural intermediaries (Szasz 1994) is vital for understanding American Indian history. Whether scholars have used the terms “brokers” (Hosmer 1997) or “go-betweens” (Merrell 1999), the cultural borders rub together, where cultural intermediaries – the people between the border – juggle the ways of different societies. Szasz (1994) argues that cultural borders are a universal phenomenon. They emerge wherever cultures encounter each other. For intermediaries, borders have become pathways that link peoples, rather than barriers that separate them. Pueblo children commonly photographed in ceremonial regalia is not a new practice in the Southwest, but the message and usage of children in Pueblo produced publications serve as a safe and approachable way to convey beliefs and sensibilities. Through Pueblo produced images, Pueblo children are that link of cultural brokers between their respective communities and the traveling public.

In the *Guide* children become the central players in the re-imaging of tourism narratives produced for travel photography. Through Pueblo produced travel materials, children serve as the conduits to confront and de-exoticize conventional Southwestern travel narratives. This is evident in several examples where images of children have become those cultural intermediaries that negotiate place and bridge cultural

understandings. By reading photographs that appear in the *Guides*, it becomes clear that children surface as ways that depart from conventional practices. Not only are Pueblo children used to lure travelers to New Mexico as an economic factor, but youth are central by producing ways of educating travelers about their Pueblo histories and communities. Upon closer inspection of the images and the surrounding textual descriptions in the northern Pueblo produced travel publications, children on the front cover and within the publications serve to educate the traveling public about the struggles of living among and between various cultures.

The undermining of conventional practices is evident in several examples – one of which is a 1994 photograph I call *Two Cultures* (Fig. 35). This photograph shows two young boys sitting on a ledge, wearing t-shirts, jean shorts and black tennis shoes. Both face directly into the camera and have a somewhat serious look. The young boy on the left holds a baseball glove and the other carries what appears to be a play gun. The caption at the bottom reads “Our children grow up in two cultures whose values are often in conflict.” This photo is used to convey to the public, via children, that Pueblo people are very much a part of the modern world struggling to balance and understand multiple worldviews. This image appears in the Tesuque Pueblo section of the *Guide* and the photographer is not listed. This is quite common in the *Guide*, where some professional photographers are noted in later editions, but for the most part it appears that photographs were donated by committee members or taken by *Guide* staff. Pueblo youth imagery is personal. Staff members of the *Guide* take precaution to ensure that the photography

published represents Pueblo people in appropriate ways, which has not always been accomplished in some cases as discussed below.

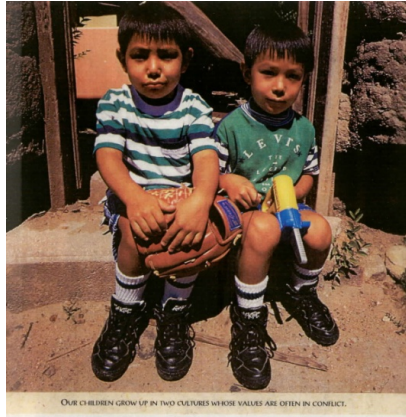


Fig. 35 “Two Cultures”

Photo courtesy of the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council, Inc.

A 1991 Taos photograph shows three children riding their bicycles with the backdrop of the Taos multi-story adobe dwellings. Above the image reads “We hope to prevent the downward spiral of leaving the pueblo, failing in a world that does not support their identity, then having to return home in defeat” (ENIPC 1991, p 39). The side article continues to describe the Oo-Oonah Art Center where “we realized that our children are our future, and we were losing them, both culturally and physically” (39). Another Picuris Pueblo section has an article titled “Living in One World, Working in Another” (ENIPC 1991, 25). Articles and captions throughout the *Guide* are sprinkled with stories of struggles and quotes of the above mentioned. It is clear the articles and images not only in this edition of the *Visitors’ Guide* but in following editions continue to serve as a venue for conveying stories and experiences. It is also evident that along these stories, photographs of children are almost always accompanied and inserted into the narratives. Another image reads “Part of the Future of Santa Clara Pueblo” (Fig. 36).

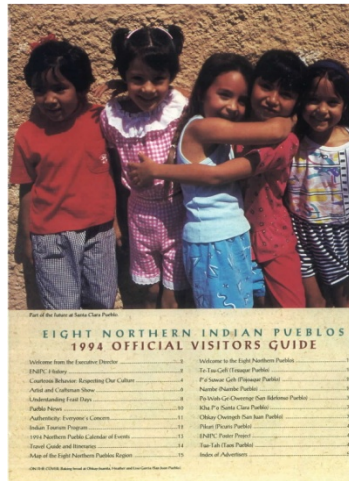


Fig. 36 “Part of the Future of Santa Clara Pueblo”
Photo courtesy of the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council, Inc.

In other editions of the *Guide*, Pueblo youth are described as aspiring artists along with illustrations of their everyday hobbies and interests. One potter, Wayne Yazza, Jr. (Fig. 37) from Picuris Pueblo, described how he learned to make pottery (Appendix J). In addition to participating in ceremonial dances, Wayne enjoys going to the gym to play basketball and football. The 1998 article describes youth as not only being artists and dancers but also who enjoy everyday activities like sports and school. These types of images and articles balance how youth are portrayed in Pueblo society to the traveling public. Being involved with school and recreational activities is just as much part of the Pueblo youths' lives as dancing and making traditional art. The general public in non-Indian travel publications only gets one side of the story - that is Indians who are ceremonial dancers without any understanding of what takes place outside of rituals. The images of *Two Cultures* and Wayne Yazza Jr. are examples of photographs published in the *Guide* that link Pueblo people to the outside world through the use of children. The

brokering of messages, through children in everyday dress and styles, is used in the *Guide* as a platform to convey messages of real life and modern experiences.

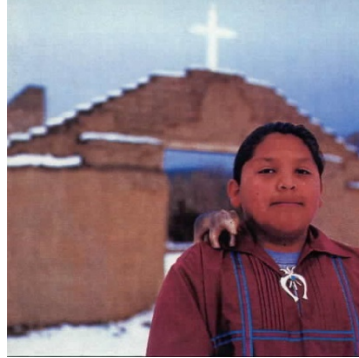


Fig. 37 “Wayne Yazza, Jr.”
Photo by Chris Corrie, 1998
Courtesy of the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council, Inc.

The title of this section “*Bootsie Brown-Eyes*,” is taken from the continuous portrayal of Pueblo youth. Almost every cover of the *Guide* includes a photograph of a child either positioned alone in ceremonial regalia or in relation to their family members. This falls in line with much of what appears in *New Mexico Magazine*.¹⁴ As discussed in previous chapters, images like *Little Nonnie* and youth powwow dancers at the Gallup Inter-Tribal Ceremonial were lifted, repackaged and reframed to give the illusion of unchanging. In the northern Pueblo *Guide*, children are prevalent on cover images. Photographs of Pueblo children become objects through ways that project a universal language of innocence. Ann Higonnet (1998) argues that the romantic construction of childhood is unsustainable. It has afforded children some freedom (in certain respects),

¹⁴ Annually *New Mexico Magazine* features a Native American edition that almost always features a young Native child on the cover. Editions August 1999 and 1998 are some examples of Pueblo youth in ceremonial regalia, separated out of modernity and removed from a community context.

but as Higonnet points out it has also thrust a whole load of baggage onto childhood which has little to do with what children really are. Much like the literature on American Indian appropriation (Berkhofer 1998; Bird 1996; Deloria 1998; Green 1988a, 1988b), the images of children have little to do with the understanding of them but say more about adult projections of how youth get interpreted and contextualized. Children are photogenic and it is arguably unlikely that their picture will turn out badly.

The 2001 cover features a young Tewa girl smiling, draped in a multi-colored pink shawl with red dot face paint (Fig. 38). I titled this section because of a photograph I refer to as *Bootsie* Brown eyes. The young Pojoaque girl, Pretty Water, reminds me of the color of baked *bootsie* (sugar cookies) that is a staple in Pueblo culture. Among the northern Tewa it is common to joke about the various nuances of baked goods. The common saying “Got Bootsie?” has become the Tewa version of the more popular “Got Frybread?” as seen on t-shirts today on the pow wow circuit. Most of the covers of the *Guide* feature children with similar features and dress. Pueblo produced materials convey much of the imagery of what I call *bootsie* brown eyes. The images are taken from actual life experiences. The Pueblo youth featured in the *Guide* reflect their social and cultural experiences. As part of this lived experience, so much of Pueblo imagery and culture relies on baking. Pueblo people come from a baking and farming culture. From a Pueblo perspective it is logical that images reflected in the *Guide* would convey such relations.

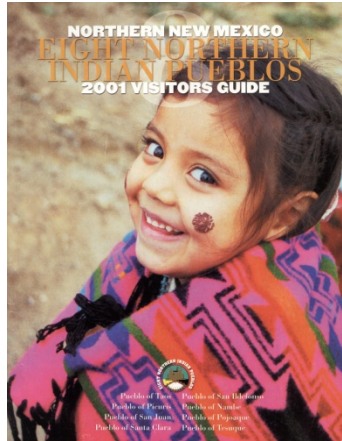


Fig. 38 “Pretty Water”

Photo courtesy of the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council, Inc.

Pretty Water’s picture was also reproduced by the Los Alamos National Laboratory (LANL) Foundation. The LANL Foundation gives community grants and this picture was featured on the cover of their brochure. Photography and information published in the *Guide* are often lifted and recycled in other publications. Along with the notion of cultural brokers, the initial photograph of Pretty Water on the front *Guide* can be read along the lines of an open invitation to visit the pueblos. In this context the northern Pueblo people publicly advertise feast days and arts and crafts events that are open to visitors. The young Tewa girl’s smile is inviting and welcoming. In contrast, when Pretty Water’s photograph is lifted and published as part of the LANL Foundation, she can be interpreted as a success story where Pojoaque Pueblo was awarded a community grant. Her image is used to convey an accomplishment. Pretty Water, in the LANL context, takes on a success story rather than her intended welcoming story in the *Guide*. So too does LANL convey the success of the future much like travel photography in the *Visitors’ Guide*. In short, children in the *Guide* are used as cultural brokers to often

conflicting worldviews and spaces. Pueblo children, among the pueblos hold a significant place in religious customs and worldviews. For Tewa people, it is not a surprise that children would dominate a Pueblo produced *Guide* in which they want visitors to know something about their people when visiting the region. Pueblo children are also a safe image for visitors because they are seen as approachable and non-threatening.



Fig. 39 “Comanche Youth Dancer”
Walter BigBee, Photographer
Photo courtesy of the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council, Inc.

For the northern Pueblo people who saw the 2003 cover above, this created a bit of an embarrassment, especially for women (Fig. 39). Upon first glance, most of the general public would not think twice about how the young girl is dressed. In contrast, those who have an eye for proper dress and attire have a strikingly different view on the chosen photograph for the cover. In conversations with Tewa women about the *Guide*, I heard comments such as “poor thing who dressed her? Her belt is falling apart, her necklace should have been worn over her blouse and her slip is even showing! And, it

looks that her moccasins are loose and coming undone.”¹⁵ For Pueblo people, especially Pueblo women, who take great pride and care when making outfits for dance and dressing their children, this image is somewhat of an embarrassment. The young girl who posed for the photograph was not aware that her photograph would be chosen as the cover of the *Guide*. My interpretation is that photographer Walter BigBee (Comanche) perhaps caught this young girl to photograph during her lunch break from dancing. It is normal for attire to fall apart during the long hours of dancing. Most of the time women and War Chief staff are adamant about fixing children up as needed during the day. In any case, the cover image went through the proper channels of being selected for the 2003 cover. Perhaps because of her appeal as a young dancer and the colorful floral background, children never appear badly in photographs despite her perceived sloppiness of her dress.

Other cover images of children tend to reflect relations with parents and grandparents. What the *Guide* staff wishes to convey is the continuous connection of children to older generations. We wanted to show elders passing on song and stories to the next generation, said former *Visitors' Guide* Coordinator Jesse Davila. The 1992 cover featured a young boy holding a drum and looking at his Taos grandfather (Fig. 40). This is a teaching image insofar as the young boy appears to be drumming according to the instruction of his grandfather. The following year, the 1993 *Guide* features a group of Santa Clara Pueblo drummers during feast day with a young boy dressed in a white shirt and woven kilt looking up at the line of drummers (Fig. 41). In both of these images,

¹⁵ These were some of the remarks I heard during my summer research at Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council, Inc. I went to the Oke Owinge Crafts Cooperative to obtain copies of the *Guide* and asked some of the workers what they thought of this year's publication.

Guide staff conveyed to me that they wanted the images to show connections to generations (True 2003). By hearing the drumming and the chorus of the men singing, the young boy could begin to mimic the Tewa songs. In the 1991 *Guide*, an article titled “One Generation to Another” discusses the passing of traditional knowledge to children and the importance of education. The article quotes an elder who says “I tell my grandkids not to lose our Indian ways of life because they are tied together one way or another (1991, 31).”



Fig. 40 Guide Cover 1992
Photo courtesy of the
Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council, Inc.



Fig. 41 Guide Cover 1993
Photo courtesy of the
Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council, Inc.

It is no surprise that the most common photographs in the *Guide* are children as ceremonial dancers. After all, this is a tourism publication intended to draw in visitors to attend the local pueblos and arts and crafts fair. Each pueblo selected its specific images to represent its village. The photography in the *Guide* appears to be either posed for a photographer or captured during village dances. The images are varied with regard to types of dances such as Corn Dance, Buffalo Dance or Comanche Dance (Fig. 42). As

mentioned in the previous chapter, the dances of children photographed tend to be the most public of performances. In fact, in cases where there is a public ritual that does not allow photography, such as Turtle Dance at Ohkay Owingeh, the younger boys tend not to dance until they are much older. In general, photographs of children reflect images of feast day dances or dances carried out at the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Artists and Craftsman Show. Advertisements for the annual eight northern show include flashy wordy such as “Taste an Indian Taco, Eye an Eagle Dance, Pick a Prize Pot” (1991). The emphasis on Ceremonials has taken a back burner due to the increasing trend of high end art markets in New Mexico. Pueblo people recognize the diversity of travel markets and put forth their youthful imagery as a way to remain in the game. Children as ceremonial dancers become the cultural intermediaries to lure travelers to visit and experience the northern pueblos.



Fig. 42, Tesuque Pueblo Dancers
Photo courtesy of the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos, Inc.

