Elizabeth Lloyd Oliphant

Marketing the Southwest: Modernism, the Fred Harvey Company, and the Indian Detour

Abstract This essay analyzes the mutually influential relationship between literary modernism and tourism as those two interests converged around the US Southwest in the early twentieth century. Modernist writers were drawn to the Southwest's folk and Native American cultures, viewing them as potent sources of artistic inspiration. However, those same modernists had a significant hand in shaping the region's burgeoning tourism industry. These surprising commercial collaborations offer the opportunity for a more nuanced understanding of modernism's relationship to commercial work. The essay focuses on a promotional brochure produced for the Harvey Company's sightseeing "Indian Detour" experience. The brochure, distributed to passengers on the Indian Detour, featured essays and poetry contributed by modernist writers including Witter Bynner, Alice Corbin Henderson, and Harriet Monroe. The essay also brings to light the connections between this promotional brochure and back issues of Monroe's *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse*, further underscoring the close ties between commercial tourism and literary modernism.

Keywords Fred Harvey Company, modernist primitivism, American tourism, New Mexico, New Modernist studies

In the early twentieth century, the Southwestern United States became a source of interest for modernist writers and artists. They believed that the region held the key to invigorating US arts and letters and to extricating US culture from Europe's residual influences. Harriet Monroe, the founding editor of *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse*, argued in a 1915 editorial that US literary culture was suffering because of artists' "obstinate residence in the Atlantic states, [and] their more obstinate preoccupation with . . . feudal Europe" (Monroe 1915, 84). She urged authors instead to turn their attention

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westward. Monroe saw in the Southwest the potential for the United States to exert a global cultural influence, writing: "Some day all this glory will belong to all the world. Who will be its interpreters to the world—our poets and artists, or our journalists, photographers, movies? . . . When we make these things our own . . . our art will cross the seass [*sic*] and our poems [will] be on all men's tongues" (87–88). Understanding the Southwest as a potent source of inspiration, Monroe hoped that this resource would be used to fuel innovative artistic production—in effect, modernism—rather than only providing material for forms of mass culture, such as the news media and the fledgling film industry.

Monroe was correct when she predicted the Southwest's rise to popularity—in fact, in 1915 she was a little late in noticing the trend. The West, the last site of the frontier, operated symbolically at the turn of the century as the antithesis to the Eastern United States. By the late nineteenth century, however, the Southwest in particular had begun to take shape as a region distinct within the greater West, with the Southwest as the site of crucial interchanges among Native American, Spanish Colonial, and Euro-American ("Anglo") cultures. The Southwest was well represented in literary regionalism and travel literature in the late nineteenth century, and in the same era it became a destination for domestic tourism by train and later, by car (DeLyser 2005, 48). The writing produced in this era amounted to a "cultural elegy" for the Southwest's Spanish colonial and Native histories (29).

Building on this history, modernists in the Southwest—and modernists such as Monroe who admired it from afar—introduced the region to the discerning avant-garde audiences of periodicals such as *Poetry*. From their desert outposts, modernists sought new forms and aesthetics, drawing inspiration from the folkways of the Southwest (Rudnick 1996, 8–9). The Southwest spoke to modernists in search of an "oppositional notion of American identity," an alternative to the dominant transatlantic literary cultures (Hutchinson 2009, 104). Modernists formed creative communities of writers and artists in the Southwest that attracted visits from modernists based elsewhere, including Langston Hughes, D. H. Lawrence, Gertrude Stein, and Jean Toomer.[1]

This essay examines modernism's role in promoting and publicizing the Southwest. In spite of the popularity of writings about the region in the nineteenth century, modernists believed that the true potential of the Southwest—as a wellspring of inspiration, not just a

source of material—had been overlooked. Surprisingly, these same modernists had a significant hand in developing the Southwest's burgeoning commercial tourism industry, even promoting touristic projects in the region. Modernism has long been characterized by its indifference or hostility to commercial interests, so much so that the notion of a commercial modernism "seems almost oxymoronic" by the standards of conventional literary criticism (Dettmar and Watt 1996, 1). Southwestern modernism, with its unexpected commercial collaborations, further complicates that oversimple story, which has remained largely unrepresented even as the field of modernist studies has been significantly expanded by scholarly work associated with New Modernist studies.[2]

The anthology *Marketing Modernisms*, a significant contribution to New Modernist studies, takes as its foundational thesis that modernists were not "unfortunate victims of a mechanism outside of their control or ken," but rather "were more deeply complicitous in this marketing" (Dettmar and Watt 1996, 6). The language of this passage is telling: authors who pursued sales or sought compensation for their creative labor are characterized either as potential "victims of" or, more damningly, as "complicitous in" the literary market. That dichotomy is suggestive of a larger scholarly bias that treated commercial work as an author's concession to economic need, or even a discredit to authorial integrity (Wexler 1997, xv). The case of the modernist Southwest, however, is an opportunity for a more nuanced understanding of modernism's relationship to commercial work. Acknowledging these commercial projects means recognizing the exchange of ideas and influence among artists, authors, and commercial interests regarding the Southwest, in spite of the distinctions that existed between the goals of modernism and those of the commercial world of profit making.

In fact, modernists helped invent a mythology of the Southwest for the American imaginary, partly through their literary writings but also through their partnerships with the tourist industry. They represented the Southwest in writings that appeared in typically modernist venues such as little magazines, but also in their commercial productions such as planning and endorsing tourist-friendly festivals, writing articles in praise of regional travel, and contributing their art and writing to tourism brochures. In both literary and commercial accounts, they wrote themselves into the mythology of a Southwest

populated not only by exotic Indians and romantic Spanish-speaking New Mexicans but also by accomplished bohemian poets and writers.

In examining Southwestern modernists' collaboration with commercial tourism, I will take as my centerpiece a 1928 brochure, *They Know New Mexico: Intimate Sketches by Western Writers*, which featured several Southwestern modernists. It was produced in collaboration with the Fred Harvey Company, the dominant force in the Southwest's growing hospitality industry. *They Know New Mexico* featured poems and essays by Harriet Monroe, Alice Corbin Henderson, Mary Austin, Witter Bynner, and other writers with modernist connections and credentials. The literary brochure was distributed to passengers on the Harvey Company's Indian Detour, a multiday automobile tour through northern New Mexico. Indeed, both the tourism industry and modernist Southwestern authors privileged a "detoured" Southwest: an authentic relation to the area that had to be specially sought out, in contrast with more mainstream and superficial forms of travel.