San Ildefonso Pueblo member Jesse Davila remarked that “we (Guide staff) wanted to project images of Pueblo people not only as dancers but how we live and look

the majority of the time” (Davila 2003). This means getting off school buses (Fig. 43), riding bikes or jumping on a trampoline. More importantly, the continuous portrayal of Pueblo youth in the *Guide* is positioned in ways that disrupt conventional marketing. With the historical backdrop of conventional tourist guides in New Mexico, most out-of-state travelers would not expect to see Pueblo children getting off school buses or riding bikes when they turn the pages of the *Guide*. This demonstrates a decolonial approach to travel photography and visual representation. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) argues that “representation of indigenous peoples by indigenous people is about countering the dominant society’s image of indigenous peoples, their lifestyles and belief systems” (151). This has not meant a total rejection of engagement in tourism publications, but to the contrary that Pueblo people are using the *Guide* as a venue to convey lived experiences. In the *Guide* Pueblo youth become central to the imaging of Pueblo culture and serve to educate the public by conveying notions of modernity while maintaining connections to culture and community.



Fig. 43, “Pueblo of Picuris Schoolchildren”
Photo courtesy of the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos, Inc.

In the *Guide* children are photographed because they are “cute,” approachable, and less threatening. They exude a sense of warmth and project happiness which is why they're frequently used to lure in travelers or sell products on television commercials. One way to read this work is that in the tourism industry, children may be popular because they appeal to the so-called “child” in all of us and the heightened contemporary desire for play and escape which travel is all about. More than anything else, on a wider scale, the northern Pueblo *Guide* reveals that Pueblo people are taking charge of some of the images that have conventionally defined them in previous decades. Many of the travel pictures featured are ones Pueblo people take pride in and that reflect their own children and community members. Not as unchanging, the *Guide* photographs represent a continuance of ceremony and dance. Whether staged as cover images, the photographs reflect actual events and real Pueblo people as contemporaries in the here and now. In contrast to historical practices of photographing children, Pueblo youth in the *Guide* are positioned in ways that disrupt conventional marketing as disconnected to communities. In the *Guide* youth are central to the imaging of Pueblo culture and serve to educate the public by conveying notions of modernity while maintaining connections to culture and community.

In his sixth annual State of the Indian Nations Address, National Congress of American Indian President Joe A. Garcia (Ohkay Owingeh) titled his talk “Through the Eyes of Our Children: Hope for a Restored Native America.” Garcia stated, “let us think not only about what we are working for, but who we are working for, the children of our Indian Nations” (Garcia 2008). He goes on to mention the innovative mentoring practices

through the Boys & Girls clubs as well as the successful business of Lickety Split Chocolates. In a place where more than half the population is Native, yet less than one percent of businesses are Native-owned, these young eight to fifteen years olds, Garcia boosts, of Lickety Split Chocolates in San Juan County, have created their own opportunity and are gaining business skills that will change their lives and the lives of those around them. Garcia states that, “the younger they start, the better. Lickety Split candy is a sweet beginning” (2008). This is the beginning of much promise, according to Garcia, who also articulated some of the problems with regard to health care and Indian education as seen through the eyes of a child. Much like the *Guide*, the use of children in President Garcia’s speech was a practical lens for illustrating experience and stories to the general public regarding the current state of Indian nations.

It is evident in New Mexico’s history that Pueblo people have negotiated with outsiders by controlling what they would permit outsiders to witness and capture on camera. The history of New Mexico and the Southwest cannot be adequately understood without discussion of tourism practices and initiatives. The northern Pueblos recognized these forces and began to share aspects of their public culture whose integrity was not threatened within a tourism industry. With Pueblo children as the primary focus in the *Guide*, Pueblo people are transforming the content and composition of the images through which the traveling public sees them. Children serving as cultural intermediaries are not perpetuating some exotic culture. Instead, Pueblo people are about honoring and celebrating communities. Children imaged as ceremonial dancers and in everyday play validate the unique place of Pueblo people in the modern world (Fig. 44). Photography

in the *Guide* is about storytelling. It is through story that children are privileged as the embodiment of fun, as educators and as tricksters. What Pueblo people convey in the *Guide* are dynamic cultural enclaves in line with the past and the future.



Fig. 44 “Trampoline”
Erica and Leah Leno, Tesuque Pueblo
Photo by Walter BigBee (2002)
Courtesy of the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos, Inc.

CONCLUSION

New Mexico vacation guides are ubiquitous with their promotions of Pueblo youth, village dances and Indian art advertisements. Examples like *New Mexico Native* produced by the New Mexico Tourism Department is no exception and continues to be a popular brochure that features Pueblo youth on the cover. Among Santa Fe restaurants, travel centers and hotels, the *Eight Northern Visitors’ Guide* situated alongside state produced travel brochures and private tour companies all appear indistinguishable to the traveling public. The *Guide* also publishes its own photographs of Pueblo dances and promotes the northern pueblos as a premier travel destination. It isn’t until the page is turned that a different set of sensibilities, guidelines and protocol are established in the

Guide. This was not always the case with previous travel guides published over twenty years ago.

Prior to the publication of the *Guide*, there were several patchworks of information listed under “Pueblo Etiquette” in mainstream publications such as *New Mexico Magazine*. In 1985 Buddy Mays published *Indian Village of the Southwest: A Practical Guide to the Pueblo Indian Villages of New Mexico and Arizona*. Mays offered practical advice regarding photographing the pueblos, such as obtaining permission before photographing, obeying traffic signs, and keeping off restricted zones. In an attempt to educate the public about Pueblo people, Mays conveys this advice: “If by chance you run across an Indian who does not speak English, gesture, smile, and point if you want something. You’ll be surprised at the results. Pueblo Indians were using sign language long before the white man appeared” (1985, 10). Furthermore, he recommends to travelers that they “don’t offer an Indian liquor of any type. Not only is it against the law but it’s a big step toward discovering that Indians don’t make pleasant drunks” (1985, 10). This practical travel guidebook featured brief historical sections of each of the pueblos by conveying that “these are the present-day home of the Children of the Ancients,” the living descendants of the great builders of the prehistoric Southwest (Mays 1985).

The northern Pueblos have come a long way in educating the public about traveling to their respective villages since Buddy Mays. The last twenty years have been a transformative time in the practice of Pueblo produced guidebooks. It clear that the publication of the *Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Visitors’ Guide* has been a force in the

development and the production of quality state travel materials. *New Mexico Magazine* constantly references the *Guide* as a must use resource for out-of-state travelers. In addition, travel publications like *Fodor's New Mexico* (2005) have also incorporated the use of the *Guide*. In a section called “Know Your Pueblo Etiquette,” Fodors.com clearly copied verbatim some of the information from the *Guide*. Fodor cites the *Visitors’ Guide* as a useful and handy reference. Fodor continues to elaborate that there are several rules of etiquette for visiting the pueblos:

. . . some of which may be culturally foreign to non-Indian visitors. These apply not only to feast days, but also to every day. Rules on photographing pueblo buildings or ceremonies vary. Before you snap, ask at the pueblo governor’s office or visitors’ center. Some places, such as Taos Pueblo, levy a fee. Never photograph an individual or private property without asking permission. Don’t talk or walk around during dances or other ceremonies, don’t applaud, and don’t ask for an explanation of the ceremony (2005).

In addition, Visitsantafe.com, a popular travel website, includes a section titled “Pueblo Etiquette” that outlines useful information such as obeying all traffic, parking and speed limit signs and that all Pueblo dances are religious ceremonies, not staged performances. Richard Mahler, author of *New Mexico’s Best* (1996) has an informative article titled, “The Best Way to Behave on an Indian Reservation” that directly credits the *Guide* for useful tips for travelers. Furthermore, a course at Hanover College titled “Cultural Adaptation of Native Americans” includes a trip to the Southwest. As part of the required course reading, the *Eight Northern Visitors’ Guide* is listed. In her second edition of *Dances of the Tewa Pueblo Indians* (2004), Jill D. Sweet cited the importance of the *Guide* since this was not available during the time of her original 1985 publication.

Sweet also mentioned that the sort of fieldwork she had done in the 1970s would be impossible today because of Native American autonomy.

For Pueblo people, such information included in mainstream travel guides is a welcoming practice. Many mainstream publications have lifted images and incorporated articles from the *Guide* in their own travel guidebooks and brochures. In fact, Crucita's popular cover image on the 1995 *Guide* (Fig. 32) has been lifted and reproduced in numerous travel magazines without any credit to the original source. Most recently, the Taos bread baker has appeared in *The Official Santa Fe Visitors Guide* (2002, 42) and in a postcard collection titled *Dance Ceremonies of the Northern Rio Grande Pueblos* (High Desert Field Guides, 2005, 5).

Oftentimes this language is taken directly from the *Guides* and frequently goes uncited. In addition, several southern pueblos like Zuni pueblo and Acoma pueblo also have begun producing their own travel guidebooks and brochures. During a 2004 recent visit to Santo Domingo pueblo on their feast day, there were cars backed up for miles waiting to park and enter the village. Upon entry, visitors were handed a brochure, which included a brief history of the pueblo as well as a list of rules and regulations. There are easily more than 1,000 Santo Domingo members who partake in the Corn Dances throughout the hot summer day. Santo Domingo, like most other pueblos during feast days, is very welcoming with regard to receiving visitors. It is not uncommon to see tribal members hand out baked goods to spectators, or for spectators to be invited into households for something to eat or handed a glass of cold iced tea. The first page of the Santo Domingo brochure is titled "The Great Corn Dance" which notes that Santo

Domingo is the scene each August 4 of the largest Indian dance ceremonial held annually in the Southwest. At the end of the brochure visitors are asked to be courteous and cooperative by following the no picture taking and recording policies. In addition to the brochure, tribal officials are on watch and very clear about repeating that there is no photography, video recording or cell phones permitted in the village.

Regardless these Pueblo and non-Pueblo progressive publications and sensitivity, there remains a strand of non-Indian produced publications that continues to receive wide circulation and that lacks sensitivity. Daniel Gibson's (2002) *Pueblos of the Rio Grande* is a recent example that features a significant amount of Edward S. Curtis photography with no real context. In sections labeled as "modern" describing current Pueblo communities, Gibson's articles are infused with turn of the century black and white photography. In fact, there really is no photography of Pueblo people pictured outside of their ethnic context, whether this be as dancers, climbing ruins or as drummers. Moreover, photography of koshares, kachina mural photographs from Zuni and the famous Nambe Falls offering are featured in this publication.¹⁶ Gibson's cover image is a profile of young Zuni dancer. This is just one of numerous examples in which Pueblo youth continue to be featured on cover travel guides void of any cultural or modern context.

One mainstream publication that reaches travelers nationwide is the *New Mexico for Dummies* series (Fig. 45).

¹⁶ In the book's credits Gibson acknowledges Pueblo people that he consulted with for the publication. Among them is Herman Agoyo from San Juan Pueblo. I asked Herman early on about his involvement with the publication. He stated he reviewed the accuracy of the tribe's information. Herman was surprised that the publication later included the *kossas* (sacred clowns) from San Juan Pueblo on the first page.

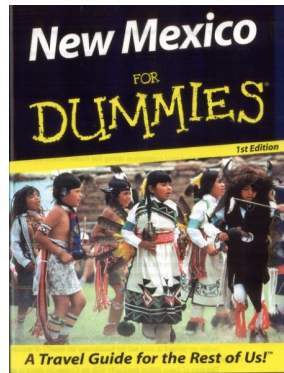


Fig. 45 “New Mexico for Dummies”
Copyright Joe Viesti/Viesti Collection

Despite the obvious parody, the *For Dummies* series is wrought with tongue in cheek information for visitors. For example, if travelers want to fit into being a New Mexican they should drive a truck, own at least one dog, and be late for everything, just to name a few tips. From the look of the photograph, the above cover image is from the Puye Cliffs Ceremonial circa 1970s and features a young Tesuque Buffalo dance group. This is the only image in the *New Mexico for Dummies* (2002) that does include some useful etiquette rules such as “be respectful of ceremonial dances. Do not speak during them, and don’t applaud at the end – the dancers aren’t performing for your amusement; they’re dancing as part of their ceremony. In short, be respectful and courteous, and don’t do anything you wouldn’t do in your own mother’s house” (340). It is almost certain today that most travel publications will include some mention of rules or etiquette information, especially listings of feast days arts and crafts events and contact numbers. In addition, rules about photography are also standard. This is perhaps due to the number of cameras confiscated by tribal officials when cameras are strictly prohibited during certain dances. It makes good common sense for travelers to be aware of rules and

regulations before heading out to visit the pueblos. As with most guidebooks, children remain convenient to carrying out the adequate travel information.

Regardless of its success and appeal, in 2004 the publication of the *Guide* was put on hold due to funding and staff changes. The Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council, Inc. then funded a feasibility survey on the *Guide*. After heavy review and scrutiny, the *Guide* was reissued the following year. With the rising costs of printing and distribution, the problem with the *Guide* is that it is not a moneymaker. Since 1988, the cost of operating the *Guide* has been a constant economic struggle. Staff at the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council, Inc is stretched with regard to duties and projects such as addressing No Child Left Behind policies, adequate housing and healthcare. Each of the northern pueblos have taken their gaming revenues and reinvested in highway construction, waste water treatment plants, housing and school maintenance. In addition, administrative changes have also affected the support and implementation of the *Guide* and “management for the Visitors’ Guide has been weak at best, allowing for out-of-control cost overruns” (CRC & Associates 2004). The *Guide* can no longer rely on volunteers and staffing must include a “responsible, organized and persistent salesperson,” according to the Business Plan (2004). Nonetheless, the *Guide* is still being published since its main goal has been to produce a travel guide that promotes tourism to the pueblos in a manner consistent with Pueblo values.

The cover of the 2007-08 issue features a young Buffalo Dance troupe with two male Buffalo dancers and a young girl in the middle. Below is a photograph of a Maria Martinez black-on-black feather pottery plate and her son’s, Tony Da, red Avanyu (water

serpent) jar with turquoise inlay. The title above reads, “Celebrating the Arts & Culture of the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos.” Almost twenty years since the first publication of the *Guide*, the core imagery of the cover continues to equate Pueblo people with ceremony, pottery and children dancing. These are selected images for the cover of the *Guide* as icons of community history. Nowhere in any of the *Guides* will visitors view photographs of Koshare (*kossa*) nor will readers come across images of masked dancers. The *Guide* was intended as an educational tool. This is perhaps best illustrated in the accompanying text of the *Guides*.

The iconic imagery of bread baking and various styled Pueblo dancers is utilized as core marking and marketing images in the *Guide*. Upon closer inspection, the stories told in the photographs and surrounding text provide a holistic reflection of Pueblo people and communities. This chapter discussed how the Pueblos are departing from conventional ways of not only attracting tourists as an economic factor, but by producing ways of educating travelers about Pueblo histories and lifestyles. This is most clearly demonstrated by children on the cover who serve to educate the traveling public about the struggles of living among and between various cultures.

It is descriptions of individuals such as former Nambe Governor George Yates who are featured in the *Guide* that focus on his authoring of 85 technical papers and patents for his GY-11 video camera. Former Pojoaque Governor Jacob Villarrial (2000) is steadfast in pointing out that “non-Indian governments, federal, state and county politicians and administrators continue to attack our way of life by refusing to allow us to live the way we choose to live. Some people would enslave us as living museums” (18).

The efforts to engage in economic development, compete with ideological forces, and maintain a sense of Pueblo identity are constant struggles within a region that thrives on promoting tourism as a major business enterprise.

CHAPTER 5

FROM LIVING EXHIBITS TO CASINO MAKERS: LABOR, DESIRE AND THE MARKETING OF NEW MEXICO

INTRODUCTION

This analysis examines a paradox: American Indians are encouraged as individuals to be part of the entrepreneurial spirit in being self-sufficient by making a living, while at the same time, policies are crafted so that American Indians are marketed to perpetuate a notion of a “living past.” Natives of the Southwest continue in the nation’s imagination as artisans, as living relics of the past, and as performers of spiritually authentic rituals. In fact, the New Mexico Board of Tourism continues to market the state as “America’s Land of Enchantment” and, as discussed, tourism materials and postcards continue to feature stereotypical images of dancers in traditional “Indian” regalia. This chapter focuses on some of the hidden elements of artisans who are the most publicly photographed in Santa Fe.¹ By walking in downtown Santa Fe, most visitors do not get a sense of the type of work involved in the production of the art they purchase. We fail to acknowledge that pottery or jewelry may be started by one person and finished by another, or that several family members may work together to produce an item. The production of arts and crafts was communally based in that it often took more than one person to gather materials, prepare items and finish the piece. Whether this was viewed as “work” or obligation to produce a pot for cooking and storing, Pueblo people almost

¹ An earlier version of this chapter appears in M. Martinez (2006) “A Living Exhibition: Labor, Desire and the Marketing of Arts and Crafts in Santa Fe” in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, Volume 186, Flows of Migration and Tradition.

always worked in relation to each other (Naranjo 1996). Privileging the individual artist is a relatively recent phenomenon in New Mexico.

Since the arrival of the Spanish to New Mexico in the 1500s, Pueblo people have been contributors to the construction of churches, plazas and agricultural sectors. There are few mentions of Pueblo people as workers outside the traditional *encomienda* system. This system, which granted land and people as laborers, was deeply entrenched in the history and culture of the Americas. It is one of the most damaging institutions that Spanish colonists implemented in New Mexico. The system came to signify the oppression and exploitation of indigenous peoples (Kessell 1987). Outside of these systems, studies of North American Indian economic life have largely ignored the participation of indigenous peoples in the labor market.² This chapter examines a contemporary example of American Indian labor through interviews conducted with American Indian artists at the Santa Fe plaza. Moving beyond the wider uses of Pueblo produced guidebooks, the study of labor provides a unique site of analysis for understanding American Indian communities in the state's premier travel destination.

This research draws upon the emerging literature of global ethnography as presented in Michael Burawoy's *Global Ethnography* (2003). Burawoy's work discusses the dynamics of local struggles and global forces. The examination of local struggles, undertaken by American Indian artists as laborers, brings a new understanding of global forces that are transcribed in tourist markets. Through the process of this research I

² For a more thorough discussion of American Indians and labor see Alice Littlefield and Martha C. Knack (1996) *Native Americans and Wage Labor: Ethnohistorical Perspectives*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

explore the role local American Indian artists occupy as laborers. In addition, a central question guiding this work is how can the study of everyday life, through work, provide an understanding of processes that transcend national boundaries? My research is grounded in local communities, but with a lens toward examining international art markets and federal policies. My task is to assemble a picture of American Indian labor by recognizing diverse perspectives and forces through connected sites. As Burawoy's work demonstrates, I attempt to ground my work in ethnography and local histories. The aim of this chapter is to present a greater understanding of the role indigenous peoples play as laborers in a sea of tourism.³ Furthermore, it is through their role as workers with an entrepreneurial spirit that we can understand fundamental links to the newer Indian gaming enterprises. As tribes make adjustments to navigating and changing policies, the fruit of their efforts are seen in the rapid development of businesses in northern New Mexico.

CONTESTED POLICIES & SPACES

Santa Fe, New Mexico is a prime site of analysis for understanding contemporary tourism and its impact on local indigenous communities. As one visitor stated, “[t]he city’s economy feeds an unending diet of traditional Indian and Hispanic art, architecture, food, and ceremonies. This gives the place a sense of colonial Williamsburg or

³ Karl A. Hoerig worked collaboratively with the program’s participants since 1995 and documented his research and experience in *Under the Palace Portal: Native American Artists in Santa Fe*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003. Hoerig’s work provides an in depth look at the history of the program as well as interviews with program participants. Hoerig’s research was initially helpful for understanding some of the context. However, this chapter is concerned with not only Portal participants but incorporates the experiences of other “undocumented” vendors in the plaza who also are workers in Santa Fe.

Disneyland. I feel downtown Santa Fe is like a theme park” says Lee More, 26, an executive assistant (Clifford 1997, C2). Comments by this visitor to New Mexico are quite common in that travel to the state centers on entertainment and discovering new places. Travelers to New Mexico want to get away and explore what is out of the ordinary from their daily life routines. Buying local artwork and photographs of their travel sights act as souvenirs and memories to the Land of Enchantment. The City of Santa Fe’s Culture, Arts and Tourism Planner Tom Maguire is diligent about drawing what he calls “cultural tourists” to Santa Fe:

A recent study found that arts and culture in Santa Fe are the top industries. These include a variety of sectors such as the Opera, which employs 600 staff during the summer, fashion design, home studios, sales, and museums. My goal here, as the Culture, Arts and Tourism Planner, is to draw in the cultural tourist. That is culture with a lower case c. In this sense, cultural tourists want to learn about the area in every sense of the word. A cultural tourist can be anyone who simply has an interest in culture. Culture is a way of being and a way of life. Cultural tourists often learn about the history and sites to see before arriving in Santa Fe. We want cultural tourists to come in “armed” to travel and ready to absorb. Our goal is to offer cultural tourists an experience while being in Santa Fe. This may include a variety of activities such as hiking, visiting surrounding pueblos, the Santa Fe Opera, shopping or any of the other aspects of Santa Fe's culture that make our community unique (Maguire 2005).

It is clear that Maguire’s cultural tourists are very active contributors to Santa Fe’s economy. Within the last century, American Indian art and culture have been transformed in style locally as they became commodities in international markets and media. Santa Fe is a city that thrives on indigenous culture for the sustainability of its economy. Its proud promotion as the trendy art capital of the Southwest brings over two million visitors each year. Beginning in the mid-1970s, downtown Santa Fe began to shift toward upscale tourism. What was once a space for local socializing and entertainment

has now become a place for gift shops and galleries, and the Plaza area has ceased to be the center of community life (Hammet, Hammet and Scholz 2006). The Santa Fe plaza attracts out-of-state and international tourists because of its multiple venues for indigenous art, food and style. Santa Fe is more than a place to buy and sell indigenous art, it is an economically important workplace for indigenous peoples as it supports hundreds of families throughout New Mexico (Hoerig 2003).

According to a report by the U.S. Department of the Interior (2005), the Indian arts and crafts industry has become a billion-dollar industry in the United States. As a result of its profitability, fake and imitation art have reached vast proportions. The U.S. Customs and Border Patrol (CBP) has estimated that an average of \$30 million in Indian-style arts and crafts is imported annually from countries such as the Philippines, Mexico, Thailand, Pakistan, and China. These imports, combined with domestically produced imitations, represent an estimated \$400 to \$500 million in revenue (U.S. Department of the Interior 2005). As one artist states, “[t]here is a huge demand for Native American arts and crafts, but when you try and sell your work, it’s difficult because you’re competing against all these cheap fakes. It’s frustrating” (Gibson 1990, 16). So says Loren Panteah, a jeweler of Zuni, New Mexico, where up to 85 percent of the working population rely on arts and crafts as their primary or secondary incomes. Furthermore, “of the estimated \$1 billion annual Indian arts and crafts market in the United States, up to half of the products being sold are believed to be fakes or illegally reproduced works” (Gibson 1990, 17).

The rising popularity and economic benefits of American Indian art is apparent when, for example, a United States manufacturer set up a factory in the 1980s in the Philippines and persuaded the locals to rename their village Zuni, after the Zuni tribe in New Mexico (*Deutsche Presse-Agentur* 1998). Factories in the Philippines are now able to stamp their imitation American Indian art as “Made in Zuni.” Developing nations are continuously setting up factories to cash in on “Indian” arts and crafts. For example, the Brazilians, Nigerians and Pakistanis weave copies of Apache, Navajo and Pima baskets. Mexicans weave imitation Navajo blankets. Chinese carve Zuni-type animal fetishes. Thai workers make imitation jewelry by sometimes using blue plastic instead of turquoise stones. Filipino artisans specialize in Hopi kachina dolls as well as Zuni inlaid jewelry (Brooke 1997; U.S. Department of the Interior Office of Inspector General 2005).

To alleviate problems of misrepresentation, the Indian Arts and Crafts Act of 1990 was signed into law. The goal of this Act was to provide hefty financial and criminal penalties for fake American Indian art (U.S. Department of the Interior Office of Inspector General 2005). Enforcement of the Act is problematic, however, because of vague policy wording and the lack of support from government agencies. For all practical purposes, the federal law designed to protect American Indian artists is unenforceable. Since the Act first passed in 1935, the law has only been used to bring indictments; there has never been a civil or criminal conviction (U.S. Department of the Interior 2005). The 1990 Act also defined an Indian as “any individual who is a member of an Indian tribe, or for the purposes of this section is certified as an Indian artisan by an Indian tribe” (Sec. 104 c 1). The term tribe includes those recognized federally or by state legislature. In

short, an American Indian artist is mandated by federal law to provide proof of tribal enrollment in order to market art made by the individual. An American Indian artist can only make the type of art of a tribe from which he or she is an enrolled or a recognized member.

This Act further empowered the Indian Arts and Crafts Board with the right to determine who is and who is not an official American Indian artist, which makes the misrepresentation of oneself or one's art as "Indian" a criminal offense (Josephy, Nagel, and Johnson 1999). The passage of the Indian Arts and Crafts Act had some dramatic results with artists panicking to find or re-discover their tribal identity. American Indians are the only ethnic group in the United States who are mandated by federal law to "prove" their identity. By not proving their identity, American Indians are easily dismissed from participating in art shows, educational benefits, health care, and various other governmental programs. The process of defining Indianness varies from tribe to tribe. There is no uniform policy. Furthermore, the majority of American Indians are participating in exogamous marriages and this further problematizes identity since tribes and the federal government continue to restrict tribal enrollment through a certain percentage of blood quantum (Doerfler 2007; Wilkins 2002). The complexity of American Indian identity is much too lengthy for a thorough analysis to be included in the scope of this chapter. Suffice it to say that indigenous identity is ever evolving in relation to federal government policies.

"A LIVING EXHIBITION"

The Native American Vendor's Program at the Palace of the Governors is Santa Fe's most popular tourist attraction. Known as the Portal Program for its location under the front *portal*, or porch, the program is under the direction of the Museum of New Mexico. Here, the Portal Program supports hundreds of American Indian artists who sell to millions of visitors each year (Hoerig 2003). Because of the program's high profile, it is familiar to almost everyone who has visited Santa Fe. Images of the portal along with the vendors appear on postcards, t-shirts, and in state produced tourist literature. All of the Santa Fe tour groups and buses stop in front of the portal so visitors can purchase artwork. This also gives tourists a prime opportunity to photograph "real" American Indians in public. The Vendor's Program is perhaps one of the most photographed sites in Santa Fe with numerous images on postcards, magazines, and brochures (Fig. 46).



Fig. 46 Palace of the Governors
Santa Fe, New Mexico
Back of the postcard reads "Native Americans selling jewelry under the portal"
Published by SUNSHINE Distributing

Historically, the display of indigenous peoples by imperial powers was practiced in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, forming a basis for many of the world's great museums. Living displays found their widest expression in the world's fairs. Indigenous

peoples were central to world's fairs and exhibited as counterpoints to industrial progress and celebrations of power. The placement of indigenous peoples in displays located them at various points down the "evolutionary ladder" of social and racial progress. Rydell (1984) discusses that "to see is to know" was the motto attached to many anthropological exhibits of World's Fairs (44). Staged by colonial powers, representatives from around the world from about 1870 to 1930 were collected and displayed. This not only included North American and South American indigenous peoples, but representatives from Samoa, Philippines and Sami were key to many of the exhibits. Natives, which also included Europeans, quickly became a standard part of the "seeing is knowing" theme. Together with their artifacts – including art, jewelry and clothing – houses and even complete villages, the so called "primitives" were made available for visual inspection by millions of staring Western people (Rydell 1984; *New York Times* 1893).

Like the Cliff Dwellers at the St. Louis Exposition, Chief Manitou and Taos powwow dancers at the Gallup Ceremonial, the practice of being under a colonial gaze for Pueblo people has become part of their experience with the public. Pueblo people who dance in staged performances or through demonstrations as potters and bread bakers are photographed as real-life Indian spectacle. Filtered through a colonial history of exhibition, the camera faces one way and focuses on what is ethnically marked as being Pueblo. The artists at the Santa Fe plaza are an extension of this larger history in which indigenous peoples are kept and imaged as "archeology alive," "timeless," and "frozen in time." The stock image of Native vendors is manifested in travel postcards without any form of agency or role artists have as participants in a global economy.