Modernist authors studied and wrote about the Southwest's regional cultures with an eye toward elevating the subject of the Southwest and circulating the region to new audiences. They were well suited to partner with the Harvey Company, which found its success through the promotion of cultural tourism in the Southwest, also with a focus on local history and folk cultures. The Harvey Company in turn drew on the highbrow appeal of their modernist collaborators—the very qualities that set modernists apart from more conventional literary circles also proved to be quite marketable for the Harvey Company. Endorsements from authors associated with elite audiences and with deep knowledge of the Southwest helped the Harvey Company attract travelers who aspired to distinguish themselves from the masses, traveling off the beaten path in search of a more authentic Southwestern experience. *They Know New Mexico* illuminates the strange, sometimes paradoxical relationship between modernism and commercial tourism in the Southwest.[3]

Detouring in Indian Country: Modernism's Attraction to the Primitive

Modernists were fascinated by the Southwest's cultural differences, both the Southwest's Spanish and Mexican past, which starkly contrasted with the Dutch and British colonial histories of the northeastern United States, and the Southwest's indigenous cultures, whose

regionally grounded folkways and spiritual practices contrasted with the dominant Protestant establishment. Southwestern modernists dabbled in nostalgia, but worked especially in the modernist tradition of primitivism—the Indian Detour, for example, promised to take travelers down the "Southwest's Roads to Yesterday" (*TKNM*, 3).

Modernists promoting the Southwest were ambivalent about modernity, particularly those aspects of contemporary life that were increasingly regimented and shaped by technological and industrial innovations. Transatlantic modernism evoked the primitive—modernity's implied Other—as a corrective to modernity's sterile uniformity. The primitive often symbolically served "the needs of the present" for artists, whatever those needs may have been, and cropped up in modernist texts to ease anxieties about materialism, sexual repression, sexual promiscuity, or the general chaos of modern life (Torgovnik 1990, 8–9). The primitive, though associated with the distant past, could be a catalyst in the present. Paradoxically, modernists also turned to the primitive Southwest as a means of accessing new aesthetic inspiration, turning to Southwestern folk and Native American cultures to revive or refresh their creative expressions. Elizabeth Hutchinson (2009, 50) describes this propensity to look toward the primitive as a source of aesthetic inspiration as "quintessentially modern."

Harriet Monroe made such a gesture in 1917, when she wrote that US poetry that drew on Native American aesthetics only indicated "a mere outcropping of the mine"—she believed that poets had only just begun to tap into a wealth of Native aesthetic resources (Monroe 1917, 251). Monroe's metaphor figured Native American culture as static—at a distance from modernity and untouched by time—and treated it as a natural resource available to non-Native poets in search of novelty and fresh inspiration. Her line of thought is indicative of a pervasive settler colonialist mindset that influenced the modernist-era interest in Native and folk cultures and significantly shaped the way the Southwest emerged in the US imaginary.

Modernist artists often drew on the aesthetics of Native cultures, which they considered to be primitive, for use in their own media and art. As such, this modernist primitivism operated under a settler colonialist perspective. As Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang (2012, 5) have proposed, "the horizons of the settler colonial nation-state are total and require a mode of total appropriation of Indigenous life and land."

Such entitlement and appropriation were pervasive in modernist-era representations of the Southwest. Consider Monroe's description of Native American cultures as metaphoric raw materials waiting to be refined by more sophisticated poetic interpretations. The Harvey Company's Indian Detour, which offered tourists contact with Native people on Native land, is an especially vivid example of Yang and Tuck's account of the settler colonial mindset. The Detour asserted the Harvey Company's control over New Mexico's Pueblos and reservations by enveloping them within the larger map of the Harvey Southwest and implying that travelers must *detour* in order to see Native land and people.[4]

As Philip Joseph (2007, 90) notes, the Indian Detour was designed to take travelers away from the beaten path; this was a contrast to more conventional railroad tourism, which was centered on quick stops during which consumers bought souvenirs and then hopped back on the train. The far-flung reach of the Detour—the very quality that replicated westward expansion and conquest—may have especially appealed to modernists, a group not always uniformly receptive to mass tourism. The promise of proximity to authentic Native American ways was highly prized by writers like Mary Austin, who wrote in the introduction to her ethnographic collection *The American Rhythm* (1930) that by studying and adopting the lifestyles of tribes in the Southwest, she had, at times, "succeeded in being an Indian" (Austin 2007, 41). Austin's transformation was, of course, impossible; she was limited to the appropriative actions that Philip Deloria (1998) names "playing Indian." With the backing of the most powerful promoter in the Southwest, however, Austin *could* perform a role as local tour guide, a figure knowledgeable about all things Southwestern. Through their Harvey collaborations, which often had a strong emphasis on Native Southwestern culture, modernists controlled how tourists might see and value the region and helped establish what would popularly constitute authenticity in Southwestern travel.

Legacies of Nineteenth-Century Literary Tourism and the Beginnings of the Fred Harvey Company's Southwestern Empire

The Harvey Company had been an ambitious endeavor since its first days, when the company's founder, Fred Harvey, began a long-lasting partnership with the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe railroad company

(AT&SF) in the 1870s by opening restaurants along its rail lines. Harvey found success in filling the need for appealing food and lodging options for railroad passengers, building oases of luxury for middle-class travelers (Fried 2010, 45–50). The AT&SF began to promote Southwestern tourism in the 1880s as a way to compete with other railroad companies in the Southwest, and the Harvey Company followed suit, expanding to operate sightseeing tours and gift shops, designing buildings reminiscent of Southwestern architectural traditions, and eventually hiring anthropologists and authors to produce literary supplements for their tours (Dye 2005, 16; Howard and Pardue 1996, 90).

Modernists, in their search for new inspiration and aesthetic novelty, turned to the Southwest. In this way, they were aligned with Harvey tourism's treatment of the Southwest; the company was famous for designing sightseeing experiences and entertainment around novel, theatrical interpretations of Southwestern culture. Richard Pells (2011, 85) argues, in fact, that the modernist movement was extremely compatible with the early twentieth century's innovations in advertising, noting that "no one was more interested in innovation and novelty [in the early twentieth century] than the American entrepreneur." The Harvey Company, which described the Indian Detour as "the newest way to see oldest America," understood that the Southwest's appeal rested on a combination of novelty and mythology of the Southwestern past—the same qualities that drew modernists to the region (Indian Detour Photograph Album, PICT 2001–022).

The Harvey Company's part in influencing the emergent Southwest is difficult to overstate: through their multifaceted promotion of the region, the company was synonymous with travel in the Southwest. The Harvey Company made some of its first forays into entertainment-based tourism through its popular World's Fair exhibits in the 1900s and 1910s (Howard and Pardue 1996, 71–76). These exhibits combined live performances with visual references to the Southwestern past, and included Native American actors who inhabited models of Pueblo homes for the length of the exhibition. The company advertised that spectators should expect to witness "living history" (Fried 2010, 206). The Harvey Company went on to incorporate many of those same elements into its branding, including building Harvey hotels and train stations in an architectural style called "Pueblo Revival,"

which referenced traditional Spanish Colonial and Pueblo dwellings (Wilson 1997, 86–87, 274–75). At its height in the 1920s, the Harvey Company operated dozens of hotels, restaurants, shops, and sightseeing tours along the AT&SF railways from Illinois to California. However, a Southwestern aesthetic unified much of the Harvey Company's branding and infrastructure.

The era in which the Harvey Company dominated tourism in the Southwest, which involved the rapid expansion of Harvey infrastructure and the introduction of new, increasingly elaborate tourism options, is one chapter in a longer history of experiential tourism in the West. The first leisure tourism in the Southwest was literary: in the 1880s and 1890s tourists flocked to California, enchanted especially by the romantic literary representations of Spanish colonial culture in Helen Hunt Jackson's immensely popular novel *Ramona* (1884), set in Southern California just after the Mexican-American War. When the Fred Harvey Company began to collaborate with writers, the Southwest was already a popular destination for tourists and a popular topic in regional literature, and regional literary supplements were a customary feature of this type of travel (Padget 1995, 423–24).

In fact, as modernists grew interested in the Southwest, they followed regionalist authors before them. Southwestern modernism is indebted to literary regionalism, which played a significant role in shaping US literary culture in the nineteenth century. Scott Herring, Daniel Worden, and others have noted that some modernists combined elements of literary regionalism, such as the genre's interest in documenting regional and indigenous folk cultures, with writing strategies typical of modernism, such as experimentation with language and the appropriation of indigenous aesthetics and imagery. Herring (2009, 2) observes that the notion of regional modernism may sound "odd to the ears of twenty-first-century literary critics," but, as Worden (2013, 70) argues, the two literary styles are "better thought of as intertwined and mutually constitutive aesthetics." Herring and Worden write against a standard critical consensus which maintains that literary modernism represented a break from the established publishing platforms and modes of circulation that supported regionalist authors who published in literary magazines such as the *Atlantic Monthly*.

It is undeniable that modernist authors frequently eschewed conventional publishing venues and pursued innovative modes of expression.

However, recognizing the continuities between regionalism and literary modernism provides a fuller historical framing of modernism and a better sense of modernism's relationship to regional literary projects, including those projects involving commercial tourism. Modernists not only took some of their subject matter from regionalist literature; they also adopted the genre's friendliness with commercial tourism.

At the end of the nineteenth century, literary emphasis on the Southwest shifted from a focus mainly on California to an intense interest in the interior desert Southwest, the area that would most captivate modernists. This turn to the desert, which solidified the popular notion of a regionally distinct Southwest, was made possible by expanded railroad service in the desert Southwest and was made desirable by the rapid growth of cities in Southern California, urbanization at odds with the West as the site of a perpetual frontier. Writers, readers, and tourists grew interested in areas of the Southwest that were more rustic but also suddenly more accessible by train. The regionalist writer Charles Lummis, who was at the forefront of promoting Southwestern tourism, helped initiate this vogue for the desert Southwest by publishing several travelogues and histories of the area in the late nineteenth century.[5] Lummis was one of the first writers hired by the Harvey Company to plan and promote its Southwestern routes. He was especially interested in New Mexico's Spanish and Native histories, and believed the New Mexico territory was home to traditions lost to the rest of the Southwest. Lummis (1893, 4) argued that New Mexico had been little changed since the Spanish Conquest—that "it never [had] wakened" from its postconquest "after-nap." This narrative largely overlooked the violence of that conquest, but it was nevertheless pervasive and shaped how New Mexico was approached by anthropologists, writers, and tourists.

The mythology Lummis established helped make New Mexico the epicenter for Southwestern cultural tourism. His understanding of New Mexico's insularity did have some factual basis. New Mexico had served as a strategic buffer for Spain and had only opened up to legal trade with the United States after Mexican independence (Wilson 1997, 44). Additionally, Native communities in New Mexico did not experience the same upheaval as California's tribes did in the early 1800s, when Spanish California moved from a mission-centered

economy to one dependent on large, privately owned ranches, a transition that further displaced Californian tribes (this event is depicted in Jackson's *Ramona*) (Vargas 2010, 67–68). While New Mexican tribes also experienced the violence and cultural disruptions of colonialism, they "maintained . . . a degree of sovereignty" that surprised visitors like Lummis and drew interested anthropologists and writers to the territory (Dye 2005, 5).

The Harvey Company, with Lummis as a part-time consultant, designed its New Mexico sightseeing and shopping opportunities according to this narrative, representing local Native American cultures as completely removed from US modernity. Tourists visited New Mexico's Pueblos and reservations, bought art from Native artists, and saw performances of Native music and dance at Harvey establishments. In this way, the touristic experience in New Mexico differed from the company's Southwestern programs in Colorado, Arizona, Utah, and Southern California, which emphasized landscape tourism and visits to archaeological sites, like Mesa Verde or the Grand Canyon, or sightseeing at Spanish missions. In New Mexico, tourists were told they could witness a living culture, not just ruins and artifacts.[6]

The Indian Detour, conceived of in 1926, promised tourists a level of close contact and authentic engagement with Native Americans that was unavailable on main railroad lines (Dilworth 2001, 151). Fred Harvey's son Ford, along with other Harvey executives, hoped that the Detour would become an attraction that drew tourists to Santa Fe as reliably as the Grand Canyon drew them to Arizona (Fried 2010, 281–83). The Detour was also developed in response to the increasing popularity of automobile travel, as the Harvey Company recognized the automobile's potential to overtake railroad tourism (287). Unlike train tourism, the Harvey detourists could ask their driver to stop at any time to take pictures, explore, or purchase souvenirs from Native artists. The Harvey detourists were promised that they would not have to sacrifice comfort in their quest for authenticity and adventure: "the [Indian Detour passenger] has only to relax to the complete enjoyment of a memorable experience" ("Indian Detour: Santa Fe, Harveycars" 1928, 6). As such, they did not have to drive the Harvey vehicles or consult maps in order to stay on their detour. They never strayed beyond the parameters of an established route.[7]

Knowing New Mexico

The Harvey Company created *They Know New Mexico: Intimate Sketches by Western Writers* in 1928 to promote their latest extension of the Indian Detour. The Western writers they featured, including Witter Bynner, Harriet Monroe, Mary Austin, and Alice Corbin Henderson, were some of the most challenging and avant-garde US authors of the 1920s. This juxtaposition is unexpected: a tourism company that directed their advertisements to middle-class tourists featured in its promotional materials authors who produced experimental, difficult prose and poetry. However, as their contributions to *They Know New Mexico* make clear, modernists and the Harvey Company shared pressing concerns about regional authenticity and preservation.