According to Benedict (1983), the display of people has much to do with power relations between the displayers and the displayed. The Museum of New Mexico's Native American Vendors Program is not all that different from historical museum practices - the exception being that now American Indians have the opportunity to interact and converse with the public. In the Portal Program, American Indian artists are readily accessible to tourists who can purchase directly from the artists. The Portal Program thrives on the notion that tourists can be confident in their purchase of handmade American Indian arts and crafts. The vendors are also strong advocates of rules protecting their artwork. The task for the Portal Program is to maintain traditional American Indian art that is also guided by federal policies - an added strain when confronted with the influx of imitation Indian art.

The Department of Cultural Affairs, a state agency, operates the Museum of New Mexico. The Museum Division is extensive in which directors oversee each of their program's day-to-day operations.⁴ The Portal Program in downtown Santa Fe is just one of the state's programs. A Portal Director is specifically hired to oversee vendors. This includes duties such as processing artist applications and overseeing the portal committee. The portal committee appoints a Duty Officer who is in charge of the assigned spaces. The main role of the portal committee is inspection of all goods for sale and to determine whether they are Indian handmade goods and meet the standards of quality as established by the Museum (NMAC 4.51.57.13). The portal committee is

⁴ The Museums and Monuments under the Department of Cultural Affairs include the Palace of the Governors, Museum of Indian Arts & Culture, New Mexico Museum of Art and the Museum of International Folk Art. In addition, the New Mexico State Monuments of Coronado, Fort Selden, Bosque Redondo, Jemez, Lincoln and El Camino Real are under the same division created to preserve and interpret important sites as part of New Mexico's history.

selected from the Native American Vendor's Program and the Director is hired by the Museum of New Mexico Director to oversee the program.

To be a vendor in the program, American Indians must be from a New Mexico tribe or have some other connection (such as being married to someone enrolled in a New Mexico tribe), provide proof of enrollment or a Certificate of Indian Blood and have gone through an artist demonstration. The artist demonstration consists of showing the program that an individual actually does make the artwork, and uses "authentic material." Authentic in the program's vision is the use of actual turquoise stones, sterling silver and earth clay from sources on the participant's reservation. In addition, all artists must stamp their art with a unique maker's mark or sign their work. The vendors constantly undergo inspection for poor or questionable material. In addition, artists can only sell what they make and must display a permit with their name, tribal affiliation, and identification number while vending (NMAC 4.51.57). The Native American Vendors Program in Santa Fe differs from Old Town in Albuquerque in that the Portal is operated by a state institution, under the Museum of New Mexico. In contrast, Old Town vendors need only to apply for a city permit to vend, which is open to Indian and non-Indian artists who are not verified according to their use of material.

For most of the artists in Santa Fe this is a full-time job. A lot of artists also send their family members to sell for the day. They, too, must go through the process of demonstrating their work. This is not uncommon. I interviewed a husband and wife team who told me that she sells during the week and he stays home to work at the shop cutting stones and polishing. They switch on weekends, and he goes to sell in Santa Fe, while she

stays home working on jewelry. This was a common practice among a lot of the artists to form a sort of “tag team” of vendors. A young Navajo man and his mother I interviewed mentioned they took turns vending at the plaza and working at home on jewelry. This also occurs with potters. A Santa Clara vendor told me that he and his wife took turns going for clay, mixing, and polishing while one of them went to sell. The “tag-team” efforts are quite common and seem to be very successful for artists selling at the plaza. If single parents work as artists, it is usually with the help of their family members. Obtaining the material for jewelry or pottery, crafting the pieces and vending is a constant juggling act to which Portal Program participants have adapted in order to make ends meet.

There were no formal rules governing the sale of art in the Portal until the Supreme Court case *Livingston v Ewing* (1979), which challenged the idea of “Indians” vending at the plaza. The case involved Anglo immigrants from New York, Paul and Sara Livingston, who wanted to profit from the booming popularity of Indian arts and crafts. On numerous occasions, museum officials enlisted the aid of the state police to remove the non-Indians who would continuously return to the Portal. The conflicts between vendors, Indians and non-Indians, led to a series of lawsuits and complaints. The museum and the program eventually prevailed in these suits; in the process, an informal market became the Portal Program (Evans-Pritchard 1987; Hoerig 2003). Today there is a mention that “participants in the portal program shall not fight while vending. Any participant who is involved in any fight or altercation while vending may be subject to suspension. Fighting is automatic grounds for suspension” (NMAC 4.5.57.15.E). The

Livingston case ultimately ruled that the Museum of New Mexico can be selective in permitting only American Indians because they are “protecting a valuable state interest, that of acquiring, preserving and exhibiting, archeological and ethnological interest in fine arts . . . It is thought that only Indians can make Indian goods and therefore that is in the public interest to allow Indians to do it” (Livingston v Ewing 1979). There are numerous vendors – Indian and non-Indian – who are directly set up across the Portal and are not part of the Native American Vendor’s Program. Anglos come to sell their sketches, some Hispanics have silver jewelry available as well as a few American Indians who sell small pottery or turquoise pieces. They are only required to have a City of Santa Fe permit to vend at the plaza.

In addition to vendors in the Portal Program, there are several American Indian artists and vendors set up around the main plaza area who also travel to Santa Fe everyday to work. These individuals are not connected with the Portal Program and do not abide by the same rules and regulations as those in the program. They often set up in front of hotels, galleries or the Cathedral area. Like the vendors across the Portal, the only requirement is that they need a city permit and permission from owners if they set up in front of a gallery. They sell mostly jewelry, such as silver bracelets, necklaces and earrings. Also, worthy of mention is the rise of Mexican nationals who gather in the early morning off the plaza area in search of employment. It is common for construction companies, hotel and resort owners, and well-to-do home owners in Santa Fe to pick up a day laborer near the plaza. The plaza not only caters to high-end art buyers, but it serves as a major work site for indigenous peoples (American Indians and Mexicans) in search

of a living wage. It is no surprise that there are almost no photographs of other artists and workers in the plaza area who are not part of the Vendor's Program. Other forms of labor and participation in the tourist economy are virtually erased and hidden behind the neatly placed and controlled artists under the Portal.

Most of the Portal vendors have basically the same daily agenda. Each morning starting at 8:00 a.m., vendors begin to arrive at the plaza. They mark their space by putting down a cloth along the sidewalk in front of one of the 64 numbered spaces that line the wall of the Palace of the Governors. Each of these artists has come to the plaza from their homes in the surrounding pueblo villages, the Navajo reservation or from Albuquerque or Santa Fe for the opportunity to sell their artwork. It is not uncommon for artists to travel over an hour each way to Santa Fe. There are a total of 1002 enrolled vendors in the program but of this number about 300 are active participants (Davis 2000). Not all artists choose to sell continuously, but may only sell during peak seasons such as Christmas or during the summer months. If there are more vendors than spaces, which usually happens, then the program utilizes a lottery system. Each vendor draws a numbered chip to get a space. The hopper contains numbered chips for the spaces under the portal as well as blank chips. Those that draw a number get to sell for the day and the others either go home or put their name on the waiting list to see if someone will leave by noon. Regardless of traveling to Santa Fe and passing a demonstration, vendors are constantly reminded that the committee does not guarantee them a space (Davis 2000). Once vendors arrive at the plaza and get a space, they begin carefully unpacking and placing each piece of work on their rugs or blankets and polishing last minute silver

pieces. Oftentimes some artists gather for morning coffee at a nearby coffee shop or the Five and Dime store. I have run into quite a few of the artists at these places where I met and talked with them about their work experience.⁵

The Portal vendors must set up their pieces on the brick surface, usually on a blanket or cloth, while other surrounding vendors in the plaza use a small table stand. The Portal Program prohibits “tables or elevated stands” for displaying of jewelry (NMAC 4.51.57). However, vendors now are allowed to bring in their own chairs, which were previously prohibited by the program. Vendors also are permitted to wear shorts in the summer, since this too was not allowed. They could only wear jeans or dresses.⁶ Most

⁵ A note on methodology: In 2000 I secured permission with Debra Davis, Director of the Portal Program. I explained that I was working on a project that consisted of researching work in Santa Fe and that I would like to speak with some of the vendors about their experiences. The Director said this would not be a problem but wanted to notify the Portal committee about me being around the Portal talking with vendors. Karl Hoerig, a previous doctoral student in Anthropology, had just finished researching and documenting the history of the Portal Program. I was only interested in a portion of the program only as it related to indigenous people as artists working at the plaza. In addition, I also contacted family and friends who worked in the plaza. In total, I conducted 26 interviews from December 2000 to June 2006. Interviews were conducted while I was home in New Mexico on leave from school in the summers and between semester breaks. Interviews varied from a single question lasting only ten minutes to more extensive four hour visits. The average was around half an hour when vendors were not busy with customers. The more in depth interviews took place at the artist’s home upon initial contact in the plaza. To protect the anonymity of the artists no real names are used in this section.

For those vendors not in the program, I approached them individually and informed them of my work and asked their permission for an interview. Most of them did not seem to mind answering questions about their work. I also mentioned if this was not a good meeting time that I could come back another time if they preferred. Most interviews were conducted at the plaza while artists were vending. Interviews were not tape recorded but were conducted in conversational-type dialogues. I recorded responses in a notebook during the interviews. I felt vendors would be more open when talking about their experiences selling in the plaza if I kept the interviews informal in a conversational mode rather than asking a list of prescribed questions and using a tape recorder. This worked well since vendors seemed to enjoy talking about their work. In addition, I think what helped gain “access” to interviews was being a familiar person in the plaza - as a person from a local pueblo community. I also have family members and close friends who sell at the plaza. In a sense, I was a familiar face to some of the vendors. I’ve had previous experience as a volunteer with some of the local arts and crafts fairs in New Mexico. This proved to be helpful when making contact with artists.

⁶ The conversation of dress was discussed extensively with a young mid-twenties Navajo man who was one of the vendors selling silver jewelry under the Portal. As a young child, he remembered accompanying his mother and told me the story of the type of dress code that was enforced. Many other vendors also confirmed this story regarding dress codes.

artists usually sell until about 4:00 p.m., depending on their sales. Some go home by noon, giving others a chance to sell their work. Once they get home, most vendors continue to work whether this involves polishing, beading, or firing pots in preparation for the next day. Most of the artists sell in the plaza full time, and at times participate in various markets throughout New Mexico and surrounding states. The largest and most prestigious art market for vendors is the Santa Fe Indian Market held annually in August which brings an estimated 80,000 visitors in one weekend (Bernstein 1993; Gibson 2000).

The items sold in the Portal Program range widely from “traditional” forms of art such as silver and turquoise bracelets, necklaces, rings, small pottery, sand paintings, carvings and weavings, to not so traditional items such as sterling silver golf tees, guitar picks, money clips, and pink and turquoise tomahawks. Items also change themes depending on the time of year. Artists are well tuned to the seasonal demands and the contemporary fads and fashions. For example, Christmas season is a prime opportunity to find clay style tree ornaments in the shape of reindeers or Santa Claus figures. Silver crosses are also common during the Christmas holiday season. And, during Easter season some vendors may make designs in bunny imagery. During the warmer months, starting in late spring, there is a noticeable surge of golf tees. It also appears that silver jewelry has far outnumbered small pottery and paintings. This is perhaps because tourists on their vacation wish to purchase something to be worn and easily packed since the Vendor’s Program does not ship any items like most galleries will do.

The interview questions for American Indian vendors in this project were designed to inquire about everyday experiences selling in the plaza and the labor process involved in producing and vending art. In total, 26 interviews were conducted with artists and vendors at the plaza as well as with Museum of New Mexico staff.⁷ Questions focused on the daily experiences of selling art in the plaza, the types of preparation involved for producing and vending in Santa Fe, interactions with tourists and reactions to state institutions and policies. Essentially, the image of the “Indian” sitting at the plaza is not generally viewed in the public’s eye as a form of work. In contrast, the interviews conducted with artists present a much different perspective not commonly captured in postcards and travel guides. Artists who create their pieces do very much see their creation as work. In addition, vending at the plaza is very laborious. Postcards and tourist guidebooks negate the intensive physical and emotional labor that is involved with the producing and vending of artwork at the plaza. The goal of the following interview excerpts is to convey a snapshot of labor experiences that are not commonly captured behind the stereotypical image making in New Mexico.

WORKING IN SANTA FE

My initial approach with artists was to gauge a sense about the work of being an artist and to understand why they went into the business. Not surprisingly, almost all artists responded that this has been a family affair. Either their parents sold at the plaza or

⁷ In addition to interviews with American Indian vendors, I talked informally with several non-American Indian vendors about their work and experiences at the plaza. I did not include the information in this chapter as part of the interviews since these informal conversations were more for my personal use to gain a better understanding about working in Santa Fe.

another relative had a connection with selling in Santa Fe. Making pottery or jewelry has been handed down from previous generations. Most vendors who have been selling for generations can point to a relative or community member in one of the many Parkhurst's photographs (Fig. 47). In addition, the children of the Portal vendors hold an annual summer fair to display and sell their own artwork. From the Museum's perspective this too ensures continuity of indigenous artwork. This event is sponsored by the Museum of New Mexico. For safety reasons, children are not allowed under the Portal while vendors are selling. This is the only day in which children are welcomed and encouraged to be part of the entrepreneurial spirit. This is held behind the Palace of the Governors where children often sit with their parents at a table to display their handmade jewelry, pottery and drawings. This children's weekend also includes food and various youth dance groups from the surrounding pueblos.



Fig. 47 "Indian Vendors Under the portal"
Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe, New Mexico, ca 1935
Photograph by T. Harmon Parkhurst,
Courtesy of the Museum of New Mexico

I asked vendors what they thought of the lottery system and how this has worked for them. Most of them believed it was fair so that everyone got a chance to sell. One vendor, from Santo Domingo, said "it gets rough at times when I draw a blank 10 times in a row without selling. There is no guarantee for a space and so we have to budget our

time and money because we never know when a space will come up for us.” A few of the vendors also sell out of their homes in the pueblos but they mainly utilize their home for making pieces and not selling. Vendors constantly need to prepare for times when they may not get a space to sell or find a way to make other sales. Those not in the Portal Program, who set up around the plaza, have a “safe space” as long as they have a city permit or a gallery owner or a hotel allows them to set up. One young Jemez woman, who sells baked bread off a side street at the plaza, said she had to constantly ask permission to set up and promise storeowners something:

Usually they require 10% of what I make, which sometimes I do not make much. One time I was selling bread, and was making bread to show how it is done and a lot of people dropped in to watch, but didn't buy much. I had a lot of people asking questions about how I made the bread, what kind of ingredients and things like that, but not many sales. I got into it with the store people since they thought I was making a lot of sales because they always saw people around me. I gave them 10% of what I sold, and told them that is all I sold that day. I never went back there. Now I don't sell for them. I have my own [city] permit and can sell where I want as long as I get here first. Sometimes it is hard with my daughter so I come whenever I can.

Selling food in the plaza is not as common as jewelry and other artwork. In order to sell food all vendors must have a food handler's certificate. In addition, all food must be packaged and labeled with the maker's name and ingredients (NMAC 4.51.57). The Jemez woman's husband sells artwork in the Portal Program and she accompanies him to Santa Fe when both their schedules allow.

When I asked vendors about the rules and regulations they need to abide by to be part of the program, all seemed to endorse the idea of the program checking for the quality of materials. This assures the participants that they are part of a unique

community of artists unlike other vendors who are not monitored. One vendor jeweler and beadwork artist stated about those not in the program:

They can sell whatever they want, nobody checks on them and if buyers do not know the difference they are caught buying fakes, some of them don't even make the jewelry they sell or they sell for commercial business using plastic instead of turquoise stones or liquid silver that fades. They may sell jewelry for cheaper, but you get what you pay for. Here, our work is authentic and real. They [Portal Program] make sure we have authentic material and that we personally make all the items we sell. They are always checking on us to make sure we sell real Indian jewelry that is handmade by us and nobody else.

From talking with Portal vendors, there seems to be a general sentiment of “fake vendors” against those not in the program. The American Indian vendors not part of the Program contend that they *do* make their own jewelry. I asked one Santo Domingo vendor who sells in front of the Cathedral why he wasn't in the Portal Program. He stated “too many rules and regulations, here I can come and go as I want . . . I'm able to fluctuate between materials using plated nickel silver and sterling silver, I have more space to spread out my work and I'm not cramped in the portal competing for tourists.” The flexibility is evident among artists who do not sell as part of the Portal Program. Items on the display table, whether made by the individual artist or not, range from silver jewelry, beadwork, to coffee mugs and key chains. Vendors who are not part of the program are allowed more physical space to get up, walk around, stand and converse with people rather than being situated in one confined space like those under the Palace portal. One young Portal jewelry artist from San Felipe expressed his concern about the rules:

They don't allow us to have a radio or headphones while we are sitting here. It gets boring sometimes and we just read and share the newspaper. I would like to have my headphones. They don't even allow pagers or cellular phones either. I guess they just want us to sit here and look pretty. . . And no credit card machines too. So many tourists want to buy with credit cards and we can't make a sale. I

think we would sell more if the program allowed a credit card machine so tourists can buy whatever they want on their card.

According to the guidelines governing the program, “the use by Portal Program participants of televisions, radios, tape recorders and players, binoculars, cellular phones, cameras, credit card machines, *and other modern appliances or equipment not essential to participation in the Portal Program shall not be permitted*” (emphasis mine) (NMAC 4.51.57). With this stated, it is important to convey that the Portal Program is an official program operated under the Museum of New Mexico where artists agree to such rules and regulations.⁸ When I asked the Director about not having “modern appliances” she responded that this was in place to keep uniformity and less distraction from vendors and the public. Another main reason given prohibiting cameras among vendors is that the Portal is a place of business and the devices would be “distracting and improper” (Davis 2000). The Portal Program Director was very clear to convey that children are never allowed on the porch with their parents. This is a workplace and vendors are told not to bring their children to the plaza. However, tourists who approach the Portal to photograph are not prohibited from recording or photographing within this place of business. In contrast, the vendors who are not set up in the Portal Program frequently do use credit cards machines for sales. At times I have noted vendors around the plaza who have a small radio usually tuned into the news or sports station.

On several occasions I have witnessed tourists taking photographs of vendors in the plaza and asking inappropriate questions. Some tourists seem to be surprised that vendors speak and understand English well. Most of the time tourists are merely curious

⁸ See *Rules Governing the Portal Program at the Palace of the Governors* (NMAC 4.51.57).

about the piece of artwork they are buying and tend to inquire about the process that it took to make the pieces and the designs used. I asked vendors about their experience when dealing with tourists. The general response was that for the most part vendors do enjoy talking with people about their artwork. What I did get from interviews was that tourists constantly take pictures of vendors without permission and assume that they negotiate their prices. According to an elder jewelry maker who is a Yakima Indian from Washington who married to a Santo Domingo man:

One thing is that people want souvenirs and I don't consider my artwork as souvenirs. I hear all the time that they want to buy a souvenir from a Santa Fe Indian to take back to their family members. I work as an artist and every piece that I make is special with different styles. I don't push my art, if people choose a bracelet, then that was meant for them to take. Another thing that tourists do is that they can buy a \$1,000 art piece from a fancy gallery and then want to bargain down a price for a \$10 bracelet that I made. I say no way. Each piece is priced and I do not bargain because I feel the prices are reasonable and someone else will pay that price so I do not have to bargain. Do they go to a gallery and bargain there? The mentality of consumers is that they're Indians and we are not taken seriously as artists or people trying to make a living. They see us sitting down laughing and talking with people. I guess we look cute to them.

For most of the vendors there is an economic motivation based on what tourists buy that often drives the production of artwork. The artists I interviewed do make specific items for selling at the plaza. One Santo Domingo jeweler mentioned that his bracelets with intricate designs and earrings sell well during the Christmas season, whereas summer months are opportune times for selling larger pieces such as belts and necklaces. Another Pueblo vendor mentioned that at times he makes extra items when he anticipates something will sell more than usual:

For the last couple of years, every summer there has been this Christian group who has a conference or camp out in Glorietta and every Wednesday they bring

the bus and drop them off in the plaza area. They bought all my necklaces with crosses. I caught on to this and started to make more silver crosses with turquoise stones and they just bought them all every time. I always know when to expect people like them who visit the porch [portal area] to buy just one type of jewelry.

Lastly, I inquired about the State of New Mexico and other travel entrepreneurs marketing the Portal Program by stating that “Native Americans selling their traditional arts and crafts on the portal of the Palace constitute a living exhibit of the Palace.”⁹ Most vendors responded by saying that they are part of a unique program in which people can see Indians from many pueblos under one location. Most tourists cannot distinguish between artists from a northern pueblo or a southern pueblo, but for vendors, their distinctions are recognized within the stylistic patterns of the items sold on the porch. This is not only evident across tribes, but families also have their unique symbols and artistic methods. During specific holidays there are also more Navajo vendors. For example, Catholic holidays such as Christmas and Easter are also important dance seasons at the various pueblos. During this time there tends to be a lack of participation from Pueblo people at the plaza. Most vendors do not buy into the idea that they are participants in a “living exhibition.” Quite the contrary, they view themselves as hard working people trying to make a living. Other responses included the fact that they are participants in an educational program. Almost all vendors do enjoy talking about their artwork, designs and styles. During my interviews, conversations were lengthy and at times artists agreed to meet with me after work or on lunch break to continue talking about their artwork. In addition, artists appeared to be curious about the variety of tourists who visit Santa Fe from around the world.

⁹ Quoted from <http://www.santafescence.com>.

The Portal program guidelines are based on the notion that the presence of American Indian artists is an integral part of New Mexico history. Moreover, the Museum of New Mexico established the program and determined the following:

Reserving the Portal for the display and sale of New Mexico Indian crafts would not only help to preserve traditional aspects of New Mexico Indian culture but would be of educational value to the visiting public by providing the opportunity for contact with New Mexico Indian artists and artisans in a historically relevant context (NMAC 4.51.57).

This is the fundamental belief of the Portal Program - to preserve indigenous culture that would be educational to the public. It is unclear how “traditional” culture is determined. In fact, most of the vendors are constantly grappling with the idea of what constitutes traditional American Indian art. There are a wide variety of items sold in the plaza: from designs that are passed down from family generations to some of the more recent inventions of popular tourist items like dream catchers and silver toe rings. On the one hand, the Museum of New Mexico encourages the entrepreneurial spirit of selling art in the plaza, while on the other hand it stages and positions American Indians as remnants of a “primitive past” through the prohibition of modern appliances in the plaza. Prohibiting the use of modernity situates the City of Santa Fe as a prime travel destination where travelers can escape their own time and place to experience another world. Restaurants and galleries are persistent in promoting “real” New Mexican food and “authentic Indian art sold here” as catch phrases to capitalize on the traffic of tourist markets.

The Portal guidelines further stipulate that sales in the program shall be “conducted on the brick surface; no tables or elevated stands are permitted” (NMAC

4.51.57). The Portal Program is also influenced by a lengthy history of federal policies that function to promote the development of American Indian arts and crafts. This was the initial intention of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board urged by John Collier in 1935. According to the Act (1935), the function of the Board is to “promote the economic welfare of the Indian tribes and Indian wards of the Government through the development of Indian arts and crafts and the expansion of the market for the products of Indian art and craftsmanship”(Section 2). With the influx of imitation Indian art, federal and local policies have proven inadequate for promoting the economic welfare of American Indians and instead, much like postcards and tourist guidebooks, perpetuate a distinctive and romantic visualization of the Southwest.

This section discussed aspects of labor involving among American Indian artists in a tourist economy. It described some of the working dynamics of American Indians producing and selling artwork in one of the nation’s premier travel destinations. Contrary to the stereotypical image making in the Southwest, the workday of an artist does not end with selling but continues at home in preparation for the next day. Labor is often a “tag team” effort and not solely an individual practice. This helps ensure that artwork is being produced and sold simultaneously in order to make a living in an unpredictable tourist market. Nothing about indigenous art is individual. Furthermore, American Indians experience a great deal of emotional labor while selling at the plaza. The constant gaze and questions from tourists adds to the unsettling feeling for those in the Portal Program or surrounding plaza area who are not guaranteed a space to sell.

This section represents a step to further understanding contemporary Native experiences through a lens that labor plays in a tourist economy. Local indigenous people are competing with state, federal and international interests and markets. Federal policies and local museum policies may have been well intended to protect American Indian artists, but for the most part they have been crafted by Euro-American desires to define indigenous identity and culture. Policies governing the sale of American Indian art need to be critically evaluated and formulated in order to *not* perpetuate notions of a living past; rather much to the contrary, that American Indian art is complex and ever evolving. Policies and practices governing the sale of artwork need and must seek alternative approaches that will foster the entrepreneurial spirits of American Indian vendors, which will continue to be economically vital for thousands of indigenous families and communities.

Artists very much recognize the seasonal demands and make adjustments to items that may sell easily during the year. Artists, under the Portal or within the greater part of the plaza area, adapt to change in an effort to make a living. It is by navigating federal policies and state regulations that American Indian artists are able to exert their own entrepreneurial spirit. It is by practicing and engaging in marketing and entrepreneurial skills that are the focus of the following section.

WHEN RESERVATIONS MAKE HOTELS

The year 1988 proved to be fruitful for many tribes across the country as a result of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act. Gambling and games in a variety of forms have

long been an important part of American Indian culture and tradition.¹⁰ In *Gambling and Survival in Native North America* Paul Pasquaretta (2003) presents how American Indians have become active participants in their own survival despite the popular belief that Indian tribes, as “conquered peoples,” have been rendered helpless for over a century. Through games and gaming, scholars like Pasquaretta argue that working within a system devised to confine and even destroy Native peoples they have found ways to remain in the game, so to speak. This is exactly what Pueblo people embarked on since tribes in the 1970s were struggling to grow economic development enterprises. In addition, maintaining tribal programs such as Senior Citizens and Headstart schools since the 1960s has been a challenge for the northern Pueblos (Ortiz 1965). Federal funds available for these programs have decreased over time and available grant and contract programs did not address all the needs of modern tribal governments. Consequently, tribes have turned to a wide range of business enterprises over the years as a means of generating revenue. The initial Pueblo Ceremonials and recreational initiatives were small attempts to spark economic leverage. It is not surprising that in the 1980s some tribes welcomed gaming as a business enterprise. The success of the first tribal gaming operations prompted a tremendous expansion of growth and gambling initiatives throughout Pueblo Country and beyond.

The Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA) represented an attempt by Congress

¹⁰ Games such as stick and ball games figured prominently in the worldviews of tribal histories. Numerous hand games, horse and foot races were an important focus of traditional gambling activity. Among the Pueblos shinny stick games used a curved stick to hit and pass a “seed ball” between clan groups which followed the planting rituals. See *My Life in San Juan Pueblo: Stories of Esther Martinez*. Shinny is still played annually in early spring to signify the blessing of seeds for the upcoming planting season. This idea of games and gambling is embedded in Pueblo community rituals and relations. Some scholars would argue that Indian Gaming is a continuation of community sustainability (Pasquaretta 2003).

to strike a balance between the rights of tribes to engage in activities generally free of state jurisdiction and the interests of states in regulating gaming activities within their boundaries. The balance struck in IGRA did not please either states or tribes (Mason 2000). Tribes viewed state involvement as an infringement on tribal sovereignty. States, on the other hand, felt state involvement was too limited. IGRA applies to “Indian Lands” which are defined as all lands within the limits of any Indian reservation. The National Indian Gaming Commission was established within the Department of the Interior and given the authority and responsibility of administering IGRA. Up until 1988, like many other tribes in the United States, bingo was a common pastime among Pueblo reservations.

Today, Indian gaming is a dynamic trend that has spread rapidly across the United States with social and political implications for both Indian and non-Indian communities. Tribes have taken on new levels of organizing, lobbying and exercising their political and economic clout in mainstream politics. Indian gaming continues to be a salient issue across the United States as tribes continuously negotiate gaming compacts with states, develop infrastructure on reservations and confront vexing issues such as tribal enrollment and per capita distributions. Indian gaming as a player in American politics presents a new wave of understanding federalism and how tribes wield their political power to protect their status as sovereign nations. Federal policies have historically been tumultuous for Indians by declaring tribes both “wards of a guardian” and “domestic dependent nations.” Some scholars argue the quandary that “tribes act as sovereign entities, similar to states; for others, they act as interest groups; and for still others, they

act as both simultaneously” (Mason 2000, 3). Deloria and Wilkins (2000) are steadfast in arguing how tribes do not fit into traditional political science models since they act in ways that states and interest groups cannot. The IGRA played a major role in framing the language for how Indian gaming operates. The IGRA is contradictory in nature: on the one hand it encourages “self sufficiency and strong tribal governments” through gaming, *but* “only if legal in the state and if agreed to in a compact negotiated between the state and tribe” (PL 100-497). This may appear as a minute point in the IGRA, but nonetheless having states agree to the compact forces tribes to negotiate their role in such a system.¹¹

It is important to note that currently there are 561 (Wilkins 2002) federally recognized tribes in the United States.¹² While not all tribes will seek to establish tribal gaming, it can be safely assumed that many more will seek out such business endeavors. Additionally, some of the non-federally recognized tribes, including the Puebloan Ysleta del Sur Pueblo in El Paso, Texas are seeking federal recognition, not only because they feel it is their rightful duty but the Tiguas wish to re-gain access to Indian gaming opportunities.¹³ According to McCulloch and Wilkins (1995), “federal recognition is the

¹¹ The most recent Indian gaming statistics, provided by the National Indian Gaming Commission (NIGC) indicate that there are approximately 360 Indian gaming establishments in the United States. These casinos are operated by approximately 220 federally recognized tribes. See Harold Bloom (1993) *Implementation of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act: Survey Report and Audit Report*. Diane Publishing Company.