The brochure is one of the outcomes of several decades of collaborations between the literary Southwest and the tourist industry in the region, including authors' participation in planning and promotion for local festivals, their support of the restoration of landmarks popular with sightseers, and their praise of Southwestern travel in the national press.[8] Each of *They Know New Mexico*'s essays addressed a crucial aspect of a tourist experience: spectacle, such as performances of Spanish folk songs and Pueblo dances; consumer interests, such as Indian-made pottery and craft; and cultural traditions, such as Native American spirituality and childcare practices. Taken together, they create a mosaic of popular Southwestern mythology, with tourists receiving all the information they needed in one pocket-sized collection. The brochure also featured many republished poems about the Southwest. Those poems first appeared in traditionally modernist platforms such as little modernist magazines. In this way, *They Know New Mexico* both provides an efficient overview of the modernist, tourist Southwest—with each essay addressing some aspect of that regional identity—and sheds light on the influence of the popular Southwest on modernist poetry.

These promotional materials, which blended the genres of travel guide and ethnography, closely resemble another somewhat literary exploration into regional identity: the travel guides produced by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) in the 1930s and 1940s, especially those focusing on rural and regionally distinct areas. In fact, later in her career Corbin Henderson would contribute an essay on New Mexican literature to the 1940 WPA guidebook *New Mexico:*

A Guide to the Colorful State (see Cline 2007, 11). Involving literary authors in such projects was a strategy meant to emphasize regional qualities that might be missed in a report that focused only on the rote details of maps, driving routes, and census statistics. *They Know New Mexico* is one early iteration of this model of a comprehensive travel guide drawing on literary authors.

There were, however, significant absences in the Harvey Company's roster of New Mexico experts. With the exception of a poem by Cherokee author Lynn Riggs, the brochure's contributors are all white. This homogeneity is indicative of a racial bias that is inextricable from the carefully constructed, historically situated Southwest crafted by the Harvey Company (and often reinforced by its literary collaborators). Excluding writers of color in the Southwest, the Harvey Company fashioned the Southwest as an ethnographic adventure in which the region existed largely for the pleasure of white visitors, with non-Anglo communities serving as entertainment with little or no control over their representations.

Additionally, most of the contributors had relocated to New Mexico in the decade preceding the brochure's publication. Locality is not necessarily an indicator of regional expertise, but it's notable that the Harvey Company omitted several local New Mexican writers of color. For example, it published no work by Anita Scott Coleman, a black author who wrote extensively about the Southwest and published in magazines including the *Crisis* and the *Messenger*, two periodicals that were important outlets for authors involved in the Harlem Renaissance (Davis and Mitchell 2008, 23). Coleman was born in Guyamas, Sonora, Mexico, in 1890 and spent much of her childhood and young adulthood in Silver City, New Mexico (xxi–9). Another oversight was the exclusion of commentary by any Latina/o and Hispana/o New Mexicans, such as Santa Fean cultural preservationist Cleofas Jaramillo. Jaramillo began working toward the preservation of local folkways in the late 1920s; she looked to domestic traditions as the foundation of Hispano New Mexican culture (Reed 2005, 112–13).[9] In the 1930s, Jaramillo founded Santa Fe's La Sociedad Folklorica with the mission of exposing tourists to New Mexican Hispano folkways in a manner she believed to be more accurate than the Hispano-focused projects designed by white arts patrons in Santa Fe (106–7).

Likewise, the Harvey Company did not feature any essays by Native American authors, such as Zitkala-Ša (Yankton Sioux/Dakota), whose

work appeared regularly in the national press in the 1910s and 1920s, or Francis La Flesche (Omaha), who published extensively about Omaha and Osage cultures as an anthropologist at the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology. Zitkala-Ša and La Flesche were from the American Plains, but their writing frequently focused on the US government's Indian policies on a national scale. This topic was lively and current in the 1920s—the national press frequently printed stories concerning Indian policy, education, and activism—and these issues were hardly unrelated to the focus of the Indian Detour, which purported to educate travelers about the Native Southwest, past and present. Neither did the brochure include information about nor writing from the many Native artists working in New Mexico in the 1920s to produce often innovative versions of traditional art forms. Those accounts of contemporary Native culture, activism, and artistic innovation would have compromised especially the Harvey representation of the Native Southwest as a static and unchanging community. The limits of this brochure reflect the broader vision of the Southwest that emerged in the early twentieth century, thanks largely to the Harvey Company's popularity, wherein Southwestern culture and history were represented mainly through the interpretations of Anglo writers for Anglo tourists and readers, a phenomenon that *They Know New Mexico* demonstrated in miniature.

Given this selectivity, what did it mean to know New Mexico? Central to the appeal of these authors was the fact that they, too, had once known little about New Mexico, but thanks to their sustained residence in the state they had become experts. In the introduction to *They Know New Mexico*, the Harvey Company's general advertising manager Roger W. Birdseye promised exactly that. He wrote: "Those who have contributed to the pages of this little book know New Mexico as few know it. . . . When the time comes to break over the narrow horizons of the railroad to follow the Southwest's Roads to Yesterday, may you indeed then find yourself an honorary member of that intimate circle who really know New Mexico" (*TKNM*, 3). In this way, the Indian Detour served as a shortcut, providing passengers access to the knowledge of an expert, or a local, through a Harvey-planned set of stops and a readable selection of essays and poems. Birdseye praised the Detour passengers for traveling so wisely, "forearmed with the experience and impressions of others" (3).

Each essay took a position that was likely recognizable to Harvey tourists, addressing the elements of New Mexican culture that might strike their readers as strange or puzzling. In some way, every contributor addressed the position of tourists on the Indian Detour, with contributing authors navigating a delicate rhetorical situation. They subtly instructed detourists on how to behave as informed, unobtrusive travelers, while also maintaining the narrative that Detour passengers, by virtue of opting to travel the Detour, were already too savvy, educated, and adventurous to need any such instruction.