¹² Wilkins (2002) defines federally recognized tribes as “Indian tribes recognized by the federal government as self-governing entities with whom the United States maintains a government-to-government political relationship. This relationship may be established by treaty or agreement, congressional legislation, executive order, action, judicial ruling, or the secretary of the interior’s decision” (336).

¹³ The Tigua Tribe of the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo located in El Paso has the distinction of being the only recognized Puebloan community in Texas. The modern Tigua are descendents of Pueblo peoples who settled in El Paso following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. As part of the Indian Gaming wave, the Tigua operated its successful Speaking Rock Casino up until 2002 when it was shut down because it fell under the

primary method used by tribes to affirm their existence as distinct political communities within the American system” (361). Furthermore, federal recognition “buffers tribal existence from most jurisdictional encroachments from state and local governments” (McCulloch and Wilkins 1995, 361). The Act’s purpose is to provide a statutory basis for the operation of gaming by tribes to promote tribal economic development, self sufficiency, and strong tribal governments. Indian gaming in New Mexico provided some tribes a financial opportunity to create markets and business enterprises on their own terms.

As a result of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA) five out of the eight northern pueblos currently operate Indian casinos. The three tribes, San Ildefonso Pueblo, Nambe Pueblo and Picuris Pueblo, tend to be located farther from major highways. This is only part of the reason why these tribes may not partake in gambling initiatives, but much of the reason may have to do with their own cultural and religious outlooks on gaming and business developments within tribal boundaries. Not owning a casino does not necessarily mean these tribes are anti-development. The Pueblo of San Ildefonso has recently built Totavi Phillips 66 gas station en route to Los Alamos National Laboratory. This is a major economic contribution to the pueblo of about 300 members, since the Totavi capitalizes on the commuter traffic patrons who drive to work in Los Alamos. In addition, Picuris Pueblo is 51 percent co-owner of Hotel Santa Fe, a hotel in prime

jurisdiction of Texas state law which prohibits casino-style gambling. Despite having more than 300 years of cultural continuity as a tribal or pueblo community in El Paso, Ysleta del Sur is not a federally recognized tribe. See Thomas A Green’s (1976) “Folk History and Cultural Reorganization: A Tigua Example in *The Journal of American Folklore*, Pp. 310-318; “Reservation Gaming, Tribal Sovereignty, and the state of Texas: Gaining Ground in the Political Arena?” by Tracy A. Skopek and Kenneth Hansen in *Politics & Policy*, Vol 34 Pp.110-133, March 2006.

location just blocks from the Santa Fe plaza area. Hotel Santa Fe operates a fine dining establishment and is competitive with other hotel venues for hosting small conferences. Nambe Pueblo has recently begun their own development phase for a travel center and 200 slot casino located off Highway 84. Nambe Pueblo has historically promoted their tribal boundaries in more of the recreational aspects like fishing, hiking and picnicking at the Falls. Their business enterprise is an extension of their development for recreational activities. The “Nambe Falls Casino” is slated to open later this year with a model buffalo and waterfall in front of the casino. These are just a few of the examples of tribes that do not currently own gambling enterprises, but are nonetheless engaging in and benefitting from economic development in northern New Mexico.

The most substantial notice of development among the northern New Mexico tribes is in the area of casinos, resorts and golf courses. Located 10 minutes north of Santa Fe on Highway 84, Tesuque Pueblo operates the Camel Rock Casino – one of the largest casinos in northern New Mexico. This includes a concert venue, table games and slot machines as well as a restaurant. As a direct result of gaming revenue, Tesuque pueblo has been able to operate and maintain a hotel, Camel Rock Suites in Santa Fe. Another arm of the business development is the Pueblo of Tesuque Flea Market. Tesuque Pueblo took over the flea market in 1998 and it has since become a world renowned market with local, national and international vendors. It is estimated that during peak summer season there are more than 500 vendors. For some tourists who wish to get away from the Santa Fe plaza, the Tesuque flea market is a popular alternative. It is conveniently located next to the Santa Fe opera which also attracts visibility to the

market. Tesuque Pueblo is located further off Highway 84 and continues to provide a buffer from Santa Fe traffic and businesses.

Further north of Tesuque Pueblo is Pojoaque Pueblo's Cities of Gold Casino. In 1540, the Coronado expedition traveled through the Southwest in search of the "Seven Cities of Gold." The legend spoke of a place called Cibola – a dream that drove men thousands of miles across seas, land and stark mountains in search of a place where the natives possessed great quantities of gold and precious metals (Reyna 1992). Pojoaque's casino is named after the famous myth that kept the Spanish searching for a lost city. As a marketing tool, Pojoaque Pueblo incorporates "Discover the Cities of Gold" as a catchy phrase to attract customers. For a village that was almost wiped out, perhaps no other pueblo has embraced the economic and cultural development spirit more than Pojoaque Pueblo. They own and operate several small shopping centers, hotels, a bowling alley, wellness center and the newly established Buffalo Thunder Golf Resort. The golf course is often in competition with the neighboring Black Mesa Golf Club, owned by Santa Clara Pueblo. Their casino, Big Rock Casino, is located on Santa Clara property adjacent to the city of Española boundaries. Further north across town, the Ohkay Casino operates one of the largest casinos and conference centers in the state. Ohkay Owingeh is not only about gaming enterprises, but much like the other pueblos, they are diversifying business enterprises through such endeavors as convenient stores, conference centers and recreational activities such as fishing.

The furthest north of the Pueblos, Taos, operates its Mountain Casino at the edge of the current pueblo boundaries. This is the only smoke free casino in the state, which is

a big draw for a significant portion of the public who wish to be entertained in such an environment. In addition to the casino, Taos operates its local KTMC radio station that broadcasts a variety of Native American music as well as covering news relating to employment, environment and tourism. The boundaries of Taos pueblo are also contiguous in that Taos is able to close their entire village for certain times of the year. Taos Mountain Casino is smaller than the rest of the pueblos who operate casinos, but nonetheless it provides a vital economic and employment opportunity for tribal members. One of their advertisements in the *Guide* shows a split image with Taos Pueblo in the background and four tribal members dressed in Pueblo style (Fig. 48). They are sitting in a circle and appear to be playing a traditional rock game. Below the caption reads “Where Ancient Traditions Meet the Promise of the Future.” Below this caption are the same four Taos people, two men and two women, sitting at the casino playing cards. This advertisement demonstrates the sensibilities of navigating tradition and modernity insofar as it positions more than one image. If this image would perhaps appear in mainstream publications, it is more likely that the bottom half would be taken out of the photograph. For Taos people, having ancient traditions is indeed a way to meet the promise of the future.

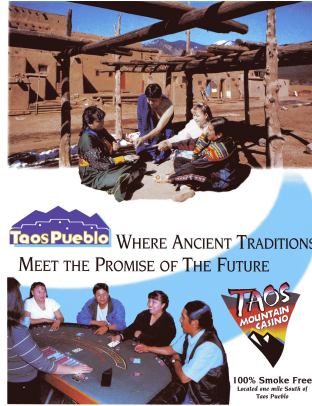


Fig. 48 Taos Mountain Casino
Courtesy of the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council, Inc.

CONCLUSION

At the core of this chapter are the notions of authenticity and modernity. The Native American Vendor's Program in Santa Fe is steadfast in assuring the public that they are buying real authentic art from real Indians. When Pueblo and Navajo artists stray outside of traditional boundaries through the inclusion of mixed materials, the Museum of New Mexico is quick to review such practices and policies. If the Museum's inspection is not up to par on authenticating Indian art, there are periodic investigative reports. For example, a week-long investigative report in 1994 by KOAT-TV in Albuquerque found altered and phony turquoise being sold as natural stone by Native American vendors, by clerks in shops, even by owners of well-known trading posts. The news coverage stressed that such practices are violations of both state and federal laws. But even after being exposed, the responsible authorities "did nothing—nothing" to crack down on misrepresentations, says former KOAT-TV investigative reporter Larry Barker.

Federal policies related to Indian Art and the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act are recognized as authentic only as expressions of "Indianness" that conform to limited

definitions and reflect a restricted sense of legitimacy. With the onset of Indian gaming, federal, state and local governments have made significant attempts to regulate economic development. As artists at the Santa Fe plaza, Pueblo people also play a role in the binaries of what is considered authentic art, a documented Indian artist, as well as what is viewed as traditional versus non-traditional designs and methods. Raibmon (2005) in her study on the Northwest Coast argues that Whites and Aboriginals were collaborators – albeit unequal ones – in the politics of authenticity. As is the case with Indian art, non-Indians employed definitions of Indian culture that limited indigenous creativity and resources. The regulations at the Santa Fe plaza much like the Indian gaming initiatives in the state, in turn have become the economic means necessary for survival in today's competitive markets.

CHAPTER 6

UMBÍ P'ÔE'ÄÄ, OUR PATH

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Bepowaveh – welcome – these are what we say to people coming over to eat during feast days. The use of food is part of our survival strategy, for example, those we share with are often the ones who have shared food or feast days with us, e.g., Apaches, Navajos, other pueblos. It is the reciprocity of exchange of food and foodstuffs that assures us greater survival success. The sharing of food is our way of communication and connection and how we relate to people. At the end of the day I ask, “did I welcome everybody today?” This is a test of being a good Tewa female. What this means in a cultural context is that welcoming and being courteous are fundamental expectations. It means you count as a person to me. To be helpful and courteous is a way of being Tewa. (Tessie Naranjo 2005)

These are the words of Santa Clara member Tessie Naranjo as she reflected on the notions of what it means to welcome from a Tewa perspective. Welcoming is central to Pueblo thought and is embedded in the ways relatives and friends are treated. With the introduction of the Atchison, Topeka and the Santa Fe Railway reaching Santa Fe in 1890 and the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad reaching the northern pueblos into Española later that same year, New Mexico Pueblos have been at the crossroads of modern tourism for more than a hundred years. Travel extended not only into New Mexico, but now the United States was reachable from coast to coast. The introduction of railroads changed the physical and spiritual Pueblo landscape in profound ways. New Mexico’s Pueblos have always dealt with foreign empires to the Southwest, but the modern twentieth century travel industry represented a type of traffic that was more fluid, accessible and wage based. The introduction of wage labor influenced the renewal of Pueblo pottery styles (Spivey 1979) and with a new cash economy Pueblo pottery was being made to fit

the sensibilities of tourists and anthropologists (Naranjo 1996). The adaption to new travel practices reflects the trend in Indian gaming and Pueblo produced travel narratives. This research articulated some of the historical conventions of tourism practices that lead the northern pueblos to produce their own travel media. More importantly, concluding remarks will outline how this trend has forged a path of agency and influenced public perceptions of Pueblo people in the travel industry.

What led the northern Pueblos to produce their own travel media was the fact that that Pueblos were surrounded in a region which thrived on the promotion and marketing of cultural activities. Travel writers of the early twentieth century actively sought out places that were different in landscape and steeped in ancient history. Lummis' writings charted a sense of self in relation to his perceptions of what it meant to be living in "Some Strange Corners of our Country" (1891). For Lummis, Bandelier, Parsons and members of the Taos Society of Artists, documenting and painting "quaint" peoples served as a way to fulfill their own desires in a place that was not evident in their original East Coast homelands. The practice of playing into the notions of Indian desires, through writing, collecting and photographing says something more about Anglo desires and perceptions than it does about those of American Indians (Berkhofer 1988; Deloria 1988). Pueblo people were a byproduct of the larger colonial practice of documenting and photographing. Edward S. Curtis was convinced that American Indians were going to disappear and photography was the primary means to capture and save the original inhabitants of the United States (Lyman 1982). The Fred Harvey Company realized that they, too, could capitalize on this romantic niche and offer luxury travel to New Mexico.

Their travel narratives extolling a timeless people were already defined farther south long before Fred Harvey's "Detours" entered the northern pueblos in late 1920s.

The abundance of travel narratives with ethnic markings was further solidified in venues like the Gallup Inter-Tribal Ceremonial and perpetuated in *New Mexico Magazine*, postcards and travel brochures. These continued well into the late twentieth century through the recycling of popular vintage photographs. A hundred years after the introduction of railroads, Indian gaming began to fuel economic prosperity for the northern Pueblos enabling them to market their business enterprises and develop other aspects of their communities on their own terms. Their production of the *Guide* was a "double take" effort to produce a picture of what it meant to be a northern Pueblo person in contemporary times. The significant contribution of the *Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Visitors' Guide* was to articulate representations of themselves – meaning that Pueblo leaders and business entrepreneurs had a direct say in the final product that would represent their specific communities to the public. This contribution is demonstrated through some recent examples when exerting what practices are appropriate for public consumption.

In 1991, author Judith Fein left Los Angeles on assignment to research, create and write a dramatic series that took place among Pueblo people. This assignment turned into a series of letters and stories published in Fein's novel (1993) *Indian Time: A Year of Discovery with the Native Americans of the Southwest*. While living "among the Natives of New Mexico," Fein underwent a process of self discovery by which she uncovered a whole new world of cultures and traditions. As Fein befriended many Pueblo people

during her stay, some of her informants were unaware she would end up publishing their stories. Fundamental to the culture of welcoming embedded in Pueblo ways, Fein soon made friends and chronicled her daily experiences. This welcoming practice, so evident in the words of Tessie Naranjo above, has a way of being pushed to the limits. When *Indian Time* was published, Pueblo people were quick to respond via letters to Fein as well as publish a series of op-ed articles (Lebzelter 1994; Lopez 1994; Versace 1994). In a scathing public statement, the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council Inc. issued a press release banning Judith Fein:

Now that the Coyote is out of the Den, we must protect ourselves!

Judith Fein, you and your husband, Paul Ross, are not welcome in any of the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos. You and some other writers, photographers, museum curators, commercial advertisers, artists, publishers and movie makers, have abused our hospitality and good will.

You enter our societies searching to know, and we welcome you in the same spirit. You leave believing that you have discovered what it means to be Indian and convey that “discovery” to others. You try to speak with authority about things which are Indian but, you understand so little about us, that, instead you offend Indians and misled non-Indians.

When nations meet, sound judgment teaches that deference is appropriate. Among individuals, being polite means being careful to behave in a way that does not offend or breach the ways of another. Because you ignored these basic tenets of civilized behavior, you have lost the privilege of coming on our land. This would have not happened if you had thought about how to communicate with us instead of about us, nor if you truly had learned anything about what it means to be Indian. (ENIPC Press Release 1994)

This was one of the most public and vocal expressions banning people from the pueblos.¹ There has always been a strong history of banishment since the Pueblo Revolt

¹ Another vocal stance against improper and unethical writings was the Pueblo’s response to Ramon Gutierrez’s (1991) *When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers Went Away*. One of the main critiques was that

of 1680 (Sando and Agoyo 2005), which has been carried out only sparingly in contemporary times. This applies to both Indians and non-Indians. It is not uncommon during certain ceremonial dances to have signs prohibiting photography clearly posted in the entrances of the villages. Regardless, there always seems to be someone who does not obey the rules prohibiting photography or sketching. The War Chief staff or tribal officials are quick to respond to such circumstances. Sadly, it is common to see cameras being confiscated and have people removed for being disruptive. Removing visitors or banning people is not culturally conducive to Pueblo belief systems. From a Pueblo perspective, whether one is Pueblo or non-Pueblo, all who attend dances and ceremonies are very much a part of the celebrations and honoring (Garcia and Hunt 2006).

The reaction to Fein's novel is one of tribal determination. This was a significant step taken on behalf of all of the northern pueblos to demonstrate that disrespect will not be tolerated. Modern exotic travelogues are still common in which Pueblo people are very much central to narrative. Ted Jojola posits the following query: "The central question to be confronted by native peoples is whether they will defer to the images that have been ascribed to them. How will they combat past and continuing distortions of their histories and cultures? (1993)." The *Visitors' Guide* is a significant step toward combating past distortions. Many Pueblos like Zuni, Acoma, and Hopi have also begun to

Gutierrez relied primarily on the use of Franciscan journals to interpret indigenous practices of sexuality and social relations. The problem not only lies in the use of colonial documents, but according to Dunbar Ortiz, "using them unexamined, uncited . . . is fraudulent." See commentaries "Compiled by the Native American Studies Center, University of New Mexico" in *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 17:3 (1993) p. 155; "Licensed Trafficking and Ethnogenetic Engineering" by Susan A. Miller (1998) in *Natives and Academics: Research and Writing about American Indians*, edited by Devon A. Mihesuah, University of Nebraska Press, 100-110; Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz (1996) "The Corn Mothers Never Went Away" in *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 23, No. 2, Ethnicity and Class in Latin America, Spring pp. 143-149.

produce their own travel guides in ways that convey their own experiences. Today, Pueblo people find themselves changing this long established business-as-usual practice not only in Pueblo produced travel guides but through on the ground guided tours at the pueblos.

At Taos Pueblo, upon paying a small entrance fee of \$10, visitors can participate in a guided walking tour of the village. In the summertime, college students usually provide the guided tours as a way to make extra income. Included in a walking tour is a visit to the historic San Geronimo Church and a brief history of events surrounding Taos Pueblo. Almost always is a mention of President Richard Nixon who signed over the Taos Blue Lake in 1970. One Taos guide noted that her grandfather proudly displays a copy of the original pen that Nixon used to sign the legislation on their fireplace mantle. Taos guides are very open to answering questions about food, language and architecture. It is common for visitors to pose with their Taos guide to take a photograph with the backdrop of Taos dwellings. Some Taos residents open up their homes, now turned into galleries, to sell jewelry or pottery. There was one Taos resident I witnessed speaking Italian to some travelers from Venice, Italy. The Taos man was apparently stationed in Italy during World War II and became fluent in Italian. This was a welcoming moment for the Italian tourists, who were not fluent in English, as they had an opportunity to speak their native tongue with a local Taos member. Taos Pueblo is very much a global community. Because it is the most northern of the pueblos, Taos became a trade site that connected the Pueblos with some of the southern Plains tribes (Kavanagh 1999). Today,

it is the only village where I have witnessed “no trespassing” signs posted in various languages such as German, Italian and Spanish.

The guided tours and opening of homes at Taos Pueblo are steps taken to welcome tourists in ways that are appropriate and informative for visitors. The international signs posted demonstrate to travelers the areas of the village that are off limits to the public at this world famous community. Taos Pueblo and Acoma Pueblo market each of their villages as the oldest inhabited community in the United States. Both communities are adamant that they are the oldest and therefore have the right to market their communities in such a fashion. This is all done on friendly marketing terms since both villages could very well claim fame to this title. Acoma coins itself in travel brochures as the “place that always was” and is said to be inhabited around 1150 AD. In a similar vein, Taos Pueblo tour guides convey that they are the only living Native American community designated both a World Heritage Site by UNESCO and a National Historic Landmark. Participants on a Taos guided tour will also learn that the multi-story adobe buildings have been continuously inhabited for more than a 1,000 years. According to guides, the main part of the present dwellings were most likely constructed between 1000 and 1450 A.D. For Taos and Acoma pueblos, their guided tours serve as opportunities to educate the public about their living histories. By narrating the history of the villages, the idea is that visitors walk away better informed about the places they visit and the artwork they purchase. Pueblo people as tourist entrepreneurs are in tune that travelers very much contribute to the local economy. Having good people skills and practices that educate and entertain visitors makes good business sense.

Private Pueblo owned and operated tours are also taking force as active participants in the tourism industry. Operated out of northern New Mexico, Ancient Storytellers Tours describes their company with the following statement:

Ancient Storytellers is a unique, Native-Owned Organization that is committed to educating visitors about Northern New Mexico and the history of the Pueblo People. Our tours and cultural activities allow our visitors to experience a truly educational and realistic view of Pueblo People as contemporary and indigenous people who value their language, culture and homeland. Ancient Storytellers Tours looks forward to customizing a tour that will suit your needs. (Ancient Storytellers Tours 2007)

Co-owner Theresa True was the previous *Visitors' Guide* Coordinator. Now operating a private business with her Santa Clara business partner, True and Ancient Storytellers Tours organize packaged bus tours throughout the northern pueblos as well as to parts of the Navajo nation. Included in their tours are visits to places such as pueblo villages, buffalo herds and national monuments. What is unique about Ancient Storytellers is that visitors can enjoy a traditional pueblo meal, observe a micaceous pottery demonstration and have the opportunity to make their own pueblo pottery. The hands-on approach in making pottery demonstrates a partnering and educational component between the pueblos and visitors. This is not about some lone bread baker which tourists can photograph, rather their tours offer an opportunity to actually engage in helping with the preparations of baking and making pottery.

The Indian Pueblo Cultural Center in Albuquerque operates a tour company called Into the Sunset Western Pueblo Tours. Zuni Pueblo and Acoma are two partnered sites included in the itinerary package. With the recent opening of Acoma's Sky City Cultural Center and the Kaak'u Museum, Acoma Pueblo offers a personal glimpse into

their art, culture and community. Acoma Pueblo members conduct the walking tours where tourists are taken to the top of the village and shown some of the unique architecture styles and the church area. Some Acoma people also set up their pottery and are available to talk with visitors about their artwork and community. In conversations with Acoma people, I often hear how they are intrigued by the vast number of foreign travelers who wish to visit and photograph Pueblo villages. Much like Taos, Acoma people are just as curious about their visitors' homelands and culture as tourists are about Acoma people.

In the spirit of community development, Pueblo people are always seeking to learn from outside cultures and incorporate their own adaptation into travel practices. By incorporating aspects of both Pueblo and non-Pueblo values and practices over time, the Pueblos are utilizing the travel industry in profound ways, not only by producing their own travel narratives to the traveling public, but by continuing to engage in business enterprises in an attempt to remain an economically viable sovereign people. The gaming industry may not be the ideal compromise, but it does offer the Pueblos the wherewithal to move along their self determined path into the twenty-first century. The ability for Pueblos to protect their core beliefs through community, family and future generations are based on more than five hundred years of protecting their integrity. When the core beliefs are threatened, as demonstrated with the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 and the banishment of authors from Pueblo Country, Pueblo people will take the steps needed to sustain their core belief and value systems. Pueblos are about change and there has always been some element of adaptation throughout history. Indian gaming and tourist

businesses are additional steps that engage and produce new avenues for cultural and spiritual continuity.

Tourism for Pueblo people takes on a significantly different interpretation from mainstream travel entrepreneurs. Much of the State of New Mexico tourism development prides itself on growth and development. Success of tourism is often measured in dollars to the state. Visibly, this is evident in new highways and the ongoing infrastructure development in Santa Fe and Albuquerque. Although Pueblo people are concerned about development, this is not the only discourse that prevails when addressing tourism on Pueblo lands. According to Gilbert Suazo, “when visitors come to walk the ground and breathe in the beauty and spirituality of the Pueblo, we accommodate them, therefore tourism is not operated strictly as a business. We always try to balance visits with the cultural needs of our people” (Suazo 2003, 14). Even though not all pueblos operate class III gaming, post-1988 we can see the fruits of business developments among all pueblo communities. The 2007 *Guide* discussed Nambe Pueblo as “breathing new life” into this well known recreational attraction. Pueblos are indeed taking significant strides toward cultural revival and capitalizing on economic development initiatives. Most pueblos today manage their own corporation boards.

As of 2007, eleven out of the nineteen pueblos in New Mexico operate gaming enterprises.² Since the official passage of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act in 1988, the gaming industry in New Mexico has spread rapidly. With the pueblos who have gaming

² In addition to Pueblo gaming enterprises the Jicarilla Apache in Dulce in northern New Mexico and the Mescalero Apache located in southern Mescalero operate their respective casinos and resorts. The largest tribe in the state, the Navajo Nation, has yet to officially move forward with gaming.

establishments, the economic development and growth is visually apparent in the establishment of new roads, housing complexes, cultural centers and golf resorts, to name a few. The New Mexico Indian Gaming Association (NMIGA) is actively involved in educating the public and voters about the positive economic impact of tribal gaming in New Mexico and is steadfast on conveying that “three out of every four tribal jobs go to non-Native Americans and many of these jobs have been created in rural areas where no other businesses on this scale have been successful” and furthermore “in 2006 the gaming industry pumped \$32 million into the State’s General Fund for priorities such as education, healthcare and transportation” (NIGA 2007). There is no doubt that the growth of economic and political clout is allowing Pueblo people to flex their muscles in relation to the way their communities get represented in local tourism.

To close, the establishment of Pojoaque Pueblo’s Poeh Museum illustrates a story that is much in line with combining the spirit of travel narratives with Pueblo sensibilities. Located off Highway 84 near the Cities of Gold Casino, the Poeh Museum was established in 1987. As a result of gaming revenue taking course, the construction did not start until 1992. Exposing the work of Pueblo artists is central to the mission of the Poeh Museum, but Director Vernon Lujan said the center also seeks to develop new artists and promote the arts as an economic asset for Pueblo communities (Lujan 2005). The museum celebrated the grand opening of its exhibits in August 2005. This included a walk-through diorama that depicts Pueblo culture from pre-European contact through the current information age. The Poeh Museum is unique in that it does not include any text to describe its history. The entire installation is conveyed visually through murals, buffalo

images, water and planting activities. Roxanne Swentzell's (Santa Clara) clay figures depict Pueblo life through dance and seasons. Not only is history portrayed as "it once was" but a section on violence and Spanish occupation is also part of the exhibit. The final room depicts a Pueblo living room with family photographs, hanging dance regalia and a television news story about the controversy over Indian gaming revenues. The name of the Poeh Museum signifies life's path. Included in the original strategic plan on the Poeh center was not only to interpret cultural meaning for the public but as a place for creating resources for tradition and keeping the life cycle by the seasons (Guyette 1996, 13). The *poeh* is to continue those steps by utilizing gaming and marketing revenues that directly benefit the livelihoods of Pueblo communities.

Since Spanish arrival to the Southwest, Pueblo people have always been able to incorporate visitors and deal with outside forces in their daily lives. The celebrations of Pueblo communities embody aspects of European and Pueblo characteristics. Now more than ever before Pueblos are taking steps to ensure their cultural survival through economic and business endeavors. Tourism is a means to capitalize on the much needed revenue to address housing, education and healthcare needs. It is quite apparent that the Pueblos have been involved in tourism over the last hundred years and that they have developed a culture that is conducive to maintaining Pueblo values and sensibilities in ways that are not kept frozen in time. Tourism for the Pueblos is about creating meaningful relationships with the modern world on their own terms. The innovations of Pueblo produced visitor guides, Indian gaming, resorts, packaged tours and museums have given the Pueblos a platform for telling their own experiences within the greater

context of globalism. This is the very essence of creating a *poeh* for present and future generations.

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Colorado Historical Society

Denver Rio Grande and Railroad Files
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Curt Teich Postcard Collection

Lake Country Discovery Museum, Wauconda, Illinois
Southwestern Postcard Files

Denver Public Library

Western History Collection of postcards and photographs
Denver, Colorado

Eight Northern Indian Pueblo Council Inc., San Juan Pueblo, New Mexico

Annual Eight Northern Pueblos Visitors' Guide, 1988-2008
Visitors' Guide Correspondence files housed at ENIPC

Museum of New Mexico

Fray Angelico Photography Collection
Santa Fe, New Mexico

Newberry Library

John Ayer Collection
Chicago, Illinois

New Mexico State Record Center and Archives

Southwest Research Reading Room

New Mexico Highway Journal, 1923-1930
New Mexico Magazine, 1931-2007.

Territorial Archives of New Mexico

Roll 96, Bureau of Immigration, Circa 1880
Santa Fe, New Mexico

Report to the Bureau of Immigration of New Mexico by Theo C. Camp,
Commissioner of Immigration 1881, Santa Fe, NM New Mexican Book and Job
Printing Department.