Charles Lummis, in his contribution, "The Golden Key to Wonderland," praised readers who, by choosing to take the Indian Detour, endeavored to venture farther afield than most tourists. Lummis's essay addressed the tension inherent in opening access to the Southwest, given that the region's remoteness had historically constituted much of its touristic appeal. A traveler who valued that remoteness might wince, Lummis wrote, "when a visiting convention of American Bankers elbows noisy [*sic*] into Pueblo home and temple alike" (*TKNM*, 7). Lummis assured his readers that they would not see New Mexico through the eyes of those hurried, unobservant sightseers who notice only the "funny mud houses" or "savage dances" (8). Rather, through the guidance of the Indian Detour (and particularly, from the authors of *They Know New Mexico*), travelers would grow to appreciate the "immemorial architecture and dramatic rituals of the oldest American Aristocracy" (8). Lummis echoed Birdseye when he congratulated Harvey passengers for choosing to visit the Southwest via the Detour, a choice that set them apart from the uncultured masses "elbow[ing]" their way through the Southwest (7).

Mary Austin's essay "Modern Lore of the Pueblos" also gestured to readers' concerns about tourism's potential to damage or alter New Mexico's Indian Country. She articulated one of the key components of Southwestern mythology as it emerged in the 1920s when she insisted that Native cultures in the Southwest, and especially New Mexico's Pueblo communities, were unaffected by several centuries of colonization and instead existed at a permanent remove from contemporary culture and the influence of modernity. She dispelled the idea that Pueblo communities might be compromised through contact with non-Native people. Lauding the cultural resilience of Pueblo Indians, Austin argued that colonization and government assimilation projects had no lasting effect or influence on Pueblo life. Through the

framework of tribal spirituality and lore, Austin explored the effects of modernization on the Pueblos, writing that the Pueblo cultural practices of the 1920s were not very different from "the traditions of their ancestors" (*TKNM*, 17). Rather, the last three centuries' attempts to convert Southwestern Native Americans to Christianity only served to have more deeply "rooted the tribal ideal . . . and intensified the instinct of self protection" (17). Moreover, Austin wrote, the government Indian schools were ineffective in their assimilation efforts, offering an education "so unrelated to Pueblo life that as soon as the young Puebleño returns to his native village he is more or less obliged to return to the wisdom which that life produced" (17).

Austin's essay did not explicitly address the effects of tourism on Pueblo cultures, but by raising the topic of cultural resilience to her Harvey tourist-readers, she quieted any concerns that Pueblo traditions would inevitably vanish, a process accelerated by tourism's corrupting influences. This would not happen, according to Austin, because Pueblo tribes' considerable cultural resiliency made them an exception to the pervasive belief in "the vanishing Indian" and the associated threat of encroaching modernity (Dilworth 2001, 143). By describing Pueblo Indians' "intensified . . . instinct of self preservation" in the face of oppression, she acknowledged the legacy of Native American resistance to assimilation projects in the Southwest, a history that extends at least as far back as the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, a coordinated uprising of many Pueblo Indian communities in response to Spanish occupation (*TKNM*, 17). But Austin also perpetuated a common, insidious narrative in US culture that suggested that in order to be authentic or culturally valuable, a Native culture must appear to be completely isolated from modernity and protected from outside influence: a display preserved, not a community sustained.

An alternative to Austin's line of thinking is Gerald Vizenor's theory of survivance, which emphasizes an "active sense of [Native] presence over absence" and recognizes that cultural adaptation is inherent—and in fact necessary—to the longevity of an indigenous culture existing in a colonized space (Vizenor 2008, 1). Austin, writing in 1928, also did not acknowledge the ways that conquest had already shaped Pueblo cultures. For example, her essay overlooks entirely the fact that New Mexican Indians' spiritual practices frequently operate in a syncretic or blended manner with elements of Catholicism (and to a lesser extent, Protestantism). Furthermore, in denying that the Indian

schools' assimilationist policy had any meaningful effects, she also overlooked the harsh, often corporal punishment that Native students experienced at Indian schools in the United States and Canada (Levi 2008, 882). Abuses at Indian schools were well documented by the 1920s, and New Mexico's schools were not excluded from these practices.[10]

Perhaps Austin avoided addressing the complexity of Pueblo life because it complicated her vision of a culturally pure, unchanging indigeneity in the Southwest. That narrative would certainly have disrupted more broadly the tourist industry's presentation of the Pueblos as untouched by centuries of conquest, colonialism, and exploitative industry—a narrative also often perpetrated by modernism. Elsewhere, Austin expressed more skepticism about the effect of the growing tourism industry on the Southwest's folk and indigenous cultures. In a February 1929 article for the *Bookman* titled "The Indian Detour," Austin lamented that "the great American mill is at work also upon the Indian material, rubber-stamping him down into dull replicas of the elements in our population by whom the hope of a genuinely American esthetic is denied." This sense of an endangered culture, she wryly noted, lent "a tragic zest to the Santa Fé adventure" that appealed to tourists and artists alike (658).

When Austin expressed concern that any access to modernity might compromise the authenticity of a Native American culture, she echoed a perspective shared by other modernist-era authors, art collectors, and academics who were interested in the Southwest precisely because it appealed to their preservationist impulses. For example, Austin's mention of the "rubber-stamping" of Native "material" was a reference to the mass production of Native-made goods and the extensive promotion of sightseeing in the Native Southwest, economies that boomed thanks largely to the Harvey Company (Austin 1929, 658). Native artists involved in the tourist economy came to produce items, often at the request of the Harvey Company, that responded to tourists' specific demands, including the production of smaller, more affordable objects, or the production of certain designs that sold especially well (Hutchinson 2009, 32; Bsumek 2008, 26–27).[11]

Erika Bsumek (2008, 37–39) writes that the "southwestern intelligentsia" of the modernist era objected to such commercial practices and instead lobbied for the "preservation of indigenous production

methods to save 'primitive' cultures." In doing so, those preservationists ignored many of the factors that influenced Native artists, particularly the adaptive, changing nature of art, and the economic incentives for those artists in the Southwest to adopt more efficient means of production (37–39). As such, many modernists in the Southwest understood indigenous culture and art as valuable only when those communities appeared to be "precapitalist utopia[s] in which only use value, never exchange value, prevail[ed]" (Torgovnik 1990, 8). When Native artists deviated from this "primitivist ideal," perhaps to produce a piece of art that better met a buyer's demands, they were "rendered inauthentic through contact with modern society" (Deloria 1998, 137).

Witter Bynner also addressed tourists' concerns about authenticity and tourism's effects on Native American cultures. His essay "Pueblo Dances" offered readers advice about observing dances at Pueblos, beginning with a cautionary tale about "a New Yorker who had heard much about Indian dances [and] came to New Mexico, eager to see them. He saw one, and his interest waned" (*TKNM*, 23–24). The New Yorker had hoped to see dances that resembled the performances he had seen back East—those of Isadora Duncan, or the fashionable dances of Harlem (24). Bynner offered this anecdote as a study in poor travel decorum, but he deftly avoided implicating his readers in such behavior, in spite of the fact that Indian dances were likely a new experience for many Harvey tourists. Bynner subtly guided Harvey readers toward a less intrusive model of spectatorship without ever asking that they examine their own position as outsiders, or their touristic entitlement.