“New Mexico: Wealth, Health, Home, The Tourists' Shrine” Published by the
Bureau of Immigration, Santa Fe, 1881.

Patricia C. Albers Postcard Collection
University of Minnesota, Department of American Indian Studies
Southwestern Indian Files
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Pomona Public Library
Frasher Foto postcard collection, 1921-1956
Selected Digitized Photographs Online: <http://www.oac.cdlib.org>
Pomona, California

University of New Mexico
Center for Southwest Research
Albuquerque, New Mexico

INTERVIEWEES:

American Indian Artists

In total 26 anonymous interviews were conducted from 2000-2006 with artists who worked at the Santa Fe plaza. These interviews included participants in the Native American Vendor's Program as well as artists and vendors who chose not to be part of the Vendor's Program who work at the Santa Fe plaza.

Davila, Jesse (San Ildefonso Pueblo), Former *Visitors' Guide* Coordinator
Interviews conducted on December 2004 and May 5, 2005.

Davis, Deborah. Former Director of the Native American Vendor's Program
Interview conducted during the month of December 2000.

Garcia Jr., Peter (Ohkay Owingeh) Community Member
Interview conducted in 2007.

Kellywood, John (Ohkay Owingeh/Picuris). Community Member.
Interview conducted on August 10, 2004.

Maguire, Tom. City of Santa Fe's Culture, Arts & Tourism Planner,
Interview conducted on July 19, 2005.

Mann, Henrietta (Cheyenne), Former Gallup Inter-Tribal Ceremonial Participant
Interview conducted on February 8, 2008.

Naranjo, Tessie (Santa Clara Pueblo), Co-Director of the Northern Pueblos Institute
Interviews conducted on February 2, 2004 and July 28, 2005.

Torres, Harold (San Ildefonso Pueblo), San Ildefonso Visitors' Center Staff

Interview conducted on July 19, 2004.

True, Theresa (Ohkay Owingeh/Navajo), Former *Visitors' Guide* Coordinator
Interview conducted on July 18, 2002.

Walter BigBee (Comanche), Photographer and Former *Visitors' Guide* Coordinator
Interview conducted on June 10, 2004.

APPENDIX A



George L. Beam, Photographer
Circa 1920 Taos Pueblo
Western History/Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library
#GB-7883



“Tourists buying Indian pottery from children”

Labeled as “Tesuque Pueblo, New Mexico.” From the appearance of the unique of background volcanic rock this photograph was more likely taken at San Juan Pueblo Chapel.

Russell Lee, Photographer August 1939
Farm Security Administration - Office of War Information Photograph Collection
(Library of Congress) LC-USF33- 012352-M2

APPENDIX B

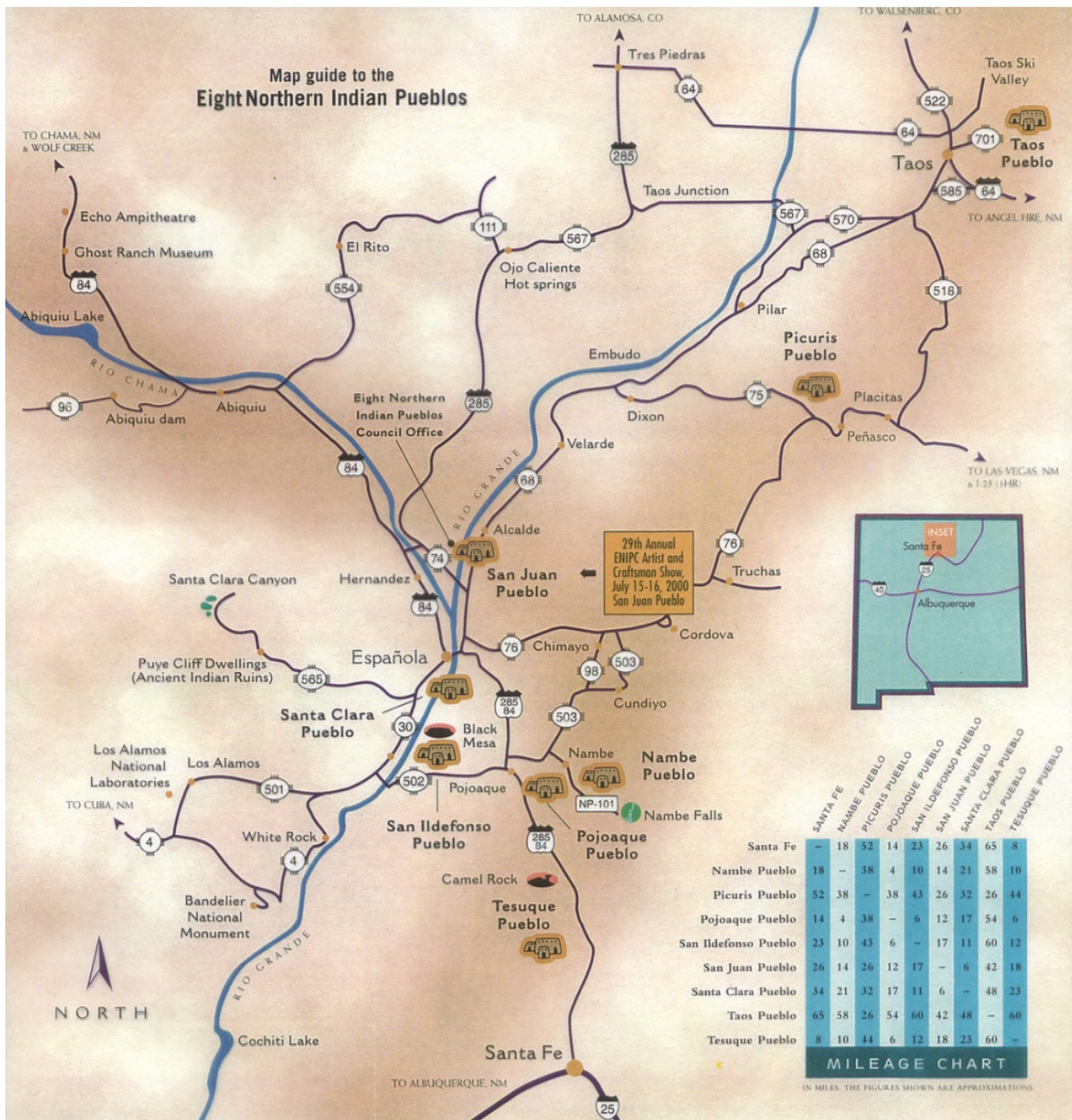


Pablita Velarde, Circa 1940

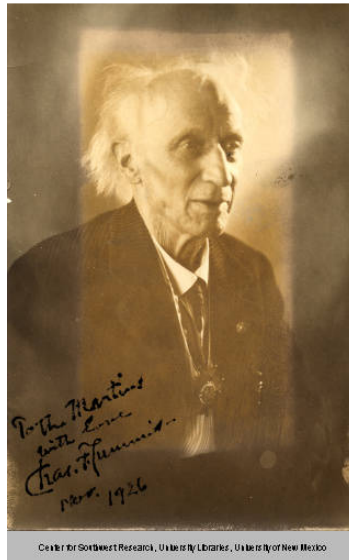
The original painting was commissioned by Bandelier National Monument under the Works Progress Administration. The original painting is titled “Santa Clara Pueblo” but is often referred to as “Governor Greets Tourists” or “Guard Turning Tourists Away.”

APPENDIX C

Map Guide to the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Courtesy of the Eight Northern Pueblos Council, Inc.



APPENDIX D



Charles F. Lummis, 1859-1928
Photographer, William Aloysius Keleher, Circa 1909-1928
Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico
William A. Keleher Collection #ZIM CSWR PICT 000-742

APPENDIX E

Letter from Indian Service Agent, Clara D. True, to Superintendent concerning additional potters to attend the St. Louis Exposition
February 19, 1904.

Department of the Interior,
UNITED STATES INDIAN SERVICE,
Española, N.M.,
Feb. 18, 1904.

Mr. C. J. Crandall,
Supt U.S. Indian Schools,
Santa Fe, N.M.

Dear Sir:

The pottery maker I spoke of still expects to go to St. Louis with her little girl. Do you wish any more to go? I did not understand whether you desired the four you mentioned from one place. I think I can get one more of good character and with skill in clay working, but I have not spoken to her.

There are plenty of women who would go, but they are not needed here nor elsewhere, as they are idle, dirty loafers who wouldn't make pottery worth the name.

Very respectfully,
Clara D. True.

APPENDIX F

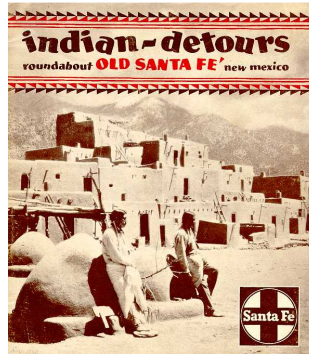


“Pueblo Indians at Tewa House”
Manitou, Colorado
Circa 1920
Courtesy of the Patricia C. Albers Postcard Collection



“Indians Ready for Dance, Indian Pueblo, Ancient Cliff Dwellings”
Manitou, Colorado
Circa 1920
Courtesy of the Patricia C. Albers Postcard Collection

APPENDIX G



Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway Company pamphlet
Indian-detours: Roundabout Old Santa Fe, New Mexico
Chicago: Rand McNally, 1940



Indian Detour Cadillacs, Santa Clara Pueblo, New Mexico, circa 1920
T. Harmon Parkhurst, Photographer
T. Harmon Parkhurst Collection # 038973
Museum of New Mexico



“Youthful Pottery Vendor, Santa Clara Indian Pueblo, New Mexico, 1935.
The Frasher Foto Postcard Collection
Pomona Public Library, Frasher Index #A9605

APPENDIX H

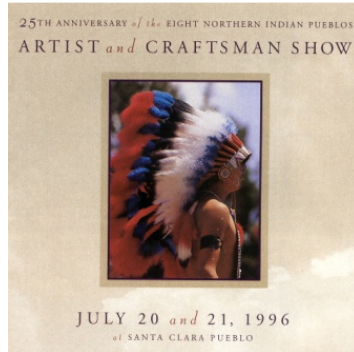


“Indian Dancers from Many Tribes, Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonials,
Gallup New Mexico,” 1935
The Frasher Foto Postcard Collection #A9638
Pomona Public Library



“Cameras set up at Gallup Indian Ceremonial” 1965
Photo Archives, Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe
#039209

APPENDIX I



“Comanche Dancer”

Advertisement from the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Artist and Craftsman Show



“Buffalo Dance”

Courtesy of the Eight Northern Pueblos Council, Inc.



“San Juan Children”

Courtesy of the Eight Northern Pueblos Council, Inc.

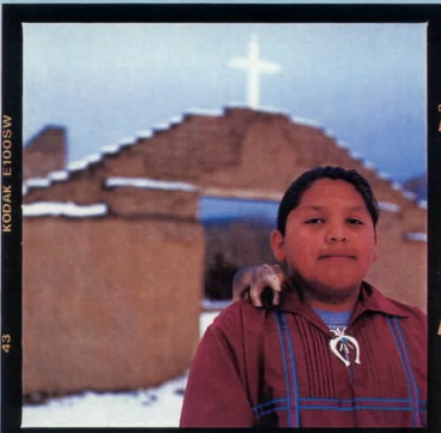
APPENDIX J

1998 EIGHT NORTHERN INDIAN PUEBLOS VISITORS GUIDE

Wayne loves to dance

"HARVEST"
wayne YAZZA, JR.
Picuris Pueblo

KODAK ETOOSW
43
Photograph by Clara Corrie



potter

ELEVEN-YEAR-OLD WAYNE YAZZA, JR. IS A LITTLE POWERHOUSE POTTERY MAKER WHO LIVES IN THE SMALL MOUNTAIN VILLAGE OF PICURIS. HE ATTENDS PEÑASCO ELEMENTARY SCHOOL WITH PLANS TO ATTEND THE SANTA FE INDIAN SCHOOL NEXT YEAR SO HE CAN CONTINUE WITH SCHOOL AND PLAY FOOTBALL. WAYNE LEARNED TO PAINT IN A SCHOOL ART PROGRAM AND ENJOYS PAINTING BEAR, DEER, AND DANCERS. BUT, IF GIVEN A CHOICE, HE PREFERS MAKING POTTERY BECAUSE HE CAN COMBINE BOTH MEDIA. IN FACT, HE SPECIALIZES IN FASHIONING DANCERS OUT OF CLAY.

Wayne loves to dance and is an active participant in ceremonial dances at both Picuris and Santa Clara pueblos. The Belt Dance is his favorite dance at Picuris, and the Harvest Dance is his favorite at Santa Clara, but he clarifies that the latter is not due to his name.

Wayne learned to make pottery from his mother, Ethel, and his father, Wayne Sr. The two parents represent two distinct pottery-making styles and have passed on these art forms to their children. Mrs. Yazza, from Santa Clara Pueblo, taught Wayne the Tewa tradition of black-on-black pottery and how to make bowls. Being from Picuris, Mr. Yazza taught his children the micaceous pottery tradition and how to make animal figurines. Wayne Jr.'s uncle, Eugene, taught him how to make dance figurines.

For inspiration, Wayne likes to watch the bluebirds outside of the family's studio window. He says, "They're pretty and fly in circles around the house." Wayne sharpens his eye for detail by watching dances and their participants. He takes pride in his art, and says, "I like to do my artwork and show people that I can do good work."

Wayne is featured at the Picuris Pueblo Gift Shop, Robert Nichols Gallery in Santa Fe and the Cottonwood Trading Post in San Ildefonso Pueblo.

When Wayne is not busy making and painting pottery or doing his schoolwork, he likes to go to the gym at the pueblo and play basketball and other games such as "Proball." Wayne says, "Mostly all the kids hang out at the gym."

Wayne likes living in Picuris because it is quiet and peaceful. This atmosphere helps him to do his pottery. If he feels he needs a break, he goes to his favorite swimming hole, or goes fishing or hunting. His favorite season is winter because snow means snowball fights, tackle football, and sledging down the foothills behind his house and those that encircle the village. It also means not having to go to school and being able to stay home to play and make pottery.

Wayne Yazza, Jr.
Picuris Pueblo
Courtesy of the Eight Northern Pueblos Council, Inc.