Bynner's essay emphasized the importance of observing Pueblo dances in their traditional context on Native land, rather than attending the commercial performances of the same dances, which occurred at city-planned events like the Santa Fe Fiesta or the Gallup Ceremonial. Those sorts of events, Bynner wrote, "tend[ed] to break down the original meaning and inner intent of the ceremonies," while at the "stricter villages" (which included stops on the Indian Detour), travelers could still observe dances performed with "a devout beauty which explains to us moderns what the ancients meant when they danced before the Lord" (*TKNM*, 25). Those intrepid tourists who ventured on to the Detour, then, were rewarded with the experience of contact with Native people at these ceremonies. Bynner described to readers a Pueblo dancer who "steps out of the dance to have betweentimes

[*sic*] a smoke and a laugh with you" but, "when he steps back into the dance again . . . becomes some one who existed a thousand years ago" (25). The Detour, it is implied, offered contemporary tourists a momentary glimpse into the past: tourists could even hope to have a conversation and a smoke with a Pueblo Indian whose dancing was so transcendent that it gave the impression of collapsing time.

Bynner's essay points out an irony at the core of modernism's collaboration with the tourist industry and those projects' contributions to a mythology of the Southwest. Modernists represented the Southwest as slightly out of reach, slightly unknowable—that is how Bynner and Austin established their authority as experts, or gatekeepers to a certain knowledge or authenticity that was difficult to attain. However, the tourist Southwest depended on the idea of accessibility: that tourists could, through the right channels, see the "real" in the Southwest, or Indian Country, or New Spain. Bynner left that tension unaddressed. Instead, he invited Detour passengers to become part of the same savvy local community to which he belonged. It is significant, then, that he referred to the Detour passengers and himself in the same category—he and the detourists, all "us moderns" (*TKNM*, 25). By implying that there existed some shared experience between Harvey passengers and artists like himself, Bynner encouraged his readers to imagine themselves not as tourists, but as astute cultural observers, just as Roger Birdseye promised at the outset of the Indian Detour that tourists could consider themselves akin to the authors featured in *They Know New Mexico*.

One of the effects of the modernists' marketing of the Southwest, then, was that the highbrow coding of modernist art and literature was attached to and associated with a certain kind of tourism. The modernist writers interested in the Southwest understood it as culturally sophisticated: the region was the domain of poets and artists, not just movies and popular journalism. Accordingly, when modernists promoted the Fred Harvey Company, they characterized Southwestern tourism as a sophisticated and intellectual pursuit. Modernism's somewhat exclusive cultural stance might seem at odds with commercial tourism, which fundamentally intended to make Southwestern travel more accessible to large groups of tourists by making it more uniform and regimented. However, as I've argued, this highbrow packaging of the Southwest became a fruitful way to promote the region. Modernist literature was often marketed to appeal to "readers

eager to distinguish themselves from the popular audience," and the Harvey Company took the same approach in advertising the Southwest to tourists (Wexler 1997, 8). The popular Southwest emerged through this commercial deployment of modernism's cultural capital, which allowed the Harvey Company to market an exclusive experience of the Southwest to the culturally discerning and culturally aspiring.[12]

They Know New Mexico appears to have been designed to anticipate and combat consumer skepticism about the authenticity of the Detour experience and to quiet concerns about tourism's overall effect on the Southwest. If *They Know New Mexico* was successful in this pursuit, it was because the Harvey Company leveraged its modernist contributors' reputations and cultural capital to dispel any worries about authenticity. The logic offered was this: if the Indian Detour was approved by *these* authors, who were devoted to preserving and documenting the authentic Southwest, then the Detour would certainly leave the Pueblos unharmed, and it was furthermore likely to be educational.

"Poems of the West": Reading the Southwest via Chicago

They Know New Mexico concluded with a short anthology of poetry titled "And the Poets: a Little Collection of Verses about New Mexico, Edited by Alice Corbin" (*TKNM*, 43–54).[13] The collection included poetry by some of the most experimental and avant-garde poets writing in the United States in the 1920s; that roster is reflective of the fact that modernist writers had been writing about the Southwest for two decades leading up to the publication of the Harvey brochure. Indeed, Corbin Henderson first took an interest in the Southwest as a coeditor of *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse*, which she edited along with Harriet Monroe, the magazine's founding editor, from shortly after its inception in 1912 until 1922 (Monroe continued as editor until her death in 1936). Under their editorship *Poetry* significantly shaped the course of literary modernism and experimental poetry in the early twentieth century, publishing work by modernist poets including T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, and Carl Sandburg. John Newcomb (2012, 26) argues that the magazine's "greatest importance . . . was simply to create a space for contemporary American verse where none had been." The magazine encouraged US modernism's turn toward US

poetic cultures—and away from European poetic traditions—with a focus on American folk and regional poetry, which Monroe and Corbin Henderson believed to offer exciting alternatives to dominant US literary culture.

Monroe and Corbin Henderson collaborated to produce several issues of *Poetry* in the 1910s and 1920s that were devoted exclusively to poetry of the West and Southwest, with individual numbers focusing on folk poetry (both folk poetry in English and English translations of Spanish-language folk poetry), Native American poetry (as well as loose translations of Native songs, credited to Anglo poets), and experimental work by poets living in the Southwest. Corbin Henderson, who moved to New Mexico in 1916 as a treatment for her tuberculosis, found the region's folk and poetic traditions inspiring. A year later she wrote that the poems of the Southwest "constitute[d] perhaps our most indigenous folk-poetry" (Henderson 1917, 256). Taken as a group, these themed issues of *Poetry* are a record of the emergence of Southwestern modernism. They featured many authors who contributed essays or poetry to *They Know New Mexico*, including Austin, Corbin Henderson herself, Eugene Manlove Rhodes, Bynner, William Haskell Simpson, Lynn Riggs, Natalie Curtis, and Henry Herbert Knibbs.[14]

They Know New Mexico, and especially Corbin Henderson's poetry collection, brought modernist motifs and stylings to audiences of tourists. The poems covered a range of Southwestern topics and forms, including cowboy folk ballads, such as Jack Thorp's "What's Become of the Punchers?"; descriptive poems focused on Southwestern scenes and landscapes, such as Lynn Riggs's "Spring Morning—Santa Fé"; and interpretive poems meant to evoke the aesthetics of Native American songs, such as Austin's "Prayer to the Mountain Spirit" (*TKNM*, 49, 43). The poems combined modernist aesthetics and regional subjects. For example, Witter Bynner's brief imagist piece, "High Neighbor," is reminiscent of the haiku-inspired form that was popular in the 1920s among imagist poets, and depicts a moonlit scene "in the snow above the timber line," evoking the mountains near Bynner's home in Santa Fe (51). John Curtis Underwood's poem "Field Archaeologist" brought together urban modernity and the ancient Southwest by juxtaposing images of New York City alongside Mesa Verde, suggesting ancient Southwestern culture provided an inheritance, which Underwood called a "spore case," for US

modernity (54). This collection of modernist poems meant for tourists' consumption recalls Lawrence Rainey's (1998, 3) concept of modernism as a "strange and unprecedented space for cultural production" in which modernism at once retreated from "the domain of public culture, but . . . also continued to overlap and intersect with the public realm in a variety of contradictory ways."

In particular, modernists became part of the authentic backdrop of the Southwest. The Indian Detour advertised access to "local" Indians and Indian culture, as well as to the experience of seeing the Southwest in the same way as its resident artists and poets—offering tourists access to indigenous culture *and* to the local literati. The Harvey Company's promotional materials reduced both the Native Southwest and the Southwest's bohemian communities to the same level of artificiality, rendering them commercial attractions for novelty-hungry sightseers. The difference, of course, is that modernists were given significant agency in their representation. They opted to participate in the Harvey Company's commercial projects and received compensation for that choice. Southwestern Native American communities, on the other hand, were responding to the tourist industry that was forced on them, insofar as it was the primary economy in the region in the early twentieth century. Native artists, entertainers, and employees in the hospitality industry were positioned as fixtures in the local tourist economy, which the Harvey Company effectively controlled (Dilworth 2001, 146–49).

The Commercial, Modernist Southwest

The case of the modernist Southwest serves to intervene in some of the pervasive scholarly narratives attached to literary modernism. As we've seen, one of the narratives troubled by this modernist Southwest is the contention that modernism was a break from nineteenth-century literary models. In fact, in many respects modernism carried forward regionalist projects of the previous century (Worden 2013, 70). Even more important, however, the modernist Southwest is an example of the interwoven trajectories of commercial and avant-garde cultural production in the modernist era, a phenomenon that I have argued has been frequently overlooked. When modernism's commercial ties are explored, the scholarly tendency is to imply tacit disapproval to the act of modernists pursuing commercial success or

compensation for their labor. Such frameworks risk reinscribing some of the fallacies that New Modernist studies sought to invalidate, such as the idea that authorial integrity is incompatible with any response to or participation in a commercial realm.

Instead, I propose that we understand the modernist Southwest as an instance in which commercial and modernist interests intersected around the project of naming and publicizing the US Southwest. These significant collaborations between modernist writers and commercial interests are an indication of modernism's expansive role in influencing popular culture in the early twentieth century, and they are suggestive of the generative, innovative creative influences of modernism that undeniably lent themselves to translation as marketing schemes for institutions like the Fred Harvey Company. The interests of the modernist Southwest—the very traits that aligned those authors and artists with the region—were easily translated into commercial language and appeal.

Commercial partnerships also allowed modernists to reach large audiences; authors recognized that large-scale, corporate advertising was a reliable way—perhaps the only way—to accomplish their goal of promoting the Southwest to wide audiences outside the region. The Harvey Company would have continued to bring in trainloads of tourists to the Southwest whether or not modernists contributed to their advertising; however marketable those authors were, the Southwest was a well-established destination when Harriet Monroe wrote about it for *Poetry* in 1915. Modernists partnered with the company, then, in part to gain some control over how the region was represented—with the "poets and artists" that Monroe (1915, 87–88) hoped would be the voices that introduced the West to "all the world." If their method of address—railroad pamphlets and promotional articles—wasn't exactly as Monroe imagined the project when she shared her manifesto in *Poetry*, it was still effective, in that modernism significantly shaped the look and experience of regional tourism in the Southwest.

The trajectory of the authors discussed in this essay, publishing first in *Poetry* and comparable avant-garde platforms and later contributing to the Harvey Company's sponsored reading material, suggests a comfortable exchange of aesthetic principles between the two. Southwestern modernism influenced the national imaginary at a commercial, popular level, determining much of how the Southwest appeared

in popular culture in the first decades of the twentieth century. Those representations of the Southwest, along with the model of cultural tourism developed in the same era, had a lasting effect on how Southwestern cities sold themselves to tourists.

Tourism is still a powerful economic influence in much of the region, and current iterations often reflect the influence of the region's modernist-era heyday. Local events and festivals frequently reference their early twentieth-century roots, as many of those events were founded, revived, or strongly influenced by modernists. Recent renovations of railroad-era hotels and restaurants have been undertaken in order to return the institutions to their early twentieth-century grandeur, and many Southwestern towns have established strict zoning laws meant to maintain historically specific architectural uniformity. Marketing of the contemporary Southwestern tourist industry, which Thomas Guthrie (2013) calls a "heritage industry," often works from the same appeals as the Indian Detour, offering tourists proximity to traditional, living histories.[15]

Conversely, we can imagine how the Harvey focus on authenticity and cultural tourism in the Southwest, including heritage-focused festivals and gift shops that advertise authentic Native-made art, may have informed modernists' ideas of authenticity and cultural value. Modernist authors built their artistic reputations on their local expertise, in addition to acting as experts on behalf of the Harvey Company. For example, Mary Austin claimed she had written the only "genuinely representative" novel of the Southwest, putting forth her novel *Starry Adventure* (1931) as an alternative to Willa Cather's *Death Comes for the Archbishop* (1927) (Austin 1932, 101). Likewise, after Corbin Henderson moved to Santa Fe, she began acting as a kind of anthologizer of the Southwest. In addition to her involvement in compiling *Poetry*'s Southwestern issues and her contributions to the WPA's 1940 New Mexico guidebook, she also edited an anthology of regional poetry titled *The Turquoise Trail: An Anthology of New Mexico Poetry* (1928).

The case of the modernist Southwest, then, demands a reassessment of those modernist endeavors that existed, as Newcomb (2005, 7) writes, beyond "the particular . . . shape [of] canonical modernism." Doing so allows us to better understand how modernism influentially circulated through literary *and* popular culture, a reconsideration in the service of "recover[ing] . . . other modernisms more responsive to

the diversity and specificity of their times, and ours" (7). The authors that explored and promoted the Southwest did not hide their commercial work. Rather, they welcomed the exposure that such platforms offered in order to give the Southwest more exposure—their stated goal—and to see the large-scale circulation of Southwestern culture and imagery around the United States. Modernist aesthetics had a great influence on the popular imaginary of Southwestern culture and on the mechanics of commercial tourism, and commercial tourism recognized accordingly that modernism's reputation as averse to popular and commercial audiences was also its most marketable quality. *They Know New Mexico*, produced at the height of the Southwest's vogue in American culture and designed to bring the highbrow Southwest to new audiences of commercial tourists, epitomizes this exchange.

Elizabeth Lloyd Oliphant is a PhD candidate in the Department of English at the University of Pittsburgh. Her current research considers the material and written cultures of regional tourism in the United States, with a particular focus on the modernist era. She has held research fellowships from the University of Pittsburgh, the Autry Museum of the American West, and the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies. She lives in New Mexico.

Notes

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1 In addition to the authors who flocked to the Southwest, communities of visual artists thrived in the area. New Mexico was an important destination for painters in the Ashcan School, including John Sloan and Robert Henri. Santa Fe in the 1930s saw both the opening of modernist architect

William Penhallow Henderson's experimentally designed Navajo House of Prayer and the establishment of Dorothy Dunn's influential Studio School at the Santa Fe Indian School. For scholarship on the range of visual art produced in the early twentieth-century Southwest, see Bsumek 2008, Hutchinson 2009, and Rudnick 1996.

2 As Douglas Mao and Rebecca Walkowitz (2008, 738) have noted, New Modernist studies has ushered in a more expansive scope for modernist studies, including a wider temporal and spatial consideration of literary modernism, as well as a greater sense of modernism's "vertical" circulation, to collapse "sharp boundaries between high art and popular forms of culture."

3 Subsequent references to *They Know New Mexico* will be cited parenthetically in the text as *TKNM*.

4 Following a precedent established during Spanish colonization, some Native tribes in the Southwest identify as Pueblo Indians, and their tribal lands are referred to as Pueblos. For more information on Pueblo tribes and lands, see Ebright, Hendricks, and Hughes (2014).

5 Martin Padget (1995) and Audrey Goodman (2001) both situate Lummis among contemporaries who focused on similar regional themes, arguing that Lummis had significant influence in the larger literary turn toward Southwestern study and travel.

6 The Harvey Company produced and sold souvenir photo albums that were prestocked with postcards of different regional attractions. Those albums about Colorado and Arizona featured mainly landscape photographs, with few people appearing in any of the images, while the souvenir photos of New Mexico featured many more human subjects, especially Indians. A typical photo, of two Native women on the Isleta Pueblo in New Mexico, is captioned: "[Isleta's] inhabitants are industrious Indians who mainly raise alfalfa and fruit. Quaintly garbed Isleta women and girls meet Santa Fe trains, selling their wares" (Indian Detour Photograph Album, PICT 2001–022).

7 Even the uniforms of the Detour staff played into the fantasy of "detouring" into an exotic past: the Harvey drivers—always men—were dressed in full cowboy regalia; the couriers—always women—wore turquoise jewelry, long skirts, and Navajo-style velvet shirts (Dilworth 2001, 151).

8 Through the 1920s, Witter Bynner and Alice Corbin Henderson contributed writing to the official brochure distributed at Santa Fe Fiesta, with poetry and essays printed alongside full-page ads for the Harvey Company. In the 1920s the Fiesta blended modernist art exhibitions with tourist-friendly parades and performances. Mary Austin's Spanish Colonial Arts Society was responsible for the preservation of the Chimayo chapel, a landmark for sightseers in northern New Mexico, and the founding of an annual Spanish art market, a popular event that remains a tourist attraction in Santa Fe (Reed 2005, 51). In *Poetry* magazine, Harriet

Monroe (1915, 86) described the Harvey Company's "sumptuous" El Tovar hotel, built to accommodate Grand Canyon tourism; in an editorial for the *New Republic*, Austin (1926, 195) praised the quality of visitors drawn to Santa Fe as "rather above the average."

9 Regarding the term *Hispano*, Maureen Reed (2005, 6) writes:

> This New Mexican term of choice . . . referred to people of Spanish or Mexican descent who were lifelong residents of the state, just as their parents, grandparents, and often their great-grandparents had been before them. It served to differentiate this group of residents from Anglo and Mexican immigrants, as well as from American Indians.

Following Reed, I refer to Jaramillo's cultural preservation projects as involving Hispana/o culture, in reference to Jaramillo's own self-identification.

10 Austin would likely have been aware of the abusive culture of federal Indian schools by 1928. A lifelong student of Native cultures, she would certainly have encountered any of the many Indian school memoirs published in the early twentieth century, such as Zitkala-Ša's *Schooldays of an Indian Girl* (1901), which recorded the author's traumatic experiences as a student in an Indian school.

11 The Harvey Company worked both with individual Native American artists and through trading posts in the Southwest to acquire their Native-made goods. Correspondence between the Fred Harvey Company and one of their primary suppliers, the Hubbell Trading Post (located in Ganado, Arizona, a part of the Navajo reservation), indicates that the Harvey Company began tracking the popularity of specific Indian-made goods in its stores in the early 1900s (Hubbell Trading Post Records).

12 As several New Modernist studies scholars have demonstrated, the exclusivity of modernist literature also served as its best marketing tool. Joyce Piell Wexler (1997) describes a strategy of modernist publishers who strategically celebrated the frequently low sales of modernist authors, treating those sales as an indication of those authors' artistic merit. These ideas about authorial integrity indicated a sea change in ideas of literary success and taste, as reflected in the positive reviews and critical acclaim those financially unsuccessful authors received. Modernists "refused to court a popular audience" and insisted they were uninterested in financial success as a means of avoiding appearing as either "unpublished amateur[s]" or, if their work *did* sell well, as "hacks" (Wexler 1997, xv). Similarly, Lawrence Rainey (1998, 40) argues that authors intentionally responded to the market demand for cultural capital by producing small-scale publications and favoring challenging prose styles, strategies that often resulted in a higher demand and greater critical success for modernist writers.

13 Alice Corbin Henderson omitted Henderson, her married name, when she published as a poet, but she did not consistently do the same in her work as an editor. For this reason, her essay in *They Know New Mexico* is attributed to "Alice Corbin Henderson," but as an editor and contributing poet, she is listed as "Alice Corbin." In the service of continuity, my bibliography lists all of Corbin Henderson's cited works under "Henderson."

14 Many of these same poets also appeared in Corbin Henderson's anthology of Southwestern poetry, *The Turquoise Trail*: *An Anthology of New Mexico Poetry* (1928).

15 For more on Southwestern tourism in the twentieth century, see Guthrie 2013 and Wilson 1997.

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